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SPECIAL SECTION: SAʿDI AT LARGE

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Julia Caterina Hartley

Guest Editor's Introduction

Saʿdi at Large

This special issue of *Iranian Studies* is devoted to the dissemination of the medieval Persian poet Saʿdi's writings in Asia and Europe. Its primary focus is on translations of Saʿdi's *Golestān* into European languages, but its articles also explore comparative readings between Saʿdi and Western texts, editorial practices, and creative appropriations and rewritings. In his inaugural lecture as the Chair of Persian at the Collège de France, the nineteenth-century Orientalist Casimir Barbier de Meynard declared that "of all Oriental poets, Saʿdi is perhaps the only one who could be understood in Europe, the only one who could maintain a part of the popularity that he enjoys among his Muslim readers."[1] Barbier de Meynard praised the wisdom, charm, and wit of Saʿdi's narration and the "indulgente raillerie" (indulgent mockery) with which he censures human error and vice. These qualities, Barbier de Meynard suggested, make Saʿdi stand out from other Persian poets and resemble Western authors such as Horace, Ovid, Rabelais, and La Fontaine.[2] As well as being compared to these authors, Saʿdi is described as corresponding to "modern aesthetics," particularly in the *Golestān*.[3] Barbier de Meynard's introduction picks up on features of Saʿdi's reception outside of Iran that go beyond nineteenth-century France. The

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[1]"De tous les poètes orientaux, Saadi est peut-être le seul qui puisse être compris en Europe, le seul qui puisse y conserver en partie la popularité dont il jouit chez les lecteurs musulmans." Barbier de Meynard, *La Poésie en Perse*, 47.
[2]Ibid., 48.
[3]Ibid., 47.

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first feature is Saʿdi's popularity abroad: the *Golestān* has historically been the most widely translated and circulated work of Persian literature.[4] The second feature is the universality of Saʿdi's wisdom and the fact that this wisdom is carried across through humor, an aspect of Saʿdi's work that Barbier de Meynard captures with the lively semi-paradox "indulgent mockery." The third feature is the availability of parallels between Saʿdi's work and European culture: this is brought across through references to the contemporary ("l'esthétique moderne"), as well as to the past through the naming of classical and Renaissance authors. These three features will be a recurring thread in this volume.

Barbier de Meynard describes Saʿdi as the most popular Persian author in the West, a status that is the direct result of the work of his European translators, who are active from the seventeenth century. In a recent article taking its cue from Stephen Greenblatt's observation that "[w]hen it comes to the past, the enterprise of tracking the restless and often unpredictable movements of text, ideas, and whole cultures is still at a very early stage," Elio Brancaforte has examined the seventeenth-century French, Latin, and German translations of the *Golestān* that made Saʿdi's name familiar to the European literary public of the Enlightenment.[5] The volume goes further down this path by analyzing editions and translations of his writings produced across the world, including France, Germany, India, and Turkey, between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries. The contributions by Pegah Shahbaz, Mateusz M. Kłagisz and Renata Rusek-Kowalska, Nina Zandjani, and myself explore the different strategies used in four English, two Polish, three German, and two French translations of the *Golestān* ranging from the seventeenth century to the present day, which are in some cases being compared for the first time. Balafrej's article studies two compilations drawn from Saʿdi's *Bustān* showing the role played by editors in shaping the reading public's understanding of Saʿdi through processes of elision and re-sequencing. The sheer variety of these sources confirms the status of the writings of Saʿdi as the most travelled Persian texts and also remind us that far more work waits to be carried out in this area. For this reason the special issue includes an annotated bibliography on Saʿdi in European languages and literatures with the aim of encouraging and assisting future scholars working in this area.

The second and third features identified by Barbier de Meynard, universality and comparability, recur explicitly in the paratexts of translations and are implicit in creative appropriations. For example, the *Golestān*'s nineteenth-century Polish translator Wojciech Biberstein-Kazimirski described "the spiritual and intellectual vicinity of the work conceived in the Muslim world, foreign in appearance, but familiar in substance" and compared it to Dante's *Divine Comedy* as a medieval work that remained highly readable for modern audiences (Kłagisz and Rusek-Kowalska). The contemporary German translator Kathleen Göpel similarly argues that she was motivated to translate the *Golestān* because it was "based on profound wisdom and immense

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[4] See Lewis, "Golestān-e Saʿdi."

[5] Brancaforte, "Persian Words of Wisdom Travel to the West"; Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: An Introduction," 7.

insight into human nature, without losing any of its actuality, validity, or fascination over the centuries" (Zandjani). And creative appropriations such as those of Voltaire (Whiskin) and Marceline Desbordes-Valmore (Hartley) are made possible by the continuities that these authors perceived between themselves and the medieval Persian poet: Voltaire identified with Saʿdi's irreverence towards power and the religious tolerance that travel writers claimed characterized Iran, and Desbordes-Valmore identified with his meditations on the limits of poetic language. Daniela Meneghini goes a step further by formulating her own original analogy between Saʿdi's *Golestān* and a work of Western literature: Bono Giamboni's *Libro de' vizî e delle virtudi*. Her comparative reading shows how these contemporary works written in different religious contexts both emphasize the importance of the virtue of temperance, but with notable differences between the two authors' treatments of the relationship between the individual and the general, and the importance of the afterworld in choosing a virtuous life on earth.

As well as being of interest in their own right, the receptions of Saʿdi explored in this volume also raise wider issues pertaining to the cross-cultural circulation of literature. Describing Saʿdi's status abroad confronts us with a specific set of issues. It makes us re-evaluate the merits and limitations of the translation strategies known as "domestication" and "foreignization."[6] It brings us to question and to stretch critical concepts such as intertextuality and literary influence, since these terms are typically used to describe the relationships between texts belonging to one language, tradition, or culture. And it confronts us with the issue of perceptions of Iran abroad and how these have evolved over time. It has indeed been noted by John Yohannan that European perceptions of Saʿdi have been radically different depending on current perceptions of the nation state and the status of international relations: for the Enlightenment philosophers, the *Golestān* was evidence that despite the variety of customs and traditions that differentiate different regions, underneath this surface man was the same everywhere and had always benefited from the pursuit of reason, but for British colonialists, the *Golestān* was a text that should be studied in order to better understand the differences between Westerners and so-called Orientals.[7] The contributions by Whiskin and Shahbaz explore the counter-examples chosen by Yohannan, revealing their complexity: the Enlightenment philosopher Voltaire did identify with Saʿdi, but he also exoticized him through the hyperbolic and over-ornate use of language used in the preface to *Zadig*. And Shahbaz demonstrates that the central place held by the *Golestān* in the syllabus aimed at East India Company officers was determined by the Indian *monshi*s, who considered its emulation to be a necessary exercise in acquiring the Persian epistolary style.

The volume shows that the dilemma between presenting Saʿdi in terms of his similarity or difference is a persistent one. Saʿdi is mainly known today for his universalism, most famously exemplified by the verses found adorning the United Nations, which describe the whole of humankind as one body. In Homa Katouzian's words:

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[6]Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*.
[7]Yohannan, *The Poet Saʿdi*, 1–5.

> His *Golestan* and *Bustan* contain much about timeless good and bad life that makes them relevant to any time and place where questions about moral beliefs, personal conduct and social behavior make up an important part of the intellectual discourse.[8]

But his *hekāyāt*, with their Asian settings and stock characters such as kings and dervishes, are also deeply situated. The relatable nature of Saʿdi's stories and the exotic color of their distant setting have historically been equally strong points of attraction for his Western readers. As a result, several of the translations cited in this volume feature both elements of domestication and elements of foreignization, demonstrating that these approaches are not mutually exclusive. The volume also contains three important case studies of translation as a site of intercultural mediation. Shahbaz shows the essential role played by the Indian *monshi*s who personally assisted British officials in translating the *Golestān*: these translations would not have been possible without this collaboration, though this was of course an exploitative relationship since the *monshi*s most often went unacknowledged. Kłagisz and Rusek-Kowalska demonstrate that the first Polish translation of the *Golestān* was a translation by relay based on a Turkish translation, likely completed while its author was posted in Istanbul. Ottoman Turkey was thus an intermediary space, geographically closer to Europe and culturally Islamic and Persian-speaking. Zandjani, finally, explains that Kathleen Göpel's 1997 German translation is by relay based on the Afghan translator Omar Ali-Shah's English translation and proof-read by Ali-Shah himself. These cases show translation between Persian and European languages as a dynamic relationship that involves other players beyond the author of the original text and the named author of its translation, and this seems to have remained the case from the seventeenth century to the present day.

The volume overall aims to exemplify an approach to world literature which remains aware of issues of translation and mediation, and thus does not fall into the pitfalls persuasively and pugnaciously outlined by Emily Apter in *Against World Literature: On the Politics of Untranslatability*.[9] Texts travel across languages and cultures and have done so for a long time, but it is important to analyze the specifics of such cultural transfers. Voltaire may claim to have "translated Saʿdi," yet, as shown by Whiskin, this means something very different in his case than it does for the translators studied by Kłagisz and Rusek-Kowalska, Shahbaz, and Zandjani. The compilations studied by Balafrej may not be acts of translation in so far as they are in Persian, but they are certainly acts of interpretation in so far as they redeploy the text in a determinedly different manner. Finally, Meneghini's contribution exemplifies

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[8]Katouzian, *Saʿdi: The Poet of Life, Love and Compassion*, 145.

[9]The two pitfalls that Apter has identified in North American world literature syllabi are, on the one hand, the presentation of literature in universal terms which assume cultural equivalence and ignore the mediating effects of translation and, on the other hand, "the celebration of nationally and ethnically branded 'differences' that have been niche-marked as commercialized 'identities'." Apter, *Against World Literature*,5.

the value of comparative approaches to Christian and Islamic texts: by exploring their continuities and differences we can highlight new features in both, while respecting their cultural specificity.

Edward Said in 1978 presented Western interest in Asian languages and cultures as tainted by colonial ambitions and inevitably characterized by a hierarchical belief in the superiority of European civilization. *Orientalism* had a field-changing impact: it brought a critical self-awareness to Western scholarship and enabled the development of postcolonial studies as an academic discipline, creating entire sub-fields such as Francophone studies. But it also tainted the entirety of European literary engagements with Asia and North Africa, making them seem an inherently suspect topic for academic research. Forty years later it appears that enough time has passed for scholars to return to the subject and bring new perspectives to it. 2018 alone saw the publication of Alexander Bevilacqua's *The Republic of Arabic Letters*, which has demonstrated that Renaissance and Enlightenment European scholars were able to view Islam in terms of its elements of commonality with Christianity as well as difference, and Faith E. Beasley's *Versailles Meets the Taj Mahal*, which has shown that the place of India in seventeenth-century French salon culture, literature, and material culture was far from being one of inferiority. Beasley suggests that cases such as these compel scholars "to dismantle a globalizing notion of 'Orient' as well as recognize that not every Eastern country elicited the same response from every Western country."[10] The special issue should thus be considered as a contribution to this growing movement towards building a more nuanced picture of the Western reception of Asian literature, showing that it is multifaceted and differs based on context. If we are to make a case for the relevance of Persian literature to the study of the global circulation of texts, then it is fitting that we should begin with Saʿdi, himself a great traveler and defender of cosmopolitanism.[11]

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[10]Beasley, *Versailles Meets the Taj Mahal*, 25.

[11]See Keshavarz, *Saʿdi on Love, Cosmopolitanism and Care of the Self*, esp. 64–74.

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Daniela Meneghini

Saʿdi-ye Shirāzi and Bono Giamboni in Dialogue: A Comparative Approach to Temperance

This article presents a study of two coeval works on morals: the first belongs to the classic Persian tradition, the Golestān *(The Rose Garden) by Saʿdi (Shirāz 1210–91 or 1292); the second,* Il libro deʾ vizî e delle virtudi *(Book of Vices and Virtues) by Bono Giamboni (Florence 1240–92), belongs to the first didactic prose in vernacular Italian. The study will specially concern the theme of temperance* قناعت *qanāʿat, central to both Islamic and Christian morals. An analysis is made of passages dedicated to this theme in both texts, also through comparative observations, in order to identify the approach characteristic to each work.*

Introduction

Every ethical doctrine is, or claims to be, an answer to moral skepticism[1] and sets out the principles of a kind of behavior which can reconcile the human quest for happiness with the norms required by community life. Two fundamentally different ways exist to establish such principles, and both have recourse to what they hold to be the essence or nature of mankind. For the first of these, such an essence or nature can only be understood in its relationship with a transcendent reality, or with God himself. For the second, human essence or nature is sufficiently defined by a characteristic feature of its own, such as sensitivity, reason, feeling, etc. The first way leads to theological ethics, the second to humanistic ethics.[2] Theological ethics falls within the context of a philosophy founded in and crowned by a theology: everything in the

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[1]The classical expression of moral skepticism is to be found in Plato's *Republic* (Book 1), where Thrasymachus claims that the morals established in a community only serve the interests of those holding power in that same community, asking why should a man be moral if immorality allows so many to obtain success and happiness at a cheap price?

[2]In the practical domain, both ethics may largely coincide, but they diverge in admitting or denying the possibility of changing the prescribed moral code.

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world has an end, and the end of all things is God; so the end of a human being is the contemplative life, which must resemble, as far as possible, the divine "life," and the "happiness" to which human beings naturally aspire consists only in this end. The means to achieve happiness are virtues, which consist in the exercise of reason. Reason may be employed to discipline the impulses of the senses and then give rise to moral virtues, such as temperance and justice; or else it may be exercised in science, art and wisdom, which are purely "intellectual" virtues.[3] Humanistic ethics is based on the needs of humankind, first of all survival. Not just biological survival: but survival of the human being as a conscious subject guided by reason and the survival of the community as peaceful coexistence and free collaboration among individuals. "Humanistic" morals take the form of norms or laws designed to govern the conduct of human beings towards themselves and others. Moral norms sanction reciprocity of behavior, according to which what is licit for one towards others, is licit to others towards them. Respect and justice thus become the fundamental conditions for individual and social life, since they prevent conflict and guarantee coexistence and collaboration. Theological ethics may in part embody humanistic ethics, but the contrary is not possible.

The texts this work is concerned with, though based on different approaches, both belong to the genre of theological ethics. Both Saʿdi and Bono Giamboni belong to a religious tradition—Islamic and Christian—which is the theoretical base (with all relevant doctrinal references) for describing the moral system outlined in their works. A comparative critical approach to ethics does not only deal with "how" moral discourses work, but also with "what means" are used to present such discourses to the public for which they were written: these will be the key points of our study. Moral (and religious) ideas, which base moral discourses, always belong to a certain time, a certain community and a certain place. However, works of this genre share a common purpose, namely, to indicate how to live a happy life, fulfill one's humanity and access a life after death, which represents a coherent realization of life on earth.

Authors and Works

Moslehoddin ʿAbdollah Saʿdi was born in Shirāz around 1210 and, under the protection of the Salghari atabeg Saʿd ben Zangi, completed his studies at the Nezāmiye in Baghdad,[4] where he stayed until 1226. After the Mongolian invasion which overthrew his patron, Saʿdi began to travel around much of the Near and Middle East, as well as in the Arabian peninsula, staying away from his native city until 1256. He finally settled down in Shirāz until his death (1291 or 1292), respected and revered by his

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[3]Thomas Aquinas confirmed Aristotle's stance, declaring that "God is the ultimate end of Man" and also setting Faith, Hope and Charity—the three theological virtues directly infused by God—as the condition for the achievement of this end (D'Aquino, *Somma contro i Gentili*, 603–7).

[4]Nezāmiye of Baghdad, established by the Seljukid Vizir Nezām al-Molk in 1065, was one of the earliest universities in the world.

fellow citizens.[5] Two works by Saʿdi belong to the genre of moral literature:[6] his most famous work, in rhymed and rhythmic prose mixed with verse, the *Golestān*[7] (1258), and the *Bustān*,[8] a *mathnavi* of 4,100 verses completed in 1257.[9] The *Golestān*,[10] on which we focus, consists of eight chapters, each of which contains a succession of anecdotes taken from different sources (ranging from exemplary events which took place in ancient Persia to traditions of the Prophet, to autobiographical or pseudo-autobiographical narratives,[11] etc.), intending to show the good and evil in human behavior.[12] Generally speaking, anecdotes are stories which have the power to burst into our lives, to catch our attention and to induce us to follow them from beginning to end, sometimes being intimately transformed by them.[13] This was Saʿdi's intention, as we shall see. Saʿdi deliberately chose to compose a moral work based on anecdotes using the *maqāmāt* genre, responding to the *adab* principle of "to educate without pulling [sic] and to instruct while entertaining";[14] he had in fact an alternative model in a literary genre widespread in the Islamic world called *al-Maḥāsin wa-l-Masāwī*, and widely used to deal with moralizing subjects, in particular debates on vices and virtues.[15]

Bono Giamboni was the dominant figure of thirteenth-century moral and allegorical treatises in the vernacular Italian of Florence. Like his father, he acted repeatedly as a judge in the civil court of the podestà of the district of Por San Piero in Florence, an activity documented, with different roles, from 1261 to 1291. He was also translator/vernacularizer of works in Latin[16] and the original author of two important moral treatises: *Della miseria dell'uomo*[17] (Of the Misery of Man) and *Il Libro de' Vizi e delle Virtudi* (The Book of Vices and Virtues, which we shall henceforth call the

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[5]Losensky, "Saʿdi."

[6]Here we do not take into account his lyrical works, even though moralistic contents can also be found in some of his *qasida*s. On Saʿdi's inspiration and his didactic art, see Movahhed, *Saʿdi*, 65–86 (especially from 75).

[7]Lewis, "Golestān-e Saʿdi."

[8]Wickens, "Bustān." For an English translation, see Wickens, *Morals Pointed and Tales*.

[9]Saʿdi, *Kolliyāt-e Saʿdi*, 205–26.

[10]Ibid., 13–195.

[11]"Saʿdi a fait parler à la première personne le personnage qu'il a créé dans ses deux oeuvres majeures, le sage Saʿdi. La frontière qui sépare l'auteur de son personnage est ténue mais réelle, puisqu'à n'en pas tenir compte, on risque de s'engager dans des invraisemblances"; de Fouchécour, *Moralia*, 312.

[12]On the moralizing function of the *Golestān* and *Bustān*, and the related textual devices, see de Fouchécour, *Moralia*, 315–19.

[13]See Tagliapietra, *Alfabeto delle proprietà*, 11–23.

[14]See Azarnoosh and Umar, "Adab."

[15]See Geries, *Un genre littéraire arabe*.

[16]He translated Vegetius' *Epitome de rei militari* into the Florentine vernacular, and—in an especially effective and solemn manner—Paulus Orosius' *Historiae adversus paganos* (Segre, s.v. Bono Giamboni, *Dizionario Critico della letteratura italiana*, 377–9; Foà, s.v. Giamboni, Bono (Bono di Giambono), *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. LIV, 302–4).

[17]This work is to be considered a remake of the *De miseria humanae conditionis* by Innocent III: after removing the ascetic parts, Bono transformed the Latin text into a treatise on secular morality (Giamboni, *Della miseria dell'uomo*).

Libro).[18] With the latter text, which we will compare with Saʿdi's *Golestān*, Bono Giamboni "seems to have been the first person in Italy to have conceived of creating an artistic prose which could be adapted to a context at once narrative, didactic and eloquent."[19] It was in fact the first Italian work of doctrinal prose and, according to critics, opened the way to Dante's *Convivio* and to fourteenth-century prose. Bono used a highly allegorical language to lift his text to a moralistic level suggesting a model of behavior: following the model of medieval didactic literature, the allegory of Bono is constituted by the personification of abstract entities (vices and virtues in particular, but also faith and philosophy, for example) and by the construction of a conflict between the two.[20] This vision of vices, ranked in order as an army, besieging the fortress of the human soul, dates back to the *Moralia in Iob* of Gregory the Great (about 540–604), written between 578 and 595, a text which had an enormous impact throughout the Middle Ages. It is interesting to remember that the idea of capital vices, absent in the Bible and among the early Fathers of the Church, became a long-lasting *topos* which nourished all of medieval culture, thanks to Gregory the Great. The allegory of vices and virtues, described in a great many literary works and in thousands of examples of figurative art for meditation by the illiterate too, substantially summarizes the moral teachings of the Middle Ages.[21] It is easy to recognize, at the base of this allegorical construction, the Stoic idea of morals as a battlefield (where the virtuous man is the one who has suppressed all passion) and of virtues as warriors fighting the temptation of vices leads us back to the principle of the war of the soul against evil, which of course is rooted in original sin.

Both these authors were independent personalities. Following the custom of medieval Muslim literature, Saʿdi addresses to the rulers of Shirāz several panegyrics and some passages of *captatio benevolentiae* in his moral works as well.[22] However he was never a court poet in the strict sense of the word, and the fame and authority he enjoyed allowed him to keep a profound intellectual freedom to the end. Bono Giamboni belonged to the educated bourgeoisie of communal Florence, and was able to write free from political or material pressures.

Despite their intellectual independence, it should be remembered that Saʿdi's text still belongs to the context of court literature (where the advice literature had an undisputed prestige) and its "light" structure of anecdotes with a tinge of subtle

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[18]Giamboni, *Il libro de' vizi e delle virtudi e Il trattato di virtù e di vizî*.

[19]For a detailed description of philological aspects and literary precedents of the *Libro*, see Cesare Segre's introduction to the edition of the text (Giamboni, *Libro*, XII–XXIX).

[20]"Biblical and Virgilian allegoresis meet and mingle in the Middle Ages. The result is that allegory becames the basis of all textual interpretation whatsoever. Here lie the roots of that wich may be called medieval allegorism. It finds expression not only in the 'moralizing' of Ovid and other authors through allegorical interpretation, but also in the fact that personified beings of a suprasensual nature … could became the principal personages of poetic creation: from Prudentiu's *Psychomachia* to the twelfth-century philosophical epic; from the *Romance of the Rose*, to Chaucer and Spenser and Calderon's *Autos sacramentales*." Curtius, *European Literature*, 205.

[21]See Casagrande and Vecchio, *I sette vizi capitali*, 183–6.

[22]See *Golestān*, 16–22 (several passages in the introductory part).

irony met the expectations of Persian courts of his day. Bono's text, on the other hand, belongs to the genre of medieval preaching and sermons, addressed to churches and public squares rather than to courts, whose aim was to admonish by instilling fear and to moralize through an allegorical language. The allegory responded to the hallowed medieval practice of transmitting moral and theological teachings *per visibilia ad invisibilia.*

Notwithstanding the conventions of their respective literary canons, one does find affinities between the two authors in the reasons underlying the composition of their works. Saʿdi tells us:

> I was one night meditating on the time which had elapsed, repenting of the life I had squandered and perforating the stony mansion of my heart with adamantine tears. … After maturely considering these sentiments, I thought proper to sit down in the mansion of retirement to fold up the skirts of association, to wash my tablets of heedless sayings and no more to indulge in senseless prattle.[23]

At this point, a friend appears who cheerfully invites him to conversation, but Saʿdi tells us: "I would give him no reply nor lift up my head from the knees of worship."[24] Another friend informs the one who has just arrived of the poet's decision to keep silent, but the latter objects that a tongue like Saʿdi's could never stay still in his mouth, and that to flee from relations with one's friends is both unpleasant and foolish. So finally Saʿdi is convinced to start talking again. Conversing in a garden delighted by the singing of birds and the perfume of roses, hyacinth and wild herbs, he makes his decision:

> I may compose for the amusement of those who look and for the instruction of those who are present a book of a Rose Garden, a *Golestān*, whose leaves cannot be touched by the tyranny of autumnal blasts and the delight of whose spring the vicissitudes of time will be unable to change into the inconstancy of autumn [and adds:] we have in this book recorded, by way of abridgment, some rare events, stories, poetry and accounts about ancient kings, spending a portion of our precious life in the task. This was the reason for composing the book *Golestān*; and help is from Allah.[25]

Bono Giamboni began to write the *Libro* during a very troubled night, seized by an anxiety so great as to regret having been born: "Almighty God, why did you let me into this miserable world, letting me suffer such great pain, and endure such fatigue and torment? Why did you not kill me in my mother's womb, or put me to death at

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[23]English translations of *Golestān* come from: *The Gulistan or Rose Garden*, trasl. by Rehatsek (from now on *The Gulistan*).
[24]*The Gulistan*, 63–64.
[25]*The Gulistan*, 66, 71.

the moment I was born?"[26] As he complains, "above his head there appears a figure"; it is the personification of Philosophy[27] which first gently reproves him:

> My son, it marvels me that you, though a man, behave like an animal, with your head always bent, and looking at the dark things of the earth, and hence you have fallen into a severe illness. If only you would lift up your head and look at the sky, and take into account the beautiful things of the sky, as human beings should naturally do, you would free yourself from every ill, and would see the sin you are committing with your behavior, and it would pain you.

Bono does not immediately recognize who it is that has come to succor him, and Philosophy has to convince him patiently to accept her explanations (which concern the state of humanity in this world and the loss of the goods of Fate as well as of the goods of Nature).[28] Bono responds pessimistically, raising constant objections. Finally, the author departs with Philosophy, "to go to the Virtues with which one gains Heaven." The *Libro* thus was born from Bono's unhappiness and suffering, disappointment and imperfection of his material life, and was composed to recount the steps which led him to consolidate his faith and know good and evil (or rather virtues and vices), the purpose of life and how to gain Heaven after the death of the body.

Both authors, taking their cue from an existential malaise (however conventional this motivation may be), design a work able to contribute to how humanity must behave righteously in this world, proposing two substantially didactic texts. In the case of the *Golestān*, the text makes use of rich and witty anecdotes, whereas in the *Libro* the text exploits the power of allegorical speech.[29] Both works overtly fit within the framework of their respective religious and doctrinal system, i.e. the authors are coherent, beyond doctrinal dogmas, with the codes of beliefs, body of teachings and instructions relevant to their respective religious systems. However, each freely interprets spirit and letter with shared didactic purposes.

No doubt exists that Saʿdi's work had a greater impact on the Persian literature and civilization of his day and after, than Bono's had on his. Whilst Saʿdi's fame is not only beyond dispute, but also an important element of Persian culture today, Bono has

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[26]*Libro*, 3–4. The translation is ours. The *Libro* has only been translated into French (Giamboni, *Le livre des vices et des vertus*). No English translation exists.

[27]In Bono's interpretation, Philosophy is the guide and master of Virtues, the highest expression of Reason.

[28]The goods of Fate (*Ventura*) are represented by the conditions of life in which destiny has placed human being; the goods of Nature (*Natura*) are properly the body, health, the material condition in which man lives. (*Libro*, 9–15).

[29]According to the assumption that *allegoria fidem instruit*. It should however be remembered that Bono could count on a rich repertoire of anecdotes (lives of the saints, stories from the Bible, popular tradition) represented by the medieval literature of the *exempla*, yet decided not to use it. In his day, this literature not only enjoyed enormous popularity, it was also meticulously recorded in writing, mainly for the use of preachers. Curtius, *European Literature*, 57–61.

almost been forgotten, except within specialized milieux. However, here we shall try to identify the way each approaches the theme of Temperance (crucial for both religious traditions), with respect to which the relative success of the text has no real bearing. Saʿdi, in his main works, presents under a new form the Islamic[30] and pre-Islamic traditions of Persian moralistic literature.[31] Bono, in his turn, is an interpreter and a "vernaculizer" of a religious tradition, which in the thirteenth century had accurately codified a complex system of moral values in the so-called septenarium of vices and virtues.[32] Our authors show the pulse of the moral situation of medieval Persia and thirteenth-century Europe, and may be read as a representation of the complex social framework within which they provide their guidance. In other words, their texts represent the evolution of a certain literary genre in a different linguistic and cultural context.

Temperance, قناعت qanāʿat: *definitions of a virtue*

In Saʿdi's day, Islamic morals had already been laid out in detail, and its principles were well known and widespread.[33] For a general description of the term قناعت *qanāʿat* we can begin by referring to the *Loghat-nāmeh-ye Dehkhodā*,[34] which, on the basis of the glosses of the main Persian dictionaries, provides us with this range of definitions: contentedness, being satisfied with what destiny has given us, being content, being satisfied with little; eating, drinking, dressing, etc. with simplicity; being satisfied with what is necessary; moderation; spiritual happiness for what has been given to us; considering sufficient what little a human being needs to live.

Based on the main medieval works on morals, the previous definition may be integrated as follows: when human beings are content with what little they have and feel no more avidity or desire, they are practicing the virtue of temperance (قناعت پیشگی *qanāʿat-pishegi*). Temperance is thus also defined as the opposite of avidity and desire. This virtue also implies not showing off one's poverty or the state of need in

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[30]For a review of the treatises on Islamic morals which Saʿdi could refer to, see: Ebrāhi and Torābi, "Barrasi-ye tatbiqi-ye farhang-e qanāʿat" 23–47.

[31]The most complete study of Saʿdi's work in the context of Persian moralistic literature is de Fouchécour, *Moralia*, 311–48.

[32]Bono's immediate references are to be found in Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae* (for the pseudo-autobiographical framework), in Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (for the battle allegory), in Saint Bernard's *Parabolae*, in Alain de Lille's *Anticlaudianus*, in Claudian's *In Rufinum* and in Cicero's *De Inventione* (de Agostino, "Itinerari e forme della prosa," 586). It should also be remembered that Bono's text belongs to a literary genre, that of vices and virtues, which was among the most successful in the Middle Ages (see Casagrande and Vecchio, *I sette vizi capitali*).

[33]Before the end of the twelfth century, we find in Persian literature "a long line of works with the same title, *Makārem al-aklāq*, comprising lists of opposed virtues and vices, well defined and illustrated with quotations, aphorisms, and anecdotes" (Rahman, "Aklāq"). For a review of Saʿdi's sources, see Ebrāhi and Torābi, "Barrasi-ye tatbiqi," 25–9.

[34]قناعت , in *Loghatnameh-ye Dehkhodā*. It should be remembered that the glosses of this twentieth-century encyclopedic dictionary are based on the occurrences of the lemma in ancient dictionaries and classical literary texts.

which a person may find themselves. Temperance is the mother of all virtues, since practicing it leads to peace in this world and admission to the other. The virtue which educates the lustful soul, correcting its defects and raising it to detachment from worldly goods and pleasures, from everything which is not strictly necessary. قناعت *qanāʿat* is based on the trust (or faith) that God gives to each creature what they need: this trust keeps human beings away from avidity and greed. Eating, drinking and mating are bestial instincts, and to follow them means to follow the customs of animals: cultivating قناعت *qanāʿat* raises human beings above the beasts. The practice of this virtue includes restraint from coveting what belongs to your neighbor, because this indifference will allow a human being to avoid suffering. قناعت *qanāʿat* therefore is a means of achieving happiness. The practice of this virtue allows a person to benefit from a limitless treasure, lead a peaceful and wholesome life, preserve their honor and dignity, ensure their positive fate on the Day of Judgment, be moderate (balanced) in their work and profits, grow spiritually, keep their faith firm and whole, to accept without resistance what God grants.[35]

Saʿdi feels no need to define this term in his texts, taking it for granted that his reader knows its meaning and scope. On the other hand, Bono Giamboni, in various parts of his book, is careful to define Temperance. Reference in the first place is to the treatises by Gregory of Nyssa (about 335–94), Thomas Aquinas (1225/26 to 1274) and Augustine (354–430); temperance belongs to the cardinal virtues, and is defined in this way: temperance is the moral virtue which moderates the attraction of pleasures and makes one capable of equipoise in using created goods. It ensures the rule of the will over instincts, and keeps desires within the bounds of honesty. The temperate person directs their own sensual appetites towards the good, keeps a healthy discretion, and does not follow their own instinct and force, submitting to the desires of their heart. Temperance is often praised in the Old Testament and in the Apocrypha: "Do not follow your base desires, but restrain your appetites" (Ecclesiasticus 18:30), and also in the New Testament: "Training us to renounce impiety and worldly passions, and in the present age to live lives that are self-controlled, upright, and godly" (Titus 2:12).[36] Besides doctrinal sources, Bono Giamboni certainly must have had in mind Brunetto Latini's *Tresor*, where temperance is thus defined:

> Temperance is mastery which keeps steadfast before lust and other indecorous impulses, that most noble virtue which keeps in check the pleasures of the flesh and gives measure and moderation when we are in prosperity, so that we do not rise in pride or remain slaves of our will; because when the will wins over reason, man is on an evil path.[37]

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[35]http://wiki.ahlolbait.ir/قناعت

[36]*New Revised Standard Version—Catholic Edition* (http://bible.oremus.org/).

[37]Latini, *Tresor*, 494: *Atemprance est cele seingnorie que l'en a contre luxure et contre les autres amovemenz qui sont desavenans, ce est la tres noble vertus qui refraint les charnels delis et qui nos done mensure et*

Bono himself, in his *Libro*, has Philosophy give a clear definition of Temperance in these words: "Temperance is the virtue of the soul whereby the human being keeps in check the desires of the flesh which assault and tempt him … . So you can see that Temperance is used when human being abstains from illicit pleasures, or when he holds back the fire of lust with the reins of reason, or when he represses the signs of lust, or when he withholds from eating or drinking immoderately, or when he moderates his expenditure to what is proper, or when he is humble towards his neighbor, or when he is honest and content with what life offers him, or when he is ashamed of excess, of evil or of obscene speech. And one always uses this virtue when one keeps to the middle path in things."[38]

Philosophy specifies:

> And this Virtue is put into practice in eight ways, each of which has its own name. These ways are the Virtues which are born from Temperance and are the captains of her troops, and have these names: Continence, Chastity, Modesty, Abstinence, Thrift, Humility, Honesty and Shame.[39]

Each of these manners of practicing temperance is then defined and described (see below).

قناعت qanāʿat *in Saʿdi's* Golestān

The theme of temperance is central to Saʿdi's work, beyond the quantitative impact of the term قناعت *qanāʿat*, which appears 16 times in the text. Both in the *Golestān* and in the *Bustān* we find a whole chapter dedicated to this virtue (the third chapter of the *Golestān* and the sixth of the *Bustān*) and the principles of this virtue are to be found in many other passages of his works. Here we shall try to identify the main principles, in order to highlight the exact connotations of such virtue in his work.

As we said, the third chapter of the *Golestān* is dedicated entirely to temperance: در فضیلت قناعت *dar fazilat-e qanāʿat* that is, "The excellence of contentment," and opens with a brief anecdote showing how such a virtue, which would lead the rich to be more generous and the poor to be satisfied with their state, is the ground for a balanced and more fair society:

ای خداوندان نعمت اگر شما را انصاف بودی و ما را قناعت رسم سوال از جهان بر خاستی

ای قناعت توانگرم گردان   که ورای تو هیچ نعمت نیست [40]

---

atemprement quant nos sumes en prosperité, si que nos ne montons en superbe ne ne consivons la volonté; car quand la volonté vainc le sens, l'ome est en male voie.

[38]*Libro*, 61.
[39]Ibid., 60.
[40]*Golestān*, 91.

Lords of wealth, if you were just and we contented, the trade of begging would vanish from the world.

O contentment, make me rich

For besides thee no other wealth exists.[41]

From this passage on, in a series of twenty-eight *hekāyat*, Saʿdi shows all the shades of this virtue: attachment to wisdom rather than to worldly goods and power (*hekāyat* no. 2); the capacity for being content with what one has and one's state, however humble, in a dignified manner (*hekāyat* nos. 14, 18, 19, 24, 27), rather than humiliating oneself with petitions to the rich and powerful (*hekāyat* nos. 3, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13); moderating avidity for food (*hekāyat* nos. 4, 5, 6, 7),[42] moderating the desire for belongings (*hekāyat* no. 23) and stigmatizing greed when one is privileged by the possession of riches (*hekāyat* nos. 20, 21, 22).

The third *hekāyat* summarizes some of these shades: it speaks of a dervish in misery who calls on himself to be content with the very little he owns, rather than feeling obliged to someone else:

<div dir="rtl">

به نان خشک قناعت کنیم و جامه دلق   که بار محنت خود به که بار منت خلق [43]

</div>

Let's be contented with dry bread and a patched robe

For it is easier to bear the load of one's own trouble than that of thanks to other.[44]

And after someone suggests he ask for help from a rich benefactor, the dervish adds:

<div dir="rtl">

خاموش که در پستی مردن به که حاجت پیش کسی بردن

هم رقعه دوختن به و الزام کنج صبر   کز بهر جامه رقعه بر خواجگان نبشت

حقا که با عقوبت دوزخ برابر است   رفتن به پایمردی همسایه در بهشت [45]

</div>

Hush! It is better to die of inanition than to plead for one's necessities before any man.

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[41]*The Gulistan*, 148.

[42]Concerning avidity for food, Saʿdi says (*Golestān*, 180): "Sages eat slow, devotees half satisfy their appetite, recluses only eat to preserve life, youths until the dishes are removed, old men until they begin to perspire, but *qalandars* till no room remains in the bowels for drawing breath and no food on the table for anybody" (*The Gulistan*, 248).

[43]*Golestān*, 92.

[44]*The Gulistan*, 149.

[45]*Golestān*, 92.

It is better to patch clothes and sit in the corner of patience

Than to write petitions for robes to gentlemen.

Verily it is equal to the punishment of hell

To go to paradise as a flunkey to one's neighbour.[46]

In the twenty-first story, we find the opposite situation: a very rich merchant endlessly plans new business and new earnings, constantly postponing the moment to dedicate himself to his own soul. Saʿdi warns him against such greed with these words:

<div dir="rtl">

آن شنیدستی که در اقصای غور   بار سالاری بیفتاد از ستور

گفت چشم تنگ[47] دنیا دوست را   یا قناعت پر کند یا خاک گور [48]

</div>

Thou mayest have heard that in the plain of Ghur

Once a leader fell down from his beast of burden,

Saying: "The narrow eye of a wealthy man

Will be filled either by content or by the earth of the tomb."[49]

The twenty-seventh tale is a very long anecdote about the ups and downs of a boxer, who leaves home hoping to be able to achieve success with the strength of his arms. His father, to dissuade him from seeking his fortune, admonishes him with these words:

<div dir="rtl">

پدر گفت ای پسر خیال محال از سر بدر کن و پای قناعت در دامن سلامت کش که بزرگان گفته اند

دولت نه به کوشیدنست   چاره کم جوشیدنست [50]

</div>

The father replied, "My son, get rid of this vain idea and place the feet of contentment under the skirt of safety because great men have said that happiness does not consist in exertion and that the remedy against want is in the moderation of desires."[51]

In the second chapter, dedicated to "The morals of dervishes," Saʿdi clearly expresses how the true dervish, who is his model of the ideal man, pure of heart and focused

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[46]*The Gulistan*, 149.

[47]In order to understand better this line, note that the phrase *chashm-tang*/narrow eye, indicates a greedy, envious person.

[48]*Golestān*, 102.

[49]*The Gulistan*, 161.

[50]*Golestān*, 105.

[51]*The Gulistan*, 164.

totally and without hypocrisy on goodness and God, has among his goals that of possessing the virtue of temperance, which not only has a fundamental place in ascetic practice, but is also the source of other benefits for the soul:

طریق درویشان ذکر است و شکر و خدمت و طاعت و ایثار و قناعت و توحید و توکل و تسلیم و تحمل

هر که بدین صفتها که گفتم موصوفست به حقیقت درویشست و گر در قباست اما هرزه گردی بی نماز

هواپرست هوسباز که روزها بشب آرد در بند شهوت و شبها به روز کند در خواب غفلت و بخورد هر

چه در میان آید و بگوید هر چه به زبان آید رندست و گر در عباست⁵²

The way of dervishes is praying, gratitude, service, obedience, almsgiving, contentment, professing the unity of God, trust, submission and patience. Whoever possesses these qualities is really a dervish, although he may wear an elegant robe, whereas a prattler who neglects his orisons, is luxurious, sensual, turns day into night in the bondage of lust, and night into day in the sleep of carelessness, eats whatever he gets, and speaks whatever comes upon his tongue,[53] is a profligate, although he may wear the habit of a dervish.[54]

Besides the explicit mention of temperance as an essential virtue, in this passage we see expressed other associated qualities, such as gratitude for what God grants us, patience and submission. We also see how the absence of such virtue makes room for parallel vices—that is, indulgence in bodily pleasures, avidity and incapacity of measuring one's own behavior.

In the first chapter of the *Golestān*, dedicated to "The manners of kings," we also have a tale which shows the crucial nature of this virtue: a dervish is alone in the desert, and pays no attention whatsoever to the king who passes next to him, provoking the ire of the sovereign. Says Saʿdi:

درویشی مجرد بگوشه ای نشسته بود پادشاهی بر او بگذشت درویش از آنجا که فراغ ملک قناعت است

سر بر نیاورد و التفات نکرد⁵⁵

A solitary dervish was sitting in a corner of the desert when a padshah happened to pass by but ease having made him independent, he took no notice.[56]

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[52]*Golestān*, 89.
[53]Concerning human behavior, a theme which Saʿdi insists upon is that of the moral and controlled use of speech (*adab-e sokhan, adab-e sohbat*), see Rodziewicz, "The Culture of Reconciliation."
[54]*The Gulistan*, 145–6.
[55]*Golestān*, 52.
[56]*The Gulistan*, 104.

So temperance means renouncing worldly goods and being indifferent to the possibility of obtaining favors or benefits.

The second chapter of the *Golestān* speaks of a hermit who used to eat ten *man* of food each night and would pray until morning. A *ṣāḥebdel* (pious fellow) comments:

<div dir="rtl">

اگر نیم نانی بخوردی و بخفتی بسیار از این فاضل تر بودی [57]

</div>

It would have been more excellent if he had eaten half a loaf and slept till the morning.[58]

Temperance is in this case represented by moderation, by not exceeding in gluttony, but also not in outward gestures of devotion (always suspected of hypocrisy).

Again in the second chapter, we find the story of an ascetic who lived in a forest, eating the leaves of the trees, until a king came to visit him, offering him the luxuries of city life and telling him that in this way he could dedicate himself better to devotion and be an example, in words and behavior, to others. The hermit accepted, and gave in to the pleasures of gluttony and the beauty of a slave and of a girl, forgetting the way of the spirit.

<div dir="rtl">

زلف خوبان زنجیر پای عقلست و دام مرغ زیرک

[...]

هر که هست از فقیه و پیر و مرید   وز زبان آوران پاک نفس

چون به دنیا ی دون فرود آید   بعسل در بماند پای مگس [59]

</div>

The curls of belles are fetters to the feet of the intellect and a snare to a sagacious bird. [...]

Any faqih, pir and murid

Or pure minded orator,

Descending into the base world,

Sticks in the honey like a fly.[60]

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[57]*Golestān*, 73.
[58]*The Gulistan*, 128.
[59]*Golestān*, 81.
[60]*The Gulistan*, 137.

The philosopher-minister holds forth before the king, who is pleased with his own generosity:

عالمان را زر بده تا دیگر بخوانند و زاهدان را چیزی مده تا زاهد بمانند [61]

"Bestow gold upon scholars that they may read more but give nothing to hermits that they may remain hermits."[62]

And concludes:

تا مرا هست و دیگرم باید   گر نخوانند زاهدم شاید [63]

When I have and covet more

It will not be proper to call me an anchorite.[64]

Being content with what one has is therefore a sign of temperance, as is not to desire to improve one's condition, preferring to trust in God, knowing He will give us whatever we need to survive.

