

Studies on Persianate Societies

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Studies on Persianate Societies

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Style Sheet

ABBREVIATIONS

Commonly abbreviated terms are used only in parenthesis within the text: par. (paragraph), col.(column), p. (page), ed. (editor, edition), fol. (folio), n. (note), chap. (chapter), vol. (volume), etc.

The following well-known abbreviations will be used instead of the full title: *JA*, *EI*, *EIr.*, *BOSAS*, *ZDMG*, *JAOS*, *JRAS*, *IJMES*, *IJJ*, *AMI*, *JNES*, *JRGS*, *MO*, *RMM*, *ZII*, *OLZ*, *IA*, *JESHO*.

ANGLICIZED

Commonly known titles (khan, imam, shah, caliph, darvish, sayyed, ayatollah, shaikh, amir, sultan, pasha); transcription is used only when a title is part of a transcribed phrase.

The following religious terms: Muslim, Shi'ite/Shi'i, Sunnite/Sunni, Malikite, Ash'arite, Koran, Hanbalite, Isma'ili, Sunna, Sufi, Hadith, Hanafite.

Major place names (e.g., Tehran, Baghdad, Kabul, Herat, Shiraz, etc.); the spelling used in the *Webster Geographical Dictionary* should serve as the guideline.

Dynasties: Safavid, Ghaznavid, Median, Achaemenid, Sasanid/Sasanian, Parthian, Ottoman, Mughal, Saljuqid, Il-khanid, Timurid, Qajar, Afsharid, Aq Qoyunlu, Qara Qoyunlu, Buyid, Saffarid, Pahlavi, Samanid, Tahirid, Muzaffarid, Ayyubid, Ghurid, Ziyarid, Eldiguzid, Zangid, Shaybanids, Salghurids, etc.

Familiar ethnic designations: Kurd, Kurdish, Turk, Azeri, Uzbek, Tajik, Arab, Lor, Baluch, Afghan, Pashtu.

CAPITALIZATION

Personal titles will be written in upper case only when they are used with personal names: the president, but President Bush; shah, but Mohammad Shah; prime minister, but Prime Minister Mosaddeq; imam, but Imam Hosayn; shaikh, but Shaikh Mofid; general, but General Lee; lord, but Lord Boothby; etc.

Geographical terms are in upper case as part of topographical names: e.g., Aras River, Mount Everest, Caspian Sea, Persian Gulf, Mount Sahand, Alborz Mountains, Fars Province, but the province of Fars.

Names of modern institutions in non-Western languages are capitalized in their English translation, but they have initial upper case only when transcribed: e.g., Wezārat-e āmuzesh wa parvaresh, but the Ministry of Education.

The Arabic article “al-” is capitalized only when it starts a new sentence: Ebn al-Nadim, *al-Ketāb, al-Bad’ wa’-l-ta’rikh*. It is dropped in names, however, except when it is in a construct or a part of a phrase: Ebn al-Nadim, ‘Abd al-Samad, Mostawfī al-Mamālek, Amin al-Dawla, *amir al-omarā*, etc.

Only proper nouns and the initial letter (except for Ar. *al-*) are capitalized in the transcribed titles of books and articles:

Abu Hāmed Mohammad Ghazālī, *Ehyā’ ‘olum al-din*, ed. ‘A. Khāledi, 5 vols., Beirut, 1998.

Names of public offices are always in lower case: the government of Iran, the cabinet, the minister of foreign affairs, etc.

HYPHENATED WORDS

Terms made of two complete words are hyphenated: Mohammad-Hasan, *rish-safid*, Farrokh-nezhād, Dust-‘Ali, *dorost-kār*, but Bozorgzāda, *pishrow*, *dustdār*, *mihanparast*. For English words, the *New International Webster Dictionary* should be followed.

REFERENCES

References should be given briefly in parantheses within the text rather than as footnotes. Full citations will be given in the bibliography at the end of the article. A reference within a text should normally include the author’s last name and the volume and page numbers, e.g.: (Browne, II, p. 45/pp. 45-46). The year of publication is used if more than one work of the same author is mentioned in the bibliography, e.g.: (Browne, 1969, IV, pp. 45-46).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

It shall be arranged alphabetically. Book titles will be italicized, but the titles of articles and unpublished dissertations will be in quotation marks:

Books: Author’s initials and last name (full name in the case of pre-20th-cent. authors: Abu Hāmed Mohammad Ghazālī, not A.M. Ghazālī), full title of the book, name/names of the editor/editors (if any), the series (if any), number of volumes, and place and date of publication (n.p. and n.d. when the place or date of publication is not recorded). Subtitles are

set apart by one space following colon: E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, 4 vols., Cambridge, 1969; E. Porada, *The Art of Ancient Iran: Pre-Islamic Cultures*, Baden-Baden, 1965.

Articles: Author's initials and last name, full title of the article (in quotation marks), name of the journal (*italics*) followed by the volume and the issue numbers (in Ar. numerals) separated by a slash, the date of publication, and the fully inclusive page numbers: M. Hinds, "The First Arab Conquest of Fārs," *Iran* 22, 1984, pp. 39-53. Philip Huyse, "Iranian History in Pre-Islamic Times," *Iranian Studies* 31/3-4, 1998, pp. 417-30.

If the article is published in an anthology, the word "in" is used immediately before the title of the anthology: G. Aperghis, "The Persepolis Fortification Tablets: Another Look," in M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt, eds., *Studies in Persian History: Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis*, Achaemenid History 11, Leiden, 1998, pp. 35-36.

English translation of titles in Russian, Armenian, Georgian and Greek will be given in parenthesis in Roman type. Only the initial letter and proper nouns are capitalized: K. Kedkelidze, *Etudebi zveli kartuli literaturis istoriidan* (Studies on the history of old Georgian literature), Tbilisi, 1957.

TRANSCRIPTION

The transcription adopted for this journal is based on Persian with the minimum use of diacritical signs for the sake of simplicity. For works in modern Turkish the official transcription will be used.

CONSONANTS

ا	(')
ب	b
پ	p
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
چ	ch
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	z
ر	r
ز	z
ژ	zh
س	s
ش	sh
ص	s
ض	z
ط	t
ظ	z
ع	(')
غ	gh

ف	f
ق	q
ک	k
گ	g
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	v, w
ه	h
ی	y

VOWELS

	a
	e
	o
ا	ā
ی	i
و	u
یِ	ey, ay
وُ	ow, aw

The final e with the silent h is transcribed as “a”

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From the Editor

It is a pleasure to see the second volume of *Studies on Persianate Societies* through the press with our new publisher, Manohar. The editorial difficulties with our last publisher in Tehran were compounded by an unexpected and prohibitive rise in the postage on printed matter mailed from Iran, and caused considerable delay in the distribution of Volume 1. We are fortunate to have reached an agreement with Manohar, New Delhi, to publish and distribute *Studies on Persianate Societies* henceforth. We are also very grateful for a grant from the Soudavar Memorial Foundation that made the new arrangement possible.

The move, however, makes the original idea of a bilingual journal in Persian and English more difficult to sustain. This volume does contain three articles in Persian, which are inserted in sequences and paginated from left to right, like the pages in English. From the next volume onward, however, *Studies on Persianate Societies* will publish articles in English only. The meeting of the representatives of the ASPS Regional Councils in Yerevan on 4 April 2004, discussed this issue, and the related problem that even the original idea could not accommodate publishing the Tajik articles in Cyrillic characters. It was therefore decided that the *Studies on Persianate Societies*, as the organ of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies, would be published in English. Through its branches in Iran and Tajikistan, however, the Association would launch two other annual publications, using the Persian and the Cyrillic alphabets respectively.

Most of the articles in this volume were first presented at the 1st ASPS Biennial Convention in Dushanbe, Tajikistan, in September 2002, and one at the 2nd ASPS Biennial Convention in Yerevan, Armenia, in April 2004. Volume 3, now in preparation, similarly contains many other papers presented at the Yerevan Convention. Drawing on convention papers has allowed us to organize a number of them into two thematic symposia. The papers in the symposium on linguistics, incidentally, follow their own specialized transliteration system, and not our standard one. Selected contributions in Persian and Tajik to the conventions will be published in the two projected ASPS publications in Tehran and Dushanbe respectively.

However, *Studies on Persianate Societies* is also committed to publishing individually submitted scholarly contributions, and the Editorial Board was structured on the assumption that the Associate Editors for different regions would play an active and proactive role in

the process of securing and publication of outstanding articles. I hope they take this responsibility seriously, and would also strongly encourage regular submissions by authors, either to me directly or to the Associate Editor for the appropriate region.

Social Sciences and the Appropriation of Persianate Historical Memory¹

SAÏD AMIR ARJOMAND

Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es, um es zu besitzen.
Faust I (1808), v. 682f.

History is placed in the social sciences at the majority of American universities. Yet some historians are not happy with this, and resentfully speak of the fact that history has been “colonized, taken up, and subsumed in the social sciences” (Lewis, p. 575). So, the opinion on the proper relation between history and social sciences is divided. The same is true of the relation between history and memory, though to a lesser extent. The same observer (Lewis, p. 587) concludes: “History *is* the collective memory, the guiding experience of human society,...” On the other hand, a distinguished French historian has recently elaborated on the opposition between collective memory and history – meaning professional, scientific historical research – going so far as to say that history *destroys* collective memory. “History,” says Pierre Nora (p. 11), “is now a social science, memory a purely private phenomenon.”

I

Collective memory is not a fixed object but the variously shared memory of individuals and groups. Strictly speaking, there are many collective memories—those of the family, the tribe, the social class, the profession, the ethnic group, the nation, and the religious community (Halbwachs, p.141). Similarly, historical memory is not an objective fact. There are objective “sites” of historical memory, but these can be appropriated in a variety of ways. Just think of Persepolis, which, for reasons to be mentioned later, is preserved in our collective memory as the “Throne of Jamshid” (*Takht-e Jamshid*), and not what it was in reality, “Throne of Darius or of the Achaemenids” Some even seem to want to expunge it

¹ Presidential address to First Biennial Conference of the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies, Dushanbe, Tajikistan, delivered on 15 September 2002 and subsequently expanded.

from the historical memory altogether. When I revisited Persepolis for the first time after the Islamic revolution in 1993, there was a board placed before the entrance on which the Leader of the Islamic Republic, Ayatollah Khāmanē'i, cited Qur'ān, 27.53 on the people of Thamud who had betrayed their prophet: "Those are their houses fallen down for the wrong they did" (فتلك بيوتهم خاوية بما ظلموا). As we shall see, the ruins of Ctesiphone, *Eyvān-e Madā'en*, are another great site of historical memory that has stimulated very different modes of appropriation.

In his latest book, *La Mémoire, l'histoire, l'oubli*, Paul Ricoeur speaks of memory and forgetting. Indeed, there is some justification for considering forgetting primary and memory as secondary. Or as Proust put it, "memory is an oblivion from which, at random moments, present resemblances enable us to resuscitate dead recollections" (RTP 3: 3653, cited in Terdiman, p. 3). This concomitance of recollection and forgetting makes historical memory inherently contestatory (Terdiman, p. 20). This contestatory quality in turn enables the social sciences to reopen the past with new questions, questions that are timely at present because they look into the future.

Social beliefs bind present ideas and norms to collective recollections. They are carried by social groups, embodied in social institutions and periodically commemorated, thus invoking and celebrating specific periods of history (Halbwachs, pp. 176, 188). In this way, social institutions store and interpret the past. Social interpretations of the past are, however, not unbiased. Not, for that matter, are individual memories. Neurosciences have discarded the widespread presumption that individual memory is unaltered, and have demonstrated, on the contrary, that it is continuously restructured and reconsolidated in the light of current events (Oliverio). *A fortiori*, collective recollections and historical memory are constantly restructured in the light of current events and preoccupations. Similarly the process of collective memory, much more obviously than in the case of individual memory, "substitute[s] the conventional cliché for the actual experience," and "is even more governed by conventional patterns than are perception and experience" (Schachtel, p. 291). The bias of conventional interpretations can and should be brought to light by social scientists in the interest of improved self-understanding and enlightenment of the public. Furthermore, if historical memory is continuously restructured and reconsolidated, we as social scientists are able to modify it. How should we reshape Persianate collective memory? What normative principles are involved?

II

If an apparently straightforward relation between such innocent terms as social sciences, history and memory could be subject to contestation, how are we to take the patently contentious term “appropriation” in the title of my address? The appropriation of historical memory does have a Hegelian, philosophical aspect as the requirement of healthy collective self-consciousness (spirit). At this level, the teaching of history in the educational systems of the Persianate region leaves a lot to be desired, and there is much public discontent with the inadequate apprehension of historical memory as reflected in this poem by the great contemporary Tajik poet, the late Lāyeq Shir-‘Ali (d. 2000):

آل سامان
گویا
یک نفس تاجیک را تاریخ داد آینه ای
تا در او یابد نشان خویشتن را
تا در او یابد جهان خویشتن را
لیک شادی کف شد و آینه از دستش افتاد
خویشتن را هم ندید و دیگران را هم ندید.²

² The House of Sāmān

As if

For one breathing spell history gave the Tajik a mirror

In which to see his/her own image

In which to find his/her own world

But joy was annihilated and the mirror fell from his/her hand

No more did s/he see his/her own self, nor more did s/he see the others.

(Shir-‘Ali, p. 6)

The poet seems to attribute this inadequacy to the shortness of the Samanid reign (891-1005):

کوک یکروزه تاریخ تاجیک
زاد روزت یاد باد!
غوره مرگا
غوره مرگا

The Tajik history’s child of one day

May your day of birth be remembered

Death in childhood

Death in childhood

(Shir-‘Ali, p. 7)

As we shall see, however, defective appropriation of historical memory has less to do with the objective facts of the past, such as duration of reigns, than with the cultural conditions of the present.

Appropriation is, however, primarily a political term, and I use it to refer to the mission of our association, the Association for the Study of Persianate Societies, to claim a professional right to the possession of the historical memory of the Persianate world. Individually, we can, and to some extent should, be narrow specialists in our fields, but collectively we have a public responsibility. It is in this sense that our mission of promoting self-knowledge of Persianate societies pertains to the realm of higher politics or *siyāsat-e fāzela* of medieval Muslim philosophers.

Under Rezā Khan, later Rezā Shah Pahlavi (1925-41), the modernizing state in Iran sought to appropriate the historical memory for official Iranian nationalist ideology without using the latter term. Toward the end of Rezā Shah's reign at a different end of the Persianate world, Abu'l-A'lā Mawdudi (d. 1979), impressed by the success of communism and fascism, explicitly expropriated their notion of ideology for Islam, thus contesting the nationalist appropriation of historical memory. His example was eagerly followed by the ideologues of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, while historiography became truly impoverished and gave way to crude conspiracy theories (Amanat, pp. 5-10). I shall presently talk about the violence done to historical memory by these appropriations that can justify my placing them in the realm of the lower power politics, and can legitimate the professional responsibility of historians and social scientists to correct their distortions. This responsibility is entailed by the place of higher learning and science in the public sphere of the pluralistic societies that are emerging in the Persianate world after the collapse of communism and the waning of Islamic fundamentalist ideologies.

The proposal for the appropriation of history must, however, meet the modernist objection that history is a burden to be discharged rather than a boon to be appropriated. Should we then not seek liberation from the burden of history instead of willingly putting it on our shoulders? Did Friedrich Nietzsche not complain of "*the malady of history*," when "excess of history has attacked life's plastic powers," and propose "the art and power of *forgetting*" as its antidote³ (Nietzsche, p.120)? Does not Joyce's Stephan Dedalus consider history the "nightmare" from which we must awaken if humanity is to be saved (White 1978: 31)?

As "memory is the present past," the modernist view of history can only result in the cultural disquiet Terdiman terms "the memory crisis" (Terdiman, p. 8). Yet it is impossible to live without memory, and just as impossible to discard history. "Memory stabilizes subjects and constitutes the present. It is the name we give to the faculty that sustains

³ Emphasis in the original.

continuity in collective and in individual experience” (Terdiman, p. 8). There is similarly no way of understanding the constitution of society without historical knowledge and imagination.

The modernist objection is valid for the reified past of a historicism that attributes a single objective meaning to history, a past that “becomes hypostatized as the radical antinomy of the present” and colonizes it (Terdiman, p. 52). But such is not the past that the social sciences can help to reconstruct on the basis of specific theoretical questions. As we are free to select these problems, our reconstructions imply a pluralist perspective on the multiple meanings of history. Indeed, I shall argue that the burdensome monistic view of history is typical of willful distortions of historical memory that the social sciences can and should rectify. After all, even Nietzsche (pp. 63, 66) admitted that “*the un-historical and the historical are necessary in equal measure for the health of an individual, of a people and a culture,*” and urged us “to learn better how to employ history for the purpose of life!”⁴ Let me suggest that we can play a professional role in guiding the use of history for the purpose of social life and development. Such a role is premised on the recognition of the intentional orientation, as well as objectivity, of historical knowledge (Ricoeur, 2000, pp. 306-07). Historical knowledge can be based on solutions to problems which require the selective remembering and ignoring of facts that can claim objectivity corresponding to the adequacy of the solution offered for the heuristic problem (Weber, pp. 164-88). We consequently have the possibility of a future-oriented selective highlighting of historical memory which is nevertheless truthful.

III

The term Persianate and its non-political, epistemic charge require a longer explanation. As far as I know, the term was coined by the great comparative historian of Islamic civilization, Marshall Hodgson, in the 1960s and published posthumously. We have two strong panels on historical linguistics at this conference and I do not need to belabor the point about civilizational unity of our region with reference to Old Persian and Middle Persian.⁵ Let me just confine my remarks to New Persian and the cultural and civilizational unity it produced as a justification for speaking of the “Persianate world.”

⁴ Emphasis in the original.

⁵ See the articles by Aliiev, Baghbidi and Bakhtiari and Saymiddinov in this issue.

New Persian developed into a major literary language and spread from Iran and Central Asia into the Indian subcontinent in the south-east, and Anatolia in the west. In a recent work, Bert Fragner (1999) rightly rejects as anachronistic the nationalistic interpretation of the emergence and spread of New Persian as “an Iranian rebirth” by the Orientalist scholars since the nineteenth century and by Iranian intellectuals in the twentieth. Instead, he considers the semantic structure of New Persian “the determining factor in the construction of a historic super-region (*Grossregion*)”—what I will call a civilizational area. Islamicization and the writing of Persian with the Arabic alphabet were decisive for its conversion into a *lingua franca* that created a civilizational area. Its complex verbs, synonym-composites and additive constructs (*ezāfa*) allowed tremendous absorption of Arabic words and creation of new religious and cultural concepts by the juxtaposition of heterogeneous and often originally quite distant concepts in the course of the Persian rendition of Islamic terms. If Persian was Islamicized, Islam was at the same time Persianized—and it was this Persianized Islam that spread in Iran and Central Asia, and thence to India and Anatolia. The fact that Persian was used as a literary second language in different regions gave it a “trans-regional and polycentric character” (Fragner, p. 40).

The earliest recorded New Persian verses were panegyrics written by a certain Hanzala at an obscure local court in Bādghis and by a secretary of the Saffaid Ya‘qub Layth, the first independent Iranian ruler who did not understand Arabic and, on an important occasion in 865 in Sistan, wished to be praised in his own tongue. But in any event, it can be safely said that “the new poetry, written in [Persian] but borrowing its verse-form from Arabic literature, made its first appearance in the obscure courts of local princes” (Lazard, p. 608). Thereafter the rise of Persian poetry is intimately connected with that of the major independent Iranian monarchies. So much so that in the famous essay on poetry and the poets written in the first decade of the twelfth century, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi insists that “the king inevitably needs a good poet to perpetuate his name, . . . as his name can only become eternal through the poetry of the poets” (*Chahār Maqāla*, p. 27). Panegyrics aside, two groups of early Persian texts bear directly on polity formation and the emergence of Iranian monarchy. First, there are historical texts, most notably the Persian adaptation of Tabari’s universal history, the *Tārikh* of the Samanid vizier, Abu ‘Ali Bal‘ami (d. 363/974 according to Gardizi), which was an important contribution to the revival of the idea and historical memory of the Iranian monarchy under the Sāmānids (891-1005), who formed another Iranian state independent of the Caliphate. Secondly but with greater cultural impact, there is epic poetry, most notably the Epic of

Kings (*Shāh-nāma*) by Ferdawsi (d. 411/1020), who completed one of the Samanid *Shāh-nāmas* which had been started by another poet, Daqiqi, who was murdered in 376/966. There was thus an intimate connection between the development of the New Persian and the recovery of pre-Islamic historical memory by local dynasties with the decline of the 'Abbasid Caliphate.⁶

Fragner also makes a much less obvious but equally important point. Beginning with the Ghaznavids, the patrons of Persophony, who assured the continuous reproduction and growth of the Persian language were the Persianized Turks, the ruling elite of medieval and early modern monarchies and empires, for whom Persian was not the mother tongue but the second language (Fragner, p. 78). The same is true of many poets and scribes who wrote in Persian, such as the great poet of the Delhi Sultanate, Amir Khosrow Dehlavi (Doerfer, p. 246; Alam). In the Mughal empire, Akbar (1556-1605) formally declared Persian the official language of administration at all levels, and made the promotion of Persian as the *lingua franca* of the empire, alongside the Persianate Sufi Islam, as a pillar of his pluralistic, integrative imperial policy of General Peace (or peace with all: *solh-e koll*). It is highly significant that Akbar's vizier, Abu'l-Fazl, who was the chief architect of this policy, and his brother, the poet Fayzi (d. 1595), were vigorous promoters of Persian, which they had learned as their second language.⁷

The polymorphous and multifaceted character of "Persophony" made written, literary Persian influential on the evolution of Turkic, Indic and other languages of the "Persianate" ecumene (Canfield; Doerfer, pp. 241-46; Yarshater, 1998, pp. 86-87) With this background in mind, Marshall Hodgson, who had used the terms "Islamicate" to refer to civilizational features that had grown around Islam as a world religion, coined the term "Persianate" by analogy:

Persian became, in an increasingly large part of Islamdom, the language of polite culture.... It was to form the chief model for the rise of still other languages to the literary level. Gradually, a third 'classical' tongue emerged, Turkish, whose literature was based on the Persian tradition.... Most of the more local languages of high culture that later emerged among Muslims likewise depended upon Persian.... We may call these traditions, carried in Persian or reflecting Persian inspiration, 'Persianate' by extension (Hodgson, II, p. 293)

⁶ This close connection between polity formation and the growth of a vernacular language anticipates a similar development in India and Europe during "the vernacular millennium." (Pollock)

⁷ For Fayzi's Persian poetry, see the article by Alam and Subrahmanyam in this issue.

In short, the term Persianate belongs to civilizational analysis. It is not a political term and has no ethnic or religious connotation. I have been surprised by the number of times I have been asked the politically correct question: are you a chauvinistic and nationalist association, and do you want to exclude the Kurds, the Baluchis, the Armenians, the Uzbeks, the Urdu speakers and so forth. The answer is emphatically no! All those ethnolinguistic groups, and many more who have lived in the Persianate world, are included in the Association and in the scope of the scholarly research of its members.

Memory involves relations between the self and the other, as well as the more obvious ones between past and present. "Having a past theoretically organized as memory is essential to our ability to live in relation to others in the present" (Prager, p. 123) All collective memory inevitably involves the other, be it explicitly or by tacit implication. Persianate historical memory cannot, therefore, be constructed in isolation but requires reference to significant others—most notably the Arabs, the Hindus, the Greeks and the Turks. Historical memory has to be faithful to the others with regard to whom the self is defined. The inevitable reference to the other raises the issue of justice. Not only heritage but also debt are the constituents of truthful historical memory (Ricoeur, 2000, pp. 108-09, 148-49). Furthermore, justice can and perhaps should go hand in hand with forgiving.

At this point, a few analogies with psychopathology seem in order. While forgetting the past and the repression of its memory is a symptom of mental illness, the recovery of repressed or distorted memories on the basis of better understanding and fuller recollection can be an effective method of healing.⁸ Healing often results from the acknowledgement of complicity as well as forgiveness of the figures associated with painful memories that goes hand in hand with a better understanding (Siassi). This is the fundamental truth behind the idea of "restorative justice" through the confrontation of the historical memories of crimes against humanity and the post-totalitarian and post-apartheid "truth and reconciliation committees" (Braithwaite; Skapska). Unlike many other instances of violent ethnic and religious conflict, the painful historical memory of collective guilt for the horrendous violence in the partition of India has not been seriously confronted (Pandey). This fact has undoubtedly contributed to the unnatural escape from historical memory by resorting to Islam in Pakistan, and to Hindutva and the violent retributions against the present Muslim population of India for the

⁸ Here, recollection—that is, reconstruction through memory—can be the therapeutic substitute for the repetition of repressed memory as current experiences (Freud, p. 171).

alleged crimes of the rulers of the distant past. The responsibility to promote a better understanding of history falls upon us professionally. Our colleague Richard Eaton has in fact made a significant contribution to the debate around the destruction of the Babri mosque in December 1992 by explaining the delegitimizing function of temple destructions by conquerors as a principle of Indian statecraft going back to the sixth century CE.⁹

Psychopathology can also be understood in terms of the failure of the intersubjective world to sustain the growth of the individual self which results in misremembering and the distortion of memory (Prager, p.121) The emotional need of the individual to misremember the past has its counterpart in the political motives of governments to distort the representation of the past; and if misremembering can be pathological, forgetting is more so. Amnesia and deprivation of memory is clinically unhealthy, as is the selective suppression of memory. Could we not say that a healthy society, too, cannot afford to forget its historical memory, however painful, but must come to terms with it? And if so, how can the social sciences help recover this historical memory *and* correct its distortions? In fact, I shall argue that the social sciences can help, *only* if they are effective in correcting distortions of historical memory caused by censorship or self-censorship.

I will not talk about the willful abuse of historical memory—its fabrications, distortion and misrepresentation of facts at the service of ideologies—which is usually justified in terms of sacred values, such as Marxism, nationalism or Islam. The attempt to efface the Persianate memory of Bukhara and Samarkand for the benefit of Uzbek nationalist ideology and the closure of Persian schools in those cities and of the Department of Tajik Philology in Uzbekistan amount to cultural genocide of the Persian speaking population of that country. I was greatly distressed to be asked in earnest during this week's sightseeing if the claim of the government of Uzbekistan that Avicenna was an Uzbek was true. Further south, we are all painfully aware of the deleterious, indeed lethal, consequences of the current attempts to appropriate Indian historical memory for Hindu nationalism. Let me just say that the only sacred value we can professionally accept is that of historical truth. Our duty is to debunk any fabrications and misrepresentations that deviate from historical truth and social facts. In the case of neglect of history, and more extremely of historical forgetting or amnesia, we can play a much more constructive role.

⁹ He also offers a meticulous compilation of the eighty instances of temple destruction between 1192 and 1760, whose historicity can be established (Eaton, pp. 128-32). Eaton served on the ASPS Board of Directors, 1999-2002.

Let us consider two examples of historical amnesia, one ancient, one contemporary. The most striking case of amnesia in Iranian history is the loss of memory of the Achaemenid empire. Until recently, the most plausible explanation for the fact that the Iranians themselves had obliterated the memory of the Achaemenids while the Greeks, Romans and the Jews preserved it, was Yarshater's (1971). He maintained that the Medians and the Achaemenids were Western Iranians while the Sasanians as the champions of Zoroastrianism drew on the Eastern Iranian literature and myth, even though they were from Fars and their ancestor, Pāpak, had in fact been the custodian of the temple of Anāhitā near Persepolis, which partly explain the later appropriation of the Achaemenid palaces for the mythical Jamshid. Such was the Sasanian appropriation of historical memory through the deletion of most of the memory of the Achaemenid Empire and the attribution of a few remaining traces to the mythical Kayānids. Building on this interpretation and drawing on Le Goff's work on the Christianization of collective memory in medieval Europe, Touraj Daryaee attributes this astonishing historical amnesia to the Zoroastrianization of collective memory by its champions, the Sasanian dynasty, and the Zoroastrian hierarchy they established in Iran. Modern archaeology and history have now corrected the distortions that may have been occasioned by the Zoroastrianization of Iranian historical memory under the Sasanians, but we are witnessing unmistakable processes of Islamization and Hinduization of Persianate history memory at present, and must correct the consequent distortions, especially those resulting from contemporary cases of historical amnesia.

Long before I had a chance to travel to Pakistan, I had to evaluate the transcript of a transfer student to my University from Pakistan, and I was struck by the syllabus for the course in Islamic ideology, which began with the Prophet p.b.u.h. (*'alayh al-salām*), his disciples, and campaigns in Arabia and then jumped to the creation of the state of Pakistan in 1947, allegedly as an Islamic state like that of the prophet. The entire history of the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire were thus consigned to oblivion. To appreciate the full horror of this "murder of history", one can turn to the survey by K.K. Aziz of the contents of the history textbooks for primary and secondary schools in Pakistan. In vain would one look for "Delhi Sultanate" or "Mughal empire" of [emperor] Jahāngir, whose magnificent tomb in Lahore is suffering from continuous neglect, and only the religious personalities and events connects with the British Raj are mentioned. Intizar Husain's powerful fiction shows how Islam in the form of mythical snapshots collaged on current traumas such as the Arab-Israeli conflict is substituted for the

murder of history and forced oblivion of the horrors of the partition of India (Husain, esp. ch. 7).

When I visited Pakistan to open an office for ASPS, the institutional impact of this Islamic ideology in terms of the very small number of faculty and research positions in medieval history and Persian was evident. There is no doubt that this very unhealthy amnesia is the consequence of the Islamicization of collective memory in Pakistan, as is the replacement of *khodā hāfez* by *Allāh hāfez* in Pakistani Urdu, which minimally implies that God does not understand Persian, or worse, that He is Arabian, or worse still that he is bankrolled by Saudi petrodollars like the Pakistani fundamentalist Mullahs. The only comparable case of historical amnesia is the neglect of the Jewish historical memory between the Old Testament and the Holocaust and the creation of the state of Israel. But the Pakistanis have no excuse. Unlike the Jews, who were under foreign rule, the Muslims of India ruled much of the subcontinent for long centuries and should not continue their cultural self-mutilation by the excision of their historical memory.

IV

The appropriation of history by rulers and by the religious, political and intellectual elites goes as far back as history itself, long before the appearance of scientific history and the social sciences. These modes of appropriation can be truthful or mendacious, fair or unjust, good or bad. Poets are arguably the most important group of intellectuals engaged in the shaping of historical memory as their cultural impact is greater than that of historians. I shall therefore take almost all of my examples from this group, mentioning only one historian. I shall also avoid the best known example from poetry, the greatest Persian epic poet, Ferdowsi of Tus, whose *Shāh-nāma* revived the historical memory, indeed the idea, of Iran.¹⁰ Let me instead begin with two great poets living in the petty kingdoms of northwestern Iran that were on the edge of the Persianate world in the second half of the twelfth century: Khāqāni and Nezāmi.

Afzal al-Din Badil b. ‘Ali, known by his *nom de plume* of Khāqāni (d. 595/1199), is a fascinating case study of the appropriation of historical memory. He was born in Sharvān, at the edge of the Persianate world bordering on Byzantium, to a Christian mother, who was a cook, and a Muslim father, who was a carpenter. He became a secretary (*dabir*)

¹⁰ Ferdowsi would require a separate monograph, which I am not competent to produce. All I can attest to is the historical accuracy of his account of the rise of Ardashir (d. 240), the founder of the Sasanian dynasty, which I have examined with some care.

at the court of the local rulers of Sharvān, whose descent from Shaybanid Arabs is well documented but who nevertheless assumed the titles of Shāhanshāh and Sharvānshāh and claimed descent from the Parthian rebel against the Sasanians, Bahrām Chubin. As the ablest court poet, Khāqāni can be considered their chief architect for the project of appropriation of the memory of pre-Islamic Iranian monarchy. (Khāqāni also flirted with Kiyālvāshir, the local ruler (*espahbod*) of Tabarestān, who had a similar project of recovering the glory of Iranian monarchy (Mahmudi Bakhtiyāri, pp. 122-29).

In his numerous panegyrics addressed to the Sharvanshahs, especially Akhsetān, whom he calls “the most just of the Bahramids, Iran’s [Khosrow] Parviz, Akhsetān” (عادلترین بهرامیان پرویز ایران اخستان) (cited in Zarrinkub, 1999, p. 86) and his queen, who is addressed as “the lady of the House of Jamshid” (بانوی خاندان جمشید) (Mahmudi Bakhtiyāri 1996:153), he presents Sharvan as the successor of the Sasanian Empire and heir to the political culture of Iranian monarchy transmitted from Khorasan and the Mavara’ al-Nahr of the Samanids:

شروان مداین آمد، چون بنگری بحضرت
کسرای وقت یابی، ایوان تازه بینی
بادش کمال دولت تا هر دم از کمالش
در ملک آل سامان، سامان تازه بینی

(cited in Mahmudi Bakhtiyāri, p. 137)¹¹

Khāqāni’s eloquent *qasida* composed during his pilgrimage to Mecca offers a powerfully evocative picture of Ctesiphon in juxtaposition to the Ka’ba by having the pilgrims visit “the palace of Khosrow and the shrine of Salmān” on the banks of the river Tigris, where they see “the arch of the Eyvān of the world-conqueror” and the hut of the old woman (who had allegedly refused to sell it to the king when he built the palace). (*Divān*: *chāma* 72.25-28) But the visitors are baffled by what has disappeared:

¹¹ Sharvān is the new Madā’en have come; if you look at the royal session
You can find the Khosrow of the age, you can see the new Eyvān
May he enjoy perfection in power, so that every moment at its perfection
You see the new order (*sāmān*) in the kingdom of the House of Sāmān.

بر در ایوان نه زنجیر و نه دربان دیده اند
 تاجدارش رفته و دندانه های قصر شاه
 بر سر دندانه های تاج گریان دیده اند¹²

The famous *qasida* on the Madā'en itself, which Khāqāni had visited during his journey to Mecca in 551/1156 (or the following year), was presented at the court ten years later in 561/1166. In it, he couples the linking of Sharvan and Madā'en with an emphatic pairing of the latter with Mecca. This pairing of the foremost cites of Iranian and Islamic historical memory is reinforced by the mention of the Prophet's Persian companion, Salmān, who is buried in Madā'en:

گر زاد راه مکه تحفه است بهر شهری
 تو زاد مداین بر تحفه ز پی شروان
 هر کس برد از مکه سبزه ز گل حمزه
 پس تو ز مداین بر تسبیح گل سلمان¹³

While the pairing of Sharvān and the Madā'en served the local ends of flattery and polity formation, the purpose of the latter's juxtaposition to Mecca was more grand. The grafting of the Madā'en unto the Islamic sacred geography and the blending of vignettes from its historical memory into the Islamic sacred history endowed it with new cosmic significance on a poetically unified symbolic plane.

Most important of all in this famous poem is the development of a powerful conception of history as "the mirror of admonition (*'ebrat*)," an idea that is recurrent in Khāqāni's poetry:

بنگر احوال دهر خاقانی گرت چشم عبر ندوخته اند

(cited in Zarrinkub, 1999, p. 4)¹⁴

¹² At the gates of the Eyvān, they saw no chain [of justice installed by Khosrow Anushirvān] and no gatekeeper;

Its crowned head gone, they saw the turrets of the king's palace
 As weeping crenellations of the crown. (*Divān: chāma* 39.27-28)

¹³ If a souvenir from Mecca is a gift to every city
 Take the souvenir from the Madā'en as a gift to Sharvān.
 Everyone takes from Mecca a prayer bead from the clay of Hamza
 So you take from Madā'en a prayer bead from the clay of Salmān (*Divān: chāma* 97.38-39).

¹⁴ Observe the conditions of the world, Khāqāni
 If they have not sewed shut your heedful eyes.

But more than any other, it is the ruins of the Sasanian capital as the greatest site of historical memory that serves as the mirror of admonition *par excellence*:

هان ایدل عبرت بین، از دیده عبر کن هان
 ایوان مدائن را آئینه عبرت دان
 پندار همان عهد است، از دیده فکرت بین
 بر سلسله درگه، در کوکبه میدان
 از اسب پیاده شو، بر نطع زمین رخ نه
 زیر پی پیلش بین، شهمات شده نعمان
 نی نی که چو نعمان بین پیل افکن شاهان را
 پیلان شب و روزش کشته به پی دوران
 گفتمی که کجا رفتند آن تاجوران؟ اینک
 زیشان شکم خاکست آبهستن جاویدان¹⁵

Khāqāni's great *qasida* is marked, both in form and content, by the influence of the Arabic *qasida*, which may have been indirect, though he knew it well. Formally, we have the *atlāl* (ruins) motif of the Arabic elegies evocative of nostalgia for a past that is remote and irretrievably lost, only to make the ruins speak back and bring the past to life (Meisami, p. 87). The content of Khāqāni's reflections may also have been influenced by the earlier ones inspired by the same site of historical memory and recorded in Arabic literature. To forget his woes and tribulations at the court of the Abbasid caliph, Abu 'Obāda al-Bohtori (d. 897/284) had mounted his camel in Baghdad and turned her toward the dilapidated white palace (al-Abyaz) of the Madā'en twenty years before it was demolished by the Caliph Moktafi in 903-4/291. He is moved by

¹⁵ Awake, O heedful heart, observe the warnings with your eyes, awake!
 Consider the Eyvān-e Madā'en the mirror of admonition.
 Imagine it is the same age, look with the mind's eye
 Upon the chain [of justice] at the court, and the throng of the public square.
 Dismount your horse, place your face on the mat of earth
 See under the elephant's foot the checkmated No'mān
 Nay, nay: see, just like No'mān, the elephant-conquering kings
 Slain by the elephants of Night and Day in the winding turns of time.
 Did you say where those crowned heads have gone? Lo,
 The earth's belly is eternally pregnant with them (*Divān: chāma* 97.1, 22-23, 31).

The allusion in verses 22-23 is to the fate of the Lakhmid king, No'mān b. Monzer III, who was executed by Khosrow I by being thrown under the foot of a royal elephant.

the sight of the white palace and the great arched palace, the Eyvān Kesrā, next to it. He describes a fresco celebrating a Sasanian victory over the Byzantines, and as his companion pours him some wine, he imagines himself a guest at a feast of the Sasanian king, Khosrow Pariz, with the great musician, Pahlbad. His sympathy in misfortune for the Sasanian kings falls short of identification as “their race is not my race (*jens*)” (*Divān al-Bohtori*, I, p. 164). The theme of Bohtori’s meditations is the recollection and forgetting stimulated by the vicissitudes of fortune:

ذكرتبيهم الخطوب التوالى و لقد تذكر الخطوب و تنسى¹⁶

Over two centuries later (in 398/1008 according to Meisami, p. 73), the great Shi’ite jurist and alderman of the descendants of ‘Ali, Sharif al-Mortazā (d. 436/1044), meditated on the ruins of Madā’en:

عفاه الزمان ثلما و نقضا	فتألفت فيما بنى آل ساسان
ثم امسين بالحوادث ارضا	عرصات اصبحن و هى سماء
خلقا ثم بالتذكر غضا ¹⁷	فهى تغشاه بالتكر وحشا

But the source of Khāqāni’s central idea is established without any room for doubt by a graffiti by the last important Buyid ruler of Iraq, Jalāl al-Dawla (d. 435/1044), who was close to Sharif al-Mortazā and died a few months before him. It was evidently read by Khāqāni during his visit, and was later recorded by Yāqut (I, p. 297); whereas Bohtori and Sharif al-Mortazā use the term ‘reminding’ (*tazakkor*) to refer to the recollection evoked by the ruins, we find the exact same term for heeding the warning /admonition made eternal by Khāqāni in the inscription on the Eyvān in Jalāl al-Dawla’s own handwriting:

يا ايها المغرور بالدنيا اعتبر بديار كسرى فهى معتبر الورى¹⁸

¹⁶ Successive vicissitudes reminded me of them

And vicissitudes make one remember and forget (*Divān al-Bohtori*, 1: 161).

¹⁷ Behold what the sovereign Sasanids built,

How time battered it, tore it down, effaced it.

Courtyards, once the canopy of heaven

Then by adversities brought down to earth,...

[To disbelieving eyes] it looms worn and desolate.

Then transported by memories, it flourishes anew (Stetkevych, text, p. 230, tr. pp. 190-21).

¹⁸ O, you who are proud of this world heed [the warnings in]

This abode of Khosrow, for it is a place of admonition to mortals.

In his last days, the reports of the Seljuq conquest of Iran had caused panic in Baghdad, and Jalāl al-Dawla rose from his deathbed and made his last public appearance to reassure the populace. A decade later, the Buyid rule in Iraq was also overthrown (447/1055) (Faqihi, pp. 320-27).

Admonition should of course serve learning, and we can both learn from past mistakes and assess our current situation by a correct understanding of the patterns of history. But over and above this sense, implicit in Khāqāni's notion that the sites of historical memory are "mirrors of admonition" is the assumption that history has an overwhelming objective meaning: there is cruel Fate that brings the glories of the past to ruin, just as it ends the individual's life with death. This objective meaning of history is, needless to say, the opposite of Hegel's.

Within this general philosophical frame, Khāqāni's recovery of historical memory also includes the major principle of Persian statecraft, justice, which he calls "the key to the eighth gate of Paradise" (کلید در (هشتم بهشت):

عدل است و دین، دو گانه ز يك مادر آمده
فهرست ملك ازین دو برادر نکوتر است
هر جا که عدل سایه کند، رخت دین بند
کاین سایبان ز طوبی اخضر نکوتر است¹⁹
(cited in Mahmudi-Bakhtiyāri, pp. 112-13)

In a *qasida* (*chāma*) in praise of Khorasan, Khāqāni elaborately describes it as another Ka'ba (*Divān: Chāma* 72.25-30; 1: 353) and tells us, furthermore: "I find all divine wisdom in Khorasan" (من همه حکمت (I find the bowl of Iran's Kay Khosrow in Khorasan" (جام کیخسرو ایران به خراسان یابم) In the same poem, we read:

فلسفه فلسفی و یونان همه یو نی ارزد
نفی این مذهب یونان بخراسان یابم²⁰

For other Arabic verses on the Madā'en, see Yāqut, V, p. 75.

¹⁹ Justice and religion are twin born from the same mother,
The record of monarchy is embellished by these two brothers.
Wherever justice casts its shadow, tie the rope of religion,
As this awning is better than the green Toubā tree.

²⁰ Philosophy is not worth a *fals*, nor Greece a penny;

I find the refutation of this Greek creed in Khorasan (cited in Mahmudi Bakhtiyāri, p. 143).

As you can see here, however, Khāqāni is not free from cultural chauvinism. While glorifying what Javād Tabātabā'i (1995) calls the "Iranianate (*irānshahri*) political thought" as the heritage of Khorasan, Khāqāni denies the debt to Greek philosophy and wishes to expunge it from the historical memory. He is even less free from racial chauvinism. He laments the fact that the Ka'ba is in the hands of "the black Arabs," who are vilified as adders [lying over the treasure], dogs and "the worst of nations" (*badtarin qawm*). (*Divān: chāma* 72.114-20; Mahmudi Bakhtiāri, p. 129). In short, Khāqāni's reconstructions do no justice to the other, and therefore, their tremendous poetic power notwithstanding, do not amount to a model for dispassionate appropriation of historical memory as knowledge of the collective self.²¹

I want to mention Khāqāni's contemporary, Elyās b. Yusof, known as Nezāmi Ganjavi (d. 598/1202) to highlight the latter's contrasting treatment of historical memory. He was more of a bookish hermit than a court poet, though he had to dedicate his works to petty princes²² to secure a living. Unlike Khāqāni, he was not an avid traveler, and in fact one of his prime sites of historical memory, the splendid palace of Khwarnaq in Hira near Kufa (Stetkevych, pp. 70-72, 126; Meisami, pp. 68-73), was taken from books and misplaced in the Yemen. Nor does his poetry match Khāqāni's in allusive complexity and technical accomplishment. Nevertheless, Nezāmi's much greater detachment from the rulers allowed for a richer and more polyvalent construction and a more open appropriation of historical memory. Three features of this mode of appropriation stand out in contrast to Khāqāni's: 1. the inclusion of the other with greater justice to their memory; 2. the refusal to forget unpleasant facts and excise them from historical memory; and above all, 3. the future orientation and intentional representation of historical memory as a reflection of ideal society.

Three of Nezāmi's masterpieces (*Panj ganj/Khamsa*) are historical romances.²³ His *Haft peykar* uses one of the greatest historical sites in Arabic literature as the scene of the historical romance of Bahrām, doing justice to the historical memory of the Lakhmid kings of Hira as the Arab vassals of the Sasanian king of kings, while incidentally recording the institution of tutorship (*dāyagi*) which the Sasanian had inherited from

²¹ Khāqāni did, however, show genuine attachment to, and considerable knowledge of, the Christianity of his mother, notably in the *qasida harsā'iyya* (Zarrinkub, 1999, pp. 61-120).

²² Including Khāqāni's patron, Akhsetān, who commissioned *Layli va Majnun* in 584/1188 (Zarrinkub, 1998, p. 28).

²³ Four, including *Layli va Majnun*, if we do not insist on the distinction between legend and history. The earliest, *Makhzan al-asrār*, also contains historical reflections.

Parthian feudalism. The Arab vassal king of Hira, Monzer, was chosen by the Persian imperial ruler as the tutor for his heir, Bahrām. Nezāmi describes the building of the palace by Monzer, who thereby acquired world fame as the Lord of Khwarnaq (*Rabb al-Khwarnaq*) (*Haft peykar*, 9.70-72 in *Kolliyāt*, I, p. 648) Monzer raised Bahrām with his own son, sharing the same wet nurse, and taught him Persian, Arabic, and Greek as well as geometry, astronomy and astrology. (*Haft peykar*, 8-10.38-56; in *Kolliyāt*, I, pp. 645, 650) Through Bahrām, Khawarnaq was endowed with the royal glory (*farr*) of his namesake, the god of sacred fire (*Haft peykar*, 10.1; in *Kolliyāt*, I, p. 648) The two princes contemplated the world from the lofty turrets of the Khawarnaq palace like two brothers:

بود نعمان بر آن کیانی بام به تماشا نشسته با بهرام²⁴

Here the very word for royal (*kayāni*) invokes the historical memory of the legendary Kayānids, reinforcing the sense that the Arab kings can partake of the divine glory of the Persian kings. But Nezāmi's sympathetic treatment of the Arabs is not confined to their kings. Even when he uses the cliché of the lizard-eating Arab, which had occasioned Ferdowsi's vehement curse upon the wheel of fortune, he does so without malice and to indicate the poverty of the Bedouins whom Alexander as the perfect ruler was to civilize (*Eqbāl-nāma*, 24.303; in *Kolliyāt*, II, p. 1403). Nezāmi is even more conscientious in doing justice in his treatment of intellectual history in the romance of Alexander, and fully acknowledges the Muslims' enormous debt to the Greeks in practical philosophy or norms of statecraft. This will become evident presently when Nezāmi turns to *Eqbāl-nāma* to illustrate the open-endedness and future orientation of his construction of historical memory.

An aspect of Nezāmi's determination not to shun painful historical memories is his treatment of regicide. It is tragic enough when it results from the treachery of the generals, as was allegedly the case with Darius III (*Sharaf-nāma*, 26; *Kolliyāt*, 2: 1002-10). It assumes the dimension of a cosmic disaster, however, when it is also parricide. Thus, the murder of Khosrow II, Parviz, by his son Shiruya is presage by the darkness of the heavens on a moonless night:

شبی تاریک نور از ماه برده فلک را غول وار از راه برده²⁵

²⁴ No'mān was upon that royal loft, seated in contemplation with Bahrām (*Haft peykar*, 10.18; in *Kolliyāt*, I: 649).

²⁵ A dark night with the moon bereft of light,

In an insightful study of Nezāmi's thought, the late 'Abd al-Hosyan Zarrinkub (1998) argues that Nezāmi took refuge from the chaos caused by the sundry holy raiders (*ghāzis*), who were using his native city of Ganja as a basis for raids against the neighboring Georgians and other Christian principalities, into the estates given to him by his princely patron. This reclusiveness and avoidance of residence in courts inclined him to an "idealistic" (*ārmān-garā*) treatment of monarchy, which culminated in his final undisguised search for utopia (*nākojā-ābād*) in the two Alexander romances collectively known as *Eskandar-nāma*, especially the second one (his last work), variously called *Eqbāl-nāma* (Book of [royal] fortune) and *Kherad-nāma* (Book of reason). The aspect of this work that interests us here is the appropriation of the memory of Alexander. Nezāmi rejects as untrustworthy the commonly accepted appropriation of Alexander's memory as the half-brother of Darius III, which would have made him a descendant of the ancient Kayanids, and is content with making him marry Darius's daughter. What Nezāmi does instead is to graft the idea of Alexander as a prophet (based on his identification with the Koranic Zu'l-Qarnayn) upon that of Alexander as a world-conqueror and a universal monarch. This enables him to open the historical memory of Alexander for the reception of the utopia of a rational constitution, thereby acknowledging the historical debt of Persianate statecraft to the Greeks. The longer romance, *Sharaf-nāma*, traces Alexander's career as the world-conqueror and philosopher-king, which began when he was twenty. The shorter sequel, *Eqbāl-nāma*, continues with his attainment of prophethood at the age of twenty-seven, followed by a second round of world traveling. Significantly, it is after the reception of divine inspiration that Alexander convenes a (historically impossible) symposium of seven Greek (and Byzantine) philosophers, notably Aristotle, Plato and Socrates, each of whom contributes a short "epistle of reason" on statecraft. This enables Nezāmi to return to the theme of political ethic and statecraft, which he had discussed explicitly in his first work, *Makhzan al-asrār*, this time incorporating the Greek rational component alongside the traditional Persianate notions of justice and kingship. In fact, after the death of Alexander, the book continues with brief entries on the ends of the philosophers and of Nizāmi himself, and ends with the dedication to the prince, 'Ezz al-Din Mas'ud b. Arslān, with the wishful assertion,

The firmaments abducted like a ghoulish specter (*Khosrow va Shirin*, 95.1; in *Kolliyāt*, I, p. 344)

گر آن بخردان راستد روزگار خرد ماند بر شاه ما یادگار

If this is indeed the case,

اگر مهدی آید شگفتی مدار²⁶

V

An original and highly self-conscious mode of forging a collective memory out of the present and the immediate past for the coming generations was taking place in Anatolia and India—the new frontier regions of the Persianate world—in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Seljuq and Qaramānid rulers of Anatolia—a region where the Persian language spread especially fast in the thirteenth century after the large migration of intellectuals fleeing the Mongols in Transoxania and Khorasan—ordered their court poets to write epics of the rise of their respective dynasties on the model of Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāma* (Köprülü, pp. 16-21). But I shall take my example from the southeastern frontier region of the Persianate world—the Delhi sultanate, where Persian was being vigorously spread by the Muslim rulers. There, the great poet Amir Khosrow Dehlavi (d.725/1325) developed a highly original epic mode of transforming current history into collective memory, a mode of celebration of expanding Muslim power which brings out the close relation between the intentionality of representation and construction of historical memory.

Nezāmi's influence spread to India within a generation after his death, and Amir Khosrow imitated his *Panj ganj* in his own *Khamsa* which ends with a romance of Alexander, the *Ā'ina-ye eskandari*. Amir Khosrow was the son of a Persianized Turkish military commander who had migrated to India and of a Hindu mother, and proudly displayed his mastery of the Persian language in his long career as the court poet of three successive dynasties of Delhi Sultans. His last royal patron, Sultan Mohammad b. Toghloq (d. 752/1351) was a great admirer of Nezāmi's *Eskandar-nāma*, as was indeed to be the case with Bābor (d.1530), the founder of the Mughal Empire (Akhtar, pp. 68-73).

²⁶ "Even if fate has taken those wise men Reason has remained with our king as a memento." And, "Do not be surprised if the Mahdi comes!" (*Eqbāl-nāma*, 41.3,33; in *Kolliyāt*, II, pp. 1450-51)

Nezāmi's romance of Alexander also contains traditional norms of statecraft such as keeping the four social estates confined to their respective professions (*Sharaf-nāma*, 27.188-203; in *Kolliyāt*, II, pp. 1017-18) and keeping the subjects in their place so that they respect the majesty of the king (*Eqbāl-nāma*, 23.76-78; in *Kolliyāt*, II, p. 1392).

The subject of the earliest of the three long poems, *Qerān al-sa'dayn* (The conjunction of the two auspicious planets) is not well-suited for epic treatment. In fact, it is the reconciliation of a father and son, respectively the son and grandson and designated heir of the austere Sultan Ghiyāth al-Din Balban (664-86/1265-87), which the poet in vain hoped would reverse the disintegration of his dynasty. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning because of the appropriation of the historical memory of ancient Iranian monarchy alongside its tradition of statecraft. Amir Khosrow claims the Kayanid crown and descent from the legendary Jamshid for the young Sultan (*Qerān al-sa'dayn*, f. 85), whose father, like the poet himself, is made the exponent of the political ethic of monarchy (*Qerān al-sa'dayn*, ff. 45-47, 289-99). The latter shapes the poet's reading and memorialization of current history as the antidote to periodic political upheaval, when

از عمل عالم پر انقلاب نقره خالص شده سیماب آب²⁷

The second epic, *Meftāh al-fotuh* (Key to conquests), was written in 690/1291 to celebrate the rise of Sultan Jalāl-Din Khalji, who had ascended the throne a year or so earlier. The main aim is the appropriation of the memory and tradition of monarchy as the antidote to chaos (Arjomand, 2003). As Amir Khosrow states at the end, he felt compelled to do so because praise was due to his benefactor and because the upheaval had ended:

سه دیگر زنده شد چون شاه را نام مرا هم زندگی باشد سر انجام²⁸

Amir Khosrow is conscious of constructing historical memory for the future generations, thereby immortalizing the name of the new Sultan. For this purpose, he consulted many histories—*بسی تاریخ پیشین داشتم* (I had many a preceding history before me). Furthermore, he claims to have resisted falsehood, even when it would have made his verse more charming:

ولی چون در دروغ اندیشه بستم در آمد راستی بگرفت دستم
دلم را هم نشد رغبت درین خواست که رود کژ زخم در پرده راست²⁹

²⁷ From the operation of the world, so full of revolution,
Pure silver has turned to liquid mercury (*Qerān al-sa'dayn*, f. 75).

²⁸ And thirdly as the name of the king has been revived,
My life will also have a [happy] conclusion (*Miftāh al-fotuh*, p. 40).

²⁹ But when I thought of adding what was untrue,
truth came and held my hand.
Nor did my heart incline to this wish
to play my lute crookedly in the right mode. (*Miftāh al-fotuh*, p. 39)

We may accept Amir Khosrow's claim in this instance as *Meftāh al-fotuh* is free from exaggerations typical of panegyrics. His royal patron, Sultan Jalāl al-Din Khalji, was murdered by his own nephew, Alā' al-Din, in 695/1296, however, and Amir Khosrow failed to mention this heinous deed in a bland account of the latter's accession in prose (Jackson, p. 50). His conscience evidently did not stand in the way of distorting historical memory by forgetting and thereby seeking to expunge the painful act of regicide from it. Be that as it may, Amir Khosrow lived to see the disintegration of the Khalji dynasty after the death of Sultan 'Alā' al-Din in 715/1316, and to write the last, longest and best of his historical epics, the *Toghloq-nāma*, in 720/1320.³⁰ It is arguably our most accurate historical source, even though the episode is also covered by Amir Khosrow's younger contemporary, the historian Zia Barani (II, pp. 202-52).

In that year, the last Khalji Sultan had been murdered by his Indian slave and paramour, Khosrow Khan, a newly converted Indian slave who ascended the throne, apostatized and carried out the decimation of the Muslim ruling elite yet another step beyond the purges that had followed 'Alā' al-Din's death by his Indian slave eunuch, Kāfur (Jackson, pp. 176-79). One Turkish amir, Toghloq, was outraged by the usurpation of Muslim rule by the Indian slave and his native military retinue. *Toghloq-nāma* is the account of his rise and heroic march on Delhi, when "the capital was filled with Hindus who openly worshipped idols everywhere," and the defeat of the more numerous forces of the usurper, "the *div* who had ascended the throne of Solomon" (*Toghloq-nāma*, pp. 37, 44, ll. 682, 828-29). Like Sultan Jalāl al-Din Khalji, to whom he owed his promotion to the higher ranks of the Muslim ruling elite, Toghloq was reluctant to become a Sultan and claimed to do so only to save Muslim monarchy:

که من مرد صف آرای نبر دم بگرد مسند شاهی نگردم
که من بودم یکی آواره مردی ز مهر و مه چشیده گرم و سردی
بلطفم شه جلال الدین مغفور مقرب کرد نزدیک خود از دور³¹

³⁰ He was then 67 years old and died five years later.

³¹ I am a man who arranges ranks for the battlefield;

I do not seek the regal seat.

I was once a wayfaring man,

who had tasted the warm and the cold under the sun and the moon.

By his grace the late king, Jalāl al-Din

brought me from afar and made me a companion (*Toghloq-nāma*, pp. 134, 136, ll. 2581, 2623-24).

Toghluq then succinctly enumerates his three motives for marching on Delhi: to purge “this dangerous land” from infidelity by promoting Islam, to recapture the kingdom from the hands of “the sinister Indian offspring” (*henduzāda-ye shum*), and to avenge the Khalji dynasty (*Toghloq-nāma*, pp. 140-41, ll.2710-14). Amir Khosrow tells us that fate chooses only the elect among humankind for the office of monarchy:

نه هر فرقی سزای چتر شاهی است نه هر تن را لقب ظل الهی است³²

Among the symbols of royalty that abound in Amir Khosrow’s poetry, the royal parasol is probably the most important. His hero, Toghloq, who is styled the *ghāzi* king on account of his earlier campaigns against the Mongols on the eastern frontier and against the Hindus in the homeland, had a dream that three shining moons and three parasols had risen in the sky and moved to a position above his head (*Toghloq-nāma*, pp. 73-75, ll. 1388-1420). In the capital, he resisted the entreaties of the Muslim elite to become the Sultan until one day three bright clouds appeared in the shape of three parasols and rained over him. He remembered his dream and read the endorsement of the heavens (*Toghloq-nāma*, p. 143, ll. 2764-71). On a day of auspicious conjunctions set by the astrologers, he ascended the throne as Sultan Ghiyāth al-Din Toghloq Shāh (720-24/1320-24).

Nezāmi’s case is instructive for showing the influence of utopian ideals for the future on the shaping of historical memory. By contrast, Amir Khosrow’s epic poems on three current episodes, which he judged (correctly in two cases out of three) to be major turning points in history, reveals the influences of conventional norms of monarchy on the reading of events. If Khāqāni’s implicit philosophy of history was centered on the tragic inexorability of Fate in history, Amir Khosrow’s is a reading of history as a march toward the realization of the ideal of monarchy, and the establishment of social order after its periodic breakdown results in political instability and social chaos. Both in this general fashion, and by employing notions and norms pertaining to the tradition of monarchy such as *bakht* (fortune), *dawlat* (turn in power) and its *darvāza* (gates), *qerān* (auspicious astral conjunction), *farr* (royal charisma), *chatr* (royal parasol) and *edālat* (justice) in detail, the idea of monarchy serves as what might in Koselleck’s (p. 285) words be called “a concept for the registration of experience.”³³

³² Not every head deserves the royal parasol, nor everyone the title ‘shadow of God’ (*Toghloq-nāma*, p. 133, l.2556)

³³ The key role of the political culture in the intentional poetic shaping of the meaning of a current event for commitment to historical memory is not incidental. Abraham

Amir Khosrow's epics on the disintegration of dynasties and rise of new Sultans are also marked by certain triumphalism in celebrating the victories of the armies of Islam and the exploits of the new rulers against the native population of idol-worshippers (*botparastān*) and believers of evil religion (*bad-kishān*). This feature is not surprising if we bear in mind that in this period of considerable territorial expansion of Muslim power, "the Muslim population of the Sultanate largely resided in its fortified towns and cities, and even there they were usually a minority" (Jackson, p. 126).

VI

To get a better sense of the varied modes of appropriation of historical memory, let me move to the heartland of the Persianate world in the fourteenth century, where Khwāju of Kermān (d. 753/1352) and Hāfez of Shiraz (d. 792/1390) unselfconsciously elaborate a highly stylized historical memory of ancient Iran as a springboard for cosmic and mystical lyric meditation. The later Il-Khānids, who independently ruled the eastern part of the Mongol Empire, did not stop at appropriating the historical memory of Iranian monarchy (Soudavar), as had the Samanids, the Buyids, the Ghaznavids and the Saljuqs before them, but also gave currency to the term 'Iran' as the designation of their empire. In the mid-fourteenth century, after the disintegration of the Il-Khānid empire, a Chubānīd local ruler in northern Iran put a puppet king on the throne and styled him after the great Sasanian monarch, "Anushirvān the Just" (Ghani, pp. 59-60, 110). The local ruler of Fars and Kerman and patron of Khāju and Hāfez, Shaikh Abu Eshāq Inju (d. 758/1357), who was a descendant of an Il-Khānid functionary and held Shiraz as his capital for a decade (1343-53), put in his bid for the appropriation of the historical memory of ancient Iran, not only by styling himself king (*shah*), but more materially by building a palace in imitation of Eyvān-e Madā'en--Khāqāni's very mirror of admonition (Ghani, pp. 138-42).