In the sixteenth story of the first chapter, we read about a man who lives in poverty and tries to join the service of the king to free himself from this state. Saʿdi discourages him, presenting him all the unknowns and dangers of such a choice, and calls him to temperance:

پس مصلحت آن بینم که ملک قناعت را حراست کنی و ترک ریاست گویی

به دریا در منافع بی شمار است   و گر خواهی سلامت بر کنار است [65]

I'm of opinion that thou shouldst retire to the domain of contentment and abandon aspirations to dominion. Wise men have said:

"In the sea there are countless gains,

But if thou desirest safety, it will be on the shore."[66]

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[61]*Golestān*, 82.
[62]*The Gulistan*, 137.
[63]*Golestān*, 82.
[64]*The Gulistan*, 138.
[65]*Golestān*, 41.
[66]*The Gulistan*, 91–2.

In the second chapter, always referring to the ups and downs of fortune described in an anecdote within the twenty-eighth tale, Sa'di finally expresses his moral:

... آنگه که تو دیدی غم نانی داشتم و امروز تشویش جهانی

اگر دنیا نباشد دردمندیم   وگر باشد به مهرش پای بندیم

حجابی زین درون آشوب تر نیست   که رنج خاطرست ار هست و گر نیست

مطلب گر توانگری خواهی   جز قناعت که دولتیست هنی

گر غنی زر به دامن افشاند   تا نظر در ثواب او نکنی

کز بزرگان شنیده ام بسیار   صبر درویش به که بذل غنی ⁶⁷

"When thou sawest me last, I was distressed for bread and now a world of distress has overwhelmed me."

If I have no wealth I grieve

If I have some the love of it captivates me.

There is no greater calamity than worldly goods.

Both their possession and their want are griefs.

If thou wishest for power, covet nothing

Except contentment which is sufficient happiness.

If a rich man pours gold into thy lap

Care not a moment for thanking him.

Because often I heard great men say

The patience of a dervish is better than the gift of a rich man.⁶⁸

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⁶⁷*Golestān*, 77.
⁶⁸*The Gulistan*, 132.

Being poor afflicts us, being rich makes us slaves of worldly goods. The goods of the world are the true danger for man: if one has them, one fears losing them, if one does not have them, one is tormented by desire for them. Temperance is the only true richness.

The fifth chapter is dedicated to "love and youth," and we find a tale, the seventeenth, written in the first person, which invites one to control the impulses of carnal passion. In the mosque of Kashghar, the poet meets a beautiful and alluring youth who is studying Arabic; he approaches him with a joke, and surprises him with his erudition. However, when the youth learns who he is and invites him to stay, the poet, so as to avoid temptation, decides to leave, saying:

<div dir="rtl">

بزرگی دیدم اندر کوهساری قناعت کرده از دنیا بغاری

چرا گفتم به شهر اندر نیایی که باری بندی از دل برگشایی

بگفت آنجا پریرویان نغزند چو گل بسیار شد پیلان بلغزند [69]

</div>

I beheld an illustrious man in a mountain region

Who had contentedly retired from the world into a cave.

Why, said I, comest thou not into the city

For once to relax the bonds of thy heart?

He replied: "Fairy-faced maidens are there.

When clay is plentiful, elephants will stumble."[70]

In this case, temperance concerns the pleasures of the flesh, and, as we shall see, this is a rare occurrence in the *Golestān*.

In the last chapter, too, "On rules for conduct in life," we have some anecdotes inspired by temperance. The thirtieth involves moderation in food and then extends to moderation in the possession of worldly goods and control over carnal desire. Saʿdi writes:

<div dir="rtl">

حریص با جهانی گرسنه است و قانع به نانی سیر حکما گفته اند توانگری به قناعت به از توانگری به بضاعت.

روده تنگ به یک نان تهی پرگردد نعمت روی زمین پر نکند دیده تنگ

پدر چون دور عمرش منقضی گشت مرا این یک نصیحت کرد و بگذشت

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[69]*Golestān*, 135.
[70]*The Gulistan*, 196.

که شهوت آتشست از وی بپرهیز   بخود بر آتش دوزخ مکن تیز

در آن آتش نداری طاقت سوز   بصبر آبی برین آتش زن امروز [71]

A greedy person will still be hungry with the whole world, whilst a contented man will be satisfied with one bread. Wise men have said that poverty with content is better than wealth and not abundance [Wise men have said that strength accompanied by temperance is better than strength accompanied by wealth].

Narrow intestines may be filled with dry bread

But the wealth of the surface of the world will not fill a greedy eye.

When the term of my father's life had come to an end

He gave me this one advice and passed away:

Lust is fire, abstain therefrom,

Make not the fire of hell sharp for thee.

In that fire the burning thou will not be able to bear,

Quench this fire with water today.[72]

The continuous novelty of stories is linked to the impossibility of exhausting the moral question they arise from; likewise, the possibilities of human experience are inexhaustible, while knowledge is finite.

Temperance in Bono Giamboni's Libro

Bono's *Libro* has a completely different structure from Saʿdi's *Golestān*. In his pseudo-autobiographical tale, the author, guided by Philosophy, undertakes an allegorical voyage to the court of Religion, undergoes the examinations of Faith, is trained by the Cardinal Virtues, observes from a hilltop the battle between Vices and Virtues (where Virtues prevail), listens to the account of a war against heresies and religions (Islam in this case), is exhorted to do "good" by all the personified Virtues, is questioned by them, and is finally welcomed among the "devotees" after the last, affectionate recommendations by Philosophy. Vices and virtues, personified and ready for an allegorical battle, are defined by the way they line up.[73] The underlying idea of this

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[71]*Golestān*, 176.
[72]*The Gulistan*, 243.

allegory is that (it is worth paraphrasing here the observations of Le Goff) life down here is a struggle for salvation; the world is a battlefield where human beings fight against the devil—that is, actually, against himself. In fact, having inherited original sin, human beings run the risk of letting themselves fall into temptation, of committing evil and of damning themselves. People house the clash between vice and virtue within themselves, and what is at stake is their eternal destiny. Drawing on warrior traditions derived from both Roman and barbarian sources, the gnostic theme of the struggle between vice and virtue, which soon became part of Christian literature and iconography, brought the prospect of the other world down to earth and into the soul of every Christian. Human beings, in this battlefield for life or death which is the world, have as their allies God, the Virgin, the saints and angels and the Church, and especially their own faith and virtues; however they also have enemies: Satan, the demons, the heretics and above all their own vices and weaknesses which come from original sin. For Christians, the presence of the other world must be constantly alive and felt, since in every instant of their existence, their salvation is at stake, and even if they are not aware of it, this struggle for their souls is ceaselessly being fought down here. The daily life of a Christian in the Middle Ages revolved around an eschatological plot.[74]

Describing the opposing ranks, Bono tries to define in the clearest possible way what is substantially part of the nature of human being, for better or for worse.[75] While it is true that the whole system for classifying and defining vices and virtues had already been carefully codified by Bono's time (see above), he intervenes actively (as shown in several points by the editor of his work, C. Segre) on the doctrinal materials available to him.[76]

Temperance, as a lemma, appears thirteen times in Bono's text, and two chapters are directly dedicated to it. Chapter XXXV (Of the ranks of Temperance and her captains) and chapter LXXIII (Of the admonishments of Temperance). Reading these two chapters, and the other occurrences of the term, allow us to accurately outline the character of this virtue, fitting into the traditional context of the interior conflict between the lowest, animal impulses human beings and their efforts to detach themselves from the materiality of the body to elevate their souls towards God.

The first occasion when Temperance appears is in chapter XXXII, at the preparatory phase of the allegorical battle. Bono first describes the armies of the vices (eight ranks altogether, each subdivided among various captains)[77] and then those of the

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[73]Bono's inventiveness, though undoubtedly original in its developments, is mainly based on Aurelius Prudentius Clemens' (348–after 405) *Psychomachia* and the well-known theme of the struggle between body and spirit.

[74]*Dizionario dell'Occidente medievale*, 4.

[75]Bono's *Libro* fits this battle into a cosmic conflict against God launched by Satan, who exploits heresies and vices, which are defeated by Faith and Virtue respectively. *Libro*, 66–9.

[76]*Libro*, XVII note 1.

[77]They are, in order: Pride, Vainglory, Envy, Wrath, Despair, Greed, Gluttony and Lust. It should be noted that there is no symmetry between the armies of vices and those of virtues; indeed, virtues, with

virtues. There are four cardinal virtues and each, like the vices, has its captains, to which they refer:

> *E quando vidi questo [oste delle virtudi], dissi:—Maestra de le Virtudi, che intendono di fare queste genti che sono divise in quattro parti? E chi sono i segnori di ciascun'oste? —Ed ella disse:—Queste Virtú son provocate a battaglia: però voglion fare le schiere loro, da che veggono i loro nimici schierati. E i quattro segnori che son guidatori de le dette quattro osti, cioè catuno della sua, son quattro Virtú principali laonde nascono tutte l'altre Virtudi—. E io dissi:—E come hanno nome?—Ed ella disse:— Prudenzia, Iustizia, Fortezza e Temperanzia—. E io dissi:—Ben so' coteste grandissime Virtudi, e molto ho già udito predicare dell'opere loro -. Ed ella disse:—Le loro opere son tutte perfette, e nasconne quanti beni nel mondo si fanno.[78]*

And when I saw [the army of virtues], I said: Mistress of virtues, what do these people, divided into four parts, intend to do? And who are the commanders of each army? And she replied: Against these virtues, battle has been declared, so they want to line up their troops, since the enemy have already formed their ranks. And the four commanders who are respectively at the head of the four armies are the four main virtues from which all other virtues are born. And I said: What are their names? And she replied: Prudence, Justice, Fortitude and Temperance. And I said: These are certainly very great virtues, and I have heard much spoken about their works. And she replied: Their works are all perfect, and all the good that is done in the world arises from them.

So all the good in the world arises from the four cardinal virtues. In the case of Temperance, the following "good" arises: Continence, Chastity, Modesty, Abstinence, Thrift, Humility, Honesty and Shame, in their turn defined as follows (chapter XXXV):

> *Contenenza è virtú per la quale l'uomo s'astiene de' desideri non liciti. Castità è virtú per la qual l'uomo costringe lo 'ncendio della lussuria col freno della ragione. Pudicizia è virtú per la qual non solamente si rifrena lo 'ncendio della lussuria, ma rinfrenasi i suoi segni; e sono i segni della lussuria i reggimenti del corpo e l'abito del vestimento. E cosí vedi che differenza ha tra Castità e Pudicizia, perché Castità rinfrena i movimenti della lussuria, ma Pudicizia i movimenti e i segni. E dividesi Castità in tre parti: perché altra è Castità virginale, che non ebbe anche uso d'uomo, e altra è castità vedovale, che già uso d'uomo hae avuto, ma or se ne astiene; e altra è castità matrimoniale,*

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their ranks, are half as many as the vices with their captains. This unbalance is of course functional to revealing the intrinsic power of good compared to evil. In chapter XVIII on Pride, "root of every evil," he derides the uselessness of virtues, and casts irony on how temperance tries to weigh everything, always standing with scales in hand ("Do you have trust […] in Temperance? Yet she still holds in her hands scales to find the mean of all things." *Libro*, 96).

[78]*Libro*, 56.

c'ha uso d'uomo, ma legittimamente; e catuna di queste è detta castità. Astinenzia è virtú per la quale si costrigne la volontà della gola, cioè del mangiare e del bere di soperchio. Parcità è virtú per la quale si ritiene quel che si convien ritenere, secondo che Larghezza è virtú per la quale quel ch'è convenevole si spende. La Umilità è virtú per la quale l'uom porta vile abito, e 'l ben che fa nasconde acciò che non appaia di fuori; e dividesi in tre parti: per la prima s'umilia l'uomo al maggiore, e questa è detta bastevole; per la seconda s'aumilia al pare, e questa è detta perfetta; per la terza s'aumilia l'uomo al minore, e questa è detta sopraabbondevole. Onestà è virtú per la quale tutte le cose che bisognano alla vita dell'uomo si recano ad uso temperato. Vergogna è virtú per la qual si vergogna l'uomo de le soperchianze e de' mali, e si rifrena la lingua che sozze parole o di soperchio non favelli.[79]

Continence is the virtue thanks to which we abstain from illicit desires: Chastity is the virtue thanks to which man represses the fire of lust with the use of reason. Modesty is the virtue thanks to which one not only controls the fire of lust, but also its manifestations, which are the movements of the body and the way one dresses. Now consider the difference between chastity and modesty: the first subdues the drive of lust, while the second subdues its manifestations. And chastity is divided into three parts: virginal chastity (when there has been no contact with a man), widow's chastity (when there has been contact but one now abstains), matrimonial chastity (when there is contact but in a legitimate manner). Abstinence is the virtue thanks to which one subdues the desires of gluttony, that is drinking and eating immoderately. Thrift is the virtue thanks to which one withholds what is proper, whereas Largesse is the virtue thanks to which one spends what is proper. Humility is the virtue thanks to which man wears plain clothes and does not boast in public of the good he does; this virtue has three manners: when one humbles oneself before someone more important (called sufficient), or before a peer (called perfect), or before someone of a lower level (called superabundant). Honesty is the virtue thanks to which one makes moderate use of everything necessary for life. Shame is the virtue thanks to which man is ashamed of every excess and of the evil he does and thanks to which he does not speak too much or pronounce unsuitable words.

While the four Cardinal Virtues are the pillar and foundation of the Christian system of doctrine, the complex of sub-virtues which derive from them tends to fluctuate, as we can also see from the different versions of the *Libro*.[80] If we consider the final version, we can see how, for Bono, Temperance is basically achieved "when one steers a middle course in things"; when man withholds from "illicit" desires according to Christian morals;[81] when he uses reason to put a brake on bodily impulses, when he

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[79]*Libro*, 61.
[80]*Libro*, XV–XVII.
[81]The sub-virtues of chastity, for example, are three typically Christian categories: virginal, that of widows and matrimonial.

avoids gestures which would unleash such impulses (in movements and clothing); when he eats and drinks moderately; when he spends moderately; when he is moderate in showing himself off and maintains an honest behavior without excesses; when he shows embarrassment (shame) before excesses (in word or deed) whether his own or of others, managing to withhold from them. Two points seem to be of special interest: one concerning Humility, which in its turn is described with three expressions: *sufficient*, *perfect* and *superabundant*, according to whether one is dealing with someone of higher, equivalent or lower social rank. Here in fact the middle way does not seem to be the prevailing criterion. Humility appears rather as an absolute good, especially if expressed towards one's inferiors. Reference is in any case to a kind of behavior based on awareness of one's limits and detachment from any form of pride or excessive self-assuredness. The second point concerns Honesty, defined as a moderate use of all things needed in life, and hence closely tied to one of the ancient meanings of this term, which also indicated decorum, dignity, nobility of the soul and modesty, that is composure and restraint.

The other passage in which Bono expresses himself on the issue of temperance is in chapter LXXIII.[82] Virtue now admonishes the "maker of the work" so that he may understand how to behave to earn heaven, since Temperance holds one of the five keys. Here eschatology becomes individual, as we speak of the ultimate purpose for human beings' moral commitment according to Bono, that is ensuring Heaven after death. The admonitions of Temperance are perfectly symmetrical to the previous definitions:

> *Appresso venne la Temperanza ad aprire e mostrare i suoi amonimenti, e disse:—Figliuol mio, io tegno le chiavi de la quinta porta di paradiso, e no·ll'apro a neuno che nel detto luogo vogli'andare, se non è d'animo temperato in refrenare i desiderî de la carne laonde è assalito e tentato, e in tenere il mezzo di tutte le cose. E puote l'uomo esser d'animo temperato per [otto] virtudi, cioè per [contenenza] e castitade e pudicizia e astinenzia e parcitade e umilitade e onestade e vergogna. [Per contenenza puote l'uomo esser d'animo temperato, quando s'astiene dai desiderî non liciti]. Per castità è l'animo temperato, quando costrigne l'uomo l'incendî de la lussuria col freno della*

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[82]The framework of the system that gives access to Paradise is described in chapter LXIX (*Of the words said about the five Virtues which hold the five keys to heaven.*) where Prudence says: "Know that there are five doors from which one enters, before being able to go to Heaven. The keys to the first door are held by the Christian Faith, which opens it to none, and allows no one to enter that blessed place, unless he knows God and believes in what He commands. Prudence holds the keys to the second door, and does not open it to anyone or let him enter Heaven, unless he is wise and aware of matters of the world, has knowledge of good and evil and, thanks to his Reason, chooses good and flees the evil he has recognized. Justice holds the keys to the third door, and does not open it to anyone or let him enter Heaven, unless he has a righteous soul and does his duty towards everyone towards whom he has an obligation. Fortitude holds the keys to the fourth door, and does not open it to anyone or let him enter Heaven, unless he has a strong soul, able to withstand the difficulties, fatigues, tribulation and adversities of the world patiently and not to exceed in joyfulness when things go well. Temperance holds the keys to the fifth door, and does not open it to anyone or let him enter Heaven, unless his soul is temperate in dominating the desires of the flesh and to keep the right middle way in all things" (*Libro*, 108–9).

ragione. Per pudicizia è l'animo temperato, quando non solamente l'incendî, ma i segni della lussuria rifrena, che sono ne' reggimenti del corpo e ne' vani ornamenti. Per astinenzia è l'animo temperato, quando s'astiene l'uomo del manicare e del bere di soperchio. Per parcitade è l'animo temperato, quando ritiene l'uomo quello che si conviene: ché la larghezza è quando quello ch'è convenevole si ispende. Per umiltà è l'animo temperato, quando porta l'uomo vile abito, e 'l ben che fa sí nasconde, acciò che non paia di fuori. Per onestà è l'animo temperato, quando tutte le cose che li fanno bisogno a la vita reca ad uso temperato. Per vergogna è l'animo temperato, quando si vergogna l'uomo de le soperchianze e de' mali e delle sozze parole. Per tutte le dette virtù è bisogno ch'abbia l'animo temperato chi per la detta porta vuole intrare.[83]

Immediately after, Temperance came to open and express her advice, saying:—My son, I own the keys to the fifth door of heaven, but I open it to none who wishes to go there, unless his soul is temperate in dominating the desires of the flesh which assault and tempt him, and knows how to keep the right middle way in all things. Man can be of a temperate soul thanks to eight virtues, that is continence, chastity, modesty, abstinence, thrift, humility, honesty and shame. Thanks to continence, man is of a temperate soul because he abstains from illicit desires. Thanks to chastity, the soul is temperate because it holds down with the bridle of reason the flames of lust. Thanks to modesty, the soul is temperate because it not only holds down the flames of lust, but also holds down its manifestations in bodily gestures and superfluous ornaments. Thanks to abstinence, the soul is temperate because it withholds from drinking and eating immoderately. Thanks to thrift (sobriety), the soul is temperate because man withholds for himself only what is needed, while largesse consists in spending properly. Thanks to humility, man is temperate because he wears plain clothes and if he does good, does not boast of it. Thanks to honesty, the soul is temperate because everything necessary for life is used with moderation. Thanks to shame, the soul is temperate because man is ashamed of excessive gestures, of the evil he has committed and of obscene words. He who wishes to enter through this door must possess a soul which is temperate thanks to all the virtues we have mentioned.

Bono substantially repeats in full, but under the form of advice, what he expressed as a description in chapter XXXV, without adding anything except—a little later—a fervent appeal to Philosophy, where he complains that he does not feel up to the tasks to which virtues call him, and hence feels desperate about his destiny after death. It is always Philosophy which settles this doubt, and has Bono accepted among the faithful of virtue at the close of the book, trusting his commitment and making herself his guarantor.

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[83]*Libro*, 115–16.

We can observe that in the *Libro* the virtue of Temperance is treated in an extremely rigid and normative manner, and it is instead the set of sub-virtues that represents a way to place this theoretical framework into the experience of life.

Conclusions

Here we propose some comparative observations: the texts have been considered as a whole, although in the body of the article of course we have only quoted the most significant passages.

If, as we have seen, the reason for composition and the purpose of both works are largely shared, the structure of the two books is radically different: Saʿdi creates a theatre of exemplary anecdotes[84] according to the tradition of the اندرز *andarz*;[85] Bono follows a pedagogical-allegorical model, trying to describe in full the temptations and dangers against which man, using his reason, must oppose his will to do good. The human spectacle which Saʿdi's text offers has many facets and is lively: his brilliant language flows without worrying about the consistency of its contents.[86] Bono's allegory has a compact and rigid structure; each question of humanity is framed within a structured scheme, so that each element finds its place and definition in a framework which is simple, essential and complete. The structure of the works affects the manner in which the topics are dealt with. Saʿdi's text is light and ironic, Bono's serious and composed. The former certainly seeks to educate his readers, but he also tries to involve them and convince them with irony and a certain warm-heartedness which embraces human limits; the latter describes fearsome scenarios of human abjection and perdition which induce man to seek the straight path to earn Heaven. In terms of style, the same pattern can be identified: Saʿdi's figured language is more poetic, Bono's allegorical language more didactic; while the former is a great artist, the latter is an honest author of treatises.

The comparison which we have drawn on temperance should be read against this background. Regarding temperance, Saʿdi is interested in the human being's capacity to stay in their condition, however unfortunate, to accept it without compromise, safe-

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[84]Says Saʿdi: "Our intention was advice and we gave it. / We recommended thee to God and departed." *The Gulistan*, 72; *Golestān*, 23.

[85]The following has been said of Saʿdi's work: "In both of his major works [*Golestān* and *Bustān*], Saʿdī prefers to impress moral lessons on the reader's mind by means of exemplary anecdotes and vivid comparisons rather than dry statements of principle. This method was maintained by all the imitators of the *Golestān* and *Būstān*." Shaked and Safa, "Andarz."

[86]From an aesthetic point of view, Saʿdi's work is perfectly in line with tradition: "[An] important and original facet of Persian moral thought was reliance on literature. ... Persian moral thinkers proceeded in a totally different fashion, turning to the rhetorical and poetic aspects of discourse and relying on the special power of language to exhort and persuade. Three devices predominated: the maxim, expressed sonorously and poetically in order that it might remain in memory; the anecdote (*ḥekāya*), often specifically illustrating such an elevated pronouncement; and verse exploiting the full potential of language. Indeed, even systematic moral thought, when first expressed in Persian, was presented with emphasis on rhetoric and poetics; the chronological evolution of Persian moral thought can thus be witnessed in the development of elevated locutions." de Fouchécour, "Etichs."

guarding honor and dignity,[87] which are more important than material needs, avoiding attachment to earthly goods and finding a proper balance between their own well-being and a responsible presence in the community. For Bono, the virtue of temperance, in the normative context of the Christian tradition, represents a constant quest of the believer for an existential condition beyond the dimension of human beings' animal impulses: temperance in a way saves people from themselves, from the desires of their guts and sexuality, from the excesses of selfishness and from those of material avidity. It puts a bridle on the link that human beings tend to establish with this netherworld, and opens the gates of the other world. The stress on the vices that temperance is called upon to correct are very different. While in the *Golestān* greed and attachment to worldly goods are the nucleus around which such virtue must be practiced, in the *Libro* priority definitely goes to lust, confirming the radical hostility to sex of Christian morals.[88] Temperance which should be exerted over the vice of gluttony is a theme common to both texts, with an intensity and recurrence which we can consider similar, while the principle of balance and moderation, of *in medio stat virtus* (*andāzeh* or *miyānehravi* in Persian tradition),[89] extends to the other contexts shared by both texts (possession of goods, showing off, verbal expression,[90] etc.). At the base, what the two texts have also in common is the fact that the morality they convey has no claim to be original: it is traditional and common and in this lies also its authority and the power of persuasion (it is well known, in fact, that the public only accepts what it recognizes to be already in itself).

Another element which seems profoundly to distinguish the two texts is their outlook: Saʿdi is guided in his moralizing mission not only by the tradition, but also by his own experience and hence his understanding of the dynamics of the world; his wisdom comes from below rather than above, and this is also the reason for his insisting on the importance of preserving one's dignity and honor and avoiding self-humiliation to obtain favors. Bono's path to knowledge and moralistic writing is guided by Philosophy, by a supreme comprehension which comes more from above than below. These different outlooks manifest themselves right from the motives leading to composition of the book (however conventional they may be): whereas Saʿdi complains of himself, his own limits, his incapacity to fully live the spiritual dimension, Bono complains of life itself, falls ill because of the adversities and

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[87]On the importance of dignity and honor, in the *Golestān* we read: "And philosophers have said: If for instance the water of life were to be exchanged for a good reputation, no wise man would purchase it because it is preferable to die with honor than to live in disgrace." *The Gulistan*, 153; *Golistān*, 95.

[88]In this sense, Saʿdi's freedom of thought and expression appears clearly in his obscene verses (Zipoli, "Le khabīthāt oscene di Saʿdī"; Zipoli, *Tesori e Serpenti*, 158–70; Zipoli, *Irreverent Persia*, 91, 95–7, etc.).

[89]"Measure" represents one of the ethical principles of the *Adab* (*āyin*) in the Iranian context, representing the foundation of education, culture, good behavior, courtesy, proper demeanor (for an overview of the advantages of moderation and evils of intemperance in Iranian texts see Khaleghi-Motlagh, "Adab i. Adab in Iran," the first part in particular, "The definition of Adab").

[90]"To sit in a corner, like one with a cut tongue, deaf and dumb, / Is better than a man who has no command over his tongue." *The Gulistan*, 64; *Golestān*, 17.

fatigue of existence, finds the origin of his distress outside of himself, and therefore seeks external help, a spiritual guide.[91]

These different outlooks bring out two different ideas of human beings in relation to themselves and the world: Saʿdi's, deeply immersed in his social context and religious community, recognizes in individual experience a general, collective value; Bono's, more concentrated on individual salvation, and hence on his own destiny, is obsessed by a world which is constant fall and temptation. However, when we read these texts, we are left with the feeling that temperance for Saʿdi is good in itself and has an absolute value, whereas for Bono it is more instrumental to be recognized as a good Christian and to enter Heaven. For the former, it seems more the condition for an existence worthy of the name, for the latter more an idea from above, dictated by reason, accepted by faith and realized for fear of God's punishment.[92]

However, an aspect shared by the two texts is certainly awareness that a human being cannot truly progress towards the good and towards God without the intervention of a transcending element, a fact taken for granted in both the Islamic and the Christian context. In both cases, however, this intervention "from above" does not absolve the human being from responsibility and personal commitment. When Bono Giamboni confides to Philosophy the "superhuman" difficulty of realizing virtues, he declares that being virtuous is not within the reach of a human being in the absence of superior help. Saʿdi says, instead, that this virtue is human, naturally belongs to mankind, that reason (*kherad*) makes us understand the need for it and that faith and God's help can make it perfect.

Hypocrisy too, which in our case means showing oneself temperate without truly being so, is the worst evil for both our authors: Saʿdi says so ceaselessly in his text, especially in his second chapter on the ethics of the dervishes (see for example the tale no. 6 which ends with this verse):

<div dir="rtl">

ای هنرها گرفته بر کف دست   عیبها بر گرفته زیر بغل

تا چه خواهی خریدن ای مغرور روز درماندگی بسیم دغل [93]

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O thou who showest virtues on the palms of the hand

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[91]This outlook, which places human beings in a substantially disarmed position before their own weak nature in the face of evil and makes having a guide necessary, is made explicit by Prudence in this passage where she puts to the test the seriousness of Bono's repentance: "we see that the majority of the great evil done in the world is done taking us as a pretext and pretending to behave well, and would not be carried out in another way. This is something we cannot realize before evil has been committed: in fact, we have such trust in the pretty words you say and in the good intentions you show, that we welcome you as faithful and as subjects and make men wish you well, since we fail to perceive your evil intent: God alone, in fact, knows the heart of men. And you show your ingratitude." *Libro*, 106.

[92]The words of John's Gospel seem to be forgotten: "There is no fear in love. But perfect love drives out fear, because fear has to do with punishment. The one who fears is not made perfect in love" (John 4:18).

[93]*Golestān*, 65.

But concealest thy errors under the armpit

What wilt thou purchase, O vain-glorious fool,

On the day of distress with counterfeit silver?[94]

Bono affirms the same in a peremptory fashion in chapter LXVII:

> *perché li ipocriti, che sono di cotesta maniera, che mostran di fare una cosa e fannone un'altra, Dio li innodia sopra li altri peccatori.*[95]

> God hates hypocrites more than other sinners, because they show they are doing one thing, while actually they are doing another

No less than other texts, moralistic literature is an opportunity to speak of human beings and the world. Whether the goal of human existence be perfect asceticism or ensuring oneself entry to Heaven, control over human nature, in all its aspects, is the path for human realization.

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Lamia Balafrej

Compilations of the *Bustān* of Saʿdī in Iran, Central Asia, and Turkey, ca. 1470–1550

This article presents two hitherto unstudied compilations of verses from the Bustān *of Saʿdī. Both circulated in the Persianate world in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The article provides an analysis of the compilations' content as well as their relation to the complete* Bustān. *By highlighting certain stories and themes at the expense of others, and by ordering these passages in a way that differs from the complete* Bustān, *each compilation transforms Saʿdī's text into a shorter, more homogenous composition, with distinct formal, thematic, and generic qualities. The shorter compilation presents a series of aphorisms, forming a mirror for princes. The longer one offers a selection of stories and lessons and emphasizes mystical themes, including aspects of Sufi erotic theology. This article also investigates the manuscript copies of these compilations, revealing their use and transmission in Iran, Turkey, and Central Asia between 1470 and 1550.*

What follows presents two hitherto unstudied Persian compilations. Known in several manuscript collections under the same generic titles, *Muntakhab-i Bustān* or *Intikhāb-i Bustān* ("Selections of the *Bustān*"), these texts consist of selections of verses from the *Bustān* ("Orchard") of Saʿdī Shirāzi (d. ca. 693/1292), a didactic poem completed around the middle of the thirteenth century. Eleven copies can be identified. They were executed between the 1470s and the 1550s in a geographical area spanning from Turkey to Central Asia.[1]

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[1]The current locations of these manuscripts are, with their accession number and bibliographical references (when existing): Art and History Trust collection, on loan at the Sackler Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, accession no. 48 and 71 (Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, no. 48 and no. 71); Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA, accession no. 1960.64 (unpublished); Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, accession no. F1944. 48 (Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, 178–9); Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 66 (published in Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, no. 66); Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, accession no. Suppl. persan 1515 (Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, 140); Gulistān Palace, Tehran,

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A long *masnavī* (poem written in rhyming couplets) of approximately four thousand verses, the *Bustān* of Saʿdī consists of a preface (*dībācha*) and ten chapters, each deploying a succession of short stories interspersed with moral advice.[2] Generally labeled as literature of advice or didactic literature, this poem is often classified as a mirror for princes, a literary genre destined to instruct rulers on certain aspects of government and behavior. But the *Bustān* is also a multifaceted, polyvalent text.[3] Mixing different patterns of speech, style, and literary genre, it interweaves epic tales with humoristic anecdotes, narrative poems with proverbial sentences, mythical stories with philosophical statements, thus addressing a wide range of themes such as love, education, speech, or ascetic life.[4] The *Bustān* is also known for its literariness or reflexive qualities. While a few stories stage a character named Saʿdī, other passages comment upon the structure and function of the *Bustān*, and in particular its multi-layered, duplicitous ethics, for example when the poem is compared to a date fruit whose first, sweet layer protects a more central, enigmatic kernel.[5]

With its discontinuous structure and thematic diversity, the *Bustān* constantly oscillates between order and disorder, fragment and whole, situated detail and general lesson. A garden of words rather than a successive, linear discourse, it invites readers to read around rather than through the whole text, and thus to rearrange the poem as they please. As a matter of fact, verses from the *Bustān* were frequently used as quotations in literary texts or as epigraphic inscriptions on portable objects and architectural monuments.[6] This paper is devoted to such an example of reuse. It presents two different compilations of Saʿdī's *Bustān*. For each compilation,

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accession no. 2167 (Rajabī, *Shāhkārhā-i nigārgarī-i Irān*, 125–7; Ātābāy, *Fihrist-i dīvān-hā-yi khaṭṭī*, no. 203); Topkapi Palace Library, Istanbul, accession no. E.H. 1690 (Karatay, *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi*, no. 578); Bibliothèque nationale de France, accession no. Persan 257 (Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, 148); Dār al-kutub, Cairo, accession no. Adab Fārisī M 4 (unpublished); British Library, London, accession no. IO Islamic 268 (Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, no. 1148); Bodleian Library, Oxford, accession no. Elliott 239 (Ethé and Sachau, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani, and Pushtu Manuscripts*, no. 604, 743, 812, 1034).

   [2]For the purpose of this paper, I compare the compilations to the Persian edition of the *Bustān* established by Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī (Saʿdī, *Bustān*) as well as to the English translation by G. M. Wickens (Saʿdī, *Morals Pointed*). Any modern, critical edition of Saʿdī's *Bustān* will differ from the manuscript variants of this *masnavī*. The discrepancies between the critical edition and manuscript variants are, however, often minimal, and do not alter the relevance of the comparison between the compilations and Yūsufī's edition. Except for a few lines (four in the manuscripts we have worked on), all of the compilations' verses can be found in Yūsufī's edition.

   [3]One of the most compelling analyses of the *Bustān* can be found in Fouchécour, *Moralia*, 311–48.

   [4]For an exploration of these themes in other works of Saʿdī, see Keshavarz, *Lyrics of Life*.

   [5]The verse reads: "Like dates, the skin is incrusted with sweetness, / But open it up, and there's a kernel inside!" (Saʿdī, *Morals Pointed*, v. 128).

   [6]Quotations from Saʿdī's poetry were widely used from Ottoman Turkey to Central Asia. For example, a verse from the *Bustān* can be found in the mosque of Meḥmed I in Bursa, Turkey (Taeschner, "Beiträge zur frühosmanischen epigraphik und Archäologie," 144; I would like to thank Khalida Mahi for this reference). In Central Asia, the use of Saʿdī's poetry as funerary inscriptions was widespread (for cenatophs dating to the fifteenth century in the necropolis of Chār Bakr near Bukhara, see Babajanov and Szuppe, *Les inscriptions persanes*, 37–9 and 47–50).

a few hundred verses were selected from the *Bustān* and mixed together in order to form a shorter poem. The earliest known copies of these compilations date back to the fifteenth century.[7]

Given the lack of scholarship on this material, I first describe the texts of the two compilations as well as their relation to the complete *Bustān*. Each compilation consists of a certain number of verses chosen from among the 4,000 verses of the complete poem. Although the *Bustān*'s total number of verses varies from one manuscript to another, the compilations' verses are found in most copies of the complete *Bustān* produced during the same period, as well as in the modern critical edition of Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī published in 1963. The first one is composed of approximately 150 verses while the second includes around 500 verses. These compilations are different, sharing fewer than fifty verses, and they each depart considerably from the complete *Bustān*. Neither of them emulates the thematic and stylistic diversity of the poem. Instead of the heterogeneous, centrifugal richness of the *Bustān*, they offer discrete, focused texts, reassembling the *Bustān* into a uniform, contained garden. More specifically, it seems that verses were picked in such a way as to inflect the *Bustān*'s literary genre. As this paper suggests, the shorter compilation reinforces the mirror-for-princes function of the *Bustān*. The longer one, by contrast, leans toward mysticism, privileging verses that echo Sufi erotic theology.

Next, I consider the manuscripts containing these compilations in order to address further aspects of reception and circulation. Although it remains difficult to assess when and by whom these compilations were made, manuscript copies offer invaluable information on their use and transmission. The compilations appear to have been particularly appreciated during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Iran, Central Asia, and Turkey. Most of them were copied in small manuscripts, hardly exceeding twenty-five folios, a format that enhances both their portability and their intimate character. Some copies were lavishly decorated and illustrated. The short compilation, which features an anthology of political advice, was diffused in princely circles in western Iran and Turkey. It was passed from the Aq Qoyunlu court to the Safavids to the Ottomans.[8] In contrast, all copies of the second compilation were produced in the East, in the regions of Khurasan and Transoxiana.[9] Interestingly enough, these patterns of circulation are reflected in the paintings accompanying the text, emphasizing the settings in which the compilations could be received.

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[7]The earliest we know of was begun in 883/1478 (Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 48 and 71). It will be dealt with later in this paper.

[8]These are: Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 48 and 71; Bibliothèque nationale de France, accession no. Suppl. persan 1515; Gulistān Palace, accession no. 2167; Topkapi Palace Library, accession no. E.H. 1690. For references on each manuscript, see note 1 above. These manuscripts will also be described in the last section of the present article.

[9]These are: Harvard Art Museums, accession no. 1960.64; Freer Gallery of Art, accession no. F1944. 48; Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 66; Bibliothèque nationale de France, accession no. Persan 257; Dār al-kutub, accession no. Adab Fārisī M 4; British Library, accession no. IO Islamic 268; Bodleian Library, accession no. Elliott 239. For references on each manuscript, see note 1 above. These manuscripts will also be described in the last section of the present article.

Mirror for Princes

Let us start with the compilation that was diffused in western Iran and Turkey.[10] A rather short selection, its 150 verses were drawn exclusively from the moral discourse of the *Bustān*, thus forming a collection of *ams̱āl* (proverbs, aphorisms) and *pand* (pieces of advice). No narrative verses were thus included. This technique of extracting moral aphorisms from their narrative contexts was quite common. Several authors approached the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī in this manner. In 1081, a certain ʿAlī b. Aḥmad made a collection of moral verses known as *Ikhtiyārāt-i Shāhnāma* or *Kitāb-i Intikhāb-i Shāhnāma* ("Selections of the *Shāhnāma*") which he presented as a book of wisdom.[11] In his *Rāḥat al-ṣudūr wa āyat al-surūr* ("Ease of Hearts and Marvel of Happiness"), written in the early thirteenth century, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Rāvandī quoted lengthy series of verses from the *Shāhnāma*, mostly from its non-historical sections. As explained in the preface, Rāvandī's objective was "to choose some selections of poetry and prose, and compile them into a collection so that [men] might learn from them."[12] By privileging general and proverbial quotations from the *Shāhnāma*, his text reveals a reception of Firdawsī's poem as a mirror for princes, as Julie Scott Meisami and other scholars have shown.[13] More generally, selections from the *Shāhnāma* seem to have been available to medieval authors as independent works, as reservoirs of wisdom from which they could pick wise sayings before incorporating them as quotations in their own work, as Nasrin Askari has suggested.[14]

In the compilations of the *Bustān*, one must further note that the aphoristic verses were picked from disparate chapters and arranged in an order that differs from the complete *Bustān*. As such these compilations contrast with other selections of *mas̱navīs* found in anthologies such as the so-called *Safīna-yi Tabrīz*, compiled in Tabriz in the 1330s, in which verses were selected in a linear way, following the order of the complete poem.[15] Verses were also chosen in a linear fashion in the anthologies made for the Timurid prince Iskandar Sulṭān in Shiraz and Isfahan between 1410 and 1413, in which they follow not only the order but also the structure of the complete editions of the *mas̱navīs*, hence offering more of a summary than a rewriting of the text.[16]

In contrast, in the compilations of the *Bustān*, a new order of verses is created, as can be seen from the following extract (Figure 1)[17] (after the Persian text, an English translation is provided, together with, in italics at the end of each verse, the chapter number and two verse numbers: the verse number in the English translation by

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[10]See note 9.

[11]Askari, *The Medieval Reception*, 42; Meisami, "The *Shāh-nāme* as Mirror for Princes," 268.

[12]Meisami, 267.

[13]Ibid. Also see Askari, *The Medieval Reception*, 40.

[14]Askari, *The Medieval Reception*, 40–44.

[15]For a facsimile of the manuscript, see Tabrīzī, *Safina-yi Tabriz*, 539–78. For a list of the texts contained in this anthology, see Seyed-Gohrab, *The Treasury of Tabriz*, 39.

[16]For a summary of the content of some of these anthologies, see Soucek, "Manuscripts."

[17]The sequence can be read in this manuscript: Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 48 and 71, fol. 6b. The page is reproduced in Figure 1.

Figure 1. *Intikhāb-i Bustān*, ca. 833/1478, Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 48 and 71, fol. 6b (photograph by the author).

G. M. Wickens, followed by the verse number in the Persian edition of Ghulām-Ḥusayn Yūsufī):[18]

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[18]For references, see note 2. The English translations are based on Wickens, with modifications whenever appropriate, for example when the Persian verse in the *Muntakhab* does not coincide with the Persian verse from which Wickens' translation stems.

منه بر جهان دل که بیگانه ایست   چو مطرب که هر روز در خانه ایست

نه لایق بود عیش با دلبری   که هر شامگاهش بود شوهری

نشاید هوس باختن با گلی   که هر بامدادش بود بلبلی

اگر ملک بر جم بماندی و بخت   ترا کی میسر شدی تاج و تخت

ترا این قدر تا بمانی بس است   چو رفتی جهان جای دیگر کس است

چه میخواهم از طارم افراشتن   همینت بس از بهر بگذاشتن

نکویی کن امسال چون ده تراست   که سال دگر دیگری ده خداست

مکن تکیه بر ملک و مال و حشم   که پیش از تو بودست و بعد از تو هم

دل اندر دلارام دنیا مبند   که ننشست با کس که دل بر نکند

نشستی بجای دگر کس بسی   نشیند بجای تو دیگر کسی

Set not on the world your heart, for it's a stranger,
Like a minstrel in a new house every day [*Chap. I, v. 841/833*]
Love's[19] unseemly with a sweetheart
Who has a new spouse every night[20] [*Chap. I, v. 842/834*]
A man should not indulge his fancy with a rose
Who has a different nightingale at every dawning [*Chap. VII, v. 3258/3185*]
If dominion had remained to Jam, and fortune,
How would crown and throne have come your way? [*Chap. I, v. 833/825*]
While you remain, this dignity suffices you
Once gone, the world is someone else's place [*Chap. I, v. 559/554*]
What do I want with raising vaults?
This is enough for you to leave behind[21] [*Chap. VI, v. 2889/2825*]
Do good this year, while the village is yours,
For next year another will be the headman [*Chap. I, v. 843/835*]
Lean not on realm and wealth and retinue
These have both been before, and after you will be [*Chap. I, v. 994/971*]
Tie not your heart to this heart-easing world,
For it sat with none whose heart it did not pluck [*Chap. IX, v. 3840/3745*]
Often you've sat in the place of another,
And another will sit in your place one day [*Chap. IX, v. 3765/3673*].

In this succession of ten verses, four chapters from the *Bustān* are represented, chapter one, six, seven, and nine, and arranged in a "random" fashion. Verses from the first chapter appear after and before verses from chapter seven or nine. However, although they do not reflect the order of Saʿdī's text, the verses show a certain thematic consistency. One can note in particular the focus on the impermanence of the world.

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[19]The manuscript of the compilation uses the word "'*ishq*" (love) instead of "'*aysh*" (pleasure) usually found in the *Bustān*.
[20]In the compilation, "*shāmgāh*" (evening) is used instead of "*bāmdād*" (morning) found in Yūsufī's edition.
[21]In the modern edition, the verse reads: "What do I want with raising vaults? / This is enough for me to leave behind" (Saʿdī, *Morals Pointed*, v. 2889).

The verses are also similar in structure and tone. Almost all of them are addressed to the second person, in this case a ruler. In fact, the sixth verse of the sequence, uttered in the first-person singular in Yūsufī's edition, is here conjugated in the second person, a choice that harmonizes the compilation's enunciative structure. Using the imperative, the compilation also projects a strong, prescriptive tone. The didactic dimension is enhanced by the recourse to rhetorical questions, as in the passage's fourth line.

The sequence presents other forms of continuity, in particular stylistic. The second and third verses use the same metaphor, comparing the transience of the world to, respectively, a lover's infidelity and the inconstancy of a flower. Resonances further appear through parallel constructions and repetition of words and sounds. The same two verses have a common rhyme (in "-*i*," see Figure 1). Their second *miṣraʿ* (hemistich) also starts with the same words ("*ki har*"—"who each"). Although composed of verses from different chapters, sometimes separated by thousands of verses in the complete *Bustān*, the compilation forms a new poem with its own thematic, rhythmic, and musical consistency.

The compilation is divided into six different chapters, which all deal with the morality of kings. After a short preface praising God, the first chapter, which is the longest, starts with an elegiac sequence about the transience of the world before warning the kings of the illusion of conquest. The following chapters emphasize various values such as justice, knowledge, contentment, and compassion.

One can also note an emphasis on the pre-Islamic inspiration of the *Bustān*, as exemplified by the above extract. This compilation uses almost all the verses mentioning exemplary pre-Islamic figures such as Solomon, Jam, or Alexander, while leaving out the many verses devoted to Muslim figures such as the Prophet Muḥammad. In Persian literature, kingly ethics were often conveyed through the examples of Iran's ancient kings, as in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdawsī,[22] a feature that further strengthens the link of this particular compilation of the *Bustān* to the mirror-for-princes tradition.

Both in structure and content, this *Muntakhab* clearly diverges from the complete *Bustān*. First of all, the selection and arrangement of the verses do not follow the structure of a *maṣnavī*.[23] The *Muntakhab* focuses on moral sentences and makes little use of narrative sections, although these constitute the largest part of the *Bustān*. Other conventions of the *maṣnavī* are not adhered to. For instance, the introduction contains only the praise of God, whereas the introduction of a *maṣnavī* typically adds to the doxology a eulogy of the prophet, a dedication to the poet's patron, and digressions on the occasion for writing the poem. In terms of content and literary genre, the *Muntakhab* presents a collection of pieces of advice intended for the education of princes, hence magnifying the mirror-for-princes function of the complete *Bustān*.[24]

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[22]Fouchécour, *Moralia*, 53.

[23]On the poetic form of the *maṣnavī*, see Bruijn, "Mathnawī."

[24]On this genre, see Meisami, "The *Shāh-nāme*"; Aigle, "La conception du pouvoir"; Subtelny, "A Late Medieval Persian Summa," 604–5.

This compilation does not seem to aim at providing a faithful summary of the text, thus raising the question of whether or not it was inspired by other, intermediary compilations of the *Bustān* as well as similar collections of moral advice. As a matter of fact, it recalls the epigraphic inscriptions left by Shiraz rulers on the ruins of the palace of Darius in Persepolis, which also used fragments of the *Bustān*.[25]

In 738/1337–38, Abū Isḥāq b. Maḥmūd from the Inju dynasty had these two successive verses of the *Bustān* (Chap. I, v. 800/793 and 801/794) inscribed on the ruins:

نه بر باد رفتی سحرگاه و شام   سریر سلیمان علیه السلام
بآخر ندیدی که بر باد رفت   خنک آنکه با دانش و داد رفت

Did not it go, morn and eventide, upon the winds
The throne of Solomon, upon whom peace?
Yet see you not how finally he went upon the wind?
Happy the one who went in knowledge and justice.[26]

The same verses appear in the mirror-for-princes *Muntakhab*. Using pre-Islamic figures as exemplars, they address the theme of the impermanence of power. As such they remarkably encapsulate the general tenor of the *Muntakhab* and the ways in which the compilation mixes its prescriptive tone with an elegiac, mythological inspiration.

In 826/1422, the Timurid ruler Ibrahīm Sulṭān followed his peer and left several inscriptions. The longest one, supposedly carved by his own hand in *naskh* script, is also an excerpt from the *Bustān*. It frames the same two verses inscribed by the Inju ruler with three other verses picked from another section of the *Bustān*:[27]

کرا دانی از خسروان عجم   ز عهد فریدون و ضحاک و جم
که در تخت و ملکش نیامد زوال   زدست حوادث نشد پای مال
نه برباد رفتی سحرگاه و شام   سریر سلیمان علیه السلام
بآخر ندیدی که بر باد رفت   خنک آنکه با دانش و داد رفت
الا تا درخت کرم پروری   که بی شک بر کامرانی خوری

Whom know you, of the Persians' kings
From Farīdūn's days, Ẓahhāk's and Jam's [*Chap. I, v. 563/557*]
Unto whose throne and rule came no decline,
Who hasn't been offended by the hand of fate?[28] [*Chap. I, v. 564/558*]
Did not there go, morn and eventide, upon the winds
The throne of Solomon, upon whom peace [*Chap. I, v. 800/793*]

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[25]On these epigraphies, see Melikian-Chirvani, "Le Royaume de Salomon," although the author does not identify the source of the *Bustān*.

[26]See ibid., 20–21 for Persian transcription and French translation.

[27]See Melikian-Chirvani, "Le Royaume de Salomon," 24–5 for Persian transcription and French translation.

[28]The second hemistich is different from Wickens' edition and translation, which reads: "Alone remains the rule of God Almighty."

Yet see you not how finally he went upon the wind
Happy the one who went in knowledge and justice [*Chap. I, v. 801/794*]
Come, cultivate liberality's tree
And you will be certain to eat its fruits [*Chap. I, v. 569/563*]

This compilation of verses resembles the *Muntakhab* in both its poietic and thematic aspects. The verses are arranged regardless of their order in the complete text. They also emphasize particular topics, here related to the conduct of rulers, in ways that further testify to a reception of the *Bustān* as a collection of kingly ethics.

Mystical Twist

The second compilation is three times longer than the first.[29] It is, moreover, closer to the complete *Bustān*, in that it actually repeats the form of the *maṣnavī*. The introduction includes all the obligatory sections of a *maṣnavī*'s preface mentioned earlier. Another difference with the first *Muntakhab* is the use of stories. Even if most verses belong to the abstract part of the poem, some narrative extracts were reproduced. The compilation thus emulates the ratio between narrative and proverbial verses that characterizes the form of the *maṣnavī*.

Just as in a *maṣnavī*, while each verse can be read independently, the text proposes broader continuous sequences. As an example of how scattered verses were woven into coherent passages, let us take a look at a passage from the *Muntakhab*'s preface. The extract opens the section usually titled, as in the complete *Bustān*, "The Reason for Composing the Book" (*sabab-i naẓm-i kitāb*) (Figure 2):[30]

در اقصای عالم بگشتم بسی   بسر بردم ایام با هر کسی
تمتع ز هر گوشه ای یافتم   ز هر خرمنی خوشه ای یافتم
طبیبی پری چهره در مرو بود   که در باغ دل قامتش سرو بود
نه از درد دلهای ریشش خبر   نه از چشم بیمار خویشش خبر
جمالی گرو برده از آفتاب   ز شوخیش بازار تقوی خراب
شده فتنه بر روی او عالمی   چو یوسف جمالی چو عیسی دمی
گر او ز هر برداشتی فی المثل   بخوردندی از دست او چون عسل
تعالی الله از حسن تا غایتی   که گویی از رحمتست آیتی
حکایت کند دردمند غریب   که خوش بود چندی سرم با طبیب
نمی خواستم تندرستی خویش   که دیگر نیاید طبیبم به پیش
بسا عقل زورآور چیردست   که سودای عشقش کند زیردست

Much have I roamed throughout the world's far quarters
Spending my days with all and sundry [*Preface, v. 99/98*]
Enjoyment I have found in every nook
From every harvest I have gained a corn-ear [*Preface, v. 100/99*]

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[29]See note 8 above for a list of manuscript copies.
[30]The sequence can be read in the following manuscript: Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 66, fol. 5a. See reproduction in Figure 2.

Figure 2. *Intikhāb-i Bustān*, begun in 933/1526–27, Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 66, fol. 5a (photograph by the author).

There was in Marv a parī-visaged physician
Whose stature was a cypress in the garden of the heart [*Chap. III, v. 1839/1790*]
No report reached him of the pain of wounded hearts
No report had he of his own ill eye [*Chap. III, v. 1840/1791*]
He from the sun had borne off loveliness' stake
And at his impudence were ruined piety's foundations [*Chap. III, v. 1766/1717*]
The world is seduced by his face

As by the beauty of Yūsuf and the breath of Jesus[31]
And if, just suppose, he'd held up poison,
They'd from his hands have taken it like nectar [*Chap. IV, v. 2240/2181*]
God is exalter over beauty to the point
That you might say it is a sign of His mercy [*Chap. III, v. 1767/1718*]
A sufferer, a stranger, tells the tale thus
My head was light awhile for that physician [*Chap. III, v. 1841/1792*]
And I no more desired my own good health,
Lest he to me should never come again [*Chap. III, v. 1842/1793*]
Many's the forceful intellect, valiantly equipped,
That's been made subject to the rage of love [*Chap. III, v. 1843/1794*].

The sequence begins with the first two verses of the corresponding section of the *Bustān*'s preface. The narrator-author introduces himself as a great traveler. Also compared to harvesting, traveling is consubstantial to writing, the process by which the poet gathers and collects all things seen and heard.

Next, as an example of the stories that Saʿdī could witness along the way, the compiler has inserted the first two verses of a narrative from the third chapter of the complete *Bustān*. The story is about a physician from Marv who was known for his astounding beauty. The compiler has thus created a multilevel narrative, with an extradiegetic level featuring Saʿdī as the narrator and, embedded into it, a diegetic level that recounts the story of the physician.

The montage is even more intricate. The two following verses were picked from another two different stories. The first one belongs to a story from the third chapter, which similarly evokes a character with a confounding beauty, this time from the city of Samarqand. The following verse is from the fourth chapter and also deals with a character, here a merchant whose success owes much to his countenance. Although these two verses do not belong to the story of the handsome physician of Marv, they can easily be related to it since they describe the devastating effects of physical beauty. The compiler's strategy is associative, consolidating and developing similar stories.

Thereafter, the text retreats to the story of the doctor, adding the testimony of another character, a patient who would rather be ill than run the risk of never seeing the doctor again. The last verse of the sequence features a more abstract conclusion, highlighting the ability of love to challenge even the more rational minds.

In a few verses, this excerpt encapsulates the complex nature of the *Bustān*. Using the metaphor of travel, it mirrors the self-referential quality of the poem. By presenting at least two embedded stories—the journey of the narrator-author and the story of the doctor of Marv—it also announces its multilayered diegetic structure. In addition, it links the narrative passages to a moralistic reflection.

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[31]This verse, which I found in all copies of this *Muntakhab*, is not recensed in Yūsufī's edition nor can it be found in Wickens' translation.

At the heart of this passage lies one of the most important themes of the *Munta-khab*, namely, the link between the contemplation of the beloved and metaphysical experience. This is known in Persian literature as *shāhid-bāzī* ("playing the witness"), the witnessing of divine presence in worldly manifestations. As early as the tenth century, some Sufi masters discussed the possibility that God might appear in finite, contained forms that humans can grasp, including the form of young males. This is what they called *shāhid-bāzī*, "a ritualized activity that was grounded on a belief that God may be seen by contemplating pleasant faces that bear witness to divine beauty," as Lloyd Ridgeon wrote.[32] *Shāhid-bāzī* was both a literary and an actual practice, linking the contemplation of external reality to an understanding of divine beauty.[33]

With its emphasis on beauty, love, and sight, the story of the doctor of Marv in fact foregrounds one of Saʿdī's most important innovations, the integration of eroticism and spirituality. Saʿdī was one of the first poets to address *shāhid-bāzī* in Persian poetic discourse, by fusing together amorous experience and metaphysical perception, as Domenico Ingenito has shown.[34] Saʿdī also emphasized the visual aspect of this conflation: God appears in the act of gazing; it is the experience of sight that provides access to inner beauty.[35]

Several other verses work to foreground the metaphysics of love. While it is impossible to generalize on Sufi theology, or even to equate Sufism with mysticism, aspects of the mystical experience do resonate with the Sufi tradition, including its claims of communion with God, and its culmination with the absorption or even the eradication of the self in God, as Ridgeon recently summarized.[36] At least since the tenth century, ʿishq or passionate love has been central to certain trends of Sufi ascetic theology, including the Persian Sufi tradition of the medieval period, infusing Sufism with a theosophy of eros.[37] Many Sufis considered love the highest aim of Sufi seekers, the pinnacle of the Sufi path toward transcendence.[38] Because the ultimate goal was the obliteration of the self, love could lend first to the mystic's alienation, as the verse following the previous sequence explains:

چو عشق آمد از عقل دیگر مگوی   که در دست چوگان اسیرست گوی

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[32] Ridgeon, "The Controversy of Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī," 4. On *shāhid-bāzī*, also see Ingenito, "Tabrizis in Shiraz"; Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*; Shamīsā, *Shāhidbāzī*.

[33] It was as common as it was controversial, because of accusations of *hulul*, the belief in the incarnation of God (Ridgeon, "The Controversy of Shaykh Awḥad al-Dīn Kirmānī," 11–13).

[34] Ingenito, "Tabrizis in Shiraz."

[35] According to Ingenito, Saʿdī's poetry marks "the integration of the mundane and the mystical poles of the amorous experience through the anthropological experience of vision" (ibid., 117).

[36] Ridgeon, "Mysticism."

[37] Lewisohn, "Sufism's Religion of Love."

[38] For a brief summary of and further references on the emergence of the concept of love in Persian Sufism, as well as a description of the various stages of love in early Persian Sufism, see Ernst, "The Stages of Love."

Once Love has come, speak no more of intelligence
The ball is but a captive in the polo-stick's hand. (*Chap. III, v. 1851/1802*)

A stock image of Sufi Persian poetry, the metaphor of the ball and the polo-stick refers to the captivity of the lover, who is played, manipulated by the beloved. A few verses later, an image of the lover's annihilation appears, comparing the lover to a moth, and the beloved to a candle:[39]

نبخشود بر حال پروانه شمع   نگه کن که چون سوخت در پیش جمع

The candle indulges not the moth's condition
See then, how it burns before all assembled. [*Chap. II, v. 1379/1334*]

The beloved does not spare the lover any pain. What results from this ordeal is the consumption of the moth, its dissolution into the beloved's flame: the ultimate goal of the Sufi seeker was the annihilation of selfhood. Entitled "On Love and Lovers" (*dar ʿishq u ʿushshāq*) in some copies, a whole chapter of the *Muntakhab* is devoted to the sinuous, painful quest of dervishes, "knowers of the wayside halts, though having lost the track."[40] "Drunk with the Cupbearer"[41]—the Cupbearer being another allegorical figure of the Beloved—the Sufi lover cannot help but seek his own destruction. Yet this dangerous love is precisely the key to his liberation, "for if He destroys you," as the poem suggests, "you will be everlasting." Sufi love is the guarantee that selfish, earthly life can be dissolved into divine plenitude:

تو را با حق آن آشنایی دهد   که از دست خویشت رهایی دهد

Alone that grants you acquaintance with Truth
Which first grants you release from self's own hand.[42] (*Chap. III, v. 1960/1903*)

Just as in the *Bustān* (and many works of advice of this period), the compilation is arranged into ten chapters, some of which repeat the content of their matching chapters in Saʿdī's complete poem. These include the first chapter on justice (*dar ʿadl*, "On Justice"), the second chapter on beneficence (*dar iḥsān*, "On Beneficence"), the third chapter on love (*dar ʿishq u ṣifat-i ʿushshāq*, "On Love and Lovers"), the fourth chapter on humility (*dar tavāżuʿ u takabbur*, "On Humility and Pride") as well as the sixth chapter on contentment (*dar saʿādat u qanāʿat*, "On Happiness and Contentment").[43]

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[39]The verse appears in Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 66, fol. 7b.
[40]Ibid., fol. 9b, see Saʿdī, *Morals Pointed*, v. 1678.
[41]Ibid., fol. 9b, see Saʿdī, *Morals Pointed*, v. 1695.
[42]Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 66, fol. 10a.
[43]The chapter titles of the *Muntakhab* show some differences in wording from one copy to another, although the overall theme is the same. The titles given here follow the Freer copy (accession no. F1944.48).

The outline, however, also departs from the *Bustān*. For example, the last three chapters of the complete *Bustān*, respectively on gratitude, repentance, and close communion, were consolidated into one chapter, often entitled "On Gratitude" (*dar shukr*). New chapter titles could thus be introduced in the compilation. The most remarkable one is the title of chapter five, "On Proving the Unity" (*dar iṣbāt-i vaḥdat*), which foregrounds the Sufi notion of the unity of God and creation, a notion developed in several Sufi works, including in the writings of Ibn ʿArabī (d. 1245) and the poetry of ʿAṭṭār (d. 1221) and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 1273).[44] Several verses included in this chapter denounce the apparent diversity and fragmentation of the world, emphasizing instead the monistic idea of its unity. In the following verses, the dialectic between part and whole is illustrated by the story of the raindrop, which became a pearl as a reward for having recognized both the all-encompassing unity of the ocean and its own nothingness:[45]

یکی قطره باران ز ابری چکید   خجل شد چو پنهای دریا بدید
جایی که دریاست من کیستم   گر او هست حقا که من نیستم
چو خود را بچشم حقارت بدید   صدف در کنارش بجان پرورید
سپهرش به جایی رسانید کار   که شد نامور لؤلؤ شاهوار
بلندی از آن یافت کو پست شد   در نیستی کوفت تا هست شد

A raindrop trickled from a cloud
And was discomfited to see the ocean's width [*Chap. IV, v. 2041/1984*]
Where there's the ocean, who am I?
If it exists, then truly I do not [*Chap. IV, v. 2042/1985*]
But while with disparagement's eye it saw itself
An oyster-shell within its bosom dearly cherished it [*Chap. IV, v. 2043/1986*]
And heaven at length so far advanced its cause
That it became an imperial pearl, renowned [*Chap. IV, v. 2044/1987*]
Elevation it discovered by first becoming lowly,
Nothingness' door it pounded until existence came to be [*Chap. IV, v. 2045/1988*].

To sum up, in contrast with the first *Muntakhab*, the second one presents both narrative and aphoristic verses. And instead of a collection of proverbs, it reads as a short *maṣnavī*. This is not to say, however, that it is closer to the complete *Bustān*. Within each chapter, sequences were rearranged by inserting verses from other chapters in order to complement or twist the framing verses. In addition, despite mimicking the original structure of the *Bustān*, chapter titles can differ in ways that foreground certain themes to the detriment of others.

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[44]It is interesting to note that while this concept is given preeminence through its use in one of the titles of the *Muntakhab*, it actually appears only once in the complete *Bustān* (in verse 1706, at the end of the third chapter). For more references on the notion of unity in Sufi literature, see Ridgeon, "Mysticism," 130; Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*.

[45]The sequence can be read in Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 66, fol. 14b and fol. 15a.

Thematically, the second *Muntakhab* foregrounds ideas and lessons that are absent from the first selection. Examples include mystical themes, in particular the practice of *shāhid-bāzī* and its fusion of spirituality and homoerotic ideals. Such motifs do not necessarily stand out in the complete poem of the *Bustān*. Verses carrying mystical imagery such as the trope of the candle and the moth are indeed often part of larger stories, where they can be used as metaphorical supplements to reflect upon secular stories. But here, because they are decontextualized and juxtaposed with similarly themed verses, they work to center and intensify a spiritual content, and in particular the aesthetics of *shāhid-bāzī*, even as those themes might seem peripheral to the complete *Bustān*.

As such, the second *Muntakhab* echoes the mystical literature produced in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Khurasan. This is not to say that this particular selection should be attributed to late Timurid/early Safavid Khurasan, only that it testifies to and recalls literary contexts that privileged mystical readings of canonical texts, and that also promoted a reception of Saʿdī as a mystic, as I will suggest below. The *Muntakhab* resonates for instance with *Majālis al-ʿushshāq* (The Assembly of Lovers), a collection of imaginary love stories starring legendary and historical personalities. Modern scholars have attributed the work, dated 1503, to Ḥusayn Gazurgāhī, a disciple of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī and a boon companion of the Timurid ruler Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqara (1438–1506).[46] Lovers include famous Sufis such as Ibn ʿArabī and Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, mythical kings like Solomon, historical rulers such as the Seljuq sultan Malikshāh, and late fifteenth-century figures like Jāmī, Mīr ʿAlī Shīr Navāʾī, and Sulṭān Ḥusayn himself, to whom the last chapter is devoted.[47] While the stories appear to treat worldly love, most often using homoerotic language, the introduction reminds us of the narratives' allegorical dimension, of the metaphorical link between carnal and spiritual love.

In terms of *poiesis*, the *Muntakhab* recalls the practice of literary imitation developed in Herat at the end of the fifteenth century. A large part of the literary production of late Timurid Herat was devoted to the rewriting of literary models. Most often, literary forms and structures were reused, while the thematic content was adjusted to contemporary literary and intellectual interests. These practices were known as *istiqbāl* (reception), *javāb* (response), or *tatabbuʿ* (imitation) (by the end of the fifteenth century, all three terms were used interchangeably and for different poetic forms, whether the *ghazāl*, the *qaṣīda*, or the *masnavī*).[48] These literary processes were neither passive nor antiquarian. They did not merely attempt to duplicate, conserve, or restore a tradition. Rather, as Paul Losensky put it, imitation was "simultaneously a method of poetic self-definition, a characteristic feature of the historical period and a form of literary interpretation."[49] The aim was to recreate the past in

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[46]On this text and its illustrations in sixteenth-century Shiraz, see Uluç, "Arts of the Book," 117–38.
[47]Soucek, "Interpreting the *Ghazals*," 154.
[48]On these practices, see Losensky, *Welcoming Fighani*, 137 and 191–2; Subtelny, "A Taste for the Intricate," n. 33, 62–3; Zipoli, *The Technique of the Ǧawāb*.
[49]Losensky, *Welcoming Fighani*, 191–2.

ways that were relevant to the present, while engaging with both the history and the poetics of literature.

Responses were performed by a great variety of writers, orally during the *majlis* (a form of literary gathering) or on written supports. Jāmī, for example, based a large part of his works on the imitation of past models, as in the *Bahāristān* ("The Spring Garden"), which he presents in the preface as an imitation of the *Gulistān* ("Rose Garden") of Saʿdī, composed shortly after the *Bustān*.[50] The similarities between the *Bahāristān* and the *Gulistān* are limited to formal aspects. They both consist of a *prosimetrum*, a text mixing prose and poetry. They have the same outline, deploying eight chapters, and both use in their titles the image of the garden to characterize their structure. Thematically and stylistically, they remain, however, quite different. While the *Gulistān* combines anecdotes and aphorisms of both secular and religious content, the *Bahāristān* belongs to the genre of the *tazkīrāt*, a collection of biographies. It is composed of a series of portraits of saints and Sufis, philosophers and poets.

Very often, in these practices of *javāb*, just as in the *Muntakhab*, the new version would present a mystical twist. Another example is the story of *Yūsuf u Zulaykhā*, rewritten by Jāmī as a mystical *masnavī*. In Arabic and Persian traditions, the story usually relies on the Qurʾanic version, in which Zulaykha personifies the temptation of sin while Yusuf represents the ideal believer, who resists sinning for fear of God.[51] In Jāmī's version, by contrast, Zulaykha is a positive character.[52] She stands for the Sufi seeker who, in their initiatory journey, must wrestle with the inaccessibility of the beloved, personified by Yusuf. The love affair between Zulaykhā and Yūsuf becomes a spiritual quest, in which Yūsuf personifies God while Zulaykhā stands for the Sufi seeker. Zulaykhā's earthly love is thus "a manifestation of love for God" and her lust a desire for knowledge and truth, as Gayane Merguerian and Afsaneh Najmabadi have written.[53]

It seems, in fact, that Jāmī largely contributed to the reception of Saʿdī as a mystical poet. Saʿdī is indeed portrayed as a Sufi guide in Jāmī's *masnavī* entitled *Subḥat al-abrār* ("The Rosary of the Pious"). This *masnavī* consists of forty sections in which moral discourses are accompanied by anecdotes. The third section deals with versified speech and its divine nature. It includes verses on the inability of language to describe divine action as well as on the mystical function of poetry. The anecdote illustrating this paradoxical discourse is centered on Saʿdī. A Sufi mystic dreams of Saʿdī being rewarded by angels for a verse in which he praises God.[54] Saʿdī's literary production is therefore cast as mystical poetry, a shift in Saʿdī's reception that is paralleled in the *Muntakhab*, where the multifaceted *Bustān* is given mystical inflections.

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[50]Jāmī, *Bahāristān*; Saʿdī, *The Gulistan of Saʿdī*.
[51]On the character of Zulaykha and its reception in the Islamic tradition, see Stowasser, *Women in the Qurʾan*, 50–56; Merguerian and Najmabadi, "Zulaykha and Yusuf."
[52]Jāmī, *Masnavī-i Haft Avrang*, vol. 1, 17–209.
[53]Merguerian and Najmabadi, "Zulaykha and Yusuf," 497.
[54]Jāmī, *Masnavī-i Haft Avrang*, vol. 1, 579, v. 477.

Patterns of Circulation

These compilations seem to have circulated during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in different parts of the Persianate world. The mirror-for-princes *Muntakhab* was copied in courtly milieus of western Iran and Turkey, while the second *Muntakhab* seems to have been more frequently copied in Timurid and post-Timurid Khurasan and Transoxiana.

The princely status of the mirror-for-princes *Muntakhab* is enhanced in the manuscripts by at least four aspects: the presence of a dedication to a royal patron, the signature of celebrated artists, the addition of paintings illustrating courtly scenes, as well as the manuscripts' circulation and transformation in princely workshops. The group's first manuscript is dedicated to the Aq Qoyunlu ruler Sulṭān Khalīl (d. 833/1478) as stated in the double *shamsa* opening the book.[55] The manuscript remained unfinished: the paintings were not completed until later and the copy lacks a colophon. As Abolala Soudavar has suggested, it is possible that its making was interrupted by Sulṭān Khalīl's death in 833/1478 and that it was made in Tabriz, after Sulṭān Khalīl had just succeeded to his father Uzun Ḥasan (r. 861/1457–882/1478).[56] Soudavar also attributes the copying of the manuscript to the famous calligrapher ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Khvārazmī, who produced several manuscripts for the Aq Qoyunlus.[57]

It is no surprise that such a copy was produced for Sulṭān Khalīl, for it is consistent with the interest of the Aq Qoyunlus in the "mirrors" genre, as evidenced by their commissioning of the *Akhlāq-i Jalālī* ("Ethics of Jalāl"), a mirror for princes written by Jalāl al-Din Davānī (830/1427–980/1502).[58] This book was composed after the model of Naṣīr al-Dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1274), the *Akhlāq-i Nāṣīrī* ("Ethics of Naṣīr"), written in 633/1235. At the core of both books lie the four cardinal virtues of the king: *ḥikmat* (wisdom), *shajāʿat* (courage), *ʿiffat* (modesty) and *ʿadālat* (justice), which are also emphasized in the *Muntakhab*.[59]

Sulṭān Khalīl was, moreover, particularly appreciative of the *Bustān*'s aphoristic verses, some of which he encountered as epigraphic inscriptions on Darius' palace in Persepolis. The event is reported by the same Jalāl al-Dīn Davānī in a text called the ʿ*Arżnāma* ("Account of the Parade").[60] While in Fārs, Sulṭān Khalīl went to Persepolis to complete a military review. During his visit, he discovered the inscriptions left on the ruins of Darius' palace by the Inju ruler Abū Isḥāq b. Maḥmūd and the Timurid prince Ibrāhīm Sulṭān.

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[55]Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 48 and 71: *Intikhāb-i Bustān*, thirteen fols., 205 x 120 mm, with ten lines of text per page, copied in a fine *nastaʿliq* script, one double illustrated frontispiece (fols. 1b–2a), one painting (fol. 12b), and one drawing (fol. 13a). The *shamsa* is reproduced in Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 136.

[56]This hypothesis has also been formulated by Soudavar (see ibid.).

[57]Ibid. On this calligrapher, also see Soucek, "ʿAbd al-Raḥīm Ḵᵛārazmī."

[58]Davānī, *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*.

[59]Lingwood, "Jāmī's *Salāmān u Absāl*," 180.

[60]For a partial English translation with notes, see Minorsky, "A Civil and Military Review."

Figure 3. *Risāla* [*Intikhāb-i Bustān*], 907/1502, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA, accession no. 1960.64, fols. 1b–2a (photograph by the author).

After the fall of the Aq Qoyunlus, the manuscript of Sulṭān Khalīl was taken to the early Safavid capital of Tabriz in the first half of the sixteenth century. A double illustrated frontispiece and a painting were added at the Safavid work-shop.[61] Showing scenes of courtly entertainment, the frontispiece clearly reflects the princely setting in which this *Muntakhab* was intended to be shared. The manuscript then traveled to the Ottoman Empire, for it also contains an Ottoman drawing. The picture was added on the verso of the last folio of text. It is executed in gold and consists of a vegetal composition in the *saz* style, featur-ing serrated leaf foliage.[62]

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[61]For a reproduction of these paintings, see Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, no. 71.
[62]This drawing remains unpublished.

The rest of this group's manuscripts confirms the transmission of this compilation in the royal courts of western Iran and Turkey. They include a Safavid copy signed by the calligrapher Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī (d. 972/1564–65), one of the most celebrated artists of the court of Shāh Ṭahmāsp (d. 984/1576).[63] This manuscript opens with a double frontispiece illustrating courtly scenes.[64] Another example of this *Muntakhab* was produced around 1530 and has been attributed by Francis Richard to Ottoman Turkey.[65] Finally, one should mention a copy made in Shamākhī in the region of Shirvān in 1539 and signed by the calligrapher ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Muẕahhib.[66]

In contrast, the manuscript copies of the second *Muntakhab* were mostly diffused in Khurasan and Transoxiana. Such diffusion reflects the literary and spiritual trends of these regions, which were largely marked, as mentioned above, by a taste for rewriting, as well as an interest in bridging the mundane and the metaphysical, as noted by Ingenito and others.[67]

The first known copy of the mystical *Muntakhab* is dated 907/1502 and was produced in the region of Bākharz in Khurasan.[68] The double frontispiece opening the book shows gatherings of scholars, rather than courtly assemblies (Figure 3).

Other copies were made in Herat at the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is interesting to note that the famous calligrapher Muḥammad Qāsim b. Shādīshāh was responsible for copying of two of these *Muntakhab*. The first one appears in a larger anthology (*Majmūʿa*) executed in Herat in 930/1523–24. The book also contains selections from other texts (*Khusraw u Shīrīn* of Niẓāmī Ganjavī, *Subḥat al-Abrār* of Jāmī, the *Maṣnavī* of Rūmī, the *Khamsa* of Niẓāmī and the *Ḥadīqat al-Ḥaqīqa* of Sanāʾī).[69] It opens with a preface that presents the content of the anthology. Several calligraphers from Herat were involved in its making, including ʿAlī al-Ḥusaynī, Muḥammad Qāsim b. Shādīshāh, Sulṭān Muḥammad Khvandān and

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[63]Gulistān Palace, accession no. 2167: *Intikhāb-i Bustān*, twenty fols., 160 x 100 mm, with ten lines of text per page, copied in a fine *nastaʿliq* script, one double illustrated frontispiece and one painting. For more information on the life and work of Shāh Maḥmūd al-Nīshāpūrī, see Farhad and Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft Awrang*, 254–69 and 385–406.

[64]For reproductions of these paintings, see Rajabī, *Shāhkārhā-i nigārgarī-i Irān*, 125–7.

[65]Bibliothèque nationale de France, accession no. suppl. persan 1515: nine fols., at least two folios are missing (between fol. 7 and fol. 8 and between fol. 8 and fol. 9), 109 x 119 mm, with eleven lines of text per page, copied in a fine *nastaʿliq* script, two paintings (fol. 3a and fol. 6a). See Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, 140.

[66]Topkapi Palace Library, accession no. E.H. 1690: *Intikhāb-i Bustān*, eleven fols., 175 x 115 mm, with eleven lines of text per page, copied in a fine *nastaʿliq* script, one double illustrated frontispiece (fols. 1b–2a) and one painting (fol. 9b). Since I have not had the opportunity to examine the manuscript, I cannot comment on the paintings.

[67]Ingenito, "Tabrizis in Shiraz," 95. On the Sufi scene in Herat, see Gross, "Multiple Roles and Perceptions of a Sufi Shaikh."

[68]Harvard Art Museums, accession no. 1960.64: *Risāla*, fifteen fols., 229 x 138 mm, some folios are missing, with twelve lines of text per page, copied in a fine *nastaʿliq* script, one double illustrated frontispiece.

[69]Freer Gallery of Art, accession no. F1944.48: *Majmūʿa*, sixty-nine fols., 250 x 167 mm, with twenty-one lines of text per page, copied in a very small and fine *nastaʿliq* script, one painting.

Muḥammad Nūr. In fact, as indicated by Dust Muḥammad in his preface to the album of Bahrām Mīrzā written in 951/1544–45, these artists belonged to the same lineage of calligraphers and were linked through master-pupil relationships.[70] Next, a painting marks the transition from the preface to the compilations.[71] Inscribed in a circular frame, it represents an old man and his disciple. This iconography plays a double role: it reflects the pedagogical and spiritual relationships between the calligraphers involved in the making of the book while announcing the Sufi vein of the texts enclosed in the anthology.

The second *Muntakhab* copied by Muḥammad Qāsim b. Shādishāh is contained in a freestanding manuscript that underwent multiple changes over time.[72] The calligraphy was executed in 933/1526–27, probably in Herat, before the double illustrated frontispiece and two paintings were completed a few decades later, perhaps in the city of Mashhad.[73] Just like the preceding examples, the frontispiece shows an assembly of scholars. The self-reflexivity of the painting is further highlighted by the representation, in the middle of the composition, of a book toward which the characters' attention seems to converge.

The *Muntakhab* was diffused even further East, as evidenced by a copy executed by Mir Ḥusayn al-Ḥusaynī, probably in Bukhara around 1550.[74] This calligrapher is known to have produced several manuscripts for Uzbek rulers, including a copy of the complete *Bustān* of Saʿdī executed in Bukhara in 938/1531 for Abū al-Ghāzī Sulṭān ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Bahādur.[75] The illumination and the paintings are also refined examples of Uzbek book arts. The book opens with a double illustrated frontispiece showing a prince and a *shaykh* in a courtly setting, a theme that emphasizes again the mystical tenor of this particular *Muntakhab*.[76]

In Conclusion

Compilations of the *Bustān* prove to be an important tool in the study of the *Bustān*'s reception. Generally, they show that the *Bustān* was received as a flexible text, a platform for literary and artistic adaptations. Through operations of selection and juxtaposition, the compilations foreground themes that might otherwise seem secondary in the complete *Bustān*. While the complete *Bustān* can be approached as a didactic *maṣnavī* destined to a great variety of audiences, the compilations narrow the moral

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[70]For the Persian text with an English translation, see Dust Muḥammad, "Preface," 10–11.

[71]Reproduced in Roxburgh, *The Persian Album*, 178.

[72]Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 66: *Intikhāb-i Bustān*, twenty-five fols., 192 x 119 mm, with twelve lines of text per page, copied in a fine *nastaʿliq* script, one double illustrated frontispiece, two paintings and one drawing.

[73]The paintings are reproduced in Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, 174–5.

[74]Bibliothèque nationale de France, accession no. Persan 257: twenty-two fols., 244 x 157, with thirteen lines of text per page, copied in a fine *nastaʿliq* script, one double illustrated frontispiece.

[75]Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge, MA, accession no. 1979.20.

[76]Fols. 1b–2a. The whole manuscript has been digitized and can be accessed online: http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b84149970 (accessed April 26, 2016).

content of the *Bustān* to specific interests, thus altering the *Bustān*'s genre. More tightly focused on the life and rule of kings, the first compilation resembles a mirror for princes. Meanwhile, the second compilation privileges mystical verses that resonate with aspects of Sufi erotic theology.

The selections do not simply summarize the *Bustān*, since they each leave out major thematic and formal aspects, including the self-reflective quality of the *Bustān*, as well as its humor and irony, which often upend the poem's moralizing tendencies. In contrast with the complete *Bustān*, the selections, moreover, present a limited set of themes, while projecting a certain generic consistency. By highlighting certain stories and ideas at the expense of others, and by ordering verses in a way that differs from Saʿdī's order, the acts of selecting and juxtaposing transform Saʿdī's text, in effect creating a different, more homogeneous composition. Even though all verses come from the *Bustān* of Saʿdī, because they are severed from their original context and reshuffled they produce a different literary experience. The act of selecting "disintegrates the text and detaches [it] from context," to use Antoine Compagnon's assessment of the act of quoting.[77]

In a way, the selections reveal an effort to actualize the *Bustān* of Saʿdī. As Yves Citton has suggested, an actualizing reading seeks to adapt the original text to contemporary taste, instead of trying to uncover the original meaning or the author's intentions, thus deliberately fashioning an anachronistic interpretation of the source.[78] The selections also conjure up the notion of rewriting, defined by André Lefevere as "the adaptation of a work of literature to a different audience, with the intention of influencing the way in which that audience reads the work."[79] While the selections do not literally rewrite the poem of Saʿdī since all verses come from the *Bustān*, through the poetics of juxtaposition, as in a collage, they do adapt the *Bustān* to certain interests, thus influencing its reception or at least reflecting the preferences of particular audiences.

How then to further define and conceptualize the relation of the compilations to the complete *Bustān*? This question would deserve a full study by itself. As a conclusion, I will restrict myself to a few more remarks. Each compilation of the *Bustān* seems to engage with the complete poem of Saʿdī using a distinct hypertextual technique, to borrow Gérard Genette's terminology: each selection derives from and thus refers to—and transcends—the *Bustān*, its hypotext, in a different way.[80] In the first *Muntakhab*, proverbs were picked from the *Bustān* and assembled so as to form a book of wisdom, an abridged version of the mirror for princes that runs through the *Bustān*. While analogous to the complete *Bustān* in terms of its thematic emphasis on advice, the compilation stands out formally not as a *masnavī* but as a collection of sayings, a sort of *pandnāma* addressed to kings and rulers. As such it uses a technique

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[77]Compagnon, *La Seconde Main*, 18.
[78]Citton, *Lire, interpréter, actualiser.*
[79]Lefevere, "Mother Courage's Cucumbers," 4.
[80]Genette, *Palimpsests*, esp. 1–10.

Figure 4. *Bustān*, ca. 1525, Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 73, fol. 72b (photograph by the author).

similar to quotation: reflecting themes essential to the *Bustān* while altering its literary form.

The transformation that has led to the second *Muntakhab* is different. The formal conventions of the *maṣnavī* were repeated. But in pushing secondary themes to the fore, including the homoeroticism of Sufi spirituality, the second *Muntakhab*

diverts the content of the complete *Bustān* toward mysticism. As such it can be compared to a transposition, separating the form of the work from its spirit, and investing the content with a different meaning.[81] The selections thus constitute a pair of symmetrical and inverse transformations—the first says a similar thing differently while the second says another thing similarly. In the first case, the compiler transformed the *Bustān*'s form while leaving the subject rather intact—as intact as the formal transformation from *maṣnavī* to *pandnāma* allows; in the second case, the compiler borrowed the form of the *maṣnavī* while emphasizing secondary themes, diverting the *Bustān* from its original purpose.

Literary reception was, moreover, tightly linked to material practices, as the *Bustān* was copied, circulated, anthologized, and illustrated. Paintings were used within the selections to further assert certain readings, as shown in the last section of this paper. One might also expand this idea to the use of paintings in complete copies of the *Bustān*. Such hypothesis would require further research, but as a way to open up the discussion, I will finish this article with one last example. The calligrapher Shāh Qāsim b. Shādishāh mentioned earlier, who made at least two copies of the mystical *Muntakhab*, also produced two copies of the complete *Bustān*. One of them contains a painting that illustrates, for the first time in our knowledge, the story of the physician from Marv analyzed above and which appears in the *Muntakhab*'s introduction (Figure 4).[82] The painting selects a story that was itself selected in the *Muntakhab*, hence signaling, within the complete version of the *Bustān*, the presence of the *Muntakhab*.

The intertextual dimension of this pictorial choice is further enhanced by the architectural epigraphy represented in the painting. Quoting a verse by Āṣafī, the inscription features a lover who complains to his beloved about the absence of a remedy for unrequited love. This quotation complements the content of the image and its surrounding text by foregrounding the theme of mystical love. Painting and epigraphy, in sum, act like a *muntakhab*: a lens emphasizing a particular reception of the *Bustān*.

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[81]Ibid., 10–12.

[82]Art and History Trust collection, accession no. 73, fol. 72b, Soudavar, *Art of the Persian Courts*, fig. 33, p. 193.

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Margaux Whiskin

Between Fantasy and Philosophy: Saʿdi, Translator of Voltaire's *Zadig*

Zadig ou la Destinée *opens on a preface supposedly written by Sadi (sic), who seems to suggest he is the translator of the story which is to follow. The article will investigate the role played by Voltaire's reference to Saʿdi in* Zadig *as an Oriental prop for the narrative's exotic setting, but also, more importantly, as participating in its philosophical content. Travelers' accounts had brought growing interest in Persia, and Saʿdi would not have been unfamiliar to an educated public; the Orient more generally became an experimental space for Enlightenment thought. Playing on the notion of the translator as cultural bridge, the article examines the uses Voltaire makes of Saʿdi in* Zadig *and whether these correlate to the eighteenth-century French reader's perceptions of the Iranian poet.*

Introduction

During the night of 25-26 February 1745, Louis XV gave a lavish masquerade ball at Versailles to celebrate the Dauphin's wedding. This ball became famously known as the "yew tree ball" (*bal des ifs*), as the king, amongst seven others, had taken the bizarre disguise of a yew tree and made his amorous intentions known to Jeanne-Antoinette Le Normant d'Etiolles, later Mme de Pompadour. The ball was immortalized by the artwork of Charles-Nicolas Cochin *fils*, depicting the festivities. Apart from the conspicuous yews, in the foreground on the right-hand side of the picture can be seen a group of people wearing Oriental disguises. Masquerading was not only a form of social entertainment; it could also be a literary one—the two sometimes blending into each other, as exemplified by Madeleine de Scudéry's salon and works. Three years after the yew tree ball, *Zadig ou la Destinée* (*Zadig or Destiny*) was published, containing Oriental disguises of its own in the dedicatory epistle, including that of Mme de Pompadour as the sultane Shéraa.[1] Seven years later, in 1752, Mme de

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[1]René Pomeau identified Mme de Pompadour behind the character of the sultane Shéraa in his preface to *Zadig* (see Voltaire, *Romans et Contes*, 25); however, evidence of this connexion has not gone undisputed (see Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 77, n. 23).