In sharp contrast to Khāqāni and Nezāmi, Hāfez does not use "Iran" in his poetry even once (Eslāmi-Nadushan). Does this mean he was indifferent to historical memory? Not at all. Hāfez uses historical memory as a springboard for cosmic philosophical speculation, a distant forerunner of our historical-scientific quest for knowledge. We find the notion of the wisdom of the Magi already with Khāqāni:

Lincoln set the battle of Gettysburg in the American historical memory by saying it had taken place so "that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

پند آن پیر مغان یاد آورید بانگ آن مرغ زند خوان یاد آورید³⁴

Khāqāni's admirer and the older contemporary of Hāfez, Khāju of Kerman greatly developed this theme:

از کعبه چه پرسی خبر اهل حقیقت
کاین طایفه در کوی خرابات مغانند
از مغبجگان میشنوم نکته توحید
و ارباب خرد معنی این نکته ندانند³⁵

(Khāju, *Divān*: 233)

The wisdom of the Magi becomes a recurrent theme in Hāfez. We find the archaeization of the Magian wisdom³⁶ in one of his most famous and beautiful *ghazals*, in which the inner truth of the heart is sought in the externalized form of Jamshid's world-seeing chalice, and universalized with juxtaposition to the miracles of the Holy Ghost and Jesus, only to be discovered through the guidance of the Elder of the Magi (*pir-e moghān*):

سالها دل طلب جام جم از ما میکرد
آنچه خود داشت ز بیگانه تمنا میکرد
گفتم این جام جهان بین بتو کی داد حکیم؟
گفت آنروز که این گنبد مینا میکرد

³⁴ Remember the advice of the Elder of the Magi

Remember the song of the Zand [Avesta commentary]-singing bird (cited in Eslāmi-Nadushan, p. 36, n. 3).

³⁵ Why ask the news of those who know the truth at the Ka'ba

When that group is in the Magian ruins?

I hear the essence of [divine] unity from the child-Magi,

The point the lords of reason do not know.

³⁶ This archaeization includes the conflation of wisdom and kingship and attribution of divine wisdom to the ancient Persian kings, as found in the writing of the great mystic Shehāb al-Din Sohrawardi (d.585/1191) (Ziai 1992):

ای در رخ تو پیدا انوار پادشاهی در فکرت تو پنهان صد حکمت الهی

Upon your countenance the rays of royalty are apparent

In your mind a hundred norms of divine wisdom are hidden (*Divān*, 480.1).

And further,

مرغان قاف دانند آئین پادشاهی

The [legendary] birds of Mount Qāf know the ordinance of kingship (*Divān*, 480.5).

مشکل خویش بر پیر مغان بردم دوش
 کاو بتایید نظر حل معما میکرد
 فیض روح القدس ار بازمدد فرماید
 دیگران هم بکنند آنچه مسیحا میکرد³⁷

Just as Hāfez's cosmic speculations on the basis of the imagery of ancient Iran is free of the confines of narrowly nationalistic historical memory, he uses this image of Zoroastrian wisdom to express his eclectic pantheism or what we might call religious pluralism, which is completely free of dogmatism, as in the above allusion to Jesus and the Holy Ghost, or in: *در خرابات مغان نور خدا میبینم* (I see the light of God in the Magian ruins).

In contrast to pious homilies typical of dogmatic appropriations of memory, however, he displays the healthy skepticism of a cynical wit (*rend*):

بیا ساقی، آن آتش تابناک که زردشت میجویدش زیر خاک
 به من ده، که در کیش رندان مست چه آتش پرست و چه دنیا پرست³⁸

Although Qāsem Ghani has brought out a surprisingly large number of certain and probable allusions to current events, rulers and viziers through his meticulous research, these are almost always cryptic and never epic. The political vicissitudes of the city of Shiraz during Hafez's long poetic career stimulated not epic poetry but philosophical reflections on history as the graveyard of rulers with passing turns in power. He thus regretted the collapse of the brief monarchy of his first patron, Shaykh Abu Eshaq:

³⁷ For years the heart was asking for the chalice of Jam,
 Begging the Other for what it already possessed.
 Last night I took my problem to the Elder of the Magi,
 Who was solving puzzles with confirming nods of the head.
 I asked, "When did The Wise One [Creator] give you this world-seeing chalice?"
 He said, "The day he was building this crystal-blue vault."

If the Holy Ghost descend in grace again,
 Others, too, can do what Jesus wrought (*Divān*, 136.1, 3, 5, 7)

³⁸ Come, cup-bearer, give me that radiant fire [wine],
 Which Zoroaster is seeking under the earth.

Give it to me, since in the religion of the drunken wits,

A fire-worshipper [Zoroastrian] is the same as a world-worshipper [materialist] (cited in Eslāmi-Nadushan, p. 34).

راستی خاتم فیروزه بو اسحقى خوش درخشید ولی دولت مستعجل³⁹

The ancient kings, too, are subject to the same fateful revolutions of power:

ز انقلاب زمانه عجب مدار که چرخ
ازین فسانه هزاران هزار دارد یاد
قدح بشرط ادب گیر زانکه ترکیبش
ز کاسه سر جمشید و بهمن است و قباد
که آگه است که کاووس و کی کجا رفتند؟
که واقف است که چون رفت تخت جم بر باد؟⁴⁰

VII

For my example from historiography, I will turn to a local chronicle rather than famous universal histories written for an imperial ruler, such as that of Rashid al-Din Fazl Allāh's *Jāme' al-Tavārikh*. Collective memory, as I said, can be a construction of the family, or a social class. Dynasties are royal families, and primary appropriators of historical memory, but there are other families, too. An important social class that can be called urban notables, or as some would prefer, "patricians," has supplied both the authors and the patrons of local historical writing. Clifford Bosworth discusses a local history of Sistān written in Safavid times—1028/1619, to be precise—by a certain Malekshāh Hosayn b. Malek Ghiyāth al-Din Mohammad and significantly entitled *Ehiyā' al-moluk* (Revival of the kings). This Hosayn was a descendant of the Maleks of Nimruz, whose long semi-independent local rule the Safavids had put an end to. I should like to imagine that Hosayn, despite clinging to the royal title of his ancestor, had experienced the kind of downward social mobility that was so typical in pre-modern Persianate societies, and had slowly undergone political and economic dispossession,

³⁹ Verily did the signet of Bu Eshāqi turquoise
Shine brightly; but it was a fast-passing turn in power (*Divān*, 203.7).

⁴⁰ Do not wonder about the revolutions of time, as the wheel
Knows thousands of thousands of stories of the kind.
Take the chalice graciously as its composition
Consists of the skulls of Jamshid and Bahman, and of Qobād.
Who knows whence have gone Kāvus and Kay
Who knows how the throne of Jamshid went with the wind? (*Divān*, 97.3-5)

descending to shabby genteel subsistence as a secretary in the Safavid state. If so, his proudest remaining possession was the family memory, which he sought to revive (*ehyā'*), or save from oblivion, by writing down a chronicle of his family's local rule which included an account of the civic and educational institutions of Sistān such as the *awqāf* and the *madrasas*. Even richer accounts of civic and educational institutions can be found in at least two excellent local histories of Timurid Yazd written by its patricians.

The appropriation of history by the social sciences can serve important purposes beyond drawing lessons from history as the mirror of admonition. In the collection of articles published under the significant title of *Vergangene Zukunft* (Futures Past), the leading proponent of theoretical history, Reinhard Koselleck, shows that we remember the past within the space of our own experience, but also with an orientation toward our horizon of expectation. Quoting a statement by Novalis (pen name of Friedrich Leopold von Hardenberg, d. 1801) that observing the covert interlinking of the before and after enables one to "learn how to compose history from hope and memory," Koselleck (p. 270) explains how "hope and memory, or expressed more generally, expectation and experience simultaneously constitute history and its cognition." There is inevitable asymmetry and creative tension between the "space of experience" and the "horizon of expectation." The conservative urge to close the horizon of expectation and the modernist devaluation and disregard of past experience are (impossible) attempts to destroy this creative tension. The result would be quite similar: an other-worldly or culturally empty utopia on the one side, and a closed, dead past on the other. We must take the opposite step by acknowledging and welcoming this tension, or as Paul Ricoeur (III, p. 216) put it,

We must resist any narrowing of the space of experience. To do this, we must struggle against the tendency to consider the past only from the angle of what is done, unchangeable and past. We have to reopen the past.

Nezāmi's undifferentiated utopia can be broken down into a number of specific problems relevant to social and political development that can provide new theoretical horizons for re-opening history, but the scope of historical experience must also be broadened to comprise the entire memory of the Persianate civilization in dialogue with other world civilizations, including not only those considered by Nezāmi but also the Western and global civilizations for the modern and contemporary eras. Amir Khosrow's reading and memorialization of historical experience can legitimately be reexamined in the light of political values other than his. I do think that, as Max Weber would want it, our scientific research

can and should be value-free in that our scientific method would not be affected by political preference, say, for democracy over totalitarianism or over Amir Khosrow's autocratic monarchy. But we should remember that Weber also stressed the axiological inevitability of "value-relevance" in social research, without, however, bringing out its full implications for the public role of the social scientist. According to Weber's principle of value-relevance, we can use value-free methods and nevertheless ask research questions that are relevant to the political values of our age and societies—for example democracy, social development and human rights—and use these categories for rerecording historical memory as analytical history/social science. Would this destroy the mystical glamour of historical memory in Hāfez, as Pierre Nora fears? I do not think so, unless we are driven by a mania for consistency and cannot compartmentalize poetry and social science in our mind.

The sociological analysis of the local historical works commissioned by the old patrician families and local dynasties or written by their descendants are particularly important for incorporating the history of civil society into the Persianate historical memory. They offer enormous possibilities for social-scientific appropriation in our era of democratization of culture. Furthermore, lessons drawn from their study can be universalized through categories of theoretical, comparative history, and thus turn to a new kind of objective knowledge which is no longer local knowledge but can be globally shared. The new universal knowledge can also serve as the self-knowledge of the emerging pluralistic societies of the Persianate world, and thus release its historical memory from the straightjacket of totalitarian ideologies. I believe our Association can contribute to this cultural enrichment through self-knowledge of the educated public of the Persianate societies of our time.

To conceive of Persianate identity as sameness resulting from a presumed reified and petrified tradition is patently false and absurdly essentialist. Persianate identity can only be legitimately conceived as self-constancy, to use Ricoeur's (III, pp. 246-47) term, constituted by overlapping readings of the same rich and variegated tradition and historical memory. A welcome development in the recent debate on tradition and modernity in Iran is the discarding of the reified modernist conception of tradition as a dead deposit of the past in favor of a hermeneutic conception of tradition as a depository of transmitted meaning which, however, requires a contemporary reading (*qerā'at*) (Arjomand, 2002). The social scientists of our generation can make a major contribution to the analytical rereading of tradition and the consequent reshaping of historical memory.

It is for the reopening of the past in the new perspectives allowed by our horizon of expectation for social development and public enlightenment that the appropriation of history by the social sciences is essential in our generation.

اجازہ بدهید اینرا بفارسی هم بگویم با مختصری تغییر: تصاحب و تمليك تاريخ براي باز کردن گذشته از دریچه افق انتظارات آینده وظیفه اصلی علوم انسانی در نسل ماست.

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Babylonian Civil Judicial System in the E-anna Temple District of Uruk under Cyrus and Cambyses of the Old Persian Empire

Wu Yuhong

This study concerns the cuneiform juridical and administrative records excavated from Uruk of Babylonia, dated to the Achaemenid period. These documents belong to the administrative authority of the E-anna “House of Heaven,” temple district, which was the worship centre of goddess Ishtar, the Babylonian Venus, and the main institution in the city of Uruk. These records contain significant information concerning the juridical and economic life in Babylonia during the Persian period. After the Persian conquest of Mesopotamia in 539 B.C., Cyrus II the Great (r. 559-530 B.C.) permitted the Babylonian kingdom to continue as a nominal entity, with its traditional methods of administration and social institutions. There was no immediate interruption in the normal functioning of law and the economy. Babylon became the winter residence of the Achaemenid kings, one of the royal capitals along with Susa, Persepolis, and Ecbatana. Even the most highly placed Babylonian officials retained their positions in the administrative apparatus. Cyrus tried to reestablish normal conditions for the economic development of the country and for its traditional culture. Cyrus assumed the official title “King of Babylon, King of the Lands,” a practice emulated by his successors until the early years of Xerxes I's reign (486-465 B.C.).

From some court records of the E-anna temple in Uruk during the Persian period we learn that in the E-anna district juridical court was continually presided over by the bishop of the temple of E-anna (*šatam ša É-anna*) and the royal magistrate of E-anna (*ša-reš-šarri bel piqittu E-anna*). As their assistants, one to four scribes, according to different cases, served with them in the court as the secretary who wrote down various law documents and court records made in the court. Apart from the judges and the secretary, the elders served in the court as jury and witnesses for each case, mostly four or eight elders, occasionally two to three, in routine cases, but about sixteen elders in big cases. When a defendant did not agree with a court decree issued by the official, usually a bishop, a royal magistrate, scribes and elders, he could go to the royal court in Babylon for appeal. The court in E-anna mainly judged and

notarized the cases of the property and slave donations to E-anna, the debts owed to E-anna, and the thefts and appropriation of the property of E-anna, which indicates that it was, in fact, only a civil law court. The court often wrote promissory notes that demanded the relatives of a debtor or a suspect to guarantee to make payment to the court by a fixed date. If the guarantors failed, the penalty against them would be to pay, as fines, double or more of the money or goods to E-anna.

Magistrates of E-anna, mentioned without their fathers' names, were always from the eunuchs of the palace, so they might have come from poor families and became powerful because of the trust of the kings.

1. JUDGES

The documents which we deal with belonged to the authority of the E-anna temple district, and the judges of the court were not independent but the administrators of the temple. The legal documents are generally economic and administrative and their punishments are fines, neither jail nor execution. Now, we will discuss the judges and jury in the court decree according to an important trial on Cyrus 1, vi/1, against Gimillu, the corrupt lower administrator of cow pen and sheepfold of the E-anna temple (Tremayne, no. 7).

The first judge in the court of the temple is the governor of Uruk (*šākin tēmi/gar-uš₄/nām Uruk*). In the first year of Cyrus as the king of Babylon, Month vi, the governor of Uruk was Nadinu, son of Balātu who presided over the important trial of the Temple district against Gimillu. Nadinu already was the governor of Uruk in Nabu-naid 15 vii²/3 (Dougherty, no. 224, also Nabonid 15 in McEwan, no 6). He, together with Bishop and Magistrate of the E-anna district, also presided over the investigation about a weaver on Cyrus 1/ v/1 (Contenau, pp. 13, 124). The duty period of this governor was about 5 years (Nabu-naid 15-17, Cyrus 1-2 x). In Cyrus 2/ix/26 (Tremayne, no. 23), Šula, son of Tabiya, family of Hunzu, whose previous job was the third of jury in the court (Contenau, pp. 13, 124), became the first governor of Uruk appointed by Persian kings. He was governor for two years, and, in the court of Cyrus 3 xii/20, Nabu-šar-ušur, son of Banana, took over the position of the governor (Tremayne, no. 30), when the new governor with a judge, named Itti-Marduk-iddin, and Rimut-Bel, "the big brother" of E-anna, investigated a case about the oxen of E-anna. It is noteworthy that judges seldom appeared in the inquisitions and trials of E-anna. The duty period of the third governor under the Persians was about two years (Cyrus 3-4). In Cyrus 4 the fourth governor of Uruk, Imbiya, son of Nanaya-ereš, family of Kidin-Marduk (BIN, II, 134:16), who was the temple official

on Cyrus 2 ix/26 (Tremayne, no 23), began to preside over court trials (Tremayne, no 71, Cyrus 8 iv/18), and on Cambyses 6/v/18 the former governor, Nadinu, son of Balāṭu, as a juror, were present with governor Imbiya in court (Tremayne, no. 198). Imbiya's long duty period was about twelve years (Cyrus 4-9, Cambyses 1-6; Tremayne, no. 198 Cambyses 6 x/18). After he was retired from the governorship, he acted as the prefect of E-anna (Contenau, pp. 13, 222).

In the trial of Gimillu on Cyrus 1, vi/3, the second judge was the prefect (*qīpu*) of the E-anna temple, Anu-šar-ušur, without family name, who in Cyrus 7 iii/23, with the Bishop and Magistrate of E-anna had once investigated the case of a woman oblate of E-anna with her two sons, who was taken by the brother of her dead original lord. The court decreed that, after the death of her second lord, she with her sons would belong to E-anna temple (Tremayne, no. 66). In Babylonian King Amil-Marduk I, about 20 years before, an Anum-šar-ušur was the governor of Uruk, who might have acted as the prefect of E-anna after having stepped down from the governorship.

The third and fourth judges in the trial of Gimillu were the bishop and magistrate of E-anna and both were the chief administrators of E-anna and dealt with its everyday administration. The bishops under the Early Persian reign were all from one powerful family of Uruk, the Dabibi family. Nabu-mukin-zeri, son of Nadinu, of Dabibi family, was the bishop from Nabu-naid 17 iv/14 (Dougherty, no. 169) to the first year of Cyrus viii/8 (Contenau, nos. 13, 125), whose duty period was only two years. His son, Nidintu-Bel, of Dabibi family, took over the position in the end of the first year of Cyrus (AnOr. 8, 37; Cyrus 1 xi/18), and had a duty period of four years (Pohl, pp. 8, 37, 50; Cyrus 5 xi/18). From Cyrus's sixth year, Nabu-mukin-apli, son of Nadinu, of Dabibi family, took the position (Pohl, 8, 51; Cyrus 6 iv/20) and he was the uncle of Nidintu-Bel, his predecessor. His duty period was until the death of Cambyses (Tremayne, no. 198, Cambyses 6 x/18), about ten years (Cyrus 6-9 and Cambyses 1-8). Hence, the bishopric of E-anna of this period belonged to the Dabibi family.

Nabu-ahu-iddin was the royal magistrate for fifteen years from Cyrus' succession to the fifth year of Cambyses' reign. He seems to have been a eunuch from a poor family since, not like others, his name is never mentioned with his father in all the documents.

The fifth judge in our case was the Big Brother of E-anna (^{lū}ŠEŠ-GAL E-anna), Rimut/Rimut-Bel, son of Bel-muballit, family of Gimil-Nanaya. This Big Brother acted from Nabu-naid 14 to Cyrus 4 (University of California Publications in Semitic Philology 10, p. 260, Nabonid 14 v/7, Yale Near Eastern Researches 1, no 1), for about seven years. His father,

Bel-muballit, son of Mušallim-Marduk, served as Big Brother from Nabonid 4 iii/15 (Tremayne, no. 77) to Nabonid 14. His duty period was ten years.

The sixth official was Silim-ili, the treasurer of E-anna, who often acted as the head of the jury in many cases (Tremayne, nos. 59, 140, 155, 157, 190) and whose duty period lasted, from Cyrus until the end of Cambyses, about 17 years.

2. JURORS AND WITNESSES

In the court of E-anna, there were some ordinary citizens who listened to and witnessed the inquisition of cases and worked together with the administrators on penalties in trials. In the case of Gimillu, the five officials, four scribes and 16 elders were named "the governor and the assembly of Babylonians and Urukians," and they decreed a verdict against Gimillu, the corrupt administrator. Since they only witnessed contracts written in the Office of E-anna and discussed penalties with the official judges in the court of E-anna, their function must have been those of the jury in the court trials and notaries in administrative affairs. It should be noticed, however, that, in trials, the officials and the elders constituted the jury.

The witnesses or jurors all came from the noble or wealthy families. The first important family was the Egibi family. The first juror in the trial of Gimillu, Arad-Marduk son of Ziriya, came from the Egibi family and acted in the civil court from Nabu-naid 4th year. In most cases from Cyrus 1 to Cambyses 5, he served as the first witness, and only in a few cases he served as the second witness (Tremayne, nos. 20, 70, 97), after Marduk-šum-iddin, son of Nabu-ahhe-uballit of Balaṭu family, his senior colleague in the jury of E-anna from Nabu-naid 4. In one case and another (Tremayne, no. 23) Arad-Marduk was the first juror after "Big Brother," Rimut-Bel, son of Bel-muballit of Gimil-Nanaya, and Silim-ili, the treasurer of E-anna. Nadinu, the first scribe in our case, might have been the son of Bel-ahhe-iqiša of Egibi family, who served as scribe in E-anna more than 36 years (from Neriglissar 0/v/28, YOS 16, 16:12, to Cambyses 6/iv/5, Tremayne, no. 190: Neriglissar 4, Nabonaid 17, Cyrus 9, Cambyses 6).

The second noble family of Gimil-Nanaya since our official no. 5, Big Brother Rimut/Rimut-Bel, son of Bel-muballit, was from this family. In Nabu-naid 4, Bel-muballit, son of Mušallim-Marduk from this family was Big Brother, which shows that the position of Big Brother was controlled by the family of Gimil-Nanaya. Our Juror no 4, Zuqaya son of Marduk-šumu-iddin, and no. 14, Gimillu son of Nabu-šumu-iddin, also

belonged to the family of Gimil-Nanaya. Our scribe no 4, Balaṭu, could possibly be the son of Ibni-Ištar, family of Gimil-Nanaya.

The third noble family was the family of Kidin-Marduk. Juror no. 5, Innin-šumu-ušur son of Iddin-Nabu, family of Kidin-Marduk, and no. 9, Bel-kaš ir son of Marduk, the family of Kidin-Marduk, were from this family. Later, in Cyrus 4, Imbiya, son of Nanaya-ereš, also from the family of Kidin-Marduk, rose up as the third governor of Uruk during the Persian period.

Juror no. 2, Sin-ereš son of Nabu-šumu-lišir, family of Ibni-Anu, along with Arad-Marduk, the family of Egibi, and Juror no. 8, Kiribtu son of Nadinu, family of Babutu, had already served in the court from Nabunaid 4 iii/15 when Sin-ereš was the third juror, Marduk-šum-iddin the fourth, our juror no. 1 Arad-Marduk the fifth, and Kiribtu also in the eight place. The position of Big Brother of E-anna was occupied by the father of our Big Brother (Dougherty, no. 77). Other jurors, Arad-Bel, son of Sillaya of Iddin-Papsukkal family, and Arad-Innin, son of Bel-iddin of Kuri family, also came from famous families. Juror no. 10, Nabu-balaṭsu-iqbi son of Ibnaya, and the third scribe, Muranu, son of Nabu-bani-ahi, both belonged to the family of Ekur-zakir. Juror no. 12, Innin-zer-ibni, son of Nabu-ahhe-ušallim came from the family of the bishop of Ninurta.

Nearly all the jurors of the E-anna under Nabu-naid, king of the Neo-Babylonian dynasty, continued to serve in their own positions during the period of the first two Persian Kings if they did not retire because of old age.

3. THE TESTIMONY IN THE COURT TRIALS

In order to confirm the guilt of a defendant, the court of E-anna would conduct an investigation during a trial, which included checking material evidence and listening to the testimony of witnesses and, sometimes, the confession of the defendant. The introduction of the court record of the trial on Gimillu (YOS 7, 7, Cyrus 1 vi/3) states:

“For the oxen and flocks and some goods, the property of Lady of Uruk and Nanaya, which Gimillu, son of Innin-šumu-ibni placed in the account of the chief of [. and] the shepherds of Lady of Uruk, but did not give to E-anna, the witnesses proved against him and he also confessed himself in the presence of Nadinu, the governor (*šākin ṭēmi/gar-uš₄*) of Uruk son of Balaṭu. . .”

The first charge against Gimillu was supported by material evidence: the two cows were hidden in the house of Gimillu. On Cyrus 1 vi/1, according to the report of Nabu-bani-aha, of Kuri family, Anu-šarru-ušur, prefect of E-anna, Nabu-mukin-zeri, bishop of E-anna, family-of-Dabibi,

Nabu-ahu-iddin, the eunuch, magistrate of E-anna, and the scribes of E-anna ordered the two cows branded with a star to be driven from the house of Gimillu and presented them before Nadinu, the governor of Uruk and assembly of the Babylonian and Urukian gentlemen. They decided to fine Gimillu with 60 cows, for the two cows ironed with star taken by him.

The second charge against Gimillu was about a cow of Nanaya-iddin son of Arad-Innin, which was driven into E-anna, branded with marks and was entrusted to Ibnaya, son of Nabu-ahhe-ušallim. In the court, Ibnaya presented his testimony: "On the 17th year (of Nabu-naid) month vi, Gimillu drove that cow from the hand of my shepherds," and Gimillu admitted that. They decreed that fine of 30 cows instead of one cow should be imposed on Gimillu.

The third charge was about the flocks of Inanna of Uruk, branded with a star, which was under the charge of Šumaya son of Marduk-ahu-iddin, and one of which Gimillu took from the ewes after the officials and scribes of E-anna had driven them to E-anna. Again the material evidence was shown to the jury: Iddinaya, son of Ahu-tab, the shepherd, drove that ewe into the court. After men testified against Gimillu, the jury decreed a fine of 30 of flocks, instead of one ewe, to be imposed on Gimillu.

The fourth charge is about five ewes of the E-anna, which, with their shepherd, on Cyrus 1/iv/25, Gimillu detained and gave three of which to Nidintu, whose father claimed money from the shepherd. Nidintu testified against Gimillu and showed the silver, which he bribed Gimillu with. The court decreed 90 of flocks, instead of 3 sheep, to be imposed on Gimillu.

The fifth charge was about a she-goat of E-anna. Two witnesses testified against Gimillu. The shepherd of the she-goat, Nabu-mušetiqu-urra said: "Iddinaya, the brother of Gimillu, drove it away from the Gate of Tilmu." The second witness, Nabu-ahu-iddin, said: "In my presence, Iddinaya drove that she-goat away." Gimillu confessed to his crime: "I sent my brother Iddinaya to do it." The court decreed 30 of the flock, instead of 1 she-goat, to be imposed on Gimillu.

The other seven charges against Gimillu were his defalcating sheep, a cow and a leather coat, and also accepting bribe. For charge 9, an ironed lamb was brought into the court and for other charges the court heard testimonies, and Gimillu confessed to all charges against him, apart from charge 6, and for the bribe of barley, silver and a ram in charge 10, he defended that he did not take the ram. The total fine made by the jury in this trial, thirty times against the stolen objects, was 92 cows, 302 sheep and 70 shekels of silver.

The above study leads to the conclusion that the juridical system of the E-anna district during the Persian period continued to be the same as during the neo-Babylonian period. The civil court of E-anna consisted of the top administrators, scribes and elders. In the inquisition concerning debts and taxes, notarization of financial contracts and other legal services, the elders acted as witnesses, but, in trials, they served as jury. A defendant was forced to confession by the material evidence and witness testimony. The penalty was only monetary fines. Serious criminals in the city were escorted to Babylon for the trial, where Gobrys, the Persian governor of Babylon and Beyond the River (Syria) and his son, Nabugu, resided. Serious crimes, therefore, were beyond the jurisdiction of the civil court of E-anna.

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(Numbers following Neri-glissar, Nabonid, Cyrus, and Cambyses, refer to regnal years.)

Love, Passion and Reason: The Poet Fayzi and his *Nal-Daman*

MUZAFFAR ALAM and SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM

INTRODUCTION

One night in the late sixteenth century, the Mughal emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605) is said to have summoned his poet-laureate, Fayzi, to his presence. Fayzi had been at his own residence, sitting in a meditative frame of mind; and when the summons arrived, he naturally rushed to the court. But there was no great political crisis afoot. Instead, the emperor asked him why, as the poet-magician of the court, the flute of his pen did not produce a poetic fire and cast a new magic spell? In short, why, instead of addressing the staple question of love in general, did the poet not turn to the specifics of love as it happened in India (*dar Hend za 'eshq sar-gozasht-i ast*; Fayzi, 1987). The words of instruction that are put in Akbar's mouth by the poet are as follow, with not only the general theme, but the very specific example of a story that already had wide currency at that time:

*Now s̄āz fasāna-ye kohan rā,
'Eshq-e Nal o khubi-e Daman rā.
Tell that old tale anew,
Of the love of Nal and the beauty of Daman.
(...)
Sad naghma-ye dard dar sokhan riz
Dar sāghar-e now may-e kohan riz.
Make a hundred songs of pain into poetry,
Fill the fresh goblet with an old wine.*

Akbar suggested to the poet, moreover, that he should place all his arts at the service of this enterprise, of bringing alive a story in which love had reduced the lovers themselves into a burnt offering at the temple.

Of the two lovers' coquetry and submission (*nāz o niyāz*),
Carry gifts to the lovers' assembly.
See what love once was like in India (*dar Hend*),

the dagger-thrusts that drowned their hearts in blood.
 How those who played with love in this land,
 passed on with their hearts and livers shattered.
 How they burnt themselves in fire,
 How they became ashes in love's temple.

The present essay concerns the story of Nal and Daman, as set down in the late sixteenth century by Abu'l Fayz b. Mobārak, better known as Fayzi (also known at the end of his life as Fayyāzi). The text is in the verse-narrative form known as the *mathnavi*, and acquired great popularity among readers of Indian Persian, evidenced by numerous manuscripts in major collections both in India and abroad (11 in the Khuda Bakhsh Library in Patna, 13 at the Aligarh Muslim University Library, besides several in the Oriental and India Office Collections of the British Library, including the oldest extant manuscript dating to 1069/1658-59 [Fayzi, 1831, 1877, 1956, and 1982]). In a subsequent phase, and especially in the course of the nineteenth century (as Persian began to give way increasingly in northern India to Urdu), a number of authors also produced versions of the work in Urdu. These were not mere translations, however, but often represented significant transformations of the text of Fayzi, while still retaining a firm anchorage in Fayzi's masterpiece.

How did the story of Nal and Daman (or Nala and Damayanti), which we know both from the classical Indian tradition in Sanskrit and from the flourishing vernacular traditions of medieval India, come to pass into Persian at the Mughal court? (Shulman, 1994; idem, 2001, pp. 131-58; Wadley, 1999) In order to comprehend this, some broader historical trends need to be borne in mind, two salient aspects of which we have discussed elsewhere (Alam, 1998; idem, 2003). First, it should be noted that even if Persian had entered India as early as the tenth-eleventh centuries, still its dominance was not assured by the end of the fifteenth century, during the period of Afghan ascendancy in northern India. In both Delhi and the provinces, the main vernacular tongue of Hindavi had been given considerable encouragement by the Muslim sultans by this period, and we know that it was a contender as a language both of administration and culture at the time of the reign of the Lodis and Surs. After the rise of the Mughals, Persian was once more brought to the fore in the second half of the sixteenth century as a language of power and culture. As a result, the efflorescence of Hindavi in Northern India at least was stunted and its development delayed. Even the scriptures of Hindustan were translated into Persian in Akbar's time, and the relationship between Persian and Sanskrit was strengthened, bypassing

the vernaculars to an extent (e.g., the Sanskrit-Persian grammar of Krishna Das produced in Akbar's time). Stories that had been written in Hindavi and integrated into Indian Islam, such as the *Padmāvat* and *Madhumālātī* were brought back into Persian under Mughal patronage, with a marked moment of advance under Jahāngir (Phukan, 1996). Clearly, a new form of Indo-Persian literary synthesis was underway, and the question naturally arises in this context of how the Persian *mathnavi* looked at the time of Akbar. Here, it is important to bring out the significant role played by Fayzi, in his attempt to bring 'secular' stories into Persian, of which the Nal-Daman narrative is an example. A contrasting case of a 'secular' tale with a distinctly Indic flavour that was more or less invented rather than inherited from the Sanskrit classical tradition is provided by the *Suz o godāz*, of Fayzi's contemporary Mohammad-Rezā Naw'ī Khabushāni (Dawud and Coomaraswamy, 1912; Abidi, 1984; Sharma, forthcoming).

A second general issue relates to the relationship between the poetic domain and the interpretation of the political sphere. The fact that poetry may reflect as well as influence such political themes as 'tolerance' or 'bigotry' has long been recognised by historians of the Mughals. But Indian Persian poetry bears a far more complex relationship than this to the political domain. It may be argued that the older idea of equivocation (*ihām*) that was innovatively theorised by the fresh insights of Amir Khosrow of Delhi (d. 1325) in fact came to gain very wide applicability in Mughal times, being utilised on the one hand by Sufis, and on the other hand by writers of political treatises. This can equally be read from the *mathnavis* of Fayzi, on which we shall say more below. If, on the one hand, the Mughal poet reflects the prevailing mood of Akbar's period, it is equally clear that the poet had a part in both making and representing political ideals.

Who was Fayzi? Why was the Nal-Daman text written, and what is its place in the relationship between the poet and his patron, the Mughal emperor Akbar? Some succinct details of a biographical and genealogical nature may not be out of place here (Rahman, in *Elr.*, IX, pp. 457-59; Ansari in *EI*, II, pp. 870-72; Hadi, 1978, pp. 81-145). Fayzi's great-grandfather Shaikh Musā had migrated from Yemen to Sind in 900/1494, married and settled there. His son, Shaikh Kheẓr, then moved to Hindustan proper, where he settled in Nagaur in western Rajasthan, where he established extensive contacts with the local '*olamā*. Kheẓr's son was the celebrated Shaikh Mobārak, born in Nagaur in 911/1505-06. Kheẓr himself died in Sind, where he had returned for a visit. After his mother's subsequent death, Mobārak moved first to Gujarat, but was advised there to move on to the more significant political centre of Agra,

where he arrived in 950/1543-44, married into a respectable family and made his own *madrasa*. Mobārak had eight sons and four daughters through several marriages. Three of these sons stand out: Abu'l Fayz, Abu'l Fazl and Abu'l Khayr, the first of whom was born in Agra in on 5 Sha'bān 954/24 September 1547.

Known successively by the poetic names of Fayzi and Fayzi Fayyāzi (the latter adopted in the closing years of his life), Abu'l Fayz was educated largely by his father. In 974/1566-67, Fayzi and Mobārak reached the court through the intercession of some influential persons, possibly Akbar's foster-brother Mirzā 'Aziz Koka. Fayzi was successively given the post of tutor to the Mughal princes Salim, Morād and Daniyāl, and soon became close to Akbar himself. In 981/1573-74, the second brother Abu'l-Fazl was brought into the court on the recommendation of Fayzi, and became a major influence as chronicler and ideologue of the second half of Akbar's reign. In 990/1581, Fayzi himself was made *sadr* (head of the state ecclesiastical department) of Agra, Kalpi and Kalinjar, and in 993/1585, he participated in the anti-Yusufzā'i expedition to the northwest frontier of the Mughal domains. In 997/1588, Fayzi was given the title of *malek al-sho'rā*, or poet-laureate (the third poet to hold this title in the Mughal court), and in the same year, he accompanied Akbar to Kashmir, cementing his close relationship with the ruler. In 999/1590-91, he was sent to Khandesh and Ahmadnagar as Mughal envoy, and wrote a series of reports from there, dealing with the political and cultural conditions there, as well as the contemporary situation in Iran (Fayzi, 1973; Alam and Subrahmanyam, 2001). A few years after his return from this extended visit to the Deccan, he fell ill with asthma in 1003/1594-95 and died on 10 Safar 1004/5 October 1595 at Lahore; he was perhaps buried at first in the Ram Bagh at Agra, but was later transferred to another family mausoleum, near Sikandra.

We possess fairly extensive details on the poet's intellectual biography as well. Fayzi knew not only Arabic and Persian, but also Sanskrit. Among his other teachers (besides his own father) was Khwāja Hosayn of Marv (d. 1571-72), from whom he is reported to have received instruction in poetry-writing. While not notably orthodox in his religious beliefs, Fayzi was a particular devotee of the Cheshti Sufi Khwāja Farid al-Din Ganj-e Shakar. Amongst his contemporaries, he also had good relations with another major religious figure, 'Abd al-Haqq Mohaddeth Dehlavi. By the close of his career, Fayzi had attained the somewhat lowly rank of 400 within the Mughal *mansabdāri* system, but would nevertheless seem to have been a man of some means, with a very large personal library of some 4,600 volumes.

Ranked first among the poets of his age by an admittedly prejudiced observer, his own brother, Shaikh Abu'l-Fazl, Fayzi was equally praised for his technical skills by Mulla 'Abd al-Qāder Badāyuni, otherwise not necessarily a great admirer of his. Badāyuni wrote: "In many separate branches of knowledge, such as poetry, the composition of enigmas, prosody, rhyme, history, philology, medicine and prose composition, Shaikh Fayzi had no equal in his time" ('Abd al-Qadir Badayuni, 1990, III, pp. 411-12). At the same time, Shaikh Mobārak's past associations with the Mahdavis (during the reign of Eslām Shah Sur), his supposed leanings towards Shi'ism, and his growing closeness to Akbar, all did not augur well for a relationship between him and his sons, and the more orthodox-minded savants at the court. Thus, the other side of Badāyuni's judgement of Fayzi: "All Jews, Christians, Hindus, and fire-worshippers, not to speak of Nizaris and Sabahis, held him in the very highest honour for his heresy, his enmity to the followers of Islam, his reviling of the very fundamental doctrines of our faith, his contemptuous abuse of the noble companions [of the Prophet] and those who came after them" ('Abd al-Qadir Badayuni, 1990, III, pp. 411-12). This is a view that must undoubtedly be taken with a very large pinch of salt, but the text of the *Nal-Daman* does confirm that Fayzi was religiously liberal and tolerant, and particularly open to Cheshti Sufi ideals and vocabulary.

FAYZI TELLS THE TALE

When Fayzi was commissioned to present a Persian version of the Indian story of Nal and Daman, the resources before him were both ample and somewhat restricted. The poet conceived of the story as one of five *mathnavis* that he planned to write, but of which he completed only two before his premature death, namely the *Nal-Daman* (completed in Safar 1003/Oct.-Nov. 1594, a year before his death), and the *Markaz-e adwār*, which he was finishing in the last weeks of his life. The three other texts, namely *Solaymān va Belqis*, the *Haft keshvar*, and the *Akbar-nāma*, were never completed, though the first had certainly been begun as early as 996/1588 (Desai, 1963, pp. 25-27). The last project is a particularly intriguing one, for one may well wonder how precisely the poet would have adapted the *mathnavi* form to the ends of writing an account of the reign of Akbar. In embarking on this vast programme, Fayzi's ambition was quite clearly to make a statement that would extend beyond India to Iran and to the Persian-speaking world more generally, of which he believed himself to be a part. It is thus no coincidence that the formal model for *Nal-Daman* comes from Nezāmi's *Layli o Majnun*, in terms of the metrical scheme utilized as well as a number of other features;

similarly, the *Markaz-e adwār* was to correspond to Nezāmi's *Makhzan al-asrār*. But Fayzi also departed from received models, whether in his choice of metaphors, or in his capacity to draw on Indian cultural resources, as well as in terms of his own particular predilections, which took him in directions that separated him both from his Indian and Persian forbears. It has often been supposed that this is the first 'Indian' story composed in Persian *mathnavi* tradition. But this is not strictly true, with the misunderstanding perhaps arising from Badāyuni's description of the *mathnavi*. Amongst earlier texts, there is a short *mathnavi* on an Indian theme by Hasan Sejzi Dehlavi, in the fourteenth century (Siddiqi, 1979); and to an extent even Amir Khosrow's *Dewāl Rāni Khezr Khāni* can be classified as a predecessor to Fayzi's text. The major difference may be that Amir Khosrow was not drawing upon a major existing tradition; he was practically the first to write the Dewal Rani story, and thus had neither the same sorts of constraints nor the same options before him.

Existing scholarship has, in our view, been less than just to Fayzi's ambitious enterprise. The most recent histories of Persian literature in the Mughal court deal with the *mathnavi* rather summarily if they deal with it at all; since some of this scholarship is concerned with the problem of 'imitation' in the Mughal-Safavid poetic relationship, the *Nal-Daman* text clearly is of limited relevance to it (Losensky, 1998; Hasan, 1952). Scholars dealing with Fayzi as a poet have preferred to concentrate on his *divān*, and have for the most part given relatively short shrift to the *mathnavi* and its contents (Kirmani, 1985, pp. 26-35; Fayzi, 1967, 1983). On those relatively rare occasions when the *mathnavi* has attracted scholarly attention for its own sake, the main focus has been on the poetic quality of Fayzi as related to aesthetics and rhetorical traditions; some attempts have also been made to judge the 'Indianness' of the metaphors used in the text (Fayzi, 1987, editor's intro., pp. 1-94). The major departure from this, and indeed the single most significant work on the *Nal-Daman mathnavi*, comes from the pen of the late textual scholar and epigraphist Z.A. Desai, in a series of essays deriving from his earlier doctoral dissertation on the text (Desai, 1958, pp. 43-56; idem, 1958a, I, pp. 81-96; II, pp. 183-98). Besides the rhetorical and poetical aspects, Desai's main concern has been to identify the sources used by Fayzi, since his version seems to differ in some respects from the 'original' story in the *Mahābhārata*; the conclusion after extensive comparisons (including with a 17th-century version from Gujarat) remains somewhat ambivalent. Fayzi certainly knew the *Mahābhārata* of Vyasa, and had participated in the enterprise to edit the Persian version produced at Akbar's court under the direction of Mir Ghiyāth al-Din 'Ali Naqib Khan

Qazvini, sometimes entitled the *Razm-nāma*. Thus, any departure from this received version must be seen as deliberate, rather than based on ignorance or carelessness.

A particular consequence of Desai's approach (followed by some later writers as well), which aims at comparing the *Mahābhārata* story with Fayzi's version, is the near-inevitable conclusion that Fayzi may be a good poet but that he is a poor story-teller. He is thus charged with having 'missed' key elements, sacrificed character development for poetic effect, and introduced elements of incoherence into the story. What are the so-called 'defects' in Fayzi according to these authors? First, in his text the love between Nal and Daman begins without any proper explanation; no external reason is given for the fact that this love arises in their hearts. Second, on hearing of the beauty of Daman, the gods in the Ur-text start out to her *svayamvara* ceremony and meet Nal on the way. In Fayzi, the gods appear suddenly, without being introduced to the reader. Third, the reasons for Nal's decline and his misfortunes are linked in the Ur-text to the malevolent element Kali and Kali's influence (as also the rivalry between Kali and Nal), while this explanation is left out in Fayzi. A number of other such elements can be added to this. The perseverance and bravery of Daman when she is abandoned is not extensively brought out in the Fayzi text. Fayzi's Daman thus allegedly does not have the powerful character of the earlier version (perhaps because he sees her as the beloved, *ma 'shuq*, and not the lover, *'āsheq*).

Such a method by which a later version is constantly measured against an Ur-text is familiar to us from a number of contexts, and no doubt has its own merits. Our attempt here, however, will largely be to assess the text on Fayzi's own terms, to see what he is in fact trying to achieve by his version. We will argue that Fayzi's purpose is in fact quite different from that of earlier writers, namely to suggest that love (*'eshq*), especially love among kings, can be meaningful only when it is tempered. When love becomes excessive, it can only lead to disaster, for this is the inevitable consequence of the neglect of the intellect (*'aql*) and of notions of equilibrium that are crucial both for kingship and social order. This can be seen as the development in an Indo-Persian context of the heritage of reflection from a far earlier Hellenic milieu concerning frenzy and *hubris*, which lead ineluctably to destruction; and we are aware that both Fayzi and Abu'l-Fazl drew often upon such Hellenic materials for philosophical reflection. But it is also interesting to note that the schema in Fayzi's case is not wholly deterministic; one can still pull back from the brink and return to a state of equilibrium.

The story proper begins only after a very extensive set of prefatory remarks: praise of God (*hamd*), followed by a very long two-part praise

of the Prophet (*na't*), and then praise of the emperor Akbar (Fayzi, 1987). It enters into the *mise en scène* that we have already rehearsed at the outset: Akbar's summoning of Fayzi, his suggestion of the theme, the poet's mix of interest and trepidation at the enterprise that was before him. Indeed, Fayzi reports that he found the task particularly challenging: How could he produce a poem that would both reduce its readers to tears and bring fresh life to them, cause them to suffer by bringing alive old wounds, while renewing them at the same time? How could he reduce pain itself to tears, making the ache in the heart itself ache? This was surely asking too much, the poet-laureate thought, and scarcely the sort of thing that one could simply pick up a pen and write. Yet, there was no option left to the poet, for how could he refuse the demands of an emperor whose orders (*farmān*) reached up to the very sky, and to whom the stars themselves submitted and bowed down? The poet hence agreed to take on the task. His model was clear from the start, namely the great Persian poet Nezāmi Ganjavi (c. 1141-1209).

When the ebb and flow of this verse reach Laylā,
 She'll transform her anklets into chains.
 When this magic is heard by Majnun,
 He'll even forget Laylā herself.
 Let me arrange a new fire-temple.
 Let me tell of the love of idol and Brahmin (*bot o barhaman*).

This is a key set of terms that will recur time and again in the text, and which perhaps require some explanation. The role of the 'idol' (*bot* < Buddha, but also *sanam*), is a complex one in the Indo-Persian poetry of the time. The lover is usually portrayed in terms of this metaphor as the worshipper of the idol, in a powerful device that plays with the idea of religious infidelity; an alternative mode is to present the beloved as an infidel (*kāfer*). Once the metaphor of the 'idol' has been worked into the structure of a poem, a series of other possibilities opens up, namely the references to the beloved's residence as a temple or idol-house and to rivalry in terms of iconoclasm (the smashing of other idols etc). The drive is very clearly to turn what is an eminently negative lexical item in an orthodox vocabulary on its head, and the role of the poet is both to provoke and to invert. To be an 'idol' in Persian poetry is thus no bad thing, whatever the use religious orthodoxy puts the same term to; but the consciousness that another (negative) use of the term exists is also necessary to give the term its full piquancy. In his own use of metaphors impregnated with 'Indian' local colour, Fayzi does not stop at the *bot* and *sanam*, but goes much further. The play between the Indian world of the

Brahmin and his sacred thread (*zonnār*), and the classical Persian world of Laylā and Majnun is thus clear from the start, as indeed is the relationship between the linguistic worlds and registers that are to be played with.

Let me combine the melody (*āhang*) of the Indian voice,
 With the sound of instruments from Pahlavi and Dari.
 Let me take my suffering's candle
 And ignite it at the fire-temples of Fars.
 We shall take our thoughts to the Iranians,
 And offer this fire to them in gift.

This is an integral part of Fayzi's conception of matters, for his audience is not only within India, but embraces the larger Persian-speaking world, including Safavid Iran. At the very end of the poem, he returns to this theme, speaking of how he has brought together the patterns of Ganja (native place of Nezāmi), with the ideas of Delhi, and erected an idol-house which is still accessible to the intelligent reader who is not immersed in matters Indian. This is his idea then of a new style, where the best of India and Iran will be combined to fresh effect.

This breath is not for petty people,
 And this flask too dear for bargain-hunters.
 This liquor will go to the head,
 For it's distilled from Indian sugar.

What then is the central theme so far as Fayzi is concerned? As briefly noted above, it is love (*'eshq*), a fact that he makes clear in the opening sections of the text proper. Some ten pages are devoted to this theme, before we enter into the narrative proper (Fayzi, 1987, pp. 143-54). To develop this theme, he uses a series of deft oppositions, including a particularly crucial initial one between *'eshq* and *'aql*. Though Fayzi is an avowed partisan of the intellect, he notes that at least initially he will suppress his own inclinations, placing his foot on the head of intellect in order to declaim a sermon in praise of love.

Love shimmers like a thousand flames,
 While intellect is like a thousand damp cotton-pieces,
 O intellect! You may have a thousand lives,
 But for now, remain silent.
 In love's presence, stand up and pay respect.
 Love is an emperor without weapons.

Love is a king even in the midst of ruins.
 Its buried treasures may be found deep in the desert.
 Its wealth may be found even in an empty hand.
 Passion is its fighting-force,
 Tears are the guardians of its court.

And so the poet concludes, pressing the paradox to its logical end:

A hundred seditions may arise while love is seated,
 A hundred victories concealed in defeat here.
 (...)
 On the soil of annihilation stands its throne,
 The dark of night is its lamp of fortune.
 (...)
 To thrive here is the same as ruination,
 While failure here is success itself.

Having developed his first contrast between '*eshq* and '*aql*, Fayzi now moves to a new opposition, that between '*eshq* and *hosn* (beauty). Love is vulnerable and ever-seeking, whereas beauty is distant, refuses to engage, and is altogether remarkable for its indifference. Beauty fires arrows, and love is wounded; beauty is the flame and love the moth. Yet when '*eshq* attains its height, it is no mean force either; it can melt iron, and even beauty becomes prepared, however reluctantly, to praise it. At this moment, love and beauty can be one. Eventually, the roles of captor and captured are reversed; beauty comes to be captured by love, and the two come together like wine in a glass or melody on the string. Not only this: the place of '*eshq*, writes Fayzi, is all the more marked in India, a land that seems to have a particular gift or aptitude in his view for love.

This fire is aflame in Hind,
 For it's here that the sun really blazes.
 I've heard of love in 'Arab and 'Ajam
 But in Hind I'll tell of what I've seen.
 I'll draw you such a picture in this book
 That you'll feel you've seen what you hear.

In Hind, writes Fayzi, insisting once more on his point, both moth and flame are burnt, and it is not as if one is burnt in the other as is so often the case elsewhere. The old distinction between *ma'shuq* and '*āsheq*, beloved and lover, partly dissolves in this context. And once more

Fayzi's latent patriotism (in the old-fashioned sense of the term) for Hind rises to the fore.

This wine is not for the common gathering.
This intoxication is in Hind, and Hind alone.

The comparison with other places in the world such as the Arab lands, Iran and even Armenia (referring to the cases of Majnun, Khosrow, Parviz and Farhād) can hence only be unfavourable to them, as Hind alone is the place where Fayzi finds all virtues relating to the real meaning and content of love. This is applicable not only to love in the abstract, but to certain rather concrete elements within the play of love; for the Indian beloved (idols in the plural here, *sanamān*) too has some very special qualities.

Their bloodshot eyes, both daggers and salt-merchants,
How can the intellect dare face up to them?

This takes us to the third of the contrasts which Fayzi employs to construct his secondary level of frames, and which appear to be the key to the construction of the text as a whole. This is the oppositional relationship and tension between *'eshq* and *jonun* (or frenzy), that excessive state to which love can lead. For, if love is a tree, frenzy represents the flowers and fruit that grow on it. Now, in the normal state of things, writes Fayzi, only the intellect can control love. But when love bares itself and stretches out its arms, such is its power that the intellect falls tumbling into its grave. Love then becomes completely out of control, recognising neither the emperor nor the dervish. Yet, even so all hope is not lost. When one moves from profane love (*'eshq-e majāzi*) to true love (*'eshq-e haqiqi*), one can still try and carry the river of love to its true destination, namely the Sea of Divine Love. This temporal love is then like a sort of interim step, a purgatory before entering into reality. Here, Fayzi moves effortlessly into a Sufi vocabulary, exhorting his reader to search for true beauty, namely that which is beyond and which is eternal, rather than that which one finds on this earth. He states that he too is a *'āsheq*, but only in that other sense, namely as a Sufi who is searching for the other Reality. We are hence left with an ambiguous feeling. Is Fayzi in favour of *'eshq*, as one might think from a first reading, or actually reticent about it? Is his method not one of praising love as a deft tactic, only to reinstate the place of the intellect? These issues emerge more clearly as we pass from this extended first section to the narrative itself.

ONCE UPON A TIME IN THE DECCAN

Fayzi, like his brother Abu'l Fazl, was something of a traveller, though neither one actually set foot outside India so far as we know. The most famous of Fayzi's travels was in the capacity of Mughal ambassador to the Deccan, where his task was to browbeat a variety of subordinate or inferior rulers into accepting their 'proper' place in the Mughal-centred world (Alam and Subrahmanyam, 2001). It is thus appropriate that the story of Nal and Daman does not take place in the heartland of Hindustan but farther to the south, in an area that the poet knew from first-hand experience. The narrative proper begins as follows:

Dibāchanegār-e hosn-e āfāq
Dastānzan-e dāstān-e 'oshshāq
Mastāna ba khāma-ye fosunsāz
Zin guna ba khun negārad in rāz.

The painter of the face of universal beauty,
 The singer of lovers' tales,
 Intoxicated, with a magical pen,
 Thus writes secrets out in blood.

The poem then continues, throwing in some geographical detail to allow the reader to situate and contextualise the tale:

That in the country of Hind was a king,
 A handsome black-eyed man,
 A ruler with a huge army,
 The land of Ujjain was his capital.
 He was a king known as Nal and amongst kings,
 He was proverbial for courtesy (*mardomi*) like the pupil in the eye.
 A wise king, and awe-inspiring,
 Sage and brimful with reason.

Nal's qualities are now listed out: he was brave, generous, lion-like in battle, but was also an incomparable host in wine-filled evenings. The world at large benefited from his justice (*dād*), while, at the same time, his intellect had resolved problems of fate (*bakht*) in the world. In sum, the image of Nal that we have from Fayzi is not altogether dissimilar from the manner in which he might present his own patron, Akbar, in other contexts. The resemblance does not stop there. Just as Akbar was celebrated for his fondness for the elephants in his stable, which he

reputedly knew individually by name and appearance, Nal here (as in the *Mahābhārata*) is noted for his fondness for and expert knowledge of horses.

Nal is famed besides for his boundless wealth, and his court is full of wise courtiers and advisers. It was their habit to tell him stories as part of the daily court-routine, in which two of the major themes treated were inevitably those of love and beauty. Everything so far is perfectly normal, as it might be in the Mughal court; the minor detail that the king prefers not to read but rather to have things read out to him, confirms his resemblance to the poet's model, namely Akbar. Fayzi suggests that Nal had heard so many stories of love over the years that he was somewhat fearful of having the same happen to him and fall prey to the malady. Yet, when the time came, he could not prevent it. One day, all of a sudden, Nal is possessed by love. His sentiments are confused and inexplicable. He wonders what has happened as he is at first unable to diagnose his own problem, the symptoms of which are anxiety and a sense of helplessness. Something seems to have happened to him in his sleep. Yet, how could this have transpired? How could bandits have stolen into his treasury in spite of all the guards (in the form of the intellect) that have busily been patrolling all around? Nal has a sense that some sentiment of commotion (*fetna*) has been introduced into his blood, as if his house has been set on fire, as if he has been stabbed by a dagger, or as if he has been given a debilitating drug of some sort. After reflecting for a while, he wonders if this is an attack of '*eshq*' (Fayzi, 1987, p. 163). He then addresses his courtiers, urging them through their wisdom to discover a remedy for the state in which he finds himself. Daman has not even appeared so far in the story, nor is there the least mention of her. Simply, spontaneously, like a self-generating 'sleeper' virus whose time has come to corrupt the hard disk of the royal interior, '*eshq*' has appeared in the ruler's heart. Here then is a specific characteristic of the story as Fayzi tells it. No images, words or external stimuli are needed. The potential for '*eshq*' lies full-blown, as it were, in everyone's interior; it is only a question of when it comes out.

The chief minister, greatly alarmed, calls in a major physician, asking him to diagnose the malady. The doctor takes Nal's hand, and also calls for some of the usual pathological samples that are employed in the Greek (*Yunāni*) medicine of Fayzi's time. The poem continues:

Nal said: "O foolish doctor!
 Don't diagnose my illness like this.
 Haven't you heard of the heart's fevers?
 What's the use of lancing the vein of frenzy?"

Look to my turbulent heart,
 And throw that urine-sample in the fire.
 My heart's phial is filled with blood,
 Inspect it and ask why it's so."

The doctor is totally nonplussed by this demand, and reports his own discomfiture and incompetence in the matter to the minister. The king whose intellect had reached the very sky, the doctor declares, is now a victim of the fire of youth. It is clear that *'eshq* is at work, he states, and this has now gone beyond the normal course of love to attain the turbulence of frenzy (*jonun*). The only remedy can be in finding a beautiful young woman. The minister approaches the king, and tries to confirm the diagnosis that has been offered. Nal is still lucid enough to offer him advice. Though a great hunter, he states, he has himself somehow been entrapped and wounded. It is hence decided that an interim solution will be for the courtiers to gather and recount various sorts of stories of love to him, in the hope that a solution will somehow emerge from this discursive engagement. A group of the closest courtiers is constituted, and each of them offers him a tale from one or the other place. This has no visible effect on Nal, however. At length, one courtier states that rather than recount a story from the past, he will offer him something from the present time. If a solution is to be found, it cannot be in terms of the old, but of contemporary events. His tale hence concerns the land of the Deccan, a notable source of commotion (*fetnakhiz*), where a great turbulence has arisen in recent times.

A magical idol, a charming idol,
 Has destroyed patience the world over.
 A flower-like face, lovely, Daman by name,
 Her tresses have cast a net on the garden.
 Her intoxicated eyes like an Indian idol's temple,
 The very idols of Hind worship her.
 Hundreds of Brahmins are bathed in their blood,
 When she visits the temple, idols shatter.
 Her palace has set Somnath aflame,
 The idols of her time have rent their sacred threads.

The praise continues verse after verse, with the same bitter-sweet vocabulary where the iconoclasm of the past (Mahmud of Ghazna's raids on Somnath had clearly not been forgotten in the Mughal court) is brilliantly redeployed to a quite different end. For this Deccani princess is the very epitome of physical beauty; when she speaks, it is at once

sweet and salty, and her mouth and teeth are no less to the poet than a pistachio-nut filled with almonds. The contrast with the normal fair beauty of the Iranian *mathnavi*'s heroine is also clear; for the Indian princess is both dark and beautiful, and thus both salty and sweet "as if in sugar-candy one had thrown in some brackish salt", with the salt perhaps being that dark variety common in India. This dark beauty has so far been protected from the public gaze, and only her mirror knows her image well. Yet, rumours of Daman have begun to spread far and wide, so that she is known now over the seven climes. All sorts of kings are thus ready to marry her. Nal listens to this elaborate description with rapt attention. At length, he lets out a heartfelt groan, as if he now understands the real reason for his sickness. This princess must be the reason for his state, it is her tresses that have troubled him, her arrows that have entered his heart, though he has had no contact, direct or indirect, with Daman. But the knowledge that his love now has a concrete object with a geographical location does not provide any answer to the malady. Rather, the knowledge is like oil on a fire, which makes it burn all the more fiercely. Nal grumbles and reproaches the story-teller for having opened his wound even deeper. But, in spite of all this, he wants to know even more, to worsen his own situation even further as it were. The friend and courtier now come out with further details concerning Daman, notably the circumstances attending her birth.

So it turns out that there was a king at a place called Bidar in the Deccan, further south from Ujjain. However, his wife was barren, and he was really quite despondent as a result. But he could not marry again, for he did not dare to share his bed with two women. This would be like having two kings on a throne or two moons in the sky. All sorts of other solutions were hence sought, but all to no avail. At length, someone told the king that there was another king living in his lands, having renounced the world and become a *faqir*. This man was bereft of all worldly possessions but still had the mighty power of his asceticism. The king decided to meet him, and ask for his advice and perhaps a boon. The king went barefoot to see the ascetic monarch who was living in a desert clime (the parallel with Akbar's visits to the shrine of the Sufi saint Mu'in al-Din Cheshti at Ajmer could not have been missed by readers at the Mughal court). The dervish, who was endowed with all sorts of wisdom, gave the king the following advice (Fayzi, 1987, p. 178).

Know that of Divine Power
Kingship is a majestic shadow.
It's a pillar that holds up the sky,
And this shadow is safe in your light.

May you keep your high place,
Yet sit on your throne humbly.

Having uttered these words of a rather general nature, in order to begin his advice, the royal sage reflected for a while on the nature of power and its place in the world, as well as the dependence of kings on saints and ascetics. He then went on:

When you prepare to enter the field of battle,
Humble yourself, for victory comes from within.
If you break someone's heart,
That will be your own defeat.

Then follows a verse on the need for generosity, which is also taken to be a key attribute of kingship.

Today, when your wine is in ferment,
Don't forget those whose lips are dry.
When you're lost in the pleasures of the feast,
Throw a drop or two on the ground.

This is explained through the metaphor of the king as a sort of inn-keeper, ministering to the people (*khalq*).

Your land is like an inviting table,
The seated people are your guests.
Be ever prepared to throw a feast,
Strive constantly as a host to please.

Framed within the text, and placed in the mouth of this royal sage, is a condensed version of Fayzi's views of kingship, in which the king must give, indeed give more than what God has given him. For, unless the king gives with generosity, the shower of wealth from above will not favour him either. But the attributes of a king go beyond this, and extend outside simple material giving to a real empathy with his subjects.

Keep your hands ever open, and also your heart,
And thus open the seals of both treasures.

But the crucial point is to follow. In all this feasting, and generosity, in the midst of this seeming hedonism, the king should never lose his equilibrium. Thus, while being intoxicated (*mast*), and dancing on the

roof, the ruler should make sure that his foot does not slip and bring him tumbling down.

When you beat the drum from the rooftops,
Remember that dawn brings remorse.
Sing in such harmony with others,
That your song brings them no grief.

This seems likely to be a reflection of the characteristic Akbari motif of universal peace (*solh-e koll*), a recipe for a sort of social harmony mediated by royal power, of which we also find powerful reflections in the writings of others in Akbar's court, notably Fayzi's own brother, Shaikh Abu'l Fazl. In this passage of royal advice, the ruler must combine harmony with firmness, never hesitating to intervene when he feels there that an offence (*jorm*) is being committed. For the key quality for a king is neither his genealogy, nor his wealth, but his justice; it is thus that he may hope to be perceived favourably by the people at large. The king does not become great by impeding the caravan's passage or seeking to tax it, but rather by helping it on its way with his generosity.

When conversing, listen to others.
When acting, seek the middle path.

These passages can be linked to others, regarding the idea of balance and harmony *tawāzon* and *e 'tedāl*), often contrasted in the literature on statecraft (*akhlāq*) to other notions such as excess (*eḥrāt*) and shortfall (*tafrīt*). The ideal ruler then must understand that to have power is a reflection of his own good fortune, and hence make it his duty to be governed constantly by his intellect (*kherad*, a notion very close to that of *'aql*).

When you're at home, be aware of the outside,
That bazaar-gossip about you may reach your ears.

Rather than a simple dependence on a small coterie of advisers, the king must have a broader awareness of his public image and of reflections on his kingship on the part of the people at large. For isolation is the bane of kings, and even of courtiers. The message here begins to assume portentous dimensions. For the royal sage's advice comes within a second frame; this whole episode is being narrated to a sick Nal by one of his own courtiers who is trying to cheer him up. The irony that this advice will be disregarded in the future by Nal is one that must not be

lost on the reader. The section closes with a last passage concerning the real end of kingship, namely to be remembered in favourable terms by the subjects over whom one has ruled.

May your acts be such that when you've departed,
The world sounds the bugle of mourning.

These words were both sweet and bitter to the king, says Fayzi, as all such advice must be. Having said this, the royal sage, who had (even without words) by now understood the real reason for the other king's presence before him, gave him two oranges and an apple, hinting that these souvenirs (*tohfa ba yādgār*) would yield him two sons and a daughter. With a few last words of advice, they then took leave of each other. The king returned to his palace and, the following year, a son was born to his queen, by which means the problem of the succession was solved. A second son was born the next year; and when the third year was almost completed, a daughter was born, presumably from the apple rather than the oranges. Now, since this daughter was incredibly beautiful, the king took her at once to see the dervish once more, and seek his blessings. The royal sage was pleased to see the lovely baby girl, and spoke some words on her future. He also read her horoscope (*fāl*), and gave her the name of Daman (Fayzi, 1987, p. 183). This, explained the courtier to Nal, was the same girl whose fame had spread far and wide, causing commotion the world over. His advice to Nal then was that he too should attempt to capture her hand, even though a vast number of competitors and rival royal suitors existed in the enterprise.

THE COURSE OF LOVE

A new section of the text now begins, devoted to the condition of Nal, once his love-sickness has been thoroughly diagnosed. To begin with, Nal blames love itself, and berates it for having made him its victim. Why can't he simply be left alone, instead of being besieged in his own house? The tone changes in a second phase. He realises that love is not such an unmitigated evil after all. In a part-ironic but part-sincere fashion, Nal congratulates love for having taken over his life, and having brought spring to his garden, as it were. Then, in a third phase, Nal addresses an imaginary Daman, whom he has only heard of.

O candle of mine, where are you?
O destroyer of my house, where are you?
Sight unseen, you plunged a sword in my breast,

O heartless one! You didn't even regret it.
 Who strikes a king like me with a sword?
 Who fires an arrow at a moon like me?
 Your wound in my heart has rendered me ill,
 From the very first day, the blood keeps flowing.

These verses take the familiar tack of blaming the beloved, who is seen as heartless, but who must nevertheless be asked for mercy. This suffering is, however, not to be in vain. For Nal is convinced that his destiny is now forever intertwined with that of Daman, even if the contrast is between his own miserable state and the indifference and (imagined) mirth of Daman.

These are not just boasts from my tongue,
 For I'm a Veda-reciting Brahmin,
 So far, I've depended on my idols,
 But now I worship you, not them.

This is the usual trope of the idol, but literalised beyond the usual limits. There is thus never an attempt in the text to transform Nal's identity, or to present him as anything else other than an idol-worshipper (*botparast*). In fact, one may even say that the poet takes a certain pleasure in playing constantly with metaphors relating to idols, Brahmins and temples, which lend themselves to a parallel with the relationship between lover and beloved. At the same time, in Fayzi's view, the problems of kingship are universal, and have nothing to do with whether the king is a Muslim or not. The advice given by the royal sage could be the advice given by a Sufi to a Mughal ruler, and the problems of finding both social balance and empathy with the ruled are universal problems that call for universal solutions, expressed naturally in the vocabulary of Persian poetry.

Fayzi's mastery is evident here in his capacity to move from the register of advice and abstract political reflection to virtuoso love-poetry, such as the verses when Nal contrasts his own state with that of Daman (we must admit that our flat translation does not come close to the flavour of the original).

Without you, I weep tears of blood,
 And how do you respond?
 Without you, my eyelashes are in the dust,
 While you sleep on a coquette's bed.
 Without you, my eyes drip blood,

While you smile in the flower-garden.

Thus far, however, the asymmetric nature of the relationship between the beloved and lover is stressed, though there are hints that the pain may be on both sides. Nal suggests this himself in a line towards the end of the section.

Those who speak of love,
Say it arises on both sides.

This is of course perfectly prescient, for Fayzi informs us soon enough that meanwhile in the Deccan, Daman is undergoing the same pangs and torments. On the very night that love entered Nal's heart, Daman too became restless while lying on her bed. It turns out that the beloved and the lover are in fact sharing a more or less symmetric moment.

The burning of desire and heartache,
Is like the same wine poured at once in two glasses.
Like the same note sounded from two different keys,
The same intoxication in two different spots.
The torment that love induced in the lover,
the beloved welcomed as her guest.
The bell the lover tolled in grief,
Echoed in the beloved's heart.

In her suffering and perplexity, Daman asks herself in turn what the reason for this unease and suffering could be. Whose sorrow and lamentation is causing her heart to melt? The relationship thus has a causal direction. In the first place, love enters Nal's heart while he is unaware. His suffering begins, with the laments that we have listed. It is this lamentation, based on a sort of spontaneous combustion, that then causes Daman to suffer. Thus, even if their suffering is symmetric (or at least more so than we might have suspected), it is clear that in this section the woman's love is to an extent derivative. This is in contrast to other versions, and reflects Fayzi's own mild preference for a story in which the male character dominates. Daman has been seized, as it were, by Nal's love, as we see in the following verse (that forms part of Daman's reflection).

Whose love now walks with me?
In whose grasp has my wrist fallen?

Daman, no less than Nal, is able soon enough to find out who is responsible for her state, and who is playing on the strings of her heart. Having discovered his identity, she then makes an imaginary portrait (*naqsh*) of her lover, by way of consolation. This portrait she keeps in her private chambers, and explains it away to her slaves and companions by saying that it is an idol that she worships. But the whole palace has become alarmed, thinking that she has fallen ill and has to be cured. Daman's friends and servants take it upon themselves to go and explain matters to the queen, her mother, and her obsession with the portrait thus comes to the attention of her parents. The king calls in his confidants and ministers and begins to discuss the matter. What could he do in order to solve the problem and the potential scandal that might result? The royal family (*dudmān-e shāhi*) was particularly vulnerable to rumours that might spread. On the other hand, if he were brutally to suppress the love, he would be criticised by his people as well. These discussions in the palace go on for some time, and no quick decision can be arrived at. The king and queen attempt to bring their daughter around, but their sage advice is to no avail. Daman protests that it is not her fault; it is Nal who is the cause of all her problems. She for her part declares that she is so innocent that she had not even stepped outside the palace, and so it was surely he who should be seen as responsible.

Meanwhile, Nal is seated in his garden disconsolate, when one day he sees some exotic and beautiful birds. He manages to trap one of them in a net with the help of a slave, and finds out that it is from Sri Lanka (Sarandip). The trapped bird is brought before Nal in a cage, and when it appears begins to speak with the voice of a small child.

O broken-hearted and dejected one,
 Your own bird is caught in a lovely net.
 My wings are already like a cage,
 So why close the doors of this other prison ?
 Here I cry in one cage,
 And over it you've placed yet another.
 I too have an idol, my life's very breath,
 I've been left here, and she's flown away.
 I'm burning in fire from separation,
 The freedom of one is the cage of the other.

These pathetic lines of the captured bird draw parallels between its own fate and that of Nal. The bird pleads moreover with the king not to treat it as any hunter would; if he is released, he will surely be able to

serve Nal in one or the other way. To this Nal replies in tones of wonder mixed with scepticism. For how could this small bird ever be of any use to him? The bird replies that he is no ordinary creature. He knows a thousand stories, and has seen myriad things. The frenzy of lovers is not unknown to him, and he is well acquainted with the tricks employed by the beloved as well. The bird is an accomplished conversationalist and poet, and besides is even highly literate, to the point of being able to read the words of both humans and even gods (*pari*, literally 'fairies'). Here then is an offer to intercede with Daman. All Nal has to do is to put his thoughts down in a secret letter (*khatt*), accompanied by an oral message (*payghām*) that the bird himself would carry. Nal now takes the bird to the edge of a nearby stream, draws out a pen and writes a 'letter of separation' (*ferāq-nāma*), in which each word drips with pain. The letter begins as follows:

From Nal to Daman.

O idol more beautiful than those from China!

Who's broken a thousand times into Somnath.

It then continues with a mixture of direct praise and praise-through-blame, extolling her beauty, but also reproaching her for having spread commotion and confusion through the entire world on account of her unbearable beauty. After a score of verses in this vein, the letter goes on to declare Nal's love for her, love that has him lying drunk from her liquor, weak to the point of having been reduced to a hair in thinness. The only way of curing him would be to meet her. But rather than such a solution, it appears to him that matters are going from bad to worse, and that his suffering is growing with every passing moment. These elaborate verses are once more a sort of virtuoso performance on Fayzi's part, as he develops a theme by repeatedly using the same alliterative structures. Beyond the despair and the lamentation, there eventually emerges a concrete proposition. For Nal tells Daman, he is no ordinary man, and what he desires is union with her. If he has written this letter in blood, it is in the hope she will respond. The letter then closes as follows:

This letter that tells the tale of love's sorrow

Is also a bouquet of the spring of love.

This letter which carries the secret of my heart

Is Nal's supplication to Daman.

The fresh song that travels here,

Carries a hundred heartaches in each cry.

Those who can grasp the point of words
 Can make a book from each letter.
 Hark to the sound of this bell,
 And my excuses for this long-windedness.

Having completed the letter with this rather prosaic anti-climax, Nal sprinkles some amber on it by way of perfume. He then gives additional oral instructions to the bird, on how he is to salute Daman, and what precisely he is to say to her. There is no real need to reply to the letter he adds, for a meeting alone would suffice. Having said this, Nal then blows on the ink with his heavy sighs, ties the letter up with strings and knots that parallel his accumulated travails, and places it under the bird's wing. The bird now sets out with this secret letter (*nāma-ye rāz*), which is equally a love-letter (*nāma-ye 'eshq*). Flying over mountains and deserts, the bird is soon accompanied on his way by many others. Presently, he reaches Daman's palace and sits down on a corner of the roof. First, he inspects the living apartments in order to have a first glimpse of her in a garden. Then, he descends slowly near her, still accompanied by the other birds. Daman is soon attracted by these birds, with their magical quality. She therefore throws a piece of her headcloth at them, in an attempt to catch at least one of the birds. But the messenger-bird keeps retreating, drawing Daman into a corner. It is only when they reach an edge of the garden, far both from the other birds and Daman's companions, that the bird begins to speak, using those poetic words which he has mastered so well. He is no ordinary bird, he declares, but love itself, as well as a messenger of love. This secret is tied under his wing. Having delivered this first morsel, he leaps up onto Daman's hand. His seductive talk now continues, but he also makes it clear that the letter comes from none other than Nal, "the cypress-tree of the spring of youth."

Daman falls to the ground, intoxicated by these words. When she recovers, she signals to her companions to move away, so that she can speak to the bird alone under a real cypress-tree. Presently, she opens the letter and begins to read it. Each word in it strikes her as fiery, capable of melting the intellect. Still, she reads it from beginning to end, enchanted by both the words and the verses it contains. Daman at once begins to compose a letter in response. This letter commences as follows, rather differently from Nal's missive.

I begin my letter in the name of God,
 The one who has lit the lamp of purpose,

and continues with several lines in praise of the Almighty. After these lines of introduction, the letter addresses Nal directly, as the “emperor of the age” (*shahanshah-e zamāna*).

Salutations to Nal from Daman,
From my eyes a message to your heart.

The letter she has received, Daman writes, is not only itself full of frenzied passion (*jonun*), but has also called up the same passion in her. Her state is thus no better than his, to the point that she has made his portrait and constantly gazes upon it. Torn between hope and fear, she is now being reviled by all those around her. Her parents are much distressed, and her lovesick cries have sown confusion in her surroundings. Daman declares that she would gladly fly and join him, but that this is impossible in the present circumstance. In fact, she is closed within the four walls of her house, in seclusion (*pardaneshin*). He, on the other hand, is free, so that the initiative to a large extent must vest with him. The letter alternates between moments of despair and hope and exhilaration. Daman notes, for example, that her horoscope is a fine one, and so things can only turn out well. She concludes with the statement that she is prepared to meet him, and is indeed most eager to do so. All in all, this letter is rather less elaborate than that sent by Nal, perhaps something less of a literary *tour de force*. Once it has been completed, Daman seals it with her eyes, and perfumes it with her tresses. Then, taking a piece of her tresses, she ties the letter up and once more gives it to the bird. The letter is hence carried once more by this ‘bird of love’ (*tāyer-e ‘eshq*).

Now, this exchange of letters can hardly be kept a secret for long. Daman’s father, learning of it, calls in the astrologers and asks for their advice. Brahmins are sent out to spread the good news that Daman’s marriage is to be fixed. Only royal suitors, with a good family and character, are to apply. The time and date are stated when these suitors are to appear. When this news spread, all the rulers of the world decide to come and try their luck; even some of the Indian gods (*parizād*) think they should try their hand, and seduce Daman who is to go about with a flower-garland in her hand, looking for a suitable suitor amongst those who have assembled. This sort of festival, Fayzi notes, is common enough in India, and goes by the name of *saimbar* (that is, Sanskrit *svayamvara* “marriage by the choice of the bride”). All the preparations are thus made, and Nal too decides to make his way there.

The next section of the text describes Nal’s march towards Bidar, the place where the wedding is to be held (Fayzi, 1987, p. 221). He sets

out from Ujjain, scattering coins and pearls all along the way, and accompanied by thousands of elephants. These verses carry the same flavour as if the poet were describing the advance of the victorious Mughal armies from one spot to another.

Hundreds of way-stations were gilded with carpets,
 Hundreds of caravans were laden with Chinese silks,
 With wine and savouries in sack after sack,
 And perfumes from China and Tartary.

Beautiful women in the party are carried on elephants, but concealed behind silken veils. Fast Arab horses accompany the procession too, which is compared to springtime itself on the move. Nal thus rapidly reaches the town of Bidar, and settles his camp there. Other princes are there too, a huge throng of them. Daman for her part is looking impatiently out of the window of her palace, in order to catch a glimpse of Nal amongst her many suitors. But even if she has an imaginary portrait, she is still trembling with fear, thinking that she might just make a mistaken choice and have to live with it. The tension mounts. A test remains to be passed, having to do with the pagan gods who have shown up at the competition.

Nal stood there intoxicated (*madhush*),
 Under a rose-tree's shadow, restless like fermenting wine.
 She came and looked at both sides of the throng,
 Where it seemed the moon and stars had come out.
 In great desire, she glanced at Nal,
 Handsome and graceful beyond compare.
 At that spot were two or three gods,
 Tricksters and sons of devils,
 Who, hearing of Daman's beauty,
 Had their own eyes on her.
 A beauty that had drawn gods,
 And cast a spell on magicians.

These Indian gods (*pari-nezhādān*, which Iranian readers should not mistakenly understand – we must insist – to be mere 'fairies') have the secret desire to acquire Daman for themselves, and have been waiting for this day. They also know that she and Nal are secretly in correspondence, and that she is going to seek him out. So, they transform themselves in such a way that each of them looks identical to Nal. How is she to find out which of them is the real Nal? Daman hence prays to the real God (as

distinct from these false ones): “O God (*Yā Rabb*), reveal the secret of this mystery to me, and show me what is real.” A divine beam of light appears, accompanied by a voice which says: “Know that there are three signs of the gods (*pari*). They never blink, their feet do not touch the ground, and their bodies cast no shadow.” Armed with this knowledge, Daman is now easily able to recognise the real Nal. Smiling, she approaches and garlands him, while the others lose hope. The two are thus united at last, and Fayzi devotes several dozen verses to this happy outcome, using a series of metaphors gathered largely from nature, but still remarkable for their unusual eroticism within the context of contemporary Persian poetry.

Venus and the Moon embraced each other,
 A bouquet of a hundred stars on her shoulder.
 For a moment, exchanging glances,
 Two flower-buds kissed.
 For a moment, raising their glances,
 They cast off the rose-leaves of modesty,
 Showing their beauty, unabashed,
 Entwined like two trees, branch to branch.
 When the treasure was on the palm,
 The key entered the pearl's lock;
 The pond's purity was discovered
 And the fountain within began to gush.
 As if spring had caught fire,
 And raindrops had begun to fall.
 (...)
 Pearl-seeds borne by raindrops,
 Came down and filled the oyster.

We see here that Fayzi has deftly used the Indian gods of the story without deviating from the monotheism that his audience expects from him. Rather like his near-exact contemporary, the Portuguese poet Luís de Camões, whose *Lusiadas* also contain a large dose of pagan gods as a conceit within an essentially Christian framework, Fayzi allows the *pari-nezhād* a place, but also contains them rather than permitting them full play.

EXILE AND RETURN

The marriage having been celebrated, the bride and groom return to the city of Ujjain, the capital-city over which Nal rules. But Nal's problems

have just begun. The main reason for this, in Fayzi's view, stems from his being a victim of the frenzy of passion (*shuresh-e jonun*), that excess which means that he cannot find the right balance between love and the exercise of reason. Indeed, the poet tells us, one can never count on the vagaries of fortune and the age, which vary constantly; their wine changes colour all the time, and life itself is no more than a gambling-house (*qemār-khāna*). If at times, you are riding high, at other moments, you may fall into the depths. The part of the story that follows exemplifies this.

Now, on his return, Nal, who until then has been counted amongst the great rulers of his time, becomes completely lost to pleasure (*nashāt*). It is as if his good fortune has been exhausted in this earlier enterprise of finding Daman, as he comes now to be possessed by the frenzy of passion (*sawdā-ye jonun*). In his life, love and frenzy come to form an alliance against the intellect. The result of this is that he loses all sense of equilibrium, and that balance (*e'tedāl*), which is the essential quality of the good ruler in Fayzi's vocabulary. This is the moment when his younger brother decides to take advantage of him. He hence proposes a game of chess to him, telling him that he needs to allow a breath of fresh air to enter his mind. But this is only an excuse, the brother's real plans being rather more sinister. Nal, who is already a prisoner of *jonun*, falls into this whirlpool as its unsuspecting victim. But in a crucial sense, he is himself responsible for falling into this trap, as he has laid his own bed and then is obliged to lie on it. In the game, at first, Nal wins, and hence grows over-confident. Losses now begin one after the other. His courtiers try to advise him not to play on, but their intellect (*kharad*) is all in vain. Having lost all his goods and treasure, Nal is presently left with only his kingdom, and soon that too is gone. Further, he is completely unaware of the criticism of the people (*khalq*) at his comportment, which is not only self-destructive but detrimental to their welfare. Fayzi concludes:

When '*eshq* and *jonun* join together,
Sorrow becomes a storm of misfortunes.

Nal is obliged to abandon his kingdom and his town. All of a sudden, the world has turned upside down. Yet, none of his erstwhile courtiers and friends come forward to support him, disgusted perhaps at his earlier disregard for their advice. Only Daman is left at his side in this moment of immense difficulty. Having lost everything, Nal and Daman are obliged to walk into the wilderness. His delicate feet, which are unused to this treatment, soon become blistered and bruised. The royal couple, used to strolling in gardens, is now obliged to tramp the jungles of the

region, as the age itself has turned against the king. The section ends then with Nal and Daman in exile, the transformation from palace to wilderness having occurred with astonishing rapidity in the course of a few dozen verses (Fayzi, 1987, p. 237).

The sections that follow carry the narrative along, without the same extensive conceptual reflection that has characterised the preceding parts. To begin with, we find Nal and Daman in the jungle, suffering the pangs of real hunger for perhaps the first time in their lives, and bitterly asking how they had come to attain this state. On the third day of their exile, Nal sees a bird in the forest which seems to be the answer to their hunger. He takes off the single cloth (*pirahan*) he is wearing, and tries to throw it on the bird as an improvised net. But the bird flies off with the cloth, after having addressed some reproaches to the king and leaving Nal completely naked. The royal couple is left with only grass to eat, and they soon become emaciated from this unaccustomed food. Nal goes on grumbling and lamenting, comparing the difference between his erstwhile state and the one in which he finds himself. This is the springtime of his love (*bahār-e 'eshq*), he declares with bitter irony, but also showing a certain lucidity in relation to his own condition. In a subsequent section, Nal attempts to catch a couple of fish on the banks of a river, but this too turns out badly. The fish, which are apparently in their death-throes from other causes, practically land in the royal couple's laps. Nal takes them and hands them over to Daman and goes off to bathe himself in preparation for his meal. But the moment he departs, the fish come back to life, leap out of Daman's hands and back into the river. On his return, Nal is astonished to find the fish gone, and he begins to suspect Daman of having herself eaten both. The poet thus presents Nal now with all his flaws, which adversity brings out ever more strongly. Not only is he incompetent as a hunter, he is also an inveterate grumbler, and now it turns out that he is suspicious too. This leads us to a turning point in the story, for Nal has begun to think of leaving Daman. He suggests that she should return to her parents' house, a proposal that she resists. Fayzi reflects here briefly on where love can lead.

When love crosses the bound into intoxication,
It begins to tyrannise everyone.
Love becomes a tyrannical Sultan,
Who sets fire to justice itself.

Nal persists in his views. He points out to Daman that she is used to a life of leisure and comfort, whereas life in the jungle is its exact opposite.

He, for his part, is condemned to this life in the jungle, but she is not. He cannot bear to live with her any more in these conditions. His every effort is to persuade her then to return to her earlier life, so that one day they may be reunited, if ever his fortune changes for the better. To these constant remarks, Daman eventually responds, in terms of the need for faith (*wafā*) between lovers, under all possible circumstances. Her response is a strong one, which goes so far as to accuse him of bad conduct (*bad-raweshi*) in making such a proposal. Further, she remarks that even if *'eshq* and *jonun* have come to be mixed up in him, he should resist going to such extents and even now try to exercise some degree of self-control. Even the frenzy of passion cannot excuse one from saying that one's lover should go away. After all, are they lovers or enemies?

But even if Nal accepts this argument for a time, his inner turmoil cannot allow him to rest. So, one night while Daman is sleeping, he cuts her cloth in half, wraps himself in it and leaves silently. When she awakes, Nal is not to be found anywhere, and even his footprints cannot be traced. Daman now addresses bitter reproaches to him (Fayzi, 1987, p. 247).

O lover! What has happened?
 Why have you turned against yourself?
 You've gone without a word,
 Thinking nothing of my loneliness.
 You've left me on the bed to die,
 Abandoned me sleeping in the dust,
 I have laments and tears as companions,
 My heart's blood flows from my eyes.
 What wise men have said is true:
 There is a method in madness.
 You've abandoned the path of faith,
 And invented a new form of love.
 You've broken love's magic spell,
 And robbed love's passion of its dignity.
 Love and passion existed before you,
 But you've transformed the face of love.

Daman now wanders about disconsolate in the forest for a time. She encounters a huge snake, which attempts to kill and eat her, but she is saved by a passing traveller. But Daman herself wishes now to die and is looking for a wolf or a lion to eat her up. Presently, she reaches the edge of a river and meditates on her bad fortune. It would have been far better if the dervish had not granted her father a boon, she ruminates, and that

she had not been born. But then, on the river, she sees some benevolent spirits dressed in white (*safidpushān*), who tell her not to despair. Advancing somewhat further on her way, she encounters an army, whose general asks her to come along with him to his capital city. Daman accepts the offer. But as the army goes on into the forest, it is attacked by wild elephants and destroyed. Only a few Brahmins and Daman are saved from this disaster. They take care of her, and she eventually reaches the kingdom to which the army belongs. Here, Daman is well-received by the king and queen and appointed as companion to their daughter.

As for Nal, he begins to feel guilty almost immediately after abandoning Daman. He decides that one day he will make it all up to her and admit his faults if ever he has the occasion. While still wandering in the jungle, one day he hears a familiar voice call out to him. A huge snake is burning in the middle of the forest, and pleads with him to help. The snake has bitten a Brahmin the previous day and is paying the price for it. Nal protests that he cannot help the snake, which is far too heavy. The snake then reduces its size to that of a finger and Nal pulls him out of the fire with ease. The snake declares that he will help him in exchange for the aid he has received. Nal is told to count from one to ten; on the count of ten, the snake bites him all of a sudden, and Nal becomes completely black in colour. Nal protests at this injustice. What sort of help was this? The snake assures him that this is indeed a form of help. Nal should take the skin the snake had just shed and whenever he would burn half of it, he would come back to his initial form. Meanwhile, he advises Nal to go to the city of a king called Rutbarn and take on employment there under the name of Bahuk Darvesh. Nal could serve him in his stables, and the king would help him improve his skills in gambling. Bahuk-Nal now makes his way to the city, where Rutbarn's agents interrogate him closely and decide eventually that he has several useful talents. The king is pleased to acquire a servant who not only can look after the horses, but also cooks in a splendid fashion.

So, during the day, Nal works for the king. But at night, he spends most of his time weeping, while remembering his lost Daman. His companions ask him what the trouble is, and he confides a truncated version of his story to a few of them. Meanwhile, Daman's parents are on the lookout for her, knowing she has been exiled from the city of Ujjain. The king hence sends out his Brahmin-agents to get information of his daughter from all the passing caravans, promising them great rewards. One of these Brahmins, a certain Sadev, eventually arrives in the town where Daman now resides. At this time, a Vedic recital is going on in one of the temples, and he spots Daman there. The two meet, and

Daman enquires anxiously after her parents and their kingdom. Word of this encounter reaches the queen of that city, who asks Daman who she really is, supplementing this with information from Sadev. A convenient coincidence emerges. It turns out that the queen is Daman's maternal aunt, and so she is naturally overjoyed to discover her niece's true identity. Daman is sent back to Bidar, her native place. But despite the renewed splendid treatment she has received of late, Daman becomes disconsolate once more in the palace of her parents. She hence calls for her wet-nurse (*dāya*), and asks for her help in finding Nal once again. The king and queen are informed, and they decide to send out their trusty Brahmin-agents once more on spying missions to look out for the most miserable, lovesick man they can find.

One of these Brahmins, called Parnad, eventually reaches the town where Rutbarn is king. He at once spots the conspicuously lovesick Bahuk-Nal, and he begins to suspect that he might be the man he is looking for. But Bahuk insists that he is no more than the stable-master of Rutbarn, expert in the business of horses. Parnad goes back and recounts the story to Daman, especially the details concerning horses. She now calls in the cunning Brahmin, Sadev, and asks him to go and announce a second *svayamvara* to Rutbarn, while hinting that his chances are really quite good in the affair. Sadev protests that Rutbarn lives too far away, and cannot come to Bidar in a short time. But Daman points out that if Bahuk is really Nal, he will manage the horses in such a way that they will be able to get there with amazing speed. Sadev now carries out this commission. He calls in Bahuk and asks him to arrange the passage, explaining the reasons for the haste. When Bahuk/Nal hears this, his heart sinks and his head begins to swim. Perhaps Daman has thought him faithless, and so she wants to marry again, he ruminates. But upon reflection, he wonders if this is not simply a ruse on Daman's part to call him back. He hence agrees to accompany the king and selects two very thin horses from the stable. The king protests, and proposes two other horses that look sturdier. But the king's horses have hardly begun the journey when they fall to the ground. So, he accepts Bahuk's superior advice, and they set out on the horses that had initially been selected.

The horses now begin to gallop at lightning speed. The king is so impressed at the ground they are covering that he asks Bahuk/Nal to reveal his tricks of the trade, including how to distinguish good horses from bad. Bahuk now unveils a good number of his secrets, and the king is so grateful that he volunteers some of his own secret skills in exchange. One of these is to count the leaves and twigs on a tree at a single glance. This skill is tested by them on the way, and the king also teaches Bahuk number of other gambling (*qemārdāni*) tricks. Bahuk is

saddened to have to learn these skills, which pertain after all to the sphere of trickery and illusion. Still, realism prevails, and Bahuk realizes that if he is to win back his kingdom, this is really the only solution. Rutbarn and Bahuk now enter the city of Bidar. But they are astonished to see that there is no sign of a *svayamvara* to be seen. When Daman's father hears that Rutbarn has arrived in his town, he too is surprised and hastens to receive him. But when he enquires why he had come, Rutbarn is more than a little embarrassed. He makes some lame excuses, to the effect that he had simply come to renew their friendship, excuses that do not quite satisfy the king of Bidar. Still, he decides not to press the matter for the time being.

Daman for her part sends one of her friends to examine Bahuk/Nal more closely and subject him to a first set of tests. The friend raises the subject of Nal in conversation, and Bahuk denies all knowledge of him. But when the subject of '*eshq*' is raised, Bahuk begins to weep bitterly. The friend runs back to report this to Daman, who decides she will try one more test. Now, she knows that Nal alone is capable of making food without water or fire, and so sends a cooking-pot to him to see if Bahuk too can do the same. Sure enough, the black Bahuk too turns out to have the same skills as the royal Nal. Daman is now sure in her identification. She calls her brothers and reveals the truth to them; the brothers at once go to meet Nal and embrace him despite his strange appearance. When Daman reports her rediscovery of Nal to her mother, however, the mother proves rather more sceptical. The mother wants to make sure that it is really Nal, but also that Nal has not changed his mind about her daughter. Nal is hence invited into the palace, and Daman is instructed to interrogate him. When she begins to ask him who he is, and why he has come there, the questions and answers assume the form of riddles. At the end of this interrogation, which is a shorter and modified version of that in the classical Sanskrit text (Shulman, 2001, pp. 137-42), Daman relents and her mother too agrees that the man before them is really Nal. Now, Nal recalls the snake's slough and the promise associated with it. He takes out a portion of the snake's skin and burns it, and when smoke starts to billow, the snake emerges full-blown. Nal now reads out a spell in which he has been instructed, and the snake advances and pulls off the black colour from his exterior, as if it were another slough. The lovers are reunited at last, and it is like spring once more. Rutbarn learns of the whole episode, and comes forward to proffer his excuses for having treated Nal as his servant. But Nal and Daman tell him they are in fact deeply in his debt; friendly relations are re-established, and in the next few days, Nal and Rutbarn exchange further notes on their relative skills.

After a few days, Nal and Daman return to Ujjain with goods and wealth from the latter's father. Nal now calls for his brother, and suggests an amicable reconciliation. The younger brother replies with disdain, but eventually agrees to another gambling match. This time, Nal with his new-found skills wins with ease, and the brother begins to fear that he will be treated as badly as he has treated Nal. But Nal generously forgives him, and allows him to stay on in the kingdom, even giving back his old prebend (*eqtā'-e qadim*). Nal is now re-established as the king, and proceeds to rule in all his glory. Thus, things are brought onto an even keel once more. But this time, Fayzi insists, there is not only enjoyment but also sagacity (*hushyāri*). It is thus possible at the end of all his travails for Nal to combine the qualities of love and desire (*showq*) with the "essence of an awakened intellect" (*jowhar-e 'aql o hush*). A perfectly equilibrated form of kingship is thus attained.

FAYZI'S INNOVATION

Unlike the Sanskrit original, Fayzi's version of the story does not end here. Years after he has regained his throne, one day in the autumn (*khazān*) Nal notices that everything has dried up in the garden. No nightingale is to be heard, and all the flowers are gone. Nal begins to meditate and realises the transient nature of the life he is living. He hence calls his oldest son, and tells him that the throne is his from that day on. The son begins to weep on hearing this, and the other notables (*a'yān*) also begin loudly to lament, asking Nal to stay on. But Nal refuses their demands, saying that such transitions are inevitable in the world, with the passage of time. He insists on placing his son on the throne and gives him advice (*nasihat*) in the form of an aphorism: "May your hands be associated with generosity and your heart with justice, as long as you live." (Fayzi, 1987, p. 300)

Nal then bows to all his intimates, and departs from the city to take up residence in the wilderness. His health begins to deteriorate quickly, and so he calls for Daman, his beloved, who is still beautiful despite her advancing age. Now is the time for him to make amends. So he expresses regret for all the unhappiness he has caused her in the past and says that he is preparing to leave the earth, with nothing but her love amongst his possessions. But she replies that this is once more nothing but unfaithfulness (*biwafā'i*) on his part. How can he begin to talk of separation once more, when they were one life in two bodies? She will not be a burden to him in the afterlife, Daman declares, and will take care of herself. If he were to leave her this time, she would not consider leaving him. Nal now begins here to move the tenor of the discussion

from the notion of bodily love to that of true love, which is to be akin to the Sufi notion of union. The body is only a veil, and what awaits them is another level of reality. So saying, he closes his eyes and dies. Daman begins to weep. Then, she gathers together all the dried flowers of the forest, and makes up a bier of sandalwood. She declares aloud her intention to accompany his caravan, while seated on a palanquin of fire (*hawdaj-e ātashin*). She then transforms herself spontaneously into flame, while seated on the same pyre as Nal.

The lover was drunk with the last cup of wine,
While his idol held the cup in her hand.

(...)

They sat in each other's fire,
And grew hotter than the pyre itself.

(...)

The idol was burnt from love of the Brahman,
Its body now charred like its burnt-out life.
If the moth was afire on this evening of sorrow,
The candle too burnt from top to toe.

Fayzi now draws his text to a close. So long as Nal was alive, he states, everything went well in the kingdom. He took care of his people, and offered them every comfort. So, his death was marked by a general mourning, as if the Last Judgement had come. The temples became dark, the divine conch fell silent. This brings us to a last section, where the poet offers us a series of general reflections on the story, in terms of abstractions rather than the concrete plot. In formal terms, these closing passages could be read in various ways, of which one might be to see it within the Persian tradition of the lament (*marthiya*).

O Fayyazi, go beyond this world,
And plant your flag in the next one.
This imaginary sphere is a board,
the sign of destruction, like colour effaced.
The world's existence is a mere illusion,
Its roots to be traced in nothingness.
Both new and old are of no importance,
So attach yourself to nothing here.

The verses are also filled with advice, on how to deal with the transient world, while knowing full well that it is illusion. The section then leads to the epilogue (*khātema*), where Fayzi mentions the year of

composition, and also offers us some explicit comparisons between his work and that of his illustrious predecessors, including Nezāmi Ganjavi. The specificity of his Indian metaphors and usages are brought out, as is the fact that the text was completed in the thirty-ninth regnal year of Akbar. And so we conclude with him:

O Fayyazi, on the making of this charm,
 How long will you continue to speak ?
 Far better to draw it to a close,
 Before you pass yourself into the realm of story.
 O, burnt heart, end this tale now.
 Stop this story of love, stop.

CONCLUSION

Fayzi's *Nal-Daman*, with its powerful innovations and mastery of technique seems to have exercised much fascination already in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The hallmarks of his treatment came to be his insistence on the delicate line that had to be trod between love and excess (or frenzy), with the intellect being the only means of preventing the one from degenerating into the other. In relationship to kingship, the text also offered the advice of a poet sage, no ordinary poet, but one who claims to be amongst the philosophers of his time. All this was tied up with a brilliant closing section, in which the Indo-Persian poet's fascination with the *sati* was combined with the earlier themes, to allow a closure where a return to an explicitly Sufi flavour was possible (Khabushāni, 1912). The later influence of Fayzi's *Nal-Daman* can be seen in such texts as Munshi Lal Bhagwant Rai 'Rahat' Kakorwi's *Nal-Daman Hindi*, written in Northern India and published in 1859, thus immediately after the important political events of 1857-58 (Bhagwant Rai, 1859/1869). Bhagwant Rai actually starts his *mathnavi* as follows (with 'Hindi' in his version to mean 'Urdu', not only in script but in its heavily Persianised diction):

Seeing the demand for Hindi in our times,
 The desire came upon me one day,
 That Nal's love which was famous in this world
 Should be brought into the Hindi tongue.
 Though it has all been told in Persian
 Yet it's been done at tedious length.
 Why not recount it all in brief,
 That each reader might grasp the point ?

The Urdu version does indeed 'recount it all in brief,' reducing the 4000 verses of the original to less than half that number. The influence of Fayzi on Bhagwant Rai is evident, both in terms of the organisation of the story and the presence of some key episodes that were Fayzi's own innovations. The Urdu poet, probably a Kayastha from the area around Lucknow, had no Akbar to patronise him, and so took his text to a series of patrons in his own community. The patronage of the Mughal court had passed in symbolic fashion to that of the merchant (*sawdāgar*), but a good part of Fayzi's message still retained an interest for nineteenth-century readers.

There has been much debate over the years concerning the translation of texts from Sanskrit into Persian at the court of Muslim sultans, whether the *Tuti-nāma* and other cycles of stories, or esoteric and philosophical texts. It is certain that in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such projects of 'translation' (with the word being used in the widest possible meaning) gained a massive momentum under the Mughals, for reasons that are of a complex nature. The major Sanskrit epic texts were rendered into Persian now, and were at times also drawn upon by chroniclers to provide a history of India in the period before the Muslim rule. In some instances, it would appear that these Persian versions enjoyed a great deal of legitimacy even amongst Hindu readers (this is the case with the translation of the *Mahābhārata*), while in others the Persian versions languished for long in obscurity (e.g., Ghiyāth al-Din 'Ali Naqib Khan Qazvini, 1979). Within this broad context, the case of *Nal-Daman* is a particular one. The text did not have any particularly weighty religious connotation and seems to have been absorbed into the Persian tradition by Fayzi as a relatively secular theme upon which he could develop a series of reflections and arguments of his own, concerning royal power, the nature of love, and the place of the intellect in managing the affairs of the world. What is of interest is the power of the poet's intervention, which – if it is partly related to his prestige and that of the Mughal court – is also largely the consequence of the literary and thematic appeal that his text carried. For many of the literati of northern India then, the story of Nal and Daman (or Nala and Damayanti), would never be the same again after Fayzi had remoulded it to his own ends.

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The Context and the Audience of the Early *Malfuz* Writings in India

ISHTIYAQ AHMAD ZILLI

From the early days of the evolution of Sufism, there has been a strong tendency among the Sufis to preserve the sayings and observations of eminent Sufi masters. Even the earliest books on Sufism are full of such statements. For the purposes of explaining the principles and teachings of Sufism, the Sufis have invariably relied on sayings, stories and anecdotes of earlier Sufis. However, *malfuzāt*, or “collections of a saint’s utterances,” as a genre of Sufi literature embodying not only the discourses of the Sufi masters but also the recording of the actual proceedings of their assemblies and preserving its oral quality, is more likely to have developed in India. Apparently it has no precedent.

The tendency to record the oral teachings of the Sufi Shaikhs has been rightly traced to the influence of *Hadith* literature (Ernst, pp. 63-64, 82). It is noteworthy in this context that the great concern for the accuracy and authenticity of the sayings and actions of the prophet, which contribute the *Hadith*, is lacking in the case of *malfuzāt*. No methodology or tools were ever developed for the textual and internal scrutiny of the contents of these statements to determine the degree of their authenticity. The more bizarre and out of the ordinary the statements seemed, the greater appeal they had for those who had faith in them. In such circumstances there remains much possibility of additions, interpolations and distortions of what actually the Sufi masters have said. Over a period of time these sayings acquired a halo of sanctity and became the very essence and soul of Sufism, and any attempt to question their contents was frowned upon.

Besides the science of *Hadith*, certain other developments taking place in the Arabic language are more likely to have influenced the conception of *malfuzāt*. During the early Islamic centuries, there was a well-established tradition relating to the teaching of *Hadith* and other sciences known as *emlā’*. Specialists in different branches of learning used to dictate (*emlā’*) to the students who sat around them with pen and paper and wrote down each and every word spoken by the teacher. In this way complete books were prepared, which came to be known as *amālī*. A vast literature belonging to this genre was produced, and some of these works

acquired great reputation for the level of their scholarship (Hājji Khalifa, I, pp. 147-48). But *amāli* were not spontaneous oral expressions of the scholars who delivered them, as is the case with the *malfuzāt*. They were carefully planned and fully organised lectures on selected themes (Abd al Salam Harun, introduction, pp. 22-23; Dahkhod, s.v.). There are some references of the use of this method by the Sufi masters also. For example, some chapters of the celebrated Sufi manual, Sohravardi's *Awāref al-ma'āref* (pp. 44, 47, 62-64), were dictated.

Nearer to *malfuzāt* in the Arabic language, however, is the genre known as *majāles* or *mojālasāt* literature.¹ The books belonging to the genre consist of the proceedings of the academic discussions of eminent scholars in the fields of literature, linguistics, philology, etc. These discourses were mostly taken up on the spur of the moment or in response to some query from the members of the audience and were transcribed by some of the participants. But in spite of the apparent similarity with the *malfuz* literature, there are some vital differences that distinguish *majāles* from *malfuzāt*. First, *majāles* was recorded on the spot in its entirety as the discussion progressed; second, it seems that no choice or discretion rested with the compiler; and, third, the scholars always quoted their authority with full *esnād* (chain of narrators) (Hārūn's Introd. to Thalab, pp. 23-24). The *malfuzāt*, in contrast, were recorded later. They were never recorded in their totality and much choice rested with the compiler. Moreover, the Sufi master did not always feel obliged to quote his authority. Most of the time, he said whatever he had to say on his own authority. Further, the kind of free and frank discussion and debate which in most of the cases characterized the *majāles* literature, in which the audience could make queries, argue and present conflicting points of view, was not possible in a Sufi assembly. Respectful queries apart, debate and argument were out of the question. It is quite likely that those who laid the foundation of *malfuz* literature in India were familiar with the tradition of *amāli* (Sejzi, pp. 237-8), but most probably they were not aware of the developments that had taken place in the field of *majāles*. At least no such awareness is reflected in their writings.

¹ A vast literature exists on the subject of *majāles*. Hājji Khalifa (I, pp. 147-49, 278-79) and Ebn al-Nadim (pp. 58, 197, 203, 245, 296, 230) give the names of a number of such books. Among the best books of the genre is *Majāles Thalab* of Abu'l-'Abbās Ahmad b. Yahyā Thalab (200-91/815-904). It contains discourses of Thalab on a variety of subjects including the Koran, *Hadith*, *feqh*, etc., but the bulk of the discussions relate to grammar, linguistics and literature. For a brief sketch of Thalab, see Hārūn's Introd., pp. 1-23.

The word *malfuz* is exclusively used to denote the oral transmissions and discourses of the Sufis (Nizami, 1983, p. 163). Though *malfuzāt* as a genre of Sufi literature received its form and content most probably in India during the Delhi sultanate, it is generally believed that its first prototypes had already been compiled long ago outside India, which would seem to be extremely doubtful. It is no doubt true that a very large corpus of the sayings and anecdotes of the early Sufis was preserved in the books dealing with various aspects of Sufism. These were highly valued by the succeeding generations of the Sufis, and they invariably used them for the purposes of explaining complex concepts of Sufism and making them comprehensible to their audience. It, however, would be perhaps not correct to describe these books containing stray and unconnected sayings of the Sufi masters as the precursors of the *malfuz* literature.

The biographies of Shaikh Abu Sa'id Abi'l-Khayr (d.1049) and the sayings of Abu Yazid Bestāmi as contained in *Ketāb al-nur* are included among the books that are commonly mentioned as providing the early models of *malfuzāt*. A close examination of these books, however, would reveal that that is not the case. Mohammad b. Monawwar's *Asrār al tawhid* is basically a biography of Shaikh Abu Sa'id, wherein a section is devoted to his sayings, which Mohammad-Taqi Bahār considered to be authentic (Muhammad b. Monawwar, pp. 9, 11; Bahār, II, pp. 198-99). Nevertheless, even if the problems attendant on this assumption are ignored and the long time gap of a century and half between the death of the Shaikh Abu Sa'id and the compilation of the book is disregarded, and the sayings incorporated in the book are accepted as genuine, it would be still rather difficult to accept them as a precursor of *malfuzāt*. The compiler himself has described (p. 9) these sayings as "scattered morals and subtleties contained in his sayings" (*fawā'ed wa nokāt-e parāganda az sokhanān-e u*). These scattered and unconnected sayings of the Shaikh have been compiled and put together without any system or arrangement. In reality they are in the nature of the sayings of earlier Sufis so profusely scattered in the books on Sufism; the only difference is that these emanate from one single individual. It would, therefore, not be appropriate to designate it as a collection of *malfuzāt*. Almost similar is the case of Salhaji's *Ketāb al-nur men kalemāt Abi Tayfur*. Like *Asrār al tawhid*, here also stray and altogether unconnected observations and sayings have been compiled in book form without any thematic or some other arrangement. Moreover, the sayings put together in the book are not meant for any particular audience. Most of these belong to the category of *shatahāt*, which are uttered in a condition of ecstasy and generally consist of ideas and concepts beyond the comprehension of

common people.² It would, therefore, not be appropriate to either liken it with the *Hadith* or designate it as a *malfuz* collection.

In spite of their significance and importance, these discourses and their collections could not be classified as *malfuzāt* because, among other things, these do not contain the actual proceedings of the assemblies of the master and totally lack the oral quality which is the hallmark of *malfuz* literature. It would, therefore, not be unjustified to hold the view that the *malfuz* literature, as we know it, owes its origin to the genius of the Indian Cheshti Sufis. According to the general perception, the credit of introducing this particular genre of the Sufi literature goes to the fourteenth century poet and litterateur, Amir Hasan 'Alā' Sejzi, who recorded the oral discourses of his preceptor, Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā'. His *Fawā'd al-fo'ād* is not only a monument of the devotion of Sejzi towards his master but also a great contribution to Sufi literature. It provides some of the finest statements of Cheshti Sufi teachings and principles, and, as demonstrated in Muhammad Habib's study of the subject, the first *malfuz* collection, and hence the one that laid the foundation of this genre of the Sufi literature (Habib, pp. 365-433). Other *malfuzāt* collections that were considered to predate *Fawā'ed al-fo'ād*, are now believed to be apocryphal. They are supposed to have been commissioned by enterprising booksellers who wanted to cash in on the growing demand for such literature among the people.

Amir Hasan Sejzi commenced the compilation of the *Fawā'ed al-fo'ād* towards the beginning of Sha'bān 707/end of January 1308 and carried it to 20 Sha'bān 722/September 1322, well into the reign of first Toghloq ruler, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Din Toghloq (*Fawā'ed al-fo'ād*, pp.3,440). At the time of the commencement of its compilation, Sultan 'Alā' al-Din Khalji was at the zenith of his power and glory. He had suppressed rebellions, beaten back the Mongol threat from across the border and had successfully implemented economic reforms. Moreover, literature and arts flourished under him. Yet none of these events, even the king's name, are mentioned in the *Fawā'ed al-fo'ād*.³

The reign of Qotb al-Din Mobārak Khalji, who was the first ruler to adopt an openly hostile attitude towards the Shaikh, is covered by the *Fawā'ed al-fo'ād*, but there is no inkling of the anarchy that followed 'Alā' al-Din's death and the atrocities perpetrated by Malek Kāfur during

² For an in-depth discussion on *Shatahat* see Badawi, II, pp. 1-36.

³ For a general idea, see Lal, pp. 177-217. For an idea about the quantum of revenue, mode of its assessment and realization see Ziyā' al-Din Barani, pp. 281-89. In another context describing the submissiveness of the subjects during the reign of Sultan 'Alā' al-Din, Barani (p. 341), he states that they even sold their wives and children to pay the revenue. Also see Moreland, pp. 31-39.

his brief interregnum. It also does not provide any idea about the intense conflict that ensued between the Shaikh and the young Sultan that ended only with the assassination of the latter. Similarly, we do not come across any reference whatsoever about the brutal killing of the entire family of 'Alā' al-Din by Khosrow Khan, the supremacy of Barwaris, the continuation of a number of Shaikh's disciples in important positions under him, the acceptance of huge gift by the Shaikh from that ruler, the struggle between Ghāzi Malek and Khosrow Khan and the establishment of the Toghloq dynasty. This is all the more surprising as Ziyā' al-Din Barani, himself a disciple of the Shaikh, accuses Khosrow Khan of hatching a conspiracy to destroy Islam and Muslims.⁴ Similarly, relations of the Shaikh were far from cordial with the founder of Toghloq dynasty, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Din Toghloq. On the behest of the ulema opposed to the Shaikh, an assembly (*mahzar*) of the learned was convened to decide the legality of Sufi music (*samā'*) (Amir Khord, pp.120-21). Moreover, the Sultan died in an incident, which left much room for speculation. The later Cheshti traditions would attribute the death of the Sultan to the spiritual powers of the Shaikh (Sirhindi, p. 97). None of this finds even a remote echo in the pages of *Fawā'id al-fo'ād*. The references to the contemporary situation are few and of extremely casual nature. It is quite surprising that even those issues, which had great bearing on the well being of the society in general and the Cheshtis in particular, could not find any echo in the discussions of the Shaikh. His assembly seems to have been fully insulated from the contemporary life. There is neither appreciation for the good things nor any concern for or condemnation of the bad things, although both were bound to affect the very society that he wanted to reform and redeem. This must have been due to some conscious policy, probably the Sufi concept of withdrawal from the world ('*ozlat*'), on the part of the Shaikh, because we know that he was a very sensitive person, and the miseries and afflictions of people deeply distressed him (Qalandar, pp. 105-6).

Hamid Qalandar's *Khayr al-majāles* is markedly different from the *Fawā'id al-fo'ād* in this respect. All its 100 recorded assemblies relate to the early years of Sultan Firuz Shah Toghloq. Hamid Qalandar commenced compilation of the proceedings of the assemblies of Shaikh Nāser al-Din Cherāgh-e Dilli (d. 757/1356) in 754/1353 and carried it to 756/1355 (pp. 3, 289). While Shaikh Nāser al-Din, like his master, does

⁴ Barani, pp. 372-75, 396-99, 406-23; Lal, pp.266-70,286-88; Amir Khord, pp.160-61; Jamāli, p.110; Fereshta, II, p.397; Hājji Dabir, III, p. 855. Tāj al-Molk Malek Wahid al-Din Qarshi, a disciple of the Shaikh, was appointed as vizier in the new dispensation (Barani, p. 410).

not dwell on contemporary political issues and developments, still ample inference could be drawn from its account about the prevailing conditions during that period, particularly in Delhi. The sense of intense gloom and nostalgia for the past, particularly for the reign of 'Alā' al-Din, that pervades the pages of *Khayr al-majāles*, lament of the decline in the fortunes of the Sufis and Sufism and mention of closure of a number of *langars* (free kitchens) etc. clearly indicate that not all was well, at least in the early years of Firuz Shah Toghloq. If a Sufi of the stature and eminence of Shaikh Nāser al-Din constantly talks about the hardships of the time, then there must have been something very seriously amiss.

Fawā'id al-fo'ād, as noted earlier, lacks any indication that Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā ever talked about 'Alā' al-Din and his many achievements or the rough edges of his government and his personal failings. His very special relationship with the Sultan, known from other sources, is not even alluded to in the entire book.⁵ In contrast, *Khayr al-majāles* speaks at length (pp. 139, 240-42) about 'Alā' al-Din's reign, and the prosperity and the comfort of life during that period. It graphically describes how common it was for the people to throw parties and how even the beggars could afford two quilts in the winter. Barani, the historian of the Sultanate period and a contemporary of Shaikh Nāser al-Din, who also happened to be a disciple of Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā, had depicted Sultan 'Alā' al-Din as an ignorant arrogant, tyrannical ruler who did not have much regard for religion in his personal life or in the running of the government. He used to inflict very harsh punishments not sanctioned by the *shari'a*. He started the practice of eliminating entire families for the crime of individuals and entire communities for the fault of a few; even children and women were not spared. He betrayed deep propensity for extreme cruelty and hard-heartedness (Barani, pp. 235-37, 252-53, 262-64, 297, 330-31, 338-39, 354, 365-66). But he emerges from the pages of *Khayr al-majāles* as an ideal king whose every care was directed towards the welfare of the people and the Shaikh remembers him with kind words. It is clear from the account of *Khayr al-majāles* that people of Delhi held Sultan 'Alā' al-Din in great esteem and thronged to his grave and tied threads there for the fulfilment of their needs. The interesting thing is that Shaikh Nāser al-Din seems to agree with this estimation of the late Sultan.⁶

⁵ For a detailed discussion on the point see Zilli, pp. 54-108; Qalandar, pp. 185-88, 241.

⁶ The Shaikh is reported to have observed: "What a king Sultan 'Alā' al-Din had been, may peace of God be on him." Qalandar, p. 241-42.

Clearly, *Khayr al-majāles* provides a much better idea about the social and political context in which the discourses contained in the book were delivered and recorded. Hamid Qalandar does not enjoy the literary excellence of Amir Hasan Sejzi, who recorded the *malfuzāt* of Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā', but he seems to have an eye for the detail and as a result succeeds in capturing the spirit of the time in a much better way than his predecessor could do. The towering figure of Shaikh Nezām al-Din overshadows everything else, while the simplicity and humility of Shaikh Nāser al-Din Cherāgh-e Dilli makes it possible for the author to feel and see beyond the immediate ambience and have an idea about the contemporary society as it existed with its strengths and failures.

The present study is a tentative attempt to work out the nature and extent of the audience of the two great Cheshti masters, Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā' and Shaikh Nāser al-Din Cherāgh-e Dilli, as reflected in the *Fawā'id al-fo'ād* and *Khayr al-majāles*. The contrast could not have been more marked both in the personalities of the two illustrious saints as also the circumstances in which they lived and worked. It may, however, be stated that such an attempt is beset with serious limitations. One great limitation stems from the fact that the compilers, as a rule, did not consider it necessary to describe the members of the audience who happened to be present in the assembly, proceedings of which they were recording. It is only incidental that names of some of those present are mentioned. The focus remained on the master and what he said and did. The ambience as well as the audience did not matter much and at the best its importance was secondary. The most telling evidence that this was the case is complete absence of the name of the poet Amir Khosrow Dehlavi from the proceedings of the *Fawā'id al-fo'ād*. It is well known that Amir Khosrow was a disciple of Shaikh Nezām al-Din and was held in great affection by the shaikh and was a frequent visitor to the *Jamā'at-khāna*.⁷ Similarly, the names of some of the most prominent disciples of Shaikh Nezām al-Din are entirely absent from its pages. These include, among others, Shams al-Din Yahyā, Shaikh Qotb al-Din Monawwar, Fakhr al-Din Zarrādi, 'Alā' al-Din Nili, Shaikh Wajih al-Din Yusof. Successor of the Shaikh in Delhi, Shaikh Nāser al-Din Cherāgh-e Dilli is mentioned only once in the entire book (Sejzi, p. 73). Members of the royal household, nobility and government servants who constituted a sizeable number of his disciples are conspicuous by their total absence. Similarly, *Khayr al-majāles* does not contain the name of Mohammad Gesu Darāz. His name finds mention only in the 'Supplement' and the description

⁷ Amir Khosrow has been indirectly mentioned by Sejzi (p. 242) only once. For his closeness to the Shaikh, see Amir Khord, pp. 312-13.

clearly suggests that he did not receive *khelāfat* (vicarship) from Shaikh Nāser al-Din. It is said that Gesu Darāz, after washing the body of the Shaikh, took some cords from the cot on which the body was washed, wound it round his neck and declared that it was as good as a *kherqa* for him, but this does not seem to have been the case.⁸

Due to this paucity of evidence on the issue in the concerned *malfuzāt* collections, an attempt has been made to look for the names of the disciples of these two masters mentioned in other Sufi and non-Sufi sources as well in the belief that every disciple must have attended the discourses of his master at one time or the other. Even in this endeavour we have not been very successful, as these sources rarely refer to the names of the disciples except for those who were very prominent. It is also noteworthy that, by this time, as a result of the development of Sufi orders (*selselas*), the Sufis had mostly ceased to be itinerant, as was the case earlier. They were now established at some particular place and, as a result, they did not go to the people, people came to them. They were mainly concerned about those who came to them; they did not reach out to the people at large. The present study, though limited and tentative in nature, is an attempt to present a general idea about the Cheshti clientele from the beginning of its presence in India.

The mystical dimensions of Sufism, its philosophy, ethics and teachings and the related ideological issues naturally required a certain level of education for their comprehension. If the discourses of Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā' and Shaikh Nāser al-Din Cherāgh-e Dilli, as collected in the *Fawā'id al-fo'ād* and *Khayr al-majāles*, are any indication of the nature and level of discussions conducted in their assemblies, then those without a certain level of learning could hardly expect to derive much benefit from them. It is, therefore, not surprising that an overwhelming majority of their disciples consisted of those who possessed certain minimum level of education, which during the early days of the sultanate was still confined mostly to the people of upper classes but was increasingly percolating downwards to those sections of the society that had generally remained out of its purview.

Normally discussion at the Cheshti hospices during the period under consideration was conducted in Persian, which was the language of the culture and learned discourse and the official language of the Delhi Sultanate. More and more people were learning Persian but it was mostly confined to the educated classes and government servants. The first two masters of the Cheshti *selsela*, Shaikh Mo'in al-Din Cheshti and Shaikh

⁸ Qalandar, Supplement, pp. 287-88; Jamāli, pp. 1-2, 21. Gesu Darāz received *Khilafat* in 1356 some time before the death of Shaikh Nāser al-Din. See Sāmāni, pp. 25-26; Syed Shah Khusrō Husaini, pp. 14, 32-34, nn.74, 75.

Qotb al-Din Bakhtiyār Kāki, were born and brought up outside India (Sejzi, pp. 192-93, 305). They must have faced problems in communicating with the masses, though the sources are silent about it.

The audience of the early Cheshtis apparently consisted of two distinct categories. The first category consisted of people with some level of learning and culture. They were drawn to the Sufi fold, in most of the cases, both by genuine interest in Sufi ideology as also by fascination with the personality and character of the individual Sufi master. *Morids* (disciples) and *khalifas* (successors) were mostly drawn from this class, which ensured the continuity of the Sufi tradition. There is, however, some evidence to suggest that this was not always the case, as the enrolment of some slaves and a rustic, presumably a new convert, who could not even understand how a *meswāk* was to be used, and the pranks of some unscrupulous disciples, to much annoyance of the Shaikh, would indicate.

The other category consisted of those who were drawn to the Sufis not necessarily because they were attracted by the finer aspects of mystic lore, but rather because they were impressed by the simple and virtuous lives of the Sufi masters. In many cases they were attracted by stories and legends regarding the miracles performed by them. They came to the *khānaqāh* impressed by this reputation of the master to receive *baraka* (grace). There were also those who had no other door to turn to for the redress of their grievances and relief from suffering and hardships of day to day life. These comprised different sections of the society, but the majority seems to have belonged to the masses.

Khawāja Mo'in al-Din Cheshti, founder of Cheshti *selsela* in India, arrived⁹ in India during the reign of Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish (1210-35) and after short stays at Lahore and Delhi, settled at Ajmer, which had been only recently conquered. It is unfortunate that authentic details about his life and work are not available. *Fawā'id al-fo'ād* and *Khayr al-majāles* hardly mention him and even the account of *Siyar al-awliyā'* provides little information about him (Sejzi, pp. 76, 346, 405; Amir Khord, pp. 55-58; Qalandar, pp. 8, 45, 52, 58). They contain the names of only two of his disciples, Shaikh Qotb al-Din Bakhtiyār Kāki and Shaikh Hamid al-Din Sufi of Nagore, who also rose to be his main

⁹ It is generally believed that Shaikh Mo'in al-Din Cheshti came to India and settled at Ajmer while it was still the capital of the powerful Chauhan Empire and was ruled by Prithviraj; see Amir Khord, pp. 56-57. But Nagauri (d. 1274), an eminent disciple of Shaikh Mo'in al-Din, clearly states (fol. 15) that he arrived in India during the reign of Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish. The evidence by Jamāli (p. 14) and Ghawsi (tr. p. 29) also supports the contention of Nagauri that the Khwaja arrived at Ajmer after its conquest by the Ghorids. See Amir Khord, p. 14.

khalifahs. Some later sources contain names of a few other disciples, most of whom apparently belonged to the category of ulema and the learned classes. The only name connected with the ruling class among his disciples is that of Sayyed Hosayn Mashhadi, an *amir* of Qotb al-Din Aibak and *hakim* of Ajmer at the time of Mo'in al-Din's arrival there, whose cousin he later married.¹⁰ Ghawsi (tr., pp. 43-48, 98-99) mentions one other name, Malek Khattāb, apparently belonging to the ruling class as the appellation would suggest, but does not provide any further details about him.

It is not possible to form any definite idea about the non-*morid* circle of his audience, as no information is available in this regard. The latter-day legends regarding his success in converting a very large number of Hindus to Islam as a result of his numerous miracles are historically untenable (Qalandar, p. 219; Ghawsi, tr., p. 43). It is most probably a throwback from the days of Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā' when the Cheshti *selsela* had achieved dazzling heights of popularity and prestige under him. One could guess that sections of Muslim settlers of Ajmer, a majority of whom must have undoubtedly belonged to the immigrant community, would have constituted his lay audience. Coming from the same background and being familiar with the Sufi tradition in the countries of their origin, they must have been naturally drawn to him. Moreover, as Ajmer was surrounded by non-Muslim population, his audience might have included some non-Muslims as well. But authentic information on the point is not available.

His two main disciples, Shaikh Qotb al-Din Bakhtiyār Kāki and Shaikh Hamid al-Din Nagauri lived and worked in altogether different conditions. While Shaikh Qotb al-Din lived and worked in the rising metropolis of Delhi, Shaikh Hamid al-Din lived in the countryside of Rajasthan among the village folk. Besides Shaikh Farid al-Din Mas'ud Ganj-e Shakar, more commonly known as Bābā Farid, only few other names of the disciples of Shaikh Qotb al-Din are available in the sources, and most of them appear to belong to the class of ulema. Shaikh Farid al-Din himself hailed from a family of judges. Two others were serving judges and left the job after becoming disciples (Jamāli, pp. 64-65; Amir Khord, pp. 26-28, 30, 33-34; Fereshta, II, p. 388). As he lived and worked in the capital city of Delhi, it may be presumed that some members of the ruling class also might have come into his close contact and possibly entered his discipleship. But we have only one vague

¹⁰ These include Ziyā' al-Din Balkhi, Ahmad Khādem, Shaikh Fakhr al-Din Ahmad Ajmeri; see Ghawsi (tr. pp. 31, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38); Jamāli (p. 19); the name of Sayyed Hosayn Mashhadi's uncle was Sayyed Wajih al-Din Mashahadi); Nagauri (p. 15) Gholām Sarvar, I, pp. 263-64.

reference in a later source, Ghawsi's *Golzār-e abrār*; to the effect that one of his *morids*, Shaikh Mo'ezz al-Din Dehlavi, had served as deputy (*nāyeb*) of the rulers of Delhi, though this could not be verified from the available historical sources. The office of *nāyeb* was introduced after Sultan Shams al-Din, who died a few months after the death of Shaikh Qotb al-Din in November 1235.¹¹

Siyar al-awliyā' and some other later sources would like us to believe that the entire population of Delhi, including Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish and his nobles, had great faith in the Shaikh. But this contention is not supported by other sources such as *Fawā'id al-fo'ād* and *Khayr al-majāles*. He is reported to have once paid a visit to the court of Sultan Iltutmish regarding the confirmation of the land allegedly held by the children of Khwāja Mo'in al-Din Cheshti (Amir Khord, pp. 63-65). But this event is extremely unlikely to have taken place. Early Cheshtis never accepted land assignment, and therefore Mo'in al-Din's journey from Ajmer to Delhi to secure a decree (*farmān*) for the purpose seems to be highly doubtful. It is also said that when, on the complaint of Shaikh Najm al-Din Soghrā, Mo'in al-Din wanted to take him to Ajmer, the entire population of Delhi along with the sultan came out of the city and followed them, weeping and wailing. Seeing this, Mo'in al-Din asked Najm al-Din to stay at Delhi (Nagauri, pp. 5-16, 27-43). This is also not supported by the hagiological as well as historical sources. It may, however, be argued that at the time Delhi was populated mostly by original and first generation immigrants from Afghanistan, Persia and Central Asia where Sufi traditions were very strong and well established, and Cheshti *selsela* was quite well known. These people might have felt a natural attraction for an eminent Sufi of their own background.