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Pompadour commissioned from Carle Vanloo the painting *Sultane buvant du café* (*Sultan's Wife Drinking Coffee*). The choice of the painting's subject and the fact that it was seen as a portrait of the royal mistress seem to suggest Mme de Pompadour was happy to claim the literary persona Voltaire had created in *Zadig*.

The main function of a dedicatory epistle is to place a work under the patronage of an influential person. At a first level, the epistle in *Zadig* informs us that "Sadi" recommends the following "Histoire orientale" ("Tale of the Orient") to the sultane Shéraa, understood to be Mme de Pompadour, by that time the king's favorite mistress, and so it seems to be indeed fulfilling this function.[2] The epistle is followed by an approbation, as can be expected in a book published under the *ancien régime*. The function of the approbation was to show that the censor authorized the book's publication. These paratextual elements, normally mere publishing formalities, are often ignored by the reader, who prefers to go straight to the main narrative. Yet in *Zadig*, the paratext subverts its official role and the approbation (certificate of approval) is clearly a spoof:

> Je soussigné, qui me suis fait passer pour savant, et même pour homme d'esprit, ai lu ce manuscrit, que j'ai trouvé, malgré moi, curieux, amusant, moral, philosophique, digne de plaire à ceux mêmes qui haïssent les romans. Ainsi je l'ai décrié, et j'ai assuré monsieur le Cadi-Lesquier, que c'est un ouvrage détestable.

> (I, the undersigned, being one who has succeeded in passing himself off as a man of learning, and even as a wit, have read this manuscript and found it, despite myself, to be interesting, amusing, moral, philosophical, and worthy to give pleasure even to those who hate romances. I have therefore disparaged it and assured His Honor the Cadi that it is a detestable piece of work.)[3]

Playing with the linguistic conventions, *Zadig*'s approbation is deeply irreverent towards royal censors, themselves in Oriental disguise as cadis. It also invites the reader to take a second look at the dedicatory epistle. If one component of the paratext is untrustworthy, then why not the rest?

Zadig's paratext acts as a masquerade: things are not what they seem to be. It is the ludic space for an "ouvrage, qui dit plus qu'il ne semble dire" ("a work which sayeth more than it may appear to say").[4] As Russell Goulbourne states, Voltaire's choice of pseudonyms goes far beyond mere fear of censorship:

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[2]The spelling of the name Saʿdi was not yet fixed in 1748, so today's reader should not be surprised to find it as "Sadi." See Khanyabnejad, "Saadi et son œuvre," 15-6. I will use the spelling "Sadi" to refer to the fictitious author of *Zadig*'s epistle, and "Saʿdi" to refer to the historical figure.

[3]Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 113; Voltaire, *Candide and Other Stories*, 122. All translations for *Zadig* are from this edition.

[4]Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 114. Translation, 123.

Voltaire wears many different masks within his texts; he also disguises himself richly on the title pages to his texts. No fan of publishing his texts anonymously, he very often attributes his works to others, not just out of a fear of official censorship and repression, but for ludic and polemical reasons too. He sometimes attributes his texts to other well-known writers, and his choices are always laden with meaning.[5]

The purpose of the present article is to investigate Voltaire's choice of Saʿdi as author of the dedicatory epistle for *Zadig*. First, Voltaire's use of pseudonyms as a protection against censorship and his choice of a Persian character in several of his works will be examined. The article will then focus on what images Persia and Saʿdi conjured up in the imagination of Voltaire and his contemporaries, and how this is integrated within *Zadig*. The article will also look at the way in which Saʿdi is placed at the heart of Voltaire's playful manipulation of literary practices. Finally, the impact of Saʿdi's presence on the meaning of the text as a whole will be analyzed. The article does not investigate Voltaire's exact borrowings from Saʿdi. This work has already been done by Javâd Hadidi and Adel Khanyabnejad through close comparative analysis. Hadidi and Khanyabnejad have compared the chapter "Le brigand" ("The brigand") in *Zadig* and passages from *Gulistan* and *Bustan* as evidence of Voltaire's borrowing from Saʿdi, a point this article will touch upon. The scope of their work goes beyond Saʿdi and embraces other Persian sources which would have influenced Voltaire. They examine how Voltaire's borrowings from Persian texts have appeared in other French sources predating *Zadig*, thus suggesting that these borrowings might have been indirect, with European travelers' accounts and works of scholarship serving as intermediaries. Hadidi and Khanyabnejad also examine Voltaire's interest in Zoroastrianism and its application in *Zadig* to the depiction of fate, the unfolding of events and the interplay of good and evil.[6]

Voltaire, the Old Persian

As Nicholas Cronk remarks, the two main dangers Enlightenment philosophers faced were piracy and censorship. As an example of how Voltaire avoided the former, Cronk reminds us of *Zadig*'s unusual publishing with one half of the text sent for publication to Prault in Paris, the second to Lefèvre in Nancy.[7] To avoid the latter, Voltaire did not put himself down as the author of his more controversial works. Instead, he would frequently use pseudonyms, these not altogether credible so as to serve the double purpose of shielding him against the wrath of the censors whilst still being able to be identified by the discerning reader.[8] As Sarah Wilewski remarks, Voltaire "was

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[5]Goulbourne, "Voltaire's Masks," 105.

[6]See Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 103-28 ; Hadidi, "Les origines persanes," 51-68 ; and Khanyabnejad, "Saadi et son œuvre," 157-76.

[7]See Cronk, "Voltaire and Authorship," 34-5. See also Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 70-3.

[8]See Cronk, "Voltaire and Authorship,", 38-42.

playing safe since—no matter how transparent the pseudonym—from a legal perspective, [he] could always have denied any involvement with or responsibility for a publication."[9] When *Zadig* was published in 1748, his name did not appear on the title cover as author, as was Voltaire's wont for his more controversial works. Voltaire used Saʿdi as his authorial mask; the precise reasons for choosing this specific persona will be discussed later on.

The use of pseudonyms is the most recognizable component of *romans à clef*, a genre very popular in the eighteenth century due to strict censorship. The *romans à clef* blurred the lines between fiction and non-fiction as the characters served as a mask behind which were hidden actual individuals. Persia and Persians were not uncommonly used in this type of novel. One of the reasons for this is that travel writers would often draw comparisons between Persia and their own country to help their readers gain a more precise understanding of what they were describing. André Daulier Deslandes thus observed that "Hispahan, ou Spahan [...] est aussi grand que Paris" ("Hispahan, or Spahan [...] is as big as Paris").[10] Such parallels must have facilitated the use of Persia in *romans à clef*. *Les Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de Perse*, first published in 1745, and which some have attributed to Voltaire, is an example of this, with Paris masquerading as Isfahan, Louis XIV as Abbas I, and even Voltaire making an appearance as a certain Coja Séhid.[11] From the publication of *romans à clef* using Persian references before 1748, it seems that, thanks to the success of travel writing on Persia, enlightened readers were able to decipher who was hiding behind the fictitious characters. Jeanne Chaybany confirms this view by stating that "une centaine d'années après l'invraisemblance persane du *Grand Cyrus* la connaissance de la Perse est assez généralisée pour qu'on puise des clefs qui permettent d'interpréter des faits et d'identifier lieux et personnages connus de tous" ("a hundred years after the Persian improbability of the *Grand Cyrus*, knowledge of Persia is common enough for drawing keys which allow to interpret facts and identify places and people known to all").[12]

Voltaire used similar tactics to the *romans à clef* in his own works, such as *Le Monde comme il va*, published for the first time in the same year as *Zadig*:

> Bien sûr, les lecteurs savaient bien que *Persépolis* était Paris, la *Perse* était la France et *Babouc*, Voltaire lui-même qui rêvait de la ruine de *Persépolis*. Les indications qui jalonnent le récit, les palais, les parcs, les promenades, la grande rivière (= la Seine) qui traverse la ville, le temple (= Notre-Dame de Paris) situé au bord de cette rivière, les mœurs et coutumes des *Perses*, les rues et les sentiers de leur ville, tout rappelle Paris et les Parisiens.

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[9] Wilewski, "Self-fashioned Voltaire," 790.

[10] Daulier Deslandes, *Les Beautez de la Perse*, 52, quoted in Tork Ladani, *La Perse dans les récits*, 23. My translation.

[11] See Tork Ladani, *L'Impact des récits*, 68-70 and Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 129-42.

[12] Chaybany, *Les Voyages en Perse*, 193, quoted in Tork Ladani, *L'Impact des récits*, 69. My translation.

(Of course the readers knew perfectly well that *Persepolis* was Paris, *Persia* was France and *Babouc*, none else but Voltaire who dreamt of the destruction of *Persepolis*. The clues which punctuate the narrative, the palaces, the parks, the walks, the great river [= the Seine] which runs through the city, the temple [= Notre-Dame cathedral] situated along its bank, the Persians' behavior and customs, the streets and paths of their city, everything evokes Paris and the Parisians.)[13]

Voltaire used Persia and Persians to criticize French society and to attack specific individuals, but he also donned the mask of the old Persian. This is of course the case in *Zadig*, but he uses the same ploy in the dedicatory epistle of his play *Les Scythes* (1767). Voltaire writes about a "bon vieillard *qui cultivait son jardin*" ("a gentle old man *who tended his garden*") to complain about his own trials and tribulations. Persia's geography and personalities act as a thin veil behind which the reader finds elements of Voltaire's own life. Babylone is Paris, the Caucasus Switzerland and Artaxerxes Louis XV:

Ce bonhomme vivait sous Artaxerxes, plusieurs années après l'aventure d'Obéïde et d'Indatire; et il fit une Tragédie en vers persans ... car il s'amusait à faire des vers persans assez passablement, ce qui lui avait attiré de violents ennemis dans Babilone, c'est-à-dire, une demi-douzaine de gredins qui aboyaient sans cesse après lui, et qui lui imputaient les plus grandes platitudes, et les plus impertinents livres qui eussent jamais déshonoré la Perse, et il les laissait aboyer, et griffonner, et calomnier; et c'était pour être loin de cette racaille qu'il s'était retiré avec sa famille auprès du Caucase, *où il cultivait son jardin*.

(This good man lived under Artaxerxes, a few years after Obéïde and Indatire's adventure; and he composed a tragedy in Persian verses ... for he found amusement in writing Persian verses, which he did satisfactorily. But in doing this he made many enemies in Babylon, that is to say half a dozen villains constantly nipping at his heels who falsely put on his account the greatest platitudes and the most impertinent books which ever dishonored Persia; and he left them growling, scribbling and lying. So as to put a distance between this riffraff and himself, he left with his family for the Caucasus *where he tended his garden*.)[14]

Persia, Land of Religious Tolerance

French readers' interest in Persia was mainly triggered by the publication of accounts of travel writers such as Jean-Baptiste Tavernier (1605-89) and Jean Chardin

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[13]Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 141. My translation. See Voltaire, *Romans et Contes*, 93-4; Tork Ladani, *L'Impact des récits*, 73-4.

[14]Voltaire, *Theatre 1766-1767*, 341 (emphasis original). See Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 51-4. My translation.

(1643-1713). These publications fed into the Enlightenment's deep interest in comparing different social, cultural and governmental structures. Voltaire was no exception and, like many others, had read travel accounts to Persia.[15] He mentions Tavernier and Chardin in his *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations* (1756), and had read Thomas Hyde's *Historia religionis veterum persarum* (1700) and d'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque orientale* (1697).[16] Voltaire paid tribute to Hyde for his scholarship on Zoroastrianism, which was of particular interest to the French philosopher, who wrote an article on Zoroaster in his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), calling him "le premier des hommes après Confucius" ("the first of men after Confucius").[17] Hyde's work on Zoroastrianism seems to have also led Voltaire indirectly to Saʿdi:

> Il a fallu que, dans l'ouest de l'Angleterre il [Thomas Hyde] ait deviné la langue que parlaient les Perses du temps de Cyrus, et qu'il l'ait confrontée avec la langue moderne des adorateurs du feu.
>
> C'est à lui surtout que nous devons ces cent portes du Sadder qui contiennent tous les principaux préceptes des pieux ignicoles.
>
> Pour moi, j'avoue que je n'ai rien trouvé sur leurs anciens rites de plus curieux que ces deux vers persans de Sadi, rapportés par Hyde:
>
> Qu'un Perse ait conservé le feu sacré cent ans,
>
> Le pauvre homme est brûlé quand il tombe dedans.
>
> (Living in the west of England, he [Thomas Hyde] must have conjectured the language which the Persians spoke in the time of Cyrus, and must have compared it with the modern language of the worshippers of fire. It is to him, moreover, that we owe those hundred gates of the "Sadder," which contain all the principal precepts of the pious fire-worshippers.
>
> For my own part, I confess I have found nothing in their ancient rites more curious than the two Persian verses of Sadi, as given by Hyde; signifying that, although a person may preserve the sacred fire for a hundred years, he is burned when he falls into it.)[18]

Interest in Zoroastrianism was part of a larger examination into the coexistence of different religions within one country. One of the pictures which emerge from the

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[15] On travel writers and diffusion of their works, see Khanyabnejad, "Saadi et son œuvre," 85-91.
[16] See Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 104 and "Les origines persanes," 54.
[17] Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie (VIII)*, 517 ; Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, 299.
[18] Voltaire, *Questions sur l'Encyclopédie (VIII)*, 518-19 ; Voltaire, *Philosophical Dictionary*, 300-1.

travel accounts is that of Persia as a tolerant country. Travel writers were particularly struck by Abbas I's hospitality and marks of religious tolerance at a time when in France Catholicism was being more rigorously imposed as state religion.[19] For Chardin, a French protestant who went into exile in England as a consequence of religious persecution culminating in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685, the cohabitation of different religions in Persia would have been particularly striking. Voltaire used the example of tolerance offered by Persia in his works of fiction, in particular his tragedies *Les Scythes* and *Les Guèbres ou la Tolérance* (1769), but also in his philosophical works. In the *Essai sur les mœurs*, Voltaire echoed this portrayal of Persia as a by-and-large religiously tolerant country:

> La religion mahométane d'Aly, dominante en Perse, permettait un libre exercice à toutes les autres. Il y avait encore dans Ispahan des restes d'anciens Perses ignicoles, qui ne furent chassés de la capitale que sous le règne de Sha-Abbas ... Plusieurs familles de ces dix tribus et demie, de ces Juifs samaritains transportés par Salmanazar du temps d'Osée, subsistaient encore en Perse, et il y avait au temps dont je parle près de dix mille familles des tribus de Juda, de Lévi et de Benjamin, emmenées de Jérusalem avec Sédécias leur roi, par Nabucodonosor, et qui ne revinrent point avec Esdras et Néhémie.
>
> Quelques sabéens disciples de saint Jean-Baptiste ... étaient répandus vers le golfe Persique. Les chrétiens arméniens du rite grec faisaient le plus grand nombre; les nestoriens composaient le plus petit; les Indiens de la religion des brahmanes, remplissaient Ispahan ...
>
> Enfin toutes ces religions étaient vues de bon œil en Perse, excepté la secte d'Omar, qui était celle de leurs ennemis.
>
> (The Muslim religion of Ali, dominant in Persia, allowed free access to all other religions. There were still in Isfahan the remnants of the ancient Persian fire worshippers who were banished from the capital only under the reign of Abbas I ... Several families of the ten and a half tribes, of those Samaritan Jews transported by Shalmaneser at the time of Hoshea, were still present in Persia; and at the time of which I speak there were about ten thousand families of the tribe of Judah, of Levi and of Benjamin, taken from Jerusalem with their king Zedekiah by Nebuchadnezzar, and who never returned with Ezra and Nehemiah. A few Sabians, disciples of Saint John the Baptist ... were spread around the Persian Gulf. The Armenian Christians following the Greek rite made up the largest number; the Nestorians made up the smallest; the Indians of the Brahmin religion filled Isfahan ... Finally, all these religions were looked upon kindly in Persia, except the sect of Omar, which was that of their enemies.)[20]

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[19]See Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 15-27.
[20]Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations (VI)*, 342-3. My translation.

Through enumeration, Voltaire puts emphasis on the religious diversity which could be found in Persia. The above passage from the *Essai sur les mœurs* remarkably echoes the chapter "Le souper" ("The supper party") in *Zadig*:

Ce fut pour Zadig une consolation sensible de voir tant d'hommes de diverses contrées réunis dans la même place. Il lui paraissait que l'univers était une grande famille qui se rassemblait à Balzora. Il se trouva à table, dès le second jour, avec un Egyptien, un Indien gangaride, un habitant du Cathay, un Grec, un Celte, et plusieurs autres étrangers.

(It gladdened Zadig's heart to see so many men from different countries brought together in one place. It was as if the world were one great family and they were all getting together in Balzora. Already, on the second day he found himself at table with an Egyptian, an Indian from the Gangarides, an inhabitant of Cathay, a Greek, a Celt, and several other foreigners.)[21]

Witnessing people from different origins peacefully engaging in trade, Zadig's faith in humanity is restored only to be dashed yet again. Commerce as a force for concord only goes so far as self-interest and, three sentences later, the old divisions quickly reassert themselves. As in the extract from the *Essai sur les mœurs*, diversity of origin leads to diversity of religion, and the discussion around the dinner table threatens to degenerate into a brawl as each of the guests views any other belief and practice than their own as misguided. Zadig manages to defuse the tension by taking the deist stance and arguing that they worship the same God, even though the manner in which they do so differs. In "Le souper," Voltaire demonstrates that commerce alone cannot bring lasting harmony between men. Zadig breaks the cycle of intolerance and restores peace by bringing each guest's beliefs together, instead of pitching them against each other. Thus, in this chapter, Zadig illustrates the function of polyphony in Voltaire's philosophical approach whereby the juxtaposition of seemingly conflicting voices allows truth to emerge.

For Voltaire and his contemporaries Persia evoked a country where religious tolerance was practiced, a principle close to Voltaire's heart and developed in *Zadig*. For these reasons, Voltaire's decision to use a Persian figure as author of the epistle is understandable; however his choice of Saʿdi still needs to be explained.

Saʿdi and Persian Poetry

One of the pictures which emerges from the travel accounts is that of a national passion for poetry: "Ils [Persians] aiment surtout la poésie où ils font paraître tout le brillant et le feu de leur esprit" ("Most of all, the Persians love poetry in which they display all the brightness and fire of their intellect").[22] Though agreeing on the

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[21]Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 170. Translation, 160.
[22]Bruyn, *Voyage par la Moscovie*, 285, quoted in Tork Ladani, *La Perse dans les récits*, 87. My translation.

Persian love of poetry, travel writers are divided on the subject of these poems' literary worth, with on one side Tavernier qualifying them as "méchants vers" ("ugly verses") and on the other Chardin declaring that Persian poetry "est partout noble, haute et relevée dans les pensées, douce dans les expressions, et juste dans les termes, qui sont toujours les plus propres, et qui peignent la chose à l'imagination aussi vivement qu'un ouvrage matériel" ("is unfailingly noble, dignified and refined in its thoughts, gentle in its expressions, true in its choice of words, always the most appropriate and which conjure up in the mind what they describe as vividly as a painting").[23]

Whatever side of the spectrum travel writers fell into, they all named Saʿdi as one of Persia's favorite poets, thus bringing him to the attention of the French reader.[24] Saʿdi's *Gulistan* had been translated in French by André du Ryer in 1634 and d'Alègre in 1704, who also gives a brief description of *Bustan* and says that it has already been translated in several languages.[25] However, if short passages appeared in anthologies of oriental stories and in travelers' accounts, *Bustan*'s first full French translation was only published in 1880.[26] Putting aside the shortcomings of these translations, they played an important role in familiarizing French readers with Saʿdi and his work. By opting for Saʿdi, Voltaire found a historical figure known to his most discerning readers, which could easily be associated with Persia and everything it evoked. The fact that Saʿdi was a poet and a traveler, roles Voltaire would have identified with, also makes him a more likely candidate than many other well-known historical characters described in the travel accounts, as these were usually rulers. Javâd Hadidi suggests that Saʿdi's outspokenness against the abuse of power was also part of the attraction:

> Saʿdi, le seul écrivain moraliste persan qui n'ait pas toujours fait l'éloge des rois et des grands, et qui, tout au contraire, les a critiqués de façon parfois très audacieuse pour son temps, a été le premier poète persan connu en France. Si donc Voltaire se réclame de lui dans la dédicace de son roman, c'est qu'il trouve en lui une âme sœur de la sienne.

> (Saʿdi, the only Persian moralist writer who did not constantly praise kings and other powerful men, and who on the contrary criticized them, sometimes very audaciously for his time, was the first Persian poet known in France. So if Voltaire associates himself with Saʿdi in his novel's epistle, it is because he finds in Saʿdi a kindred spirit.)[27]

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[23]Tavernier, *Les Six Voyages*, 287, quoted in Tork Ladani, *La Perse dans les récits*, 128; Chardin, *Voyages*, 134, quoted in Khanyabnejad, "Saadi et son œuvre," 43. My translation.

[24]See Tork Ladani, *La Perse dans les récits*, 87-8.

[25]See Khanyabnejad, "Saadi et son œuvre," 48-59 and 119-23. On *Bustan*, see Saadi, *Gulistan ou l'Empire des Roses*, xiii.

[26]See Khanyabnejad, "Saadi et son œuvre," 91 and 27.

[27]Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 119. My translation.

However, our understanding of Voltaire's perception of Saʿdi needs to be more nuanced. From the backhanded compliment he pays to Saʿdi in the *Essai sur les mœurs*, Voltaire does not appear altogether enthusiastic about the writings of the poet from Shiraz: "puisque les poésies du Persan Sady sont encore aujourd'hui dans la bouche des Persans, des Turcs et des Arabes, il faut bien qu'elles aient du mérite" ("since the poems by the Persian Saʿdi can still be found in the mouths of Persians, Turks and Arabs, they must be of some merit").[28] This is followed by a generalization on Oriental literature, whose overly ornate style he attributes to the authoritarian mode of government:

> Il est vrai qu'en général le bon goût n'a guère été le partage des Orientaux. Leurs ouvrages ressemblent aux titres de leurs souverains, dans lesquels il est souvent question du soleil et de la lune. L'esprit de servitude paraît naturellement ampoulé.

> (It is true that on the whole Orientals have very little good taste. Their works are similar to their sovereigns' titles, which hardly talk of anything else but of the sun and the moon. The spirit of servitude seems naturally overly ornate.)[29]

Voltaire continues by nuancing his initial judgment and admitting that this literature does have some redeeming features, as can be found in Saʿdi's writing:

> Cependant ils ont de beaux éclats de lumière; ils peignent avec la parole; et quoique les figures soient souvent gigantesques et incohérentes, on y trouve du sublime. Vous aimerez peut-être à revoir ici ce passage de Sady que j'avais traduit en vers blancs, et qui ressemble à quelques passages des prophètes hébreux. C'est une peinture de la grandeur de Dieu; lieu commun à la vérité, mais qui vous fera connaître le génie de la Perse.

> (They do however have some beautifully luminous pieces; they paint with speech; and even though their stylistic figures are exaggerated and incoherent, there are instances of sublime writing. You might like here to go back to this passage from Saʿdi which I translated in blank verse and which is similar to some passages from the Hebrew prophets. It is a painting of the greatness of God; a commonplace really, but which will introduce you to Persian character.)[30]

These passages reappear nearly verbatim in Jaucourt's article "Poésie orientale moderne" ("Modern Oriental Poetry") for Diderot's and d'Alembert's *Encyclopédie*, and would have thus shaped the views of the general public.[31]

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[28]Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs (IV)*, 282. My translation.
[29]Ibid. My translation.
[30]Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs (IV)*, 282-3. On these verses, see Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 64-5. My translation. Voltaire's translation is given in the appendix.
[31]See Foroughi, "La Perse dans l'Encyclopédie," 127-42.

Sadi, not Saʿdi

What Voltaire has retained from Persian literature in *Zadig*'s epistle is not Saʿdi's brilliance but an overly ornate and rather groveling style as can be seen in its opening and closing sentences:

> Charme des prunelles, tourment des cœurs, lumière de l'esprit, je ne baise point la poussière de vos pieds, parce que vous ne marchez guère, ou que vous marchez sur des tapis d'Iran ou sur des roses. ... Je prie les vertus célestes, que vos plaisirs soient sans mélange, votre beauté durable, et votre bonheur sans fin.

> (O thou enchantment of the eye, thou torment of the heart, thou light of the mind! I shall not kiss the dust from thy feet, for thou walkest but rarely, and then thou walkest only upon the carpets of Iran or upon roses. ... I pray the heavenly powers that thy pleasures be unalloyed, thy beauty everlasting, and thy happiness without end.)[32]

The reason behind this needs to be addressed. Saʿdi's style is known for its sobriety and efficiency, far from the profusely ornate style of the epistle.[33] The translations available in 1748, though unsatisfactory on many levels, do not offer such a stereotypical oriental style of writing.[34] Moreover, the translation Voltaire offered of Saʿdi's verses in the *Essai sur les mœurs* is much closer to the style of the historical Saʿdi than to the one in *Zadig*. One explanation is that Voltaire is responding to his readers' expectations of the exotic. A hyperbolic, obsequious and highly mannered language was already firmly seen as an Oriental stereotype and was famously used as one of Molière's key comedic devices in his 1670 play *Le Bourgeois gentilhomme*. Against a backdrop of trade negotiations, linguistic and cultural diplomatic pitfalls and the interest in Oriental languages with the creation in 1669 of the École des jeunes de langues, Michèle Longino argues that in Molière's play mimicry signals mockery and othering, but also the hold the Orient had on the French imagination.[35] References to Oriental language are commonly found in texts of the period depicting the exotic. For example, the introduction to the *Lettres persanes* explains that editorial choices have been made to eliminate it in the actual letters so as not to tire the French reader:

> Je ne fais donc que l'office de traducteur: toute ma peine a été de mettre l'ouvrage à nos mœurs. J'ai soulagé le lecteur du langage asiatique, autant que je l'ai pu, et l'ai

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[32]Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 114 and 116. Translation 123 and 124.

[33]See Khanyabnejad, "Saadi et son œuvre," 40-4; Barbier de Meynard, *La Poésie en Perse*, 48; and Dieulafoy, *La Perse*, 432.

[34]On European seventeenth-century translations of the *Gulistan*, see Brancaforte, "Persian Words of Wisdom," 450-72.

[35]See Longino, "Acculturating the Audience," 109-46. On the subject of colonialism and language, see Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man," 121-31.

sauvé d'une infinité d'expressions sublimes, qui l'auraient ennuyé jusque dans les nues.

(I am therefore nothing more than a translator: all my endeavour has been to adapt the work to our taste and manners. I have relieved the reader as much as possible of Asiatic phraseology, and have spared him an infinitude of sublime expressions which would have driven him wild.)[36]

In this case, the hyperbolic terms used ("une infinité d'expressions sublimes," "jusque dans les nues") reverse the process of othering; the French as much as the Orientals are prone to such exaggerations. Voltaire's own mimicry of Oriental language inscribes *Zadig* within a specific literary tradition. *Zadig*'s subtitle, "A Tale of the Orient," might indeed lead the reader to expect some exotic features and could explain why Voltaire makes his Sadi conform with these expectations. Another explanation, compatible with the first, emerges from the function of the epistle: it is to be expected that an author should flatter the person whose patronage is sought. This usage may be seen as a symptom of the connection Voltaire makes between speech and government in the *Essai sur les mœurs*. If the sultane Shéraa is indeed Mme de Pompadour, then the logical conclusion is that the sultan is Louis XV, though he is not named in the epistle. Voltaire was highly critical of Louis XV's rule, which fostered a "spirit of servitude," reflected in obsequious language. More essentially, by mimicking the Oriental language, Voltaire opens the text on a voice very clearly other, a key feature for his polyphonic intentions.

From an attentive reading of the epistle, a series of contradictions start to emerge. Not only is the style used not in keeping with Saʿdi's, but the date also does not fit in with the poet's personal chronology. The simple fact that the epistle is dated "Le 18 du mois de schewal. L'an 837 de l'hégire" ("This 18th day of the month of Schewal, in the 837th of the Hegira"), that is to say 29 May 1434, according to the Gregorian calendar, means that Saʿdi could not have been the author as he died in the thirteenth century.[37] Even though knowledge of Saʿdi's biography was patchy, the date of the epistle would have seemed improbable. Chardin writes in his travel accounts that Saʿdi's works were compiled in "l'an 626 de l'hégire, qui revient à l'an 1222 de notre compte" ("the year 626 of the Hegira, that is to say the year 1222 according to our own calendar").[38] In his entry for "Saadi, & Sadi," d'Herbelot writes that the poet was born in 571 AH and died in 691 AH.[39] As mentioned above, Voltaire had read d'Herbelot and could have easily provided a more credible date.

Such lack of concern with accuracy is rather surprising as it sabotages any attempt to create verisimilitude, and this at a time when authors sometimes went to great lengths to pass off their works as authentic. In the introduction to the *Lettres persanes*, the

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[36]Montesquieu, *Lettres persanes*, 48; Montesquieu, *Persian Letters*, 36. See Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 87.
[37]Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 114. Translation, 123.
[38]Chardin, *Voyages*, 138. My translation.
[39]See d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, 729.

editor explains that he has come by Usbek's and Rica's letters as they all shared the same accommodation, and the two travelers, being so far away from home, had no particular reason to keep their secrets hidden. Another example can be found in Mme de Graffigny's *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*, published a year before *Zadig*. In the "Avertissement," the editor says that Zilia, the Peruvian princess, translated her own letters, passed them on to the chevalier Déterville, and then these letters came into the editor's hands. As in the *Lettres persanes*, the editor justifies the decision to adapt the style.[40]

A comparison between *Zadig*, the *Lettres persanes* and the *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* reveals that Montesquieu and Graffigny both discuss language as a marker of foreignness but without actually using it. The *Lettres persanes* and *Lettres d'une Péruvienne* also contain a certain number of precise and accurate (at least believed to be so at the time of writing) information to anchor the narrative in the civilization of the main characters, thus establishing verisimilitude. As for Voltaire, he uses stereotypical Oriental language, the Hijri calendar, has the epistle signed by Sadi, who brings in clichés associated with Persia with props such as "tapis d'Iran" ("Persian carpets") and "roses." He refers to the "Mille et un jours" ("The Thousand and One Days") and the "Mille et une nuits" ("The Thousand and One Nights"), thus also strengthening the phonetic connection between the sultane Shéraa and the famous Scheherazade.[41] All these elements would normally be employed with the intention of creating verisimilitude, but Voltaire subverts this by inserting easily avoidable inaccuracies. Moreover, the epistle firmly places the setting in Persia, but this is not followed through in the main narrative. One of the main locations is indeed Babylon, a territory disputed between the Ottomans and the Safavids. However, the epistle and the use of Babylon as one of the main locations are insufficient to give *Zadig* a specifically Persian setting. The subtitle to the work is "A Tale of the Orient," not "A Persian Story." Zadig's travels take the reader from Babylon, to Egypt, to Arabia, to the island of Serendib, that is to say Sri Lanka, and back, but, as René Pomeau comments, "nous demeurons dans la même contrée, qui est l'Orient philosophique du XVIIIᵉ siècle" ("we remain in the same land, the philosophical Orient of the eighteenth century").[42] The subversion of verisimilitude in the epistle and the fact that its Persian setting has morphed into a fantasized Orient in the main narrative raise the question as to what the purpose of the epistle actually is, beyond the request for patronage. These inconsistencies are purposeful and are there to be recognized by the reader. Voltaire uses the text as a ludic space inviting the reader to participate in the production of meaning and to take part in the discussion.

Zadig*'s Translation*

The complexities of the epistle's function are doubled by those of the position of Sadi with regard to *Zadig*. Sadi is the author of the epistle, but not of the "Tale of the

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[40]See Graffigny, *Lettres d'une Péruvienne*, 250.
[41]Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 115. Translation, 124.
[42]Voltaire, *Romans et contes*, 26. My translation.

Orient," which has been written by "un ancien sage, qui ayant le bonheur de n'avoir rien à faire, eut celui de s'amuser à écrire l'histoire de Zadig" ("a sage of yore who, having the good fortune to have nothing to do, had the further good fortune to pass his time in writing the story of Zadig").[43] Even though vague, the description of the author serves as another pointer towards Voltaire and the circumstances in which he wrote *Zadig*. After having made an offensive remark at court, Voltaire had to make himself scarce and took refuge at the house of the Duchesse du Maine. To distract himself during this enforced exile, he wrote *Zadig*. The epistle makes clear that the story it introduces is a translation, not the original version. Sadi "offre la traduction d'un livre" ("present[s] ... this translation of a book") which "fut écrit d'abord en ancien chaldéen, que ni vous ni moi n'entendons. On le traduisit en arabe" ("was originally written in the ancient Chaldee [*sic*], which language neither thou nor I understand. It was translated into Arabic").[44] So not only do we not know the name of the author, but we also have no information concerning the translator, who could not have been Sadi since he has no knowledge of the language in which *Zadig* was originally written. The repetition of the word "ancien" places the text in a distant past for Sadi and the sultana, and an even further one for the 1748 reader, thus conveniently making *Zadig*'s bibliographical information disappear in the mists of time.

By presenting *Zadig* as a text reaching its reader through translation, Voltaire is playfully anchoring his work within a specific literary lineage, which, though he does not name it (he does not have to) includes the *Lettres persanes*, also presented as a translation. The epistle compares *Zadig* to *The Thousand and One Nights* and *The Thousand and One Days*, both described as "des contes qui sont sans raison, et qui ne signifient rien" ("stories that make no sense and have no point"), and thus are inferior to *Zadig*.[45] Importantly, these are two texts which reached the French public through translation, *The Thousand and One Nights* having been (partially) translated by Antoine Galland and published in 1704, and *The Thousand and One Days* translated by François Pétis de La Croix and published in the 1710s. The story of the translation of *The Thousand and One Days* as told in its preface is rather suspicious. Pétis de La Croix supposedly obtained the tales from the "célèbre Dervis Moclès, que la Perse met au nombre de ses grands personnages" ("famous dervish Moclès that Persia counts as one of its great men"). Moclès himself is not the author but the translator:

> Moclès étant encore fort jeune s'avisa de traduire en persan des comédies indiennes, qui ont été traduites en toutes les langues orientales, et dont on voit à la bibliothè-que du roi une traduction turque sous le titre de *Alfarage Bada Alschidda*, ce qui signifie "la joie après l'affliction." Mais le traducteur persan, pour donner à son ouvrage un air original, mit ces comédies en contes, qu'il appela *Hezaryek-Rouz*,

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[43]Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 114. Translation, 123.
[44]Ibid., 114 and 115. Translation, 123.
[45]Ibid., 115. Translation, 124.

c'est-à-dire *Mille et un Jours*. Il confia son manuscrit au sieur Pétis de La Croix, qui était en liaison d'amitié avec lui à Ispahan en 1675, et même il lui permit d'en prendre une copie.

(Whilst still very young Moclès decided to translate Indian comedies into Persian. These comedies have been translated into every Oriental language, and a Turkish translation can be found at the king's library under the title *Alfarage Bada Alschidda*, which means "joy after affliction." But to give his work a bit of originality, the Persian translator adapted these comedies into tales which he called *Hezaryek-Rouz*, meaning *Thousand and One Days*. He entrusted his manuscript to Sir Pétis de La Croix, with whom he was on friendly terms in Isfahan in 1675, and he even allowed him to take a copy of it.)[46]

Yet again, we have an instance of the paratext aiming to establish the authenticity of the main text in a more or less credible way. Presenting *Zadig* as a translation is thus another way in which Voltaire plays with paratextual conventions.

Cosmopolitan Literature

As established above, the epistle makes it clear that Sadi could not have translated *Zadig* from ancient Chaldean into Arabic. Yet, as Voltaire's own practice suggests, to view translation solely as writing from one language into another is rather restrictive.[47] In a letter dated from 5 June 1752 and addressed to Formey, Voltaire writes: "Vous me direz: est-ce que vous entendez le persan pour traduire Sady? Je vous jure, monsieur, que je n'entends pas un mot de persan, mais j'ai traduit Sady, comme La Motte avait traduit Homère" ("You will ask me: Do you understand enough Persian to translate Saʿdi? Sir, I swear I do not understand a word of it; yet I translated Saʿdi, just as La Motte translated Homer").[48] The translation Voltaire offers of Saʿdi in the *Essai sur les Mœurs* is actually an adaptation of Chardin's own translation. A comparison of the two versions reveals Voltaire's modus operandi.[49] Voltaire made stylistic changes by making the sentences more fluid and more easily comprehensible, and by writing in alexandrine verse. The content has also been heavily reworked, with Voltaire omitting whole sections, especially those which do not square with his deist views. As Cronk states, "this is not so much a translation as a comprehensive rewriting, turning the thirteenth-century Persian into an eighteenth-century European deist, pure and simple."[50] Through his comparison with Antoine Houdar de La Motte, who adapted Anne Dacier's translation of the *Iliad*,

[46]*Les mille et un jours*, 4. My translation. On the authenticity of this text, see Tork Ladani, *L'Impact des récits*, 15-16.
[47]See Billaz, "Voltaire traducteur," 372-80.
[48]Voltaire, *Correspondence*, 66-7; quoted by Hadidi, *De Saʿdi à Aragon*, 64. My translation.
[49]See the appendix.
[50]Cronk, "Voltaire: The Orient of the Enlightenment."

Voltaire broadens the concept of translation, which can be better understood by going back to its etymology. The word "traduire" comes from the Latin "traducere," meaning to convey from one place to another, to cross. The translator is thus the one who takes on the role of intermediary whether by transposing from one language into another, or by adapting, as in the case of Voltaire with Saʿdi's verses. In the epistle, Sadi takes on this role of go-between, at several levels: between *Zadig* and the sultane Shéraa by presenting the text to her, between Voltaire and his readers as the mask dissimulating the author, between Europe and the Orient as he would have given French readers their first taste of Persian poetry, between Self and Other as Voltaire uses Sadi the foreigner and a "Tale of the Orient" to discuss themes common to all mankind. As Wilewski suggests, Voltaire's use of foreign pseudonyms offered "an increased alienation from the stereotypically Catholic French [which] made it easier for criticisms to be made and opinions to be voiced from a position of fictional externality."[51]

   Zadig's first version was *Memnon, histoire orientale* which contained neither the epistle, nor the approbation, nor the chapter "Le souper," amongst other episodes.[52] As this article has examined, the role of *Zadig*'s epistle goes far beyond simply seeking patronage. The chapter "Le souper" offers a scene of cosmopolitanism with travelers from different countries, cultures and religions coming together for a meal, overcoming their differences to focus on what they have in common. The cosmopolitanism to which Voltaire aspired occurs in *Zadig* at the intradiegetic level in "Le souper," but also at the extradiegetic level in the epistle with the appearance of Sadi.[53] Indeed in the epistle, the French reader is sharing the same space as the sultane Shéraa, both hopefully agreeing with Sadi on the merits of the book. As Cronk remarks:

> Such proliferating pseudonyms are part of a game which Voltaire enjoys with his reader. More than that, they reflect a fragmentation of a single authorial and authoritative voice, an effect that leads us into the heart of the style and form of Voltaire's writing. In the polemical works in particular, Voltaire relishes all forms of literary device which multiply the voices within a single text.[54]

Through the presence of Sadi in the epistle, Voltaire makes voices other than that of the author heard and he carries this on in the main narrative where Saʿdi is an intertextual presence. As Hadidi observes, the chapter "Le brigand" ("The brigand") in *Zadig* brings together two stories from Saʿdi.[55] In the *Gulistan* Saʿdi tells of a poet who is at first attacked by thieves, but finally saved by their leader watching the scene from his castle's window and who is amused by a witty remark the poet makes despite being in danger. Voltaire modifies the original story, replacing the

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[51]Wilewski, "Self-fashioned Voltaire," 797.
[52]Voltaire, *Memnon, histoire orientale*.
[53]On Voltaire's cosmopolitanism, see Goulbourne, "Voltaire's Masks," 102.
[54]Cronk, "Voltaire and Authorship," 41.
[55]Hadidi, "Les origines persanes," 65-6.

poet with Zadig, and it is his valor, not his wit, which impresses the leader. The second story borrowed from Saʿdi's *Bustan* is that of the pearl, which from insignificant beginnings, grew so large that it became one of the jewels gracing the crown of the king of India. In *Zadig*, this becomes,

il y avait autrefois un grain de sable qui se lamentait d'être un atome ignoré dans les déserts; au bout de quelques années il devint diamant; et il est à présent le plus bel ornement de la couronne du roi des Indes.

(There once was a grain of sand which complained that it was no more than an insignificant little speck in the midst of a desert. In a few years it turned into a diamond, and it is now the brightest jewel in the crown of the King of the Indies.)[56]

To view these borrowings as mere plagiarism would be to ignore the fact that Voltaire named Saʿdi in the epistle and put him in a quasi-authorial position. Saʿdi's place in *Zadig* is complex and paradoxical, being one of Voltaire's sources, and, under the guise of Sadi, being simultaneously author of the epistle and literary creation tinged with Oriental clichés. More importantly, Saʿdi's presence in *Zadig* participates in its wider purpose: the creation of a polyphonic space where voices from different civilizations fruitfully converse in a spirit of cosmopolitanism.

Conclusion

In *Zadig*, Voltaire transforms the paratext from an often-overlooked space reflecting the constraints of the eighteenth-century publishing context into one of playfulness. In the dedicatory epistle, Voltaire masquerades as Sadi and portrays his patron as the sultane Shéraa. Yet other layers, more relevant to the content of the text itself, are also to be found. Voltaire plays with verisimilitude, establishing it only to then destroy it; he places *Zadig* within a tradition of Oriental writing, sometimes genuine, sometimes not; by stepping behind Sadi, Voltaire forces the authorial voice to give way to others, thus enabling the philosophical conversation through which truth can emerge.

If Sadi offered Voltaire protection against the censors in 1748, he was unable to shield him against Fréron's vitriolic attack twelve years later. In his "Lettre à M. de Voltaire sur Sadi, célèbre Poète Persan" ("Letter to Mr de Voltaire on Saʿdi, famous Persian Poet"), published in the *Année littéraire* in 1760, Fréron unmasked Voltaire and turned his tactics against him. Just as Voltaire used the sad story of the old Persian to talk of his own life in the epistle in *Les Scythes*, Fréron offers a portrait of Saʿdi in which he is unmistakably speaking of Voltaire, ferociously attacking his works and his person.[57] In Fréron's letter, Saʿdi is a vain author in whose works wit

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[56] Voltaire, *Œuvres de 1746-1748 (II)*, 181. Translation, 168.
[57] See Khanyabnejad, "Saadi et son œuvre," 176-9 and 320-5.

ill conceals the lack of depth, a depiction, needless to say, which is a far cry from d'Herbelot's own entry. Nevertheless, Fréron's attack demonstrates that Saʿdi now stood for more than Persian poetry and wisdom, and had indeed been firmly enlisted in the Enlightenment's struggles.