Among the few disciples of Shaikh Hamid al-Din Nagauri mentioned in his *Sorur al-sodur*, two people belonged to the ruling class (referred to as *wakil-e dar* and *malek-e Nagaur*), a few were apparently members of the learned class (ulema) while some others seem to belong to ordinary sections of the society (Nagauri, pp. 3-33, 43, 52, 68; also Ghawsi, pp. 42-48; Fereshta, II, pp. 344, 401-2; Mohaddeth Dehlavi, pp. 7, 59-60; Gholām Sarvar, II, p. 272). Shaikh Hamid al-Din was the first important Cheshti Sufi who was Indian by birth. He lived in a village and earned his livelihood by tilling a piece of land, which must have made a dialogue with the local people easy and natural (Nagauri, p. 7; Amir Khord, p. 166). Presumably his audience also included non-Muslims as well. Most probably it was a consequence of interaction with the non-

¹¹ Shaikh Qotb al-Din died on 14 Rabi I, 633/15 November 1235, Sultan Shams al-Din Iltutmish died a few months later (Amir Khord, pp. 65-66).

Muslim village folk that he renounced eating of meat and became strict vegetarian (Nagauri, pp. 9, 35). The tradition of close contact with the local non-Muslim population appears to have continued in his family. His grandson, Shaikh Farid al-Din, used to make enquiries about his non-Muslim acquaintances and extend his warm greetings to them in his letters to his family members during his stay at Delhi.¹²

We have comparatively more information about the life and work of Shaikh Farid al-Din Mas'ud Ganj-e Shakar (1175-1265) than his predecessors. He could speak to the people in their own tongue as one of them, and this was perhaps one of the reasons for his attracting a much larger number of people than his masters had done (Qalandar, p. 219; Amir Khord, p. 69; Jamāli, pp. 42-43). It would appear that under his stewardship the base of the *selsela* was considerably expanded and people of varied backgrounds came under its influence. Among those of his disciples whose names have come down to us, ulema continued to constitute the majority. The most illustrious of his disciples and one of the greatest mystics of the Indian subcontinent, Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā', belonged to this class.¹³ Among his disciples were a few government servants,¹⁴ a family of prosperous Keramāni merchants who renounced their trade after becoming disciple and led a life of extreme poverty, a student, a soldier and some belonging to the category of common people. These also included slave and a few women among his disciples (Amir Khord, pp. 93, 95, 133, 182, 218-19; Sejzi, pp. 52, 88, 92, 96, 254-66, 344, 405).

He seems to have attracted in his general audience a very large number of people who came to pay their respect to him and benefit from his spiritual powers. After the death of his *pir*, he could not stay at Delhi and Hansi, because too much attention of the people disturbed his

¹² In one of his letters he asks the addressee to make enquiries about the welfare of some one named Mahadev and assure him that he will speak to Khwāja-ye Jahān about his problem. In another letter he asks the addressee to enquire about the welfare of all the Hindu residents of the village. See Farid al-Din, pp. 4a, 6a.

¹³ Besides Shaikh Nezām al-Din, there were a number of eminent scholars among the disciples (*morids*) of Shaikh Farid al-Din Mas'ud, including Jamāl al-Din of Hansi Badr al-Din Eshāq, Shaikh Najib al-Din Motawakkel, Maulana Dā'ud Palhi, etc. (Sejzi, pp. 42, 43, 265, 316-17, 365; Qalandar, p. 118; Mohaddeth Dehlavi, pp. 71, 78, 79, 82, 96-7, 177, 179, 188; Amir Khord, pp. 194-95; Gholām Sarvar, I, pp. 312-13).

¹⁴ In this regard names of Shams Dabir and Khwāja Kamāl al-Din Samarqandi are mentioned. Shams became the secretary (*dabir*) of Balban's son, and, according to Amir Khord (pp. 189, 316). Khwāja Kamāl al-Din's father held vizierate in Khorasan and he was assigned vast territories in the region of Multan, Hansi, Deopulpur and Ajodhan; see also Sejzi, pp. 218-20. Qalandar (pp. 149-50) refers to a Turk Malek of Ajodhan who became a disciple (*morid*) in consequence of a miracle of the Shaikh.

solitude (Qalandar, p. 188). Even at Ajodhan, which he had chosen for his residence because its population was uncouth and did not care much about mystic ideas, he could not enjoy his solitude for long. Ajodhan was on the caravan route from Delhi to Multan, and many travellers used to drop there to pay their respect. Once the entire army of Sultan Nasir al-Din Mahmud, marching to Uch which included the future Sultan Ghiyāth al-Din Balban went to Ajodhan for the purpose and congested the entire place (Sejzi, pp. 171, 336). It also appears that many people used to come for amulets (*ta'wiz*), sometimes crowding the place. Once Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā' was asked by his master to write amulets, but there were so many seekers that he got tired.¹⁵ While most of the travellers were presumably merchants, the seekers of amulets were most likely common people.

For the first time we hear about the yogis coming to the *Jamā'at-khāna* (hospice) of Shaikh Farid al-Din and staying there. There are reports of some interaction between them and the inmates of the hospice. Qalandars are also reported to have frequented his hospice (Hunter, p. 532, cited in Nizami, 1973, p. 107). Legends attribute conversion of a number of tribes in the Punjab region to him, though Cheshti and historical sources are silent on the point (Zilli, 1986). Moreover, conversion does not seem to have been included among the priorities of the Cheshtis, but tribal members could be legitimately expected to have been among his audience at one point of time or other (Qalandar, p. 130). Shaikh Nezām al-Din, mentioning the large number of people visiting the Shaikh (*az khalq hadd nabud*), remarked that the doors of the hospice, unlike other Sufi centres, could not be closed until around midnight (Barani, pp. 343-44).

The entire situation changed under Nezām al-Din Awliyā'. Not only did the *morid* and non-*morid* followers of the Cheshtis increase enormously, their composition also witnessed great change. On closer examination, certain significant conclusions emerge which are of great interest for the understanding of the sociopolitical role of the Sufis during that period.

In spite of the fact that much more information is available about Shaikh Nezām al-Din and his work, it is not possible to form any precise idea about the numerical strength and the social composition of his disciples. In the light of the available evidence, both hagiological and historical, one is inclined to conclude that the number must have run into

¹⁵ Sejzi (pp. 59-60, 404-5, 417-18) refers to three occasions when Jogis were present at the *Jamā'at-khāna* of Shaikh Farid al-Din. Obviously, all the three occasions relate to the period when Shaikh Nezām al-Din was staying there. It would, therefore, indicate that the Jogis were frequent visitors of the *Jamā'at-khāna*. See also Qalandar, pp. 130-31.

thousands. Ziyā' al-Din Barani speaks about a continuous flow of people to Ghiyāthpur, where Shaikh's hospice was located, to have a glimpse of the Shaikh, receive *barka* (grace) from him and get enrolled as his *morids*. He also registered his surprise regarding the unusually large number of people who became his disciples.¹⁶ According to Ghawsi Shattāri, *khalifas* of the Shaikh counted no less than seven hundred. Mir Khord states that almost the entire royal establishment of Sultan Alā' al-Din was deeply attached to the Shaikh. It would appear from Sejzi's *Fawā'id al-fo'ād* that many members of the standing royal army stationed at Delhi were attached to him. Moreover, according to Amir Khord, most of the troops stationed at Chanderi were disciples of the Shaikh. Even after making due allowance for the possible element of exaggeration in these assertions, it is clear that a very large number of people became disciples of the Shaikh and consequently formed his audience.

Out of this vast number of followers of the Shaikh, names of only a small number of them have been preserved. In most of the cases the information is very sketchy. Even the compilers of the biographical dictionaries generally do not provide some information regarding these aspects. Any study of the nature and composition of Nezām al-Din's disciples and the audience in general is, therefore, beset with serious limitations and would remain tentative at best.

Fawā'id al-fo'ād, our main source on the subject, contains only 23 names of his *morids*, and this list does not include the names of even some very prominent members of the circle of his disciples.¹⁷ As noted earlier, even the eminent poet and disciple Amir Khosrow Dehlavi is mentioned only indirectly (p. 142). It is therefore not surprising that out of the vast number of his disciples, names of only about 150 could be located from a large number of sources. Moreover, changes of far-reaching significance in the social structure, set in motion as a result of the Ghorian conquest, had by now come to fruition. A number of factors, among which accessibility of education to almost all sections of the

¹⁶ *Hasrat-nāma*, which contained a long response of Shaikh Nezām al-Din to Barani's reservations on this point, is lost, but this particular excerpt has been preserved by Mir Khord (pp. 356-59); cf. Nizami, 1991, pp. 52-55.

¹⁷ Among the well known disciples names of only the following occur in the course of entire book: Hosām al-Din Paili (p. 18), Hosām al-Din Hājji (p. 18), Shaikh Othmān Siwistāni (p. 28), Borhān al-Din Gharib (p. 24), Mahmud Awadhi (Shaikh Nāser al-Din Mahmud Cherāgh-i Dilli, p. 73), Khwāja Nuh (p. 151), Muhi al din Kāshāni (p. 168) and Serāj al-Din Hāfez (p. 289). It is also interesting to note that none of them finds a mention more than once. Such prominent disciples as Shams al-Din Yahyā, Fakhr al-Din Zarrādi, Shaikh Qotb al-Din Monawwar, Wajih al-Din Yusof, Wajih al-Din Nili, and Fasih al-Din are not mentioned at all.

society was perhaps the most important, facilitated rapid upward social mobility of hitherto largely unprivileged classes (Siddiqi, pp. 22-48). Barani, a staunch supporter of the old order, bitterly laments the rise of those whom he considers to be low-born to the positions of eminence and authority. He makes a very strong plea in his *Fatwā-ye jahāndāri* (p. 49) that the children of lower social strata should not be imparted education, as it will make them efficient and capable. In this situation, the title or post held by a person could no more be taken as an indicator of his social background. It, however, provides a clue to the present status of the holder of that title or post, and that is all that we can hope for at the present.

The following main categories of the social grouping emerge from the available evidence:

1. The imperial household, members of the nobility and the government servants.
2. Ulema and the learned.
3. Those attached to some profession.
4. Women.
5. Slaves.
6. Common people.

Members of the imperial household, the nobility and the government servants constituted around 15 per cent of the total recorded number of Shaikh's disciples, an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of the Cheshti *selsela* and the more surprising in view of long Cheshti tradition of aversion to the ruling class.¹⁸

It would appear that 'Alā' al-Din's policies, necessitated by political and administrative compulsions and aimed at curbing sedition and weeding out corruption from public life, tended to create a very favourable atmosphere for the expansion of Sufic tendencies among the people. His strict regulations and harsh punishments made indulgence in vice and corruption almost impossible. Barani attributes the general atmosphere of piety during 'Alā' al-Din's reign as also the other great achievements of the period to the grace of Shaikh's personality. But almost in the same breath he says that 'Alā' al-Din's death signalled a general slackness in public morals and laments that under the influence of Qotb al-Din

¹⁸ For their names, which include that of the heir apparent, see Qalandar, p. 69; Mohammad Jamāl Qewām al-Din, pp. 163-64, cited in Nizami, 1991, pp. 107-08; Barani, pp. 345, 394, 531-32; Shams Serāj 'Afif, pp. 69, 77; Behāmad Khāni, fols. 137 f., 148a; Amir Khord, pp. 144, 318, 322-23, 350, 523-24, 537; Fereshta, I, p. 128. According to Fereshta, Malek Nosrat was a sister's son of Sultan 'Alā' al-Din.

Mobārak Khalji the population of Delhi headlong plunged in vice and corruption (Barani, pp. 324-25, 332, 343-44, 384, 87).

‘Alā’ al-Din held Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā’ in great respect. Shaikh’s status during his reign was almost that of the patron saint of the regime. In an extraordinary gesture of the devotion of the ruling family towards the Shaikh and also, perhaps as a symbol of state’s policy towards the order represented by the Shaikh, Khezr Khan, the eldest son and heir designate of the Sultan, became a disciple of the Shaikh, and so did Prince Shādi Khan. The political significance of this act can hardly be emphasized. The nobility, as usual, seems to have taken note of this development and many of them got themselves enrolled as *morids* of the Shaikh. This created a general atmosphere of popularity and acceptance for the Cheshti Order in the capital. There seems to be little doubt that the enormous popularity and following attained by the Cheshti Order under the stewardship of the Shaikh was, at least partly, due to the political patronage of ‘Alā’ al-Din’s regime. One definite advantage that came the way of the Cheshtis as a result of special relationship with ‘Alā’ al-Din and the consequent political patronage was immunity from opposition. It would appear that there was considerable opposition to the Cheshtis in certain quarters of Delhi, especially among the *ulema*. But the political patronage of the ruling household seems to have acted as a deterrent for the opponents to let them live in peace. Amir Khord has openly acknowledged this fact (Qewām al-Din, pp. 163-64; Barani, pp. 379, 381, 394; Sejzi, pp. 163-64, 166, 407, 418; Qalandar, p. 202; Amir Khord, pp. 93, 144, 156-57, 530, 537).

‘Alā’ al-Din’s death brought about a drastic change in the situation. Shaikh’s disciples continued to hold important positions in the central administration under the succeeding regime as earlier, but, mainly due to the fact that the ousted heir apparent, Khezr Khan, was a disciple of the Shaikh, the political patronage was withdrawn, and it seems to have made a great difference to the fortunes of the Cheshtis in Delhi. It also adversely affected the spread of the Cheshti Order and arrested its growth. Fresh recruitment of disciples from the ruling class almost totally stopped. Shaikh Nāser al-Din’s complaint of hard times and erosion of the Sufi influence, at a time when, according to the travellers’ accounts, a large number of *khānqāhs* were flourishing in Delhi, may best be understood in this background.¹⁹

The largest group among the disciples of the Shaikh, however, came from the class of the *ulema* and the educated people. They constituted more than 50 per cent of the recorded number of his disciples. The

¹⁹ Barani, pp. 394-96; Qalandar, pp. 88, 240; cf. ‘Omari, tr., p. 36.

educated people normally joined government service, but among the ulema there were many who devoted their lives to the cause of the furtherance of learning and dissemination of knowledge. Apparently, this class was not always very well off as would appear from the examples of Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā' and his teacher, 'Alā' al-Din Osuli (Amir Khord, pp. 123, 429; Qalandar, p. 190).

It is not very clear as to what occupations these scholars turned mystics pursued for earning their livelihood. Apparently, for most of them Sufism was a full time occupation, while others pursued some profession to earn their bread. For example, Fakhr al-Din Maruzi used to copy the Koran for his livelihood and Yamini Khattāt, Rokn al-Din Chighmar and Shaikh 'Aziz al-Din Sufi were calligraphers of some excellence. Fasih al-Din used to teach children but abandoned it after becoming a disciple of Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā'. A majority of them, however, seem to have depended on donations (*fotuh*) for their subsistence (Qalandar, p. 88; Amir Khord, pp. 212, 308-9, 327).

Among the recorded names only few belong to business and artisan background. They constitute around 4 per cent of the recorded strength. The majority of them abandoned their ancestral professions after becoming disciples of the Shaikh. Shaikh Nāser al-Din did not pursue the lucrative trade of the woollen garments that he had inherited from his father. Shams al-Din Bazzāz was a prosperous merchant but discontinued his business after becoming the disciple of the Shaikh and led a life of extreme poverty.²⁰

There is no clue to decide the social background of a number of disciples. Most probably they were common people without any particular claim to distinction. Few women are also mentioned among his *morids*. A new convert whose brother was still a Hindu and some slaves too are reported to have been enrolled as disciples (Sejzi, pp. 5, 35, 192-93, 263, 296-97, 305; Qalandar, p. 134; Amir Khord, p. 324; Ghawsi, tr., p. 18).

At the zenith of his popularity the general circle of Shaikh's audience was very large indeed. People representing almost every section of the society from the members of the ruling family, mighty nobles and highest government officials rubbed shoulders with the poorest of the poor. Sometimes so many people came that there was no room for them to sit and they had to sit in the open exposed to the sun. A continuous stream of people used to flow to Ghiyāthpur. For the convenience of the

²⁰ Qalandar, pp. 146-47; Amir Khord, p. 248, who also (p.154) refers to one Abu Bakr Warrāq among the disciples of the Shaikh. The appellation of Warrāq would suggest that he was probably associated with the profession of book making.

visitors of the Shaikh, people had set up resting places on the way with arrangements of water for purposes of drinking as well as making ablution, and prayers could also be offered there (Sejzi, pp. 158, 305, 377; Qalandar, pp. 184-86, 257; Amir Khord, pp. 356-59; Barani, pp. 343-44). Usually, certain timings were observed in the Sufi hospices to give the master some respite for rest, mediation and devotions. But no particular timings seem to have been in force at the *Jamā'at-khāna* of the Shaikh and people could come almost any time of the day to receive *baraka* and blessings of the Shaikh. Many came with some problem and it was always Shaikh's endeavour to satisfy their needs. It is reported that the daily expenditure of his kitchen was two thousand *tankas* excluding the cost of cereals, which must have meant a fortune in those days (Sejzi, pp. 169, 305-6; Qalandar, pp. 87-88, 105-6; Jamāli, p. 101; Fereshta, II, p. 295). This gives an idea about the magnitude of the number of those who came to visit the *Jamā'at-khāna* every day. It is, however, surprising that except for solitary evidence contained in the *Fawā'id al-fo'ād* about a disciple bringing his Hindu brother, there is no mention of Hindus visiting the *Jamā'at-khāna*. It is interesting to note that the Shaikh did not accede to the request of the disciple to pray for the conversion of his brother. This clearly shows the attitude of the Cheshtis towards conversion.²¹

Shaikh Nāser al-Din took the stewardship of the Cheshti Order at Delhi at a time when the special relationship between the *Jamā'at-khāna* and the court had come to an end. This brought about a drastic change in the situation. Political patronage was already withdrawn and, as a result, fresh recruitment of the disciples from the ruling class had almost completely stopped. This affected the material well being of the *Jamā'at-khāna*. Consequently, the composition of his audience had also undergone a change. There is hardly any reference in the *Khayr al-majāles* to the visit of any important member of the ruling class to the *Jamā'at-khāna*.²² Most of the disciples hailed from the class of the ulema and the

²¹ There are only two occasions when a member of the ruling class is reported to have paid a visit to the *Jamā'at-khāna* of the Shaikh. See Qalandar, pp. 11, 217. At another occasion (p. 86) a Malek is reported to have sent a gift. Gesu Darāz refers to one Malek Sadr al-Din, *nāyeb-e ra'is* as a *morid* of the Shaikh. See Hosayni, p. 20.

²² These included, among others, Qāzi 'Abd al-Moqtader Thanessari, Sayyed Mohammad Gesu Darāz, Khwājagi, Shams al-Din Jazri, Kamāl al-Din, Zayn al-Din, Qāzi Adam, Sayyed Mohammad b. Ja'far Makki, Sayyed Jalāl al-Din Makhdum-e Jahāniyān. See Qalandar, pp. 66, 105, 200, 205, 217, 326-27; Amir Khord, pp. 252-54, 371; Ghawsi, tr., pp. 112-14, 139, 234, 271, 492; Mohaddeth Dehlavi, pp. 160, 165-66, 168, 173; Gholām Sarvar, II, pp. 353, 357, 366, 381, 402.

learned.²³ Mention is also made of a clerk and a chief of the jewellers. Quite a few women, many from Sehāli, were also included among his disciples. There were still many others who apparently belonged to the category of common people. It would seem that he attracted disciples from a wide area. Sehāli, Zafarābād, Sāmāna, Bihār and Kanehar are included among the places from where his *morids* came.²⁴

The presence of scholars (*dāneshmand*) and students (*mota'allem*) was distinctly more pronounced in assemblies than in the days of his master, Nezām al-Din Awliyā'. Hamid Qalandar often observes that it was an assembly of distinguished scholars (*dāneshmandan-e bozorg*), scholars particularly renowned for their debating skills (*dānishmandān-e bahhāth*), or that it was an assembly of ulema and judges. As a result, the discussions in the assemblies turned more and more to academic issues. The students were found asking questions, seeking further elucidation on certain points. Consequently, we find sometimes very complex and finer issues related to Sufism as well as those of general academic interest being delved in greater detail than was generally done at the assemblies of his master. This was probably due to Shaikh Nāser al-Din's greater personal touch in how he related to those who came to visit him. Hamid Qalandar occasionally makes a general reference to the newcomers in the assemblies of Shaikh Nāser al-Din which is not the case with Hasan Sejzi, who very rarely pays any attention to the details of this nature. It was apparently a habit with Shaikh Nāser al-Din to make polite enquiries particularly from the newcomers; asking where they hailed from, what their profession was etc., which made the newcomers more at ease and comfortable and a kind of instant personal rapport was established. This must have made the communication with his audience much easier and effective. He showed particular concern for those with some handicap or problems.

Qalandars and Jawāliq continued to visit the Cheshti hospice as they had done during the days of Shaikh Nezām al-Din Awliyā'. His solicitude for them seems to have been well known. It was perhaps because of this that Qalandar Torāb, who assaulted the Shaikh and grievously injured him, could find access to him without any hindrance. There is, however, no mention of Hindus visiting the *Jamā'at-khāna* of the Shaikh.²⁵

²³ Qalandar, pp. 94-95, 134, 143. According to Qalandar (p. 107), most of the men and women of Sehāli were attached to the Shaikh as disciples. In the opinion of the Shaikh, the women of that place were more pious than the men.

²⁴ Qalandar, pp. 60, 63-64, 151-56, 210, 273. According to Behāmad Khāni (fol. 151b), it would require a book to record the names of all Shaikh Nāser al-Din's disciples.

²⁵ Qalandar (*Supplement*), p. 286: Hosayni, p.91. Also see Life and Times of Shaikh Nasir ud Din, pp. 63-64 (This is not included among the references).

Obviously, besides the eminence and charisma of the individual Sufis, some other considerations and factors also played a role in determining the nature and extent of their outreach among different sections of the society. These included, among other things, the sociopolitical conditions obtaining at a particular point of time and the kind of relationship the individual Sufis had with the political authority. If the political authority was sympathetic towards a Sufi master, the chances of the penetration of his influence were substantially greater than under a ruler who was indifferent. But if the ruler happened to be hostile, the prospects of the growth of the clientele were definitely affected.

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Embodiment, Metaphor, and Meaning in the Devotional Music and Poetry of Badakhshan, Tajikistan

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Meaning in music can be both culture-dependent and culture-transcendent. This is perhaps most true of devotional music, where culturally specific sounds, symbols, and metaphors express common aspirations of the human spirit. Across diverse cultures, a recurrent aspect of devotional music is that it functions as a bridge between the physical and spiritual dimensions of life, providing a way for people to transcend the perceived limits of the physical world (see for example Gouk, Laderman and Roseman, Friedson, During, Ralls-MacLeod and Harvey). In the Pamir Mountain region of Tajikistan, the foremost genre of religious/devotional music, *maddāh*, and to a lesser extent, the related genre of lament known as *falak*, serve such a function.

The present paper emerges from a broader, interdisciplinary and integrative research project that explores curative and preventive practices of music and prayer in healing. Such affective uses of music and prayer occur in both traditional and clinical contexts of healing, as well as in daily life experience. While the present paper relates to preventive practices of health maintenance in Tajik Badakhshan, the subjects of the confluence of music and prayer in healing, local etiology, healing practices, and related ethnomusicological issues are explored in-depth elsewhere (Koen). Rather, the paper examines the interactive relationships between musical and poetic structures, metaphor, the natural and constructed environment, and the process of “embeingment” that occurs through the performance of Badakhshani devotional music.

Maddāh provides an example of how music and prayer can function as a unified whole in the context of traditional healing. For many Isma‘ilis of Badakhshan, particularly those who perform or participate in *maddāh*, it serves several cultural and social functions. Primarily, *maddāh* is performed as a regular Friday or Thursday night prayer and devotional gathering and constitutes a formal aspect of local worship. The textual base of *maddāh* is primarily from medieval Persian Sufi poetry, as well as from verses of the Koran and Hadith. In addition, *maddāh* draws from

individualized, spontaneous prayers and poems of the *maddāhkhān*, and to a lesser degree, from the oral tradition of folk poetry, which constitutes the primary textual base of the related genre of music-lament known as *falak*. *Maddāh* is also performed on special occasions or days of commemoration, holy days, funerals, to mourn the loss of a loved or revered one, and as a curative ceremony and preventive practice for health maintenance. It has also recently been used as an adjunctive medical treatment and supplement to anesthesia during surgery in the Khorog hospital. While *maddāh* and *falak* form distinct categories, and their functions can vary in certain specialized contexts, both genres aim to make a positive transformation in the emotional, mental, spiritual, and physical states of the performers and listeners.

During the era of Soviet control that lasted until 1992, the traditional practice of *maddāh* was forced underground. Since then, it has emerged as a symbol of cultural, ethnic, and religious identity, as well as a means of individual and community healing. A *maddāh* performance can last from as little as 20 minutes to several hours, at times from night till dawn. For a traditional funeral ceremony, *maddāh* and *falak* can be performed in an interwoven and continuous manner for up to three days and nights, men performing *maddāh* and both women and men performing *falak*. The duration and intensity of performance is dependent upon the social status of the deceased. The more important the social position of the deceased, the more involved the ceremony, including longer performances of *maddāh* and *falak*, a greater diversity of musicians and singers participating, and a greater expression of spiritual power or *baraka*, which lies at the heart of *maddāh*. If the deceased were a child for example, *maddāh* would usually not be performed. There would, however, still be *falak* performance, as well as prayers of mourning and intercession offered on behalf of the child, for the family, and the community.

G. van den Berg (1997) explored in depth diverse poetic forms utilized in *maddāh* performance, including *ghazal* (lyric), *robā'īyyāt* (quatrains), *qasida* (ode) *mathnavi* (poem in rhyming couplets), *mokhammas* (strophic poem), as well as the prayer forms of *monājāt* (extempore prayer) and *do'ā* (invocation addressed to God). In addition, spontaneous, free form expressions of prayer and poems are common, especially in the most spiritually and musically charged moments of performance. These forms are interwoven and linked together in flexible ways, allowing for the inspiration of the moment to guide the performance. The basic musical form of *maddāh* consists of three sections, the *monājāt*, *haydari*, and *setāyesh*.

The first section, or *monājāt*, consists of prayers, often for forgiveness, and poems testifying to one's lowliness and humility. It is the calmest and most reserved section in terms of musical energy and texture. The *maddāhkhān* accompanies himself on the Pamiri *robāb* in a call and response format between the voice and instrument. This section is in a free musical meter overall, consisting of the interaction of two rhythmic phrases of the *robāb* and the voice. The performative act and mystical conversation between the *maddāhkhān* and the *robāb* is a metaphor for communication between the Divine and the world of creation. One legend about the *robāb* says that the instrument, in a shape that reflects that of a person, descended from the heavens, itself sounding divine melodies on the gut strings from a sacrificial lamb; the *maddāhkhān* receives the *robāb* and mirrors this melodic action by vocalizing and wailing out mystical poems and prayers.

The second section is the *haydari* (of or about Imam 'Ali; Haydar being one of his epithets), which consists of narrative, didactic poems that often recount the Sunna, and lives and actions of *pirs* (elders, used for Sufi leaders), saints, or holy people, most often Imam Ali. The frame drum (*doira/doyera*) enters in this section, providing a regular pulse usually in a strong duple meter. If present, other *robāb* or *tanbur* lutes enter here as well. In this section, the addition of more performers to the group, the increase in volume and tempo, the introduction of a regular beat and repetitive rhythm, cause the musical energy to be markedly higher. Moreover, the *haydari* often gradually and significantly increases in tempo.

The third section is the *setāyesh* (lit., praise). This is the most intense part of *maddāh* performance in terms of energy, musical content and interaction with the sung poetry. The three sections form a crescendo in both a musical and meditative sense. While the musical features increase and become more complex and active on all levels throughout the performance, including amplitude/volume, timbre/waveform, tempo/ speed, frequency/pitch class, and rhythmic organization, the meditative focus of participants becomes deeper. For listeners, a general state of bodily stillness accompanies the progressively deepened meditative state; there is no dancing or significant movement during *maddāh*. Performers usually sit cross-legged to play their instruments and sing. They can become slightly more physically animated as the performance builds and as the spiritually empowered atmosphere influences them. For all participants, as a genre of worship, prayer and devotion, the ideal state is outward stillness, which in turn encourages meditation on the *meaning* of the sung poems and prayers. Listeners usually sit around the perimeter of

the room where the performance occurs, or in other open spaces that facilitate relaxation and the directing of one's spiritual capacities toward the Beloved.

In one sense, *setāyesh* is the section that defines or makes *maddāh*. While a complete *maddāh* performance almost always has the three sections outlined above, each section can also stand alone, and might be referred to as *maddāh*, *madda*, *maddahi*, or *madh* (see During and Levin, p. 32; Kasmai, p. 30; Berg and Belle 1994, p. 14). The individual section names might also be used to refer to the performance of a section, i.e. *monājāt*, *haydari*, or *setāyesh*. In this case, each section can be considered a genre unto itself. Finally, the first line or refrain of a poem might be used to refer to the individual or the three-part form.

It is important to note that *madāh* is a mystical genre, at the heart of which is a high degree of flexibility and allowance for innovation. While the musical and sonic features progress from *monājāt* to *haydari* to *setāyesh* with great regularity and can be considered as creating a formal structure, the meaning in the poems and prayers cannot be as strictly categorized. That is to say, all sections might testify to one's humility and God's greatness; all sections can convey the Sunna and stories of didactic subject matter; and all sections can be about praise and love of God.

EMBODIMENT OF THE SPIRITUAL

To explore the process of embodiment, I shall consider how certain musical and poetic structures of *maddāh* embody power-laden symbols of Pamiri culture and serve as catalysts for participants to embody the meaning inherent in such symbols. In addition, by building upon Devon Hinton's (1999) use of the concepts of emplacement and bodily *hexis*, the natural and constructed environment is seen to frame and connect symbols and people to the process of embodiment. Emplacement refers to the role of place in the process of embodiment; bodily *hexis* refers to the relationship of humans to each other, to the natural and built environment, and the state of rest or unrest within a person.

Embodiment here is both a process and a goal. It is a process by which an idea, virtue, symbol or energy is absorbed and manifested in one's being, not just one's body; and it is the goal of mystic unity with the Beloved, where the self or *nafs* is burned away by the fire of love and only the Beloved remains. Both the process and the goal represent healthy living and healing. The term "being" is used here to refer holistically to what is locally considered the three-part human reality

of the mind-body-spirit, or *aql-tan-ruh*. This view moves beyond the dualistic, materialistic definition of embodiment, which is typically limited to the physical body or “the embodied mind” To “embody” at all levels of this tripartite human reality that includes the soul or spirit is best viewed as a holistic process of “embeingment” Embodiment, in this sense then, is a positive energy and disembodiment the absence of that energy (see also Varela, Thomson and Rosch), just as darkness is the absence of light. That is, darkness has no energy of its own; it is dependent on the absence of light. In the same way, if one is not in the process of embodiment or progression, one is in the process of disembodiment or retrogression. That is, moving further away from the virtues, thoughts and behavior that comprise the ethical code of a culture. For the *maddāh* performers and healers with whom I worked, embodiment is encouraged through the performance of *maddāh*, which integrates music, poetry, prayer and meditation, in turn leading to the focusing of one’s attention toward the *bāten*, or mystical inner realities, throughout daily activities. *Maddāh* is heavily didactic, dedicating much time to giving counsel, explicating the consequences of specific actions and behavior by drawing on historical and legendary stories to illustrate the *halāl* and *harām*, that which is permitted and that which is forbidden in the culture. At the same time, *maddāh* is the mystical genre of the Isma‘ilis of Badakhshan, emphasizing the *bāten*, not at the expense of the *zāher*, or outward form, but rather to see in that which is physically manifest, a spiritual reality or essence.

Enplacement and bodily *hexis* create context and frame, sacred spaces for devotional practices and daily activities; give meaning to poetic metaphor; and encourage cognitive links and reminders between symbols in the natural and built environment and their direct or metaphoric meaning. Hence, the focusing of one’s attention and the expanding of one’s awareness are encouraged by enplacement and bodily *hexis*.

In Badakhshan for example, the most prominent and significant formations are the ponderous, snow-capped Pamir mountains, deep valleys, powerful rivers, rock, dust, light, the Pamiri home and the *maddāhkhane*, the transformative, sacred space where *maddāh* is regularly performed. These symbols interact with each other in the process of embodiment, heightening awareness and encouraging reflection on multiple cognitive and spiritual levels. *Maddāh* serves as a powerful tool of continuity in this process. It is practiced regularly, musically and linguistically tying together beliefs, intentions, aspirations, expectations, history, and the environment.

In the context of performance, multiple levels of meaning exist. A subtle yet profound level of meaning is found within the musical and poetic structures, which embody the local symbol and metaphor of “five.” The source of metaphor is found in the natural and built environment, as well as the local religious belief and practice. For example, the symbol “five” is found in the ancient Oxus River known as the river “Panj” or five, and in the “five rivers” that flow into the Panj; namely the Vakhshab, Yazgolah, Bartang, Ghond, and the Shakh-darya. Five is also manifest in architecture of the main room of the Pamiri home, which serves as a formal place of worship, a family or local mosque. It is built around five structural pillars, which represent the five members of the holy family of Islam as well as the “five pillars” or central practices of Islam. This room has five walls, two of which are co-joined to the two pillars that represent Imam Hasan and Imam Hosayn. These two pillars, linked by a horizontal beam, form the physical entrance and metaphoric passageway to mystical experience beyond the material world. The pillars and their metaphoric meaning are directly related to the Badakhshāni Isma‘ili view that the individual and community of believers are the *panj tan* or followers of the “five bodies” (or central figures) of Islam, namely Prophet Muhammad, Imam Ali, Fatema, Imam Hasan, and Imam Hosayn. Five can also be found in the poetic meter of *rajaz* /- - v - -/, which is used in the example below. Finally, five can be found in the last and most intense section of *maddāh* performance, known as *setāyesh*. The music can be analysed and understood as being in a musical meter of five. This is true of all the complete performances of *maddāh* that I have heard. To be sure, the performers do not conceive or perceive the *setāyesh* in a “5/4 musical meter” When I proposed my analysis to *maddāh* performers, responses ranged from a kind of curious interest and delight to one musician that said: “Yes, there are always relationships, sometimes we discover them.” To explore these ideas in a practical way, I turn to an excerpt of a solo performance by Ostad Abd al-Soltan Mahmud, a renowned *falakkhān* and performer of several Pamiri genres of folk music (*musiqi-ye khalqi*). While his complete performance is best characterized as a *falak*, the two sections below could be found in any *maddāh* performance and were even considered by some local musicians as a kind of miniature *maddāh*. This is specifically due to the musical features (rhythm, meter, form and use of the *robāb*), as well as the poetic structure and text as discussed above. This section of text comes from a poem attributed to Jalal al-Din Mohammad Rumi and is performed with a musical organization of a 5/4 meter. As is often the case, the performed rendition varies from published versions of the same poem:

Ay shoda ghurra dar jahān
Dur mashow, dur mashow.
Yar o negar dar bar-at
Dur mashow, dur mashow.
Khalq man-am, khāna man-am,
Dām manam, dāna man-am,
Āqel o divune man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow.

O bright new moon now in the world
 Be not far, be not far.
 Beloved and beauty in your arms
 Be not far, be not far.
 Man am I, dwelling am I,
 Trap am I, the bait am I,
 Sage and mad of mind am I,
 Be not far, be not far.

Ka 'ba-ye asrār man-am,
Jobba o dastār man-am,
Rāheb o zonnār man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow.
Mir man-am, pir man-am,
Basta ba-zanjir man-am,
Sāheb-e tadbir man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow.

Ka'ba of mysteries am I,
 The cloak and turban am I,
 A monk and his belt am I,
 Be not far, be not far.
 Prince am I, guide am I,
 Bound up by a chain am I
 The one who makes plans am I
 Be not far, be not far

Shād man-am, dād man-am,
Banda o āzād man-am,
Anduh-e del-e shād man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow.
Shām man-am, ruz man-am,
Eshq-e jegarsuz man-am,
Sham '-e delafruz man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow.

Glad am I, justice am I,
 Both a slave and free am I,
 Grief of happy hearts am I,
 Be not far, be not far.
 Night am I, day am I,
 Love that burns within am I,
 Heart illuminating candle am I,
 Be not far, be not far.

Yār man-am, ghār man-am,
Delbar o deldār man-am,
Ghoncha man-am, khār man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow.
Āb man-am shāb man-am,
Kuza man-am ab man-am,
Abr man-am, nāb man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow.

Friend am I, cave am I,
 Beloved and lover am I,
 Rose bud am I, thorn am I,
 Be not far, be not far.
 Water am I, youth am I,
 Vessel am I, water am I,
 Cloud am I, pure am I,
 Be not far, be not far.

Ganj man-am, ranj man-am,
Chār man-am, panj man-am,
Ruz o shab āhang man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow.

Treasure am I, toil am I,
 Four am I, five am I,
 The tune of day and night am I,
 Be not far, be not far.

Shaykh man-am, shāb man-am,
Kuza man-am, āb man-am,
Bikhor o bikhāb man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow.

Elder am I, young am I,
 Jug am I, water am I,
 Foodless and sleepless am I,
 Be not far, be not far

Shams-e shakarriz man-am,
Mahfel-e Tabriz man-am,
Khanjar-e khunriz man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow,
Khanjar-e khunriz man-am,
Dur mashow, dur mashow

The mellifluous Shams am I,
 Assembly of Tabriz am I,
 The blood-shedding dagger am I,
 Be not far, be not far
 The blood-shedding dagger am I
 Be not far, be not far

In the context of musical performance, eight strums on the *robāb*, which are usually accompanied by accented drum strokes on the *doira*, form the basic rhythmic structure. These eight strokes are sounded in a regular, recurring pattern over five evenly spaced pulses, or beats. Further, these five pulses can be organized into twenty subdivisions.

The subdivisions of the musical meter can be organized as follows:

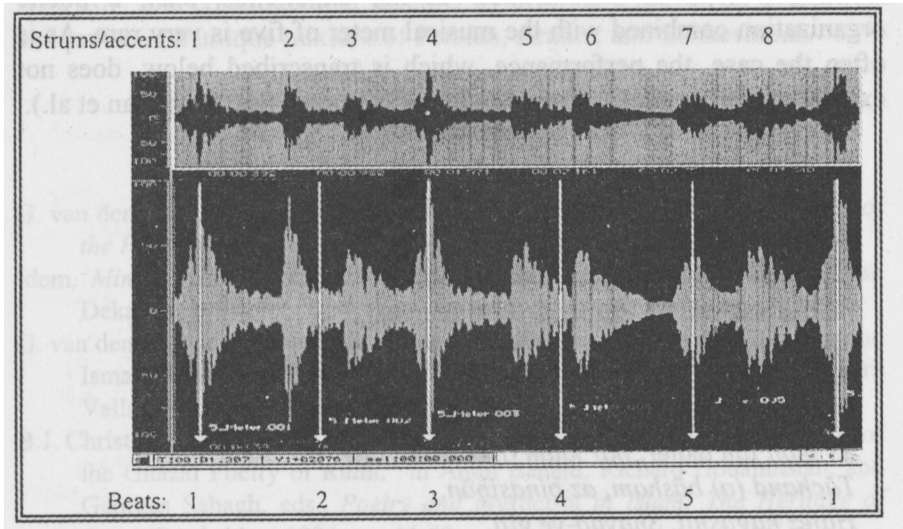
123 123 12 123 123 12 12 12
 123 123 12 = beats 1 and 2
 123 123 12 = beats 3 and 4
 12 12 = beat 5.

In the following graphic (Figure 1), the 5 pulses are indicated by the numbers 1-5 above the 20 subdivisions; and the 8 drum/*robāb* strokes are indicated by an * symbol under the number.

1	2		3	4		5	
1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2	1 2	1 2
*	* *		*	* *	*	*	*

Figure 1

The waveform below (Figure 2) is a representation of the sound itself.



(next measure)

Figure 2

The 8 bursts of energy in the waveform are numbered above the graphic and indicate the 8 strums/accents on the *robāb*. Beats 1-5 are indicated underneath the waveform. Each vertical white line within the waveform marks a beat and corresponds to the numbers 1-5 below the graphic; the first line indicates beat 1 and the last line indicates beat 1 of the following measure. The flexible nature of the 5/4 musical meter can be seen clearly with beats 1, 3, and 5, being slightly longer than beats 2 and 4. Beats 1, 3, and 5 also fall on *doira/robāb* accents, which are indicated by the burst of energy on those beats and the strum/accent numbers 1, 4, and 7 above the graphic. Beat 2 occurs between the 2nd and 3rd *robāb* accent; beat 4 occurs between the 5th and 6th *robāb* accents. This arrangement of beats and accents forms a consistent rhythmic and metric pattern throughout the *setāyesh* section and shows the embodiment of “five” in the sound and musical structures.

The last section of this example is based upon a *ghazal* of Hafez. The poetic meter continues to be *rajaz*: / - - v - -, (*chan-dan-ke-gof-tam*); and the perceived musical meter continues in five. The grouping of distiches (*bayts*) in this performance adds to the five-centered poetic structure, which is rendered into musical phrases grouped by the five syllables per hemistich—a comma separates each hemistich and indicates a consistent pause employed during the performance. Depending on the melodic contour, the poem can be performed with a further five-centered

organization—five lines to a stanza, and five stanzas to a section, forming a type of *mokhammas*. In my experience, such a poetic organization combined with the musical meter of five is very rare. As is often the case, the performance, which is transcribed below, does not exactly mirror the well-known version of the poem (see Shajarian et al.).

*Chandān ke goftam, gham bā tabībān,
Darmān nakardand, meskin gharibān.
Ān gol ke har-dam, dar dast-e khār-ast,
Gu sharm (o) bād-at, az ‘andalibān.
Dorj-e mohabbat, dar mohr-e khod nist,
Yā-rab mabādā, kām-e raqibān.
Yā-rab amān deh, tā bāz (o) binam,
Chashm-e muhebbān, Ru-ye habibān,
Ay mon ‘am ākher, bar khān (o) aslah,
Tāchand (o) bāsham, az binasibān.
Hafez nagashti, Shaydā-ye giti,
Gar mishenidi, Pand-e adibān,
Gar mishenidi, Pand-e adibān, dāde!*

How much I have cried! Alas the doctors
Can't cure the sadness of this poor outsider
A flower whose thorns are ever in my hands
Say be ye shamefaced in the nightingale's presence
The treasure of love is not in them
O Lord! Grant not my rival's wish
O Lord! Grant that I may see anew
So a lover's eyes beholds the face of the Beloved
Oh eternal friend upon the table of peace
How long will I be among the deprived
Hafez, you won't be enraptured by the world
If you heed the counsel of the friends
If you heed the counsel of the wise ones—it is given!

The embodiment of meaning within the music and poetry can be viewed as a key component in achieving the aim of positive transformations in performers and listeners. Through the performance, participants aim to embody the meaning found in these genres. Not only during the performance, but also by translating the meaning into daily action, as one mystic from Eshkeshem said to me regarding this issue “*Do ‘ā bedun-e ‘amal bifāyeda’s*” (Prayer without action is useless). He smiled and nodded his head when I responded “*Dorost, javāb-e do ‘ā dar*

amal-ast" (True, the answer to prayer lies in action). He responded "Dorost!" and concluded our meeting by offering a prayer for protection and praise in a unique mixture of Persian, Arabic, and Eshkeshemi.

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Symposium I: Persianate Anatolia and the Early Ottoman Empire

Local Identity and Medieval Anatolian Historiography: Anavi's *Anis al-qolub* and Ahmad of Niğde's *al-Walad al-shafiq*¹

A.C.S. PEACOCK

The Persian historical writing of medieval Anatolia (Rum) has rarely attracted much scholarly attention.² Yet it is not merely our main source for the history of the region, and especially for its leading dynasty, the Saljuqid sultanate of Rum (late 5th-8th/11th-14th centuries), but is also of great interest in its own right. This writing lies at the start of a rich historiographical tradition that stretches into Ottoman times, when popular medieval genres such as the *Saljuq-nāmas* (histories of the Saljuqid dynasty) were still being imitated, copied, and translated.³ Most of the surviving works of Anatolian Persian historiography date not to the apogee of the Saljuqid state itself, but rather to the later seventh/thirteenth and eighth/fourteenth centuries, when Rum formed part of the Il-khanid Empire and the Saljuqid dynasty survived only as a figurehead.

The development of historical writing at this date has been associated with a growing sense of the local identity of Rum, despite or perhaps because of its status as a province of the Il-khanid Empire, and especially with a sense of loyalty to the Saljuqid dynasty (Melville, p. 1; Cahen, pp. 333-34). Sometimes, writers expressed this local identity through associating events with their home towns, as an anonymous citizen of Konya did in a brief prose *Saljuq-nāma* (completed probably by a second author, c. 756/1363). Alternatively, Ebn Bibi, in his court chronicle

¹ An earlier version of this paper was delivered at the 2nd Biennial Conference of the Association for the Study of Persian Societies, Yerevan, April 2004. I gratefully acknowledge permission from the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Turkey to consult manuscripts in the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul.

² The main published survey is Köprülü, 1992, supplemented by Melville, to whom I am very grateful for a copy of his paper prior to its publication.

³ The best known example of this phenomenon is Yazıcıoğlu Ali's fifteenth-century Ottoman Turkish translation of Ebn Bibi's history of the Saljuquids of Rum, but an interest in Saljuqid history was evinced by many other Ottoman writers. See Yıldız, pp. 406-7.

composed in the late seventh/thirteenth century, shows his local allegiances through his idealization of 'Alā' al-Din Kay-Qobād (r. 616-34/1219-37), the last fully independent Saljuqid ruler of Rum before the Mongols. Aqsarā'i's chronicle, the only other Anatolian history of the period to have been published, includes some general information on the Prophet Muhammad and the caliphs, but it is basically an account of Rum under the Mongol rule.

This article will examine this sense of local identity in two other historical works that Claude Cahen did not consider, *Anis al-qolub* by Anavi and *al-Walad al-shafiq* by Ahmad of Niğde. Both works, preserved in unique manuscripts held in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, remain unpublished. The first, the versified *Anis al-qolub*, completed no later than 607/1210, is the earliest surviving Anatolian history,⁴ while *al-Walad al-shafiq*, composed in 733/1333, comprises not just historical but also geographical and religious information. Although the two works were composed over a century apart, they are distinguished from the histories considered by Cahen by the fact that Anavi and Ahmad of Niğde were both provincial judges (*qāzi*), whereas other surviving works are by members of the state bureaucracy. Ebn Bibi was an official in the Mongol chancellery, while Aqsarā'i held a senior position in the Il-khanid financial administration in Rum. Melville believes that the author of the anonymous *Tārikh-e Āl-e Saljuq* was in the entourage of the Il-khanid statesman Nāser al-Din, advisor to Geikhātu before the latter became Khan (Melville, pp. 7, 18, 27). Thus *Anis al-qolub* and *al-Walad al-shafiq*, composed in very different environments and by very different authors, offer an alternative perspective on whether ideas of local identity had permeated other sections of Anatolian society. Anavi's work, composed long before Mongol conquests, also offers a rare opportunity to assess whether such sentiments existed during the height of Saljuqid rule.

Hitherto only some small fragments of the *Anis al-qolub* have been published in an appendix to Mehmed Fuad Köprülü's 1943 article on the manuscript (pp. 497-521). Its great length (c. 28,000 couplets on 428 folios) and the fact that much of it is of little relevance to the historian of medieval Anatolia doubtless account for the neglect of the rest of it, although, as I hope to demonstrate, it is by no means devoid of interest. It is divided into seven books or *daftars*, each of which is prefaced and concluded by praise of the poet's patron, the Saljuqid sultan of Rum

⁴ The composition of *Anis al-Qolub* commenced considerably before that of any other surviving work. Although, Rāvandi, like Anavi not a native of Rum, completed his history dedicated to Ghiyāth al-Din Kay-Khosrow slightly earlier, he started it much later, in 599/1202. See Meisami, pp. 238-39.

‘Ezz al-Din Kay-Kā’us I, who ruled between 607/1210 and 616/1219, although the work had been started decades earlier. The first six *daftar*s consist of stories of prophets from Adam to Mohammad, and are strongly reminiscent of the genre of *qesas al-anbiyā’*. Perhaps somewhat surprisingly, in view of the work’s dedication to a royal patron, Anavi shows no interest in kingship whatsoever. David and Alexander are the only kings to intrude among the prophets, and even they are treated more as holy men than as conventional rulers.

It is thus only the seventh and final *daftar* that is historical in any modern sense (fols. 383b ff.). This section starts with an account of the Prophet Mohammad’s *ghazawāt* and then continues with a history of the caliphs down to al-Nāser le-Din Allah, who acceded in 575/1180. As events near Anavi’s own time, the caliphs take second place to the amirs of the fifth/eleventh century, who dominate the narrative. Anavi briefly sketches the transfer of power from the Samanid rulers of Transoxiana to the Ghaznavids (Köprülü, 1943, pp. 497-501, ll. 1-99). Naturally, however, it is to the Saljuqids that he devotes the most attention, and the last four hundred lines of the work consists of a brief versified account of their conquests, which rarely contains any original information (Köprülü, 1943, pp. 501 ff., ll. 100 ff.).

Anis al-qolub is thus a versified compilation (in the *motaqāreb* meter) of mainly *qesas al-anbiyā’* with the addition of some historical information. The three sources that Anavi specifically cites (Anavi, fol. 4b), Tabari’s *Ta’rikh al-rosol wa’l-moluk*, ‘*Arā’es al-majāles fī qesas al-anbiyā’*’ of Ahmad b. Mohammad Tha’labi and Mohammad Kesā’i’s *Qesas al-anbiyā’* are all prose works, and while versified *qesas al-anbiyā’* are not entirely unknown, they are extremely uncommon (see Storey, I/1, p. 167 for another, much later, example). Anavi does seem to have anticipated objections to his work, for he says of other poets (Anavi, fol. 4a):

Their art is full of love-tales, depravity and lies; as they have such a foundation, religious people avoid it.

Anavi states that, before starting *Anis al-qolub*, he consulted with the religious leaders (*emāmān o pirān-e ān ruzgār/ ke budand dar din sodur-e kobār*), and repeatedly insists that his purpose is not frivolous, but to present these stories of prophets in an attractive form (*be-keswat-e latif*; fols. 4a, 176a). He also says that only the tales of the greatest prophets had been gathered in one place, many having been scattered apart, but his aim was to collect them all together (fol. 155a). At the same time, he boasts that, through his verse, he will make the sultan famous as far away as Khwārazm (fol. 69a). The panegyrics for ‘Ezz al-Din Kay-Kā’us I

were probably inserted long after the work had been completed, when Anavi had found a patron. Anavi says that it took him forty-six years to complete the work, which he had begun in 562/1166-67 at the age of twenty-four (fol. 4b; Köprülü, 1943, p. 517, l. 460), while the last historical event he records is in 584/1188-89 (Anavi's embassy to Baghdad, see further below).

A work such as *Anis al-qolub*, treating the stories of prophets, can obviously only reflect local concerns to a limited degree. Anavi had probably long since left his home town of Ani in Armenia to seek the patronage of the Saljuqids, but he refers to it at length at both the beginning and end of *Anis al-qolub*. In his autobiography in his preface to the *Anis* (fols. 3b-4a), he records that he was born in Ani of Kurdish and Turkish descent, the son of an army commander, and there he studied the Old and New Testaments, although he was a Muslim. He was taken prisoner by a Georgian after the city was captured by the Abkhaz king in 556/1161. His knowledge of the Christians' language allowed him to survive and eventually to escape to Rum. After a revelation in a dream, he returned to Armenia to study the religious sciences and became a judge (*qāzi*) and an Islamic jurisconsult (*faqih*). One day, when in Tabriz, he encountered a learned man who persuaded him that composing a work in verse on the prophets would both win him fame in this world and save him from Hell in the next. This was to be *Anis al-qolub*. At the end of the work he mentions that he was sent on an embassy to the Caliph al-Nāser in Baghdad in 584/1188-89 by the Shāh-e Arman (Köprülü, 1943, p. 515, l. 407). This was the title of the Turkman ruler of the city of Akhlāt in Eastern Anatolia throughout the 6th/12th century, the dynasty being finally extinguished in 604/1207. The ruler whom Anavi served was Sayf al-Din Bek Timur, who had come to power in 581/1185 (Hillenbrand, p. 193). As Anavi tells us that he returned from his audience with the caliph with a *manshur* and *sanjaq*, a letter of investiture and a standard, as well as gifts, we may assume that Bek Timur was seeking recognition of his assumption of the title from the caliph, perhaps in response to the continuing threat to his state from the Ayyubids.

With his mixed Kurdish and Turkish ancestry, his poem dedicated to a Saljuqid ruler, his service to the Shāh-e Arman, his visits to Baghdad and Tabriz, and his origins in Armenia, Anavi is not the most likely candidate with whom to associate a sense strong of local identity. He does, however, introduce certain local references to the text. Other authors did attempt to make stories of prophets relevant to their audience by referring events to familiar places, so there is not necessarily anything significant about Anavi's insistence that Alexander was not from Greece

(Yunān) or Persia, but from Rum (a somewhat ambiguous term anyway) (fol. 196b). Yet such local references in *Anis al-qolub* are less often to the Saljuqid domains of Rum than to the author's home town of Ani.⁵ Perhaps the most notable example of this is in the purely historical section, where Anavi gives a detailed account of the campaigns of the Saljuqids Qotolmesh and Alp Arslan against Ani (Köprülü, 1943, pp. 502-03, ll. 120-50), more space than he allots to Alp Arslan's victory at Manzikert/Malāzgerd (ll. 151-72), one of the most important events in the history of the region. The very fact that Anavi is more interested in the conquest of Ani than in this great Saljuq victory that allowed Islam into Anatolia is strongly suggestive of where his interests, and perhaps his loyalties too, lay. Elsewhere prejudices that one may well imagine to have derived from the author's residence in Armenia obtrude into the text. Discussing various types of Christians, he praises the Nestorians, but criticizes the rest (fol. 254a):

Armenians, Georgians, Franks and Byzantines hold to a disgraceful way of life and beliefs. Of all of these, Armenians are the worst: they are the stupidest, the most impure and ill-starred.

Anavi's loyalties are thus somewhat ambiguous. Certainly he never praises his home town in extravagant terms, unlike our second author, Ahmad of Niğde, and he refers disparagingly in his preface to the prevalence of Christianity there (fol. 3b). When Anavi dedicated his work, Ani was under Georgian rule, under the local Mkhargrdzeli dynasty, and perhaps praise of a city under Christian domination would have been inappropriate (Minorsky, pp. 102-03). Nonetheless, his references to Ani remind his audience both of his origins and of Ani's Muslim past. Anavi's insertion of the tale of his own captivity at the hands of the Georgian invaders at the start of *Anis*, and his disproportionate emphasis on the success of earlier Saljuqid campaigns against Ani may have been intended to appeal to the sultan for help against the current occupiers of the city.

Anis al-qolub, our sole surviving pre-Mongol history compiled in Anatolia, thus suggests that some sense of local identity may well have been alive in earlier periods than those suggested by Cahen. Of course, in this case, it is a local identity located outside Rum where Anavi was an exile, but this was true of many Saljuqid writers who were forced, often by war, to leave their homelands to seek their fortune in Muslim Anatolia. Some, like Awhad al-Din Kermāni (d. 635/1238), resident in Rum for approximately thirty years, complained bitterly of their fate

⁵ Ani is today in the Republic of Turkey; Anavi makes a distinction between the provinces of *Arminiya* and *Rum* (fol. 4a)

(p. 405, no. 1698). Others, like the poet Qāne‘i, who has left us an account of his flight from the Mongols, established themselves successfully at the Saljuqid court and praised their royal patrons’ munificence (Safā, III/1, pp. 489-90). Qāne‘i, originally from Khorasan, composed a lost verse *Saljuq-nāma* for ‘Alā’ al-Din Kay-Qobād, which was part of a growing trend for this genre in the early seventh/thirteenth century (Köprülü, 1992, pp. 9-21). It is likely that this verse *Saljuq-nāma* would have resembled in form and metre *Anis al-qolub*, which is the sole surviving work from Anatolia to give an impression of the genre.

These *Saljuq-nāmas* seem to have been intended for a court audience and dedicated to the sultan. However, it was not just the Saljuqid court that commissioned these works, but also a provincial audience, as we know from our second author, Ahmad b. ‘Ali Khotani (b. c. 685/1286). Ahmad, a judge from the central Anatolian city of Niğde, from which he is known to posterity as Ahmad of Niğde, records that he composed a *Saljuq-nāma* for a local amir, a certain Shams al-Din Dündar Bey (fol. 141a). It is not known exactly who this Shams al-Din was, but he was probably a Turkman chief. He may have been related to the Hamidid family that ruled the Anatolian Lake District around Eğridir, who were the descendants of a certain Falak al-Din Dündar Bey (Ebn Battuta, p. 288; Qalqashandi, VIII, pp. 13-14). Later Ottoman tradition also names one of the brothers of Ertoghrol, father of the Othmān Ghāzi, as Dündar, but it is hard to know what, if any, historical basis this has (Neşri, I, pp. 60-61).

Unfortunately, this *Saljuq-nāma* is lost, but Ahmad did preserve an epitome (*mokhtasar*) of it in his sole surviving work, the enigmatic *al-Walad al-shafiq*. It appears that his *Saljuq-nāma* was strongly rooted in the traditions and history of Niğde and the surrounding area, and we may surmise that the strongly regional character of the work may have been one of the reasons for its appeal to this Turkman amir. Frequently Ahmad interrupts his narrative to insert information about his home town, Niğde. He proudly stresses both Niğde’s connection to the Saljuqid house, for instance as the burial place of the daughter of the last sultan, Ghiyāth al-Din Mas‘ud, and his own family’s record of service to the dynasty (fols. 151b-52a). By the time that Ahmad was writing (733/1333: Ahmad, fol. 298a), the Saljuquids had long since disappeared, but a strong sense of loyalty to the dynasty permeates the work. As we know nothing of Shams al-Din other than that he was an amir of Niğde, it is impossible to judge exactly what interest he may have had in a *Saljuq-nāma*. It is clear, however, that the Saljuqid dynasty remained a focal point both for loyalty and for legitimation long after their fall, so much so that subsequent Anatolian dynasties such as the Ottomans felt obliged

to stress their ties to them (Âşık Paşazade, pp. 60-63, 328-31), and *Saljuq-nāmas* continued to be composed throughout the fourteenth century. Yazıcıoğlu 'Ali's fifteenth-century Ottoman translation of Ebn Bibi's account of the dynasty illustrates that the genre remained popular for a long time to come.

Thus Shams al-Din's interest in a *Saljuq-nāma* was probably wholly conventional. And with his patron being an amir of Niğde, it is not surprising that Ahmad made frequent references to the town, if the asides preserved in the *mokhtasar* in *al-Walad al-shafīq* do indeed come from his *Saljuq-nāma* and were not inserted later. Such references, however, occur throughout the former work, not just in the epitome of the *Saljuq-nāma*. Yet Ahmad claims that *al-Walad al-shafīq* was dedicated to the Mongol ruler Abu Sa'id (fol. 139b), and it is hard to see why this patron would have been interested in the local information, often highly obscure, that the author inserts.

Ahmad's asides are often formulaic praise of his birthplace. Frequently, he refers to it as *mahrusa-ye Nakida, anzah-e belād-e Rum* "God protected Niğde, the most pure place in Anatolia", or uses a similar phrase (fols. 5a, 156a). Sometimes, the pause in the narrative is purely to enable Ahmad to relate an event elsewhere to one in Niğde. For instance, praying at the tomb of the Zengid ruler Nur al-Din is compared to local customs at Niğde (fol. 153b). Ahmad's interruptions are often to provide information about himself, his family, and especially his acquaintances in the local religious community. Through the *subāshi* (military commander) of Aq Sarāy (modern Aksaray), Kamāl al-Din, he was related by marriage to Abu Hāmed Mohammad Ghazālī, and he seems to have been closely involved with Sufi circles (Ahmad, fol. 130b). Elsewhere, he tells us about the books he had read, his entrance to the service of the chief judge of Kayseri as a page, and his father's burial in Niğde (fols. 150b-51a, 153b, 211b). Sometimes history is adapted to suit the local environment. In Ahmad's version of the story of *Ashāb al-Kahf*, the Seven Sleepers, topographical references are located in the surroundings of Niğde. The vanished city of Ephesus (Afsus/Afasus) from which the seven sleepers came is identified with Elbestān (fol. 63b), and discussions of other villages from the region are associated with the story in local legend; for instance, he accepts that the village of Tabāna, or Kilise Hisar (later known as Kemer Hisar), was built by the Roman emperor Decius but rejects the tale that it was the place in which the seven sleepers hid from persecution (Gabriel, p. 155). Intriguingly, Ahmad also puts the burial place of Decius (Doqiyānus), from whose persecutions the *Ashāb al-Kahf* fled, in the vicinity of Niğde (fol. 64b):

When I was ten years old, I heard from the great historians of my town, Niğde, that the grave of Decius is on the peak of the mountain where the caravansaray of [Bimāmi?] is, lying on the road to Ma'dan-e Lo'lo'. It is thought correct that the round hill on top of the afore-mentioned mountain is his grave. Now that I am forty-three years old, I have heard the same tale from the mouths of the remaining elders and 'olamā', and it is still related in this way in the assemblies of the imams of the 'omma.

The burial of this pagan emperor in the vicinity is a rather dubious honor, and Ahmad's attitude towards his home town is by no means always as positive, as his frequent use of epithets such as *anzah-e belād-e Rum* would suggest. Near the start of *al-Walad al-shafiq*, Ahmad mentions the popularity of folk tales about the prophet attributed to Hamza b. 'Abd al-Mottaleb, and says (fol. 6a),

If the *mo'arref* of our town, *mawlānā* Badr al-Din, were to say in front of the masses ('*awwām*) that one line of these falsehoods was a lie, the ignorant would consider it permissible to seek to kill him.

Ahmad refers to the error and hypocrisy of his enemies in Niğde (fol. 152a),⁶ and the activities of a local swindler, "the irreligious dog, Ebrāhim Hājji" (fol. 108a), executed by the governor, who had caused "*fetna*" (political disorder) in the region.

These references suggest that *al-Walad al-shafiq* was in fact intended for a local audience in Niğde itself rather than Abu Sa'id, for whom they would have been of little interest. Indeed, this provincial flavor permeates the whole work, which is written in a peculiarly florid and unconventional Persian. History is evidently not the sole subject covered, as included are also sections on geography and religious matters, such as the exemplary behavior of the Prophet and the question of the right to the caliphate. Yet even in the sections dealing with religious matters, Ahmad's local concerns permeate the text. For instance, Ahmad lists the so-called renewers of the faith (*mojaddedān-e Eslām*) that appear every hundred years. For most periods, these are conventional figures such as Ghazālī, but many of those listed by Ahmad for the eighth/fourteenth century seem to have been acquaintances of his from the nearby Anatolian cities such as Konya, Qaysariyya (Kayseri) and Aq Sarāy (fol. 95a-b). It must be noted that many of the names mentioned in this connection have *nesbas* from areas outside Anatolia proper (Khonj,

⁶ It seems from comments in Aflāki (II, pp. 913-14, 940-42) that the religious atmosphere in Niğde was rather tense in the early eighth/fourteenth century, with disputes between Sufis and the established 'olamā. It is possible that Ahmad's comments are a reflection of this, for he specifically criticizes the imams in this passage, and he seems to have had strong Sufi connections, as mentioned above.

Sharvān, Nakhjavān, and Ormiya). Just as in earlier times, émigrés like Anavi had sought safety from invaders with the Saljuqids of Rum, Anatolia's popularity as a place of refuge seems if anything to have grown by the Mongol invasions of Iran. The most famous of these newcomers was the family of Jalāl al-Din Mohammad Rumi, who had fled Balkh in the north of modern Afghanistan. While some, like Awhad al-Din Kermāni, regarded Anatolia as no more than a temporary place of exile, from which they were eager to escape, others settled there permanently. The scale of immigration to Anatolia has never been properly studied, but it clearly accounts for a substantial proportion of the bureaucratic, religious and literary elites of the later Saljuqid and Ilkhanid periods (e.g. Ebn Bibi, whose family was from Nishāpur, and the poet Sayf al-Din Farghāni, who lived in Aq Saray)

Ahmad's own family also originated in Central Asia. He refers to himself as *Torkestāni-e asl Khotani-e fasl* (of Torkestāni origin, from the district of Khotan, fol. 130b), although his family had lived in Anatolia for generations. His father and his great-grandfather had both been *subāshi* of Niğde, while his grandfather had served as vizier under the Saljuqid puppet sultan Rokn al-Din Qelej Arslan IV, dying in battle in 647/1249 (fols. 148a-49b). Ahmad says that his family had been favored by the sultans since the arrival of the Saljuqids in Rum (fol. 151b), in other words since the fifth/eleventh century. Even if this is an exaggeration, it is clear that the Khotani family was long established in Anatolia, which makes Ahmad's insistence on his Central Asian origins somewhat surprising. Yet similar allusions are found elsewhere: Ebn Bibi (p. 564) refers to Ahmad's grandfather, Jamāl al-Din Khotani as "one of the religious leaders of Torkestān" (*az fohul-e a'emma-ye Torkestān*), although, if Jamāl al-Din's own father was already established as *subāshi* of Niğde, it is unlikely that he ever visited Central Asia in his maturity.

Thus, like Ahmad himself, many of his contemporaries with non-Anatolian *nesbas* were probably born in Rum, but they maintained the memory of their origins in their names. Historians, such as Ebn Bibi, Aqsarā'i and Estrābādi, always refer to Ahmad's ancestors as Khotani, and never connect them with Niğde, despite their long association with the town. Ahmad refers to himself with this Torkestāni *nesba* (Ebn Bibi, pp. 688, 727; Aqsarā'i, p. 111; Estrābādi, p. 52).

Given the tendency of these émigré families to keep alive the memories of their original homelands in their names, it is not surprising that this sense of local identity cannot always be associated with Anatolia. Both Awhad al-Din Kermāni (p. 405) and Sayf al-Din Farghāni (p. 13) complain of their exile, while Anavi's loyalties are to his home

town of Ani in Armenia, despite his panegyrics to the ruler of Rum. As Charles Melville has remarked, Anatolian historiography is marked by a similarly ambiguous sense of “twin allegiance to the outgoing Seljuk and incoming Mongol regimes” (Melville, p. 4), and this is perhaps to some extent true of the awareness of local identity. Nonetheless, as Ahmad’s *al-Walad al-shafîq* demonstrates, an author could insist on his family’s origins being outside Rum while the work itself is strongly rooted in a provincial Anatolian environment. Above all, however, it was the Saljuqid dynasty that provided a common focus of loyalties in medieval Anatolia. Thus *Saljuq-nâmas* continued to be composed both during Mongol domination and long after their disappearance, for audiences as diverse as Turkman chiefs like Dündar Bey and educated Ottomans.

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Persianate Sources on Anatolia and the Early History of the Ottomans

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The Ottoman chronicles, as histories of a dynasty, focus narrowly on Othmān and his family, telling the story of their rise as an epic tale of heroes, a series of ever greater and more successful battles against ever larger and more important foes, until the victorious emergence of the Ottoman Empire in its glory. The real rulers of Anatolia at that time are only glimpsed in the background. The Saljuqids are treated as worthy precursors and legitimators of the Ottoman enterprise, while the Il-khanid domination of the peninsula, if mentioned at all, is described as something wicked which the Ottomans flee from and put behind them. Scholars working on these chronicles have explained that this portrayal was a reaction to Timur's defeat of the Ottomans in 1402 and the Ottomans' subsequent development of a more heavy-handed imperial rule and administration. Recent years have seen efforts to broaden the base of sources from which we can learn the details of the Ottomans' early movements, the nuances of their lifestyle, and the meaning of the concepts that shaped their culture. The greatest emphasis so far has been placed on Turkish sources (Kafadar; Emecen),¹ Byzantine sources (Imber; Lowry), and the information provided by the border terrain itself (Hopwood, 1993; Inalcik 1993). The recent publication of several works on Persian sources (chronicles, secretarial handbooks, coins) produced by the Saljuqids and Il-khanids contemporaneously with the Ottomans' rise now makes it possible to see more clearly the general Anatolian background and the Ottomans' place in it.²

The Persian sources, especially Āqsarāyi's chronicle, create an impression of Anatolia around 1300 that is quite different from the one obtained from the traditional Ottoman chronicles. The Turkish chronicles, written in the aftermath of Timur's praise for the Ottoman *ghazā*, romanticize the Ottomans as nomadic pastoralists, raiders, and *ghāzis*, while the contemporary Persian chronicles portray a more urban

¹ Emecen used Persian sources as well but retained the Ottoman historians' point of view.

² This study was stimulated by the following publications: Āqsarāyi, tr., Cahen, 2001, Pamuk, 2000. Arabic and Italian sources must also at some point be added to our store.

and imperial society. Although conditions on the frontier undoubtedly differed from those in the Saljuqids' major cities where the Persian chronicles were written, these subcultures nevertheless coexisted in time. It then becomes a question of whether the Ottomans were as isolated from the other subcultures of the peninsula as their chronicles make them appear. To what extent might they have known about, or even been involved in, the events recorded in the Persian sources? How familiar might they have been with the culture those sources represent? Any answer to these questions must be based on an expansion of the context in which the Ottoman rise occurred, because the Persian chronicles do not mention the Ottomans by name. That is understandable; for some time they were probably not large or active enough to merit mention in the histories of greater powers. That does not mean, however, that the Ottomans were unaware of currents in the life of the Saljuqids and Il-khanids or of the major tribal formations on the frontier, however irrelevant those histories may have seemed to the dynasty's later chroniclers.

If, as is thought, Othmān was born in 1258 and died in 1324 or 1326, he was a close contemporary of Āqsarāyi and the anonymous historian of the Saljuqids; both of their chronicles cover his lifetime. Karim al-Din Mahmud Āqsarāyi was born in Āqsarāy/Aksaray about the middle of the thirteenth century, held various secretarial and financial posts in the Saljuqid government in Āqsarāy, and wrote his *Mosāmerat al-Akhhbār* in Persian in 1323. This history gives us an insider's view of the Il-khanid administration and the late Saljuqid politics. The anonymous author appears to have been a guildsman of Konya; his *Tārīkh-e Āl-e Saljuq* virtually ends in 1295, although there are some increasingly terse entries extending up to 1363. The anonymous historian's position is the opposite of that of the Ottoman chronicles. Cultural animosity between city-dwellers and nomads pervades the narrative, and the nomads are the villains of every encounter; the author refuses even to name the disturbers of the peace, calling them those "whose name cannot be written" (Anonymous, p. 39). Not so with Āqsarāyi, in whose history the nomads appear sometimes as raiders and destroyers and at other times as deliverers of the city-dwellers from the Mongol oppression. In the late thirteenth century, urban and nomadic influences began to mingle in the culture of the borderlands.

Halil Inalcik laid out the framework for studying the role of Anatolian events in Ottoman history (Inalcik, 1981-82). Inalcik explains that the Il-khanids' seizure of the central Anatolian pasturelands and displacement of their Turkish inhabitants created population pressure in the borderland and pushed the Turks into the Byzantine territory. Āqsarāyi tells the story

of the Il-khanid advance from Erzurum to Āqsarāy under Bāyju Noyon in 656/1258, his demand for summer and winter pastures for his army, the Saljuqid deliberations over whether or not to yield them peacefully, and the ensuing battle in which part of the Saljuqid army was defeated and fled to the borderland (Āqsarāyi, pp. 41-42, tr., pp. 31-32; Anonymous, p. 35). Āqsarāyi claims that after the battle with Bāyju, the Saljuqid Sultan 'Ezz al-Din Kaykāvus, whose mother was Greek, fled to the northwest border in the vicinity of Constantinople (that is, toward the temporary Byzantine capital of Nicaea; Āqsarāyi, p. 41, tr., p. 53). Claude Cahen believes that he fled with part of the army to the southwestern frontier (Antalya and Lāzeq, modern Denizli), while the other part under Michael Paleologus, in exile from the Byzantine court, fled toward the northwest (Cahen, 2001, pp. 185-86). Both Āqsarāyi and the anonymous historian tells us that 'Ezz al-Din then returned to Konya after hearing that Bāyju had returned to the east (Āqsarāyi, p. 49; Anonymous, p. 35). Parallels pointed out by F.M. Emecen between the semi-legendary tales told of Othmān's ancestors and Āqsarāyi's version of the action, as well as with the history of the Khwarazmians in Anatolia, suggest a long association between Othmān's ancestors and the carriers of Perso-Islamic civilization in Anatolia and Central Asia (Emecen, pp. 11-12).³ This interpretation offers an alternative to the fifteenth-century chronicles' portrayal of the early Ottomans as simple nomads from Khorasan untouched by urban civilization (Inalcik, 1962, pp. 152-67; Shinder). Khorasan, it must be remembered, was not the pagan steppe but the heartland of eastern Islam, the realm of the Khwarazmians and the Saljuqid Sanjar, where nomadic life had long been pursued in the context of Islam and imperial governance.

The Mongols, Āqsarāyi relates, occupied the pastures around Āqsarāy in the winter of 1258 (Āqsarāyi, pp. 42-43). What this meant to the Anatolian nomads can be seen from the work of John Masson Smith, who calculated from the chronicle evidence of tribal and troop movements and the carrying capacity of the Anatolian pasturelands that at this time the Mongol force in central Anatolia comprised 30,000 men with their families and animals, wintering mainly in the region between Akshehir/Āqshahr, Āqsarāy, Nigde/Nikda, and Kirshehir/Qirshahr, and in Delije/Deluja east of Ankara, and summering mainly in the region

³ In the Ottoman chronicles, when the Mongols reach Konya, the Saljuqid sultan ('Alā' al-Din) and Ertoghrol (Othmān's father) are on *ghazā* against the Byzantines; the sultan leaves Ertoghrol in the northwestern frontier and returns to Konya. Emecen (pp. 13-16) sees similar parallels between some of the details in the Ottoman chronicles and the history of the Khwarazmians in Anatolia as told by Ebn Bibi, which would support the view that Othmān's ancestors were followers of the Khwarazmians.

between Beyshehir and the mountains west and south of Kayseri/Qaysariyya, and west of Ankara on the upper Sakarya/Saqarya River (Smith, pp. 49-51).⁴ That arrangement would appear to put pressure on nomadic Turks to the south, southwest, and northwest, and in fact those were the trouble spots most often mentioned by the chroniclers until the end of the century. Inalcik's "population pressure" on the frontier may be conceptualized as grazing pressure. The central plains provided plentiful grazing for large flocks and herds, but the mountains bordering them were less abundant, and the population of people and animals had doubled since 1189. To avoid poverty and hunger, the nomads had to supplement their pastoralism with other sources of income. This need motivated tribesmen to become farmers, artisans, merchants, bandits, pirates, or mercenary soldiers (Inalcik, 1981-82, pp. 75-77; Hopwood, 1991).

If the Anatolian tribes were being pushed into more difficult terrain that would sustain fewer animals, then we should expect to see them spending more of their time raiding and fighting, and indeed we do. Āqsarāyi's history portrays the effects of "population pressure" as affecting Qaramān and his followers immediately from 1258, on causing them to prey on the Armenians of Cilicia, to seek to replace the Saljuqid sultan (who was failing to protect them), and to look for allies against further Mongol encroachment (Āqsarāyi, tr., p. 53). The eastern end of Anatolia as well as the center had come under Mongol occupation, limiting Saljuqid autonomy to the far west and south of their realm (Āqsarāyi, tr., p. 45). The Saljuqids had a frontier province, the *velāyat-e uj*, stretching across their western border with the Byzantines. In Āqsarāyi's chronicle, however, after the arrival of the Mongols the spotlight is on the Qaramanid home in the western Taurus, facing Armenian Cilicia to the south, and on the southern end of the western frontier opposite Konya, with a center at Lāzeq. The north-western frontier, the future Ottoman heartland, enters the narrative only toward the end of the century.

Āqsarāyi states that in 1277 "in the *Uc* [frontier] the Turks united in rebellion" He is speaking of a union of the Turks of Qaramān, Ashraf, and Monteshe across the southern border of Mongol-occupied land, with Jemri (the Mean), ostensibly a scion of the Saljuqid royal family, as their candidate to replace the Saljuqid sultan (Aksarāyi, tr., p. 96; Anonymous, p. 39). This revolt was supposed to be connected to the Egyptian sultan

⁴ The number of troops increased to 50,000 after 1277 and possibly to 90,000 by 1320 (Inalcik, 1981-82, p. 73 and n. 8). The Ottoman chronicles locate Othmān's tribe west of Ankara, moving westward to the Byzantine frontier after Jemri's rebellion (Uzunçarşılı, 1947, II, pp. 101, 103).

Baybars' invasion of Anatolia in 1277, but both Persian historians devote more space to local events than to such international complications. In any case, Baybars' invasion was unsuccessful in rousing the Saljuqids to oppose the Mongols, but it facilitated the rebellion of the Turkmen tribes by weakening the Saljuqid army so that it could no longer keep the tribes at bay (Cahen, 2001, pp. 177-78, 204-5). Tribal forces captured Konya and besieged Āqsarāy, but when the Mongol army arrived, it chased them back into the frontier zone and raided the cities.

In the frontier, Jemri ruled with the Turkish *beys* and, in Āqsarāyī's words, "struck coins and Friday sermons were delivered in his name and began a sultanate in that region" (Āqsarāyī, pp. 123 ff., 130, tr. p. 110), demonstrating that ownership of the Saljuqid capital was not necessary to become a power. Jemri's base was in the western frontier province at Qarā Hesār/Karahisar (Afyon), toward the middle of the zone, the city of Fakhr al-Din 'Ali and his family, who usually functioned as border guards for the Saljuqids. Its time as a sultanic capital was short, as Jemri was defeated in 1278 by the Germiyān, who were brought from the east to help put down the rebellion. The Germiyan, possibly Kurds or, according to Emecen (p. 14), Kermānis (but assimilated to Turkmen culture), appear in Āqsarāyī's chronicle as lords of the frontier and perennial opponents of the Saljuqid sultans, eluding defeat by regular armies on numerous occasions.

Āqsarāyī assures us that Jemri's defeat did not completely extinguish the fire of rebellion; it lived on in the form of increased banditry in both the southern and western frontier zones (Āqsarāyī, p. 133, tr., p. 104; Cahen, 2001, pp. 209, 211). This rebelliousness must be added to "population pressure" as part of Anatolian border culture. By the time Othmān took over the leadership of his father's followers in the 1280s, the border had been inflamed by war against both Saljuqids and Mongols. Could the Ottomans have been immune to this? Or did the cozy connection with the Saljuqids that the chroniclers suggest for Othmān's father's time give way to a less amicable relationship? When the Saljuqid army went after the Germiyān, on which side were the Ottomans? The Saljuqid army had shown its incapacity, and the Turkmen beys had begun to unite and to dream of other leadership. If the Mongols were too powerful to be dislodged, did some of the beys begin to think that perhaps a new polity could be created in the west?

The Turco-Mongol empires of the Middle East had been made possible by an alliance between military confederations of nomadic origin and Persianate administrators drawing on the millennia-old bureaucratic traditions of the region. The Persianization of the Saljuqid administration under the Il-khanids is known to have brought to Anatolia

a host of skilled administrators that could be drawn on by tribal leaders aspiring to rule. According to Āqsarāyi, however, Persianization had already begun under vizier Fakhr al-Din ‘Ali around 1258, although it intensified after Jemri’s rebellion. Because Fakhr al-Din ‘Ali was from Persia, Āqsarāyi tells us, in order that there were no be flaws in understanding and reading comprehension, nor any mistakes in calculation of the state’s income, the government documents were translated from Arabic to Persian (Āqsarāyi, p. 64, tr., p. 48). Government personnel increasingly came from Persia as well, and this change continued in effect until the early Ottoman times. Āqsarāyi gives a list of provincial judges (*qāzis*) in 1265 that included men called Ormavi, Tabrizi, Qazvini, and Khoyi; among the Sufi shaykhs were a Farghāni, an Iraqi, and a Balkhi. As for the scribal offices, already at that time the hand of the Il-khanid vizier Shams al-Din Mohammad Jovayni could be seen in some of the appointments (Āqsarāyi, pp. 79-81, tr., pp. 69, 73, 118). After the attempted revolt of the peninsula in 1277, Jovayni (whom Āqsarāyi praises highly for his scribal ability) filled the Saljuqid bureaucracy with scribes from Iran and revised the system of accounting along Il-khanid lines (Anonymous, p. 52; Rashid al-Din, III, p. 538; Cahen, 2001, p. 210; Allsen).⁵

Fakhr al-Din Qazvini, becoming vizier about 1285, brought in his entourage a host of new officials from Iran and the Caucasus: Tabriz, Hamadān, Iraq, Isfahan, Khoshkān, Khorasan, Georgia, Alān, Marand, Nakhjavān, Arrān, and Tiflis are among the places of origin listed by Āqsarāyi (Āqsarāyi, pp. 148-49). These regions had for centuries been supplying educators and administrators to states ruled by Turkish and Mongol sultans of tribal origin. The writings of the early Saljuqids’ Persian advisors became quite popular in Anatolia at this time. It is not perhaps too much to believe that Othmān knew of such writings and the scribal cadres who produced them, even if he did not yet use them. The new Il-khanid administrative and fiscal procedures with their Chinese admixture that Fakhr al-Din Qazvini and his staff installed later formed the basis of the Ottomans’ administration.

Fakhr al-Din Qazvini himself was regarded as “an insatiable tax-collector” and was not well liked by other Saljuqid officials (Cahen, 2001, p. 216; Āqsarāyi, p. 149, tr., p. 117; “the people feared him” Anonymous, p. 50). He was accused of “innovations,” which probably meant the introduction of Il-khanid taxation practices and cadastral surveys into the western territories of the Saljuqid realm (Cahen, 2001,

⁵ On the accounting system see Göyünç, 1994; Yuvalı.

p. 217).⁶ His zeal for tax collection may have been related to a diminution of wealth in western Anatolia, which was no longer the crossing point of trade routes and was perhaps unable to support the state at the same level as before. The new crossing point lay in eastern Anatolia, where the Il-khanid capital region of Tabriz attracted a rich trade. The constant disruption of the peninsula by tribal and other warfare caused the Genoese, the Il-khanids' European trading partners, to bypass western Anatolia by sailing to Trebizond or Cilicia (Martinez, 1993-94, p. 171). Western Anatolia, no longer a commercial nexus, became poorer, and it became harder for the government to secure the necessary funds to pay the army. The consequent weakening of the Saljuqid military allowed the tribal forces to expand their power in the border regions, checked only by occasional Mongol expeditions against them. The tribes also became the main supporting force for the rebellious Mongol nobles in Anatolia.

When Arghun attained the Il-khanid throne in 1284, and the following year he sent the princes Hulāku and Geykhātu to Anatolia (Āqsarāyī, p. 145, tr., p. 115). Anatolia seems to have been one of the provinces, like Khorasan, where princes were sent for training in governance, possibly because of Anatolia's role as a base for troops positioned against the Mamluks in Syria (Cahen, 2001, p. 259). Hulāku stayed in Erzinjan, but Geykhātu moved on to the pastureland between Kayseri and Āqsarāy, presumably displacing adherents of the former Khan Ahmad Takudār. In these years the Saljuqids, according to the anonymous historian, attempted to incorporate the Qaramanid and Ashraf tribes into their regime, giving the chiefs ranks and governorships (Anonymous, pp. 45, 49). In those positions they would have been in constant contact with the Persianate administrators, and taxation as well as defense would have been among their responsibilities. In contrast, the Germiyān, who were to become the Ottomans' nearest neighbors and rivals, grew to be the most active raiders in the western frontier zone. The new Mongol troops under Geykhātu, in cooperation with the weakened Saljuqid army under Sultan Mas'ud II, tried unsuccessfully throughout the 1280s to prevent Germiyanid raids (Anonymous, pp. 47-48; Cahen, 2001, pp. 214-15). Were the Ottomans any different from the other tribes in this period? Did they come into the reach of Persianate administrators? Did they raid to the east as well as to the west, or carry on *ghazā* against the Mongols as Kafadar suggests (pp. 127-28, 135; cf. Hopwood, 1998, p. 158)? Since the Il-khanids had stationed Tatar troops in the borderland, and Ottoman traditions preserve a memory of battles

⁶ Jovayni, a more popular official, usually receives all the credit for these changes.

against Tatars, this is quite possible (Āqsarāyi, tr., p. 247; Togan, 1946, pp. 318-19, 328-32). Āqsarāyi, working for the Mongol government and writing after the Il-khanids' conversion to Islam, terms all warfare against the Il-khanids *fetna*, rebellion or unruliness. Was that what the tribesmen called it?

In 1290 Geykhātu was appointed governor of Anatolia, receiving the submission of the Saljuqids and tribal leaders alike. He was praised by the historians as a just ruler (Āqsarāyi, p. 147, tr., p. 116; Cahen, 2001, p. 219), but that may have been because his governorship was short. In 1291 he left Anatolia to seize the Il-khanid throne, taking with him the most respected Saljuqid administrator and posting the sultan in the east. The resulting vacuum of authority in the west encouraged uprisings by claimants to the throne. There are two traditions; one has the Saljuqid sultan's brother, Rokn al-Din Qelej Arslān Gayomart rebelling in the north around Kastamonu/Qastamuni, and the other has the sultan's brother Siyāvosh rebelling against Geykhātu's deputy in Konya (Āqsarāyi, tr., pp. 137-43; Anonymous, pp. 59-61). The ambiguity is compounded by the anonymous historian's reluctance to mention any rebel's name. The tribes of Qaramān, Ashraf, and Germiyan simultaneously began fighting each other as well as the Saljuqid forces, and the descendants of Fakhr al-Din 'Ali also took part (Āqsarāyi, tr., pp. 137-38; Cahen, 2001, pp. 219-20). It was of course the Mongols' unwillingness to act except in the face of a direct threat to themselves that made possible the Ottomans' raids on the Byzantines. The frontier lords' distraction must also have facilitated such conquests. As Togan (1946, p. 328) has already suggested, for example, the movements against Rokn al-Din Qelej Arslān Gayomart's rebellion and the transition from Chobanid to Jandarid rule in Kastamonu opened the opportunity for Othmān's 1291 campaign toward Mudurnu.

In this case the Saljuqid sultan Mas'ud appealed to Geykhātu in Āzarbāyjan, who must have felt strongly about Anatolia after living there for eight years; he proceeded there with an army "to put things to rights" (Āqsarāyi, p. 170, tr., p. 137). Āqsarāyi describes how the Turks rose in rebellion as Geykhātu entered the region and how he turned his army toward the borders to push them back. Other sources make it clear that he focused on the borders to the south; Qaramān and Ashraf apparently posed a more serious threat than the Saljuqid princes. The anonymous history describes the terrible destruction wreaked by Geykhātu in the southern and southwestern border regions, which Āqsarāyi passes over in silence. Neither the tribes nor Siyāvosh were defeated by this, however; they continued fighting and raiding the cities through 1292 and into 1293. The center of fighting gradually moved north from Konya to

Kastamonu. After it died down, Siyāvosh remained a power in the north-western frontier, with centers at Burghlu (Safranbolu) and Karahisar (Afyon); in 1295 he even married the daughter of Baltu, the new Mongol commander (Anonymous, pp. 61-62; Cahen, 2001, pp. 220-22). The effect of his presence on the Ottomans is unknown.

Although raiding and fighting continued in the frontier zone, Āqsarāyi designates 1292 as the year of the return of peace elsewhere in Anatolia: the *divān* was harmonious and its orders obeyed from Erzurum to Antalya (Āqsarāyi, p. 180, tr., p. 144). Despite Geykhātu's reputation for justice, however, taxes grew heavy during his reign. After the revolt, two occupants were appointed to every post, presumably in order to provide checks on each other (Āqsarāyi, pp. 180-81, tr., pp. 144-45). Āqsarāyi wrote of the new administrators, "So great was their malefic multitude (or so great was the volume of inked paper that they produced) that the light of day was blacked out at the ministry of finance" (Āqsarāyi, p. 181, tr. Martinez, 1987-91, p. 112). The fact that the number of administrators and their followers attempting to enrich themselves multiplied certainly meant confused administration and taxation inequities. Those who suffered from this doubled administration were not just the taxpayers; it seems that, because of their corruption and/or ineptitude, the Mongol armies were not receiving their pay. In addition, until its abolition by Ghāzān Khan in 1296, the Mongols manipulated the Saljuqid coinage in order to profit from its re-coinage into Il-khanid coins and to keep trade and precious metals flowing out of Anatolia to the center of their empire (Martinez, 1993-94, pp. 174, 182, 206, 209, 211). Ghāzān's reforms were introduced around the turn of the century, but their effect was presumably attenuated in the western region. Clipped coins (*sim-e maghshush*) circulated in Sivās in 1299 (Āqsarāyi, p. 259, tr., p. 209). While the Ottomans were expanding toward the west, Anatolia behind them was becoming poorer and more disorganized.

Ghāzān's conversion to Islam did not make an immediate difference in Anatolia, as most of the influential Mongol leaders there (Siyāvosh, Tagachar, Baltu, Sulamish, Irenjin) were non-Muslim. During the 1290s Toghājār, Baltu, and Sulamish rebelled against him one after another. Each of these men was a Mongol general who put down a rebellion and became rebellious in his turn. Āqsarāyi and Rashid al-Din Fazl Allāh describe how Toghājār rose in Tokat/Tuqād in support of Bāydu's brief rulership and was executed by Ghāzān; how Bāltu, who had been stationed in Anatolia for decades and had helped put down Toghājār, rebelled in conjunction with the Qaramanids in the western Taurus and was captured by Sulamish; and how Sulamish himself led the largest revolt in 1298-99, backed by the Qaramanids and the armies of Syria and

northern Anatolia (Daneshmand's territory), to whom he "gave away the tax money and property of the territory" (Āqsarāyi, pp. 193-96, 239-42, tr., pp. 152-61, 193-94, 197-99; Rashid al-Din, III, pp. 632-35, 638, 642-43; quotation on p. 643). These men were a second generation of Mongol commanders in Anatolia; their fathers had held commands there as well. Like Siyāvush, they gained the support of local tribes as well as the unpaid Mongol garrisons, and they may have felt themselves to be Anatolians first and Il-khanid officials second. Āqsarāyi says of Sulamish that although "lacking in ability, with borrowed and insufficient strength, he wanted to be an independent sultan" (Āqsarāyi, pp. 239-40, tr., p. 193). Could he have felt that if he controlled Anatolia independently, he could improve its administration, arrest its economic decline, and unite its people? He was able to attract, according to Rashid al-Din, fifty thousand followers from the peninsula. He fought at Aksaray and besieged Sivās, but at Erzincan in 1299 he was defeated and captured (Rashid al-Din, III, p. 643; Āqsarāyi, pp. 241-42, tr., p. 198).

How could the Ottomans have remained ignorant of or uninvolved in this massive tribal movement? Their own traditions suggest a connection by making Samsa Chavush, the Ottoman commander at Mudurnu, the brother of Sulamish (Togan, 1946, pp. 327-30). From Āqsarāyi's rendition, this whole period could be envisaged as an ongoing resistance movement or civil war among the Turks, some of whom accepted Mongol rule while others did not. Rebel traditions were handed down across generations; later rebellions were not disconnected from earlier ones, but they seem to have revived the same grievances and ideologies, and in some cases even the same leaders and followers. Rebels in the frontier zone appear well-informed about and closely involved in the politics of the Saljuqid and Mongol capitals and not unfamiliar with their governing practices. Cahen's view is that the rebellions were motivated by resistance to increases in Il-khanid centralization, that these victorious generals and governors "exercised administrative authority which the *il-khān* sought to bring under control" (Cahen, 2001, p. 225). Āqsarāyi, in contrast, leaves the impression of rebels attempting to centralize Anatolia.

Some rebellions were led by Saljuqid princes or sons of high Saljuqid officials, others by sons of high Mongol officials, all with following among both sedentary people and nomads. When these men became active, they united the frontier populations and made political claims that caused the Mongol leadership to mobilize against them and defeat them. Between major revolts, when resistance was in the hands of minor leaders and ordinary people, it was disunited and relatively harmless. Instead of attacking the Mongol centres, it survived by preying on

undefended villages to the west, where it would not attract Mongol retaliation, and the Mongols left it alone in the frontier where it could not bother anyone but the Byzantines. The Byzantines were bothered enough to remove their forces from areas they could no longer defend, which resulted in their gradual withdrawal over the 1280s and 1290s, a retreat from the south, where “the fires of rebellion” had burned most brightly in the 1270s, to the north, where they flared up only in the 1290s.

After Sulamish’s revolt, Anatolia as a whole remained relatively quiet for the next two decades, when raids were aimed primarily at the Byzantine territory. K. Hopwood makes the point that the nomads were also in the process of adapting to a way of life that was no longer fully nomadic (Hopwood, 1994, pp. 155-56). The next major disturbance on the peninsula did not occur until 1321, when Timurtash, son of the Mongol general Chobān and governor of Anatolia, revolted. Timurtāsh, unlike previous rebels, was not content just to rebel against authority. He proclaimed himself the Mahdi, the Muslim messiah, which means that he was a member of that new generation of Mongols who, like Ghāzān, had adopted Islam and Islamic culture. It also suggests that fighting against the Mongol regime had by that time taken on an apocalyptic significance that it did not seem to have had earlier. Further, it raises the possibility that the heterodox Sufi shaikhs of the frontier (who may have influenced Timurtāsh’s belief, or at least his proclamation) had a political as well as a religious agenda. Āqsarāyi deals with the ambiguity of Timurtāsh’s Islam and his rebelliousness by ascribing the revolt to Irenjin; the anonymous historian fails entirely to mention it (Āqsarāyi, tr., pp. 256-59; Anonymous, pp. 67-68). No historian explains what spurred Timurtāsh’s revolt and his proclamation of being the Mahdi, but given that the Mongol rule was becoming less disruptive and onerous during the reign of Abu Sa’id (1317-35), there may have been some specific policy or event that kindled it.

Timurtāsh’s father Chobān put down the revolt and had some instigators executed, but thanks to his influence, Timurtāsh himself was not only pardoned but reinstated as governor of Anatolia. Āqsarāyi (pp. 312, 324 reference) writing during his reign, calls him “the just king” (*khosrow-e ‘ādel*) and similar titles appear in contemporary inscriptions (Oral, p. 210). There is no indication that the Anatolians gave him that title frivolously. Whatever his ideological and administrative agenda, it seems to have influenced his governance of the region, and we can only regret that none of the historians saw fit to describe it. We do know that he was able to subdue the Turkmen *beys* within the Il-khanid domain but not the coastal *beys*, which doubtless allowed them to extend their range.

For reasons that remain unknown, Timurtāsh revolted again in 1326, but this time he was executed soon after his defeat. His revolts are an indication, however, that ideologies of governance, rather than conquest, were developing on the Anatolian peninsula. By the early fourteenth century, not only the Saljuqid and Mongol elites but also the tribes aspired to establish independent principalities, found capital cities and endow them with building programs, and make trade agreements with Italian merchants. Western Anatolia at that time appeared to have been a state waiting to happen. The only question that remained was who would be strong enough or acceptable enough to establish such a state.

In the 1290s, the leaders of the frontier, those who appeared most likely to establish an enduring state, were the rulers of Kastamonu: Mozaffar al-Din Yavlaq Arslān and his son Mahmud of the family of the Saljuqid frontier *bey* Chobān, stationed in Kastamonu since 1211 as “commanders of the frontier” (Togan, 1946, p. 325; Ebn Bibi, *apud* Yücel, p. 36). It was apparently Yavlaq Arslan, Chobān’s grandson, who began the transformation of this frontier leadership into a genuine state apparatus. To him and his son the Persian scribe Hasan b. ‘Abd al-Mo’men Khoyi dedicated a series of *enshā’* manuals, the first one (*Nozhat al-kottāb wa tohfāt al-albāb*), written in 1285, the second undated with instructions to scribes (*Ghonyat al-kāteb wa monyat al-tāleb*), and the third (*Rosum al-rasā’el wa nojum al-fazā’el*), a collection of sample documents (Turan, pp. 172-75; Khoyi). In the early years Othmān’s family may have been subordinate to the rulers of Kastamonu; if so, they would have been exposed to these cultural developments. Some evidence of such a relationship lies in tribal ties; as reported by Togan, Chobān’s family belonged to the Kayı tribe and were its most prominent leaders during the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth-century chronicle of Yazijizāda, moreover, the government of the border was entrusted to the sons of Hosām al-Din (Chobān) and to the Kayı *beys*, including Othmān’s father, under him (Togan, 1946, pp. 321, 323-24; Yazijizāda, in Yücel, p. 39). The rulers of Kastamonu were not the only border chiefs who patronized the culture of the imperial centers; rulers in all the *beyliks*, including the Ottomans, also surrounded themselves with poets, intellectuals, and religious scholars (Heywood, p. 239, Köprülü, pp. 340-52). Kastamonu’s capture by the family of Jāndār soon after Mahmud’s accession put the leadership of this region into the hands of Yaman Jāndār and his son Sulaymān Pasha (1309?-40?). Khoyi’s manuals were all recopied in 1309, probably for Sulaymān, suggesting that Kastamonu continued to be a center of politics and culture within the borderland. The Jāndār family, however, was oriented more toward the Il-khanids than Chobān’s family had been, and their interests lay in

the east and north (Yücel, pp. 57-65). If this in turn decreased their involvement in the western frontier, it may have been a factor in freeing the Ottomans to establish an autonomous beylik of their own.

It was during Sulamish's rebellion that Othmān's followers began their conquests in the Byzantine territory: Bilejik, Yarhisar, Inegöl. These conquests may have been motivated by some of the same impulses as Sulamish's revolt: the desire to be out from under the Il-khanids' increasingly heavy hand, the wish to establish an effective government concerned with local interests rather than subservient to a distant imperial state. It was of course the border Turks, not the Mongol generals, who would succeed in this endeavor. Unfortunately, neither Āqsarāyi nor the anonymous historian discusses the borderland between 1299 and 1317, the year of Abu Sa'id's accession to the throne. They do report on major political events in the interval: the Saljuqid sultan Mas'ud's return to the throne and his subsequent death, Ghāzān's death and replacement by Oljeytu/Uljāytu, Irenjin's posting to Anatolia as the Mongol commander, and the arrival of Timurtāsh. Āqsarāyi describes in more detail how, in order to preserve the borders, and the Muslims' trust and peace of mind, and to put in order the affairs of the people, the Mongol general Chobān, who had been instrumental in the defeat of Sulamish, was sent by Oljeytu to Anatolia with an army in 1314, and how from all sides the Turkish *beys* came to make their submission (Qāshāni, pp. 168 ff.; Āqsarāyi, tr., pp. 251-52). Āqsarāyi lists the major leaders as the *beys* of Burghlu (Hamid), Beyshehir (the Ashraf), Karahisar (the grandsons of Fakhr al-Din 'Alī), Kutāhya (the Germiyān), Kastamonu (Sulaymān Pasha) and the kings of Armenia. All who submitted received tokens of their relationship, gifts and robes of honor, but the powerful Qaramanids, who by this time were ensconced in Konya. He eventually submitted to Chobān, who left his son Timurtāsh in control of Anatolia and returned (Qāshāni, pp. 169-70).

Where were the Ottomans during this episode? We know that in the intervening years the tribal forces on the frontier turned their energies to external conquest, raiding and then taking the western coastal region between the frontier and the sea. The Qaramanids filled the vacuum in the Saljuqid capital region, blocking further adventures toward the east. But what was the status of these new conquests? Did they form independent principalities, as the Ottoman chronicles imply? Part of an answer to that question may come from the coinage, one of the tokens of sovereignty in Muslim societies. The first coin that might be Ottoman was struck in 699/1299 (the traditional year of Ottoman independence) in a mint that could be in Sogot, Othmān's capital, but in the name of

Ghāzān Khan.⁷ At the same time, similar coins were struck in twenty-three other mints, many in the borderland, when ordinarily no more than fifteen mints operated at any one time. The profits from the coinage enriched the local rulers of the mint cities. Lindner suggests that this award of mint revenues immediately after Sulamish's rebellion was a "reward for loyalty" to those who had not participated, but if Togan is correct in believing that Osmān and/or his followers were somehow involved with Sulamish, it may have been a bribe to win their loyalty back (Lindner, 1988, p. 273; Togan, 1946, pp. 329-31). The list of mint cities does include other regions whose troops may have participated in the revolt, such as Tokat and Amasya (but not Kutahya or Karahisar). In any case, Othmān's receipt of this favor suggests that he perceived himself and was also perceived as the integral part of the Il-khanid imperial machine.

Scholars now believe that the year 1299, later considered the foundational year of the Ottoman state, was the date when the Ottomans, along with all the other frontier leaders, transferred their allegiance from Saljuqid to Il-khanid lordship (Lindner, 1999, pp. 286-87; Pamuk, pp. 30-32). It is perhaps more likely that this was the date when the Il-khanids stepped in to transfer the tribal *beys* from Saljuqid lordship to their own. Such a transfer, by changing the valuation accorded to military activity on the frontier, may account for its unprecedented quietness in the next two decades. No longer would rebelling tribes have been able to claim that they were fighting legitimately for the independence of the Saljuqids, their proper overlords; now they would have been seen as betraying their commitments to their new lords, which might carry much heavier punishment on defeat. On the other hand, conquest of Byzantine territory would no longer be encroachment upon an ally's land but be an extension of the Mongol world-conquest.

Early fourteenth century observers certainly thought the frontier to be within the Il-khanids' sphere of influence, if not fully under their control. Byzantine chronicles from the first decade of the century record requests for Mongol help in suppressing raids by frontier bands and describe the Ottomans as subject to Oljāytu (Beldiceanu-Steinherr, p. 351, n. 8). Even in the events of 1314, the border chiefs who renewed their allegiance were clearly imperial subjects. The Ottomans were not among them; did they refuse to submit, like the Qaramanids, or was their submission implied in that of Kastamonu? These border chiefs were presumably the most powerful leaders on the frontier, and in 1314 that group apparently

⁷ The attribution by Ebrahim Artuk of an undated coin to "Osman bin Ertughrul" has not been generally accepted by numismatists (Pamuk, p. 30, n. 27; see Artuk).

did not include Othmān (Āqsarāyi, tr., p. 311; Beldiceanu-Steinherr, p. 71 and nn. 43 and 45). Frontier leadership at the turn of the century still belonged to Kastamonu, and after 1314 it was in the hands of the Germiyān, who led the opposition to Timurtāsh in the 1320s; in the 1340s it passed to the sea *ghāzis* of Aydin, and finally in the 1360s to the Ottomans (Togan, 1946, pp. 318, 319, 328; Zachariadou, 1989, p. 221).

Further evidence of the *beys*' ongoing connection to the Il-khanid Empire comes from the coins of the fourteenth century. The styles and weight system of coins of the *beyliks* across Anatolia imitated those of Il-khanid coinage, not only in 1299 but throughout the fourteenth century. Changes in Ottoman coinage from 1327 to 1360 closely followed changes in Il-khanid coins or in coinages dependent on Il-khanid coins (Remler, pp. 169, 187). These indications reveal not only strong commercial links between the peninsula and the core Il-khanid territories, but also the "prestige and legitimacy" that the late Mongol and post-Mongol governments continued to enjoy for decades among the Turkish *beys*. It is notable that the first genuinely Ottoman coin appeared in 727/1327, the year of Timurtāsh's death, suggesting that in that year the Ottomans successfully claimed sovereignty and not just autonomy. Similarly, the coinage of Kastamonu was issued in the name of the Il-khanid ruler Abu Sa'id up to 1325. Kastamonu's first independent coin is undated; it may have been issued as early as 1327 or as late as 1335, the year of Abu Sa'id's death (Remler, p. 177).

An even later suggestion of the Ottomans' membership in the Il-khanid empire is the mention of Othmān's son, Orkhān, in Māzandarāni's accounting manual, *Resāla-ye falakiya*, apparently composed in 1327 and revised in 1363. Orkhān and other local rulers are listed in a section dated 751/1350 on incoming provincial revenue under frontiers (*uj*). By mid-century the frontier rulers had established governments, adopted royal titles, and coined money in their own names. This document, then, must reflect an earlier condition when the Mongols could reasonably have considered the border principalities, including that of the Ottomans, to belong to their empire. Although belonging was usually expressed by the payment of taxes, no sums of money seem to have been expected from the frontier *beys* by this time (Hinz, p. 162; Togan, 1991, p. 233). Yet it should not be surprising to find Il-khanid influences in the developing institutions of the principalities. By the early fourteenth century, even the most distant frontier raiders could avail themselves of some of the arts of governance practiced in imperial capitals. This development was made possible by an influx into the borderland of Muslim scholars, intellectuals, and religious personnel

from the fractured Saljuqid government and later from the disturbed Il-khanid lands to the east.

Orkhān's celebrated Persian *vaqfiya* (deed of a pious endowment), composed in 1324, suggests that already in Othmān's lifetime the Ottomans were employing Persian-writing scribes (Uzunçarşılı, 1941).⁸ Leaders like Orkhān attracted their services by building schools and dervish lodges and providing administrative employment (Uzunçarşılı, 1947, I, p. 536). This was a tradition that did not continue; documents from 1348 and 1353 show that the Ottomans soon followed the example of the Qaramanids and began to write their documents in Turkish (Beldiceanu-Steinherr, pp. 106, 111), but they continued to use Il-khanid terminology, forms of address, and document organization. By this time the Ottoman society was developing an imperial structure, with clear divisions between a military ruling class and a civilian subject class and between its own centre and its borders.⁹ Unlike the Saljuqid and Il-khanid cases, in the Ottoman case the initiative for this transformation was ascribed not to the Persian scribes but to the Ottoman sultans themselves. This may reflect the Ottoman rulers' greater familiarity at the outset with the arts of civilization and the uses of literacy; they did not have to be convinced of the need to employ the Perso-Islamic tradition of state in its Turco-Mongol version but may indeed have been eager to acquire it. With the Iranian personnel the frontier principalities acquired not just the scribal practices developed in the Il-khanid central administration but also copies of the Il-khanids' secretarial handbooks. The libraries of modern Turkey contain copies made in 1337 and 1412 of the Il-khanid finance manual *Sa'ādat-nāma*, composed by an Iranian official around 1310, and several copies of another manual, *Jāme' al-hesāb*, containing sample copies of Il-khanid and Jalayirid accounting registers (Togan, 1991, pp. 216-17; Nabipour, p. 7; Göyünç, 1962, p. 1; idem, 1965, pp. 73-74). During the first half of the fourteenth century, Turkish translations were made of classic Persian literary works such as *Kalila va Demna* and the poems of Sa'di and Nezāmi, religious works mainly of Sufi and Shi'ite inspiration, and advice literature like the *Siyāsāt-nāma* and *Qābus-nāma* (Köprülü, pp. 341-48).

⁸ According to Beldiceanu-Steinherr (p. 86), this document contains formulas that later appear in Ottoman Turkish in the documents of Mehmed/Mohammad II; a *vaqfiya* of 1323 of which only a Turkish copy remains was apparently written originally in Arabic (p. 78).

⁹ On the military transition from nomad horsemen to a sedentary army with an infantry core and the nomads as subject peoples, see Lindner, 1983, pp. 29-32, 51; on its implications for succession to the throne, see Fletcher.

Scholarship based on the Ottoman chronicles marvels at how rapidly the Ottomans transformed from tribal warriors to masters of a Near Eastern imperial state with traditional bureaucratic techniques and cultural institutions. From the Persian sources we can see that the step was a much smaller one than it appears from the vantage point of the Ottoman sources, which emphasize the Ottomans' tribal, nomadic life-style and distance from the wickedness of civilization. In the Persian sources it can be seen that civilization was only over the next hill, and that tribal migration and warfare in Anatolia were carried on in a context of urbanism, literacy, and empire. This association began earlier and extended till later than the Ottoman chronicles report. The Ottomans in western Anatolia, like the other Turkmen tribes, appear to have been in constant contact with Saljuqid and Mongol imperial structures of nomad origin. They observed the Il-khanids' transformation from world-conquerors on the march to emperors parading in state and knew, from below, every development in their administrative methods. Turco-Mongol chieftains in the borderland also had their Persianate administrators, their tax records, and their cultivated literatures and arts. It is not difficult to believe, then, that the Ottomans knew the value of the Persianate scribal cadres and employed them as soon as they could afford to and had sedentary possessions to administer.

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Persian in the Service of the Sultan: Historical Writing in Persian under the Ottomans during the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries

SARA NUR YILDIZ

*Olmak istersen i'tibara mahal
ya 'Arabdan yahud 'Acemden gel*

If a position of honor is what you desire
Come from Arabia or Persia

*'Acemün her biri ki Ruma gelür
Ya vezaret ya sancak uma gelür*

[For] any Persian who comes to Rum
Arrives with hopes of a vizierate or post

LATIFI

After years of travelling in the east, a wandering dervish by the name of Le'ali appeared at the Ottoman court bearing news from 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmi and his associates at Herat. Posing as a Persian, Le'ali gained entrance to Sultan Mehmed II's (r. 1451-81) private gatherings at court where great esteem and favour were accorded to Persians. While at first welcomed for his stories of travel and adventure at other princely courts, his charisma immediately vanished when it came to light that he was really an Anatolian Turk from Tokat who had taken on Persian ways (*mota'ajjem*). The imposter was punished with banishment from the sultan's court (Latifi, p. 474). Latifi, the sixteenth-century Ottoman biographer of poets, embellishes the story with the above verse supposedly attributed to Le'ali himself, pointing to the special advantages held by Persians in the Ottoman administration and court.

Conscious of the influence of Persian poets over the development of Ottoman literary culture, Latifi mentions similar examples illustrating the prestige of Persian among the Ottomans of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. He cites Ahmad Pasha, a poet at the court of Mehmed II, as the first Ottoman poet to have incorporated into his Turkish verse the high Persian and Chaghatay literary style developed at the Herat court, by emulation of the Persian works of 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmi and 'Abd Allāh Hātifi and the Persianized literary Chaghatay of Mir 'Ali Shir Navā'i (Latifi, pp. 155-56; Storey, I/1, p. 790). As intimated by Latifi, Mehmed II and his grand vizier Mahmud Pasha gladly granted administrative

positions to respected scholars and men of letters from the Islamic East. Ismail Erünsal points out that Persians employed by the Ottoman administration were “a stimulus and a challenge to the native scholars, who sought to emulate and exceed them ...” It was through this cultural interaction, and synthesis, not to mention competition, that a distinct classical Ottoman literary culture emerged towards the end of the fifteenth century (Erünsal, p. vii; Fleischer, 1986, p. 22).

While not nearly as widespread, Persian occupied an important place alongside Ottoman Turkish as a language of literary and learned composition. Yet, despite its importance in the corpus of Ottoman historical works, Persian historical writing patronized by the Turcophone Ottoman court has yet to be examined by scholars. The reasons for this neglect are many: they lie primarily in the twentieth-century Turkish nationalism, which privileges the Turkish element and obscures the multilingual and multicultural components of Ottoman culture. Persianists, likewise, have little inclination for things Ottoman or Anatolian. As the result of nationalist biases on both sides, Persian works produced in the Ottoman realm have fallen in between the cracks of Iranian and Ottoman studies. Ottoman historical works in Persian to this day remain unread, unstudied and unedited, and constitute an unclaimed body of literature by Ottomanists and Iranists alike. This paper offers a brief survey of historical works produced for the Ottoman court in Persian in the general context of the development of early Ottoman historical writing. As this survey demonstrates, developments in content, style and ideological perspectives in Ottoman historical writings in Persian parallel those in Ottoman Turkish histories. Yet, as a much rarer entity, Persian compositions held a position of privilege alongside the more common Ottoman Turkish works. Furthermore, as a language of prestige, Persian was considered the most appropriate medium for projecting an imperial image for the Ottoman dynasty.

Historical writing among the Ottomans rose in the early fifteenth century as a manifestation of a newly emerging Ottoman political consciousness in the face of rival political claims coming from the east. Following the invasion of Timur and the abrupt collapse of Ottoman power with the defeat and death of Bāyazid/Bayezid I after the Battle of Ankara (1402), historical works were patronized by the Ottomans as a vehicle by which to articulate justification for territorial claims as well as to create an ideology of Ottoman political legitimacy. Referred to by Cemal Kafadar (p. 93) as the “Timurid shock,” Timur’s victory and his subsequent establishment of political hegemony in Anatolia was the historical juncture which jolted the Ottomans into consciousness of their precarious political position. It was in the aftermath of this devastating

blow that Ahmadi, an eminent Anatolian poet and scholar of the time, produced in Turkish a defense of Ottoman political claims in the form of a pseudo-historical *mathnawī*. Ahmadi's *Dāstān-e tawārikh-e moluk-e Āl-e 'Othmān*, a small portion of his encyclopaedic work *Eskandar-nāma*, presented to one Bayezid I's son, Süleyman Çelebi, sometime between 1405 and 1410, is considered the earliest extant work to place the Ottoman dynasty in a historical perspective (Kortantamer, pp. 22 ff.; Kut, pp. 165-67). Ottoman historical writing throughout the rest of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries continued to formulate arguments of Ottoman political legitimacy as a response to political rivalry from competing Islamic dynasties.

One of the earliest Ottoman attempts at historical writing is a Turkish work by Yazicioglu 'Ali, known variously as *Saljuq-nāma/Selcuk-name*, *Oghoz-nāma/Oghuz-name*, or *Tārikh-e Āl-e Saljuq*, composed for Morād/Murad II (r. 1421-51) sometime in the period 1425-30s. While the work does not relate the history of the Ottoman dynasty *per se*, its concerns are still very much Ottoman. The work consists of four sections: the Turkish tribes and Oghuz genealogy; the Great Saljuqids of Iran from Toghrul Beg to Sanjar, as well as the Saljuqid branches established in Iraq, Kermān and Kurdistan; the Saljuqids of Anatolia; and the Mongol period up to Ghāzān Khan (r. 1295-1304). Yazicioglu 'Ali opens his work with the legendary history of the Oghuz Turks taken from Rashid al-Din Fazl Allāh (Wittek, p. 645). The section on the Saljuqids of Anatolia is almost a word-for-word translation of Ebn Bibi's *Awāmer al-'alā'iyya*, with a few additions concerning some of the Anatolian amirates. The final section on the Mongols going up to Ghāzān Khan is taken mostly from Rashid al-Din's *Jāme' al-tawārikh*. The primary concern of Yazicioglu 'Ali in his treatment of Oghuz, Saljuqid and Mongol history is to demonstrate that the Ottomans, as the supreme representatives of the Oghuz Turks, were the legitimate successor of leadership in the Turco-Iranian world. Paul Wittek has shown in his pioneering study how, in the midst of the section on Oghuz Khan, Yazicioglu 'Ali interpolated an "audacious declaration that Sultan Murad is by origin and *süngük* superior to all the khan families of the other Oghuz as well as to the various branches of the house of Jingiz Khan; therefore Shar'ia and 'urf demand that the Turkish and Tatar khans come to his Porte for salutation and service." This ideological stance, referred to as the "Oghuzian theme" by Wittek, permeates the entire work which is filled with praise of the feats and customs of the begs of the Oghuz (Wittek, pp. 645-47). This rivalry with other Turco-Iranian polities claiming to be successors of the Chinghizid or Oghuz legitimizing

principles continued for almost another fifty years and dominated the ideological perspectives of early Ottoman historiography.

Historical works in Persian were first patronized by the Ottomans in the reign of Mehmed II. With Mehmed II's conquest of Constantinople in 1453, the Ottoman polity entered a new "imperial" phase. The Ottoman sultan regarded himself as the most prestigious of Muslim rulers as well as the only legitimate heir of the Roman Empire with his acquisition of the former capital of the eastern Roman Empire (Inalcik, 1973, p. 56). Patronage of literary works increased significantly during this period, and we see the true beginnings of an Ottoman court historiography, the main function of which was to glorify, in a high literary form, the exploits of Mehmed II, as well as present the history of the Ottoman dynasty in the best light. Much of creating an enhanced imperial image for the Ottoman dynasty was left in the hands of Mehmed II's grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (d. 1474), who commissioned numerous historical and literary works and gathered around himself a brilliant circle of poets and writers (Tekindag, p. 188).

The earliest Persian historical works to treat the Ottoman dynasty were Shokr Allāh's *Bahjat al-tawārikh* (1459), Mir Sayyed 'Ali Mo'ālī's *Khonkār-nāma* (1475), and Kāshefī's *Ghazā-nāma-ye Rum* (1478). Shokr Allāh entered Ottoman service while quite young and appears to have been of Turkish origins (Atsiz, p. 39), but the other two authors were both émigrés from Iranian lands. Mo'ālī was originally from Tus and Kāshefī was from the region of Shervān. The works of both Shokr Allāh and Mo'ālī should be put in the context of political rivalry in the east. Shokr Allāh's work is informative for the years of political contestation between the Ottomans and the Timurid ruler Shāhrokh, as well as Ottoman attempts to make an alliance with the Qara Qoyunlu against their mutual Timurid enemy. Mo'ālī, on the other hand, began composing his work in the midst of the Ottoman-Aq Qoyunlu military conflict during 1471-73. Both works focus on events and rulers in the east and, in one way or the other, address Ottoman claims of political legitimacy in face of their Timurid and Aq Qoyunlu rivals.

Shokr Allāh came to prominence during the reign of Murad II, when he served as the sultan's envoy to the Turkish principalities in the east. He was sent to negotiate with the Qaramanid ruler Ebrāhim Beg (r. 1424-64), as well as in 1448-49 to the court of the Qara Qoyunlu ruler Jahānshāh (r. 1437-67), with whom Mehmed II was considering forging an alliance against their common foe, the Aq Qoyunlu (Atsiz, p. 39). After retiring from his official duties, Shokr Allāh dedicated himself to composing his history, which he completed in 1459 and dedicated to his patron, the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (Tekindag, p. 188). A typical

Islamic universal history, the *Bahjat al-tawārikh* starts with creation, the prophets, the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions, the founders of Sufi Orders and famous Shaikhs. It then touches upon pre-Islamic Iranian rulers and the Caliphate of the Umayyads and the Abbasids, as well as the Oghuz Turks and the Saljuqid rulers, concluding with the Ottomans up to Mehmed II. It also treats other subjects such as cosmography and religion. Thus, it does not significantly depart from the encyclopaedic framework employed by earlier works such as Ahmadi's *Eskandar-nāma*.

Shokr Allāh's section on the Ottomans is of great importance, especially in light of the author's significant official duties in the service of the Ottoman sultans. Although we do not know his sources for the first sultans from 'Othmān to Bayezid I, both Atsiz and Menage maintain that he made great use of Ahmadi's work. He also relied on other works, for he included dates which are entirely absent from Ahmadi's account and he refers to events and battles not mentioned by him (Atsiz, p. 40). Shokr Allāh's history was translated into Turkish in 1531, and served as a major source for Mehmed/Mohammad Za'im, who was commissioned in 1578 by his patron Sokollu Mehmed Pasha to compose a Turkish general history, the *Jāme' al-tawārikh*. Mehmed Za'im's use of Shokr Allāh's history was so extensive that parts of it could be considered a direct word-for-word translation (Babinger, no. 84, p. 110).

Mir 'Ali b. Mozaffar, known as Mo'ālī, arrived in the Ottoman realms after having spent years traveling throughout much of the Middle East between the years 1446 and 1453 (Anhegger, pp. 147-48; Menage, 1961, I, p. 147). Completed sometime after 1474, the *Khonkār-nāma* contains important information on the Timurids, Aq Qoyunlu and Qara Qoyunlu. Mo'ālī states that he began its composition immediately after Uzun Hasan's sack of the Ottoman city of Tokat in the east, news of which reached the court on 5 September 1472. Although Mo'ālī's work consists of Persian verse of around 5000 couplets, mostly in the *motaqāreb* meter, it cannot be considered a *Shāh-nāma* style history. Yet it is difficult to describe it generically, for it does not adhere to any particular historical format. Ménage described its composition as "a patchwork stitched together" with little concern for chronological sequence. It consists of four sections. The first section begins with a description of the reign of Mehmed II, glorifying his defeat of the two Turkmen rulers in Anatolia, the Aq Qoyunlu Uzun Hasan and Esmā'il, the Isfandiyarid ruler of Kastamonu, and, in particular, providing detailed coverage of circumstances before, during and after the defeat of Uzun Hasan in 1473. The second section provides an overview of the history of Timur and his successors, as well as of that of the Qara Qoyunlu and Aq Qoyunlu

Turkmen confederations. Mo'ālī's description of Shāhrokh's reception of the embassy sent by Murad II after the Battle of Varna in 1444 shows how the Ottomans demonstrated their military might as a form of political intimidation to their rivals in the east by announcing their victories in the west. The third section is an autobiographical account of the author's extensive travels. The work concludes with a section on the traumatic death of Prince Mostafā/Mustafa in 1473-74 at the hands of the Qaramanids, the execution of the grand vizier Mahmud Pasha, and a final note on the arrival in Istanbul of an embassy from the Mamluks in 1474-75 (Ménage, 1961, I, pp. 147-51).

Kāshefi, an Iranian emigrant originally from Baku in the domains of the Shervānshāh, arrived at Istanbul towards the end of the reign of Mehmed II after having spent many years travelling and living for some time in Aleppo and Urfa. He approached the Ottoman grand vizier Karamani Mehmed Pasha (1476-81) with his work *Ghazā-nāma-ye Rum* to present to the sultan in order to bring himself to the sovereign's attention perhaps in hopes of gaining an administrative post. The work consisted of a Persian verse rendition of the sultan's life and military exploits similar in style to an earlier anonymous Turkish *Ghazā-nāma* composed thirty-some years earlier for Murad II. Due to the incomplete nature of the extant text, however, it is impossible to provide a detailed description of Kāshefi's work. Its remaining fragments consist of Persian verse of around 1139 couplets in the *motaqāreb* meter. Ménage speculates that it may have been the first draft of the beginning of a proposed longer work, which Kāshefi would have undertaken upon gaining the approval of Mehmed II. After describing the birth of Mehmed II and Murad II's abdication in his son's favor in 1444, the verse narrative provides detailed accounts of the 1444 Varna campaign, the expedition into Albania in 1447, and the campaign at Kosova in 1448. The work breaks off abruptly after the first lines of the chapter on Mehmed II's marriage to a Zu'l-Qader princess in 1449. According to Halil Inalcik, the text provides much original information for Murad II and young Mehmed II's time (Ménage, 1961, I, pp. 148-55; Inalcik, 1995, p. 11).