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Appendix

Text 1

> Il sait distinctement ce qui ne fut jamais.
> De ce qu'on n'entend point son oreille est remplie.
> Prince, il n'a pas besoin qu'on le serve à genoux;
> Juge, il n'a pas besoin que sa loi soit écrite.
> De l'éternel burin de sa prévision
> Il a tracé nos traits dans le sein de nos mères.
> De l'aurore au couchant il porte le soleil;
> Il sème de rubis les masses des montagnes.
> Il prend deux gouttes d'eau; de l'une il fait un homme,
> De l'autre il arrondit la perle au fond des mers.
> L'être au son de sa voix fut tiré du néant.
> Qu'il parle, et dans l'instant l'univers va rentrer
> Dans les immensités de l'espace et du vide;
> Qu'il parle et l'univers repasse en un clin d'œil
> Des abîmes du rien dans les plaines de l'être.

> (He distinctly knows what never was.
> Of what we cannot hear his ear is full.

Prince, he does not need to be served on bended knee;
Judge, he does not need his law to be written down.
With his eternal foresight,
He has chiseled our features in our mother's womb.
From dawn to dusk he carries the sun;
He sows the hard mountains with rubies.
He takes two drops of water; the first he makes into a man,
With the second he smooths the pearl at the bottom of the sea.
At the sound of his voice, life sprang from chaos.
At his command, the universe would instantly return
To the vastness of space and void;
At his command, the universe would return in a flash
From the abyss of nothingness back to the plains of life.)[58]

Text 2

Dans les choses qui ne sont point, sa connoissance est distincte;
De celles dont on n'a jamais parlé, son oreille est remplie.
Par sa force, il conserve les choses hautes et basses.
Dieu est seul roi et juge au jour du jugement,
N'ayant besoin pour son service que le dos de personne ploie,
Ni que pour observer ses saintes lois, on prenne à la main le livre sacré.
De la plume de la prévision il trace les linéamens dans la matrice;
Du bout du doigt il porte le soleil d'Orient en Occident.
D'un souffle, il fait aller les grands navires sur les flots enfoncés.
La terre désobéissante et tremblante comme ayant la fièvre,
Il l'a clouée ferme avec les montagnes enfoncées dans ses entrailles.
Il rend une goutte de semence une nymphe céleste.
Qui pourroit concevoir qu'on fît un corps solide avec de l'eau!
La masse des cailloux, il l'a semée de rubis et de turquoises;
A des fils d'émeraudes il pend des escarboucles;
Il prend deux gouttes d'eau, l'une dans la nue qu'il lance en la mer,
L'autre dans le corps humain qu'il porte en la matrice,
De celle-là il fait le globe brillant de la perle,
De celle-ci une figure mouvante et raisonnante, droite comme un pin.
Quelle chose seroit obscure à sa connoissance,
Puisqu'à sa connoissance, le caché et le découvert est tout un!
Il apprête la nourriture pour les serpens et pour les fourmis,
Et il la présente toute prête à ce qui n'a ni pied, ni main, ni mouvement.
Par sa force, l'être a été tiré du néant.
Qui peut hors lui faire quelque chose avec rien?

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[58]Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs (IV)*, 283. My translation.

Il réduira ce qui est dans les espaces de ce qui n'est pas,
Et derechef de l'abîme du néant, il fera revenir dans les plaines de l'être.

(Of things which do not exist, his knowledge is clear;
Of those which have never been spoken of, his ear is full.
By his strength, he maintains high and low things.
God only is king and judge at the day of judgement,
Requiring for his service nobody's bent back,
And for his holy laws to be observed, not needing the holy book to be placed in men's hands.
With the pen of forethought, he draws the outlines in the womb;
At the end of his fingertips he carries the sun from East to West.
By his breath the great ships are set in motion on the raging seas.
As for the earth, unruly and shaking as if in a fever,
He has pinned it down with mountains driven in to its hearts.
One drop of seed he turns into a heavenly nymph.
Who could possibly conceive that a solid body could be made of water!
The mass of rocks he has sown with rubies and turquoise;
To threads of emerald, he has braided garnets;
He takes two drops of water, one from the sky which he casts into the sea,
The second from the human body which he places in the womb,
The first he crafts into the shimmering globe of the pearl,
The second into a moving and reasoning body, straight as a pine tree.
What could possibly be unfathomable to his knowledge,
Since his knowledge holds as one the hidden and the revealed!
He supplies food for the snake and the ant,
And he presents it all ready to what has neither foot, hand, nor movement.
By his strength, being has been pulled out from the void.
Apart from him, who can make something out of nothing?
He will reduce what is in the spaces of what is not,
And in a flash, from the depths of chaos,
He will bring back forth the plains of life.)[59]

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[59]Chardin, *Voyages*, 142-4. My translation.

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Pegah Shahbaz

Persian *Monshi*, Persian Jones: English Translations of Saʿdi's *Golestān* from the Late Eighteenth to the Mid-Nineteenth Centuries

From the seventeenth century, Mosleh al-Din Saʿdi Shirazi (d. 1291), a key figure in Persian classical literature, became the center of Europeans' attention: his name appeared in travelogues and periodicals, and selections of his tales were published in miscellaneous Latin, German, French, and English works. To follow Saʿdi's impact on English literature, one needs to search for the beginning of the "Saʿdi trend" and the reasons that led to the acceleration of the translation process of his works into the English language in the nineteenth century. This article examines the role of the British educational institutions in colonial India in the introduction of Saʿdi and his Golestān to the English readership, and, in parallel, it uncovers the role of the Indo-Persian native scholars (monshis) who were involved in the preparation of translations. The article discusses how the perception of the British towards Saʿdi's literature developed in the first half of the nineteenth century and how their approach towards the translation of the "text" and its "style" evolved in the complete renderings of the Golestān.

Keywords: Saʿdi; *Golestān*; Persian *Monshi*; Fort William College; Asiatic Society; William Jones; Francis Gladwin; James Dumoulin; Edward Eastwick; James Ross

The Persian Poet

Mosleh al-Din Ibn Abdollāh Saʿdi (d. 1291, Shiraz), known as the Master of Eloquence (*ostād-e sokhan*), is the most widely celebrated poet and moralist scholar of Persian erudite culture, and his *Golestān* remains the most influential classical Persian work over the European literatures of the Victorian and Romantic eras, when mysterious tales of the Orient were finding their way to the West, and Persia was fantasized about through images of heavenly rose gardens, fairy-like beloveds, and romantic poems. Saʿdi's harmonious prose style and his lyrical and mystical poetry were, and still are, considered the perfect model of ease in using elegant language. He compared his own words to sugar in sweetness and pleasantness[1] and

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[1]Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 15.

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called himself *Saʿdi-e shirin-zabān*[2] (of dulcet language). Hundreds of his verses and witty phrases have entered the Persian language and are still commonly used as expressions and idioms today.[3] Beside his *Divān* of poetry, the *Bustān* (The Orchard), written in *masnavi* verse in 1257, and the *Golestān* (The Rose Garden), a collection of anecdotes in ornate prose mingled with fragments of poetry written in 1258, were indispensable sources of education at traditional Perso-Islamic schools (*madraseh*) not only in Iran, but also in Transoxiana and Mughal India for centuries. India, under the governance of Muslim rulers—the Delhi Sultanates (1206–1526) and the Mughals (1526–1857)—had chosen Persian as the official language of the court for administration and political exchange. Juan Cole's estimation of the Persian-speaking population in Iran and India in the beginning of the eighteenth century reveals that there were around seven times more readers of Persian in Mughal India than in Safavid Iran (1503–1736).[4] In fact, many masterpieces of Persian literature, including Saʿdi's *Golestān* and *Bustān*, were very popular among Indo-Persian literati, and the number of commentaries written on them in India exceeded by far the ones produced in Iran proper. This continued in Persian and Urdu until the twentieth century. Saʿdi's works were the subject of imitations and literary interpretations by many Indian poets, e.g. Qamar al-Din Mennat Dehlavi's (d. 1869) *Chamanestān* (The Green Meadow) and *Shekarestān* (The Sugarland), Mollā Ṭarzi's *Maʾdan al-Javāher* (The Gemstone Mine) dedicated to the Mughal king Jahāngir (d. 1627), and ʾEnāyat Allāh Kanbuh Dehlavi's (d. 1649) collection of anecdotes entitled *Bahār-e Dānesh* (The Spring of Knowledge).[5]

As we know from biographical sources, Saʿdi was educated in Islamic theology, literature and history at Nezāmiyyeh in Baghdad. According to his writings, he had gone on pilgrimage to Mecca and traveled to different countries in the East and the West: India, Syria, Egypt and Anatolia. In one hundred verses in the eighth chapter of the *Bustān*, Saʿdi described his observations of the Hindu rituals and Brahman prayers for honoring their great idol god in the temple of Somnath and explained how he managed to escape death and save his own life as a Muslim.[6] Although recent scholarship is skeptical about the likelihood of Saʿdi's trip to India,[7] his narrative of visiting that country could evoke a sense of familiarity with Hindus and their rituals, and awaken a certain sense of closeness with him for the Indo-Muslim elites and South Asian Persian scholars who introduced his works to the British readership in the colonial period in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In fact, Saʿdi's fame did not reach Europe from Persia, but through the British institutions of colonial India, and the very first complete English translations of the *Golestān* were published by professors of Persian in Calcutta, Bengal.

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[2]"Saʿdi-e Shirin-zabān, in hameh shur az kojā ... ," in *Divān-e Ghazaliyāt-e Saʿdi-e Shirāzi*, 704.
[3]See Gholām-Hoseyn Yusofi's introduction to the *Golestān*, 38.
[4]Cole, "Iranian Culture and South Asia," 16–17.
[5]Khodabandeh, "Moqalledān-e Golestān," 8–9.
[6]Saʿdi, *Bustān*, chapter 8, section 15.
[7]See Katouzian, *Saʿdi*, 16.

This paper examines the aims and methods of translation in the first four complete renderings of the *Golestān* from a comparative perspective. We will see how British Orientalists' endeavor to familiarize themselves with Persian language and culture in the late eighteenth century led to the introduction of the *Golestān* as a canonical literary text. Who were the translators and how did their approach change towards this particular text? Where were the native Indo-Persian scholars placed within the translation process? How close were English translations to Saʿdi's original text? This paper answers these questions by providing an analysis of methods and aims of translation vis-à-vis the style in English versions of the Persian *Golestān*.

British Thirst for the Orient and the Persian Monshis

After the founding of the East India Company (1600–1874) for the aim of facilitating the commercial and political agenda of the British Empire in the East, the Company's members and the civil servants of British institutions in South Asia needed training in Indian local languages for rendering administrative and military services. The British had adopted Indian administration systems and judicial laws; but they found native Indians unreliable and searched for independent access to local written sources, which were mostly recorded in Persian.[8]

The necessity of linguistic education inspired the setting up of educational centers for promoting Oriental Studies in Bengal. Warren Hastings (d. 1818), the first Governor General of the East India Company, launched "Calcutta Muhammadan College" or "Madraseh ʿĀliyeh" (recorded in British texts as "Madrasah Aliah") in 1780, where a wide variety of courses were taught on astronomy, mathematics, theology, Islamic law, grammar, Arabic, and Persian. Hastings assigned an Indian Muslim scholar named Mollā Majd al-Din as the director and head preceptor of the College. After arriving in Calcutta in 1783, the British linguist Sir William Jones (d. 1794) promoted the idea of creating a scientific research pole in Bengal for expanding the study of Oriental languages and literature, and he founded the Asiatic Society in 1784. Fort William College was set up in Calcutta in 1800 by Lord Wellesley and became an eminent educational institution with a department of Indian languages, a solid linguistic pedagogy, and a board of examiners not only for acquiring local knowledge, but also for introducing the local people to British culture and principles. As we read in the Visitor's speech in Fort William College in 1806:

> The College will not only open to the learned in Europe ample sources of information on all subjects of oriental history and science, but will afford to various nations and tribes of India and specially to those which compose the body of our Indian subjects, [a] more favorable view and more just and accurate conception

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[8]As we read in the official order of Richard Wellesley (d. 1842), the Governor General in Bengal, dated December 1798 and addressed to all the British civil and military servants in Colonial India: "For Every person employed or to be employed in the service of the East India Company in Asia, the knowledge of several oriental languages is a requisite and an indispensable qualification." Gladwin, *The Gulistan*, 230.

of the British Character, principles and laws than they have hitherto [been] enabled to form.[9]

The Haileybury College was subsequently founded in 1806 in England and the teaching of Asian languages and literatures continued to develop under the support of the East India Company at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the list of Indian languages taught at these colleges, Persian was of high importance due to its use for correspondence with the Mughal court. Every civil servant, therefore, applied to study this language. In several statements by Claudius Buchanan (d. 1815), the Vice-Rector of Fort William College, attention was drawn to the importance of Persian by referring to its territorial distribution, its connection to administration, and its prestige.[10]

In order to build a solid pedagogical curriculum for teaching Persian at British institutions, William Jones put forward an innovative approach that would help the East India Company employees master the language for communication, translation, and responding to official letters with fluency and elegance within a short time.[11] Before his arrival in India, Jones had learnt Persian and Arabic with the aid of a native Bengali scholar named Mirzā Sheykh Eʿtesām al-Din (d. c. 1800), who was sent to England between 1766 and 1768 as a delegate of the Mughal king, Shāh ʿĀlam II (d. 1806).[12] With him, Jones had read and translated parts of Persian texts into Latin, French, and English, and later prepared a Persian grammar book in 1771, entitled *A Grammar of the Persian Language*. The book had a Persian title as well, written on the cover in Indian Nasta'liq type: *Ketāb-e Shekarestān dar Nahvi zabān-e pārsi tasnif-e Yunos-e Oxfordi*,[13] literally meaning "The book of *Shekarestān* [the Chest of Sugar as Jones translated elsewhere] on Persian language grammar, written by Yunos of Oxford." The Persian title was different from the English one and its content displayed Jones' endeavor to adapt the presentation of his work to Persian book culture. It also revealed his acquaintance with the tradition of entitling Persian books by metaphorical names that referred to delightful places, e.g. *Golestān* and *Bustān*, or tastes and feelings, e.g. sweet. To Persianize his own name, Jones used the Persian equivalent of Jones, "Yunos," and "Oxfordi" as a surname, like the Persian surnames that referred to the city or province people came from, such as "Shirazi" used for Saʿdi, literally meaning from Shiraz.

Jones' book became a pioneering model for the Persian language manuals prepared by professors of the Asiatic Society and Fort William College afterwards. In his method, inspired from his own experience of learning languages, the students would attain reading skills with correct pronunciation from a native speaker, and then work on grammar and vocabulary using dictionaries and manuals. In the

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[9]Kumar Das, *Sahibs and Munshis*, 117.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Cannon, "Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit and the Asiatic Society," 85.
[12]Yazdani, "The Persianate Intelligentsia," 9.
[13]Jones, *Grammar*, iv.

preface, Jones discussed his knowledge of Voltaire's translations of Saʿdi's poems,[14] as well as Georgius Gentius' first Latin translation of the *Golestān*, the *Bed of Roses*,[15] published in 1651 in Amsterdam, which also contained the first edited and printed version of the *Golestān*'s text in Persian. As an important exercise for language acquisition, Jones explicitly suggested translating passages from the *Golestān*:

> The first book that I would recommend to him [the student] is the *Golestān*, or *Bed of Roses*, a work which is highly esteemed in the East, and of which there are several translations in the languages of Europe. The manuscripts of this book are very common; and by comparing them with the printed edition of Gentius, he will soon learn the beautiful flowing hand used in Persia, which consists of bold strokes and flourishes, and cannot be imitated by our types. It will then be a proper time for him to read some short and easy chapter in this work, and to translate it into his native language with the utmost exactness; let him then lay aside the original, and after a proper interval let him turn the same chapter back into Persian by the assistance of the grammar and dictionary: let him afterwards compare his second translation with the original, and correct its faults according to that model. This is the exercise so often recommended by the old rhetoricians, by which a student will gradually acquire the style and manner of any author, whom he desires to imitate, and by which almost any language may be learned in six months with ease and pleasure.[16]

Jones' suggested method clearly insisted on developing certain rhetorical skills that went beyond the expected outcome of language acquisition, by proposing to emulate Saʿdi's style as a classic poet, through a two-level translation process from and into the target language. Jones talked of rhythm and metrics (ʿ*aruz*) in Persian poetry, which proves his awareness of the importance of the elaborate style based on rhyming in Persian epistolary prose (*inshāʾ*) used in official letters and court administration, and of the significance of the *Golestān* as a model text in this genre of writing for Persians. Had Jones' Persian tutor alerted him to the importance of learning this particular literary style through the *Golestān*? Most of the examples provided in Jones' book regarding grammatical rules, the old rhyming forms of verbs, and compound adjectives were couplets from renowned Persian poets rather than sentences used in everyday language. Through this manual, the employees of the East India Company could learn about Persian language and literature even before arriving in India. Jones also emphasized learning different handwriting styles in manuscripts by the help of a native tutor or writer, a *monshi*:

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[14]Ibid., v. On Saʿdi and Voltaire see Margaux Whiskin's contribution in this special issue.

[15]Gentius translated *Golestān* into Latin and published it along with the Persian text under the title of *Rosarium politicum* in the year 1651. Jones referred to it as *Bed of Roses*.

[16]Jones, *Grammar*, Preface, xiv.

> At some leisure hour, he [the student] may desire his *monshi* or writer to transcribe a section from the *Golestān*, or a fable of Cāshefi,[17] in the common broken hand used in India, which he will learn perfectly in a few days by comparing all its turns and contractions with the more regular hands of the Arabs and Persians.[18]

The *monshi*s (written by Europeans as *moonshee* or *munshi*) were Indian learned scholars and secretaries from different regions of India, and of diverse religions, recruited to work with the Europeans as language instructors. The profession of a *monshi*—the Arabic term for the Persian *dabir*—had an old history in the Persianate culture and was succeeded from the *dabiri* tradition in pre-Islamic Iran; it concerned the "men of pen" and court administrators who served in state offices (*divāns*) and were in charge of official correspondence and the preparation of books. This profession survived at the Perso-Islamic courts as the translator and secretary of epistolary writing (*inshāʾ*) in both Arabic and Persian languages. The *monshi*s received a special education that encompassed scientific and linguistic erudition, bureaucratic ethics (*akhlāq*), *adab* (literature), handwriting styles and calligraphy.[19] As the most knowledgeable courtiers in the royal service, they produced significant texts in Persian prose, including compendiums for princes and kings on how to behave and rule with justice (the "mirrors for princes"). The elaboration of Persian prose from simple (*nasr-e sādeh*) to rhymed (*nasr-e mosajjaʾ*), ornate (*nasr-e masnuʿ* or *fanni*) and over-decorated styles (*motakallaf*) is in fact indebted to them. In the Indo-Persian context, this career was performed with certain cultural modifications, especially in the colonial period when the *monshi*s began to collaborate with their British superiors (*sāheb*) in their official projects, as well as in their private research as native tutors of Indian languages and mediators of local knowledge. The program of Oriental Studies and the learning materials at Fort William were created in interaction with them, based on the curricula at local traditional schools.[20] Following Jones' recommendation, the European professors and teachers at British institutions in India learned Oriental languages through their associations with the *monshi*s. Likewise, translation with their aid and supervision became an established tradition for improving language and writing skills. Based on the pragmatic needs of the British program for learning languages, the *monshi* manuals on writing

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[17]Cāshefi, or Kāshefi, Vāʿez (d. 1504) is the author of *Anvār-e Soheyli*, a rewriting of another Indo-Persian book named *Kalileh va Demneh*, a collection of Indian fables originally derived from the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra*.

[18]Jones, *Grammar*, xv.

[19]For more information, see ʿAruzi Samarqandi's book, the *Chahār Maqāleh*, and Rajeev Kinra's work on *monshi*s: *Writing Self, Writing Empire*.

[20]They were recruited at the Fort William College in different ranks: Chief *monshi* (with a salary of 200 rupees per month), second *monshi* (100 rupees), and subordinate *monshi* (40 rupees). In its year of inauguration (1801), Fort William College had the highest recruitment numbers for Persian *monshi*s: twenty-two out of the whole number of fifty *monshi*s recruited for the four departments of Persian, Hindustani, Arabic, and Sanskrit were teaching Persian, but this number decreased due to redundancy from 1806 onwards. See Kumar Das, *Sahibs and Munshis*, 15–16 and 32.

techniques such as the *Inshā' Harkaran* were soon edited and translated by the East India Company to serve as a model for the British administrators who had to deal with sophisticated and poetic terminology in imperial orders (*farmān*) and letters.

From 1770 to 1800, printing presses arrived at Calcutta, and lexicons, grammars, and works of literature from the Persian, Sanskrit, and vernacular traditions began to be published[21] at the publishing houses in Bengal.[22] For practical reasons, the translation and edition of canonical prose texts were privileged over poetry. The publishing industry in India contributed to the growth of Persian prose literature, narrative texts in particular, including historiographies and fiction, such as the *Hātam-nāmeh*,[23] *Tuti-nāmeh*,[24] *Anvār-e Soheyli*[25] by Kāshefi, and the *Golestān*. *Monshis* also got involved in the process of exploiting oral literature and recording it in written form. Many of the translations of Indo-Persian texts prepared and published in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were due to the close co-operation of the British with their *monshis*, whose proper names would rarely appear on the cover of the books. In this regard, Saʿdi's *Golestān* was no exception. William Jones had published partial translations from the *Golestān* and *Bustān* in his famous articles: *Poeseos Asiaticae Commentariorum* (1774), the "Traité sur la poésie orientale" (1770) and *Asiatick Miscellany*, a Calcutta periodical edited by Francis Gladwin (d. 1813). Although he acknowledged that it would not be possible to transmit all the beauty of Persian literature without the help of the *monshis*, because "the sweetness of sound cannot be determined by sight, and many words are soft and musical in the mouth of a Persian,"[26] he did not name the *monshi(s)* who assisted him. The "style" was of peculiar interest to him as it could be perceived and admired in Persian, but it didn't seem transmittable to English readers except with the help of the *monshis*. Jones' translations were not always loyal to the original text; he occasionally appeared selective towards cultural terms in the text or added explanatory phrases to his translation to provide a more accessible image to the British reader. For instance, where Jones translated the famous poetical fragment taken from the introduction of the *Golestān* on the advantage of the good company surrounding Saʿdi and the scented clay from a beloved, he extended the short tale by adding more explanatory sentences to it that provided more fluency in his prose, explaining what the unctuous clay was

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[21]Ibid., 73.

[22]These publishing houses were: Serampore Mission Press (founded in 1801), Hindoostanee Press (founded in 1802 with the use of Nastaʿliq type for Persian and Arabic type setting), Chronicle Press, The Stuart and Copper, Ferris and Greenway's Printing, Hurkaru Press, Times Press, Ferries and Co., and Calcutta Gazette. Ibid., 82–3.

[23]*Hātam-nāmeh* is a South Asian Persian prose narrative on chivalry, adventure and romance of Hātam, a hero in search of answers to seven mysteries. See Shahbaz, "Hātem-nāma."

[24]*Tuti-nāmeh* or the Tales of a Parrot is a Persian adaptation of a Sanskrit narrative, the *Sukasaptati*, by Ziāʿ Nakhshabi (d. 1351), a Sufi of the fourteenth century, and it contains tales about women's guiles and tricks.

[25]*Anvār-e Soheyli* is the fifteenth century rewriting of Nasr Allāh Monshi's Persian *Kalileh va Demneh*, by Vāʿez Kāshefi (d. 1504). The style in both texts is ornate prose and similar to the one in *Golestān*.

[26]Jones, *Poems*, 81.

and how Persians used it in baths instead of soap.[27] This meant opting for a rather free style of translation. Jones believed that the vast variety of Persian idioms, aesthetic images and wordy styles in Persian would pale in translation, lose their elegance, or sound absurd due to their lack of cultural signification in European cultures.[28] Finally, his translations of poetic fragments from the *Golestān* were in English prose and typed in the same paragraph, with no differentiation in their presentation.[29]

The *Golestān*, highlighted as a highly esteemed book in Persian culture, became a companion to Jones' grammar book and was among the first primary sources in the Persian language provision for British officials. It became so popular that some *monshis* at Fort William College were assigned to translate it into other Indian vernaculars in order for it to be used as a sample text for other languages as well. *Monshi* Mir Shir ʿAli Afsus (d. 1809) translated the book into Hindustani.[30] There also exists an unpublished manuscript of the *Golestān* in Hindustani among the manuscripts that Sir William Jones sent to Sir Joseph Banks and the Royal Society in 1792 for use by European scholars, which is supposed to have been done by Jones himself, as a linguistic exercise.[31] Selections and partial translations of it were repeatedly published in course books for British institutions in India until the beginning of the nineteenth century before the first complete translations of the text appeared, which were also aimed at teaching the technical use of Persian language.[32]

English Translators of the Golestān in the Nineteenth Century

Francis Gladwin (d. 1813).   The history of complete translations of the *Golestān* into English begins with Francis Gladwin's *The Gulistan of Musle-Huddeen Sheik Saadi of Shiraz*, published with the Hindoostanee Press in Calcutta in 1806. Gladwin was one of the founders of the Asiatic Society in Bengal and one of the first Persian instructors at Fort William (1801–6). Before his translation of the *Golestān* appeared, he had already written manuals on Persian literature, among which *The Persian Moonshee* in two volumes was noteworthy: it included several chapters on Persian syntax and grammar, idiomatic phrases, dialogues with transliteration in Roman characters for

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[27]Jones, *Grammar*, 125.
[28]Jones, *The Works*, "Traité sur la poésie orientale," 176.
[29]Jones, *Grammar*, 125–6.
[30]Kumar Das, *Sahibs and Munshis*, 72.
[31]Cannon, "Sir William Jones, Persian, Sanskrit," 91–2. See also Jones, *The Works*, 1807, 425.
[32]Some are as follows: *Select Fables from Gulistan or the Bed of Roses*, published by Stephen Sullivan, son of Laurence Sullivan (d. 1786), who was for many years the chairman of the British East India Company; *The Persian and Arabic works of Sādee*, edited by J. H. Harrington; the former vice-president of the Asiatic Society and a member of the Governor General's Council and a professor of Persian at Fort William from 1801 to 1806. It was printed in Calcutta between the years 1791 and 1795 in two volumes. This work became a major source for the study of Saʿdi at the Asiatic Society and Fort William and was referred to in many scientific essays afterwards. A six-volume school edition at the Department of Persian of Fort William, entitled *Flowers of Persian Literature*, was published in 1801 and contained several chapters from Saʿdi's works; *Miscellaneous Works of Prose and Verse* in six volumes contained *Sections of Goolistan and Boostan* in its second volume and was published in 1809.

accurate pronunciation, and several passages from Saʿdi's *Bustān* and *Golestān* in Persian with transliterations and translations into accessible English. This book was republished and used as an indispensable manual for Persian at Fort William for forty years. Its title was ended to signify metaphorically that the book would function as a companion or a Persian *monshi* for students of Persian. Francis Gladwin's rendering of the *Golestān* included Saʿdi's preface (*dibācheh*) and the eight chapters in unadorned English prose. But the particularity of Saʿdi's prose style, its ornate language and use of rhyme, its alternation with poetry, its wide range of literary devices and pleasant twists were ignored.

The edition had no foreword by Gladwin himself, but some footnotes were added to explain certain ambiguities for the English reader. The work was perceived by the British as a compendium of moral advice and had great success in the West. Many reprinted editions of it were published in England and the United States, with a preface by Ralph Waldo Emerson (d. 1882) and an essay on the "life and character of Shaikh Saʿdi" by James Ross (d. 1831), which made the volume a well-rounded source for the general English-speaking public. Gladwin's edition had a second volume, *The Gūlistān of Sādy*, containing the Persian text with a bilingual lexicography in English and Persian for the students of Persian at Fort William College, which received less attention and remained almost unknown in Europe.[33]

James Dumoulin.   In 1807, a year after Gladwin's rendering, James Dumoulin published *The Goolistān of the Celebrated Musleh-ud-Deen of Shirauz, Surnamed Sheikh Sādi*. Dumoulin had begun his work of translation in 1804 and had only learned about Gladwin's work when he was pursuing the publication of his own translation. Dumoulin's translation displayed an important difference in presentation and purpose from Gladwin's: in his work the English and Persian texts were published in parallel on the same page, with explanatory footnotes on each page for the definition of Persian words and literary elements. He admitted that his intention was to prepare a course book that could be serviceable to students of Persian and provide some facility to the attainment of this "essential language."[34] In his translation, Dumoulin kept some Persian literary expressions which did not have English equivalents, such as *hekmat* (written as *hickmut*), *qetʿeh* (written as *kitteh*), *Masnavi* (written as *musnevee*), *beyt* and *pand* (written as *pund*). Although he found translating Saʿdi's words difficult, he

> resolved to make an attempt, not less with a view to convince that, through want of assiduity, the investigation of equivalent idioms is too hastily abandoned by the majority, than to present to the public, a work, esteemed by teachers of the Persian language, rudimental, and consequently put into the hands of beginners, as furnishing all kinds of grammatical and logical examples in prose and in verse.[35]

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[33]Gladwin, *The Gūlistān of Sādy*.
[34]Dumoulin, "Preface," ii.
[35]Ibid.

At the same time, Dumoulin criticized the fact that the "translation" had been under-taken by many with the view to instruct, which had resulted in ignorance of the lit-erary style of the original:

> Instead of a translation, which alone can teach, the tenses and persons are not pre-served, and in lieu, a paraphrase is given: or in other words, the ideas contained in the original are faintly communicated in the translator's own words and diction; supplying terms which do not exist in the text, and omitting those which are expressed, thereby losing the idiom of the original and consequently giving a differ-ent turn to the sentence by the use of different tenses and cases.[36]

Dumoulin claimed to have been attentive to preserving the tenses, persons, and syntax of the original, as well as marking the genitive case, which he considered necess-ary to the acquirement of pure Persian. With regard to the translation of the Arabic passages and verses from the Koran in the *Golestān*, he had been guided by *monshis* and *mowlavis* (experts in Arabic, written in the text as *maulavis*), though he affirmed, "in consequence of their dull habits, no one in a hundred can give an accurate definition of many of the sentences in Arabic in the *Golestān*."[37] He thus indicated his lack of trust towards the group of *monshis* who were not helpful in delivering a clear under-standing of texts of high literary value, which could be a reference to the British stereo-type according to which Indians were imprecise and incompetent.

Dumoulin was aware of manuscript variants and therefore studied three different copies: an old manuscript of the *Golestān* dated 1023 H./1644, J. H. Harrington's copy of the *Golestān* used for his translations in the two-volume book of *The Persian and Arabic Works of Sādee* published in 1791, and Gladwin's translation of the *Golestān*, which had appeared a few months before. The end of Dumoulin's book contains a list of the people who had subscribed to receive a printed copy of the work, in which sixteen copies were reserved for Fort William and four were requested for Richard Marquis Wellesley, the head of the College. The translator dedi-cated his work to J. H. Harrington out of gratitude for his work, which had helped the students of Persian in Bengal gain acquaintance with the Persian poet.

James Ross (d. 1831).   Around sixteen years after the aforementioned translations, in 1823, James Ross presented a new rendering of the *Golestān*, entitled *Sadi: Gulistan or Flower Garden* and dedicated it to the chairman and director of the East India Company. The third English translator of the *Golestān* was a medical doctor surgeon who had served in India, at Fort Saint George, and in Calcutta from 1783 to 1797. Ross also remained a member of the Royal Asiatic Society from 1802 until the end of his life. He wrote an important introductory essay to his book, where he recalled his experience of studying Persian with *monshis* and learning about Saʿdi's works thirty years before, when it was customary to translate any

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[36]Ibid.
[37]Ibid.

classic which the *monshi* recommended for his perusal. In his essay, Ross presented a list of twenty-two works by the Persian poet, described his relations with the court, sketched his extensive travels and made parallel comparisons to similar cases in the English culture such as the case of Irishmen and Christian missionaries in the East. He introduced some Persian poetic customs such as the *takhallos* (when the poet mentions his own name in the last stanza of his poem), and thought that the western poet Abraham Cowley (d. 1667) had adopted this Persian tradition in his own poetry.[38] Also at the end of his book, Ross followed the style of the Persian scribe, and added a line of prayer for himself ("May I carve…"), asking the readers to send their prayers to his soul:

> "Oh thou who peruses this book, ask the mercy of God on the author of it, his forgiveness on the transcriber. Petition for whatever charitable gift thou mayst require for thyself, and implore pardon on the owner," May I carve thy prayer on the English translator? "The book is finished through the favor of the Lord God Paramount and the bestower of all good!"[39]

Ross' introductory essay presented invaluable information about the poet in English for the first time. Referring to Persian biographies such as the *Tazkerat al-Shoʿarā* (Biography of Poets) of Dowlat Shāh Samarqandi (d. 1494 or 1507), and Persian and Arabic commentaries of the *Golestān*, also basing himself on Saʿdi's other works, Ross introduced the poet as a person of eminence in wisdom and learning who spent the first thirty years of his life studying and gathering knowledge. In the following thirty years, he gained experience, traveled, and disseminated knowledge, and for the remainder of his life, he became a pious recluse.[40]

A noteworthy detail found in Ross' essay is the name of the *monshi* who played a major role in the preparation of Harrington's Calcutta edition of *The Persian and Arabic works of Sādee* in 1791–92, based on four manuscript copies: that *monshi* was Mowlavi Mohamad Rashid.[41] It is noticeable that Ross, in contrast to Dumoulin, acknowledged Harrington's *monshi* and his role with gratitude and gave him high credit as a learned Indian scholar. Ross cited from Mowlavi Mohamad Rashid that a certain Ali Ibn Ahmad of Bistun was considered the original collector and editor of Saʿdi's *Kolliyāt* (complete works) in 726–34 H., around thirty-three to forty-one years after Saʿdi's death.[42] Ross then shared his own findings about another copy of the *Kolliyāt*, deposited at the India House in London by Sir Harford Jones (d. 1847) and dated earlier than Ali Ibn Ahmad's collated copy, recommending this manuscript as a valuable reference for further studies on Saʿdi. Ross also claimed to have in his possession a two-volume manuscript copy of the *Kolliyāt* that belonged

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[38]Ross, "Essay," 4.
[39]*Sadi: Gulistan or Flower Garden*, trans. Ross, 311.
[40]Ross, "Essay," 16.
[41]Ibid., 21.
[42]Ibid.

to the royal library of the Mughal king, Shāh Jahān (d. 1666), and stated that his translation was based on that royal copy.[43]

In his essay, Ross presented a good knowledge of other existing editions and translations of the text, and juxtaposed the Persian text in the Latin *Rosarium Politicum* of Gentius (1618–87) printed in Amsterdam, with the ones printed in Calcutta. He compared his own translation with Gladwin's and suggested that Gladwin's rendering, which had already been patronized by the professors of the East India company's colleges, was not based on a specific Persian copy from India, but on the Gentius edition. He also made another claim that significantly clarifies his views on Gladwin's work: he announced that he had spent a few months in Calcutta in 1796–97 and put his own translation of the *Golestān* in Gladwin's hands in order to obtain some feedback from him. He was then informed that Gladwin had projected a translation of the book as well. Ross' comparison of his own work to Gladwin's was meant to give his work the same authority as Gladwin's, and even show it to be superior to Gladwin's. He considered Gladwin's work an "indelicate allusion" to Saʿdi's text, criticizing him for obviating certain elements from the Persian text in chapter five of the *Golestān* on the subject of "love and youth," which replaced a male character with a female one in a tale about a homosexual relationship. Through this comparison, Ross explained his own strategy towards some occasional instances of indelicacy of expression in the Persian text, by opting for leaving out the translation of a few words.[44]

Ross' decision to elide unsavory passages seems to contradict his claim to greater accuracy compared to Gladwin's rendering. In fact, both these translators altered the text or removed parts from it, and their euphemistic approach would end with a similar result. His intention for preparing this new translation was also aimed at students of Persian and he therefore found it necessary to model his work on the East India Company's colleges' taste. He still tried to preserve "as much as common decency permitted"[45] from Saʿdi's text so that the college students would not be disappointed. Ross' translation of the *Golestān*, just like the previous two, was entirely in English prose; he considered verses repetitive since they retransmitted the same sense as in prose, and believed that the translation should not "violate simplicity on the one hand, nor sink into tameness on the other; and for that purpose, a prose translation, even of poetry, was preferred to rhyme or blank verse."[46] But he still codified verse passages with commas, the Arabic ones in italics, and the additional words in English that were not present in the Persian text in brackets. Just like Dumoulin, Ross expressed his awareness of the difficulties of rendering the author's thoughts with spirit and fidelity and thought it was almost impossible to translate accurately from Oriental languages into English because of cultural differences and the diversity of idiomatic phrases, "just as the translation of Arabic passages was difficult due to the

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[43]Ibid., 24.
[44]Ibid., 26.
[45]Ibid.
[46]Ibid., 41.

ambiguity of tenses."[47] His prose presented some literary value, but was unsuccessful in surpassing Gladwin's work. His introductory essay, in contrast, was perceived as a well-rounded source on Saʿdi—though containing some errors—and was added to the later editions of Gladwin's translation.

The three aforementioned translators of the *Golestān* chose a range of strategies to provide their works with authenticity: consulting several earlier-dated manuscripts, making reference to authentic bibliographical books on the life of the poet and his literary style, and referring to the *monshis* in general as the native sources of knowledge. None of the three translators rendered the verse passages into English verse, which could be because of their personal limits in translation or literary skills. They remarked upon the difficulties of being loyal to the original Persian text in their English renderings due to cultural differences and they applied censorship in various ways and at various levels. The translation was aimed at preparing a course book for the technical use of Persian at the service of the East India Company, and was thus adapted to the learners' basic linguistic levels. In the third complete version by Ross, the first attempts towards a philological approach was made via reference to Persian biographical sources (*tazkereh*) for introducing Saʿdi as a poet.

Edward Backhouse Eastwick (d. 1883).   In 1852, Edward Eastwick, a member of the Asiatic Societies of Paris and Bombay and a professor of Oriental languages (1845–57) at the East India College, Haileybury, presented his *The Gulistān of Sadi* from a manuscript copy of the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. Eastwick had spent his youth in India, acquired an extensive knowledge of Indian languages and worked as an interpreter in the British army. As a language professor at Haileybury, he had prepared a new edition of the Persian text of the *Golestān* a few years before his translation appeared, which was praised by Duncan Forbes, professor of Oriental languages at King's College, for having a good vocabulary and for dividing the work into sentences by means of punctuation. Eastwick's rendering of the *Golestān* was the first English translation that followed to some extent the literary style of the Persian original since it was in both verse and prose. Eastwick had prepared an introductory preface on Saʿdi where he talked of the great reputation of "the immortal poet"[48] that surpassed by far all other "poets in the East" and his works that were the first lessons taught at schools. The book included a chapter about the life of the author, a proper word-by-word translation of a chapter about Saʿdi from a Persian biographical treatise of the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century entitled the *Ātashkadeh-ye Āzar*.[49] In order to give more authority to his work, Eastwick had his translation attentively compared to the original by a scholarly *monshi* who mastered both Persian and English.[50] The translator aimed to establish the authority of his work

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[47]Ibid., 40.

[48]Eastwick, "Preface," vi.

[49]*Ātashkadeh-ye Āzar Tazkereh-ye Shoʿarā-ye Fārsi-zabān*, 275–7. The book is referred to as *The Atish Kadah* on the cover of Eastwick's translation.

[50]Eastwick, Preface to the 2nd edition, vi.

by referring to the Persian *monshi*, while yet again not giving the *monshi* himself credit through a reference to his proper name.

This "Edition de lux" had a cover with the Persian title *Golestān-e Sheykh Saʿdi Shirazi* engraved in the centre of a *shamseh* (circular form of illumination mimicking the sun) in golden Persian calligraphy. Two miniature paintings from the Persian manuscript were found in the opening and ending pages of the book: one illustrated the scene of a typical Oriental classroom (*maktab*), with the teacher sitting at the top center and the students sitting around him, and the other was an illustration of a master and a *monshi* disciple in a *kārkhāneh* where manuscripts were copied, along with animals and birds in a natural setting. The title of the first chapter on the "Life of Saʿdi" from the *Ātashkadeh* was typed in the heading part (*sarlowh*) decorated with Indo-Persian illuminations. A second frontispiece appeared at the beginning of Saʿdi's introduction to the *Golestān* (*dibācheh*) with arabesques (*khatāyi* floral motifs). All pictures were in full color.

In the preface, Eastwick commented on Gladwin's and Ross' translations as well as Sémelet's French rendering and criticized them for being too free and, in some cases, improper.[51] Providing meticulous examples from those renderings, he criticized their level of understanding of the Persian text and translation methods. By providing concrete examples of mistranslations and omissions of certain lines in the original, and by making their misunderstandings evident, Eastwick tried to prove that both Gladwin and Ross had lost the meaning of Saʿdi's words. He ranked the quality of the translations, placing Sémelet's French version in first place, Gladwin's second, Ross' as the third, and the Latin version by Gentius in fourth place. At the same time, he praised Ross' resourceful essay and quoted his list of Saʿdi's works. Eastwick brought up the importance of rendering Persian poetry into English verse and tried to make his translation as loyal as possible in terms of the communication of meaning, meter, alliteration, and intertextual references. Persian words were written in Arabic letters and with Roman transliteration, Arabic passages were set in italics, and numerous explanatory footnotes—sometimes taking up half the page—clarified ambiguities pertaining to Persian culture and literature. Eastwick's literary talent made his translation aesthetically pleasing. At this stage, he was certainly aware of the importance of style in Persian prose and was also conscious of the differences of aesthetic criteria in Persian and English literature; he explained a few years later, in his other translation work, Kāshefi's *Anvār-e Soheyli*:

> It is impossible not to perceive that those very characteristics of style, which form its chiefest beauties in the eye of Persian taste, will appear to the European reader as ridiculous blemishes. The undeviating equipoise of bi-propositional sentences, and oftentimes their length and intricacy; and hyperbole and sameness of metaphor and the rudeness and unskillfulness of the plots of some of the stories, cannot but be wearisome and repulsive to the better and simpler judgment of the West.[52]

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[51]Eastwick, "Preface," 8–9.
[52]Eastwick, Preface to Kāshefi, *Anvār-e Soheyli or the Lights of Canopus*, ix.

Eastwick made a great effort to render the Persian text into English with style. In his work, the literary style was not an imitation of the Persian style, but was in accordance with the tastes of his English audience. Persian poetic and rhyming prose was translated into fluent English prose, Persian couplets into English rhyming stanzas, which still allowed the English reader of the mid-nineteenth century (who had already been familiarized with Saʿdi through Gladwin's rendering and other translations) to appreciate its intrinsic literary merits. Nevertheless, certain scholars of Persian like Edward FitzGerald (1809–83) called Eastwick's verse "wretched" and considered the style of his prose to be "on the wrong tack" altogether.[53] Others praised it for its charming combination of Persian book art and narrative literature, as well as for the "literality" of the translation; it was presented to Queen Victoria of England in 1853 and was apparently very much admired.[54]

The Persian text of the *Golestān* was continuously re-edited and reprinted by professors of Fort William and the East India Company in the years that followed. Explanatory appendices, bilingual glossaries, and chapters on the text's literary value were prepared with the help of the *monshis*. In some versions, diacritics were included to mark the short vowels for easier pronunciation. In others, further information was provided on Persian and Arabic poetics, metrics, and rhetoric for the use of students.[55] The large number of editions of the Persian text demonstrated its continuous popularity; among the English translations, the ones by Gladwin and Eastwick were the most successful, and were reprinted several times in Europe and America.