By the time Bayezid II (r. 1481-1512) came to the throne, the Ottomans were highly conscious of their lack of a detailed and cohesive dynastic history. It was during Bayezid II's reign, a watershed period for the development of Ottoman historiography, that the initial Turkish chronicles treating the entire history of the Ottoman dynasty were composed. These Ottoman dynastic chronicles drew upon earlier episodic *Ghazā-nāmas* and the raw data of historical calendars, and mixed this material with the numerous and varied oral traditions of the

exploits of the early Ottomans. The core of this narrative tradition begins with the appearance of Ertoghrol, father of 'Othmān/Osman, and the rise to power of 'Othmān/Osman, with Ottoman expansion continuing uninterrupted until the end of the reign of Bayezid I with his defeat at the hands of Timur. The narrative continues with the civil war between the successors of Bayezid and the victory of Mehmed I (r. 1414-21), who once again unified the Ottoman realms. This is followed by the conquests of Murad II, Mehmed II, and finally up to Bayezid II's reign until the year 1484. This initial flurry of Turkish dynastic historical composition, written in a folksy and unsophisticated Turkish vernacular, was mainly concerned with creating, selectively, an official Ottoman narrative out of an array of often contradictory sources, many of which were oral. Halil İnalcik has shown that this enormous amount of historical writing all ending in 1484-85 was not a coincidence. Bayezid II needed to earn the support of a variety of sectors of Ottoman society who had been alienated by the unpopular fiscal policies introduced by his father and his grand vizier Mehmed Rumi Pasha. He also wanted to create a favorable public image in face of the danger posed by his brother Jam/Cem's counterclaims for the throne. Faced with a restless corps of Janissaries and internal political unrest, Bayezid II undertook his first military campaign in 1484. The campaign along the shores of Moldavia concluded victoriously with the seizure of the important north-western Black Sea fortresses of Aq Kermān/Akkirman and Kilia, something even his father had failed to accomplish. It is at this juncture that the first set of works commissioned by Bayezid comes to an end, emphasizing the importance of Bayezid's military success (İnalcik, 1995, pp. 13-14).

Part of establishing a coherent dynastic narrative was the creation of an ideological fiction upon which Ottoman political claims could be founded. Many dynastic histories composed in the 1480s preface the history of the House of 'Othmān/Osman with a short overview of the Anatolian Saljuqids, a narrative strategy which points to the Ottomans as direct and legitimate successors of the Saljuqids. The impetus to portray the Ottomans as the rightful and legitimate successors to the Saljuqids must have become especially pressing at a time when the Ottomans were struggling to take control of south-central Anatolia, beginning with Mehmed II's conquest of Konya in 1468 from the Qaramanids, who likewise claimed the legitimacy of their rulership as the rightful successors of the Saljuqids. It was not until 1483 that the Ottomans were able to destroy the last vestiges of Qaramanid rule in the region, and soon afterwards in 1485 war with the Mamluks over the control of south and south-east Anatolia (Cilicia) broke out.

The Persian work *Ketāb-e tawārikh-e Āl-e ‘Othmān* composed in 1484 by Mohammad Amin b. Hājji Khalil Qunyavi, a *shari’a* court clerk from Konya, is a representative Persian text produced during this dynamic period of dynastic history production. It is also of interest for its reception of Shokr Allāh’s history. Much of Qunyavi’s work consists of Shokr Allāh’s work recast in a more elegant and ornate Persian with some significant additions. The work begins with an abridged history of the Saljuqids, demonstrating that the Ottomans, as the true successors of the Saljuqids, owed their sovereignty to Kay-khosraw III, who granted ‘Othmān/Osman the insignia of royalty. The author claims that his section on the Anatolian Saljuqids is an improved version over that of Shokr Allāh’s and other previous works on the subject, for he added material based on inscriptions from buildings in his native Konya, as well as information found in historical calendars, deeds of pious endowments (*waqfiyyas*) and other histories (Ménage, 1961, I, pp. 102-04).

Qunyavi began composing his work upon the command of Mehmed II, but he added to it through the years, bringing it up to the first few years of Bayezid’s reign, ending in 1484 with the Ottoman conquest of Kili and Aq Kermān/Akkerman. In his section of the Ottomans, aside from a few additions, Qunyavi appears to have followed Shokr Allāh closely, including praise of the Chandarli family, perhaps to please Bayezid’s tutor, and later, grand vizier, Ebrāhim b. Khalil Pasha Chandarli. The last third of the work, however, has no counterpart in Shokr Allāh’s work and continues the narrative from Mehmed II’s accession to the throne in 1451 until 1484. This part of the account consists of a sparse narrative which relates events year by year, most likely derived from historical calendars (Blochet, p. 87; Ménage, 1961, I, pp. 102-04).

After the decisive defeat of the Aq Qoyunlu in 1473, the primary threat to the integrity of the Ottoman realms came from the royal family itself. Bayezid II’s brother Cem’s claim to the throne hampered Bayezid’s every move until Cem’s death more than ten years later in 1495 while a captive of European powers. The anonymous, *Bāyazid-nāma*, composed in 1486, details the long, and at times violent, succession struggle between Cem and Bayezid following the death of their father Mehmed II in 1481. This work, composed in Persian verse, extant in a unique manuscript at the Cambridge University Library, is one of the earliest known examples of the succession struggle narrative, a recurring theme in episodic Ottoman historical and popular narratives throughout most of the sixteenth century. Throughout the text, Bayezid is referred to as Abu’l-Nāser, a rhetorical ploy emphasizing his military

victory over his brother. The exordium, with its semi-mystical tone, alludes to Bayezid's destiny as sovereign in contrast to Cem's fate.

The *Bāyazid-nāma* consists of 84 small sections, with a *monājāt* following the exordium, as well as a brief treatment of the Prophet Muhammad's ascension to heaven (*me'rāj*), the virtues of justice, and the vicissitudes of fortune. The historical section begins with the death of Mehmed II, a description of the oppression of the grand vizier Qaramani Mehmed Pasha and his murder at the hands of the Janissaries. It then launches into the details of the military conflict between Bayezid and Cem, supported by the Qaramanid ruler Qāsem Beg. After meticulously detailing Bayezid II's struggle with Cem until his flight to the Knights of Rhodes, the text goes up to the year 1484 with Bayezid's conquest of Kilia and Aq Kermān/Akkirman. It also includes Mekhāl-oghlu 'Ali Bey and Eskandar Bey's raids against the Hungarian ruler Matthias, who was maneuvering to seize Cem, held by the Knight of Rhodes, as well as their campaign later that year against Moldavia. The work ends with the arrival of Mamluk envoys just as the Ottoman-Mamluk war was to erupt in south-central Anatolia. The *Bāyazid-nāma* emphasizes Bayezid II's victory over Cem, and is unique among the set of succession struggle narratives in that it was composed in the midst of the conflict while Cem was alive and still presented a threat.

Towards the latter half of Bayezid II's reign, with the elements of the Ottoman dynastic narrative becoming stabilized as seen in the Ottoman dynastic section of Neshri's world history (composed c. 1490), we see a shift in Ottoman historiographical concerns. The matter at hand was no longer the contents of the Ottoman dynastic narrative tradition but rather its style. The Ottoman historical narrative, as it stood, did not adequately project an imperial image of the Ottoman sovereign. Thus, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, efforts to recast the established narrative into a high cultural or "imperial style", employing sophisticated rhetorical devices, were launched in both Persian and Turkish. The use of ornate rhetorical prose and verse for the enunciation of a great theme is a widespread cultural phenomenon, for rhetoric facilitated the creation of literary images most appropriate to sovereignty. Through the patronization of works composed in the highest literary style possible, the successful potentate could demonstrate that his court was the center of prestigious cultural production by refined men of letters in his employment, who represented the pinnacle of intellectual accomplishment (Woodhead, 1988, p. 143).

Around 1502-03 Bayezid commissioned two of the most significant Ottoman dynastic histories ever written, marking the development of an imperial style in dynastic history composition: Edris Bedlisi's Persian

Hasht behesht and Ebn Kamāl's Turkish *Tawārikh-e Āl-e 'Othmān*, texts which can be considered parallel in both their commissioning as well as in their attempts to lay down the groundwork for an imperial tradition of dynastic historical composition. Hakim al-Din Edris b. Hosām al-Din 'Ali Bedlisi (d. c. 1521), a scholar, poet and historian under Bayezid II and Salim/Selim I, came from a Kurdish family originally from eastern Anatolia, a region which at the time recognized the sovereignty of the Aq Qoyunlu Turkomans. Having grown up at the Aq Qoyunlu court in Tabriz, where a great many scholars and shaikhs of the time had gathered, Edris Bedlisi is known to have engaged in scholarly discussions with eminent figures such as Jāmi when he was passing through Tabriz. He served the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Ya'qub (r. 1478-90) as divan secretary and chancellor. Following the fall of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty in Tabriz in 1501, he declined Shah Esmā'il's invitation to service and fled to Istanbul, invited by Bayezid II, who had been impressed by his finely composed letters in a high style Persian, written to the Ottoman sultan on behalf of the Aq Qoyunlu ruler. He was commissioned by Bayezid II to compose a Persian history of the Ottoman house, but remained unrewarded for his brilliant efforts. As the story goes, jealous courtiers turned Bayezid II against Edris who was accused of praising the kings of Iran rather than the Ottomans. Whatever the actual cause of Edris's problems, they were probably in some way related to his chief enemy, the grand vizier Khādem 'Ali Pasha (d. 1511). Bedlisi left for Mecca in 1511, only to return to Istanbul the next year with the enthronement of Selim I. He presented his masterpiece to the new sultan, where it finally received its due honor (Menage, 1960, pp. 1207-08; Tavakkoli, p. 4; Fleischer, 1990, pp. 75-76; Babinger, pp. 45-46).

Taking highly embellished works such as Jovayni's *Tārikh-e jahāngoshā*, Wassāf's *Tajzirat al-amsār*, and Sharaf al-Din Yazdi as examples, Bedlisi composed his highly stylized work in eight chapters, with each chapter devoted to a single sultan. Like previous dynastic histories, the work is prefaced by a brief treatment of the Saljuq period. After discussing the craft of history and the virtues and the superiority of the Ottoman dynasty, it gives an account of the early Ottoman military campaigns during the Saljuqid period and their relations with the Saljuqs and closes with 'Othmān's death. According to Halil Inalcik, *Hasht behesht* follows the narrative tradition already established in the works of Ahmadi, Shokr Allāh and Anonymous Bodleian/Oxford Chronicles (Inalcik, 1995, p. 14), concluding with an account of Selim I's struggle to the throne. The work also contains original information on events concerning central and eastern Anatolia. It devotes a separate chapter to the Ottoman court and government, an original contribution to Ottoman

chronicles. Ebn Kamāl's *Tawārikh-e Āl-e 'Othmān*, a massive dynastic history composed in a high literary style around the same time, has been considered the Turkish counterpart of Bedlisi's work (Fleischer, 1990, pp. 75-76).

The longevity and popularity of Bedlisi's monumental history is attested to by the numerous extant copies in Turkish libraries. Not only did it affect the style of subsequent works, but it also served as a source for other histories and, in particular, the late sixteenth-century work, Khojā Sa'd al-Din Efendi's Turkish *Tāj al-tawārikh*. In 1733 Sultan Mahmud I (1730-54) ordered the difficult Persian work to be translated by Vanli 'Abd al-Bāqi Sa'di Efendi. The translation, however, as Fleischer points out, is of uneven quality (Unat, pp. 59-60; Fleischer, 1990, p. 76).

Hasht behesht demonstrates that "Ottoman history could be recorded in Persian as elegantly and grandiloquently as the history of other dynasties had been ..." (Ménage, 1961, I, p. 168). Although some Ottoman historians have picked out bits and pieces of information from the *Hasht behesht*, it has not yet been edited or studied in depth or in its entirety. The text is massive and the language extremely difficult, making it a daunting project. Yet, if any Persian history dealing with Ottoman history deserves attention, it is this one. In addition to *Hasht behesht*, Bedlisi produced some twenty other works, including the little known *Qānun-e shāhanshāhi*, a Persian prose work on ethics along the lines of a *nasihat-nāma* (Tavakkoli, p. 2 ff.).

It is during the long reign of Selim I's son, Süleyman (1520-66), that we see the blossoming of Ottoman historiography. Cornell Fleischer attributes the explosion in Ottoman historical works during the second half of the sixteenth century to the growth and systematization of the Ottoman bureaucracy, which necessitated an increase in bureaucratic appointments (Fleischer, 1994, p. 59). In general Ottoman historical works were composed by those vying for bureaucratic appointments or hoping for promotion. Literary production, including historical works, was an essential part of career advancement for the Ottoman bureaucratic/administrative class. Historiography was not an independent undertaking, but rather one entirely implicated with the interests of the patron. If his work was deemed worthy, the author would be financially rewarded, often through the granting of an administrative post. The increase of those qualified for bureaucratic posts through the expansion of the *madrasa* educational system under Süleyman, as well as the increase in the positions being competed for, may explain the exponential increase in the production of historical as well as literary works throughout the sixteenth century.

Not only was there an extraordinary increase in the *Ghazawāt-nāma*-type works, reflecting the increased military activity of the Ottoman state, but also in a variety of historical forms. Historians of this period were very much concerned with extending existing general histories up to date by appending the events of the reign of Süleyman. We see this in Matrakchi Nasuh's Turkish translation of Tabari's Arabic history, which includes a *zayl* of Ottoman history up to the early years of Süleyman's reign (1520-33), as well as new recensions of Neshri's world history by anonymous authors who brought the text up to Süleyman's time.

In the early period of Süleyman's reign, primarily in the 1520s and 1530s, we also see an enormous output of historical texts dealing with his father's undocumented reign. These texts fall under the general designation of *Salim-nāmas*. Selim had ascended the Ottoman throne in 1512 after deposing his father and defeating the armies of his brothers. His controversial struggle for the sultanate became the central theme of *Salim-nāmas* composed in both Turkish and Persian, some bearing the names of their authors, many others anonymous. Yet not all *Salim-nāmas* focus on Selim I's difficult road to sovereignty. Many are concerned with the battles that occupied most of his time as sultan and brought Egypt, Syria and eastern Anatolia under the Ottoman rule, and deflected the Safavid threat. One such work extolling the conquests of Selim I is Kashfi Mehmed Chelebi's *Salim-nāma*, composed in a mixture of Persian and Arabic verse in 1521. As secretary to the imperial council (*divān*) accompanying the sultan on his campaigns to Iran, Syria and Egypt, Kashfi was an important eyewitness to these events (Uğur, p. 2ff).

Bedlisi's son Abu'l-Fazl Mehmed (d. 1577-78), *qāzi*, financial minister (*daftardār*), and later, chief treasurer (*bāsh-daftardār*) of the Ottoman Empire, composed a *zayl* of his father's work *Hasht behesht*, carrying the narrative through the reign of Selim I up to 1515. Late in his reign, Süleyman and Abu'l-Fazl rewrite the original draft of another Persian work, the *Salim-shāh-nāma*, that his father had begun. Completed in 1567, this work of mixed prose and verse begins with the Qezelbāsh Shāhkulu rebellion in 1511 and covers the rest of Selim's reign. Abu'l-Fazl also edited an unfinished Persian *Salim-nāma* left by his father. He presented the finished products to the new sultan, Selim II, just after he had taken the throne, possibly as a way to ensure the renewal of his post as chief treasurer, a post which he held from 1566 to 1570 (Fleischer, 1990, pp. 75-76; Eyice, pp. 357-58; Özcan, pp. 356-57).

Mohammad Mosleh al-Din Lāri Ansāri (d. 1571) was another Iranian emigrant to compose an important Persian history sponsored by the Ottomans. Lāri was born in Lārestān, Fārs, and educated in Shiraz under a disciple of Jalāl al-Din Davāni's. Before coming to the Ottoman

domains, he spent many years in India, where he served as tutor to the Mughal ruler Homāyun. During his brief stay in Istanbul, Lāri composed *Mer'āt al-adwār wa merqāt al-akhbār*, dedicated to Selim II upon his ascension to the throne in 1566 (Rieu, p. 116).

Mer'āt al-adwār is a Persian universal history that concludes with a very short section on the Ottomans, stopping at the death of Süleyman in 1566. In his massive work Lāri names fifty Arabic and Persian sources, including *Tārikh-e Hāfez-e Abru* and the *Rawzat al-safā*, in addition to several Turkish works he consulted. In structure and content the work is a typical Persian universal history. It consists of ten chapters (*bāb*) covering the Iranian kings of the pre-Islamic period, the Prophet Muhammad, the early Caliphs, Umayyads, Abbasids, Saffarids, Samanids, Daylamites, Ghaznavids, Ghurids, Karts, Saljuqids of Iran, Kermān and Anatolia, Atabaks, Khwārazmshāhs, and Ismailis. Chapter seven narrates the history of Chengiz Khan and his successors, including the Chupanids, Qara Khitays and the Muzaffarids. Chapter eight is entirely devoted to Timur and his successors. Chapter nine covers the Aq Qoyunlu and ends with a brief mention of Shah Esmā'il and Shah Tahmāsp, lamenting that all the great minds of Iran had been driven out of the realm by the fanaticism of Shah Tahmāsp. The final chapter provides a brief synopsis of the Ottomans in sixteen folios, with an appendix of a biographical section on statesmen, scholars and poets (Rieu, p. 116).

Lāri's history, which remains to be studied in detail, represents the quintessential general history popular in the Turco-Iranian Islamic world at the time. It was translated into Turkish in 1575 for Murad III by Khojā Sa'd al-Din Efendi, the sultan's longtime tutor and close associate. Finding Lāri's final chapter on the Ottomans sparse and inadequate, Murad III also had Sa'd al-Din compose a more comprehensive treatment of the Ottomans to the end of Selim I in the high rhetorical style that had become *de rigeur* for literary renderings of the Ottoman dynastic history. Sa'd al-Din's choice of title, *Tāj al-tawārikh* is imbued with the Ottoman ideological rhetoric. Conceptualizing the Ottoman section that concludes Lāri's general history as a crown, he placed the Ottoman dynasty at the zenith of Islamic Turco-Iranian history, portraying the dynasty's sovereignty as supreme and legitimate. The *Tāj al-tawārikh* is considered a discrete work on its own and remains one of the most consulted Ottoman histories by both Ottomans as well as by pioneering modern historians of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In the mid-sixteenth century, Süleyman began the commissioning of *Shāh-nāma* type works, a development which culminated during the early 1550s in the establishment of the position of the official *shāh-*

nāmaguy, or *shāh-nāmachi*, who, like any other Ottoman government bureaucrat, received a regular salary. Before Süleyman had established the position of the official *shāh-nāmaguy*, however, he first approached ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. ‘Abd Allāh Ghobāri, a Naqshbandi shaikh, calligrapher, scholar and tutor to the royal princes of his son Bayezid at his court in Kutahya, to compose an Ottoman *Shāh-nāma* in Persian. Ghobāri completed the task in 1551, composing a partial dynastic history covering Selim’s campaigns in Iran and Egypt and the early years of Süleyman’s reign. Ghobāri claims to have taken Ferdowsi’s *Shāh-nāma* as his model and refers to his work as a *nazira* or “parallel composition” of the great masterpiece (Parmaksizoglu, p. 349; Alparslan, p. 168).

The reception of Ghobāri’s *Shāh-nāma* is impossible to trace. One can speculate that it did not receive much attention, for Ghobāri’s career soon afterwards took an unexpected turn of bad luck. On the losing side of the struggle over succession between Süleyman’s two sons, Bayezid and Selim, Ghobāri was imprisoned for a few years along with others in the retinue of prince Bayezid, following Selim’s victory over his brother in 1559 (Parmaksizoglu, pp. 347-50).

Some time in the early 1550s Süleyman established the official salaried post of the *shāh-nāmaguy* (the composer of *Shah-namas*). Five successive *shāh-nāmaguys* were appointed throughout the second half of the sixteenth century: ‘Āref Chelebi/Çelebi (d. 1561), Aflātun (d. 1569), Sayyed Loqmān (d. c. 1601-02), Ta’liqizāda (d. 1600) and Hokmi Hasan Efendi. Of all the *shāh-nāmachis*, Sayyed Loqmān was the most productive and brought the post to its height under the patronage of the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. The chief function of the *shāh-nāmachi* was to compose the text of dynastic history in Persian, on the model of Ferdowsi’s *Shāh-nāma*. The texts were in turn lavishly illustrated by teams of miniaturists at the palace workshop (Atıl, pp. 35 ff.). The ostensible aim of the production of these works, both the text as well as the accompanying illustrations, was the glorification of the Ottoman dynasty. The establishment of the post may also have been related to the ongoing rivalry between the Ottomans and the Safavids. The presence of the renegade Safavid prince, Alqās Mirzā, and his entourage in the Ottoman realms in 1547-49 may have been a precipitating factor to the establishment of the post. Aflātun, the second *shāh-nāmachi* had been part of Alqās Mirzā’s entourage from Iran as the prince’s court poet (Küttükoglu, p. 9). More research into these questions is needed before a clearer understanding can be reached regarding the origins of this unique institution.

The first *shāh-nāmachi*, ‘Āref (d. 1561), was of Persian origins from Diyarbakr and the grandson of the celebrated Iranian mystic, Ebrāhim

Golshani (d. 1534), the founder of the Golshaniyya branch of the Khalwatiyya Sufi order (Mohyi Golshani, pp. 245-47; Yazici, pp. 121-22; Atil, p. 55; on the Golshaniyya and Khalwatiyya, see Clayer). 'Āref's task as official *shāh-nāmachi* was to produce a cohesive versified Ottoman dynastic history in the *motaqāb* meter, embedded in a general history format. 'Āref's final product, the *Shāh-nāma-ye Āl-e 'Othmān*, or *Shāh-nāma-ye homāyun*, comprised five volumes, only three of which (vols. 1, 4, 5) have survived or were actually completed. The first volume, the *Anbiyā-nāma*, completed in 1552, deals with creation and the early prophets. The missing second and third volumes covered respectively the rise of Islam and the "ancient" Turkish rulers and the Saljuqids. The fourth volume deals with the Ottoman sultans, and the fifth, named the *Solaymān-nāma*, is reserved entirely for Süleyman up to the year 1555 with the death of Prince Mostafā and the rebellion of an impersonator of him (Atil, p. 60). Just before leaving the post, 'Āref also composed a discrete episodic piece in Persian, *Salim-nāma (Waqāye'-e Soltān Bāyazid ma'a Salim Khān)*, which recounts the 1559 bitter succession struggle between Süleyman's two sons (Yazici, p. 121).

While the second *shāh-nāmachi*, Aflātun, also of Iranian origins, only briefly served in the post and failed to complete any works, the third *shāh-nāmachi*, Sayyed Loqmān, likewise of Iranian origins, held the post for twenty-seven years and brought considerable prestige to it. Originally from the region of Lake Urmia in Iranian Azerbaijan near the eastern Ottoman-Persian border, Sayyed Loqmān Hosayni Ormavi was a judge in Harir, a town outside of Mosul in the early 1560s, just before he came to Istanbul and found employment as a *divān* secretary under the patronage of Feridun Bey, the head of the chancellery. In 1569 the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha appointed Loqmān as successor to the *shāh-nāmaguy* Aflātun (Kütükoglu, p. 9; Kramers, p. 794; Gökbilgin, pp. 853-56). Although he had not produced any works during his first eight years as *shāh-nāmaguy* mostly under Selim II (1566-74), Loqmān made up for it later during the reign of Murad III (r. 1574-96), when he composed a total of ten major works, five in Persian verse, four in Turkish prose, and one in Turkish verse (Nyitrai, p. 110).

His first work was completed just as the Ottomans began their eastern campaign in 1578. With this work, the *Tatemma-ye ahwāl-e Soltān Solaymān*, he brought the reign of Süleyman to completion, taking off where the *Solaymān-nāma*, the fifth volume of 'Āref's *Shāh-nāma-ye homāyun* had left off in the year 1555. A self-contained work, the *Tatemma* consists of 12,000 Persian verses in which Loqmān relates Süleyman's later campaigns of Malta and Sakiz/Chios of 1565-66, as well as other details of his reign. Loqmān emphasizes the sultan's

regulations based on the *shari'a*, including his ban on wine-drinking, and other attempts to control public morality. Two thirds of the work treats the final year of Süleyman's reign, focusing on the campaign of Sviġetvar, the death of Süleyman on the battlefield, and Selim II's ascension. Emphasizing the Ottomans' strict adherence to the *shari'a*, Loqmān portrays the Süleyman as the supreme Muslim ruler. In his careful study of this work, Istvan Nyitrai observes that the sultan is portrayed as the ideal ruler, larger than life, messianic sovereign assisted by celestial powers. In contrast to the idealized figure of the sultan, the grand vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, is depicted realistically ("the single flesh and blood figure in the whole work"), emphasizing his ingenious war tactics and strategies. Nyitrai concludes that the work was as much praise of the grand vizier as it was a eulogy of an idealized Süleyman. It sought to uphold the grand vizier's reputation as a great statesmen and warrior, as well as to present a model to Murad III by representing Süleyman's period as an ideal era. This is significant in view of the attempts at the court to undermine the power of the grand vizier, just as Loqmān was composing this work (Nyitrai, pp. 112-16).

Loqmān continued the *Shāh-nāma* project with a two-volume book on Selim II's reign (r. 1566-74), the *Shāh-nāma-ye Salim Khān*, which he completed in 1581 (Mahir, p. 318; Çagman and Tanindi, p. 60). At the same time that he was working on the Persian *Shāh-nāmas*, Loqmān busied himself with other projects for Murad III, all in Turkish. Loqmān's two-volume *Shāhanshāh-nama*, dealing with part of the reign of Murad III, concluded the Persian *Shāh-nāma* project of Ottoman history. The first volume covers the years 1574-82, while the second volume, completed in 1592, carries the narrative down to 1588, short of the last nine years of Murad III's reign. Although Loqmān completed the draft in 1592, the work was not ready for presentation to the sultan until 1597 upon the completion of its miniatures (Mahir, p. 318; Çagman and Tanindi, p. 60; Atasoy and Çagman, p. 50).

Loqmān's tenure as *shāh-nāmaguy* came to an end in 1596, when he was dismissed from the post at the beginning of the reign of Mehmed III (1595-1603) for not wanting to accompany the sultan on his Hungarian campaign. Unlike the previous emigrant *shāh-nāmaguys*, Loqmān's successor, Ta'liqizāda, was not of an Iranian background but rather a descendant of the influential Istanbul Fanāri family, and thus from a thoroughly Ottoman Turkish background. During his four years as *shāh-nāmaguy*, he composed entirely in Turkish for Mehmed III. His successor failed to produce any works and the post faded into oblivion some time around 1602-03, when the new sultan Ahmed III (1603-17)

made no new appointments to the post (Nyitrai, p. 110; Selaniki, II, p. 515; Woodhead, 1983, p. 177).

Many of the roots of Ottoman historical writing are to be found in the Persian tradition. Not only did Persian histories and historical models provide the framework for the creation of Ottoman historical works in Turkish, but Persian was also patronized as a medium for historical composition. Persian, especially when rendered in a highly rhetorical ornate style modeled on the example provided by Bayzāvi, Wassāf, and various Timurid authors, was considered the ideal idiom for projecting an imperial image. Political rivalry with dynasties from the Turco-Iranian sphere also appears to have been an impetus for the composition of historical works in Persian at the Ottoman court. Yet, by the end of sixteenth century, a major shift occurred in the cultural orientation of the Ottoman court. With very rare exceptions, Persian was no longer patronized for the composition of historical works by the Ottoman court. Furthermore, by the mid-sixteenth century, the vernacular Turkish style, previously scorned by the arbitrators of literary taste, came back in style (Murphey, p. 279). These changes of style in historiographical production appear to reflect a complex of structural changes in dynastic politics as well as in the Ottoman administration and bureaucracy, all of which warrant further investigation. Suffice it to say that, by the seventeenth century, with the exception of Murad IV (r. 1623-40), the sultan had become a sedentary ruler confined to the palace, less involved in the empire's administration and seldom involved in military activity.

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Symposium II: Linguistics

Plural Marking in New West Iranian Languages and Dialects: A Historical and Typological Approach

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INTRODUCTION

The nominal system of all New West Iranian languages has two numbers. The singular is often used after numerals and quantitative adjectives, but in some languages the plural is marked, especially when specific, after numerals larger than one. The choice of plural markers depends upon case (mostly direct vs. oblique), gender distinction and the distinction between animate and inanimate. The purpose of this paper is twofold: to study the form, function and distribution of plural markers in a selection of New West Iranian languages and dialects; and to identify the source and the original meaning of New West Iranian plural markers.

The nominal system of Old Iranian (OIr) had three genders (masculine, feminine, neuter), three numbers (singular, dual, plural), and eight cases (nominative, accusative, dative, instrumental, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative). The formal differentiation of these cases was complete only in the singular, and even there only in one declension, that of the masculine *a*-stems. In the dual and the plural, there were only three and six separate forms respectively. The plural case-endings of OIr masculine *a*-stems can be reconstructed as follows:

Nom. Voc.	*-āh, *-āhah
Acc.	*-ān(s) ¹
Ins.	*-āiš, *-aibiš
Dat. Abl.	*-aibyah
Gen.	*-ānām
Loc.	*-aiš, *-aišvā

There is enough evidence to show that in Western Middle Iranian (WMIr), the cases had been reduced to two: direct and oblique. Such a

¹ -s was retained only in some *sandhi* combinations.

two-case system is well attested in Middle Persian (MP) and Parthian of the Sassanian inscriptions and the Pahlavi Psalter (PPs). The same system is also preserved, at least to some extent, in Book Pahlavi (BPah), but it has been mostly abandoned in Manichaean Middle Persian (MMP) and Manichaean Parthian (MParth), where the two cases are only distinguished in the first person singular pronoun and the old stems in *-ar*. The case endings of nouns in Western Middle Iranian are as follows²:

	<i>ar</i> -stems			
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
Direct	- <i>ø</i>	- <i>ø</i>	- <i>ø</i>	- <i>ar</i>
Oblique	- <i>ē</i>	- <i>ān</i> (-īn, -ūn)	- <i>ar</i>	- <i>arān</i> (-arīn, -arūn)

The direct case (from the old nominative and accusative) was used as grammatical subject, and the oblique case (from the old genitive) was used as agent, indirect object, genitive, and the complement of prepositions and postpositions. Both the direct and the oblique cases could be used as direct object. Inanimate nouns were most often left undeclined, unless there was a wish to emphasize plurality.³

Examples: Parth. *yazad* (Dir. Pl.) *amāh ... dastgird karēnd ud pad yazad-ān* (Obl. Pl.) *pušt ...* ‘the gods made (historic present) us [their] property, and with the help of the gods ...’; MP *šāh-ān* (Obl. Pl.) *šāh* (Dir. Sing.) ‘king of kings’; MPth *tō ay pid* (Dir. Sing.) *čē im-īn harw-īn karišn* ‘Thou art the Father of all these creations’, *nimāyān pidar-ān* (Obl. Pl.) *wxēbēh* ‘I will show [you] my own fathers’.

However, even in good classical WMIr texts, there occur instances of the plural oblique case used as direct. Thus, the two-case system gradually disappeared from WMIr, and nouns came to be distinguished in number only, the general plural-ending being *-ān* (or rarely *-īn* or *-ūn*, from the OIr genitive endings **-īnām* and **-ūnām* for *i*-stems and *u*-stems respectively). This is the only plural-ending in MParth, but in MMP two other plural-endings, both of a latter date, have been identified: *-īhā* (originally an adverb-making suffix, usually added to inanimate nouns), and *-agān* (adding a generic sense to the noun and designating a multitude of individuals). In addition, in some MParth and MMP texts the abstract nouns formed with the endings *-īft* and *-īh* respectively are used as collectives or plural nouns.

² Cf. Asha 1998: 7-10; Nyberg 1974: 277-78; Skjærvø 1983: 132-35.

³ Skjærvø 1983: 134.

Examples: BPah *wuzurg-ān* 'the great ones', *ātaxš-ān* 'fires', *frazand-īn* 'children', *kōf-īhā* 'mountains', *jahūd-agān* 'a multitude of Jews', *harborz kōf-īh 2244 ast* 'Harborz has 2244 mountains'; MParth *brādar-ān ud wxār-īn* 'brothers and sisters', *dušmin-ūn* 'enemies', *pad harw bay-īft* 'among all gods'

In WMIr strict concord between a plural noun and a modifying adjective, whether attributive, demonstrative or quantitative, was not obligatory, but it often occurs, e.g., BPah *astōmand-ān mardōm-ān* 'corporeal men'; MParth *šubān-ān rāšt-ān* 'righteous shepherds'

A noun modified by a numeral often occurs in the singular in WMIr, but the use of a plural noun after numerals larger than one is not infrequent, especially in MParth and MMP, where in most cases the agreement can be attributed to rhythmic factors.⁴ e.g. MParth *dō brādar-ān* 'two brothers'

In WMIr a predicate substantive need not agree in number with a plural subject or antecedent, e.g. MMP *drōzan ma hēb bawēnd* 'They should not be liars'

Sometimes in a substantive phrase, the modifying noun is plural, not the regent noun, e.g.: MMP *abārīg-ān dēn ī pēšēnag-ān* 'the other religions of the ancients'

PLURAL MARKING IN NEW PERSIAN

The plural markers used in Early Modern Persian (EMP) are: *-ān*, *-(i)hā* and *-(a)gān*, e.g.: *nazdik-ān* 'relatives', *derakht-ān* 'trees', *dast-ān* 'hands', *setāra-gān* 'stars', *setam-hā* 'cruelties', *sepīd-hā* 'the white ones', *sar-ihā* 'heads', *kār-ihā* 'deeds', *farzand-agān* 'children', *dōst-agān* 'friends' One can also identify *-hān* as a plural suffix indicating approximation, e.g. *ānjā-hān* '(lit. those places) around there'.⁵

In classical Persian texts there are instances in which a modifying adjective has agreed with a plural noun (e.g.: *ferishtag-ān i pāk-ān* 'pure angels'). In addition, sometimes the noun, especially when specific, has appeared in plural form after numbers larger than one, (e.g.: *har du zan-ān* 'both women').

The plural-endings of Contemporary Persian (CP) are *-ān* and *-(h)ā*. The ending *-ān* is often used for human and human-related items, especially in literary registers. In addition, in all stages of New Persian, plural markers of Arabic origin are used, mostly in Arabic loan words, such as *-āt* (*ta'lim-āt* 'teachings'), *-in* (*mo'allem-in* 'teachers'), *-un*

⁴ Brunner 1977: 46.

⁵ Lazard 1963: 195-96.

(*enqelābi-y-un* ‘revolutionary people’), and broken plurals of different types, e.g. *kotob* ‘books’ (Sing. *ketāb*), *afrād* ‘individuals’ (Sing. *fard*), *romuz* ‘secrets’ (Sing. *ramz*), etc.

The addition of a plural marker to an already plural noun is occasionally witnessed in both EMP and CP, e.g. *khalifazāda-gān-hā/khalīfa-zāda-gān* ‘descendants of the caliph’ (Sing. *khalīfa-zāda*), *ahvāl-hā/ahvāl* ‘conditions’ (Sing. *hāl*).

PLURAL MARKING IN NEW WEST IRANIAN LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

In modern Iranian languages and dialects, pluralization is generally performed by adding certain affixes. In the study carried out for this paper, a group of New West Iranian languages and dialects were investigated, and the typological relationships existing in them were extracted. It should be added that in some of these languages and dialects the previously mentioned plural markers of Arabic origin are, under the influence of Persian, occasionally witnessed. The data is as follows:

Abuzaydābādi: *e* (replacing final *-a*), *-(h)ā*, *-hō*, *-un*, *pāk-* (to emphasize the concept of plurality): *espe* ‘dogs’ (Sing. *espa*), *pāk-reg* ‘veins’, *pāk-mū* ‘hair’ (Pl.) (*CLI*, p. 317; Mazra‘ati et al., p. 44)

Abyāna’i: *-a*, rarely *-(h)ā*, *-hō*, *-un*: *dādā-a* ‘sisters’, *dōt-a* ‘girls’, *raz-a* ‘gardens’, *bone-a* ‘trees’ (Sing. *bōna*), *mesh-a* ‘sheep’ (Pl.); but: *kaye-a* ‘houses’ (Sing. *kaya*), *kūye-ā* ‘dogs’ (Sing. *kūyā*), *voche* ‘children’ (Sing. *vocha*). After numerals larger than one the plural form is used: *dō mere-a* ‘two men’, *sa pūra* ‘three boys’ (Āhāni, p. 54; *CLI*, p. 317; Yarshater, in *EIr* I, p. 404).

Aftari: *-(h)on* (*kāku-hon* ‘uncles’, *vachkā-hon* ‘children’, *dār-on* ‘trees’). With respect to demonstratives, only the noun is pluralized: *ven mirdon* ‘those men’ (cf. *ven mirde* ‘that man’), *an kargon* ‘these hens’ (cf. *an jeki* ‘this woman’; Windfuhr, in *EIr* I, p. 592; Homāyun, pp. 53, 57).

Alviri: *-hā* (*CLI*, p. 314).

Āmora’i: *-gal* (*asb-gal* ‘horses’). The feminine ending *-a* is omitted before the plural marker: *sū-gal* ‘apples’ (Sing. *sūa*; *CLI*, p. 314; Lecoq, in *EIr* I, 956).

Anāraki: *-hā*: *chash-hā* ‘eyes’ (*CLI*, p. 322; Windfuhr, in *EIr* II, p. 3)

Ārāni: *-o(n)*, rarely *-hā*: *hayvon-o(n)* ‘animals’ *dērakht-o(n)* ‘trees’, *sag-o(n)* ‘stones’ The plural marker *-hā* is mainly used in some personal,

demonstrative and interrogative pronouns: *hēmē-hā* ‘we; us’, *shēmē-hā* ‘you’, *nēmi-hā* ‘these’, *kiyā-hā* ‘where, what places?’ (Alijānzāda, p. 203).

Ardestāni: *-(h)ā, -ū(n)*: *pore-hā* ‘sons’, *bolobol-ū* ‘nightingales’ (CLI, p. 322; Lecoq, in *EIr* II, p. 387)

Āštiyāni: *-gal(ān)*, in rapid speech sometimes *-gel*: *mā-gal* ‘mothers’, *pūr-galān* ‘sons’; the feminine ending *-a* is omitted before the plural marker: *khu-gal* ‘shovels’ (Sing. *khua*) (CLI, p. 314; Yarshater, in *EIr* II, p. 848).

Āzari: see Tāti.

Bādrudi: *-(h)ā, -hō, -e*, rarely *-un*: *bāl-e* ‘spades’, *böz-e* ‘goats’ In ergative constructions when the logical direct object is plural, sometimes the verb also takes the plural marker: *dōzz-e sarbāz-e-shun dar-kos-e* ‘the thieves hit the soldiers’ When the verb or a referring pronoun indicates the plural number, often the singular is used for the plural: *sarbāz ö dōz da:vā-shun be-ka* ‘the soldiers and the thieves quarreled’ (CLI, p. 317; Yarshater, in *EIr*. III, p. 383)

Baluchi: Obl. *-ān, -gal* (most frequently in Eastern Hill Baluchi). Kechi: Nom. *-ø*, Obl. *-ān* (*-ānrā*, emphasizing the direct object), Gen. *-ānī*: *mardom-ānī but* ‘men’s boots’, *sepāhī-ānī jamag* ‘soldiers’ shirts’ (CLI, pp. 354-55; Collet, p. 5; Elfenbein, in *EIr*. III, p. 635)

Bashkardi: (Northern): *-ā, -on, -ōn, -un, -ūn*; (Southern: *-an*): *lahar-on* ‘huts’, *pā-’on* ‘feet’, *ā-’ūn* ‘they, those’ (CLI, p. 366; Skjærvø, in *EIr*. III, p. 848)

Bakhtiyāri: *-(h)ā, -(y)ā, -vā* (for animals and inanimate objects); *-ū(n), -gal, -yal* (for humans and animals): *māl-ā* ‘tents’, *gandom-ā* ‘wheat’ (Pl.), *čo-vā* ‘pieces of wood’, *ded-ūn/dedū-yal* ‘sisters’, *kor-gal/yāl* ‘boys’, *bače-yāl* ‘children’, *gā-w-ūn/gā-hā* ‘cows’, *guar-gal* ‘calves’, *khar-gal* ‘asses’, *ādom-yāl* ‘people’, *shākh-ā* ‘horns’

Bakhtiyāri of Ardal: *-ā, -v/wā* (after *-u* and sometimes *-ow*), *-yā* (after *-i*), *-un, -jal*: *dodar-gal* ‘girls’, *mish-gal* ‘ewes’, *mir-gal* ‘men’ (Sing. *mire*), *zin-gal* ‘women’ (Sing. *zine*), *bi-jal* ‘kids’ (Sing. *big*), *sag-jal* ‘dogs’, *dej-jal* ‘sisters’, *du-vā* ‘sour milk’ (Pl.), *orosi-yā* ‘shoes’, *low-vā* ‘lips’, *show-ā* ‘nights’

In the Bakhtiyāri of Ardal adjectives may agree in number with the nouns they modify: *mir-gal gap-ā* (even: *mire gap-ā*) ‘old men’ (Sing. *mire gap*) (CLI, p. 344; Windfuhr, in *EIr*. III, p. 560; Eydi, p. 59; Sālehi, p. 27).

Behbahāni: *-ā, -(h)u:* *sarbāz-ā* ‘soldiers’, *das-ā* ‘hands’, *mard-u* ‘men’, *zen-u* ‘women’, *gā-hu* ‘cows’ With respect to the numerals, the nouns are pluralized: *i pay sikhe kebāb-ā* ‘these five rows of Kabāb’, *u de doluv-ā* ‘those two old women’ (Mortazavi, p. 36).

Behdini: *-un, -(h)ā, -(h)o:* *porog-un* ‘(small) sons’, *dotog-un* ‘daughters’, *vachog-un* ‘children’, *ziy-un* ‘women’, *noker-o* ‘servants’, *khda-(h)ā* ‘houses’, *chmosh-(h)ā* ‘shoes’; Kermāni: *-ā:* *khuk-ā* ‘pigs’; Yazdi: *-hu:* *wacha-hu* ‘children’ (CLI, p. 322; Windfuhr, in *EIr.* IV, p. 105; Firuzbakhsh, p. 49).

Bidgoli: *-o(n):* *yūr-o* ‘children’; final *-ō* drops before the plural marker: *karg-o* ‘hens’ (Sing. *kargō*) (Yarshater, in *EIr.* IV, p. 247).

Biyābānaki: *-ūn:* *vashko-ūn* ‘infants’ (CLI, p. 109)

Burenjāni: *-al, -gal, -yal:* *dar-al* ‘doors’, *khar-al* ‘asses’ (CLI, p. 342)

Charza’i: *-on* (Yarshater, in *EIr.* V, p. 22)

Davāni: *-al, -gal, -yal, -(h)ā:* *ādam-gal* ‘people’, *bachchek-gal* ‘children’, *sāl-gal* ‘years’, *gap-gal* ‘conversations’, *shāh-ā* ‘kings’, *un-ā* ‘those’, *ke-hā* ‘who, which people?’ (CLI, p. 342; Mahamedi, in *EIr.* VII, p. 130).

Dimili: see **Zāzā**

Esfahāni Jewish: *-(‘)ā, -vā* (after *-u* and *-o*), *-yā* (after *-i*), *-un:* *chesh-ā* ‘eyes’, *ru-vā*, ‘days’, *‘abri-yā* ‘eyebrows’, *bu-vā* ‘smells’, *hāmelov-ā* ‘pregnant’ (Pl.), *veyθa-‘ā* ‘those standing’

After *-ā*, vowel lengthening is witnessed: *dev-ā* ‘drugs’

Final *-e* drops out before *-ā:* *keδ-ā* ‘houses’ (Sing. *keδe*).

If *-ā* follows the diphthongs */ou/*, */āu/*, or */eu/*, the */u/* sound changes into */v/* or */w/*: *khov-ā* ‘sleeps’ (Sing. *xou*), *δāv-ā* ‘delivered woman’ (Sing. *δāu*), *tevā* ‘fevers’ (Sing. *teu*) (CLI, p. 320; Kalbāsi, 1373, p. 53).

Farizandi: *-(h)ā, -hō, -un* (CLI, p. 317)

Farvi: *-gūn:* *geche-gūn* ‘children’ (CLI, p. 324)

Gazi: *-ā:* *gul-ā* ‘flowers’ (CLI, p. 320)

Gilaki: *-an, -ān, -en:* *vokht-an* ‘moments’ *jāy-ān* ‘locations’, *dehāt-en* ‘villagers’ (CLI, [1989:] p. 304)

Gurāni: Awromāni: *-e*, Obl. *-ā* (MacKenzie): Indefinite: Masculine *-ê*, Obl. *-ā:* *har-ê*, Obl. *har-ā* ‘asses’; Feminine *-ê*, Obl. *-a:* *māhar-ê*, Obl. *māhar-a* ‘she asses’; Definite: Masculine *-ake*, Obl. *-akā:* *har-ake*, Obl.

har-akâ ‘the asses’; Feminine *-kê*, Obl. *-kâ*: *mâhar-a mâhara-kê*, Obl. *mâhara-kâ* ‘the she-asses’

Nouns ending in stressed *-a* and feminine nouns in stressed *-e* drop out their final vowel before plural endings: *yâne*, Obl. *yânâ* ‘houses’ (Sing. *yâna*), *kinâche*, Obl. *kinâchâ* ‘girls’ (Sing. *kinâche*).

Nouns ending in stressed *-â* replace it with *-e* (in the direct plural) and *-âyâ* (in the oblique plural): *piê*, Obl. *piâyâ* ‘men’ (Sing. *piâ*).

Feminine nouns ending in *-i* preserve this in the direct plural case, but only in isolation. When they are joined with any other form (except a simple epithet), they are inflected as if they ended in *-a*: *kârdi* (*kârde*), Obl. *kârdâ* ‘knives’ (Sing. *kârdi*).

After numbers larger than one the plural form is used: *shush suâre* ‘six horsemen’

Adjectives agree with the nouns they modify: *kitebe siâwe* ‘black books’

In the oblique plural the succession of two words, noun and epithet, each with *-â* is avoided, the first *-â* being reduced to *-a*: *yâne gawre*, Obl. *yâna gawrâ* (instead of **yânâ gawrâ*) ‘big houses’ (CLI, p. 337; MacKenzie, in *EIr* III, p. 111; idem, 1966, pp. 13-15, 17-18, 23)

Harzani: see **Tāti**

Jowšaqāni: *-(h)â, -hō, -un* (CLI, p. 317)

Kafrāni: *-ō: dendōn-ō* ‘teeth’ (CLI, p. 320)

Kahaki: *-e, -ow, -iya, -iye* The final vowels of words are omitted before the plural markers: *pur-e* ‘sons’ (Sing. *pura*), *khāk-e* ‘sisters’ (Sing. *khāka*), *zām-ow* ‘sons-in-law’ (Sing. *zāmā*), *varz-ow* ‘oxen’ (Sing. *varzā*), *zan-iya* ‘women’ (Sing. *zana*), *da’-iye* ‘maternal uncles’ (Sing. *da’i*), *sabz-iye* ‘vegetables’ (Sing. *sabzi*) (CLI, p. 314; Šari’ati, p. 58).

Kāšāni Jewish: *-(h)â, -hō, -un* (CLI, p. 317)

Keringāni: see **Tāti**

Kermāni Jewish: *-â: âsin-â* ‘sleeves’ (CLI, p. 322)

Keshe’i: *-(h)â, -hō, -un* (CLI, p. 317)

Khānsāri: *-â, -yâ* (after *-i*), *-vâ* (after *-u*): *âdem-â* ‘people’, *zemin-â* ‘fields’, *māni-yâ* ‘mothers’, *chu-vâ* ‘pieces of wood’; note also *vech-â* ‘children’ (Sing. *vecha*), *kiy-â* ‘houses’ (Sing. *kiya*) (CLI, p. 316; Tavakkoli, p. 71).

Khuri: *-un, -gun, -ugun, -un, -ō*: *shōn-ugun* ‘women’, *kitēb-un* ‘books’, *heyvun-un* ‘animals’, *chemchā-gun* ‘spoons’, *mardu-gun* ‘men’, *mī-v-ō* ‘hair’ (Pl.) (CLI, p. 324; Farahvashi, p. 66).

Komjāni: *-e, -ye* (after vowels): *rus-e* ‘roosters’, *raz-e* ‘gardens’, *vahi-ye* ‘kids’, *māli-ye* ‘cats’; but: *kay-e* ‘houses’ (Sing. *kayā*), *küy-e* ‘dogs’ (Sing. *küyā*), *mer-e* ‘men’ (Sing. *merā*) (Āhani, p. 52)

Kumzāri: *-ā, -an*: *say-ā* ‘dogs’, *zank-an* ‘women’. Nouns and adjectives agree in number: *zank-en gāp-an* ‘big women’ (CLI, p. 366)

Kurdish: Northern: Ezāfa *-ê, -ên*, Obl. *-a(n)*; Eastern: Ezāfa *-ê(t), -êd* (Mokri *-î da*); Mahābādi: *-ān, -wān* (after *-ū*), *-yān* (after all vowels except *-a* and *-ū*): *kich-ān* ‘girls’, *pyāw-ān* ‘men’, *khānū-wān* ‘houses’, *tarāzū-wān* ‘scales’, *birā-yān* ‘brothers’

Final *-a* is omitted before *-ān*: *zhinak-ān* ‘the women’ (Sing. *žinaka*), *birāk-ān* ‘the brothers’ (Sing. *birāka*) Sometimes the plural form is used after numerals larger than one: *shash rōzh-ān* ‘six days’ (CLI, p. 330; Kalbāsi, 1362, p. 18).

Laki: *-al, -yal*: *zhan-al* ‘women’, *āyil-al* ‘kids’, *kowerr-al* ‘sheep’ (Pl.).

Čahār-duli: *-ān*: *dōtak-ān* ‘the girls’, *kilwak-ān* ‘the stones’

Darra-shahri: *-aļ, -yaļ, -waļ*: *kōtow-aļ* ‘books’, *kor-aļ* ‘boys’, *khuri-yaļ* ‘nets’, *dū-yaļ* ‘smokes’, *pat-waļ* ‘blankets’

Khājvandi-ye Kelārdasht: *-al, -gal, -yal* (after vowels), *-ān*: *det-al/det-gal/det-ān* ‘daughters’, *shi-al/shi-gal/shi-ān* ‘husbands’

Exceptions: *veryl* ‘lambs’ (Sing. *vark*); D. *bōrā:ļ* ‘brothers’ (Sing. *bōrāļ*); Khājvandi *āylevil* ‘children’ (Sing. *āyl*) (Izadpanāh, pp. 45-46; Mir-Cherāqi, p. 17; Purmand 1374: 161; Sepehri, p. 38).

Lāri: *-ea* (esp. in Evazi, Khonji and Bastaki), *-ūn* (poetic), *-iyā, -niyā* (after vowels): *asp-iyā/asp-ea* ‘horses’, *govv-iyā/ gowv-ea* ‘cows’ (Sing. *gow*) (CLI, p. 366; Eqtedāri-ye Lārestāni, p. 486).

Lāsgerdi: *-on*: *dār-on* ‘trees’, *pur-on* ‘sons’ (CLI, p. 309)

Lori: *-yā, -o* (for animates): *dār-yā* ‘trees’, *das-yā* ‘hands’, *dokhter-o* ‘girls’, *bach-o* ‘children’ (CLI, p. 344; Elr IV, p. 325; Izadpanāh, p. 6; Moqimi, pp. 44-46)

Boyer-Ahmadi: *-al, -val, -yal, -gal, -un*: *bow-yal/-val* ‘fathers’, *merd-al* ‘men’, *kela-yal* ‘hats’, *zan-gal* ‘women’, *dwar-al/-un* ‘daughters’, *sāl-al/-un* ‘years’, *māh-al/-un* ‘months’; in this dialect sometimes the final */a/* changes to */e/*: *bach-e-yal* ‘children’ (Sing. *bacha*)

Feyli: *-(ī)ā*: *bav-ā* ‘fathers’, *āyam-īā* ‘people’, *zan-īā* ‘women’

Giyāni: *-yā*: G. *asp-yā* ‘horses’, *mū-yā* ‘hair’ (Pl.).

Mamasani'i: *-al, -gal, -yal*: *-ā*: *asp-al* 'horses', *vazīr-al* 'ministers', *hūna-yal* 'houses' (CLI, p. 344; Windfuhr, in *Elr* IV, p. 325; Izadpanāh, p. 6; Moqimi, pp. 44-46).

Mahallāti: *-ā*: *jūnavar-ā* 'animals' (CLI, p. 316)

Māsarmi: *-al, -gal, -yal*: *ādam-al* 'people' (CLI, p. 342).

Māzandarāni: *-ho(n), -un, -kun*: *zon-ho(n)* 'women', *per-un* 'fathers', *rikā-(k)un* 'boys'

Elāshti: *-hān, -(h)un, -kun*: *mār-un* 'mothers', *dār-un* 'trees', *kerk-un* 'hens', *kijā-kun* 'girls', *gu-hun* 'cows', *zan-un/zan-hān* 'women'

Kelārdashti: *-on, -kon, -shon, -eshon* (after consonants), rarely *-koneshon, -ville* (only in *vache-ville* 'children'): *berār-on* 'brothers', *zenā-kon/-shon* 'women', *rikā-shon* 'boys', *kuh-eshon* 'mountains', *merdā-koneshon* 'men'

Sāravi: *-un* (only for human beings), *-ā* (after consonants), *-yā* (after *-i*), *-hā* (after *-e, -ā*, and *-u*): *mari-y-un* 'men', *rikā'-un* 'boys', *piyer-un* 'fathers', *zan-un/-ā* 'women', *vach-un/vache-hā* 'children', *dāmād-ā* 'sons-in-law', *piyala-hā* 'cups', *sikā-hā* 'ducks', *siyu-hā* 'black ones'

Shahmirzādi: *-(h)ā, -on*: *pier-hā* 'fathers', *tifl-ā* 'infants', *zan-on* 'women', *mard-an* 'men', *pul-(h)ā* 'money' (Pl.).

Velātru'i: *-an, -(h)ā*.

(CLI, p. 305; Kalbāsi, 1376, pp. 38-39; Najafzāda, p. 61; Pur-Karim, p. 156; Shokri, pp. 70-71).

Meyma'i: *-(h)ā, -hō, -un* (CLI, p. 317)

Nā'ini: *-ā, -jā, -wā*: *horchen-ā* 'stairs', *nemej-ā* 'felts', *ārt-ā* 'flour' (Pl.), *tshī-jā* 'things', *tī-jā* 'blades, razors', *ollu-wā* 'eagles', *poru-wā* 'sons', *jē-hā* 'barley (Pl.)' *guzā-hā* 'foods' (CLI, p. 322; Pur-Ābedi, p. 85).

Natanzi: *-(h)ā, -hō, -un* (CLI, p. 317).

Pāpuni: *-al, -gal, -yal*: *esfahān-yal* 'Esfahāni people' (CLI, p. 342).

Qohrudi: *-(h)ā, -hō, -un* (CLI, p. 317)

Qomše'i: See *Šahrezā'i*.

Rāji, (of Delijān): *-ye*: *peur-ye* 'sons', *deji-ye* 'daughters' (Sing. *dejo*) (Safari, p. 60).

Šahrezā'i: *-ā, -vā* (after *-u*), *-yā* (after *-i*) *lāhāf-ā* 'mattresses', *dokhter-ā* 'girls', *bālu-vā* 'airplanes', *patu-vā* 'blankets', *sandili-yā* 'chairs', *kūdi-yā* 'marrow' (Pl.); but: *khun-ā* 'houses' (Sing. *khune*), *bechā* 'children' (Sing. *beche*).

In descriptive genitive structures, the modifier is pluralized: *derakh tut-ā* ‘mulberry trees’, *late gandom-ā* ‘wheat farms’ In possessive genitives, however, the head is pluralized: *dar-ā bāq* ‘the doors of the garden’, *rakhd-ā khārum* ‘my sister’s clothes’ (Tāki, 1372: 32).

Sangesari: *-hā, -un* (CLI); *-ø*, Obl. *-uon*, Agent-case (for the past form of transitive verbs) *-uony*: *ke-hā, ke-v-un* ‘houses’, *pur-un* ‘sons’

Irregular plurals: *bochaw*, Obl. *bochuon* ‘kids’ (Sing. *bochae*), *kawtaw*, Obl. *kawtuon* ‘boys’ (Sing. *kuotae*), *mird*, Obl. *mirduon* ‘men’ (Sing. *maerkeyin*), *var(r)aw*, Obl. *var(r)uon* ‘lambs’ (Sing. *var(r)ae*), *zawkaw*, Obl. *zawkuon* ‘children’ (Sing. *zaw*), *zhinni*, Obl. *zhinnuon* ‘women’ (Sing. *shaekeyin*).

After numerals larger than one the plural form is used: *du zhinnuony baevaw* ‘the two women said’

Sedehi: *-hō*: *veche-hō* ‘children’ (CLI, p. 320).

Semnāni: *-i, -y* (after stressed vowels), Obl. *-un* (Sotuda, *-ø, -ey*): *pir-i*, Obl. *pir-un* ‘sons’, *sāl-i*, Obl. *sāl-un* ‘years’ (Sing. *sāla*), *kiyé-y*, Obl. *kiye-y-un* ‘houses’ (Sing. *kiyā*), *astey* ‘fruit stones’ (Sing. *astā*); also note: *dot-i, dotar-i*, Obl. *dotar-un* ‘daughters’ (Sing. *dota*). (CLI, p. 307; Sotuda, p. 7).

Sivandi: *-gar*: *det-gar* ‘daughters’ (CLI, p. 346).

Somqāni: *-al, -gal, -yal*: *mīsh-gal* ‘sheep’ (Pl.), *ādam-yal* ‘people’ (CLI, p. 342).

Sorkhe’i: *-ā(n), -hā*: *mirdi-ān* ‘men’, *zhiki-ā(n)* ‘women’, *dār-hā* ‘trees’ (CLI, p. 309).

Tāleshi: Lankorāni: *-on*: *do-on* ‘trees’; Māsāli: *-en*, Obl. *-un*: *dār-en* ‘trees’; Māsula’i: *-en*, Obl. *-on*: *dār-en* ‘trees’; Paresari: *-e*, Obl. *-un*: *dōr-e* ‘trees’; Tulārudi: *-e*, Obl. *-an*: *dōr-e* ‘trees’; Vizna’i: *-on*: *dō-on* ‘trees’; Zida’i: *-an*, Obl. *-un*: *dār-an* ‘trees’ (CLI, p. 299).

Tāri: *-(h)ā, -hō, -un* (CLI, p. 317).

Tāti (i.e. **Āzari**) (Āl-e Ahmad 2536: 171; CLI, p. 301, 303; Kārang 1333: 83, 104-05; Yarshater, 1969: 75-83; Zokā, 1332: 38).

Čāli: *-e, -ē* (after *-á* and *-ā*), Obl. *-ō(n)*: *qoč-e* ‘rams’ Also note that the feminine morpheme *-a* disappears before plural endings: *barr-e* ‘spades’ (Sing. *barra*); nouns ending in stressed *-a* or in *-ā* have their direct plural in stressed *-ē* and drop their final vowel before *-ō(n)*: *dad-ē* ‘fathers’ (Sing. *dada*); *p-ē* ‘feet’ (Sing. *pā*); *chuār-ō* ‘sheep’ (Sing. *chuārā*); nouns in *-i* tend to drop the plural ending in the direct case:

sāri(-e) ‘stars’; and nouns in *-u* have their direct plural in *-ö*: *höll-ö* ‘peaches’ (Sing. *höllu*).

Dānesfāni: *-on*:

Ebrāhimābādi: *-en*, Obl. *-ēn*:

Esfarvarini: *-end*, Obl. *-o(n)*:

Eshtehārdi: *-ehā*, Obl. *-un*: *esb-ehā* ‘dogs’ The feminine morpheme drops out before the oblique plural ending: *mish-un* ‘ewes’ (Sing. *misha*); and final stressed *-a* coalesces with *-e-* in *-ehā* and changes into *-i* before the oblique plural ending: *esb-ehā*, Obl. *esbi-un* ‘dogs’ (Sing. *esba*).

Harzani: *-oy*, *-un*, Obl. *-un*: *kin-oy* ‘girls’, *yan-oy* ‘women’, *küy-un* ‘mountains’;

Hazār-rudi: *-e*, Obl. *-ān*: *asb-e* ‘horses’;

Kajali: *-e*, Obl. *-o*: *berāleg-e* ‘brothers’, *zhaneg-e* ‘women’;

Keringāni: *-ende/-inde*, *-nde* (after vowels), Obl. *-un*: *yan-inde* ‘women’, *kinā-nde* ‘girls’

Khiyāraji: *-e(n)*, *-eyn* (for nouns ending in stressed *-a*), Obl. *-un*: In Khiyāraji final stressed *-a* drops out before the plural morpheme: *ki-eyn*, Obl. *ki-un* ‘houses’ (Sing. *kia*).

Khoznini: *-in*, *-en* (for nouns ending in stressed *-a*), Obl. *-un*.

Sagzābādi: *-e*, *-yn* (after *-ā*), Obl. *-un*: *quch-e* ‘rams’, *zumā-yn* ‘sons-in-law’ In this didialect the feminine morpheme drops out in the plural; *-a* and *-ā* drop out in oblique plural; and nouns ending in stressed *-a* have their direct plural in *-(y)n*, with *-a* palatalized into *-e*: *bādie-yn* ‘bowls’ (Sing. *bādia*).

Shāli: *-ān*

Tākestāni: *-on*: *qoch-on* ‘rams’. In Tākestāni *-a* and *-ā* drop out before the plural morpheme: *fer-on* ‘boys’ (Sing. *fera*).

After quantitative adjectives and numerals larger than one, the plural form is used in Chāli, Kajali and Khiyāraji: Chāli: Obl. *shash suār-ō* ‘six horsemen’; Kajali. *dō berāleg-e* ‘two brothers’; Khiyāranji. *cand māhun* ‘several months’

Tāti, of the Republic of Azerbaijan: Northern: *-ho*, *-un*: *khune-ho* ‘houses’; *kuk-un* ‘sons’; Southern: *-hā*, *-un*: *khuna-hā* ‘houses’; *mard-un* ‘men’ (CLI, p. 297).

Urāzāni: *-ān*: *dār-ān* ‘trees’, *yālān* ‘children’, *sif-ān* ‘apples’ (Āl-e Ahmad, p. 85).

Vafsi: *-ān*, *-e(n)*, *-iya* (after vowels), *-iye* (after vowels): *bez-ān* ‘goats’, *dast-e* ‘hands’, *dūwār-e* ‘walls’, *dār-en* ‘trees’, *merd-ia* ‘men’ (Sing. *merda*), *zen-iye* ‘women’ (Sing. *zene*) (CLI, p. 314; Moqaddam, p. 119).

Vāneshāni: -ō(n), -ū: *ferzend-ō* 'children', *khūk-ōn* 'pigs', *dandūn-ū* 'teeth' (CLI, p. 316).

Varzena'i: -ā: *ādem-ā* 'people' (CLI, p. 320).

Vidari -hā (CLI, p. 314).

Yaran(d)i: -(h)ā, -hō, -un (CLI, p. 317).

Zāzā: -ē (Asatrian), Obl. -ān; Ezāfa: Masculine -ê, -dê, -yê; Feminine -ê, -y *nê p'ōstālê min* 'these my shoes' (CLI, p. 339; Asatrian, in *EIr.* VII, p. 407)

Zefre'i: -gelō, -hō: *pūr-gelō* 'boys', *veche-hō* 'children' (CLI, [1989:] p. 322).

CONCLUSION

As illustrated in the above data, the most frequent plural markers in New West Iranian languages and dialects are the following endings, pronounced in slightly different ways in different languages: (A) -hā, from MP -īhā, functioning both as an adverb-making suffix and as a plural-ending, but originally an abstract noun maker (CLI, p. 258); (B) -ān, from WMIr general plural-ending -ān (< OIr *-ānām), which originally designated the plural oblique case; and (C) -gal, from OIr *gr̥da- 'troop' (Nyberg, p. 48; cf. Pers. *galla* 'flock, herd'), which originally designated a multitude of things.

The study of the above-mentioned data also reveals the following linguistic facts:

(A) Almost all New West Iranian languages tend to pluralize their nominal items via suffixation. The only exception is Abuzaydābādi, in which a prefix (i.e. *pāk-*) is also used.

(B) Some plural markers are in fact made up of two independent plural-endings, e.g. -galān in Āshtiyāni, -gelō in Zefra'i, and possibly -hān in Elāshti.

(C) After numerals larger than one and quantitative modifiers the singular is often used. Only in a few languages (Abyāna'i, Awromāni, Behbahāni, Chāli, Kajali, Khiyāraji, Mahābādi Kurdish, Sangesari) the use of the plural is witnessed.

(D) Concord between a plural noun and a modifying adjective, whether attributive, demonstrative or quantitative, is not frequent; however, it occurs in Awromāni, Bakhtiyāri of Ardal and Kumzāri.

(E) The feminine morpheme often drops out before plural endings (e.g., in Āmora'i, Āshtiyāni, Chāli, Eshtehārdi and Sagzābādi).

(F) The addition of a nominal plural marker to a transitive verb in ergative constructions is only witnessed in Bādrudi.

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برخی از واژه های کهن در گویش های تاجیکی

دادخدا سیم الدین اف

گویش های تاجیکی از منابع مهم و ارزشمند در حفظ لغات کهن محسوب می شوند. در این گویش ها ذخایر لغات نادر خراسانی و ماوراءالنهری طی قرن ها گرد آمده و تا به امروز محفوظ مانده است. بررسی واژگان نادر در گویش ها چگونگی وضع پیوند زبان هارا در دوران گوناگون تاریخ در این مناطق آشکار نموده، رابطه های تاریخی زبان های ایرانی و زبان های غیر ایرانی را در حوزة گسترش زبان ها و لهجه های مختلف از زمان پیشین به بعد روشن می سازد. همان طوری که می دانیم، شرق ایران زمین یعنی خراسان و ماوراءالنهر سرزمین و مکان همیشگی گسترش و تشکل زبان ها و لهجه های ایرانی شرقی بوده، پس از متروک شدن این زبان ها لغات فراوانی از زبان ها و گویش های شرقی ایرانی بویژه سغدی در آثاردوره اول مشاهده می شود که بعداً تعدادی از زبان معیار خارج گردیده و در آثار بکار نرفته، در حدود گویش ها محدود مانده اند.

برخی از لغات مناطق گوناگون در آثار دوره اول، تحقیق و بررسی شده اند.¹ همچنین چندی از لغات سغدی که در آثار و فرهنگ نامه های دوره اول بکار رفته اند، مورد تحقیق تاریخی و اتیمولوژی قرار گرفته اند؛ این تحقیقات از جهت شناخت لغات آثار بسیار مهم می باشد.²

در گویش های تاجیکی می توان لغات فراوانی پیدا کرد که در آثار شعرا و نویسندگان ماوراءالنهر بکار رفته و از جانب برخی از فرهنگ نویسان گرد آوری و معنی شده. برخی از لغات در اشعار نویسندگان مناطق دیگر نیز یاد می شود که دلیل گسترش لغات يك منطقه به منطقه دیگر در آن قرن ها می باشد. نمونه ای چند از این قبیل لغات: يله yala «رها کرده»، تاجیکی «باز، گشاده» دری افغانستان: يله

¹ P. Horn, *Asadi's neupersisches Worterbuch Lughat-i Furs nach einzigen vaticanischen Handschrift herausgegeben*, Berlin, 1897; idem. *Neupersische Schriftsprache. Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, Strassburg, 1898-1901; G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris, 1963; M. Kasemi. *Glagolnaya leksika v pamyatnikakh rannego perioda novopersidskogo (tadzhikskogo) yazika. Avtoreferat kandidatsoy dissertatsii*, Dushanbe, 2000.

² W.B. Henning, "Sogdian loan - words in New-Persian," *BSOAS*, 1939, 93-106; V.A. Livshits, "Sogdiyskie slova v tadzhikskom yazyike," *IOON AN Tadzhikskoy SSR*, 1957, No. 12, pp. 31-43.

در مورد مقایسه چندی از لغات سغدی «لغت فرس» و لغات سغدی گویش مستچاه نك.

V.A. Kapranov, "*Lughati furs*" *Asadi Tusi i ego mesto v istorii tadzhikskoy (farsi) leksikografii*, Dushanbe, 1964; A.L. Khromov, *Govoryi tadzhikov Matchinskogo rayona*, Dushanbe, 1962.

huč «آزاد،رها شده»³؛ lunba «مردم بزرگ تن و فربه»؛ هوچ «راست کردن علم یا نیزه»، تاجیکی «راست»، هوچ کردن «راست کردن، بالا کردن»؛ xišāva «خشاوه»؛ «پاک کردن جالیز یا زراعت از خار و خاشاک»؛ کاواک «میان تهی»؛ sarāsima «متحیر، مدهوش»؛ تاجیکی sarāsima «عجله»؛ کیخ kix «صورت زشتی باشد که طفلان را بدان ترسانند»؛ تاجیکی «کثیف، غرذ yaghd» (در تاجیکی هنگام منع کردن کودکان از خوردن ضررناک «کیخ است» گویند) (در ولایت آذربایجان چون خواهند اطفال را از خوردن طعامی که ایشان را مضر است، منع کنند، گویند: کیخ است (صحاح الفرس، ص 68)؛ غوک yuk «وزغ»؛ پوشاک pušak «گرچه»؛ سوک suk «خوشه گندم و جو»؛ چکری čukri «ریواس»؛ تندر tandur/tundar «رعد»؛ دادر dādar «برادر خرد» و غیره.

گروه دیگر لغات که در آثار و فرهنگنامه‌ها به نظر نمی‌رسد، از طریق زبان سغدی یا گویش های سغدی و دیگر زبان‌ها و لهجه های شرقی وارد گویش های تاجیکی شده اند. تاریخ کاربرد این لغات مثل لغات گروه اول به دوران بسیار دور می‌رسد. بطور مثال پشار pašār «پروا» (پشار نداشتن «پروا نداشتن»)، پشار نبردن «پروا نداشتن، بی غم بودن»؛ پلشک pjljšk / pulušk «سوراخ سوزن» (از پلشک گذراندن)؛ پلفته pulufta/pjljfta «بیهوده گویی، هرزه گویی»؛ پرکیدن pjrkidan «پریدن رنگ، سفید شدن رنگ»؛ پاهنگ pāhang «بزرگ پیکر»؛ سیلتو کردن siltaw kardan «کشیدن، تکان دادن»؛ فلخیدن fulxidan / فلخ شدن fulx šudan «پختن، نرم شدن»؛ چخت čuxt «راست»؛ چونگ čung «راست»؛ و واژگان دیگر متداول در لهجه های تاجیکی.

برخی از لغات را در گویش ها باید از نگاه لهجه های سغدی معنی کرد، چونکه میان شکل های متداول در گویش ها و شکل های آثار سغدی، تفاوت های آوایی به نظر می‌رسد. بطور مثال: چغیر čiyīr «فریاد کردن، بانگ زدن، صدا کردن»، سغدی jyyr – [ghyēr] ghyyr- «خواندن، صدا کردن»⁴؛ ترنگ tarang «سخت، فشرده، سخت کشیده شده» (گونه آوایی آن -trang-؛ سغدی tr'nk⁵ [trang]؛ قس. ترنجیدن [taranjidan; -ng=nj] ایرانی باستان *trang، اوستایی -drang⁶ «مستحکم کردن، استوار کردن، بستن، چسباندن»؛ فارسی میانه dranج «سخت»؛ بخش buys، buxs مجازاً: «آتش گرفتن دل» «کین» در سغدی pwys [puys] «پختن».

تعدادی از واژگان کهن و نادر در گویش های زبان تاجیکی با تأثیر زبان های ترکی منطقه (مثلاً قق) تغییر شکل داده به گونه ترکی، متداول شده اند که نمونه ای چند از این واژگان در این مقاله تحقیق و بررسی شده است.

همچنین برخی از اصطلاحات خویشاوندی را که در زبان های ترکی ماوراء النهر به طور مشترک استفاده می‌شود، نمی‌توان تنها به عنوان لغات ترکی محسوب کرد. این لغات از زبان‌ها و گویش های این منطقه به ترکی وارد شده اند و بنیاد ترکی ندارد. چنین لغات در زبان های ترکی نیز واژگان قرصی می‌باشند، به طور مثال:

³ L.N. Kiseleva, V.I. Mikolaychik, *Dari – russskiy slovar*, Moscow, 1986.

⁴ W.B. Henning, op. cit., p. 100.

ب. قریب. فرهنگ سغدی. تهران، ۱۹۵۵، ص ۴۸۵۰.

قریب. همان منبع، ص ۹۶۳۴⁵

⁶ Chr. Bartolomae, *Altiranisches Worterbuch*, Strassburg, 1904, p. 772.

آته / اته āta / ata «پدر»، هیتی (یکی از زبان های کهن خانواده هندو اروپایی) attāš، روسی otets، آسی zhda⁷، یونانی ἄτα, τέτα⁸، در زبان های دراویدی: (گدبه) aya «مادر»، پراچی iya «مادر»؛⁹ «په» apa «خواهر بزرگ، مادر» (از زبان اسکینی یا گویش های سکایی). «په» در گویش های تاجیکی به دو معنی «خواهر بزرگ و مادر» و در زبان ازبکی نیز به همین معانی مستعمل است. این واژه در گویش های دری افغانستان (لهجه هزاره) در شکل آه āpa به معنی «خواهر بزرگ»¹⁰ و در زبان اردو آپا āpā «خواهر بزرگ»¹¹ استفاده می شود. «په» در گویش های تاجیکی بیشتر به معنی «خواهر بزرگ» به کار می رود و در مورد پیدایش این واژه و. ی. ابایف دلیل جالبی را بیان کرده است.¹² بطوری که وی گفته «ایزد بزرگ آسمان در میان مردم اسکیف مثل سایر مردمان «پدر» نامیده می شد و ما می توانیم بگویم که ایزد بانوی زمین نیز در میان دیگر مردمان «مادر» شناخته می شده است» وی افزوده که ل. زگوسته، نام اسکینی ایزد بانوی زمین را که Απια (گونه دیگر آن Απια) می باشد، به عنوان سخن لطف آمیز کودکان به معنای «مادر» (مثل παπας «پدر») توضیح می دهد. و. ی. ابایف به عنوان دلیل همین اصطلاح خویشاوندی «په» را در لهجه های ازبکی و تاجیکی مثال آورده است. بر پایه آثار و منابع اسکینی می توان به این نتیجه رسید که واژه «په» مخصوص زبان مردمان ساکن ماوراءالنهر بوده، از همین زبان ها و لهجه های شرقی ایرانی وارد گویش های تاجیکی شده و از طریق لهجه های کهن تاجیکی وارد زبان ازبکی گردیده است. استعمال این واژه به معنی «مادر» و «خواهر بزرگ» نیز به سنت مردمان ایرانی شرقی مربوط است.

ارغشت aryušt «رقص». در گویش های جنوبی تاجیکی این واژه در همه مورد معادل کلمه عربی «رقص» بوده و خیلی مستعمل است. در لغت نامه دهخدا واژه «ارغشتک» که از ارغشت و پسوند بازی - ک ساخته شده، به نقل از برهان قاطع چنین توضیح شده: «ارغشتک نوعی از بازی باشد که دوشیزگان و دختران کنند و آن چنان است که برسر دو پا نشینند و کف های دست ها را بر سر زانوها مالند و چیزها گویند و همچنان نشسته برسر پا ها برجهند و کف های دست ها را بر هم زنند».¹³ گونه دیگر این واژه ارغژ aryagh نیز در لغت نامه دهخدا با استناد به فرهنگ آنندراج همین گونه معنی شده است. در گویش های افغانستان ارغشتک aryištak به معنی

⁷ V.I. Abaev, *Istoriko- etimologicheskii slovar osetinskogo yazyika*, Moscow and Leningrad, 1958, I, p. 103.

⁸ E.A. Makaev, *Struktura slova v indoevropskikh i germanskikh yazyikakh*, Moscow, 1970, p. 125.

⁹ M.S. Andronov, *Dravidiyskie yazyiki. – Yazyiki Azii i Afriki*, Moscow, 1978, II, p. 350.

¹⁰ محمد شالچی. فرهنگ گویش های خراسان بزرگ. تهران، ۱۳۷۰، ص. ۱۳.

¹¹ V.M. Beskrovnyi, *i Krasnodembskiy V.E. Urdu-russkiy slovar*, Moscow, 1951, p. 10.

¹² V.I. Abaev, *Kult «semi bogov» u skifov.// Drevniy mir. Sbornik statey*, Moscow, 1962, p. 449.

«جست و خیز کردن بچه ها» بویژه در زمان بازي، است.¹⁴ واژه مذکور به این معنی در فرهنگ فارسی معین نیز آمده است.

در لهجه‌های زبان تاجیکی ارغشتک به معنای «یکی از قسمت های چنه (سورتمه)» نیز بکار می‌رود که این معنی به بازي کردن و یا حرکت کردن این جسم بستگی دارد. این واژه و یا گونه دیگر آوایی آن در زبان های میانه ایرانی، از جمله سغدی به نظر نمی‌رسد. از روی شکل و ویژگی آوایی، واژه مذکور سغدی است اما در لهجه های جنوبی در مناطق سابق گسترش زبان‌ها و لهجه های ایرانی دوره میانه واژه ارغشت بعداً به عنوان لغت گویشی این مناطق محفوظ مانده است. واژه ارغشت aryušt از نظر ساختار شامل دو جزء است: ar- ریشه فعل ایرانی باستان، در زبان‌های اوستایی و فارسی باستان ar- به معنای «رفتن، حرکت کردن، پیش رفتن»؛ در آثار سغدی بودایی (*arnu- < rm- «به حرکت در آوردن، تکان دادن».¹⁵ جزء دوم، یعنی ũušt به عنوان شکل ایرانی شرقی به واژه kušt «کمر» (گونه شمالی غربی یا پارتی)، فارسی میانه kušt ارتباط دارد. در ارمنی (واژه قرصی پارتی) kušt «کمر» از همین واژه (<kušt+i-ī- < -īg < -īk) guštī «آنچه به کمر ارتباط دارد و عبارة «کشتی گرفتن» به دلیل «از کمر گرفتن» است. از همین واژه در فارسی میانه kuštīg (< kušt «کمر» و پسوند -īg < -īk) «کمر بند زردشتیان». همین طریق از نظر ریشه شناسی و معنی جزءها واژه aryušt به معنی «حرکت با کمر یا حرکت دادن کمر» می‌باشد.

برم baram لفظی است که در جنازه و یا در سر تربت مرحوم و به یاد نزدیکان مُرده هنگام گریه و ناله با صدای بلند گفته می‌شود. این لفظ مخصوص ناله زنان و بویژه زنان سالمند می‌باشد. طبق سنت، زنان اطراف جسد دور هم نشسته، به یاد مُرده با آواز بلند ناله می‌کنند و با نوبت از صفات خوب مُرده یاد کرده، این لفظ را سه بار تکرار می‌کنند. شکل «برم» در گویش های جنوبی تاجیکی و گونه «بلم» در گویش های مناطق شمال تاجیکستان به کار می‌رود. شکل «بلم» در گویش های شمالی تاجیکی از واژه بله bala «پسر، بچه» و پسوند ضمیر am- نبوده، بلکه با تبدیل r- به l- ساخته شده که چنین تبدیل آوایی در زبان تاجیکی و هم فارسی رایج است. بنابر منابع ایرانی «برم» در فارسی میانه مانوی، در پاره‌هایی از فرهنگ نامه های فارسی میانه مانوی به سغدی به نظر می‌رسد. در این آثار brmg «گریه، ناله» (پاره 15 H) و brm] yd (دوم شخص مفرد) «گریه کند، ناله کند».¹⁶

گولک/ گودک gulak/gudak «گودک». شکل gulak با تبدیل d > l در گویش های جنوبی و جنوب شرقی طبق ویژگی آوایی این گویش ها مستعمل است. چنین تبدیل آوایی مخصوص حوزه گسترش زبان‌ها و لهجه های شرقی ایرانی مناطق خراسان و ماوراءالنهر بوده که بازتاب آنرا هم در آثار دوره اول فارسی دري این سرزمین و هم در گویش های تاجیکی این مناطق می‌توان مشاهده کرد. تبدیل d > l

شالچی. همان منبع، ص. ۲۱. ¹⁴

¹⁵ Bartolomae, op. cit., pp. 183-84; R.G. Kent, *Old Persian Grammar, texts, lexicon*, New Haven, 1950, p. 169; W. Brandenstein & M. Mayrhofer, *Handbuch des Altpersischen*, Wiesbaden, 1964, p. 104; V.S. Rastorgueva & D.I. Edelman, *Etimologicheskii slovar iranskikh yazyikov*, Moscow, 2000, I, pp. 188-89.

¹⁶ W.B. Henning. *Sogdica*, London, 1940, p. 39.

در این لهجه‌های تاجیکی با ذکر مثال gulak از طرف ا. ز. رزنفلد ذکر شده است.¹⁷ باید گفت که در گویش‌های جنوب شرقی شکل دیگر واژه کودک به گونه kalak (-l- > -d-) با حفظ آواز -k در آغاز و پیدایش a در هجای اول بر عوض u ، تحت تأثیر a هجای دوم، نیز به کار می‌رود. شکل gulak در این گویش‌ها دارای دو نوع تحول آوایی می‌باشد -g در آغاز کلمه تبدیل به -k > و -l- > -d- شده است. در مورد k/g در آغاز کلمه، در گویش‌های تاجیکی در مقایسه با زبان کلاسیک فارسی تاجیکی، می‌توان از چند شاهد دیگر یاد کرد: gujā=kujā, pāgiza=pākiza, gušādan kušādan = و غیره.¹⁸ تحولات آوایی در واژه gulak از آغاز تا به شکل نهایی آن چنین است: kudak < gulak < gudak < kudak فارسی جدید kudak، فارسی میانه kōdak (گونه اشکانی kutak، فارسی میانه مانوی gwdk)، اوستایی¹⁹ kutaka- بر پایه معنی اوستایی kutaka- این واژه در فارسی میانه (kōdak) نخست به معنی «خرد، کوچک» بکار رفته، معنی‌های دیگر آن نیز از همین معنی بیرون آمده است و بعداً در زبان فارسی جدید و گویش‌های آن در یک معنی یعنی «کودک» محدود مانده است. شاید واژه kōtah (مرادف فارسی میانه آن kōk) نیز از شکل kōtak بیرون آمده باشد. در مورد h و k/g مقایسه شود: tah فارسی جدید tah = تاجیکی tak/tag

گش guš، گونه دیگر آن gjq در لهجه‌های جنوبی تاجیکی معنای «جفت آمیزی چهارپایان و پرندگان» را دارد. واژه guš در این گویش‌های تاجیکی از لحاظ ساختار و معنا ادامه واژه فارسی میانه و یا پهلوی gušn (با اختصار n- در آخر کلمه پس از -š-) می‌باشد. در زبان فارسی میانه gušn مرادف واژه nar است، جمع آن gušnān «نرها»؛ ایرانی باستان -vṛššn-، -vṛšana* هندی باستان -vṛsan-، در اوستا²⁰ varšni-؛ ادامه بعدی -vušn* در پهلوی gušn.²¹ در ترجمه پهلوی «وندیداد» (Vd. VII.16) gušn به معنی «به هم آمیختن و یا جفت شدن حیوانات» بوده، مرادف آن در اوستا varjšna «نر» می‌باشد.²² واژه gušn در فارسی میانه به عنوان جزء نخستین نام Gušnasp (>gušn+asp) «دارنده اسب نر» نیز بکار رفته و اختصار n- بعداً این نام به گونه Gušasp تبدیل یافته است.

دمبره/دنبیره dumbura/dunbura «دوتار». دنبیره در لغت نامه دهخدا چنین معنی شده است: «طنبور و دنبه بره ساز مشهور مشابه دنبه بره؛ یک «بای» آن محذوف شده و دنبیره مانده و عرب با تبدیل «د» به «ط» به صورت طنپوره عرب ساخته است».

¹⁷ A.Z. Rozenfeld, *Tadzhiksko russkij dialektnyy slovar (Yugo-vostochnyy Tadjikistan)*, Leningrad, 1982, p. 10.

¹⁸ G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris, 1963, pp. 150-51.

¹⁹ Bartholomae, op. cit., p. 472; D.N. MacKenzie, *A Concise Pahlavi Dictionary*, London, 1971, p. 51.

²⁰ Bartholomae, op. cit., p. 1381.

²¹ H.S. Nyberg, *A Manual of Pahlavi*, Pt. II Glossary, Wiesbaden, 1974.

²² D.D. Kapadia, *Glossary of Pahlavi Vendidad*, New Haven, 1953, p. 62.

در مورد شکل‌ها و معنی‌های آن در دیگر زبان‌های ایرانی نک.

V.I. Abaev, *Istoriko-etimologicheskij slovar osetinskogo yazyika*, Moscow and Leningrad, 1989, IV, p. 124.

با توجه به تبدیل آوایی t و d در آغاز نام این اسباب موسیقی، می‌تواند گونه دیگر واژه فارسی میانه *tambūrag/ tanbūrag* بوده باشد. در آثار پهلوی (فارسی میانه) دو گونه نوشت این واژه و واژه *tambōr/ tanbōr* معلوم است. در پاره ها و فرهنگ نامه های فارسی میانه به سغدی (پاره 26 P) [tmbwr] (شکل فارسی میانه و یا پارتی) در سغدی با *tpwwq* «دایره، دف» تشریح شده است؛²³ در فارسی جدید *tabūk* «طبقی باشد بر مثال دف»²⁴، در زبان ارمنی *t'mbwk* و در «لغت فرس اسدی طوسی» «تبوراک» *taburāk* «دف»²⁶ شرحی که در لغت نامه دهخدا از برهان قاطع و آندراج شده، صحیح نیست؛ از نظر ساختار *dumbūra* ادامه فارسی میانه *tambūrag* بوده، در جزء اول *-u-* (*-dum*) برعوض- *a-* (*-tam*) با تأثیر *-u-* در جزء دیگر می‌تواند پدید آید. در مورد *-t-* آغازی باید ذکر نمود که این نوع تبدیل در واژه‌های *tugma* و *dugma* *tinj* و *dinj* و غیره نیز دیده می‌شود.

کلنگ/ کلبن (g) *kalpan* «کند فهم، کند ذهن، بی‌هوش، گیج». در گویش‌های تاجیکی *kalpan* (با *-g* افزوده) از *karpan* (با تبدیل *-l->-r*) شکل گرفته است. این واژه از جمله آن واژگانی است که در زبان تاجیکی تاریخ کاربرد خیلی طولانی دارد. بر اساس معنا و ساختار *kalpan* (g) / *karpan* (g) به‌واژه اوستایی *karapan* مربوط می‌شود. واژه اوستایی *karapan* در ترجمه پهلوی (متن زند) چنین تشریح شده است: *pad čiš ī yazdān karr ud kōr. karr ud kōr ān bāšand ka dāmān ī ōhmazd dīdan ud saxwan šnōdan nē tuwānand*.²⁷ کروکور آن باشند که آفرینش هر مزد را دیدن و سخن شنیدن نتوانند. *karapan* در بخش‌های کهن اوستا (یسنا و چندی از بخش‌های یشت‌ها) نام گروهی از دانشمندان آریایی قبل از زردشت و مخالفین دین زردشت می‌باشد. این پیشوایان وابسته به آیین و سنت‌ها و گروه‌های کهن آریایی به‌عنوان گمراه کنندگان در مقابل آیین زردشتی قرار داشتند که آنان را «کوران چشم‌دار و کران گوش‌دار» نیز معنی می‌کنند.²⁸ جزء اساسی این واژه *kal-* از *kar-* (همچنان‌که در اوستا *karapan*) به معنی «کر» است. در پهلوی این واژه اوستایی به گونه *klp' [karp و بعداً karb]* برگردان شده است. شکل جمع آن در آثار فارسی میانه *kar(a)pān* یاد می‌شود.²⁹ جزء «کر» در واژه فکر گول *karyōl* به معنای «احمق و ابله» نیز آمده است.³⁰ همچنین در گویش‌های تاجیکی «گرنگ» *garang* مرادف شکل مخفف *karrang* (از *kar+rang* «مثل کر، مانند کر») و مرادف دیگران «کر نما» می‌باشد. جزء *kal-* (*<kar-*) در واژه «کلکات» *kalkāt* به معنی

²³ W.B. Henning, op. cit., p.49

قریب. فرهنگ سغدی. تهران، ۱۹۹۵، ص ۳۸۹۰
نامه. جلد ۵، تهران، ۱۳۷۶، ص. ۶۴۰۹. علی اکبر دهخدا. لغت²⁴

²⁵ W.B. Henning, op. cit., p. 49

²⁶ V.A. Kapranov, op. cit., p. 115.

²⁷ Bartholomae, op. cit., pp. 454-5.

²⁸ ابراهیم پورداود. یادداشت‌های گاتھا. تهران، ۲۵۳؛ ج. و شیداری. دانشنامه مزیسنا. تهران، نک. جلیل دوستخواه. اوستا. کهن‌ترین سرودها و متن‌های ایرانی. تهران سال ۱۳۷۱. ص. ۳۹۱-۳۹۰؛ ۱۳۷۵، ص. ۱۰۳۱.

م. بهار. واژه‌نامه گزیده‌های زانسیرم، تهران، ۱۳۵۱، ص. ۲۶۷.²⁹

دهخدا. همان منبع. جلد ۱۲، ص. ۱۸۲۷۰.³⁰

«بی‌هوش» مشاهده می‌شود. این واژه ازدوجزاء kal «کر» و kāt (با حفظ -t پس از مصوت -ā-) تشکیل شده است. جزء kāt ادامهٔ سغدی [kāt] k't, q't به معنای «لال، گنگ» بوده، این واژه از آثار سغدی معلوم است. هر دو این جزء ها در یک ترکیب kalkāt معنی «کر و گنگ» دارد.

لوخ lux = فارسی‌دري دوح dūx. در «صحاح الفرس» این واژه چنین معنی شده: «دوخ گیاهی بود که در زمستان در مسجد ها افکنند یا از وی حصیر بافند». مؤلف این فرهنگ نامه جهت شرح دوخ از شاکر بخارایی و برای دخ (بدون «و») از انوری شاهد آورده است. مؤلف پس از معنی‌کردن این واژه بخاطرحدود گسترش و یا کاربرد آن در زبان‌های مناطق دیگر چنین می‌گوید: «و عرب آنرا «بردی» گوید و به خوزستان «لبانی» و در اران و مغان و دیگر ولایات «قنطره» گویند». از این نوشته چنین بر می‌آید که در این مناطق واژهٔ دوخ شناخته و یا رایج نبوده است.

در زبان تاجیکی lux گونهٔ شرقی ایرانی dūx بوده بر پایهٔ تبدیل تاریخی آوای >l شکل گرفته است. به عنوان مثال: لوغ/ لوغیدن lūyidan/lūy bānir گفتهٔ مؤلف «لغت فرس» در زبان ماوراءالنهر «دوشیدن و آشامیدن» بود. گونهٔ دیگر لوخ در زبان تاجیکی دوغ dūy می‌باشد.³¹ از جمله تبدیل d \ r > مطابق قوانین آوایی در همین مناطق در نام‌های Hilmand (Hēlmand < اوستایی> Balx Haētumant-³² فارسی میانه Baxl، اوستایی baxdī، فارسی باستان bāxtri، یونانی baxtra،³³ Baylān > *Baylān > *Baylang < ایرانی باستان یا آریایی *baga- dānaka «مکان خدایان معبد»، سغدی بودایی Bγδ'n'k³⁴

آج āj «حریص، پرخور، چشم‌گرسنه»؛ آدم آج «شخص حریص»؛ فارسی جدید āz «حرص»؛ فارسی میانه (پهلوی) -āz «نام دیویست که آزمندی می‌آورد»؛ -āz dew- «دیواز»، همچنین در فارسی میانه z «صفت این دیو»³⁵؛ در اوستا -āzi³⁶ در آثار پارسی دری به معنی «حرص»³⁷ āz rā xāk sēr dānad kard نام دیواج در افسانه ها و اساطیر نیز یاد می‌شود. شکل آج āj در تاجیکی (با -z به عوض z) گونهٔ پارتی یا خراسانی این واژه محسوب می‌شود.

سور sur صفتی است به معنی «بد، زیان‌آور» و sur-čaqmīh = wad-čāšmīh «چشم بد، چشم زیان‌آور».³⁸ در گویش های تاجیکی، آدم سور «شخص بد»، چشم سور «چشم بد»، دست سور «دست بد»، پای سور / قدم سور «پای بد، قدم بد». در گویش های خراسان (افغانستان) sur «شخص سرد و بی اعتنا، بی پروا»؛ در گویش های

³¹ V.A. Kapranov, op. cit., p. 73.

³² Lazard, op. cit., p. 146.

³³ G.D. Davary, *Baktrisch. Ein Wörterbuch auf Grund der Inschriften, Handschriften, Münzen und Siegelsteine*, Heidelberg, 1982, p. 175.

³⁴ E. Benveniste, *Textes Sogdiens*, Paris, 1940, p. 248.

³⁵ M. Boyce, *A Word-list of Manichaen Middle Persian and Parthian*, Teheran and Liege, 1977, p. 4.

³⁶ Bartholomae, op. cit., p. 343.

³⁷ Lazard, op. cit., p. 351

³⁸ Kapadia, op. cit., p. 104.

استان خراسان و بیرجند «حیوان رم‌کننده و گریزان»³⁹ در گویش های تاجیکی surak (با پسوند -ak) «حیوان رم‌کننده، گریزان، وحشی».

شک šuk دربرخی از گویش‌های جنوبی تاجیکی با گونه šjk به معنای «خاموش، بی صدا». واژه šuk درگویش‌های تاجیکی ادامهٔ سغدی [šūk] šwk/šuk به معنی «خاموش، بدون کلام» بوده، حدود گسترش آن نیز همان حدود انتشار تاریخی زبان سغدی و گویش‌های آن می‌باشد.⁴⁰ م.ن. باگالیابوف بنیاد این واژه را در سغدی و ایرانی باستان -asrauka* دانسته است.⁴¹ و.ی. ابایف این واژه را از جمله واژگانی نامیده که در زبان های گروه ایرانی و ترکی تاریخ انتشار مشترک و کهنی داشته است. در زمینهٔ زبان‌های ایرانی، واژهٔ مذکور با سکایی pasus «ساکت شدن، خاموش شدن»، سغدی šwk «خاموش، بدون صدا»، یغناپی šuk، آسی sūs, sōs «خاموشی» و از سوی دیگر با ترکی sus «خاموشی» و šūk «بدون کلام» مقایسه شده است.⁴² بر پایهٔ شکل های ترکی می‌توان حدس زد که این واژه از دو منبع زبانی، هم زبان سغدی (šūk) و هم سکایی و یا گویش های سکایی (sūs, sōs) وارد زبان های ترکی شده است. واژه‌هایی مثل šuk و zunuk و همچنین واژهٔ جاغ joy در يك ترکیب با فعل «گرفتن» به عنوان مرادف بکار می‌روند: šukta gir=zunukta gir=jāyatrā gir «آوازت، صدایت‌راگیر»، یعنی «خاموش باش»؛ girad=jāyat girad=zunukat «صدایت‌گیرد» یعنی «صدایت خاموش‌باد».

هات hāt در گویش‌های جنوبی به معنی «آشکار، پیدا» مستعمل است: هات گفتن «آشکار گفتن»، هات آمدن «آشکار آمدن»، هات شدن «آشکار شدن، پیدا شدن»، هات بودن «آشکار بودن، پیدا بودن»، گپ هات «سخن آشکار» و غیره.

در ترجمه‌های پهلوی اوستا، مطابق Frahang ī aīm-ēwag (بخش 24 «سطر 2)، واژهٔ اوستایی hāta به پهلوی āškārāg «آشکارا» معنی شده است.⁴³ و با در اوستا hāta-marānāy به پهلوی āškārāg āmārēnīdār «آمارگر آشکارا» ترجمه شده؛ تشریح شکل پازند: pa vinās u karpak āmār kunēd «به گناه و کفره (کار ثواب) شمار کنید».⁴⁴ یعنی «کردار کسان و نیک و بد مردمان را بشمارید». همچنین شکل اوستایی -hadrōya در پهلوی rōšn.⁴⁵

در بارهٔ این واژه باید ذکر کرد که در گویش های تاجیکی محفوظ مانند t- پس از مصوت -ā- (در تاجیکی -o-) خلاف تحول آوایی زبان فارسی (تاجیکی) می‌باشد. اما در چند مورد، از جمله در واژگان «گیتی» gētī، توت tūt در زبان فارسی (تاجیکی) تحول تاریخی تبدیل d->t- رعایت نشده است. با وجود اینکه در آثار دورهٔ

شالچی. همان منبع، ص. ۲۰۰.³⁹

⁴⁰ Sogdiyskie fragmentyi Tsentralo-Aziatskogo sobraniya Instituta vostokovedeniya. Faksimale.Izdanie tekstov, chtenie, perevod, predislovie, primechaniya i glossariy A.N. Ragoza, Moscow, 1980, p. 109.

قریب. همان منبع، ص. ۳۷۷۰.

⁴¹ M.S. Andreev & E.M. Peshhereva, Yagnobskie tekstyi, Moscow and Leningrad, 1957, p. 328.

⁴² Abaev, op. cit., p. 173.

⁴³ H. Reichelt, DerFarhang -I oim, WZKM, 1900, XIV, p. 29.

⁴⁴ Bartholomae, op. cit., p. 1802.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

اول فارسي علاوه بر گونه tūt شکل هاي tūd, tūd نیز بکار رفته اند⁴⁶ و بعداً در زبان معيار تنها شکل tūt متداول شده است. واژه hāt از جمله واژگان کهنی است که در آثار فارسي معاصر مشاهده نمی شود و از طریق گویش ها محفوظ مانده است.

برخي از واژگان کهن ايراني به اصطلاح ترکي شده

افوره aqvara < aqavara «آنکه گرفتار روح شر و روح بد گردیده است و یا که دیو و پری بروی اثر کرده است». واژه aqavara از نظر ساختار شامل دو جزء است: aq+a (a مصوت افزوده) + vara: جزء aq- (با «ق») از ak- است که به معنای نخست خود «بد، زشت، ناپاک» استفاده می شود. در فارسي میانه ak «بد، زشت، زیان آور»،⁴⁷ فارسي جدید ak/āk «آسیب، گزند؛ بد، زشت»،⁴⁸ ايراني باستان aka- «بدخشم، بد»، اوستایی aka- «بد، خشمگین، تندخو»،⁴⁹ هندي باستان aka- «اندوه، درد، غم»؛⁵⁰ در آثار پهلوي در واژه سازي: akdēn «بد دین، غیر دین»، akomand «داراي خاصیت بد، داراي خاصیت زشت»، akomandīhā «بطور بد». درواژه ayyār جزء (ak=ay) شکل شرقي ايراني ak می باشد. در ayyār جزء ay به معنای «بد» بکار رفته، مثلاً در شعر «یار می گفتم تراء، اغیار گشتی بهرمن» اغیار به معنای «یار بد»، بیگانه بکار رفته است.

قشنگ qašang «زیبا، خوشگل». این واژه ترکي شده در آثار سغدي در چندین شکل نوشتاري آمده است: xšnk, 'xšnk, xšnq- بمعنی «زیبا و با شکوه و قشنگ». ⁵¹ و. ب. هنینگ هنگام تشریح واژه سغدي xšnq، آنرا با علامت سوال با qašang مقایسه کرده است.⁵² در «صاح الفرس» از واژه شنگ به معنی «زیبا، نیکو» یاد شده است که بدون شك ادامه سغدي 'xšnk / xšnk / xšnq می باشد. در فارسي جدید šang از راه تبدیل xš- در آغاز واژه به š- پیدا شده است. اما شکل qašang (با q-) از راه تبدیل x, γ به q از سغدي و یاکویش هاي آن وارد ترکي شده است.

لاق lāq > lāk در گویش هاي تاجیکی به معنای «کم ارزش، فرسوده، ناچیز، کهنه»: لباس لاق «لباس کهنه و فرسوده»، موزه هاي لاق «چکمه هاي کهنه»، تاقی لاق «تاقی کهنه و فرسوده». این صفت اصلاً برای لباس و کفش بکار می رود. همچنین لاق در ترکیب «لاق و پوست» به معنی «چیز هاي کهنه و کم ارزش» مستعمل است. در فارسي جدید lāk (لاک) «ناچیز، زبون، فرومایه». ⁵³ واژه «لاق» در برخي از گویش ها با پسوند جمع «-ها» (لاق ها) به عنوان اسم به معنی «لباس و پوشیدنی» نیز استفاده می شود. در واژه «پوستلاق» (با گونه «پوستلاخ») جزء «لاق» در همان معنای بنیادی، به عنوان صفت کم ارزشی، کهنگی و فرسودگی پوست (اصلاً پوست درخت) بکار می رود. گونه دیگر گویشی پوستلاخ pūstlāx (x بر عوض q) می باشد. برخي از ايرانيان شناسان واژه پوستلاخ را با توجه به lāx- در شمار پسوند lāx-

⁴⁶ Lazard, op. cit., p. 3

⁴⁷ MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 7.

⁴⁸ دمخدا همان منبع. جلد ۲. ص. ۳۱۳۲.

⁴⁹ Bartholomae, op. cit., p. 1802.

⁵⁰ Rastorgueva & Edelman, op. cit., I, p. 25.

⁵¹ قریب. همان منبع، ص. ۲۰۸۹، ۷۳۱، ۱۰۶۵۷۶.

⁵² W.B. Henning, op. cit., p. 21.

⁵³ دمخدا. همان منبع. جلد ۱۳. ص. ۱۹۵۴۶.

آورده‌اند. به گمان ما، جزء lāx- در این واژه با پسوند -lāx (در واژه‌های sanglāx, dēvlāx ارتباطی ندارد. سنیقه sanbaqa «لاک پشت». در فرهنگ‌ها از نام‌های مرادف دیگر این واژه نیز یاد شده است: kašaf, bāxa, lākpušt, kāsapušt⁵⁴ از این نام‌ها در زبان‌های ایرانی باستان و میانه تنها بنیاد kašaf به نظر می‌رسد: اوستایی-kasayapa، پهلوی kašawag (حرف نوشت پهلوی kšwk)⁵⁵، سغدی [kiš(a)p] kyšph⁵⁶، فارسی kašaf, kaštuk. نام‌های lākpušt, kāsapušt, sangpušt در یک قالب ساخته شده‌اند. شکل bāxa گوندیگرگویی bāqa و baqa (-x- = -q-) مثل lāq / lāx) می‌باشد.

واژه sanbaqa از جزء‌های (san > sang با اختصار -g- پس از -n- در گروه -ng در ترکیب‌هایی مثل sangdān < sangčīl, sandān < sančīl) baqa (ایرانی bak) و پسوند -ad- ساخته شده است. در آثار فارسی دوره اول بک bak، در «لغت فارس» بک pak «غوک، وزغ»⁵⁷، در پهلوی wazay. واژه sanbaqa در زبان تاجیکی و گویش‌های به شکل عامیانه در هماهنگی با قالب «سنگ پشت» بنابر شباهت آن با bak (شکل ترکی شده آن baq)، یعنی «غوک یا قورباغه» ساخته شده است. این نوع تشبیه دادن لاک‌پشت با غوک یا قورباغه در ترکیب نام‌های گوناگون در زبان بلغاری نیز مشاهده می‌شود. در همه نام‌های گویشی لاک‌پشت در این زبان واژه «قورباغه» به عنوان جزء دوم ترکیب‌ها بکاررفته است. مثلاً kostenā zhaba, kurtenā zhaba. در هر دو مورد نیز ژبه (zhaba) به معنی قورباغه در بخش دوم این واژه‌ها قرار دارد.⁵⁸

سوق sūq در گویش‌های تاجیکی در عبارات و ترکیبات به کار می‌رود: سوق چشم «تأثیر چشم»، سوق کردن «چشم کردن»، سوق گرفتن «چشم گرفتن»، سوق رسیدن «چشم رسیدن»، سوق برآوردن «تأثیر چشم را از وجود خارج کردن». در گویش‌ها sūq گونه sūk بوده، بر اثر تبدیل k- به q- پیدا شده است. در پهلوی [sōg] swk مرادف sōzišn (مصدر sōxtan) و dazišn (مصدر dazīdan) «سوختن، تافتن، تابیدن» است.⁵⁹ در فارسی جدید واژه پهلوی sōg (با حذف -g- در آخر واژه‌ها پس از مصوت با گونه «سو» sū به معنای «روشنایی» ادامه یافته که چند شاهد در یک نگارش پورداود حاکی از این است.⁶⁰ در فارسی «چراغ کم سو»، «چشم بی سو» و «ستاره کمسو». همچنین در فرهنگ نامه‌ها (برهان قاطع، فرهنگ ابوهی، جهانگیری، آندراج) sū «روشنی، روشنایی، روشن»؛ در زبان‌ها و گویش‌های مازندرانی sū «روشنی»، گیلکی sū- «روشنایی».⁶¹ ایرانی باستان *sauka- «شعله، شعله آتش»، اوستایی-saok «سوختن»⁶²؛ همچنین در اوستا، sūka-

⁵⁴ د مخدا. همان منبع. جلد ۹. ص. ۱۹۵۴۶.

⁵⁵ MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 50.

⁵⁶ قریب. همان منبع، ص. ۲۰۴.

⁵⁷ Kapranov, op. cit., p. 105.

⁵⁸ M. Mladenov, *Nazvaniya cherepakhi v bolgarskom yazzyke – Etimologiya*. 1968, Moscow, 1971, pp. 111-12.

⁵⁹ MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 75.

⁶⁰ پورداود. همان منبع، ص. ۶۶.

⁶¹ د مخدا. همان منبع. جلد ۹. ص. ۱۳۸۱۷.

⁶² Bartholomae, op. cit., p. 1548.

suča- در گزارش پهلوی rōšn «روشن» یا اوستایی -saoč «سوختن»، در پهلوی اشکانی sōčēnītan، فارسی میانه ساسانی sōzēnīdan «سوزانیدن»⁶³؛ در Frahang ī oim-ēwag (بخش 12، سطر اول) sūkem در گزارش پهلوی wēnišn «بینش»، بینایی» و -suča در گزارش پهلوی wēnāg «بینا». در اوستا sūka به معنی «روشنی چشم، روشنی از چشم خارج شونده» نیز می باشد.⁶⁴ از ریشه -saok «سوختن، زبانه کشیدن آتش» در اوستا -saokjnta (sao-k-jnt-a) «گوگرد» و saokjntavant «دارنده گوگرد». این اصطلاح در آزمایش ایزدی در ایران باستان معروف بوده است و اثبات گناهمکاری و بی گناهی آب «سوگند» (گوگرد) را به آزمایش می نوشانند.⁶⁵ از این جا در پهلوی sōgand، فارسی جدید saugand «سوگند» و معنی تحت اللفظی saugand xōrdan «گوگرد خوردن» و طبق سنت «آب گوگرد خوردن» است.⁶⁶

تاق > tāq (ق به عوض ك k) «مقابل جفت». تاق و جفت واژه های متضاد بوده، از زبان فارسی میانه معلومند. در فارسی میانه اشکانی tāk، فارسی میانه ساسانی -tāg «یکتا، یگانه»، در فارسی میانه ēw-tāg، فارسی جدید yaktā «یکتا».⁶⁷ تاقی tāqī در دردی افغانستان تاقی tāqīn⁶⁸ شکل tāqī مخصوص ماوراءالنهر و tāqīn مخصوص يك بخش خراسان (افغانستان) می باشد. در زبان آسی taqa, taka, tanqa⁶⁹. شکل taqa در زبان آسی را، ه.و. بیللی، با واژه فارسی باستان taka- taka-bara «کلاه پوش، کلاه دار» مقایسه کرده است که این دلایل بنیاد ایرانی این واژه را در مناطق بزرگ گسترش زبان ها و گویش های ایرانی ثابت می کند.

⁶³ پوردادود. همان منبع، ص. ۶۶.

⁶⁴ S.N. Sokolov, *Yazyik Avestyi*, Leningrad, 1964, p. 322.

⁶⁵ پوردادود، همان منبع، ص. ۱۵۷.

⁶⁶ Abaev, op. cit., p. 136.

⁶⁷ MacKenzie, op. cit., p. 81.

⁶⁸ L.N. Kiseleva & V.I. Mikolaychik, *Dari – russkiy slovar*, Moscow, 1986, p. 193.

⁶⁹ Abaev, op. cit., p. 193.

معادل‌های گوناگون آوایی افعال ساده و افعال دارای پیشوندهای تاریخی در گرشاسب‌نامه اسدی طوسی (قرن ۱۱ میلادی)

بحرالدين على اف (علوی)

شکل‌های گوناگون افعال در تشکل فعل با شکل‌های اصیل گونه‌های دیگر آنها نیز در دوره اول زبان فارسی متداول گردیده‌اند. همچنان که از «گرشاسب‌نامه» و آثار دیگر دوره اول زبان فارسی بر می‌آید، شکل‌های گوناگون افعال به طور آزاد بر به جای همدیگر استفاده شده‌اند. مطابق برآورد ما در «گرشاسب‌نامه» چنین افعال در دو و یا سه شکل به کار رفته که یکی از این شکل‌ها گونه نخست و شکل‌های دیگر گونه‌هایی می‌باشند که طبق قانونیت واژسازی فعل ضمن شکل‌های اصلی تاریخی و یا بنیادی بیرون آمده‌اند. افعالی گروه مذکور به گونه‌های زیرین شکل گرفته‌اند: الف) فعال‌هایی که شکل دوم آنها توسط پسوند -īdan از بن مضارع همان يك فعل پدید می‌آیند. این قبیل فعل‌ها هم در «گرشاسب‌نامه» و هم در آثار دیگر نثر دوره اول زبان فارسی فراوان به کار رفته‌است. نمونه‌ای چند از این فعل‌ها را می‌توان یاد کرد: kāftan - kāvīdan (از بن مضارع kav-) «کافتن»، «جستجو کردن»، «تحقیق کردن»، šikāftan - šikāvīdan (از بن مضارع šikāf-) «شکافتن»، سوراخ کردن؛ شکل šikāvīdan (با آوای -v-) مخصوص یکی از دوره‌های تحولات صوتی این فعل در آثار دوره اول، یعنی گونه f/v - kāstān - kāhīdan (بن مضارع kāh-) «کاستن»، «کم شدن»، «کاهش یافتن»، nigāstān - nigārīdan (بن مضارع nigār-) «نقش کردن»، «اثر گذاشتن»، «آراستن»؛ navāstān - navardīdan (بن مضارع navard-) «طی کردن»، «گشتن»، «رفتن»، sāxtān - sāvīdan (بن مضارع sāv-) «ساختن»، «ساختن»، navāxtān - navāzīdan (بن مضارع navāz-) «نواختن»، «نوازش کردن»، dānīstan - dānīdan (بن مضارع dān-) «دانستن»، sūxtān - sūzīdan (بن مضارع āvar-) «سوختن»، āvardān - āvarīdan (بن مضارع āvar-) «آوردن»، šitāftān - šitābīdan (بن مضارع šitāb-) «شتافتن»، شتاب کردن، firēftān - firēbīdan (بن مضارع firēb-) «فریفتن»، avbāstān - avbārīdan (بن مضارع avbār-) «افرو بردن»، «خوردن»، فارسی میانه ōbārdān (> avapār * > ōpārdān)، supurdān - supārīdan (بن مضارع supār-) «سپردن»، šumurdān - šumārīdan (بن مضارع šumār-) «شمردن»، afšurdān - fišurdān (بن مضارع fišār-) «فشاردن»، yāxtān - yāvīdan (بن مضارع yāv-) . در موردهای جداگانه به خاطر وزن و شیوه نظم از بن مضارع چندی از افعال در اساس قالب واژسازی با پسوند -īdan افعالی ساخته شده‌اند که این شکل‌ها در آثار بعدی چندان رایج نگردیده‌اند. اما افعالی مذکور خلاف قالب‌های معمول واژسازی نمی‌باشند. به طور مثال از افعالی dānīstan - dānīdan «دانستن» و sāvīdan - sāxtān «ساختن» می‌توان یاد کرد.

گونه‌های آوایی چندی از افعال. در «گرساسب‌نامه» یکجا با شکل‌های معمول و مروج افعال از چندین گونه دیگر آنها نیز استفاده شده‌است. کاربرد این گونه شکل‌ها به خاطر وزن و قافیه نبوده، بلکه قعل‌هایی می‌باشند که در همه این گونه‌های صوتی، در معیار زبان آن دور متداول بوده‌اند. برخی از این افعال ادامه شکل‌های کهن فارسی میانه و برخی دیگر شکل‌های از نگاه صوتیات تغییر یافته افعالی فارسی میانه و همچنین گونه دیگر آنها شکل‌های پارتی در گویش‌های خراسان متداول افعال محسوب می‌گردد. گمان می‌رود که همه شکل‌های در «گرساسب‌نامه» ذکر شده برای زبان فارسی زمان مؤلف معمول و قابل استفاده بوده‌اند. در این بند چندی از این افعال را همچون نمونه می‌توان شاهد آورد: āhēxtan - āxtan - yāxtan - yāzīdan. از این گونه‌ها hāxtan شکل مستقیم از فارسی میانه در زبان فارسی نو ادامه یافته بوده که بعداً این فعل مطابق تحولات صوتی در نتیجه اختصارات هم صدایی غیر استوار h در آغاز با گونه āxtan در آمده‌است. از این رو āxtan همچون شکل نو معیار فعل hāxtan یکجا با شکل کهن آن برابر مورد استفاده قرار داشته‌است. شکل yāxtan با اواز y غیر اتمولوژی ضمن کدامی از لهجه‌های خراسان (امکان دارد لهجه پارتی) شکل گرفته است.

شکل yāxtan (توسط اواز y) از گونه āxtan پیدا شده این شکل در آثار فارسی میانه و پارتی به نظر نمی‌رسد. همچنین شکل مذکور در برابر شکل فارسی میانه hāxtan نمی‌توانیست وجود داشته باشد. بعداً از بن مضارع yāxtan در زبان دوره اول توسط پسوند -īdan شکل yāzīdan بیرون آمده‌است که آن در مقابل اشکال دیگر این فعل چندان رایج نیست. این نکته را نیز باید تذکر داد که در زبان فارسی میانه و بعداً در زبان فارسی نو از بن مضارع hāxtan و یا āxtan با پسوند -īdan شکل نو صورت نگرفته‌است.

پیدایش شکل‌های گوناگون افعال با این عامل‌های صوتی ارتباط دارند که چندی از آنها را می‌توان یاد کرد: (الف) xēstan - xāstan «برخواستن». شکل xēstan در زبان فارسی همچون ادامه گونه فارسی میانه axistan بوده در زبان فارسی مصوت -ā آغاز اختصار شده‌است. این فعل در فارسی میانه توسط پسوند بن ماضی -īd از بن مضارع āxēzīdan شکل گرفته‌است. اما شکل xāstan در دوره اول زبان فارسی با ضمیمه اواز ā در ریشه فعل همچون شکل بعدی در مقابل شکل بنیادی به کار رفته‌است. اواز مصوت ā در برخی از افعال همچون بازمانده نشانه فعل بواسطه می‌باشد، ولی در فعل مذکور این مصوت دارای نشانه فعل بواسطه نیست؛ (ب) املاء جداگانه فعل (ī - ū) baxšīdan - baxšūdan «بخشیدن»؛ (پ) از راه تبدیل -ī- به -a- čīdan - čādan «چیدن، برچیدن». همچنان که از مصرع‌های اثر بر می‌آید، شکل čādan با تقضای وزن بر عوض شکل بنیادی پیدا شده و بعداً این شکل همچون گونه دیگر این فعل در آثار منظوم دوره اول زبان فارسی به حیث معیار استفاده گردیده‌است. در دو شکل نیز با پیشوند -bar برابر به کار رفته‌اند؛ (ت) شکل‌های معیاری به گروه آوازهای اختتامی اساس‌های -xt و -št در بن ماضی: afrāxtan - afrāštan «افراختن»، «بالا کردن». از هر دوی این شکل با اختصار پیشوند تاریخی a شکل‌های farāxtan و farāštan ساخته شده‌است که این شکل‌ها مخصوص نظم بوده در زبان گفتاری و آثار منظوم استفاده نمی‌شدند. فعل afrāxtan در «گرساسب‌نامه» از راه تحولات و تغییر صوتی به گونه furūxtan نیز آمده‌است؛ (ث) از راه اختصار صامت ریشه فعل: tunjīdan - turunjīdan «در هم کشیده شدن»، «پرچین و شکن

شدن»، «فشرده»، «(افسرده شدن)»؛ در «لغت عمید فرس» [لغت فرس ۱۳۵۶، ۱۹]. بن مضارع آن -tunj «در هم فشردن باشد». در فعل مذکور اختصار صامت -r- در هجای دوم با تأثیر گروه -nj- رخ داده است. باید خاطر نشان ساخت که این فعل نامی به صورت فعل مرکب نامی tarang kardan «ترنگ کردن» امروز در زبان فارسی تاجیکستان معمول است؛ ج) از راه اختصار (حذف) پیشوند تاریخی -a- afkandan «افکندن» -fikandan «افکندن»، «دور انداختن»، فارسی میانه abgandan (apa-) kandan «ایرانی باستان -apa-kan- از فعل kandan بنیاد -kan-» [Henning 1933, 172; Nyberg 1974, 21]. این فعل در زبان فارسی به ویژه در آثار دوره اول در شکل abgandan نیز آمده است. شکل afkandan شکل نهایی فعل مذکور بوده که بعداً fikandan از آن بیرون آمده است. در «گرشاسبنامه» چون دیگر آثار منظوم دوره اول زبان فارسی fikandan بیشتر مستعمل است که آن به قوانین نظم و هماهنگی ارتباط دارد. فعل دیگر afšāndan «افشاندن» -fišāndan «افشاندن» فارسی میانه afšāndan «چ) از راه تبدیل جای آواز مصوت آغاز -i- فعل istādan و پیدایش شکل sitādan. در این فعل که در زبان فارسی میانه به گونه estādan است، آواز مصوت آغازین مطابق قوانین صوتیات زبان فارسی نو پیدا شده است. از این رو از راه تبدیل مصوت ریشه فعل نو آن به گونه sitādan در آثار دوره اول رایج می گردد. در زبان فارسی میانه بن مضارع این فعل -stān بوده که از بن مذکور در زبان فارسی نو شکل بواسطه sitānīdan ساخته شده است. علامت بواسطه آن در زبان فارسی نو -ān-، اما در فارسی میانه شکل به واسطه از آن فعل (با علامت -ēn-) ساخته شده است.

چندی از افعالی دیگر به گونه های صوتی خوناگون یاد شده اند که همه این شکل ها در آثار دیگر دوره اول زبان فارسی نو معمول بودند. به طور مثال diraxšīdan - dirafšīdan - raxšīdan «درخشیدن»، فارسی میانه drafšīdan «1 درخشیدن؛ 2 لرزیدن»؛ معنای دوم این فعل فارسی میانه در یلوچی drafšīdan (لرزیدن) محفوظ مانده است [Saymaddinov, 1992, 21]. در زبان فارسی نو هر دو معنای در پهلوی داشته این فعل به يك معنا محلول گردیده است. گونه < raxšīdan diraxšīdan از راه حذف پیشوند تاریخی -di- پیدا شده و بعداً آن از شکل های مستعمل قرار می گیرد. اما در «گرشاسبنامه» این شکل در مقابل دو شکل دیگر (diraxšīdan dirafšīdan) شکل مستعمل محسوب نمی شود.

γurunbīdan «غُرُنْبیدن» - γurrīdan «غُرِیْدن» - yirēvīdan «غُرِیویدن». این شکل های نامی توسط پسوند -īdan پیدا شده، جزء نامی آنها از سغدی در زبان فارسی اشتقاق گردیده است. جزء های نامی آنها (γurunb, γurun, γur, yirēv) همچون واژه های نادر از شعری خراسان و ماوراء النهر که نیاز به تشریح و توضیح داشته اند، در «لغت فرس» اسدی طوسی آورده شده است که تشریح آنها چنین است: «بانگ و دمدمه گرفتن بود در گلو»، «بانگ نرم و شکسته بود در گلو از گریه» و «بانگ تشنیه بود، چنان که بهری بیرون از بهری اندرون گلو شود» [L.f. 1977, 158; 141 - 160; Kapranov 1964, 140]. آبایف این فعل را چنین توضیح داده است: γurrīdan زبان فارسی ایرانی شرقی بانگ زدن، بن -gar-, *gr-؛ هندی قدیم grm, grnati آواز خوانده؛ اوستایی geren-, gerente بن «بانگ زدن»؛ پارسی grm'd «بانگ» [Abaev 1973, 333].

فعل γurunbīdan از نگاه ساختار با زمینه پسوند -īdan از جزء γurunb ساخته شده است، همچنان که و. ا. کاپرانوف [Kapranov 1964, 140] آورده است، γurun شکل

γurung می‌باشد که چنین تبدالات (γurung > γurun یعنی حذف g- در گروه ng) در مثال دیگر واژه‌ها در زبان فارسی معلوم است، اما به نظر ما γurunb نیز بعداً با اختصار b پس از n در آخر واژه به گونه γurun تبدیل گشته است. شکل کامل این جزء نامی یعنی γurunb در فعل محفوظ مانده و همچون جزء نامی دچار تغییرات شده است. شکل‌های این فعل همچون لغت شرقی ایرانی در گویش‌های زبان فارسی تا به امروز متداولند. فعل نامی γirēvidan از اسم γirēv به معنای «فریاد»، «ناله»، «غوغا»، «اضطراب» که واژه سغدی اقتباس در زبان فارسی است، پیدا شده، معنای «فریاد کردن»، «فغان کردن»، «نالیدن» را دارد. گونه سغدی این فعل در آثار سغدی بودایی γr'w - «زوزه کشیدن»، «آلاس کشیدن»، «فغان کردن» [Livshits, 1957, 40].

تفاوت شکل‌ها در آوازهای آغازی p- در مقابل b-: pasējīdan
 basējīdan «آماده کردن». شکل basējīdan از شکل نخست بیرون آمده است. فعل pasējīdan که در «گرشاسب‌نامه» به تحولات -j- > -j-آماده است، جزء نامی آن همچون واژه سغدی شناخته می‌شود. جزء نامی آن همچنان که و. ا. لیوشتس [Livshits, 34] آورده است در شاهنامه فردوسی به گونه pasēč (با آواز-č) یاد می‌شود. اما فعل مذکور بنابر تحولات -č- به -j- در آثار دوره اول از جمله «گرشاسب‌نامه» در شکل pasējīdan آمده است. شکل basējīdan با تبدیل p->b صورت گرفته و همین گونه صوتی همچون شکل معیاری در آثار فارسی دوره‌های بعدی متداول می‌گردد. در زبان فارسی معاصر و فارسی افغانستان توسط اسم basīj فعل ترکیبی نامی basīj kardan «بسیج کردن» بیشتر متداول است.
 شکل durūdan//daravīdan «درویدن». شکل < durūdan فارسی میانه drudan(drun-) «درویدن» شکل اصیل؛ گونه دیگر آن daravīdan از راه واژسازي توسط پسوند -īd- ساخته شده که بعداً از این شکل در زبان معاصر شکل ترکیبی نامی darav kardan ساخته می‌شود. گونه daravīdan مخصوص زبان فارسی بوده، مدتی چند با شکل کهن فارسی میانه در آثار دیگر برابر به کار رفته، بعداً بر عوض شکل بنیادی مستعمل می‌گردد.