English Translations in Comparison

A glimpse at the English renderings of the *Golestān* in the first half of the nineteenth century reveals evident differences of expression and an undeniable evolution in methods of translation. Despite the simplicity of the language in all four translations,

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[53]Davis, "Saʿdi," 1213, cited from FitzGerald, *The Letters of Edward FitzGerald*, Vol. 2, 119.

[54]*Catalogue of Books Printed*, 10.

[55]Some of these editions and manuals are as follows: A. Sprenger (Persian examiner for Fort William College), *The Gulistan of Saʿdy*. Michael John Rolandson, a teacher and translator at Fort William, provided a manual to help Persian readers with the Arabic passages of the *Golestān* in 1828, *An Analysis of Arabic Quotations*. In 1863, Francis Johnson, professor of Oriental languages at the East India Company's College, Haileybury, published *The Gulistān (Rose-garden), of Shaikh Saʿdī of Shīrāz, A New Edition with Vocabulary*. In the preface to his book, Johnson admired Sprenger's edition as the most genuine and authentic version, and praised Defrémery's French translation because of its precise historical and geographical annotations. He evaluated the four English translations by Gladwin, Dumoulin, Ross, and Eastwick and considered the latter to be the most masterly and elegant, because not only had the original meaning been rendered faithfully, but also "the privilege of appreciating the force and marking the beauties of rhythm and alliteration which prevailed throughout the original, and had so powerful a charm for the Oriental ear, was reserved as the student's reward for the patience and pains bestowed in the acquisition of the language." W. Nassau Lee (d. 1889), principal at the Madraseh ʿĀliyeh and examiner at Fort William, published *The Gulistān of Sady* in 1871. John Thompson Platts (born in Calcutta in 1830 and died in 1904) taught at the University of Oxford and republished the Persian text in 1871, under the title: *The Gulistān; a New Edition Carefully Collated with the Original Manuscripts, with a Full Vocabulary*.

there is a tendency to produce prose of increasing literary value, and Eastwick's version develops this attentiveness in the translation of the verse passages into verse. In all four complete English translations, the number of tales varies in each chapter, perhaps due to the differences in the consulted manuscripts regarding the number of the tales, their irregular divisions and varied titles, or because of the translators' decision to eliminate tales considered to be too indecent for the English reader. The first two translations, by Gladwin and Demoulin, were published in Calcutta for East India Company employees studying Persian and evidently followed pedagogical purposes. The third translation, by Ross, displayed the first attempts at a philological study on the poet's biographical account and variations of manuscripts. Eastwick's version, the fourth, reintroduced the work in a literary style, still different from the one in Persian, but in an adapted form that would agree with English taste.

The translators were aware of the pragmatic needs of the British employees to learn both the Persian language and literary epistolary style of writing, but seemed incapable of transmitting this style in their English renderings; this is reflected in their commentaries about the difficulties of translating Persian metaphors and idioms and on how Persian literary devices lose their charm in English and sound repetitive.

With regard to "style," what may significantly draw a Persian reader's attention is that the first three English texts are focused on the transmission of the content, and not on the poetics and aesthetics of Sa'di's choice of words. In Persian literature, the *Golestān* is not a model for simplicity, but for ease of expression in eloquent phrasing (*sahl-o momtane'*). The *Golestān*'s *dibācheh* is an example par excellence of ornate prose (*nasr-e masnu'*), a poetic form of prose which was created in the twelfth century by a *monshi* of the Ghaznavid court (977–1186), Abu al-Ma'āli Nasr Allāh, in his Persian *Kalileh va Demneh*, written between 1142 and 1146, and which became very popular for centuries afterwards. The poetic characteristics of this style are the use of symmetry, rhyme, a diverse range of literary devices, Arabic, and sometimes verbose phrases in order to carry across one same meaning through a variety of forms of expression. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, almost all *monshis* had to learn this technique of writing and to produce similar texts for historiographies and official correspondence. Sa'di's *Golestān* and the *Anvār-e Soheyli* by Vā'ez Kāshefi (d. 1504) mentioned earlier by Jones, as model texts were the most significant and canonical examples of this style used by Persian *monshis*.

Sa'di used comparisons, allusions, and metaphors, with Koranic verses as well as some stanzas of his own to elaborate his text, yet without grandiloquence. In the first paragraph from the Persian *dibācheh* of the *Golestān* for instance, the same number of words used in each sentence and the use of "va" between every other short phrase create a symmetrical structure, similar to that of a couplet. The verbs at the end of the sentences—and sometimes every word in the sentence—rhyme with the ones in the same grammatical position in the next sentence. The short sentences (*ijāz*) that rhyme together are full of imagery, and the verses inserted within the text make it pleasant for the reader to read the same message rephrased in the poems. Because of their rhythm, these verse sections could be memorized easily. As a result, once read aloud, the prose text of the *Golestān* sounds as harmonious as the poetry

with which it is interwoven. The elegant use of language would make the tales ingenuous, and with the creation of "variations in the style of expression," in contrast to what the British would perceive in English as the rephrasing of the same message, would not be perceived as repetitive by Persian readers. Above all, Saʿdi's wittiness and sense of humor make these tales more attractive and amusing.

The *monshis* suggested reading the *Golestān* to the British because it was an essential model for Persian composition. Besides, its short and varied tales were suitable for educational purposes. For the *monshi*, the *Golestān* represented a literary form, whereas for the British translator, the text was treated as part of a language teaching manual and its translation was seen as a phase in language acquisition. At first, the translators did not consider the literary aspect of the text, omitted verses to avoid repetition and paid more attention to the understanding of the moralistic content of the book; thus Saʿdi was portrayed as "the prince of Persian moralists."[56] On the other hand, for the Persian reader, the first translations of the *Golestān* seemed dull and without spirit, and far removed from Saʿdi's work. It took over fifty years for the English translators to develop an approach to Saʿdi's style which showed admiration for both the aesthetics of the poet's literary language and the meaning of the text.

The last translation, by Eastwick, an ornate text of high literary merit, was published in England with a refined presentation and was presented to the Queen of the British Empire. The translator's approach towards style had grown and his intention did not seem to be merely producing a language handbook for East India Company cadets. We should bear in mind that Persian began to lose its importance as an official language within British institutions from 1835 onwards, when the East India Company decided to replace it with English or local vernacular languages. This policy influenced the teaching of Persian as a useful diplomatic language. Moreover, the British perception of "style" changed through this period for pragmatic reasons: colonial systems that were first attentive to the high standards of writing in correspondence with the Indian political systems and the court began to enforce English for communication. Consequently, the objectives of translation and the approach to the Persian language changed, and more attention was drawn to the appreciation of aesthetics in Persian literature. The East India College in Haileybury closed in 1858, following the Indian Mutiny in 1857 that finally led to the nationalization of the East India Company by the crown and the fundamental changes of its policies. Eastwick, being a Persian scholar there in the 1850s, was certainly aware of this change of policy towards Persian and within the East India Company, and followed a more distinguished purpose for his new rendering than was demanded of colonial administrators: his endeavor was to attain Saʿdi's elegant style. This unsolved problem no longer regarded the pedagogical attainment of epistolary prose: it was rather a matter of producing a translation of the *Golestān* of literary value for a different British readership. He sensed that in order for his translation to be successful, it would need to appeal to multiple constituencies and be fit for any type of reading. In other words, he intended to produce literature. Eastwick's translation of Saʿdi's

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[56]Johnson, *The Gulistān*, p. iii.

Golestān makes clear this change of view about the objectives of translation in the 1850s.

The four English translators knew about each other's works, criticized each other's methodologies, and tried to gain credibility for their own work by referring to the Persian *monshis* whose shadows were omnipresent, from the choice of the text and its introduction to Europeans, to the translation process and even—in the case of Eastwick—in the approval of the English text through comparison to the Persian one. As the *monshis* were the principal mediators of knowledge, their standard criteria for appreciating literary texts would impact Europeans' perception of the Indo-Persian textual corpus. In the meantime, though acquiring authentic Indian knowledge from Indian scholars was promoted, cultural differences would create challenges for their collaborations which could sometimes turn into a power struggle, when the pattern of colonial domination was temporarily overturned through the Indian tutor's position of power with respect to the English student. The English needed to learn about and adopt local administrative culture, but on the other hand they preferred British standards over the Indian ones, and claimed to enrich the local culture through its Anglicization. This paradoxical situation is reflected in the history of translation of the *Golestān*: the *monshis* were considered unreliable for translation, but were still referred to as an authentic Persian source, though their names were not mentioned. Likewise, much interest was shown by the British towards the canonical texts of Persian literature and yet the style of Persian literature was judged and devalued according to English standards, which were considered more "accurate" or "better and simpler."

Conclusion

The "Saʿdi trend" in nineteenth-century Europe was partly indebted to Sir William Jones' vision for linguistic education and to his fellow promoters of British institutions devoted to the study of Indian and Persian languages and cultures. The Asiatic Society and Fort William in Bengal supported the translations and editions of Saʿdi's *Golestān* along with manuscript copies as a common schoolbook throughout the East India Company's colleges.[57] The translations were student-oriented and written in plain English. The translators knew each other's works and tried to outdo each other by gaining greater familiarity with various aspects of the Persian poet's life and personality. They promoted the image of Saʿdi as a man of learning and wisdom from the East, a dervish (Sufi) free of worldly belongings and full of divine inspiration, and a teacher of moral lessons—an image which did not completely correspond to Saʿdi's character in Persianate culture. It was on these terms that men of letters such as Emerson discovered and honored Saʿdi, calling him "The Poet," by which he meant "the perfect man."[58]

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[57]Ross, "Essay," 38.

[58]In his essay "The Poet" published in 1844, Emerson described his ideal poet as the only "complete man" among "partial men," capable of perceiving the transcendent nature of things, and expressing his

The *Golestān*'s canonicity among *monshis* for practicing Persian ornate prose was one of the main reasons why this book became "the" textbook for English officers who were ambitious enough to learn Persian and its complicated epistolary style, even though, as Jones mentioned, they criticized its "lofty figures and flowery descriptions with lessons of morality and tender sentiment."[59] Despite Jones' emphasis on the *Golestān* as an ideal text for learning an elegant style of Persian writing, his translation and those of his first successors lacked this style. They consciously differentiated between style in Persian and English and found it impossible to genuinely transmit or reproduce the *Golestān*'s style due to culturally distinct criteria for literary quality. However, by the mid-nineteenth century, their attention had gradually shifted from practical uses of the text to its literary aesthetics. Diverse factors, such as the target audience changing from learners of Persian for the East India Company to a more general English-speaking reading public, as well as the aims of the translation and the translators' personal literary skills, influenced the British perception of this work throughout this period. Eastwick's translation was apparently a solution to this challenge since it concurred with English literary criteria; it was appreciated from an aesthetic standpoint and at the same time retained other qualities of the text, notably wit and humor. Thus, the approach towards translation and its objectives changed: English translations of the *Golestān* went from being aimed at transmitting cultural knowledge and offering language practice to being aimed at transmitting Persian book culture and literary style.

Saʿdi's popularity in Europe is indebted to the Indo-Persian learned scholars who contributed to the formation of the pedagogical curriculum at the British institutions in India and actively took part in the research, compiling, translation, and construction of British knowledge about "the Orient." Despite certain misconceptions on the perception of Saʿdi and his works, *monshis* played a significant role in his introduction to the West; and even though their names are not mentioned on the cover of the

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divine inspirations in poems. See Emerson, *Complete Works*, Vol. 3, Essays: Second Series, "The Poet." His definition of the poet had much in common with that of a mystic dwelling alone, a Sufi wanderer in search of the Truth, and a barefoot Fakir with spiritual integrity. This image corresponded more to Hafez (d. 1390) or Rumi (d. 1273) among Persian poets, but matched the "Saʿdi" that Emerson presented and praised in his poem "Saadi," written in 1842. Ibid., Vol. 9, Poems: "Saadi." He borrowed Saʿdi's name for his "ideal poet" and incorporated his verse and identity within his Platonic and transcendental vision. See Sedarat, *Emerson in Iran*, 19. Emerson identified himself with Saʿdi, sought authentic spirituality in him, and attributed the wisdom of the Gods to him. Emerson, *Complete Works*, Vol. 9, 244. Later on, Saʿdi in Emerson's works became his "translated self." Ibid., 492; Sedarat, *Emerson in Iran*, 74. Once he wrote in his *Journals*, "The human race is interested in Saʿdi [who] is the poet of friendship, of love, of heroism, self-devotion, bounty, serenity, and the divine Providence." Emerson, *Journals*, Vol. 10, 562. Emerson's knowledge of Persian literature came from German and English translations of Persian literary texts by Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall (d. 1856) and Francis Gladwin. In his introduction to Gladwin's translation of the *Golestān* published in the United States in 1865, Emerson praised Saʿdi's wit and moral sentiments, saw him as a virtuous soul, and placed him into his transcendental aesthetic. See Gladwin, *The Gulistān*, Emerson's Preface, vii–viii, x. See also Sedarat, *Emerson in Iran*, 94.

[59]Jones, *Grammar*, 128.

translations, they remain the invisible messengers of the poet's thoughts into English literature.[60]

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[60]English and American poets of the nineteenth century such as R. W. Emerson (d. 1882), Alfred Tennyson (d. 1892), Henry D. Thoreau (d. 1862), and Henry W. Longfellow (d. 1882) knew Saʿdi and were influenced by his literature through English translations of his works.

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Mateusz M. Kłagisz ⓘ *and Renata Rusek-Kowalska* ⓘ

The Dragoman and the Scholar: Two Polish Translations of Saʿdi's *Golestān*

This article discusses two Polish translations of Saʿdi's Golestān, *prepared by Samuel Otwinowski and Wojciech Biberstein-Kazimirski (alias Albert Kazimirski de Biberstein) and published in 1879 and 1876 respectively. Though edited at the end of the nineteenth century, Otwinowski's translation had been originally completed in the first half of the seventeenth century and is assumed to be the first one or one of the very first renderings of Saʿdi's work into a European language. The question that remains unresolved is whether or not Otwinowski's translation, despite being unpublished, was known to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Polish poets. One can find some stories and motifs "picked" from Saʿdi's* Golestān *in their poetry, but they seem more likely to have been influenced by non-Polish renderings. This article describes the different translation strategies adopted by the two translators, the literarily gifted dragoman Otwinowski and the nineteenth-century philologist Biberstein Kazimirski.*

Keywords: Saʿdi; *Golestān*; Otwinowski; Kazimirski; Polish Translation; Cultural Mobility; Wisdom Literature

Introduction

Our article discusses two Polish translations of Saʿdi's *Golestān*, one by Samuel Otwinowski and the other by Wojciech Biberstein-Kazimirski (hereafter Kazimirski) published in 1879 and 1876 respectively. We are interested in the cultural mobility and oral transmission of wisdom literature between the Muslim and Christian worlds as well as the different *skopoi* (purposes of the translation) and the translation strategies adopted by both translators: the literarily gifted dragoman Otwinowski and the precise scholar Kazimirski.

   Though published in 1879, Otwinowski's translation was originally completed in the first half of the seventeenth century and is assumed to be the first or at least

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one of the very first renderings of Saʿdi's work into a European language.[1] It was made during a period of intense but turbulent political contacts between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (hereafter Poland) and the Ottoman Empire (hereafter Turkey), whereas Kazimirski rendered the *Golestān* in a completely different cultural and political atmosphere while making ends meet as an exile in Paris following the partition of Poland in 1795. The histories of their creations are micro-histories of a single displaced object and, as Stephen Greenblatt says, such peculiar, specific and local micro-histories constitute the overall cultural relationship between unexpected times and places.[2]

Otwinowski's translation should be the subject of our interest to the same extent as various material goods imported from the East, mainly men's clothing, carpets, weapons and other items for personal use,[3] especially as the transfer of cultural systems is more challenging than the mass transfer of wealth.[4] In seventeenth-century Poland the adaptation of the products of material culture from the East was not accompanied by an adaptation of the products of its intellectual culture, since literary inspiration was sought in the West.[5]

Kazimirski's rendering, on the other hand, was made by a nineteenth-century orientalist educated in the West, and may be conceived of as an outcome of the academic movement of the Oriental Renaissance.[6] Completed and published in Paris, it was accurate, well-researched and richly footnoted and was thus aimed at satisfying a Polish readership's epistemic thirst for knowledge of eastern culture.

Otwinowski and his Giulistan

Otwinowski was born between 1575 and 1585 into a family that belonged to a community of the anti-trinitarian wing of the Polish Reformation (so-called Polish Brethren).[7] Around 1604 he found himself in Istanbul where for six years he studied oriental languages, mainly Turkish as well as the basics of Arabic and

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[1] Among the first translations of Saʿdi's *Golestān* into European languages one can enumerate: (1) the French rendering by André Du Ryer (1634); (2) the Latin version by Georgius Gentius (1651); as well as (3–4) the German editions by Friedrich Ochsenbach (1636) and Adam Olearius (1654) (Brancaforte, "Persian Words of Wisdom," 450–72).

[2] Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: An Introduction," 17.

[3] Czartoryski, *Myśli o pismach polskich z uwagami*, 185. Tazbir, *Kultura szlachecka w Polsce*.

[4] Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: An Introduction," 10.

[5] Tazbir, *Kultura szlachecka w Polsce*, 160. On the other hand, the *Bible* (1599) in its successful translation by the Jesuit, Jakub Wujek (1541–97), was a tame religious and cultural text from the Oriental culture circle. Since the Middle Ages, literary oriental traditions in a broader perspective, together with their themes, motifs and genres, have reached Poland mainly through translations from Latin and western European languages, e.g. a spiritual romance about Buddha-Josafat, known in the West since the twelfth century, which appeared for the first time in Polish in the sixteenth century in the *Żywoty świętych* [*The Lives of the Saints*] by Piotr Skarga (1536–1612).

[6] See Schwab, *La Renaissance Orientale*.

[7] Saʿdi, *Perska księga na polski*, vi–ix (hereafter Otwinowski); Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII wieku*, 78–108.

Persian essential for translating Ottoman correspondence.[8] After returning to Poland, he began his state service, first as a translator on the Polish–Turkish border and then as a dragoman in the Crown Chancellery of Sigismund III Vasa (1587–1632) and, most likely, Władysław IV Vasa (1632–48). He probably died circa 1650.

His interests went beyond diplomatic issues and included historical,[9] folklore[10] and literary topics. The fruit of the latter is a translation of the *Golestān* entitled *Giulistan to jest Ogród różany* [*Giulistan That Is the Rose Garden*] completed between 1604 (first journey to Istanbul) and 1640 (end of work as a dragoman).[11] However, as mentioned above, it was only published in 1879 as *Perska księga na polski przełożona od Jmci Pana Samuela Otwinowskiego Sekretarza J. Kr. Mci, nazwana Giulistan to jest Ogród Różany* [*A Persian Book Translated into Polish by Dear Sir Samuel Otwinowski, Secretary to His Royal Highness, called Giulistan That Is the Rose Garden*] by Wincenty Korotyński and Ignacy Janicki. It is impossible to say what happened to this manuscript from the time of its creation until 1841, when it was donated to Józef I. Kraszewski.[12] Even then it was still largely unknown: Kazimirski did not provide any information about it in the comments to his translation published in Paris in 1876.[13] It was for this reason that the editors of the Otwinowski's translation wanted to "restore Otwinowski's place in history and literature,"[14] as they were convinced that it was the first rendition of the *Golestān* into a European language and of a higher literary quality than its nineteenth-century counterpart. Their edition was based on a manuscript comprised of eighty-three cards from a collection of *silva rerum*[15] destroyed during World War II. It is

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[8]With regard to the training process for aspiring dragomans we only know that they were required to have good command of both written and spoken Turkish, Arabic and Persian. Since these languages were not taught in Poland at the time, any vocational training could only take place abroad, mostly in Turkey. See: Baranowski, "Znajomość języka tureckiego," 9–37; Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 252ff.

[9]Otwinowski translated Ain-ı Ali's work on the Ottoman state, completing it with his own comments (Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna XVI, XVII i XVIII w.*, I, 142–3).

[10]Otwinowski wrote in Andrzej Lubieniecki's diary on 23 November 1618 a pseudo-Arabic invocation to the Holy Trinity *yā allāh yā ʿīsā yā rūh-al-ʿīsā* that should mean "In the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit" (*rūh-al-ʿīsā* is Jesus's title and "the Holy Spirit" is in fact *rūh-al-quds*), two Turkish poems (one of them erroneously identified as Persian) and a vigorous signature in the Ottoman style (Tr. *tuǧrâ*) (Manuscript in the Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich, Kraków, sign. I 1403).

[11]Otwinowski, ix. Kieniewicz, *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXVI(1), 649; Baraowski, "Najdaw-niejsze polskie przekłady," 33–48. As researchers do not agree on the precise time that Otwinowski pre-pared his translation, it is impossible to state firmly that his translation of Saʿdi's *Golestān* was the first into a European language. Yet, judging by the content of his *Giulistan*, and the lack of both *explicit* and *implicit* references to Du Ryer's and Ochsenbach's translations in his work, Otwinowski can be regarded as the pioneer in the field of European renditions of Saʿdi.

[12]The manuscript was donated by an unidentified V. J. Warchocki, who brought it to the editorial office of the *Athenaeum* journal "among the interesting remnants from the times of Sigismund III's ruler-ship" (Kraszewski, *Athenaeum*, V, 248; Kraszewski, *Athenaeum*, I, 238; Kraszewski, *Podróże*, 5).

[13]Jezierski, "Gulistan, to jest Ogród różany S'adego," 464–74.

[14]Otwinowski, ii.

[15]*Silva rerum* (Polonized: *sylwa*) defines a collection of texts of a non-uniform character, created on the principle of free choice. It includes records from everyday observations and reflections, quotations of private and public documents as well as literary works in Polish and/or Latin. This type of literature was

therefore impossible to say whether this was the original manuscript or, as both suggested, a copy.[16]

Initially, it was believed that Otwinowski translated the *Golestān* directly from Persian but it has since been established that his command of the language was too poor and he must have used a Turkish translation.[17] There are some linguistic features indicating a translation by relay:

(1) The Persian noun *golestān* was rendered in Polish as *giulistan*, i.e. its Turkish pronunciation *gülistân*.

(2) The name Muhammad appears as Me[c]hmet[/d],[18] which is the Turkish rendition of the Arabic Muḥammad and which was borne by six Ottoman sultans. This version was never applied to the prophet, called Muhammet by the Turks,[19] but the graphical forms of Mehmed and Muhammet are identical. Otwinowski followed the local pronunciation, which may also suggest a rather poor command of Arabic. The usage of Me[c]hmet[/d] is somewhat surprising as the western European form Ma[c]homet was more common in Polish at that time.

(3) The Polish orthography of (Arabic-)Persian names indicates a Turkish language filter, e.g. Kiey-Husrew ← Tr. Keyhüsrev instead of the expected Kej-Chosraw.[20]

(4) A few Middle Eastern toponyms appear in their Turkified versions, e.g. Misyr ← Tr. Mısır instead of Mesr or Egipt.[21]

(5) The usage of a few Turkish terms, not found in the Persian original, that had been previously adopted into Polish, e.g.: *bajram* "festival,"[22] in the sense of ʿīd al-ʾaḍḥā "the Festival of Sacrifice" ← Tr. *kurban bayramı* "t.s."[23]

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widespread between the sixteenth and eighteenth century (Zachara, "Sylwy—dokument szlacheckiej kultury," 197–219; Gazda, *Słownik rodzajów*, 1019–21). *Silva rerum*, which included Otwinowski's translation, also contained Latin and Polish texts on contemporary history, contacts with Turkey as well as travel to Istanbul, all dated 1557–1622 (Otwinowski, iii–v).

[16]Kraszewski, *Podróże*, 5. Otwinowski,ii. Comparing the manuscript of *silva rerum* and Otwinowski's hand-written translations of the Ottoman documents, they came to the conclusion that the former had not been written by the same hand as the latter.

[17]Baranowski, "Najdawniejsze," 42–3. In 1979 Baranowski returned to the problem of Otwinowski's source text, explaining that he had encountered some traces that may indicate that Otwinowski received a translation of the *Golestān* from a Sunni emigrant from Azerbaijan to Istanbul at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He also added that he was going to deal with this issue in a separate work but such a text has never been published (Baranowski, *Polsko-azerbejdżańskie stosunki kulturalne*, 45 (footnote 2)). It could have been one of four different Turkish translations: (1) the Kipchak *Gülistân Terzümesi* by Seyf-i Serâyî (fourteenth century); (2) the Chagatai *Gülistân Terzümesi* by Sibîcâbâ (fourteenth century); (3–4) the Ottoman-Turkish *Gülistân* by Mahmud b. Kâdî-i Manyas (fifteenth century) or *Kitâb-ı Nigâristân ve Hadîka-i Sebzistân* by Za'îfi (sixteenth century). On Turkish translations of the *Golestān* see Büyükkarcı Yılmaz, "On Gulistan's Turkish (Re)translations," 11ff.

[18]Otwinowski, 126; Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 352.

[19]Stachowski, *Słownik historyczno-etymologiczny turcyzmów w języku polskim*, 378.

[20]Otwinowski, 57; Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 186.

[21]Otwinowski, 86; Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 246.

[22]Otwinowski, 64; Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 202.

[23]Stachowski, *Słownik historyczno-etymologiczny*, 49.

Along with these linguistic features, there are traces of cultural elements that point to translation by relay: "1) ethnicities not mentioned in the Persian original, e.g. Bulgarzyn "Bulgar";[24] (2) Istanbul (consistently called Konstantynopol "Constantinople") is the background of some stories.[25]

For these reasons in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Polish researchers accused Otwinowski of inaccuracy, distortions resulting from misunderstanding, taking too many liberties in his interpretation, and omissions, especially in Chapter 5 and 8. Their reservations were based on Kazimirski's and western European translations.[26] Although they noticed discrepancies between the two Polish renderings,[27] there was never a question as to whether both translators had the same Persian text at their disposal. Meanwhile, the inaccuracies in Otwinowski's translation, which were perceived as the traces of the translator, indicate rather that the intermediate text, i.e. the Turkish translation, must have been far from the original. The fact that we do not have this intermediary text does not allow us to identify whether minor changes had already made their appearance in the Turkish translation or if these came later in the Polish one, or during its rewriting into the *silva rerum*. This is the case for example when we read: "Gdybym widział dobrego, że nad studnią chodzi, / Nie wytrwałbym, bo przestrzedz takiego się godzi [If I had seen a good man that was going around a well, / I would not proceed to warn him as it is right to do so],"[28] where "good" substitutes "blind," since in the original we find: "But if I see a blind man near a well / It is a crime for me to remain silent."[29]

For a long time, discrepancies between the original and the translation were considered to reduce the value of the latter.[30] However, the value of Otwinowski's translation lies in its lively and vibrant language, as well as in its interesting translation strategy consisting of four elements: (1) archaization; (2) the use of genres developed in Polish literature; (3) domestication; and (4) foreignization. Due to these four elements Otwinowski was able to familiarize the Polish readership with the culturally alien and geographically distant work of Saʿdi. The appropriateness of his translation in relation to the original is not just to be defined in terms of its faithfulness. It should be considered in terms of his recreation of the universal character of Saʿdi's *Golestān*. When looking for the paradigms that guided Otwinowski, we would do well to recall Horace's maxim *nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus interpres*, because while working with the Turkish translation he skillfully rendered the style of the original. In his own version he implemented, somewhat unconsciously, the basic assumptions of the modern Nidaesque understanding of dynamic equivalence. Presumably, if his work had been published in print shortly after its creation, being close to the esthetic

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[24]Otwinowski, 252.
[25]Ibid., 178–9; Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 500.
[26]Święcicki, "Najnowsze prace oryentalistów polskich," 107.
[27]Ibid., 108.
[28]Otwinowski, 70.
[29]Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 215.
[30]Machalski, "W 700-lecie 'Gulistanu' Saʿdiego z Szyrazu," 251.

expectations of the seventeenth-century Polish readership, it would have had a measurable impact on the work of later poets and writers.

It was Janicki who pointed out that Otwinowski's language was quite outdated for the times he lived and worked in. Janicki explained this by his long stay in Turkey and the lack of contact with living Polish language.[31] Such an assertion is difficult to accept since Otwinowski's translations of Ottoman correspondence do not differ from the language norm of that time. He must have been driven by something else when he decided to age the Polish. There are two issues at stake: (1) a willingness to highlight a certain stylistic tonality; and (2) the urge to refer to well-known literary patterns. Firstly, archaization allowed Otwinowski to emphaize the didactic and moralizing character of the *Golestān*. Secondly, it could enhance the translation to better incorporate it into the natural habitat of Polish culture, i.e. to create the sense of "at-homeness" which is, as Greenblatt writes, "often claimed to be the necessary condition for a robust cultural identity."[32]

Archaization is closely related to the use of genres developed by Polish literature during the height of its development in the sixteenth century. Otwinowski combined the rhymed epigram, known in Polish as *fraszka*, and a type of tale, the *powieść*, related to the oral genre of the *gawęda*.[33] This inventive and precise solution enabled the domestication of the translation, helping him to bring the text closer to its audience.[34] The *gawęda* is a specifically Polish epic genre written in prose and verse. It has the character of a free, unpretentious story of varying length and is connected to the transformation of folk oral tradition into a written form.[35] As a genre it was informed by the literary esthetics of Romanticism, but its beginnings should be sought in the Baroque and Enlightenment culture of family or communal feasts, when various stories similar to those that constitute the *Golestān* were told in public and in private. Viewed in this context, Otwinowski's priority is clearly the adaptation of the original text to its target culture. This can be compared to Du Ryer's strategy of domestication (as opposed to Gentius' academic approach). Otwinowski's translation, like Du Ryer's, Ochsenbach's and Olearius' renditions, is aimed at a wider audience, but though he partly domesticates the text, he does not eliminate the Muslim context of the original, as was the case of Du Ryer's and (based on Du Ryer's version) Ochsenbach's *Gulistan*.

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[31]Otwinowski, xii.

[32]Greenblatt, "Cultural Mobility: An Introduction," 3.

[33]Epigram (Pl. *fraszka*) is a short poetic work adapted to Polish literature from the western European tradition by two significant poets of the golden age—Mikołaj Rej (1505–69) and Jan Kochanowski (1530–84). They formulated its stylistic patterns, also defining its immanent ones, which caused today's researchers to distinguish a separate genre of "Polish epigram" (*fraszka polska*), different to the epigram from which it originates. To put it simply, we can say that an epigram consists of a generic scene, often humorous, sometimes also a play on words, and a punchline. Gazda, *Słownik rodzajów*, 345.

[34]The argument for this is also the fact that Book 8, which in original consists of maxims, in Otwinowski's translation was adapted, in terms of structure, to the remaining chapters and organized on the basis of stories.

[35]Gazda, *Słownik rodzajów*, 354–7.

With regard to the domestication of *Golestān*, three levels can be distinguished: (1) linguistic; (2) literary; and (3) cultural.

On the linguistic level, domestication involved using the lexical resources of the Polish language, without weighing the translation down with terms unknown to a wider audience. Therefore, although the ethnonyms "Arab(in)"[36] appear in Otwinowski's work, it is Turczyn "Turk" that is considered to be a Muslim *par excellence*,[37] e.g. "Ja przez księgi Mojżeszowe przysięgam, / jeśli źle przysięgam, niech Turczynem zostawam [I swear by the book of Moses / if I swear badly, let me be a Turk],"[38] while in the original we read: "The Jew said: 'I swear by the Pentateuch / That if my oath is false, I shall die a Moslem like thee.'"[39]

Accommodation to native lexical resources also caused the most common term for a Muslim ruler to be the noun *cesarz* "emperor,"[40] even if there appears the word *sułtan* "sultan,"[41] or *padyszach* "padishah, king."[42] The custom of addressing Turkish sultans as emperors was widespread before and during the time of Otwinowski, as evidenced by, inter alia, fragments of the *Pamiętnik Janczara* (*Janczar's Memoirs*),[43] which he knew and developed.[44]

Domestication on a literary level was manifested by a bold procedure in the form of conscious disguised quotations of Kochanowski's epigrams.[45] The fact that Otwinowski made use of them aroused the interest of the first researchers who were seeking an indirect influence of Saʿdi's work on Polish poets before they could even have gained the opportunity to get acquainted with it thanks to Otwinowski's translation. Janicki was the first to write about this and the idea was developed by Marja Wrześniewska, who believed that Otwinowski translated the *Golestān* because fragments of it were supposed to be known to Poles traveling to Turkey and Persia.[46] They were thought to have brought home with them anecdotes from the *Golestān* and told them to their relatives or friends. As evidence she pointed out one of Kochanowski's most popular epigrams *Na zdrowie* (*On Noble Health*): "Szlachetne zdrowie / Nikt się nie dowie / Jako smakujesz / Aż się zepsujesz [O, noble health / Thou – all our wealth! / None thy taste cost / Till thou art lost]."[47] Kochanowski supposedly became acquainted with Saʿdi's work thanks to his friend Andrzej Bzicki, who lived in Istanbul in the middle of the sixteenth century. However, he could have been likewise inspired by a paean in honor of Hygiea by

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[36]Otwinowski, 71, 73.
[37]Stachowski, *Słownik historyczno-etymologiczny*, 599.
[38]Otwinowski, 239.
[39]Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 644.
[40]Otwinowski, 15; Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 96.
[41]Otwinowski, 16; Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 100.
[42]Otwinowski, 100; Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 239.
[43]Łoś, *Pamiętniki janczara*, 236.
[44]Prejs, *Egzotyzm w literaturze*, 54, 78.
[45]Jan Kochanowski (1530–84) was a Renaissance poet and creator of poetic patterns that would become integral to the Polish literary language.
[46]Wrześniewska, "Uwagi o Gulistanie i fraszce polskiej," 5.
[47]Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, vol. I, 240–1. English translation by T. Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, *Kto mi dał skrzydła* [Who Hath Bewinged Me], 97.

Ariphron of Sikion (fifth/fourth century BC),[48] not Saʿdi, who wrote: "thus also a man does not appreciate the value of immunity from a misfortune until it has befallen him."[49] The fact that Otwinowski rendered the quoted fragment changing its form but preserving the message: "nikomu zdrowie nie smakuje, aż jakiéj choroby skosztuje [health does not taste good to anyone / until he tastes disease]" is proof of an in-depth knowledge of Polish literature as well as of a literary mind.[50]

Similar theses have been put forward concerning Story 10 from Chapter 4: "How knowest thou what is in the zenith of the sky / If thou art not aware who is in thy house?,"[51] which in Otwinowski's translation reads as follows: "Jako ty widzieć możesz co się dzieje w niebie, / Kiedy nie wiesz, że w domu masz [kurwę] u siebie [How can you see what is going on in the sky / When you do not know that you have a (whore) at home]"[52] and vividly resembles Kochanowski's epigram *Na matematyka* (*On a Mathematician*): "Ziemię pomierzył i głębokie morze, / Wie, jako wstają i zachodzą zorze; / Wiatrom rozumie, praktykuje komu, / A sam nie widzi, że ma kurwę w domu [H's measured ... the earth and fathomed the depths / He kens whence the sun rises and whither it sets / The wind's nature knows and futures foretells / He just can't see there's a whore in the house where he dwells]."[53] Can the coincidence between Kochanowski's epigram and the story in the *Golestān* serve as an argument in the discussion regarding Saʿdi's influence on Polish artists? Not necessarily. We may be rather dealing here with a wandering motif which developed independently in two distant regions of the world.

Cultural accommodation involved the removal of some symbols of Islamic culture which could have been more difficult for the Polish audience to understand. Hence, there is in Otwinowski's translation no mention of the Kaaba: "O Arab of the desert, I fear thou wilt not reach the Ka'bah / Because the road on which thou travellest leads to Turkestan,"[54] as he proposed a different solution: "Boję się Arabinie, iżeć zbłądzić przyjdzie, / Bo droga, którą bieżysz, nie do Mechy idzie [I am afraid, oh Arab, that you will get lost / because the path you are going / does not lead to Mecca]"[55] replacing the Kaaba with Mecca. It is an example of dynamic equivalence when extra-textual factors force the translator to make changes in the text. The Kaaba of course is not Mecca but it is in Mecca, so the journey to Mecca also means the journey to the Kaaba. It is also an example of the preservation of the original religion but expressed in a way that is intelligible to the target audience.[56]

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[48]LeVen, *The Many-Headed Muse*, 277–82. We would like to thank Tomasz Babnis for his help in finding the classical Greek reference.

[49]Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 125.

[50]Otwinowski, 28.

[51]Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 451.

[52]Otwinowski, 165–6.

[53]Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, 166. English translation by Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, 73.

[54]Otwinowski, 238.

[55]Ibid., 82.

[56]We can compare such a reductive process to Du Ryer's replacement of the mosque minarets with a church tower recorded by Brancaforte ("Persian Words of Wisdom," 457).

Another example of cultural domestication is the consistent use of the term *Bóg* "God" instead of Allah (Pl. Alla[c]h), e.g. "Więc góra Tur między górami najmniejsza, ale przed obliczonością Bożą największa i najwdzięczniejsza [So the Tur (*sic*) mountain between the mountains is the smallest, but before God's face it is the largest and the most grateful]"[57] which in the original is: "The smallest mountain on earth is Jur [*sic*!]; nevertheless / It is great with Allah in dignity and station."[58] The fact that Otwinowski did not use the adapted term Alla[c]h (← Tr. Allah ← Ar. Allāh) at all may be proof of a deliberate act and willingness to emphasize the universal character of the *Golestān*—the noun Alla[c]h appears in the Polish literature at least from the sixteenth century and could easily have been used by Otwinowski.[59]

Accommodation on a cultural level also involved what Święcicki criticized as a temptation to smooth out the translation.[60] Otwinowski was tempted by Polish esthetics and morality, especially in a considerably shortened Chapter 5 in which he replaced homoerotic threads with heteronormative ones, e.g. "W mieście Hemedan nazwaném, był kady (wójt) uczony, ale młody. Ten rozmiłował się jednego kowala w onémże mieście mieszkającego córki [In the city named Hemedan there was a qadi (vogt) learned but young. He was in love with the daughter of a blacksmith of that city],"[61] while the original refers explicitly to a boy: "It is related that the qazi of Hamadan, having conceived an affection towards a farrier-boy."[62] What guided Otwinowski in selecting stories to translate from Chapter 5 (only eleven of an original twenty-three) was a different view of morality: some topics may have seemed distasteful to most of his audience, and so were altered or completely removed. If we consider the main goal of the *Golestān* to be moral education, then it would have made sense for the translation to adapt the text to the target culture's moral codes.[63]

The opposite of domestication is foreignization, i.e. externalization of the interest in elements of social and cultural life of different communities that are unusual from the European point of view. Otwinowski's foreignization involved primarily the preservation of local color. The protagonists were not transferred to life in Poland, they remained in Damascus, Istanbul, "Indian Khorasan," Syria or Iran. Foreignization concerned also Islamic terminology, but this is well balanced in terms of amount—an example of this balance is his choice to maintain Islam in the text, but also adapt the reference to the Kaaba and translate Allah. Nevertheless, researchers accused Otwinowski of not adding a glossary of oriental terminology. One question

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[57]Otwinowski, 17.

[58]Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 102.

[59]Stachowski, *Słownik historyczno-etymologiczny*, 19. If we knew which Turkish translation was used by Otwinowski, we would be able to analyze the frequency of the use of the nouns *Allāh* and *xodā* in the intermediate Turkish text and answer the question whether Otwinowski imitated it or independently decided in favor of such a solution.

[60]Święcicki, "Najnowsze," 107.

[61]Otwinowski, 181.

[62]Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 515.

[63]The problem of education, edification and morals in the *Golestān* is undertaken, e.g. by Katouzian, *Saʿdi.*

arises here: was *mufty* "mufti," the term that Janicki put in his glossary attached to the edition of Otwinowski's translation, really completely unknown to potential seventeenth-century readers? In the *silva rerum* it was underlined and in print it is in italics, but we do not know whether it was Otwinowski who wanted to replace it with another word or whether an anonymous copyist considered it problematic.[64] The first evidence of this lexeme in Polish dates back to the sixteenth century and it must be remembered that the perspective of nineteenth-century researchers differed from the knowledge of the seventeenth-century intended readers.[65] The long-lasting border with Turkey as well as regular diplomatic contacts with Persia left their traces in Polish in the form of borrowings from Asian languages. It is also difficult to presume that Otwinowski made his translation with a view to educating his audience about the Islamic cultures, since he did not treat the *Golestān* as a source of knowledge about the Orient, but rather as a timeless and universal work.

Otwinowski's translation stands to a certain extent in contrast to the widely maintained assumption that cultural exchanges between Poland and the Middle East lacked a literary dimension.[66] Rather than practical obstacles, it was the perception of religious differences that limited intellectual exchange, since Poles looked at Muslims with great aloofness and often reluctance. In sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Poland, frequently called the *antemurale christianitatis*, native and translated texts of a clearly anti-Islamic character were circulating and the growing conflict with Turkey only fueled an anti-Muslim spirit.[67]

Where did Otwinowski's translation come from? There is no agreement on this. Some researchers believe that the affiliation to the Polish Brethren, which shaped the worldview of the entire Otwinowski family, was not without significance.[68] It is a fact that members of the Reformed churches were much more active in their contacts with the Muslim East. Hence, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in times of counter-reformation propaganda, the Polish Brethren especially were accused of favoring the enemies of Christianity.[69] The fact that his translation was largely devoid of elements directly referring to Islam, apart from the most basic ones such as e.g. *Alkoran* (Tr. *Alkoran* ← Ar. *al-Qurʾān*) "Quran," indicates that the universal character of Saʿdi's work was more important to him.

Otwinowski probably did not make his translation only for his fellow worshippers, assuming that he remained an Arian until the end of his life is not so certain, as he served the pro-Catholic Sigismund III (and perhaps also Władysław

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[64]Otwinowski, 51.

[65]Stachowski, *Słownik historyczno-etymologiczny*, 414.

[66]Turowska-Barowa, "Powieści Wschodnie Ignacego Krasickiego"; Tazbir, *Kultura szlachecka*, 160.

[67]Baranowski, "Najdawniejsze," 33; Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna*.

[68]Grabowski, *Literatura aryańska w Polsce*.

[69]Polish Protestants' attitude towards Islam is an interesting but still unexplored issue. They did not perceive Islam as disgusting, like Catholics, but tried to become acquainted with the secrets of the Islamic faith as far as possible, and even to find a bridge between these different religions. See Tazbir, *Arianie i katolicy*.

IV) and most likely converted to Catholicism. The *Golestān* as a universalist text had to be for Otwinowski a work that both entertained and taught everyone at the same time. That is why the *Giulistan* is more than just a collection of rudimentary factual pieces of information about the Orient. It is a collection of timeless, supra-local and supra-cultural practical advice on how to act morally and ethically, how to live in a manner that does not harm others and how not to become too proud of oneself. Since the whole is interwoven with humorous anecdotes and concluded with humorous epigrams, the form and nature of which were known to the audience at that time thanks to Rej or Kochanowski's work, the final outcome is very suitable for any seventeenth-century Polish nobleman who liked to discuss varying topics during family and neighborly meetings.

Otwinowski's translation was in manuscript form, but we do not know what became of it. It is also impossible to say today how, when and by whom it found its way into the *silva rerum*. However, it is puzzling that somebody decided to rewrite it for their own needs—the tradition of creating a *silva rerum* was a response to the decline of printing culture in the seventeenth century. Various texts were (re)written and exchanged with family and friends. Hence the question of how far Otwinowski's translation could have traveled, even though it did not appear in print.[70] However, the fact that it lay forgotten for 200 years contradicts the thesis regarding its mobility. Unlike *Persianischer Rosenthal* or *Rosarium Politicum*, which inspired western European artists, Otwinowski's translation did not affect Polish Baroque or Enlightenment ones. It did not find a place for itself in the Polish literary tradition, and its artistic potential was not used in any way by subsequent generations of artists. Thus, Otwinowski's translation was not as mobile as some researchers imagined it to be. Did it appear too early for Polish culture, which was not ready to assimilate a landmark of eastern literature? Not necessarily. The fact that the translation remained unanswered by Polish culture was primarily influenced by various factors; inter alia, in 1647 the Sejm closed the printing houses belonging to the Polish Brethren, deepening the decline of printing culture in Poland, and between 1650 and 1655 Swedish troops ravaged the country, exacerbating a growing internal crisis. We can postulate that it was the victim of unfortunate circumstances rather than an isolated example of the adaptation of a product of a foreign intellectual culture that was ahead of its time, as Irena Turowska-Barowa claimed.[71] After all, at roughly the same time, Piotr Starkowski and Kazimierz Zajerski published their translations of the *Quran*, both unfortunately missing today.[72]

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[70]Franciszek Machalski believed that it was well known to contemporaries from copies or oral accounts, although he does not provide any evidence of this. His conclusion: "Mais il semble qu'il ait été accessible au moins à certains repésentants de la noblesss polonaise, puisqu'on en trouve des traces dans les oeuvres poétiques de Wacław Potocki, poète du XVIIᵉ siècle" (Machalski, "La littérature de l'Iran," 398) is incorrect. There are no traces of Saʿdi's *Golestān* in Potocki's *Ogród fraszek*.

[71]Turowska-Barowa, "Echa orjentalne w literaturze stanisławowskiej," 205.

[72]Nosowski, *Polska literatura polemiczno-antyislamistyczna*, vol. II, 311–12.

Kazimirski and his Gulistan

The second translation of Saʿdi's *Golestān* into Polish was by Kazimirski. His render-
ing was published in Paris in 1876, three years before the one by Otwinowski. The
plight of Kazimirski's efforts resembles to a certain extent that of Robert Falcon
Scott's Antarctic expedition: having published his allegedly unprecedented translation
into Polish, he discovered, with some disappointment, that he had been anticipated in
his endeavor by no less than two and a half centuries. Moreover, it turned out that the
Baroque translation, though incomplete and inaccurate, was esthetically superior to
Kazimirski's.

Wojciech (Adalbert) Feliks Ignacy de Biberstein Kazimirski (1808–87) was a Polish
orientalist, translator and lexicographer born in Korchów near Lublin during the
period of Polish partition between Prussia, Russia and Austria. He began his studies
of oriental languages in Warsaw in 1828. His first teacher was Luigi Chiarini, a pro-
fessor in the theological faculty at the University of Warsaw, an Italian priest and lin-
guist, and an outstanding specialist in Hebrew. Then, supported by the Polish
nobleman, Tytus Działyński, he pursued his studies in Berlin, focusing mainly on San-
skrit, taught by Friedrich Wilken. In the meantime he dreamt of studying Arabic and
Persian with Antoine-Isaac Silvestre de Sacy in Paris. Yet, at the outbreak of the
November Uprising of Poles against the czar of Russia in 1830, Kazimirski returned
to Warsaw and became involved in the Polish struggle for independence. After the
defeat of the Polish army in 1831, he emigrated to France and settled in Paris. In
1839–40 he went to Iran and Turkey and served as a translator for the French diplo-
matic mission in Iran. During that time, he started using his cognomen (geonomen)
de Biberstein. After his return to Paris, he was employed in the Ministry of Foreign
Affairs. He died in Paris in 1887.[73]

Among Kazimirski's works, one should make special mention of the two-volume
Dictionnaire arabe-français (1846–47, 1860, 1875), *Dialogues français-persans*
(1833), and *Początki języka perskiego: Rozprawa* [*The Beginnings of the Persian
Language: A Dissertation*].[74] Kazimirski was the first European to discover the
poetry of the Medieval Persian poet Manuchehri-ye Dāmqāni (tenth/eleventh
century). He published in 1876 a French translation of his poems entitled *Divan-e
Manuchehri*. He is also the author of the earliest critical edition of Manuchehri-ye
Dāmqāni's divan entitled *Menoutchehri: Poète persan du 11ᵉᵐᵉ siécle de notre ére (du
5ᵉᵐᵉ de l'hégire)* (1886). Kazimirski's other renditions include a translation of the
Quran into French entitled, *Le Koran: Traduction nouvelle faite sur le texte arabe*
(1840, 1841, 1844, 1848, 1850, 1852, 1855, 1865, 1869, 1876, 1880), translations
from *The Thousand and One Nights* as *Enis el-Djelis ou l'histoire de la belle Persane:
Conte des mille et une nuits* (1846), and, last but not least, his rendition of Saʿdi's *Gole-
stān* into Polish: *Saadi: Gulistan, to jest ogród różany Sa'dego z Szyrazu* [*Gulistan,
which is a Rose-garden by Sa'adi from Shiraz*] (1876), dedicated to Tytus Działyński.

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[73]Reychman, "Kazimirski (Kazimierski)," 295–7.
[74]MS 1676 in the Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN.

Kazimirski's love of Sa'adi's writings began when he was in Berlin. However, his project to translate the *Golestān* was put on hold until he received a grant from the Polish count Jan Działyński (the son of Tytus). The publication itself was supposed to improve the financial conditions of the Polish exile. In a letter to his friend he confessed: "Apart from the aesthetic pleasure derived from undertaking this work, I had in mind the idea of scraping together some pennies (if it sold out) in order to print a little work on the East written in French."[75]

Kazimirski meticulously studied the Persian text and spent three years on its rendition. He compared the available translations, as his ambition was to surpass all of them in terms of accuracy of translation and the academic quality of the commentaries concerning eastern customs and concepts.[76] The translator hoped that the Polish reader "could measure and estimate the differences in worldview between the East and West and their ways of expressing them."[77] As an orientalist, he hoped that his painstaking endeavor would be appreciated, particularly in the academic milieu: "Should in the future any other work from the Muslim East become the subject of academic study or translation, I would have the right to be proud that the present translation of the *Golestān*, which gently familiarises the reader with the East and its outlook, thus far alien to him, has allowed him to appreciate more easily the beauties which he will encounter [in this book]."[78]

Thus, Kazimirski conceived translation as the creation of a bridge between cultures which were ostensibly different but ultimately shared some ethical concepts. He felt especially qualified for such a mission as one of the few well-educated nineteenth-century Polish orientalist endowed with both a good command of Persian and an extensive knowledge of Muslim culture.[79]

In the introduction to his translation, Kazimirski shared some of his concerns with the reader, expressed mostly in rhetorical questions:

> Before publication [...] once again I posed myself the following questions: "Does this literary piece of the East deserve translation?," "Will it provide an intellectual benefit for Polish readers?" and "Bearing in mind such a great difference of imagery and style between West and East, is a rendition of this small Persian work feasible?" and last but not least, "Will it be received well by its readers?" I am able to answer all the questions but the last, and I do not dare to elicit the answer.[80]

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[75]Janowski, *Correspondence*. All translations in the part concerning Kazimirski by Renata Rusek-Kowalska, unless otherwise specified.

[76]Turska-Barowa, "Zapomniany orientalista polski," 118.

[77]Sa'di, *Gulistan, to jest ogród różany Sa'dego z Szyrazu*, xviii (hereafter Kazimirski).

[78]Ibid.

[79]Among a few other nineteenth-century Polish orientalists with a good command of Persian, one should mention Aleksander Borejko Chodźko (1804–91), the first European scholar to work on Persian folklore. Similar to Kazimirski, he was also active in French academic circles, but his main literary preoccupation was oral literature: popular poetry, folk tales and Persian theatre.

[80]Kazimirski, viii.

The translator then advertised the *Golestān* as a literary work of endless relevance and beauty:

> It is rare that in the history of literature a purely literary piece retains all of its elementary value and freshness for the nation it was conceived in. Changes in social life, gradual evolution, the instability of imagery, and inconstancy of language in search of its ultimate form often condemn to obsoleteness works of the intellect once popular and admired by their contemporaries.[81]

Praising the vivacity of Sa'di's work, Kazimirski compared the *Golestān* to Dante's *Divine Comedy*, a medieval work exceptional in the history of European literature which, then as now, still maintained its popularity and comprehensibility among all European nations and which also stimulated competitive translations.[82] The translator invoked the words of Sa'di, aware of the ageless nature of his writings: "Uszczknij listek z mego różanego ogródka, bo ten zawsze będzie świeży" [Take a leaf from my rose-garden, as it always remains fresh]":[83]

$$به چه کار آیدت ز گل طبقی$$
$$از گلستان من ببر ورقی$$
$$گل همین پنج روز و شش باشد$$
$$وین گلستان همیشه خوش باشد ^{84}$$

Another feature which makes the *Golestān* parallel with the *Divine Comedy* is the richness of content. Dante's masterpiece, alternating between the sublime and the earthly, the horrific and the comical, the scientific and the personal, resembles to a certain extent Sa'di's work as it is also full of variety and humanistic in its message. Kazimirski's translation, meant to introduce the Eastern perspective to Polish readers, emphasized, at the same time, the universality of the *Golestān* and despite "the difference of imagery and style between West and East," the spiritual and intellectual vicinity of the work conceived in the Muslim world, foreign in appearance, but familiar in substance:

> A God-fearing, pious, saintly man will encounter in this work by a Muslim writer, thoughts, expressions and ideas which correspond to his way of thinking, will notice that in the East people were apt to tear off the mask of hypocrisy, a man of worldly wisdom and common sense will find there an echo of his own observations; a skeptical ambiguity and paradoxes formulated as proverbs, which we call the people's

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[81]Ibid.
[82]Ibid.
[83]Ibid., x, 11. A verbatim translation from Polish by Renata Rusek-Kowalska.
[84] Sa'di, *Golestān*, 84, 85.

book of wisdom; a lover of jokes and farces will laugh at the anecdotes, whereas a deeply virtuous man will discover numerous expressions of empathy and higher aspirations. A few pages of this alluring work should probably be omitted, but then who would not wish to delete many pages from [the works of] classical writers: the divine Plato, the sweet Anacreont, the good Xenophon or even the pure Vergil?[85]

Although the nineteenth-century orientalist declared his disapproval of the sexual content of a few pages in the *Golestān*, he did not censor the problematic Book 5 on love and youth, and rendered it *in extenso*.

After praising the virtues of the *Golestān*, Kazimirski goes on to mention previous translations of the work, starting with those in Latin by Gentius and Olearius and also refers to the one prior to theirs, an inadequate rendition by Du Ryer. Finally, the Polish translator concludes:

From Gentius' translation, many anecdotes, stories, parables and sayings were transmitted to European writings without knowledge of their origin, and then were put into circulation under the names of others. In the preceding and present century the translations have multiplied. There are three in French and four in English, there are German and Russian renditions and there are certainly more in other languages. However, so far there has been no Polish translation, which, given the vicinity of Poland to parts of the East, and the existence of centuries-old diplomatic and trade relations, it is surprising that nobody was inspired to become more closely acquainted with Eastern languages and literatures and why knowledge of the East should have always been mediated by the West. Especially when this work deserved translation for so many reasons. I must confess that I felt flattered by the thought of being the first to render it directly from Persian to Polish.[86]

Ironically, what the Polish exile failed to study carefully were the magazines issued in the partitioned Poland, which mentioned the existence of Otwinowski's manuscript.[87] There are several reasons which justify his ignorance. Primarily, he had limited access to Polish publications and two brief remarks made by Kraszewski in his magazine, *Athenaeum*, in 1841 and 1842, were not widely known. Secondly, facing the cultural hegemony of nineteenth-century western Europe, he must have suffered from a sort of eastern European inferiority complex, which made him assume a priori the non-existence of a Polish counterpart of western translation efforts and ignore the intellectual activity of the former generations of Polish dragomans and missionaries, whose written accounts served as valuable reference material

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[85]Kazimirski, xiv–xv.
[86]Ibid., xv–xvi.
[87]Święcicki, "Najnowsze," 95.

on eastern culture in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[88] Last but not least, his acquaintance with Asian languages and literatures was mainly mediated by western sources and western academic centers, the forerunners of modern philological studies.[89] Absolutely confident (or convinced a priori) of the huge gap between knowledge of eastern literature in Poland and western Europe, he felt eager to overcompensate for it and, thus, to deliver the best philological translation of an oriental masterpiece (and bestseller) to a Polish audience, a work that would surpass the relatively accurate and complete nineteenth-century European renderings of Saʿdi's work, such as Karl Heinrich Graf's *Rosengarten* (1846) or the extensively commented French translations of Nicolas Sémelet (1834) and Charles-François Defrémery (1858).[90]

Kazimirski's translation of the *Golestān* remains a product of the demand for universal humanism aimed at getting acquainted with the "foreign" and "different" which, at least in the case of the Orient, was perceived and presented not as contradictory but rather as complementary to the Occident.[91] He addressed his rendition to an "enlightened but non-academic" readership with a classical educational background.[92] His philological translation may serve as a Polish paragon of the Oriental Renaissance, based on the study of eastern languages and integration of oriental literature which was, as Raymond Schwab argues, an organic continuation of the first Renaissance, which had allowed European intellectuals to rediscover Greek and Latin sources.

A considerable part of Kazimirski's edition is of an informative character. The translation itself is 220 pages, slightly more than half of his edition of *Golestān* (382 pages). The remaining parts comprise: an introduction (15 pages), a comprehensive biography of Saʿdi (24 pages),[93] which is anticipated by a short lecture on the history of Persian literature and language; commentaries to 622 footnotes (113 pages), a short polemic on etymological issues with a Polish orientalist in Russia, Antoni Muchliński and his book *Źródłosłownik wyrazów* [*Etymological*

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[88]One can mention here the activity of the Dzierżek and the Otwinowski families; the accounts of Polish missions to Osman Turkey led by Jędrzej Taranowski (1574), Krzysztof Zbaraski (1622), Szymon Starowolski's description of the Turkish court (1646), or Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł's account of his peregrination to the Holy Land and Egypt (1611). The competence of Polish dragomans fell into decline in the second part of the seventeenth century, whereas the Catholic missions supported by Polish kings continued to develop. Among the accounts left by Polish Catholic missionaries one should mention Tadeusz Krusiński's *Relatio de mutationibus Regni Persorum* (1727) (Reychman, *Znajomość i nauczanie języków orientalnych*).

[89]Though he was also acquainted with the works of Polish orientalists in Russia, such as Antoni Muchliński (1808–77), professor at the Petersburg University, with whom he argued on etymological issues (Kazimirski, 333–6).

[90]Defrémery, *Gulistan ou parterre des roses;* Graf, *Rosengarten;* Sémelet, *Gulistan ou Le parterre-de-fleurs*.

[91]Schwab, *La Renaissance Orientale*.

[92]Olkusz, "Zapomniana dyskusja wokół polskich," 183–96.

[93]As Kazimirski points out, his main reference on Saʿdi's life was Charles-François Defrémery's introduction to his translation of *Golestān*, i.e. *Gulistan ou parterre des roses*.

Dictionary] (3 pages),[94] and last but not least, an index of "important things" (personal names, toponyms, important topics and concepts; 7 pages). Judging by the extent of the introductory and explanatory parts of Kazimirski's *Golestān*, they constitute the organic component of his work. It shows that apart from disseminating eastern moral teachings and providing amusement, the translator's goal was to familiarize the reader with oriental culture and to satisfy the epistemic needs of a nineteenth-century readership, well-educated in western and Classical literature and eager to complete their education with a basic knowledge of the East. Kazimirski's attitude to the *Golestān* shows a shift in the treatment of eastern literature during the Oriental Renaissance: it is not fully assimilated, but fulfills the esthetic and epistemic pleasures of an intellectually sophisticated audience and its thirst for knowledge of an exotic, but at the same time familiar, Other. This Other is not only geographically closer to central and eastern Europeans than western Europeans, but it is also closer to them in its religious life. This can be witnessed, for instance, in the attitude towards sacrum (religiosity, either Muslim or Catholic), the affirmation of a "noble" poverty (Pers. *darvishi* cf. Pl. *cnota ubóstwa*), or the ability to do without (Pers. *qenā'at* cf. Pl. *skromność*, *poprzestawanie na małym*).

Still, though his rendition received positive reviews as a philological endeavor, it failed to gain wider popularity. Just after its publication in 1876, it was praised for its completeness and faithfulness. The indisputable strength of Kazimirski's rendition was the addition of the informative introduction and commentaries.

One of the translation's first reviewers, Lucjan Siemieński, praised the general educational value of Kazimirski's rendering but, for the same reason, he also questioned the validity of translating the whole content of Chapter 5 "which is not among the most beautiful passages of the book."[95] He also disapproved of the "unnecessary promotion" of the practice of dissimulation (*taqiyyeh*) among Polish readers. Siemieński, himself an outstanding translator of literary masterpieces (including the Greek *Odyssey* or the Persian story of Bizhan and Manizheh from the *Shahnāmeh*),[96] appreciated the esthetic values of the translation:

> In praise of the translator we should add, … that the rendition, though highly faithful, has lost neither its natural rhythm, nor the clarity intrinsic to our language. … Mr. Kazimirski's verses are far from 'wooden;' they sound like poetry and possess poetic harmony [*sic*]. … Therefore this translation differs from many other translations into so called "blank verse," which are deprived of metre and melody, have no poetic flair and resemble an assemblage of words which produce a cacophony, and often convey the meaning so awkwardly, that a reader must struggle to grasp it.[97]

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[94]Antoni Muchliński (1808–77) was a professor and dean of the University of Petersburg. Muchliński, *Źródłosłownik wyrazów*.

[95]Siemieński, "Sa'dy," 230.

[96]Siemieński, *Biszen i Menisze*; Krasnowolska and Rusek-Kowalska, *Lucjan Siemieński i Karol Załuski*.

[97]Siemieński, "Sa'dy," 209–10.

Nevertheless, though Kazimirski's translations of Saʿdi's versified punchlines "sounded like poetry," they were, in point of fact, unrhymed.[98] He considered himself a scholar and not a poet and was not ready to risk his academic authority by composing what may well have turned out to be bad poetry. Therefore, he remained faithful to his goal of rendering the precise meaning of the verses, leaving aside the potential esthetic value of rhymed translation. His accuracy is also witnessed in the distinction he made between Persian and Arabic verses by adding the abbreviations *w.p.* (Persian verse) and *w.a.* (Arabic verse), which preceded his blank-verse renderings.

After the publication of Otwinowski's translation, some critics compared both works and re-evaluated the esthetic values of Kazimirski's rendition. According to an extremely severe review by Święcicki, Kazimirski's *Golestān*, albeit assiduous and faithful to the original, is devoid of artistic merit. The majority of his blank verse is stiff and lacks poetic features.[99] Święcicki's remark is only partly justified, as the main shortcoming of Kazimirski's versed translations is the lack of rhyme. This disadvantage becomes the translator's cardinal sin only when contrasted with Otwinowski's smooth, rhymed verses. In conclusion to his assessment of the philological translation, Święcicki does justice to Kazimirski's efforts by claiming that though his rendition fulfills epistemic functions and may serve as a reference for Poles studying Persian, it would hardly win widespread popularity. On the other hand, the language of the Baroque version of the *Golestān* is so smooth that it barely sounds like a translation. Therefore, Otwinowski's rendition compensates for its shortcomings by being of greater artistic merit.

Otwinowski vs. Kazimirski

For the purposes of comparing the two translation strategies we have chosen a short story from Book 2 *Dar axlāq-e darvišān* (*The Morals of Dervishes*).[100]

<div dir="rtl">

حکایت

مریدی گفت پیر را چه کنم کز خلایق برنج اندرم از بس که به زیارت من همی آیند و اوقات مرا از تردّد ایشان تشویش میباشد گفت هر چه درویشانند مر ایشان را وامی بده و آنچه توانگرانند از ایشان چیزی بخواه که دیگر یکی گرد تو نگردند

کافر از بیم توقع برود تا در چین   گر گدا پیشرو لشکر اسلام بود

</div>

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[98]With some exceptions, e.g. Kazimirski, 28.
[99]Święcicki, "Najnowsze," 107.
[100]Saʿdi, *Golestān*, 49.

Otwinowski's *Giulistan*
Powieść XXXIII

Młodzieniec jeden miał barzo uczonego i żywota dobrego a starego ojca. Przyszedłszy przedeń, uskarżać się począł, mówiąc: "Ojcze mój, nie wiem co mam czynić? Od ludzi pokoju mieć nie mogę, i choćbym Bogu czasem chciał się modlić, przed nimi trudno, bo nigdy gość z domu mego nie wynidzie." Rzekł mu ojciec: "Miły synu, tako czyń: Kiedy ubogi do ciebie przyjdzie, daj mu co możesz, i pożycz jeśliby czego potrzebował; kiedy bogaty, chciejże czegokolwiek od niego, nie przyjdzie-ć drugi raz."
Kiedy by się trafiło, żeby przed jakiemi
Ubogi żebrać bieżał wojski tureckiemi
Uciekliby z tamtego chrześcijanie kraju
Bo w Imię Boże dawać nie mają zwyczaju.

Translation to English

A young boy had a very learned and an old father who lived a good-life (lit. of a good life). Having approached him, he started complaining, saying:
"Oh my father, I do not know what to do? I cannot find peace from people, as if I even sometimes wanted to pray to God, it is difficult in their presence, because a guest never leaves my house."
His father told him:
"Dear son, do like this: When a pauper visits you, give him what you can, and lend him if he needed anything; when a rich man [visits you], ask him for anything, [and] he will not visit you again."
If it happened that a pauper
Ran and begged in front of Turkish soldiers,
Christians from that country would escape
Because they do not have in their habit
To give [alms] in the name of God. [versed]

Kazimirski's *Gulistan*
Powieść

Uczeń jeden starcowi mistrzowi swemu raz mówił (249): "Ach, cóż ja pocznę? Znękany jestem tymi ludźmi, że tak tłumem przychodzą mnie odwiedza; tem nieustannem ich to wchodzeniem, to wychodzeniem, wszystkie godziny moje zatrute". A mistrz mu na to: "Ubogim pożycz pieniędzy, a u bogatych pożyczki zażądaj; już potem drugi raz koło ciebie kręcić się nie będą".
w.p. Niech na czele wojsk islamu postawią żebraka
Aż do Chin od niego niewierny drapnie natręctwa.

Translation to English

A pupil was once telling to his old master (249): [249: here it refers to pupils and masters of sufism, a life devoted to contemplating God, 283]: "Alas! What shall I do? I'm haunted/harried with those people who visit me in crowds, with their constant entering and going out all my hours are poisoned." The master replied: "Lend money to the poor, and demand a loan from the rich; they will not surround you after that."
P.v. [Persian verse]
Let's put a beggar at the front of the Muslim army,
An infidel will whisk off from his obtrusiveness to China

As we can see on the basis of this example, both translations of Saʿdi's *hekāyat* (rendered in Polish as *powieść,* a term which today refers to the genre of the novel) are more extensive than the original highly concise story.[101] Otwinowski's translation is far more elaborate and inaccurate, but at the same time it renders the meaning of the original story. By using the strategy of cultural domestication, he rendered the Muslim/Sufi terms of *morid* and *pir* as a "young boy" and a "a very learned and an old father who lived a good-life." In this dynamic equation, the spiritual relationship between a pupil and his sufi master is replaced by a kinship, and the three adjectives describing the physical, spiritual and moral qualities of the father (old, very learned and who lived a good life), inserted in the text, spared him the necessity of referring to the religious context of the term *pir*. This omission of the religious context of the story is compensated later in the words of a boy who would sometimes pray to God, but is disturbed by others. Kazimirski, on the other hand, translates *morid* to "pupil" (Pl. *uczeń*) and *pir* to "his old master" (Pl. *starcowi mistrzowi swemu*) and adds a footnote explaining the Sufi context of the relationship of two protagonists of the story.[102] He also slightly archaizes the sentence by using an old-fashioned, inverted syntax (a pronoun *swemu* after a noun *mistrzowi*, similar to Persian order). What is peculiar to Otwinowski's version is a translation of a distich which he conveys by a quatrain (with rhyme scheme aabb) corresponding to one of the variants of the Polish poetic genre of the *fraszka*. In his version of the poem, originally a "Muslim army" (*lashkar-e eslām*) is rendered as "Turkish soldiers," whereas an infidel (*kāfer*) is translated to "Christians" (plural), and escaping to China (*chin*), the extremes of the Persian perception of the East, is replaced by escaping from one's country in the West (i.e. a Christian one). The genuine eastern context of the verse is visibly westernized ("Turkified") and the mischievous allusion to the avarice of infidels (who do not give alms) is aimed directly at Christians. This fragment underpins the assumption of the originally Turkish basis of Otwinowski's translation. Quite astonishingly he maintains its message, which in the Christian context becomes self-deprecating.

Though his narrative is more elaborate than the original, Otwinowski also uses verbal ellipses which approximate his mode of writing to an oral style of storytelling and, at the same time, the conciseness (*ijāz/ekhtesār*) of Saʿdi's own diction. Also Kazimirski, though by and large faithful to the genuine Persian text, introduces some devices, such as the exclamation *Ach!* (*Alas!*), to make the narrative sound more dramatic. Quite surprisingly, given his *modus operandi*, he does not comment here on

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[101]The solution of rendering a short narrative prosaic form of *hekāyat* as *powieść* in both translations is of particular interest and testifies to the existence of alternative terms or genres to *gawęda* as (genuinely oral) "story" in the pre-modern Polish literature. Both terms, *powieść* and *gawęda,* derive from Polish verbs *powiadać* and *gadać* (to tell), which indicates oral origins of later literary (written) forms of "novel" (today: *powieść*) and "drawn-out story" (today: *gawęda*). Otwinowski's and Kazimirski's translations may imply that in pre-modern times *gawęda* could have been longer and more amorphic than *powieść* which then denoted "story" or "anecdote" (today: *opowiastka, historyjka, anegdota*).

[102]Kazimirski, 283. In a separate footnote 20, he gives a comprehensive lecture on Muslim mysticism, see: ibid., 231–7, 281–2.

the Muslim obligation of almsgiving (*zakāt*) which can be inferred by a competent reader from the original and is mentioned by Otwinowski in his poem (*Because they do not have in their habit / To give [alms] in the name of God*).

Conclusions

In conclusion, these two Polish renderings of Saʿdi's *Golestān*, Otwinowski's seventeenth-century translation by relay and Kazimirski's nineteenth-century scholarly translation, exemplify different types of cultural transfer between East and West. The former as a dragoman lived in a Muslim country and was able to engage with Asian languages through oral as well as written culture. He sought dynamic equivalence, presenting what he saw as the universal message of the *Golestān* in a domesticated version which would appeal to the Polish nobility familiar with Kochanowski's verses. The diction of his rendering is close to oral story-telling and the versified translations of even singular *beyts* are transformed into the Polish epigrammatic rhymed genre of the *fraszka*. This intensifies the didactic message and the amusing effect of Saʿdi's punchlines and makes the stories, at least potentially, integrate well into the Polish broad genre of *gawęda* or *powieść*, suitable to be read for amusement and retold for enjoyment in the social gatherings of the Polish gentry. Unfortunately, due to unfavorable historical circumstances, it remained largely unknown until its rediscovery in the nineteenth century. While Otwinowski's rendering is steeped in the Polish-Turkish context, Kazimirski's translation seems more involved with a western European background. As a Polish exile, educated in Warsaw, Berlin and Paris, Kazimirski views his endeavor within the context of the German and French faculties of oriental studies, which were steeped in a philological approach. His aim is to deliver the most comprehensively glossed rendition of Saʿdi's work in western scholarship showing that he could, as a Polish scholar, equal the western European authorities of the day.[103] Thus, he focuses mainly on familiarizing a Polish readership with Muslim and Persian culture, extending the Oriental Renaissance from France to Poland. Though it is not completely deprived of literary merits, it satisfied the epistemic demands of a well-educated Polish readership and may still serve as a reference for Polish students of Persian today.

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[103]Still, one should remember that Kazimirski had no illusions that his translation of *Golestān* into Polish will be appreciated among French authorities and would influence directly his academic career. He hoped, nevertheless, to profit from selling it, in order to publish his strictly academic work on the East, written in French. See fn. 89.

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Julia Caterina Hartley

Beyond Orientalism: When Marceline Desbordes-Valmore carried Saʿdi's Roses to France

This article follows a thread of translation and intertextual dialogue, taking us from the thirteenth-century Persian poet Saʿdi to the nineteenth-century French poet Marceline Desbordes-Valmore. It reads Desbordes-Valmore's poem 'Les roses de Saadi' (1860) with the two passages from Saʿdi's Golestān *from which it was inspired, shedding new light on the poem's metapoetic subtext. The original Persian text is compared to two French translations that were circulating at the time when Desbordes-Valmore was writing. This analysis of the* Golestān's *reception forms the basis for the argument that Desbordes-Valmore recast in secular terms Saʿdi's discourse on poetic language, emphasizing the continuity, rather than difference, between her concerns and Saʿdi's. The case of Desbordes-Valmore thus reveals a forgotten facet of nineteenth-century French engagements with Middle Eastern culture: one of identification and literary influence, which existed alongside the processes of "othering" for which the period is better known.*

Introduction

This article offers a new reading of Marceline Desbordes-Valmore's poem "Les roses de Saadi" (1860) by interpreting it in light of the preface of Saʿdi's *Golestān* and the French translations through which Desbordes-Valmore would have had access to Saʿdi's work. The case of "Les roses de Saadi" brings to light the role played by trans-lation in transforming France's vision of Persia (in French "la Perse"), from distant land to specific body of texts, i.e. Persian literature. Indeed, Desbordes-Valmore's poem engages intertextually with the preface of the *Golestān* and does not seek to exoticize this Persian source. I will argue that Desbordes-Valmore's lyric I identifies with the medieval Persian poet's lyric I, placing an emphasis on their similarities, rather than differences, and reworking Saʿdi's most famous metaphor (the rose as language, and in particular poetic language) for a modern secular audience. This has important implications both for our understanding of the gendered nature of the

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nineteenth-century French poetic canon, as well as for our understanding of French Orientalism, in this article understood as nineteenth-century academic knowledge of Middle Eastern literature, its dissemination through translation, and the impact of this dissemination on French poetry.

Before examining Desbordes-Valmore's poem, it is important to consider how her case fits into academic debates on the European representation of the Orient. The foundational text on the subject is Edward Said's *Orientalism* (1978). Said argued that in French nineteenth-century culture the so-called Orient—which Said by and large takes to refer to the Islamic Middle-East—was constructed as Europe's ultimate "other." To *orientalize*, in Said's definition, is to apprehend the Orient not as an empirical geographic location (as in the Asian continent), but as Europe's self-crafted ontological opposite. The Orient in this sense is a European fabrication rather than a reality, and indeed the "real" place rarely lived up to the fantasy.[1] The examples cited in *Orientalism* are mainly taken from French and British nineteenth-century travel literature and serve to highlight the widespread representation of "Orientals" in opposition to Europeans with emphasis on the latter's superiority: the European is civilized, uses reason, and is masculine, active, and progressive, the "Oriental" is barbaric, driven by brute passion, effeminate, passive, stuck in the past. According to Said, the relationship between Occident and Orient in the literature of this period is thus irrevocably hierarchical and this portrayal ultimately served to promote colonial ambitions.

In the thirty years since its publication, *Orientalism* has come under criticism for its generalizations, which tend to ignore historical context (for instance Dante, Aeschylus and Ernest Renan are described as equally racist), and the indiscriminate grouping together of scholars, literary authors, and political agents.[2] In my view, Said did accurately describe a trope that is present in many nineteenth-century European texts, that is, the Orient as exotic—and frequently erotic—fantasy, but there have historically also been other ways in which European writers have engaged with Asian sources. Indeed, when we read early academic studies of Asian languages and civilizations, and the literature and art that this scholarship inspired, we are often faced with a mix of myth and fact, Eurocentric bias and cultural relativism, second-hand clichés and original research. Doing justice to these paradoxes requires a great level of nuance. Fortunately, in the past years there has been a rise in scholarship that seeks to do justice to the complexity of Europe's long-standing fascination with the Middle East.

The space for approaches such as my own in this article has been opened in particular by Jennifer Yee's *The Colonial Comedy* (2016) and Alexander Bevilacqua's intellectual history *The Republic of Arabic Letters* (2018). Yee has made a case against the assumption that French nineteenth-century writers were complicit with colonialism

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[1]Said for instance cites the telling example of a letter from Gérard de Nerval to Théophile Gautier, in which Nerval bemoans having replaced his fantasies of the Orient with memories of the Orient. Said, *Orientalism*, 100.

[2]See in particular Irwin, "An Enquiry into the Nature of a Certain Twentieth-Century Polemic."

by examining the ways in which French realist novels used 'literary devices such as pastiche, parody, and narrative framing' to critique imperialism and exoticism.[3] Bevilacqua brings to life the largely forgotten community of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century European scholars of Arabic and Islam, doing justice to the ambivalence of their motivations and the resulting accounts of the Muslim world. Both these scholars bring a new level of nuance to the territory covered by Said, showing in particular that critiques of the "Orientalism" described by Said already existed in the colonial era (Yee) and that European scholars have a history not only of othering, but also of identifying with the Muslim world (Bevilacqua).[4] It should moreover be noted that European interest in Iran is a rich phenomenon with its own history and therefore deserves analysis in its own right, independently from other Orients: this is what Hamid Dabashi has termed "Persophilia," in order to differentiate it from the broader umbrella of "Orientalism."[5] Finally, the poem "Les roses de Saadi" itself has been interpreted by Adrianna Paliyenko as evidence that nineteenth-century French poets such as Desbordes-Valmore inhabited "a multicultural context enriched by the literature of ancient Persia."[6]

My reading of Desbordes-Valmore is most germane with the paradigms developed in Goethe Studies. Goethe scholars have argued that in his collection of poems entitled *West-östlicher Divan* (1820) Goethe both imitates the manner of Persian poets and maintains his own voice, creating as a result a poetic space beyond the cultural demarcations of "East" and "West."[7] Most importantly, Goethe scholar Anil Bhatti has collaborated with culture theorist Dorothee Kimmich to make a case against the preponderance of the paradigm of difference in studies of intercultural encounters, suggesting we activate the more flexible paradigm of similarity. According to Bhatti and Kimmich, similarity takes us beyond the oppositional paradigms of "us versus them" or "same versus other," allowing us to apprehend the more complex realities of "both/and"—in other

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[3]Yee, *The Colonial Comedy*, 114.

[4]Srinivas Aravamudan in his study of the Orient in French and British eighteenth-century fiction also shows that the Middle East was often seen as a source of "culture, wisdom, precedence, and even enlightenment" (*Enlightenment Orientalism*, 9). However he sets the eighteenth century as a foil to the nineteenth century, suggesting that these positive treatments of the Orient were necessarily "confused, vague, and highly distorted" and could only take place before the colonial era (ibid., 9). This article demonstrates instead that positive treatments could be based on a closer knowledge of Middle Eastern sources and be written by authors living in the colonial era.

[5]Dabashi, *Persophilia*, 14-15. Indeed, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European treatments of Persia have generated a number of studies, including Bonnerot, *La Perse dans la littérature et la pensée françaises au XVIIIe siècle*; Gail, *Persia and the Victorians*; Maillard and Tafazoli, *Persien im Spiegel Deutschlands*; and Tafazoli, *Der deutsche Persien-Diskurs*.

[6]Paliyenko, "Between Poetic Cultures," 25.

[7]See "Goethe et l'Orient: Le divan occidental-Oriental," special issue of *Études germaniques* 60, no. 2 (2005), in particular Jürgen Doll and Roland Krebs, "Une réception productive," 227-9; Anke Bosse, "Interkulturelle Balance statt 'Clash of Cultures': Zue Goethese *West-östlichem Divan*," 231-48; Leo Kreutzer, "Goethes *West-östlicher Divan* Projekt eines anderen Orientalismus," 249-64; Bhatti, " ... 'Zwischen zwei Welten schwebend' "; Tafazoli, "Heterotopie als Entwurf poetischer Raumgestaltung." Said dismissed the *Divan* as a "protective Orientalized Orient" (Said, *Orientalism*, 155).

words, the coexistence of commonality and difference. It is precisely Bhatti and Kimmich's open and non-binary perspective that I have sought to emulate here. This article acknowledges the cultural context in which Desbordes-Valmore read Saʿdi, which was one in which the Orient was predominantly described in terms of difference, which had strong political implications as shown by Said. At the same time, the article also reveals the intertextuality between Desbordes-Valmore's poem and Saʿdi's *Golestān* and argues that she chose to highlight the continuities between her poetry and Saʿdi's, rather than the differences. Her Orientalism is informed by a specific Persian work as opposed to a European-made fantasy. The richness and nuance of this Saʿdi-inspired European poem thus cannot be accounted for in terms of Said's stringent paradigm. In order to reach my conclusions, I will begin by examining under what auspices Desbordes-Valmore would have read Saʿdi. This focused reception history will then serve as the basis for my interpretation of Desbordes-Valmore's poem. I will end by considering the implications of Desbordes-Valmore's engagement with Saʿdi in light of the gendered policing of the French poetic canon in the nineteenth century and suggest how this may intersect with the question of Orientalism.

Desbordes-Valmore Reads Saʿdi

The presence of Persian literature in French nineteenth-century literary culture is defined by two aspects. First, a boom in translations, since over the course of only a few decades French speakers went from only having access to partial translations of Saʿdi's *Golestān* to being able to read complete translations of the majority of canonical Persian literature.[8] This meant that for the first time Iran or, as it was most often referred to then, Persia ("la Perse"), went from being predominantly associated with the strong impression of exoticism that had been left by Mohammad Reza Beg's ambassadorial visit to Louis XIV's Versailles in 1715 which had inspired works such as Montesquieu's *Lettres Persanes* (1721), to being associated for the first time with a specific body of literary texts.[9] This translation movement allowed Persia to evolve from distant geographic location to literary world available at home. Since this literary world had hitherto been unavailable, it was met with enthusiasm by French writers, most notably members of the Romantic movement who saw "Oriental poetry" (as it was then known) as a welcome alternative to Ancient Greek and Roman literature, which was then being emulated by the French Classicists. One could thus argue that during the nineteenth century we

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[8]Hadidi, "Peydāyesh va gostāresh Irānshenāsi," 214-47. An overview of French translations of Persian literature can also be found in the preface to Shafā's anthology of French poems *Irān dar asār-ha-ye she'r-i farānseh*, published as the first volume of a series entitled *Irān dar adabi'āt-e jahān* (*Iran in World Literature*).

[9]On the representation of "Persia" in eighteenth-century French literature see Bonnerot, *La Perse dans la littérature*.

witness a shift from a noun to an adjective: from "la Perse" (*Persia*) to "la littéra-
ture persane" (*Persian literature*).[10]

A second important feature was the regular exchanges between academic orient21-
ists and the literary figures of the day. Chateaubriand was a member of the Société
Asiatique, even though he was not a scholar of Oriental languages. Victor Hugo
and Sainte-Beuve were regulars at the salon hosted by Mary Clarke, the wife of
Jules Mohl, the eminent Persianist who translated the *Shāhnāmeh* and was for
many years the president of the Société Asiatique: this salon brought into regular
contact many orientalists, politicians, and writers.[11] Hugo's often cited observation
that the Orient had become "une sorte de preoccupation générale" (*a sort of general
preoccupation*) indeed followed directly from his praise for academic research: "Les
études orientales n'ont jamais été poussées si avant. [...] Nous avons aujourd'hui un
savant cantonné dans chacun des idiomes de l'Orient, depuis la Chine jusqu'à
l'Egypte" (*Never before have Oriental Studies been so advanced.* [...] *Today we have
a regional expert for every Oriental language, from China all the way to Egypt*).[12]
Hugo's emphasis on the study of languages stemmed from his enthusiasm for the
poetry that was being translated into French for the first time.[13]

It would be an exaggeration to claim that the newfound availability of French trans-
lations of Persian poetry automatically led to the French perspective on Iran becoming
entirely free of clichés. However, these translations helped further a more meaningful
type of engagement with Iranian culture and also for an emphasis on the genius and
talent of Persian poets. Though it may seem tokenistic by today's standards, Victor
Hugo's inclusion of quotations from Saʿdi and Hafez alongside quotations from
Dante, Shakespeare, and Virgil in *Les Orientales* (1829) promoted a non-nationalistic
and non-Eurocentric perspective on literature. Indeed, he suggested in the collection's
preface that Europeans were mistaken to assume that the people of Asia were inher-
ently inferior to them.[14] Despite vehement criticism and some negative reviews,
Hugo's collection was a success with the public and he became considered one of
the disseminators of Middle Eastern poetry, even though ironically he did not
know any Persian or Arabic.[15]

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[10]A concise overview of French familiarity with Persian literature in the second half of the nineteenth
century is offered by Barbier de Meynard's *La Poésie en Perse* which uses the terms "la littérature persane"
(*Persian literature*), "l'épopée persane" (*Persian epic*), and "la poésie persane" (*Persian poetry*).

[11]Schwab, *La Renaissance Orientale*, 89-92 and 334-8.

[12]Hugo, *Les Orientales*, ix.

[13]On Hugo's sources see Larcher, "Autour des *Orientales*."

[14]"La vieille barbarie asiatique n'est peut-être pas aussi dépourvue d'hommes supérieurs que notre civi-
lisation le veut croire" (Hugo, *Les Orientales*, xi.) The terms "barbarie" and "civilisation" seem to be used
here to pastiche the language of Hugo's detractors. Indeed, the collection was attacked in precisely these
terms, see for instance Chételat's claim that by writing poetry inspired by the Orient, Hugo was exposing
French genius to barbaric influences. *Les Occidentales ou Lettres critiques*, 5-7.