فعل‌های ساده دارای پیشوند تاریخی. این نوع افعال هنوز از زبان ایرانی باستان با پیشوندهای گوناگون تشکیل شده‌اند که طی تشکل در زبان فارسی میانه پیشوندها با بن افعال آمیخته شده‌اند و همچون جزء جداناپذیر بن فعل قرار یافته‌اند. از آن زمان که گروه افعال همچون شکل‌های ساده در لغت فعل به کار رفته‌اند، در زبان فارسی نیز ادامه یافته‌اند. معنای این گونه افعال در تمام دوره‌های تشکل زبان یکسان مانده‌اند. این افعال تاریخی ساخته در زبان فارسی میانه و نو همچون افعالی ساده معمول شده، بن فعل بدون پیشوند به طور مستقل وجود ندارد. این گروه افعال که در آثار دوره اول زبان فارسی یکجا با افعال ساده به کار رفته‌اند، همچون افعالی ساده در واژسازي زبان فارسی استفاده می‌شوند. یعنی چنین افعال به عنوان فعل ساده پیشوندهای دیگر رایج در واژه سازي فعل دوره نورا به طور آزاد قبول کرده، دوم باره از راه ضمیمه پیشوندها همچون افعالی مشتق شکل می‌گیرند. چنین افعال که شمارشان در «گرشاسب‌نامه» زیاد است و می‌توان گفت که بیشتر افعالی دارای پیشوندهای متروک معمول در دوره اول در آن آمده است، بر اساس معنای توسط پیشوندها بیرون آمده استفاده شده‌اند.

گروه بندی و جدا کردن افعالی دارای پیشوند متروک از نگاه زبان شناسی مقایسه‌ای و تاریخی و تاریخ واژه‌ها کار فوق العاده مهم می باشد. شمار زیادی از ایران شناسان در این زمینه پژوهش‌هایی انجام داده‌اند [Salemman, 309 310; Henning 1933, 168 209; Rastorgyeva, Molchanova 1981, 102 106; Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 1982, Saymiddinov 1998, 27 – 28].

غیر از این در پژوهش م. دولت‌اوا [Davlatova 1969] و پژوهش سمیرنوا [Smirnova 1959] و بسیاری دیگر از پژوهش‌های وابسته به آثار دوره اول نیز به این گروه افعال توجه نشده است که اگر چنین کار صورت می گرفت، حالا ما به آسانی پی می بردیم که کدامی از این افعال در آثار این دوره چه گونه کاربرد داشته‌اند.

فعل‌های دارای پیشوند تاریخی را که در «گرشاسب‌نامه» استفاده شده‌اند، می توان به طریق ذیل گروه بندی نمود:

الف) افعالی که در آغاز پیشوند متروک و یا پیشوند تاریخی -ā دارند: ārāstan «آراستن»، āmēxtan «آمیختن»، ākandan «آکندن»، āvēxtan «آویختن»، āsūdan «آسودن»، ārāmidan «آرامیدن»، āšuftan «آشفتن»، āzmūdan «آزمودن»، āyāzīdan «آغازیدن» و غیره.

ārāstan (> -ā -rād * اوستایی -rād آماده شدن [Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 1982, 142] ، فارسی میانه ārāstan)؛ āmēxtan «آمیختن» (> ایرانی *a+maik [Horn GTPH, 134; Nyberg 1974, 15] فارسی میانه āmēxtan)، مصدر āmēxtan در مورد آمیزش دادن در اصطلاح فلسفه دینی از معناهای اساسی آن حساب می شود، آمیزش با زمین (خاک) که در اثر آماده‌است؛ فعل āsūdan برخلاف توضیح فرهنگ فارسی دکتر معین از آن افعال است که با پیشوند -ā از زبان مشترک ایرانی باستان همچون شکل تاریخی ادامه یافته است. این توضیح که معین آنرا از āsūdan (معین، ۵۶) دانسته‌است، صحیح به نظر نمی رسد. فعل مذکور در زبان فارسی میانه اشکانی به شکل āsūtan و فارسی میانه ساسانی āsūdan آمده‌است [MacKenzie 1971, 12].

در رابطه با این فعل و افعال دیگر متشابه باید تذکور داد که به چنین جزءها بخش کردن افعال از نگاه ریشه شناسی خلاف دلایل تاریخی و قوانین تشکیل ریشه‌های فعل در زبان‌های ایرانی باستان و ساختار سه گونه پیدایش ریشه‌ها در نخست زبان هندو ایرانی و تشکیل بعدی همه گونه ریشه‌ها در زبان های ایرانی باستان و ایرانی میانه می باشد. با اشاره به چنین غلط فهمی‌ها در مثال فعل مذکور اشتباهات دیگر بدین مانند در «فرهنگ معین» مورد بحث قرار نخواهد گرفت. ākandan/āgandan ایرانی باستان *a-kan- [Henning 1933, 172]، در «فرهنگ عمید» ضمن توضیح این فعل آمده‌است: «آگندن»، «پرکردن»، «انباشتن»، «آکندن»، «آگنیدن» و «آغندن» هم گفته شده» [عمید ج ۲، ۴۴]. هر دو گونه این فعل در دوره اول زبان فارسی برابر به کار رفته، اما شکل ākandan با حفظ صامت «-k-» در بین دو مصوت همچون شکل کهن فعل یکجا با گونه āgandan که تحولات بعدی آن در زبان فارسی میانه می باشد، استفاده شده است. فعل āgandan (در نتیجه تبدیل -g->-k-) شکل گرفته و آن همچون شکل معیاری در مقابل شکل نخست استفاده گردیده‌است. قابل یادآوری است که هر دو شکل

این فعل در زبان فارسی مورد استفاده قرار نگرفته است. حال آن که این فعل در آثار فارسی ماوراءالنهر و خراسان به ویژه آثار دوره اول زیاد به کار رفته است.
āgandan «آشفتن»، āramidan// ārāmidan «آرامیدن»، «آرمیدن»، āfarīdan «آفریدن» (> فارسی میانه āfrīdan).
مثال

که پاكا توانا خدای بزرگ
که دیوی چنین آفریند سترگ

گرشاسبنامه، ۳۲۶. āvēxtan «آویختن»، āzmūdan «آزمودن»، فارسی میانه āzmūdan ، اوستایی (1165)-māy «انداز کردن» > ایرانی باستان; -māy-aviz* درپاسلمها (āzmūt) [Nyberg 1974, 147].
در فعل āmadan نشانه پیشوند تاریخی به خوبی روشن است. همان طور که از آثار فارسی میانه بر می آید، madan گونه دیگر āmadan متداول است [Rastorgueva 1966, 83].

āyāzīdan «آغازیدن» = āyāz kardan «آغاز کردن» با تکیه بر گفته لیوشیتس [Livshits 1957, 35] به پیدایش سغدی این کلمه بار اول هنینگ و پروفیسور فریمن اشاره کرده اند.

ب) افعالی که در آغاز پیشوند مترک -gu (> ایرانی باستان -vi*، فارسی باستان vi- ، اوستایی (vi) [Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 1982, 134] دارند: gusturdan «گستردن»، «پهن کردن»، فارسی میانه gusastan ، vistardan «گسستن»، «از هم جدا کردن» > فارسی میانه gušūdan ، visastan «گشودن»، «کشادن»، «باز کردن» > فارسی میانه višādan ، gurēy kardan//gurēxtan «گریختن» > فارسی میانه virēxtan از ایرانی مشترک *vi+raik (اوستایی raēk) «ترک کردن»، «آزاد کردن» [Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 1982, 144]، به نظر می رسد gurēy صورت سغدی همین فعل می باشد که ضمن توضیح افعالی اقتباسی مفصل تشریح خواهد شد.

Guzīdan «گزیدن» ، «انتخاب کردن» > فارسی میانه guzaštan ، vazīdan «گذشتن» > فارسی میانه vidaštan از ایرانی مشترک vi+tar مقایسه شود اوستایی، فارسی باستان tar- «گذشتن»، «عبور کردن» [Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 144].

gumāštan//gumardan «گماشتن»، «گماردن»، guzāštan//guzārdan «گذاشتن»، «گزاردن» و غیره.

پ) با پیشوند مترک -an (> ایرانی مشترک *ham ، فارسی باستان ham ، اوستایی ham-,han- ، فارسی میانه han-) [Rastorgueva 1966, 83; Efimov, (han- Rastorgueva, [Sharova 1982, 144; Saymiddinov 1998, 197

angēxtan «انگیختن»، «پاش دادن»، «تحرک کردن»، «شور دادن»، > فارسی میانه hangēxtan; andāxtan «انداختن»، «پرتافتن به داخل، به پایان، به بالا، به دور» و غیره > فارسی میانه handāxtan . در فعل andāxtan چنان که در معنای پهلوی آن handāxtan ، از اینجا در فارسی میانه andāza > handāzag «اندازه» می بینیم، تابش اساسی اندازه کردن محفوظ می باشد [Nyberg, 1974, 94].

angāštan «انگاشتن»، «پنداشتن» > فارسی میانه andāštan, handāštan ، صورت دیگر این فعل anbārīdan است که در «گرشاسبنامه» نیامده است، ولی در آثار دیگر دوره اول از جمله «شاهنامه» فردوسی فراوان به کار رفته است.

ت) با پیشوند متروک av-/af (> ایرانی مشترک abi-، فارسی باستان abi-، اوستایی aiwi-، فارسی میانه ab/ap). afrūxtan «افروختن» > فارسی میانه abrōxtan (از ایرانی مشترک abi+rau-، اوستایی raok- فروزان کردن، روشن کردن) [Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 1982, 142]؛ afzūdan «افزودن»، «زیاد کردن» > فارسی میانه abzūdan (از ایرانی مشترک abi-+jaw-، فارسی باستان jaw- فشار دادن)؛ afrāxtan||afraštan «افراختن»، «بالا کردن»، «بالا برداشتن» فارسی میانه afrastan; afkandan//fikandan «افکندن//فکندن»، «پرتافتن» فارسی میانه abgandan (از ایرانی مشترک abi+kan-، مقایسه شود: kan- در فارسی باستان با معنی ناروشن از آنجا کندن، پرتافتن [Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 1982, 142]؛ afšāndan//fišāndan «افشاندن//فشاندن»، «تکان دادن»، «تکاندن»؛ aftādan//fitādan «افتاندن//فتاندن»؛ afsurdan//fusurdan «افسردن//فسردن»؛ afšurdan//fišurdan «افشردن//فشردن».

avbārdan «اوباردن»، «فرو بردن». در فرهنگ‌ها و آثار علمی صورت فارسی میانه آنرا opārtan [عمید ج ۲، ۲۶۰]؛ obardan [Efimov, Rastorgueva, Sharova 198, 143; Saymiddinov 1992, 331] ضبط کرده اند که شکل فارسی میانه اشکانی <*ava-parayati- opārdan [Nyberg 1974, 145]. ولی نویسنده «گرشاسب‌نامه» آنرا به صورت biyavbāradat (یعنی avbāradan) آورده است:

هم اکنون نگون زاسب زیر آردت
بیک دم ز تن جان بیوباردت
(گرشاسب‌نامه، ۳۷۹)

در مثالی که آورده شد، وزن شعر امکان نمی‌دهد که این فعل به صورت biōbāradat خوانده شود. نکته دیگر که قابل بحث است، آن است که در همین اثر avbāštan (نه به صورت obāštan) آمده است و به احتمال قوی آن جفت فعلی avbārdan است. هر دوی این فعل به یک معنی آمده‌اند، یعنی به معنی فرو بردن. در یک بیت «گرشاسب‌نامه» سخن در باره دیوی می‌رود که شاه می‌خواست آنرا به دار بکشد و شاعر ضمن توصیف دیو می‌گوید:

دو چندان که یک مرد برداشتی
وی آسان به یک دم بیوباشتی
(گرشاسب‌نامه، ۳۲۶).

یعنی آن دیو آن چهار که دو برابر از برداشتن یک مرد باشد به یک دم فرو می‌برد. اما در «فرهنگ عمید» فعل avbārdan به معنی «فرو بردن» و avbāštan به معنی «انباشتن»، «آکندن»، «پرت کردن» ((عمید ج ۱، ۲۶۱) توضیح شده است. به نظر می‌رسد که فعل avbāštan و anbaštan ریشه مشترک دارند و نزدیکی آوایی این دو فعل نظر محققان را فریفته است. این چنین این دو فعل از نگاه معنی هم کمی با هم رابطه دارند. غیر از این باید یادآور شد که از نگاه شکل هم افعالی avbāštan و avbārdan افعالی جفت به نظر می‌آیند، از قبیل افعالی جفت: anbaštan//anbārdan «انگاشتن//انگاردن»، gumāštan//gumārdan «گماشتن//گماردن» و قانونیت تبدیل -st- و -n- انباردن،

اوستایی ava-pat «افتادن»، «غلتیدن»، «پرواز کردن». ولی فعل āzadan/ājadan «آزدن»، «آزیدن»، «آجیدن» در دوره اول زبان فارسی و دوره‌های بعدی با افعالی مانند āmadan (از نگاه -ā آغاز) تلفظ و نوشته می‌شود. همان طور که از گروه بندی بالا بر می‌آید، بیشتر افعالی دارای پیشوند متروک که در آثار دوره اول استفاده شده‌اند، در «گرشاسب‌نامه» اساساً با همان معنی‌های معمول به کار رفته‌اند. ما در این بخش کوشش کردیم که همه چنین افعالی به اصطلاح «مشتق» تاریخی‌را گروه بندی نماییم و تا حد ممکن گونه‌های فارسی میانه آنها را بیاوریم، تا روشن شود که این افعال در مرحله نو زبان فارسی به چه گونه تغییرات دچار شده‌اند.

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Survey of Publications in South Asia on Persianate Studies

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The year 2001 saw the publication of a number of books relating to the Persianate Studies in South Asia. Some of the more important ones are briefly introduced here to bring them to the attention of scholars interested in the field.

Catalogue of Microfilms of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts II, Aligarh Muslim University, India, Noor Microfilm Centre, India-Iran, 1st edn., winter 1379/2001, introducing 800 manuscripts in 363 pages.

Maulana Azad Library of Aligarh Muslim University has one of the best collections of Arabic and Persian manuscripts in the region. The number of manuscripts preserved here exceeds 14,500, some of which are extremely rare. Noor Microfilm Centre had undertaken an ambitious project to microfilm important collections of manuscripts preserved in different libraries in India, and also to publish descriptive catalogues of the manuscripts microfilmed. The first volume, introducing 2,035 manuscripts, was published in 2000 and had been mentioned in SPS.1.

Catalogue of Microfilms of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts III, Hakeem Sayed Zillur Rahman Library, Aligarh, India, Noor Microfilm Centre, Iran-India, 1st edn., spring 1380/2001, 120 pages.

Manuscripts microfilmed and introduced in this catalogue belong to the library of Hakeem Zillur Rahman, formerly professor of '*Elm al-advia*', Hakeem Ajmal Khan Tibbia College, Aligarh Muslim University. Out of 290 manuscripts introduced here, 59 are on various aspects of *Tebb-e yunāni*, and the rest belong to miscellaneous categories.

Catalogue of Microfilms of the Persian and Arabic Manuscripts IV, Libraries of Gujarat, Noor Microfilm Centre, Iran-India, 1st edn., winter 1380/2001.

This catalogue contains descriptive list of the manuscripts preserved in three important libraries of Gujarat: Library of Peer Muhammad Shah, Ahmedabad (514 MSS on 280 pp.), Library of Dargah-e Aliya Chishtiya,

Ahmedabad (164 MSS on 97 pp.), and Library of Dargah-e Aliya Mahdaviya, Palan Pur (152 MSS on 84 pp.). The account is spread over 280 pages and contains a descriptive list of 514 manuscripts.

The first two libraries are attached to important Sufi shrines, while the third one belongs to the Mahdavi Centre of Palan Pur. Hyderabad, Ahmedabad and Palan Pur were among the important centres of Mahdavi activities. Palan Pur is still an important centre of Mahdavis and their present leader, Daud Alam, lives there. It is only natural that a sizeable number of manuscripts preserved in this library relate to various aspects of Mahdavi movement and doctrine. All the three catalogues contain preface both in English and Persian by Dr Mehdi Khwajeh Piri.

‘Ali-qoli Wāleh Dāghestāni, *Riyāz al-sho‘arā* I, ed. Sharif Husain Qasemi, Rampur, 2001 (921 pp.).

Indian contribution to the Persian language and literature is varied and many. Among these is included the tradition of the compilation of *tazkeras* (biographical dictionaries) of poets. Sadid al-Din Mohammad ‘Awfi (d. early 13th cent.) laid down the foundation of this genre of Persian literature with his *Lobāb al-albāb*. During the centuries that followed, many more *tazkeras* were compiled in Iran and India. *Riyāz al-sho‘arā* is one of the more popular *tazkeras* compiled in India. Wāleh was born in Isfahan in 1712 in a distinguished family. His father and other members of the family held important positions at various courts. He migrated to India and reached Delhi sometime during 1734-35. He served Mohammad Shah (1719-48), Ahmad Shah (1748-54) and ‘Ālamgir II (1754-59) and, beginning with a *mansab* of 4000 under Mohammad Shah, rose to that of 7000 during the reign of ‘Ālamgir. He served in different capacities and received titles of Zafar Jung and Khān-e Zamān Bahādor. He finished the compilation of *Riyāz al-sho‘arā* around 1749 and died at Delhi in 1170/1756-57. The number of the poets covered in the book differs in different manuscripts. The present edition, arranged alphabetically, contains the accounts of two thousand five hundred and forty-three earlier and contemporary poets. The present edition has been envisaged to be published in two volumes. The first volume contains the biographies of the poets along with a few samples of their poetry. The second volume, to be published, will contain all the poetic quotations selected by the compiler.

A European Experience of the Mughal Orient: The E'jaz-e Arsalani (Persian Letters, 1773-1779) of Antoine-Louis Henri Polier, tr. with Introduction by Muzaffar Alam and Seema Alavi, New Delhi, 2001, 422 pages.

Major Antoine-Louis Henri Polier (1741-95) was a Franco-Swiss officer in the service of English East India Company. He made his mark as a military engineer, architect and collector of Oriental manuscripts and paintings. He arrived in India in 1757 and served the Company in various capacities till he rose to the rank of lieutenant colonel. But being a Frenchman, he faced systemic block in his career. It was mainly because of this that he agreed to be deputed to the survey department of Nawab Shojā' al-Dawla of Awadh. Here he amassed great fortune and carved an important position for himself in the Awadh society. He was forced to resign from the Company's service in 1775. He served Mughal Emperor Shah 'Ālam II for some time and received the title of Arsalan-e Jang (lion of the battle). Later, he was restored into the Company's service and was allowed to stay at Faizabad and then Lucknow. During his stay in Lucknow, he became an avid collector of manuscripts and paintings and developed interest in Hinduism, and his work in the field earned him the membership of the Bengal Asiatic Society. He had a number of books to his credit. His major work was *Mythologie des Indous* that was published in Paris in 1809. He is said to have known reasonably good Persian and excellent Urdu.

During his stay in Awadh and Delhi, Polier came in contact of a large number of local people and he often corresponded with them in Persian. As was the tradition in those days, these letters were prepared by his secretary (*monshi*) under his instruction. A collection consisting of 1833 letters, bound in two volumes, was compiled by his secretary under the title of *E'jāz-e Arsalani*. It is available in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris. Volume one contains letters written during the period when he was working as an agent of the East India Company in Awadh. In most of the cases the names of the addressees are given. The dates are given in the *hejri* era. The addressees include the emperor, nawabs of Awadh and some other regions, viziers, zamindārs and many Mughal nobles. They also include his two Indian wives, his children from them, his attendants and many others. Their value as a window to the complex network of cultural interaction between the Europeans and Indians at various levels can hardly be overemphasized. The present book offers free translation of the first volume of *Ijaz-i Arsalani*.

Waris Kirmani, *Ghāleb ki Fārsi shā'eri* (Urdu), Ghalib Institute, New Delhi, 2001, 363 pages.

Ghāleb's greatness as a poet is universally acknowledged. His poetry encompasses both Urdu and Persian. He himself prided in his Persian poetry and was not much enamoured of his Urdu poetic compositions. He has described his Urdu poetry as colourless (*kalām-e birang*), but his

fame in the subcontinent mainly rests on his Urdu poetry, though it constitutes only a small part of his total poetic writings. His Persian poetry is much more voluminous and varied. While enormous corpus of literature has been produced on his Urdu poetry, unfortunately his Persian poetry has not received much attention. But neither Ghāleb nor the age he lived in could be properly understood without a full comprehension of his Persian poetry. Professor [Waris] Kirmani has sought to fill this vacuum in our understanding of one of the major literary personalities of the Indian subcontinent. He studies Ghāleb in the context of the mental and intellectual climate from which the poet received his inspiration and in turn enriched it with his own creative exuberance to inspire others. Various aspects associated with his Persian poetry have been studied in depth. This has not only opened up new possibilities for understanding Ghāleb but has also added new dimension to the literature that exists on him. Ghāleb's Persian poetry constitutes a very valuable part of our intellectual heritage, but the author at the end gives his preference to his Urdu poetry, because of the simple reason that Urdu was Ghāleb's mother tongue and one can best communicate his feelings in his mother tongue.

The book is arranged in nine chapters, including a comparative study of Ghāleb and Mohammad Iqbal, and supplemented by a large selection of his poetry (pp. 161 to 357).

Deepak Kumar, ed., *Disease and Medicine in India: A Historical Overview*, Indian History Congress, Tulika, 2001, pp. xxiii+307 (papers presented at a special panel in 61st session of Indian History Congress held at Calcutta, 1-3 Jan. 2001).

The papers are divided into two unequal parts, pre-modern and modern. Six out of eight papers contained in pre-modern section relate to Medieval India. They cover a variety of subjects such as "Medieval Theories of Vision and Introduction of Spectacles in India," "Physicians as Professionals in Medieval India," "A Sixteenth Century Code for Physicians," "Inside and Outside the System: Change and Innovation in Medical and Surgical Practice in Mughal India," and "Small Pox and its Treatment in Pre-Modern India." The Galenic tradition of medicine (*tebb-e yunāni*) was brought to India from Persia. It differed in many ways from the indigenous Indian system of medicine as enshrined in Ayurveda, but they interacted with each other and this process enormously enriched both the traditions. With the passage of time, other influences also worked both at the level of theory and practice further extending its scope. These papers seek to probe the situation, as it existed during the period under discussion.

Kabir Ahmad Jaisi, *Irān ki chand aham Fārsi tafsiren* (Urdu) II, Qirtas (Idarah-i Tasnif wa Talif wa Turjuma), Karachi, 2001, 234 pages.

The book seeks to introduce some of the more important early Persian exegeses (*tafsirs*) of the Holy Qurān written in Iran. From the very beginning Muslim scholars have sought to translate the meanings of the Holy Quran for the benefit of those not familiar with the Arabic language. The largest number of translations and exegeses were rendered in the Persian language and a very considerable number of them in Iran. This is the second volume of a series of books designed to introduce more significant *tafsirs* written in Iran. Beside an introduction, the book consists of four chapters dealing with four popular *tafsirs* written during the fifth/eleventh and sixth/twelfth centuries. These include *Tafsir-e Surābādi* of Abu Bakr 'Atiq Nishaburi Surābādi (d. 484/1091), *Tafsir-e Nasafi* (of Abu Hafs Najm al Din Umar bin Muhammad (d. in 537 H. at Samarqand), *Kashf al-asrār wa 'ottat al-abrār* of Rashid al-Din Abu'l-Fazl Meybodi (6th/12th cent.), and *Rawz al-jenān wa rawh al janān* of Abu'l-Fotuh Rāzi (d. mid 6th/12th cent.).

'Idem, *Hāfez: Shakhs aur Shā'er* (Urdu), Khuda Bakhsh Public Oriental Library, Patna, 2001.

The book consists of the following three chapters: Hāfez: the person and the poet, Hāfez and Iqbal, and A fresh look on Hāfez's poetry.

Mirzā Ahmad Beg Lāhori, *Ahwāl wa maqāmāt-e Nawshāh Ganjbakhsh* (959-1064 H.), ed. Arif Naushahi, Markaz-e Tahqiqāt-e Fārsi-e Irān wa Pakestān, Islamabad, 2001, 249 pages.

Hāji Mohammad Nawshāh Ganjbakhsh (1552-1654) was an eminent Sufi. His followers are still found in the regions of Punjab and Sind. This book deals with the mystic experiences of the saint. The editor has provided an exhaustive introduction and a number of indexes.

Shams al-'Olamā' Mirzā Qalich Beg (1853-1929), *Gorji-nāma*, ed. Faiza Zahra Mirza, Markaz-e Tahqiqāt-e Fārsi-e Irān wa Pakestān, Islamabad, 2001.

Mirzā Qalich Beg belonged to a distinguished family of Sind, which still enjoys a distinctive position in the region. The introduction provides interesting details about the Mirzās or the Gorjis of Sind, and the text contains a great deal of information about ethics, literature, culture, and intellectual, social and political aspects of life in contemporary Sind.

Abu Sa'ādat Jalili, *Sa'd Allāh Masihi aur Fārsi Ramayan-i Masihi* (Urdu), Khuda Bakhsh Public Oriental Library, Patna, 2001.

Sa'd Allāh Masihi was an eminent poet of the period of Jahāngir and Shah Jahān and one of those who rendered *Ramayana* into Persian.

Saiyid Muhammad Akram, *Āthār al-awliyā'*, Punjab University, Lahore, 2001, a book on the Sufi saints of the subcontinent arranged in alphabetical order.

Sa'di, *Bustān*, tr. into Sindi as *Bustan-i Sadi* by Muhammad Qasim Somru, Intisharat-i Roshani, Hyderabad, Sind, 2001, 312 pages.

Saiyid Jan Allah Shah Rizvi, *Diwān-e Mir*, ed. Muhammad Ishaq Abru, Anjuman Adabi wa Tarikhi-i Sukkar (Sind), Khairpur, 2001.

Saiyid Wahid Ashraf Kachuchawi, *Moqaddama-ye robā'i*, Makhdum Saiyid Ashraf Jahangir Academy, Baroda, 2001, 85 pages.

Books and Periodicals on Persianate Studies Published in Russia

Alexei A. Khismatulin

RESEARCH MONOGRAPHS

N.E. Aleskerova, *Sufiiskoe bratstvo Gyulshaniya* (The Golshaniya Sufi Brotherhood), Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, St. Petersburg, 2002, 160 pages.

This book is the first Russian research on the Golshaniya brotherhood, which appeared in Tabriz in the fifteenth century as an offshoot of the Khalwatiya brotherhood and was known by its eponymous founder, Ebrāhim Golshani (d. 940/1534). The research describes the historical situation in the state of Aq Qoyunlu, Mamluk Egypt and the Ottoman Empire before the brotherhood's emergence and during its active day. It also contains a biography of Ebrāhim Golshani and the main leaders of the brotherhood, as well as several annotated chapters translated or paraphrased from *Manāqeb-e Ebrāhim-e Golshani*, the hagiographic work of Mohyi Mohammad Golshani, and from *Shiva-ye tariqat-e Golshaniya* by Shemleli-zade Ahmad-efendi. The book is supplied with a diagram of the Golshaniya's *selsela*, six indices and an English summary.

A.A. Aliev, *Iran vs Iraq: istoria i sovremennost'* (Iran vs Iraq: History and Contemporariness), Moscow, 2002, 768 pages.

This book consists of two parts, which appear like two separate books combined under one cover; each part has its own annotated indices of proper, geographic and topographic names, diagrams of numerous genealogies and a list of cited literature. The first part, entitled "Persians and Arabs in the Ancient Times and within Caliphate," deals with the pre-Islamic history of Persians and Arabs as well as early Islamic history, including the Umayyads and Abbasid Caliphates, the Arabs conquest of Iran, etc. The second part, "Iran And Iraq: Confrontation and Cooperation," begins with the Middle Ages and comes up to the last Iran-Iraq War. It is also supplied with Appendices containing several historical agreements between Iran and Iraq (31 May 1847, Erzerum;

21 December 1911, Tehran; 4 November, Constantinople; 4 July 1937, Tehran and many others).

A.Z. Arabajyan, *Islamskaya Respublika Iran. Ekonomicheskii potentsial: pervaya polovina 90-kh godov* (*The Islamic Republic Of Iran. The Economical Potential: The First Half Of The 1990s*), Moscow, 2002, 384 pages.

The book presents a comprehensive analysis of the economic potential of the Islamic Republic of Iran by using the rates of growth of the national product and examining the development of different sectors of national economy. It also contains a survey of the economy in the second half of the 1990s and of the 3rd development plan (2000/1-2004/5).

S.M. Gilyazutdinov, *Opisanie rukopisei na persidskom yazyke iz khranilishcha IYALI* (*Description of the Persian language MSS from a depository of The Institute of Language, Literature and Art*), Qazan, 2002, 254 pages.

This is in fact a catalogue describing 140 Persian writings in 332 entries included in 192 manuscripts. These 332 entries are grouped into 4 thematic sections: Literature (entries 1-155), Science (156-222), Religion (223-304), and the Writings of Tatar Thinkers of the Enlightenment in the eighteenth-nineteenth centuries (305-30), plus two anonymous writings (331-32). Each section has several subsections arranged thematically (Secs. II, III) and by author (Secs. I, IV). The oldest manuscript of this collection, *Morshed fi'l-hesāb* by Hasan b. 'Ali Kāsāni, was copied in 1392-93 C. E. in Central Asia, and the oldest manuscript transcribed in the Volga Region is *Tarjama-ye mokhtasar-e al-Weqa'ya* (1692). The book is supplied with 10 different indices and several illustrations.

O.P. Shcheglova, *Katalog litografirovannykh knig na persidskom yazyke: iz sobraniya Rossiiskoi Natsional'noi biblioteki* (*A Catalogue of the Persian lithographed books: From the collection of The Russian National Library*), Moscow, 2002, 143 pages.

This is the third and final catalogue prepared by this author, describing the Persian lithographed books in the St. Petersburg collections. The first two dealt with the collections of the Institute of Oriental Studies (Moscow, 1975; 1,486 editions) and the Oriental Department of the Library of Leningrad State University (Moscow, 1989; 702 editions). The present catalogue covers the collection of the Russian National Library, describing 172 editions: 76 of which were lithographed in

Central Asia, 69 in Iran, 17 in India, 7 in the Caucasus (Baku and Tiflis), and 3 in Afghanistan (Kabul). The catalogue also has two supplements. The first one describes 13 lithographed editions received by the Institute of Oriental Studies since 1976; the second supplement covers the collection of 45 lithographed editions of the Russian Ethnographic Museum. The book is prefaced with very informative research and supplied with three indices.

O.J. Jalilov, *Istoricheskie pesni kurdov* (The Historical Songs of the Kurds), Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, St. Petersburg, 2003, 832 pages.

This book represents more than 500 Kurdish historical songs gathered by the author, his brother and sister during numerous ethnographic expeditions in the Kurdish regions of Armenia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kirgizstan, and Turkmenistan between 1958 and 1990. (These songs are just a small part of the body of ethnographic materials, now exceeding 50 km of taped records, collected by the author's father as well.) The book is divided into two main parts: the Russian translation and the Kurdish original, phonetically transcribed. Each part is divided into various thematic sections. Most of the songs commemorate heroic or tragic events in the life of the Kurdish people: the Russian-Turkish war (1877-78); the struggle against Turkey in the second half of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries; the First World War; the Kurdish rebellion in Iraq and so on. Both parts contain brief descriptions of these events and commentaries on the songs and their singers, as well as a bibliography, concordance and index. The text is supplied with numerous photos of outstanding Kurdish leaders.

V.V. Kushev, «*Gulshan-i afghan*»: *sochinenie afganskogo poeta XVIII veka 'Ali-Akbara Orakzaya* (*Golshan-e Afghān*: A Work of the Eighteenth Century Afghan Poet 'Ali-Akbar Orakzay, Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, St. Petersburg, 2003, 128 pages.

This volume was prepared for publication with the help of Mikhail S. Pelevin after the death of the outstanding Russian Iranologist Vladimir V. Kushev (1927-2001). It consists of two parts. The first part describes specific features of the manuscript entitled *Golshan-e Afghān* in terms of its codicology and composition, as well as its author's biography, literary activity, and the peculiarities of his poetic language. The second part contains the Russian translation of selected *qasidas* by 'Ali-Akbar Orakzay. The book is supplied with a common index and a facsimile of the translated *qasidas*.

A.A. Khismatulin, *Sufism*. St. Petersburg, 2003, 224 pages.

This is the second edition of the book written in the so-called scientific-popular genre. The research covers the period of the development of Sufism since the rise of Islam till the Mongol conquest (the 1st edn.: 1999), and mostly focuses on spiritual roots of this phenomena—that is on the passive and active ways of divine choice which can be traced in the Sufi tradition as the path of *jazba* and the path of *soluk* respectively.

Podvizhniki islama: kul't svyatykh i sufism v Srednei Azii i na Kavkaze (The True Followers Of Islam: Cult Of The Saints And Sufism In Central Asia And The Caucasus), ed. S.N. Abashin & V.O. Bobrovnikov, Moscow, 2003, 336 pages.

The volume of the collected articles contains 13 contributions written by 10 authors from Russia, Germany, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan on Central Asian and the Caucasus cults of the saints as well as on some Sufi brotherhoods widespread in these regions (the Naqshbandiya, the Khalidiya, the Yasaviya). Among authors of the book are: S.N. Abashin, V.O. Bobrovnikov, V.L. Ogudin, A.O. Bulatov, A.K. Muminov, R.I. Seferbekov, B.M. Babajanov, M. Kemper, M. Yu. Roshchin and Z.Z. Zhandarbek.

PERIODICALS

Issledovaniya po iranskoi filologii (Researches On The Iranian Philology). Fascicle 3, Moscow, 2001, 186 pages.

This is a very rare and quite interesting periodical of the collected articles on phonetics, grammar, phraseology and history of Iranian languages (Farsi, Dari, Pashto), as well as on the history of the Persian literature and culture, which are contributed to the volume by twelve Moscow Iranists. Among them are: Vladimir B. Ivanov, A.A. Kerimov, G.A. Kogan, A.V. Lushnikova, E.K. Molchanova, B. Ya. Ostrovskii, Yu. N. Panova, M.L. Reisner, Yu. A. Rubinchik, O.A. Khadartsev, D.I. Edelman and Durri Jahangir.

Zapiski Vostochnogo otdeleniya Rossiiskogo Archeologicheskogo obshchestva (ZVORAO) (Memoirs of The Oriental Department of The Russian Archeological Society), New Series 1 (26), St. Petersburg, 2002.

This periodical, founded in 1886 by the academician Victor R. Rozen, was discontinued in 1921 after vol. 25. About forty authors have contributed to the present revitalized edition, which contains six main

sections: "Articles and Notes"; "Outstanding Russian Orientalists"; "Scientific life"; "The CIS scientific space"; "Personalia"; and "New books" (revues and annotations). Nearly every contribution is accompanied by a summary in English. The following articles are concerned with Iranian studies:

(i) Articles and Notes: O.F. Akimushkin, "The *Hasanāt al-abrār* of the Shaikh Mohammad-Morād Kashmiri, a Rare Late seventeenth-century Hagiography of the Naqshbandiya-Mojaddediyya Brotherhood"; A.A. Ambartsumian, "An ethnonym 'Hyaona' in the Avesta"; A.I. Kolesnikov, "The Studies on Middle-Iranian numismatics in the 19th century"; B. D. Kochnev, "Who was the conqueror of Buqa-Budrach: From Qara-khanid history"; B.A. Litvinsky (Moscow), "The hunting Bactrians"; E.V. Rtveladze, "On the division into periods of the history of coin circulation in the Middle Asian Two-River area in Antiquity"

(ii) Outstanding Russian Orientalists: N. Ye. Vasil'eva (Sankt-Petersburg), "Viktor Ivanovich Rozen as a founder of the School of Oriental Studies in Russia"; N.A. Lazarevskaya, "Nikolai Ivanovich Veselovsky as an explorer of Middle Asia (according to data from the Photo Archives of the Institute of the History of Material Culture of the Russian Academy of Sciences)"; V.M. Masson, "Iosif Abgarovich Orbeli and archaeology"; V.A. Yakobson, "Igor' Mikhailovich D'iakonov as a historian"

(iii) Scientific life: D. Abdulloev, "The international conference devoted to the 1100th anniversary of the formation of the Samanid state"; V.M. Masson, V.P. Nikonorov, "The international conference 'The Cultural Heritage of the East'"

(iv) The CIS scientific space: A. Ashirov, "The Turkmenbashi National Institute of manuscripts of Turkmenistan"; G. Ismailzade, "The Khazar University: A new institution of higher education in Azerbaijan"

Peterburgskoe Vostokovedenie (St. Petersburg journal of Oriental Studies) 10, 2002, 624 pages.

Articles related to Iranian studies are: Vladimir V. Kushev on *Dastār-nāma* by Khushhāl Khan Khatak, Jalile Jalil on a Kurdish version of the Sufi legend about Ebrāhim Adham, Sebastian Günther on Abu Solaymān Khattabi Bosti, Sergey R. Turkin on a report by Ja'far Tabrizi regarding the name of the Timurid prince Bāysonqor b. Shāhrokh [b. Timur], G.F. Blagoeva on the Russian Academician A.N. Samoilovich, Oleg F. Akimushkin on an autobiographical essay by Vladimir A. Ivanov (1886-1970), as well as the latter's personal unpublished auto-biographical note sent by him to Oleg F. Akimushkin in January 1966. [as material for his

own future obituary] This note is supplied with a list of Ivanow's publications up to 1 January 1962, which was prepared by the author himself.

Islam na territorii byvshei Rossiiskoi imperii: Encyclopedicheskii slovar' (Islam on the territory of the former Russian Empire: Encyclopedic lexicon), facs. 4, ed. S.M. Prozorov. Moscow, 2003.

This fascicle contains 85 articles (52 on Central Asia, 20 on Central-European part of Russia, 13 on Northern Caucasus) by 41 contributors from 10 countries, and it is supplied with several indices, tables, lists of authors and articles (in Russian and English) and colored illustrations.

O.V. Vasil'eva, ed., *Vostochnyi Sbornik* (Oriental book of the collected articles), St. Petersburg, 2003, 348 pages.

This is the sixth fascicle published by scholars working at the Russian National Library on texts and manuscripts, sources and history. The previous fascicles were published in 1926, 1957, 1972, 1990 and 1993. This one is dedicated to the outstanding late scholar Galina I. Kostygova (1926-99) and contains five sections:

(i) "From the history of collections": This section of four articles describes the manuscript collection of A. Firkovich (1787-1874).

(ii) "History and sources": Also of four articles dealing with different documents and manuscripts kept at the The Russian National Library. Three of them are certainly of interest to Iranian studies: "The 19th-century documents from the upper reaches of the Zarafshān River" by O.M. Yastrebova, "The Uzbek translations of the autobiographical writings of Amir Timur in the St. Petersburg collections" by X.N. Bababekov, and "Mauscripts of *Āyna-ye haqq-nemā* belonging to H. Xavier in the St. Petersburg collections" by A.D. Pritula.

(iii) "Problems of the Oriental codicology": A section of five articles devoted entirely to bindings and illumination of the Persian, Arabic and Ethiopian manuscripts. One article, "A bibliography of Oriental binding" by I.V. Abramenko and O.M. Yastrebova, mentions 361 lists of titles (33 of which are in Russian) of the work and research done so far in this field. The contributors are said to have checked *de visu* all editions kept in The Russian National Library, the Institute of Oriental Studies, the Hermitage, and St. Petersburg University, and used the database belonging to O.F. Akimushkin as well as K.A.C. Creswell's *A Bibliography Of The Architecture, Arts And Crafts Of Islam* (London, 1961).

(iv) "Russia and the Orient": One of the three contributions in this section, "M.A. Gamazov: Orientalist, diplomat, literator," by D.O.

Vasil'eva, presents a rather famous Russian diplomat, Gamazov (1811-93), who was Nāser al-Din Shah's interpreter when the latter visited Russia in 1873 and 1878. He also published translation of a chapter from the Persian translation of Sir John Malcolm's *The History of Persia*. His translation of poems by Sa'di, Hāfez, Ferdowsi, Khayyām, however, remains unpublished. The article is mostly based on the materials from Gamazov's personal archive.

(v) "Orientalists at The Russian National Library": This section is totally devoted to Galina I. Kostygova, an outstanding Russian Iranist, who specialized in manuscriptology and Persian calligraphy, and, in 1989, published the catalogue of the Persian and Tajik manuscripts (1,369 entries) kept in RNL.

V.S. Rastorgueva and D.I. Edelman, *Etimologicheskii slovar' iranskikh yazykov (Etymological Dictionary Of The Iranian Languages)*, vol. 2 (b–d), Moscow, 2003, 502 pages.

In the Iranian linguistics, the Dictionary is the first systematized fund of etymologies of original (non-borrowed) words of all known Iranian languages, including both extinct languages (known only from epigraphic sources) and modern ones spoken in Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Russia and other countries. The Dictionary is compiled according to the root-principle. Every lexical entry of the Dictionary includes information on the most archaic reconstructed Proto-Iranian prototype, its pre-history and its reflexes in the Iranian languages – old and modern. The first volume of the Dictionary was published in 2000.

TRANSLATION INTO RUSSIAN

Srednevekovye azerbajjanskije traktaty po meditsine (The Medieval Azarbaijan Treatises on Medicine: Muhammad Yusuf Shirwani. Tibb-nama; Muhammad Mu'min. Tuhfat al-Mu'minin). Preface, trans., comment and index of the Latin and Russian names of plants by A. Farzaliev and F. Alekperov, St. Petersburg, 2002, 212 pages.

One should take into consideration that due to specific features of the Russian book market, some of the books published on Iranian studies in Russia in 2002-03, remained beyond the field of vision of the author of this review. These will hopefully be included in next year's survey.

وضعیت نشر کتاب های علوم انسانی سال ۱۳۸۲ در ایران

رضا نجفی

الف- آمار و چشم اندازهای کلی

کل کتابهای منتشره سال ۱۳۸۲ در ایران بنابر آمار مراجع رسمی ۳۶۴۶۲ عنوان بوده است. کتابهای منتشره سال ۱۳۸۲ در شمارگان (=تیراژ) کل ۱۷۴۵۱۲۲۰ نسخه وارد بازار کتاب شده اند و شمارگان متوسط هر عنوان ۴۸۶۴ جلد بوده است. هر کتاب به طور میانگین در ۲۵۳ صفحه چاپ شده است. از این میان در مجموع ۲۰۲۹۶ عنوان (۵۶٪ از مجموع کتابهای چاپ سال ۱۳۸۲) چاپ نخست و ۱۶۱۶۶ عنوان (۴۴٪) چاپ مجدد بوده اند. همچنین ۲۲۱۲۲ عنوان (۷۷٪ کل کتابهای منتشره این سال) تا لیف و ۸۳۴۰ عنوان (۲۳٪) ترجمه شمرده شده اند. قابل ذکر است که ۵۵۴۹ عنوان (۱۵٪ کل آثار منتشره این سال) کتب کودکان و نوجوانان و ۵۰۷۸ عنوان (۱۳٪) کتابهای درسی و آموزشی به شمار می آیند. در این مدت بیشترین کتابها از لحاظ موضوعی در حوزه دین (اندکی بیش از ۲۰٪ کل آثار) و سپس در حوزه ادبیات (حدود ۲۰٪ از کل آثار منتشره سال ۱۳۸۲) منتشر شده اند. گفتنی است که پس از این دو موضوع؛ علوم عملی (۱۴٪)، علوم اجتماعی (۱۱٪)، علوم طبیعی و ریاضیاتی (۹٪)، زبان (۸٪)، هنر (۵٪)، تاریخ و جغرافی (۵٪)، کلیات (۴٪) و فلسفه (۳٪) قرار گرفته اند. همچنین قابل ذکر است که آمار انتشار کتاب در این سال نسبت به سال پیش از آن ۲٪ رشد نشان می دهد.

سرانجام در اشاره به آسیب شناسی این آمار باید متذکر شد اگر شمارگان آثاری همچون دیوان اشعار شاعرانی چون حافظ و مولانا، آثاری همچون قران و نهج البلاغه، کتب آموزشی و کمک درسی و سر آخر کتب مورد حمایت نهادهای دولتی را از این آمار جدا کنیم، میانگین شمارگان آثار به جا مانده زیر سه هزار نسخه خواهد بود. به عبارتی شمارگان کتاب نسبت به سی سال گذشته تغییر چندانی نداشته است. در عوض تعداد و تنوع عناوین بویژه در حوزه کتب علوم انسانی چشمگیر است.

ب- نگاهی به وضعیت کتب علوم اجتماعی، تاریخ، سیاست، فلسفه و دیگر شاخه های مربوطه

حتی اگر از انبوه آثار ترجمه ای چشم پوشی کنیم، در میان آثار تالیفی سال ۱۳۸۲ نیز مضامینی همچون جهانی شدن، مدرنیسم و پست مدرنیسم، فمینیسم و بحثهایی درباره دموکراسی و استبداد، جایگاه مهمی را به خود اختصاص داده اند. از جمله آثاری که در این سال با محوریت مضامین یاد شده منتشر شدند، می توان چنین نام برد: جهانی شدن؛ پانزده گفتگو با اندیشمندان امروز جهان (رامین جهانگیرلو، نشر مرکز) رویکردهای نظری در گفتگوی تمدنها؛ هانتینگتون، فوکویاما، خاتمی و هابرماس (محمد منصورنژاد، پژوهشده علوم

انسانی و اجتماعی)، گفتگوی تمدنها از منظر اندیشمندان ایرانی (محمد منصورنژاد- پژوهشکده علوم انسانی و اجتماعی) ، جهانی شدن و دین: فرصتها و چالشها (دبیر خانه دین پژوهان کشور)، جهانی شدن و دین: جهان گرایی و جهانی سازی (دبیر خانه دین پژوهان کشور)، آموزش و پرورش در شرایط پست مدرن (محمد آهنگیان- انتشارات طهوری)، مبانی فلسفی فمینیسم (خسرو باقری- وزارت علوم) جهانی شدن و پیامدهای آن برای ایران (بهرام نوازانی) و....

البته اشاره به این آثار به معنای باور به کیفیت همه آن آثار نیست بلکه اشاره به رواج این موضوعان دارد. همچنین می باید اشاره کرد که کماکان آثار ارزشمند و تأثیرگذار در این باره بیشتر آثار ترجمه ای شمرده می شوند. به هر حال از دیگر آثار تالیفی منتشره در این حوزه که گاه می توان آنها را طبقه بندیهای دیگری نیز گنجاند، می توان به مشروطه ایرانی (ماشاالله آجودانی- نشر اختران) ، جامعه شناسی توسعه فرهنگی (فیروز راد- انتشارات چاپخش) ، آزادی اندیشه و بیان (ناصر کاتوزیان- انتشارات دانشگاه تهران) ، درآمدی بر ارتباطات سنتی در ایران (محمد باقر فرقانی- مرکز مطالعات و تحقیقات رسانه ها) ، داریوش شایگان و بحران معنویت سنتی (علی اصغر حقدار کویر) و.... اشاره کرد. همچنین کتاب زبان مخفی (سید مهدی سماعتی- نشر مرکز) که اثری جامعه شناختی در حوزه زبان غیر رسمی جامعه تلقی می شود و بی شباهت به کتاب کوچه احمد شاملو نیست، برخی مخالفتهای سیاسی را نیز برانگیخت. در شاخه حقوق ، دکتر ناصر کاتوزیان مانند گذشته فعال بود و شماری از آثار خود را به تجدید چاپ سپرد. گرچه اغلب آثار او جنبه آموزشی و دانشگاهی داشت. از دیگر آثار مربوط به این حوزه به این موارد می توان اشاره کرد: حقوق اساسی و شرح و نقد قانون اساسی ایران (علی یار ارشدی- انتشارات سرمد) ، ضمانت در حقوق ایران (علی رضا ستوده- انتشارات بهرامی) ، حقوق بین الملل عمومی (حسن حبیبی- اطلاعات) و....

در شاخه ارتباطات نیز در سال ۱۳۸۲ شاهد چاپ این آثار بودیم: ایران ۷۹ در آیین مطبوعات (محمود مصور رحمانی- نشر گوینده) ، قانون مطبوعات و سیر تحول آن در حقوق ایران (محسن اسماعیلی - سروش) ، مطبوعات اسلامی یکصد سال اخیر ایران (موسسه اطلاع رسانی اسلامی مرجع) ، خبر نویسی مدرن (یونس شکر خواه- خجسته) و....

در شاخه سیاست آثار افزونتری به چاپ رسیده اند که برخی از آنها به تاریخ شفاهی نظر دارند. از این جمله رجال عصر پهلوی (حسن طباطبایی- نشر آبی) است که در واقع آن را باید جلد دوم خاطرات پراکنده رجال پهلوی شمرد. همچنین آثاری مانند تاریخ شفاهی نشر ایران و تاریخ شفاهی مطبوعات ایران نیز قابل ذکرند. از دیگر کتب سیاسی سال ۱۳۸۲ به این آثار نیز باید اشاره کرد: انقلاب آرام: درآمدی بر تحول فرهنگ سیاسی در ایران معاصر (محمد رضا شریف- نشر روزنه)، مصدق ومسائل حقوق و سیاست (ایرج افشار) ، نقادی قدرت: موانع ساختاری استقرار دموکراسی در ایران (تقی رحمانی- نشر سراسی) ، محاکمات سیاسی در ایران ۱۳۳۳-۱۳۵۲ (بهرروز طیرانی- نشر علم) ، ایران ، جدال نفت و نقش قوام السلطنه (فضل الله منوچهری- نشر آبی) ، مبانی اندیشه های سیاسی در ایران و جهان اسلام (علی اصغر حلبی- زوار) ، مراتب ظهور فلسفه سیاست در تمدن اسلامی (موسی نجفی- دانش و اندیشه معاصر) ، پنج گفتگو: تجدد، روشنفکران، تمدن ایرانی ، مشارکت ، دین ، جامعه مدنی ، (چنگیز پهلوان- عطایی) ، وداع با دوم خرداد (صادق زیبا کلام- روزنه) ، دین ، قدرت ، ثروت: محاکمه و دفاعیات (هاشم آغاچری- موسسه نشر و تحقیقات ذکر) ، سیاست ،

محراب و خوارج (مصطفی تاج زاده-موسسه نشر و تحقیقات ذکر) ، رقابتهای سیاسی و امنیت ملی (محمد رضا تاجیک-نشر نی) ، جستارهایی در باره تنوری توطنه در ایران (پروانه آبراهامیان ، احمد اشرف و محمد علی همایون کاتوزیان) ، اصلا حات در برابر اصلاحات (سعید حجاریان ، عباس عبدی ، مصطفی تاج زاده ، حمید رضا جلالی پور ، علی رضا علوی تبار-طرح نو) ، راه دراز گذار (محمد مهدی فرقانی-فرهنگ و اندیشه) و.....

از دیگر آثار مورد بحث در حوزه جامعه شناسی که به نوعی جلب توجه کرده اند، چند نمونه دیگر را نیز می توان بر شمرد: جامعه ایلی در ایران (علی بلوکیاشی-نشر پژوهشهای فرهنگی) ، جامعه شناسی شهری (رسول بانی-سمت) ، حقوق و جامعه (پرویز صانعی- طرح نو) ، مشارکت اجتماعی در ایران (منوچهر محسنی- آرون) ، جامعه شناسی روستایی (علی اکبر نیک خلق- چاپخش) ، با گذشت روزگاران (سید جعفر ادیب مجابی-ادیب) ، در پی آن حکایتها (احسان نراقی-حکایت قلم نوین) ، نگاهی به جامعه شناسی خانواده: در ایران و کشورهای دیگر (باقر ساروخانی-سروش) و.....

در شاخه تاریخ نیز در سال ۱۳۸۲ شاهد به بازار آمدن جلد پنجم تاریخ و فرهنگ ایران در دوره انتقال از عصر ساسانی به عصر اسلامی با عنوان نظام دیوانی یا سازمان مالی (محمد محمدی-توس) ، جلد دهم تاریخ اجتماعی ایران با عنوان تاریخ فلسفه و سیر تکامل علوم و افکار در ایران (مرتضی راوندی-نگاه) ، زندگینامه عبدالحسین فرمانفرما (توس با ویرایش جدید) ، زن در تاریخ ایران (حوریه سعیدی- برگ زیتون) و.....

همچنین سال ۱۳۸۲ سال چاپ و نشر فزونتر فرهنگها و دایرةالمعارفها بود که از آن جمله می توان به چاپ مجلدات دیگری از دایرة المعارف تشیع ، دانشنامه جهان اسلام ، فرهنگ آثار ، دایرةالمعارف ادبیات کودکان و نوجوانان ، فهرست واره کتب فارسی و نیز انتشار فرهنگ سخن ، فرهنگ پژوهشگران معاصر ایران (هوشنگ اتحاد- فرهنگ معاصر) ، دانشنامه ایران شناسی (مجتبی انوار- ستاوند یزد) ، دانشنامه ادب فارسی و.... اشاره کرد.

سرانجام در حوزه فلسفه می باید خاطر نشان کرد که به رغم وجود عناوین فراوان در این باره کمتر شاهد آثار تالیفی در سال ۱۳۸۲ بوده ایم. در این سال به رغم ترجمه آثار فراوانی از نیچه ، هایدگر ، لیوتار ، فوکو ، هابرماس ، دلوز و دیگران آثار اندکی را در بخش تالیف می توانیم دید. از جمله از ارسطو تا گودل: مجموعه مقالات فلسفی- منطقی ضیا موحد (هرمس) ، گستره اسطوره (محمد رضا ارشاد- هرمس) ، تأملات هگلی: درسهایی در باره پدیدار شناسی ذهن هگل (رامین جهانبگلو- نشر نی) ، جاودان خرد (مجموعه مقالات سید حسین نصر در دهه های چهل و پنجاه) و..... اشاره کرد.

پـنـگـاهـی به وضعیت کتابهای حوزه الهیات و ادیان

در آغاز می باید خاطر نشان کرد که رتبه و شمارگان آثار این حوزه نه نشان دهنده نیاز و تقاضای واقعی جامعه بلکه تا اندازه ای بر آمده از حمایتها و سوبسیدهای نهادهای دولتی است و رشد آماری آن در واقع کاذب شمرده می شود. گفتنی است که ۹۰٪ کل کتابهای مذهبی کشور در شهر قم منتشر می شود که از آن میان می توان به چاپ سالانه یک میلیون جلد قرآن اشاره کرد. به عبارت دیگر سالانه هفده میلیون نسخه

کتاب در شهر چاپ می شود که تنها 2% آنها را موضوعات غیر دینی تشکیل می دهد. همچنین باید اشاره کرد که در سال گذشته به رغم برپایی نمایشگاه های گوناگون سراسری و استانی در حوزه های چون کتب قرآنی و کتب ولایت و به رغم خرید پیش خرید، ارائه وامها، سوبسیدها و رانتهای گوناگون، این کتب به دشواری از کتابهای ادبی پیشی گرفتند.

با این حال آنچه در این حوزه قابل ذکر است رویکرد به ترجمه و تالیف آثاری در باره ادیان دیگر به ویژه مسیحیت و آیین یهود است که در دو سال اخیر شدت گرفته است. بی شک ترجمه آثاری تخصصی همچون فلسفه اخلاق در آیین پروتستان، متافیزیک بنو نتیوس، سه ترجمه از اعترافات آگوستین، کتب قانون ثانی عهد عتیق و... نشان از اشتیاقی جدید به پژوهش در باره ادیان دیگر دارد. اما جدا از آثار ترجمه ای و تالیفات مقدماتی، آثار قابل اعتنا اغلب میان رشته ای شمرده می شوند، به این معنا که در دیگر گروه ها نیز قابل ذکرند. برای نمونه تاریخ نهضت های دینی-سیاسی معاصر (علی اصغر حلبی- زوار)، آیین دادرسی در اسلام (محمد سنگلجی با تصحیح محمد رضا بندرچی- حدیث امروز)، جنبش های اسلامی معاصر (احمد موتقی- سمت)، زندگی سیاسی و فرهنگی شیعیان بغداد (حسین موسوی- بوستان کتاب)، در آمدی بر حقوق اسلامی تطبیقی (عباس علی عمید زنجانی - میزان)، اسلام و دموکراسی (سید طه هاشمی - زیبا)، نقش اسلام در توسعه حقوق بین الملل (عبدالحکیم سلیمی - موسسه آموزشی پژوهشی امام خمینی) و.... در برخی کتابشناسیها ممکن است آثاری در حوزه سیاست، حقوق، تاریخ، جامعه شناسی و.... قلمداد شوند.

از اندک موارد غیر میان رشته ای موفق می توان از آیین هندو و عرفان اسلامی (بر اساس مجمع البحرین دارلشکوه) نوشته داریوش شایگان نام برد. از دیگر آثار دینی بحث بر انگیز سال ۱۳۸۲ می باید به گفتمانهای دینی معاصر اثر عمادالدین باقی (نشر سراسی) اشاره کرد. برخی دیگر از عناوین آثار دینی سال ۱۳۸۲ عبارتند از: تاریخ اسلام (مجموعه مقالاتی از صادق آینه وند- دفتر نشر معارف)، تشیع و روند گسترش آن در ایران (علی شیر خانی- دفتر نشر معارف)، شیعه در ایران (حسین یحیایی - دو دبیر) و تاریخ فرق اسلامی و مذاهب کلامی (غلام علی آریا - پایا).

همچنین به نظر می رسد در این سال رویکرد به منابع مرجع فزونی گرفته باشد. جدا از ادامه انتشار دایرة المعارفهای تشیع و جهان اسلام آثاری چون کتابنامه بزرگ قرآن کریم (مجلدات پانزده و شانزده)، فهرستنامه قرآن کریم (پرویز محمدی - همای رحمت)، کتابشناسی جهانی علوم قرآنی (نشر پارسا)، فرهنگ اصطلاحات عرفان اسلامی (بامقدمه سید حسین نصر- دفتر پژوهش و نشر سرور دی) و.... نیز از آثار منتشره این سال بودند.

ت - نگاهی به وضعیت کتابهای ادبی سال ۱۳۸۲

پس از یک دوره کوتاه خلق چند رمان خوب در چند سال پیش، سال ۱۳۸۲ سال بی برگ و باری در حوزه رمان شمرده می شود. به این رغم از نشانه های مثبت در ادبیات داستانی این سال گرایش فزونتر به تنوع در سبک و پرداختن به مضامین اجتماعی، پس از یک دوره فرم گرایی افراطی و نگاه به شدت تیره و تلخ است. در همین باره می توان به فعال تر شدن نویسندگان زن و پرداختن آنان به مسائل زنان ایرانی اشاره کرد. گفتنی است که شمار بی سابقه ای از برندگان جوایز ادبی سال

۱۳۸۲ را زنان تشکیل می دهند و رواج مضامین فمینیستی در آثار ادبی ایران هرگز تا این حد گسترده نبوده است. نکته دیگر توجه فزاینده به مباحث و دانش نظری در حوزه نقد ادبی در برابر افول نسبی ادبیات داستانی و حتی شعر است. همان گونه که افول شعر و رواج ادبیات منثور در دهه هفتاد را باید نشان گذر خواننده ایرانی از احساس گرایی به خرد گرایی شمرد، توجه بیشتر به مباحث نظری می تواند مثبت شمرده شود. البته شمار اعظم آثار منتشره در این زمینه ترجمه شمرده می شوند اما از جمله آثار تالیفی ۱۳۸۲ در این حوزه را چنین می توان نام برد: نظریه تاریخ ادبیات (محمود فتوحی - ناژ)، 'گفتمان نقد (حسین پاینده - روزگار)، 'نقد روان شناختی متن ادبی (محمد تقی غیاثی - نگاه)، 'ساخت شکنی در فرایند تحلیل ادبی (نصر الله امامی - ریش)، 'سیری در دنیای داستان و داستان نویسان (محمد رحمانی خیوایی - همدان) و.....

البته در این سال نویسندگان که قبل از این آثار موفقانه ارائه داده بودند، رمانها و مجموعه هایی جدید عرضه کردند که توفیق گذشته را نتوانستند احیا کنند، از جمله: ویران می آیی (حسین سنا پور)، 'رود راوی (ابوتراب خسروی)، 'کافه نادری (رضا قیصریه)، 'سوک سیاوش (پری صابری)، 'پیچک باغ کاغذی (مهدی سبحانی)، 'نام ها و سایه ها (محمد رحیم اخوت) و دختران دلریز (داوود غفار زادگان)

گفتنی است که در این سال چند منتقد ادبی بخت خود را در حوزه رمان و داستان کوتاه آزمودند که به پایه نقدهای آنان نبود. در این باره به سه نمونه می توان اشاره کرد: تشییع جنازه یک زنده به گور (فتح الله بی نیاز)، 'راز اشکهای کریستالی (حسن اصغری) و سهامت درد (محمد رضا گودرزی).

با این حال در این سال یزدان سلحشور نویسنده جوان و آوانگارد ایرانی مجموعه داستان خود به نام دارم احتجاب را زنده می کنم را منتشر کرد که بحث برانگیز بود. در دیگر حوزه های ادبی برای پایان بخشیدن به بحث می توان به شوخی های شاعران (عمران صلاحی و حسن نقره شناس)، 'در هوای مرغ آمین (گفتگوها و داستانهای سیاوش کسریایی) و کتاب شعر سپانلو با نام ژالیزیانا اشاره کرد.