[15]On the critical reception of *Les Orientales* see Raffin, "Les Orientales." Pierre Larcher has pointed
out that Michelet in his *Histoire de France* cites a translation of a Rumi ghazal that first appeared in the
notes to Hugo's *Orientales*, thanking Hugo and his translator (Ernest Fouinet) for introducing the French

Hugo's enthusiasm for Oriental poetry is foreshadowed by Sir William Jones' "Traité sur la poesie Orientale" (1770), which would become famous in its English version "On the Poetry of the Eastern Nations" (1772). In the original French version, which was available to French writers such as Hugo since a copy was held at the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris, Jones writes: "Il est à la vérité surprenant que la poësie Européenne ait subsisté si long-tems avec la perpétuelle répétition des mêmes images, & les continuélles allusions aux mêmes fables"[16] (*It is in fact surprising that European poetry should have survived so long despite its perpetual repetition of the same images, and continual allusions to the same tales*). Jones then observes that if the effort were made to publish Oriental literature in editions with "notes & explications" and if Oriental languages were taught across European universities, then: "nous pénétrerions plus avant dans l'histoire du coeur humain; notre ésprit seroit pourvû d'un nouvel assortiment d'images & de comparaisons; en conséquence en on verroit paroitre plusieurs excéllentes compositions"[17] (*We would penetrate deeper into the history of the human heart, our mind would be provided with a new assortment of images and similes, and as a consequence excellent new compositions would be published*). The term "human heart" is important here, since it suggests that European and Oriental poetry should be viewed collectively as sharing a common interest with human emotion.

Another key international figure for the promotion of Persian poetry in France was Goethe, whose *West-östlicher Divan* predates Hugo's *Orientales* by nine years. Goethe continued to be perceived as a mediator between medieval Persian poetry and European poetry well into the nineteenth century, as we can tell from the prefatory poem to Théophile Gautier's *Émaux et Camées* (1852). In this sonnet, Gautier's lyric I announces that he will follow the example of Goethe, who wrote his *Divan* by leaving Shakespeare for Nezāmi ("Pour Nisami quittant Shakspere"), using a "mètre Oriental," and forgetting Weimar as he plucked Hāfez's roses ("A Weimar s'isolait des choses / Et d'Hafiz effeuillait les roses").[18] Gautier's choice of Shakespeare as the literary figure being supplanted by Nezāmi is significant, since Shakespeare had been the French Romantics' most important exemplary figure.[19] Gautier's verses imply that in the mid-nineteenth century, Persian poetry was still perceived as a tradition which had something new to offer to European poetry—something newer even than Shakespeare. It is also striking that although Gautier names Hāfez, the image of the pages of a work of literature being "roses" is taken from the *Golestān*. Reading between the lines, the poem thus calls upon three Persian poets: the epic poet Nezāmi, the lyric poet Hāfez, and the didactic poet Saʿdi, a sign of European readers' growing familiarity with the Persian literary canon. At the same time, the

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public to this poetry. (Hugo did not know Arabic or Persian, all translations and commentaries appearing in his notes were quoted or plagiarised from Fouinet's letters.) Larcher, "Autour des ," 82.

[16]Jones, "Traité sur la poesie Orientale," 246.

[17]Ibid.

[18]Gautier, "Préface," in *Émaux et Camées*, 2.

[19]The two key manifestos are Stendhal's essay *Racine et Shakespeare* (1823) and Hugo's preface to *Cromwell* (1827).

poem also exoticizes these poets, who are portrayed as offering the nineteenth-century French poet a form of escapism. French poetry's engagement with Persian sources continued well into the end of the century, as exemplified by the minor Parnassian poet Jean Lahor's collection *Les Quatrains d'Al-Ghazali* (1896) which was inspired by Al-Ghazali's *al-Munqidh min al-Dalal*, which he read in a French translation from 1842, and Khayyam's *Robayiat*, which he read in Edward FitzGerald's English translation in verse (1859) and Jean-Baptiste Nicolas' more faithful French prose translation (1867). In the following year, André Gide published *Les Nourritures terrestres* (1897), which was also inspired by Persian poetry, though this was less overtly manifest since in contrast to Lahor, who wrote quatrains, Gide did not engage in formal imitation.[20]

In comparison to the explicitly Oriental poems of Goethe, Hugo, or Lahor, the poem that I will be examining in this article will seem very unassuming. Indeed, the only sign that Desbordes-Valmore's poem has anything to do with the Orient is the reference to Saʿdi in its title. If the debt of "Les roses de Saadi" to Persian literature is less obvious, this is because, as I will show, rather than mimicking the themes and formulas that the French public would have associated with Oriental poetry, Desbordes-Valmore chooses to explore a metaphor used by Saʿdi. As a result, we can speak here of a case of intertextuality, in which Desbordes-Valmore calls upon Saʿdi as a fellow poet, rather than as a source of local color.

<div style="text-align:center">

"Les roses de Saadi"
J'ai voulu ce matin te rapporter des roses;
Mais j'en avais tant pris dans mes ceintures closes
Que les nœuds trop serrés n'ont pu les contenir.

Les nœuds ont éclaté. Les roses envolées
Dans le vent, à la mer s'en sont allées.
Elles ont suivi l'eau pour ne plus revenir;

La vague en a paru rouge et comme enflammée.
Ce soir, ma robe encore en est tout embaumée ...
Respires-en sur moi l'odorant souvenir.

("*Saadi's roses*"

This morning I wanted to bring you back some roses;
But I had gathered so many inside my closed belts
That the tightly fastened knots were not able to contain them.

The knots burst. The roses carried off
By the wind went away to sea.
They followed the water to no longer come back;

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[20]On Lahor and Gide's sources, see Hayati Ashtiani's PhD dissertation "Les relations littéraires entre la France et la Perse de 1829 à 1897."

> *The wave seemed to turn red from them, as if on fire.*
> *This evening, my dress is still full of their perfume ...*
> *Breathe in from me their fragrant memory.*)[21]

It has been established that these verses were inspired by the preface of the *Golestān* thanks to a letter dated 22 February 1848. Addressing Charles Augustin de Sainte-Beuve, Desbordes-Valmore writes: "Voici ce que je pourrais vous dire, véritable Saadi de nos climats: 'j'avais dessein de vous rapporter des roses; mais j'ai été tellement enivrée de leur odeur délicieuse qu'elles ont toutes échappé de mon sein'" (*This is what I might say to you, veritable Saʿdi of our climes: "My design was to bring you some roses; but I was so intoxicated by their delicious smell that they all escaped from my breast"*).[22] The passage to which Desbordes-Valmore alludes reads as follows in the original:

یکی از صاحبدلان سر به جیب مراقبت فرو برده بود و در بحر مکاشفت مستغرق شده حالی که از این معامله باز آمد یکی از دوستان گفت از این بوستان که بودی ما را چه تحفه کرامت کردی گفت به خاطر داشتم که چون به درخت گل رسم دامنی پر کنم هدیه اصحاب را چون برسیدم بوی گلم چنان مست کرد که دامنم از دست برفت.

(*One of the wise men had bowed his head into the collar of meditation and was immersed in the sea of divine contemplation. When he came back to himself, one of his friends asked: "From this garden where you were, what generous gift have you brought us?" He replied: "It was my intention upon arriving at the rose tree to fill the skirts of my robe with a present for my companions. But when I arrived I was so intoxicated by the smell of the roses that my skirt slipped from my hands."*)[23]

Desbordes-Valmore's wording in her letter to Sainte-Beuve suggests that she was citing the Abbé Gaudin's translation of the *Golestān*, first published in 1789 and re-printed as part of the *Panthéon Littéraire* omnibus collection in 1838.[24] Gaudin's translation was a translation by relay, based on Gentius' 1651 Latin translation, and by the time it was republished in the *Panthéon Littéraire* it had been established that it had many flaws. Loiseleur Deslongchamps, the editor of the *Panthéon Littéraire* volume, acknowledges that Gaudin could not read Persian and that a new translation

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[21]Desbordes-Valmore, *Les Oeuvres poétiques*, II, 509. Poem first published in the collection *Poésies iné-dites* (1860). Unless otherwise indicated, translations are my own.

[22]Quoted in Spoelberch de Lovenjoul, *Sainte-Beuve inconnu*, 227. The connection between the poem and the letter was first made by A. Calder, "Notes on the Meaning and Form," who argues it is evidence that "Les roses de Saadi" should not be read as a love poem. I will question this claim in the article's final section.

[23]Saʿdi, *Golestān*, edited by Muḥammad Javad Mashkur, 3. I have translated the passage myself in order to remain as close to the Persian as possible. For a complete English translation of the *Golestān* see Edward B. Eastwick.

[24]Gaudin, *Essai historique sur la législation de la Perse*; Saʿdi, "Gulistan ou le jardin des roses.". On seventeenth-century translations of Saʿdi see Brancaforte, "Persian Words of Wisdom Travel to the West."

by Sémelet (1834) was far more accurate. Yet he defends the choice of Gaudin's translation over Sémelet's by arguing that "la lecture de ce livre est bien loin d'offrir le charme des traductions beaucoup plus libres dans lesquelles on a fait quelques concessions au goût européen" (*this book* [*i.e. Sémelet's translation*] *is far from offering its readers the charm of the much freer translations in which some concessions have been made to European taste*).[25] There is a great irony in the fact that the volume's frontispiece claims that the works included in the anthology are "traduits des langues Orientales" (*translated from Oriental languages*), presumably as a selling point, but that when one reaches Saʿdi, it turns out that the work is in fact translated from Latin.

The *Panthéon Littéraire* volume is thus arguably a case of Orientalism as defined by Said: the Orient is there as a seductive idea that will attract readers, hence the "langues Orientales" appearing in pride of place on the frontispiece, but when it comes to the text itself, no effort is made to engage with the source culture on its own terms. The original text is presented as too uncouth for European readers, who are, it is implied, more civilized than the "Orientals" for whom it was written.[26] The editor's note maintains a clear self/other binary: on the one side we have the editor and his readers, who share a "European taste" and are referred to by the pronoun "nous"; on the other side, we have the culture of the source text, whose perspective is deemed too "other" to be worth entertaining. Preserving the inaccurate translation is thus a way of keeping the reality of the Persian text at arm's length, thereby avoiding disappointing French readers, whom the editor assumes prefer a European version of Persian literature. Saʿdi is only included in the anthology as a further purveyor of "contes orientaux" (*Oriental tales*), a genre made popular in the previous century by Antoine Galland's *Mille et Unes Nuits* (*The Thousand and One Nights* or *Arabian Nights*).[27] This is indicated by the volume's subtitles: "Contes orientaux II: Les Mille et un jours, Contes persans [...], suivis de plusieurs autres recueils de contes" (*Oriental tales II: The Thousand and One Days, Persian tales* [...], *followed by several other collections of tales*), and also by the fact that the layout of the translation presents the *Golestān* as a prose text, when in fact it is a prosimetrum, that is, a literary work alternating prose and verse.

This, then, is the context in which Desbordes-Valmore would have first encountered Saʿdi's parable of the sage and the roses. The translation reads as follows:

Un d'entre eux, la tête baissée sur son sein et plongé dans une méditation profonde, se livrait à la contemplation de ses perfections divines; un ami l'aborda et lui dit en riant: vous sortez d'un jardin délicieux, nous apportez-vous quelque présent agréable?—Mon

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[25]Loiseleur Deslongchamps, "Notice sur le Gulistan et sur la vie de Saadi," 551.

[26]The implication arises through the use of the word "délicatesse" in the same editorial note, which informs us that Gaudin "dû, pour se conformer à notre goût et à notre délicatesse, adoucir certains passages et en supprimer même quelques-uns" (*had to, in order to conform to our taste and our sensitivity, soften certain passages and even entirely remove others*). Loiseleur Deslongchamps, "Notice sur le Gulistan et sur la vie de Saadi," 551.

[27]See Perrin, *L'Orientale allégorie*.

dessein, répondit-il, était bien de vous apporter des roses; mais j'ai été tellement enivré de leur odeur délicieuse qu'elles ont toutes échappé de mon sein.

(*One of them, who with his head faced down to his breast was plunged in a deep meditation, was devoting himself to the contemplation of the divine perfections; a friend approached him and said laughing: you come from a delicious garden, have you brought us a pleasant gift?—My design, he answered, was indeed to bring you some roses; but I was so intoxicated by their delicious smell that they all escaped from my breast.*)[28]

The reference to a "sein" (breast) rather than a skirt, as per the original "*dāman,*" seems convincing evidence that at the time of writing to Sainte-Beuve, Desbordes-Valmore was familiar with this early translation.[29] However, it is my contention that between writing the letter to Sainte-Beuve and writing "Les roses de Saadi," Desbordes-Valmore must have consulted the 1834 translation of the *Golestān* by Sémelet, of which she would have been made aware by the *Panthéon Littéraire* editor's forward, which I quoted above.[30]

Sémelet's translation was the first complete "literal" translation of the *Golestān* into French and was aimed specifically at students of Persian. I put the word literal in inverted commas because, as has been eloquently argued by David Bellos among others, there is no such thing as a literal translation and Sémelet himself acknowledges this in his preface.[31] When Sémelet and the editor Loiseleur Deslongchamps speak of "free" and "literal" translation, they are best understood as referring to the "domesticating" approach, which prioritizes fluency in the target language and, as argued by Lawrence Venuti, aims to render the work of translation "invisible,"[32] and the "foreignizing" approach, which seeks to take the reader abroad through a translation which is a closer reflection of the source language and culture, and is as a result experienced by the reader as unnatural and difficult. Sémelet's allegiance to the latter approach is made clear when he states that had he opted for a "free" translation, he would have had less to offer to "ceux qui aiment le goût du terroir dans les productions étrangères" (*those who enjoy encountering local flavors in foreign products*).[33]

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[28]*Panthéon Littéraire*, LVIII, 554. The passage appears on page xxiii of Gaudin's first edition (1789).

[29]The word "*dāman*" can be translated as either skirt or lap, and the two meanings of the word are in fact close given that when sitting, a skirt falls across one's lap. Because the passage clearly states that the "*dāman*" slips from the sage's hand, it seems clear that Saʿdi intended the word to be understood as skirt.

[30]Sémelet's translation, dedicated to Louis-Philippe, was available for consultation at the Bibliothèque Royale.

[31]Bellos, "Fictions of the Foreign: the Paradox of 'Foreign-Soundingness'" and "The Myth of Literal Translation," in *Is That a Fish in Your Ear?*, 41-56 and 103-17. Sémelet admits that "une explication trop littérale peut devenir, en certains cas, un contre-sens" (*a too literal rendition can become, in some cases, a mistranslation*) (Sémelet, "Préface du Traducteur," in *Gulistan*, 8.

[32]Venuti, *The Translator's Invisibility*.

[33]Sémelet, "Préface du Traducteur," 8. Sémelet's use of the word "goût" (*taste*) indicates a closeness between his concerns and those of the editor of the *Panthéon Littéraire*, who chose Gaudin because of his better suitability to European "taste."

Desbordes-Valmore's choice to consult a "literal" translation—despite the warnings against it found both in the *Panthéon Littéraire* volume and in Sémelet's own preface—would thus indicate an undeterred commitment to reaching a better informed understanding of Saʿdi's poetry.[34] And her further reading did indeed allow her to write a poem that truly continues Saʿdi's exploration of the limits and powers of language.

Sémelet's translation of the parable of the sage and the roses reads as follows:

> Un certain sage avait enfoncé sa tête dans le collet de la contemplation, et était submergé dans la mer de l'intuition. Alors qu'il revint de cette extase, un de ses camarades lui dit, par manière de plaisanterie: De ce jardin où tu étais, quel don de générosité nous as-tu apporté? Il répondit: J'avais dans l'esprit que, lorsque j'arriverais au rosier, j'emplirais (*de roses*) un pan de ma robe, (*pour en faire*) un cadeau à mes camarades. Lorsque je fus arrivé, l'odeur des roses m'enivra tellement, que le pan de ma robe m'échappa de la main.

> (*A certain sage had stuck his head into the collar of contemplation, and was immersed in the sea of intuition. As he returned from this ecstasy, one of his companions said to him jokingly: From this garden where you were, what generous gift have you brought us? He answered: I had in mind that, upon arriving at the rose tree, I would fill* [*with roses*] *a panel of my robe,* [*to make*] *a present for my companions. When I arrived, the smell of the roses intoxicated me so much, that the panel of my robe slipped from my hand.*)[35]

While Gaudin's version had elided that the roses were being carried in the skirts of the sage's robe, the detail is faithfully rendered here. I would therefore suggest that it was this translation that provided Desbordes-Valmore with the image of the roses being carried in a dress, which is the cornerstone of "Les roses de Saadi," imbuing the poem's lyric I with a distinctively feminine character and providing the key metaphor of the knots that cannot contain the roses.[36] The metaphor of the "sea of intuition,"

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[34]As well as explicitly stating that the translation is aimed at students of Persian, Sémelet includes the following warning in a footnote on the opening page of the translation: "Je préviens les personnes qui voudraient lire cette traduction par agrément ou par curiosité, qu'elle a été faite exclusivement pour celles qui veulent étudier le persan, et que j'ai, pour ainsi dire, calqué les termes de sa rédaction sur les termes du texte; que, par ces motifs, il y a plus de la moitié de cette traduction qui n'est pas supportable à la simple lecture: c'est du français-persan qui ne peut avoir de prix que pour celui qui explique le Gulistan" (*I warn those people who are planning to read this translation for leisure or to satisfy their curiosity that it has been exclusively written for those who want to learn Persian, and that I have, so to say, based some of my terms on terms in the original text; and, for this reason, an uneducated reader could not bear over half of this translation: this is pure Franco-Persian and is only of use to someone who is explicating the Gulistan*). Sémelet, *Gulistan*, 27.

[35]Sémelet, *Gulistan*, 30. Though the verb "échapper" on its own means to escape, as is the case in Gaudin's version, the set phrase "échapper de la main" means to lose one's grip on something.

[36]The word "robe" in French, depending on the context, can refer either to a robe or to a woman's dress.

which Sémelet also paraphrases in a note as "the sea of ecstatic vision,"[37] and is absent from Gaudin's translation, may also have indirectly inspired the far more material sea present in Desbordes-Valmore's poem. Most significantly, Sémelet's translation of Saʿdi's parable and the verses that follow it carries across their metapoetic significance, which is lost in Gaudin's rendition, and, I argue, is a key theme in Desbordes-Valmore's poem.

The Rose and the Written Word

The rose, which is beautiful but short-lived, is a common image in literature for that which is transient. Indeed, the main continuity between the *Golestān* parable and Desbordes-Valmore's poem is the use of the failure to bring back roses as a metaphor for the impossibility to preserve and share a past experience through language. In the *Golestān* we are informed from the outset that the experience symbolized by the roses is spiritual ecstasy: the narrative voice sets the scene by telling the reader that the sage was contemplating the divine, so that when the sage's companion refers to a beautiful garden, we know that he is referring to the sage's religious bliss. The narrative voice then exposes the underlying meaning of the parable in two short poems of two bayts each, which follow straight on from the sage's words in direct speech:

<div dir="rtl">

ای مرغ سحر عشق ز پروانه بیاموز   کان سوخته را جان شد و آواز نیامد

این مدعیان در طلبش بی خبرانند   کانرا که خبر شد خبری باز نیامد

ای برتر از خیال و قیاس و گمان و وهم   وز هر چه گفته اند و شنیدیم و خوانده ایم

مجلس تمام گشت و به آخر رسید عمر   ما همچنان در اوّل وصف تو مانده ایم

</div>

(*O nightingale, learn how to love from the moth,*
Which burned to death without making a sound
These pretenders know not how to search for Him
For no news has ever reached us of those who did learn something of Him

O You who are higher than any dream, comparison, thought, or fancy
And all that has been said, and that we heard or read,
The session is over and the end of our life has arrived
And we are still only at the beginning of Your description.)

These verses are closely rendered by Sémelet as follows:

O rossignol (ô oiseau du matin)! Apprends l'amour du papillon;
Parce que brûlé, il a rendu l'âme sans se faire entendre.
Ces présomptueux sont ignorants dans (l'art de) sa recherche;
Parce que celui qui en a eu connaissance, il n'en est pas revenu une nouvelle.

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[37]"C'est-à-dire, *dans la mer de la vision extatique.*" Note 48 in Sémelet, *Gulistan*, 50.

Ô (toi qui es) plus élevé que l'imagination, que le raisonnement, et la pensée, et le
sentiment,
Et que tout ce qu'on a dit, (que) nous avons entendu et lu!
La séance fut terminée, et notre vie est arrivée à sa fin;
Nous, nous sommes restés tout de même au commencement de ta description.[38]

The image of the moth burning in the flame is a ubiquitous metaphor in Sufi poetry
for the dissolution of the self in the face of true love and abandonment to God.[39] Just
as the moth catches fire and ceases to be itself to become one with the flame, the sage
in his moment of divine ecstasy loses grip of his robe (i.e. his ability to memorize and
describe for others what he sees), because the experience is so overwhelming. The third
couplet directly addresses the limitations of human intellectual faculties, with the
reference to reading—"*har cheh* [...] *khwāndeh-im*"—raising the fact that this has
implications for the written word. Similarly, the final verse's reference to the challenge
of describing God can be understood as pointing to the limitations of the poet, given
that praising God is an over-arching theme of Persian (and arguably also European)
medieval poetry.[40] This interpretation is all the more encouraged by the fact that
the statement appears in verse and not prose: while prose is closely associated with
everyday spoken language—and indeed the parable features not only prose narration,
but also direct speech—verse in contrast draws attention to itself as an artificial con-
struction and therefore highlights the author's agency.[41] In this respect, the use of the
first-person plural, as well as being understood as a humble I and as a reference to
believers, can also be interpreted as a reference to poets, that is, those who seek to
do justice to God in their writing. These metapoetic undertones are diminished in
Gaudin's translation, which renders the verse section as another prose paragraph,
and translates the final verse as follows: "nous ne sommes encore qu'à la porte et
n'avons pu mettre le pied dans ton temple" (*we are only at the door and have not
yet set foot in your temple*).[42] Sémelet's translation, on the other hand, preserves the
self-reflexive dimension of Saʿdi's verses, which is carried through into "Les roses de
Saadi," a poem that is also concerned with the limitations of poetic language.

While Saʿdi makes explicit that the sage's roses were a metaphor for divine bliss,
Desbordes-Valmore leaves the meaning of her roses open to interpretation. As a
result, rather than expressing the insufficiency of human language to speak worthily
of God, "Les roses de Saadi" portrays language's more general inability to bridge the
divide between self and other, and truly convey one's subjective experiences. Yves Bon-
nefoy convincingly suggests that "les 'ceintures closes', qui n'ont pas su 'retenir', c'est

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[38]Sémelet, *Gulistan*, 30.

[39]For a series of notable examples of the moth and flame image in Persian poetry see Encyclopedia
Iranica's entry "Candle. ii. Imagery in Poetry" (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/candle-pers).

[40]"*Vasf kardan*" can be translated both as "to describe" and "to praise."

[41]It has indeed been argued that the prosimetrum as a literary genre, through its deliberate alternation
of prose and verse, typically exhibits a high degree of authorial self-consciousness. In the context of Persian
literature see Scott Meisami, "Mixed Prose and Verse in Medieval Persian Literature."

[42]Gaudin, *Gulistan* (1789), xxiii; *Panthéon Littéraire*, 554.

bien [...] l'interposition du langage, dont les 'nœuds' seraient 'trop serrés'—quelles superbes images!—pour préserver sans la meurtrir durement la plénitude de l'origine" (*the "closed belts," which could not "contain," are indeed the interposition [...] of language, whose "knots" are too "tightly fastened"—what superb images!—to preserve, without badly damaging it, the plenitude of the original experience*).[43] It is important to note the violence that Desbordes-Valmore introduces into Saʿdi's image: while the sage of the *Golestān* simply lost hold of the edge of his skirt, in "Les roses de Saadi" the lyric subject's clothing bursts apart: "Mais j'en avais tant pris dans mes ceintures closes / Que les nœuds trop serrés n'ont pu les contenir. // Les nœuds ont éclaté" (*But I had gathered so many inside my closed belts / That the tightly fastened knots were not able to contain them. // The knots burst*). Saʿdi's sage is immediately incapacitated by the perfume of the roses, thereby illustrating the claim that those who have experienced the divine do not tell the story: "*kān rā ke khabar shod khabari bāz nayāmad*" (*For no news has ever reached us of those who did learn something of Him*). Desbordes-Valmore's lyric I, in contrast, makes a valiant attempt at bringing back the roses, even if the enterprise is doomed to failure. The fact that the lyric I persists until the skirts burst thus metaphorically suggests a pushing of language to the limits of its capacity. And though the poem for the most part describes a failure in so far as the roses are lost, Desbordes-Valmore's lyric I does manage to bring something back: the roses' perfume, which she is able to share with the poem's addressee, unlike Saʿdi's sage who brought nothing back for his companions. Ultimately, then, the enterprise was not to no avail.

"Les roses de Saadi" indeed follows an optimistic movement, beginning with that which could not be brought back, and ending on that which remains. The first two stanzas are framed by verbs with the prefix "re": "rapporter" and "revenir," and it is worth noting, though it is unlikely that Desbordes-Valmore would have known this, that the prefix "re" is the French grammatical equivalent of the preposition "*bāz*" in Persian phrasal verbs, which appears in both the prose and verse passages of the *Golestān* quoted above. In the opening verse "rapporter" (*to bring back*) outlines the lyric subject's intention. The poem then narrates the loss of the roses, ending on the verb "revenir" (*to come back*), which is given in the negative form and concludes the second stanza. The third stanza offers a solution to this problem through the poem's final word "souvenir" (*memory*), which points back to "revenir" with which it shares the infix "venir," as well as its rhyming position. We learn that although the roses themselves, or, metaphorically, the experience itself, cannot be brought back, one may still share something of it. Moreover, the sensuality of the adjective "odorant" (*fragrant*) in "l'odorant souvenir" may be interpreted as an indication of the pleasure that can still be conveyed through language, and in particular poetry, despite its inability to recreate the original experience. In the absence of the roses, the sensuality of their perfume, i.e. of their description through language, is an entirely satisfactory experience in its own right.[44] The "moi" of the final verse thus becomes

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[43]Bonnefoy, "Preface," 20.
[44]This is where my analysis differs from Bonnefoy's, according to whom the poem only records a failure of language.

pivotal in so far as it can be read as standing simultaneously for the physical body of the character who filled her dress with roses, and also for the voice of the poet, who through her artful manipulation of language can provide the reader, who is implicitly addressed through the imperative "Respires-en," with a literary experience as pleasurable as smelling roses.

Desbordes-Valmore thus offers her readers a subtle rewriting of Saʿdi, which hinges on one of the *Golestān*'s most universal images and themes: the perishability of the rose and the limitations of language. The ephemerality of all things, the pleasures and limits of the written word, and the attempt to use the written word to bridge the gaps that both time and subjectivity create between individuals are neither French nor Iranian concerns: they are the concerns of all humankind, and in particular poets. What is lost in Desbordes-Valmore's poem is the historically and geographically situated dimension of the *Golestān*, in particular in terms of the religion of the sage in the parable, who is a Sufi. But Desbordes-Valmore's choice to focus on the universal is both inventive and intelligent, since it avoids falling into stereotyping or hackneyed imitation of the kind critiqued by Said. The lyric I of "Les roses de Saadi" is effective because it is that of a nineteenth-century woman and not that of a mock Oriental sage. An illustrative point of contrast would be Victor Hugo's poem "Le Derviche," the only poem in *Les Orientales* (1829) with any trace of influence from Saʿdi's *Golestān*, which imitates the genre of the *hekāyat* by telling the story of a conversation between a dervish and a king. The medieval Islamic world of dervishes and kings is clearly far removed from Hugo's experience, which leaves us with a superficial imitation engaging with Saʿdi's *Golestān* for its local color, rather than for its depth of thought or use of imagery.

Reconciling Saʿdi's Roses

The seeds for Desbordes-Valmore's solution to the loss symbolized by the roses, which is to say that although poetic language is unable to bring back the past, it is nonetheless able to create something precious in its own right, can be found in the *Golestān*, in a passage that comes closely after the one which Desbordes-Valmore had quoted in her letter to Sainte-Beuve. Saʿdi, now a character in the story that he tells,[45] describes how his friend began collecting roses and herbs in the skirts of his robe to take them back to the city.

بامدادان که خاطر باز بر رای آمدن غالب آمد دیدمش دامنی گل و ریحان و سنبل و ضیمران فراهم آورده و رغبت شهر کرده گفتم گل بستان را چنانکه دانی بقایی و عهد گلستان را وفایی نباشد و حکما گفته اند هر چه نپاید دلبستگی را نشاید . گفتا طریق چیست گفتم گل برای نزهت ناظران و فسحت حاضران کتاب گلستان توانم تصنیف کردن که باد خزان را بر ورق او دست تطاول نباشد و گردش زمان عیش ربیعش را بطیش خریف مبدل نکند

بچه کار آیدت ز گل طبقی   از گلستان من ببر ورقی
گل همین پنج روز و شش باشد   وین گلستان همیشه خوش باشد

_____
[45]On Saʿdi's self-representation see Keshavarz, "In Search of Sadi's Self-Image."

(In the morning, when the inclination to return prevailed over our wish to stay, I saw that he had filled the skirts of his robe with roses, fragrant herbs, hyacinths, and sweet basil, with which he was setting out for the city. I said, "To the rose of the flower-garden there is, as you know, no continuance; nor is there faith in the promise of the rose garden: and the sages have said that we should not fix our affections on that which has no endurance." He said, "What then is my course?" I replied, "For the recreation of the beholders and the gratification of those who are present, I am able to compose a book, the Garden of Roses *(*Golestān*)," whose leaves the rude hand of the blast of autumn cannot affect; and the blitheness of whose spring the revolution of time cannot change into the disorder of the waning year.*

<div align="center">

What use is that bunch of roses to you?
Take a leaf out of my Golestān *(Garden of Roses)*
A rose lives five, six days at the most
But this Golestān *(Garden of Roses) will never fade.*)[46]

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Whereas the first parable made an analogy between the sage's inability to carry roses and the insufficiency of human language and by extension poetry, Saʿdi now uses the image to the opposite end. The roses are no longer a source of analogy but of contrast, used to describe the longevity, and therefore superiority, of Saʿdi's roses; in other words, the pages of the *Golestān*, over the ephemeral roses of the natural world. Desbordes-Valmore's poem offers a nuanced perspective precisely because its nine verses reconcile the different messages that Saʿdi conveys on the two occasions in which he uses the image of collecting roses. Acknowledging both the limitations of language and the longevity of literature, "Les roses de Saadi" tells us that although poetry cannot completely preserve an original experience, it is nonetheless valuable both as a memory of an experience and as a source of pleasure in its own right. The idea that Desbordes-Valmore's poetry lives on through time, just as Saʿdi announces that his *Golestān* will do, is also carried by the imperative mode in the verse's final line, which makes readers feel as if they are being directly addressed by the lyric I: if the poet is still speaking to reader after reader, this means that her written words are not destined to fade like a rose.

Although the body of Desbordes-Valmore's poem does not overtly ascribe roses with the metapoetic significance that I have outlined, the reader is pointed in that direction by the poem's title, which tells us that the roses in the poem are not just any roses, but Saʿdi's. Saʿdi's name, rather than adding exoticism to the piece, is there to encourage readers to search for a meaning beneath the surface of the story and, if they are so inclined, to go as far as reading the poet named in the title. Anyone familiar with the preface of the *Golestān*, and we should remember that it was and remains the most widely translated and disseminated work of

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[46]Saʿdi, *Gulistan*, 8-9. The prose of the English translation is based on Saʿdi, *The Gulistān or, Rose-Garden*, 14, and the verse is my own translation. The corresponding passage is found on pages 35-6 of Sémelet's translation.

Persian literature,[47] would have been able to tell that the title alludes to Saʿdi's conceit that the pages of his *Golestān* were "roses." Saʿdi's name is not there to signify the otherness of Oriental literature, but to add depth to Desbordes-Valmore's poem, which can be read on several levels. In other words, Desbordes-Valmore's Saʿdi is an illustrious poetic predecessor who offers an interpretative key to her verses and is thus far removed from the negative figure of the Oriental identified by Edward Said.

Desbordes-Valmore's Roses

Having up until now focused on the ways in which "Les roses de Saadi" continues the *Golestān*'s rose metaphor, I now wish to turn to the ways in which Desbordes-Valmore's imagery differs from Saʿdi's. Alongside the metapoetic concerns inherited from the preface of the *Golestān*, Desbordes-Valmore also uses the image of the roses, particularly through her references to their perfume and color, to introduce a certain eroticism into her poem. The poem's erotic dimension is most clear in the imperative "Respires-en sur moi," which calls explicitly on the sense of smell and implicitly on the sense of touch through its reference to the perfume being on the lyric I's body. Desbordes-Valmore's use of a direct address makes the sensuality of the passage leap out at the reader, who is called upon to participate.[48] There is also a latent sexual innuendo in the image of the subject's clothing being unable to contain the roses, which could be interpreted as its inability to hold back a powerful desire. The image of the sea turning red calls to mind human blood, which evokes the female loss of virginity. Moreover, the adjective "enflammé" (*on fire*) is often used to refer to romantic passion, as with for example "des paroles enflammées" for "passionate words."

 The erotic subtext of "Les roses de Saadi" becomes unavoidable if we read the poem within the wider context of the self-compiled collection *Poésies inédites*. The poem appears in the collection's opening section, which is entitled "Amour" (the other two sections are "Famille" and "Foi"), and the second poem to follow it, "L'entrevue au ruisseau," redeploys much of the same vocabulary and imagery, this time with overtly sexual connotations, the second stanza reading:

> Voici ma plus belle ceinture,
> Elle embaume encore de mes fleurs.
> Prends les parfums et les couleurs,
> Prends tout ... Je m'en vais sans parure.
>
> (*Here is my most beautiful belt*,
> *It is still full of the perfume from my flowers.*

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[47]See Franklin Lewis's entry on the *Gulistan* in Encyclopedia Iranica (http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/golestan-e-sadi).

[48]It is worth noting that Shojā'eddin Shafā, in his Persian translation of the poem renders the verse as: "*Agar mikhwāhi, atr ānha rā bebuii*" (*If you like, breathe in their perfume*), much in the same way as the translators of the King James' Bible chose to render the opening line of the Song of Songs as "Let him kiss me," rather than the more direct "Kiss me." Shafā, *Irān dar asār-e she'r-e farānseh*, 116.

> *Take the smells and the colors,*
> *Take everything ... I go without attire.*)[49]

As well as referring to nudity ("Je m'en vais sans parure"), the poem also refers to a partner who is receiving the lyric subject's items of clothing: "Sais-tu pourquoi je viens moi-même / Jeter mon ruban sur ton sein?" (*Do you know why I come in person / To throw my ribbon on your breast?*) The relationship between "L'entrevue au ruisseau" and "Les roses de Saadi" is made clear by the repetition of the key noun "ceinture" and verb "embaumer," which, combined with the adverb "encore," distinctly echoes the verse "ma robe encore en est tout embaumée." Encountering "L'entrevue au ruisseau" so closely after "Les roses de Saadi," the reader feels as if the past point in time referred to in the later poem through the word "encore" ("elle embaume encore de mes fleurs") is to be found in the previous poem and, consequently, that the lyric I and the addressee of "L'entrevue au ruisseau" are the very same lyric I and addressee of "Les roses de Saadi" that we read about on the previous page.

And, as if this were not enough, the collection *Poésies inédites* also contains a poem in which the rose is used figuratively to stand for female genitalia: "Une ruelle de Flandre." As has been shown by Michael Danahy,[50] this poem uses plant metaphors to allude to oral sex:

> Errant dans les parfums de tous ces arbres verts,
> Plongeant nos front hardis sous leurs flancs entr'ouverts,
> Nous faisions les doux yeux aux roses embaumées
> Qui nous le rendaient, contentes d'être aimées!

> (*Lingering among the perfumes of these green trees*
> *Plunging our forehead into their opened flanks,*
> *We made sweet eyes at the fragrant roses*
> *Who returned it, happy to be loved!*)[51]

Aside from the reference to opened flanks, the sexual reading is also suggested by the verb "aimer," which in nineteenth-century French could be used to refer to the sexual act, as it is for example in Charles Baudelaire's erotic poem "Les Bijoux," published in les *Fleurs du Mal* three years before Desbordes-Valmore's collection. The fragrant rose (this poem too uses the adjective "embaumées") thus becomes a *fil rouge*, connecting "Les roses de Saadi" to two more overtly sexual poems in the collection.

Readings that have emphasized the debt of "Les roses de Saadi" to the *Golestān* have sought to downplay the poem's erotic dimension, starting with Calder's argument, based on Desbordes-Valmore's letter to Sainte-Beuve, that the poem should be read

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[49]Desbordes-Valmore, *Oeuvres poétiques*, II, 510.
[50]Danahy, "Marceline Desbordes-Valmore et la fraternité des poètes," 391-2.
[51]Desbordes-Valmore, *Oeuvres poétiques*, II, 524.

as a tribute to Sainte-Beuve and Desbordes-Valmore's friendship.[52] More recently, Majid Yousefi Behzadi in an article on "Les roses de Saadi" and Leconte de Lisle's "Les roses d'Espahan" has argued that Desbordes-Valmore's engagement with Saʿdi allows her to portray a "pure" and "virtuous" love, in which the lyric I helps the addressee reach spiritual elevation.[53] In a more measured contribution, Adrianna Paliyenko acknowledges that the symbolism of Desbordes-Valmore's roses extends beyond divine bliss to encompass "all of the experiences that constitute human life and yet escape our control."[54] However, she positions herself alongside those critics who have argued against "Les roses de Saadi" as a "love poem" and, basing herself on Desbordes-Valmore's letter to Sainte-Beuve, suggests that Saʿdi's concern with the divine filters into her writing, thereby displacing the romantic connotations of the sensually fragrant rose.[55] This stance stems from a reaction against the widespread biographical readings of Desbordes-Valmore's work, which have plagued her poetry since she was first published and are often combined with a degree of sexism.[56] The assumption, already promulgated by contemporaries of Desbordes-Valmore such as Baudelaire, was that women's writing is "natural" and "spontaneous": in other words, it was unpolished and autobiographical, lacking the conscious effort characterizing "real" poetry, which was written by men.[57] As I hope to have demonstrated, it is however possible to highlight the poem's erotic undertones without drawing on Desbordes-Valmore's biography. To sanitize her verses by removing all traces of female desire is to commit as much of an injustice to her work as to read it as purely autobiographical.[58]

The argument that Saʿdi's intertextual presence somehow cleanses Desbordes-Valmore's work of any latent eroticism is also easily refuted. "Les roses de Saadi" is not a pastiche of the preface of Saʿdi's *Golestān*, but a lyric poem in its own right. Although Desbordes-Valmore keeps Saʿdi's key imagery, she also alters it, for instance by having the dress break from the strain of the roses. The poem is expressed in modern French, makes no reference to a spiritual or otherworldly dimension, and the landscape evoked has no exotic features. The reader is thus encouraged to picture a local setting and a female lyric I, and assumes that she is addressing another human being, in all likelihood a lover given that she is instructing them to breathe in her smell. "Les roses de Saadi" is therefore clearly no longer about a sage and his companion, which

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[52]The same argument is made by Jeannine Moulin in *Marceline Desbordes-Valmore*, 97.

[53]Yousefi Behzadi, "Saadi et le symbole de la 'Rose'," see in particular 118.

[54]Paliyenko, "Between Poetic Cultures," 20.

[55]Ibid., 19.

[56]On Desbordes-Valmore's reception as a "woman poet," see Jasenas, *Marceline Desbordes-Valmore devant la critique.*

[57]Baudelaire, "III. Marceline Desbordes-Valmore," in "Réflexions sur quelques-uns de mes contemporains," in *Œuvres complètes*, II, 145-9.

[58]Edward K. Kaplan offers a nuanced overview of Desbordes-Valmore's poetic oeuvre, suggesting that she judiciously alternated self-effacement and self-assertion, being prepared to go along with biographical or sexist interpretations of her work if these could aid her career. Kaplan also acknowledges the erotic undertones of "Les roses de Saadi" as follows: "Images of innocence, we realize, can be imbued with carnal and turbulent love, just as sexuality can retain its maternal virtue." Kaplan, "The Voices of Marceline Desbordes-Valmore," 267.

raises the question: why should one assume that it bears no traces of earthly love? Moreover, the rose had already taken on various meanings in Saʿdi's preface, not all of which referred to a spiritual dimension. Given the rose's polysemy in Saʿdi's work, it seems disingenuous to claim that because Desbordes-Valmore was inspired by Saʿdi, her roses could only have a spiritual meaning. Finally, to present earthly love and divine love as mutually exclusive is to impose a dichotomy that held no currency in medieval poetry. Erotic language is frequently used in both European and Persian mystical literature, and earthly love, rather than a distraction, can be the first step towards divine love.[59]

We might ask: what did it mean for a nineteenth-century French poem to have a female lyric subject and to engage with Persian literature's most famous export? As a woman writing a poem inspired by Saʿdi, Desbordes-Valmore was an outsider in three ways. First, in the context of lyric poetry, Desbordes-Valmore was constantly marginalized by canonical male poets. I already cited Baudelaire, but another important insight into her status as a poet in relation to her male contemporaries is offered by Alphonse de Lamartine. In his poem "A Madame Desbordes-Valmore," Lamartine portrays himself, the quintessential male poet, sailing on a great ship (verses 16-17), characterized by its phallic "haut mât" (*tall mast*); Desbordes-Valmore, in contrast sails on a frail raft ("Esquif"), characterized by its humble sails ("humble voile")— one should note that the French word "voile" also means "veil," a characteristically female item of clothing.[60] The reference to the sea in "Les roses de Saadi" could thus be interpreted as referring back to Lamartine's comparison of his own poetry to Desbordes-Valmore's. While for Lamartine writing poetry is represented as a form of domination – "Longue course à l'heureux navire / […] La vaste mer est son empire" (*May the happy ship sail far* / […] *The vast sea is its empire*),[61] in Desbordes-Valmore we have an image of dissolution. Reading the roses as an image for poetry, in line with the *Golestān*, Desbordes-Valmore can be understood as representing poetry not as something that breaks through the waves in a powerful and controlled manner, but as something that falls into the water and allows itself to be carried away: "Les roses envolées / Dans le vent, à la mer s'en sont allées. / Elles ont suivi l'eau pour ne plus revenir." In doing so she breaks away from the image of poetry as a sea vessel and its masculine connotations.[62]

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[59]In Regina Psaki's pithy words, "sex can inhabit the sacred." Psaki, "Love for Beatrice," 119. The richest example of this in the Persian context is Hāfez. See Lewisohn, *Hafiz and the Religion of Love.*

[60]Lamartine's poem and Desbordes-Valmore's response poem 'À M. Alphonse de Lamartine' (both published in the collection *Les Pleurs*, 1833) can be found in Desbordes-Valmore, *Œuvres completes*, II, 818-20 and I, 224-6 respectively. (The Lamartine quotations are taken from II, 818.) The poetic exchange is analyzed by Kaplan, along with other poems addressed by male poets to Desbordes-Valmore.

[61]Desbordes-Valmore, *Œuvres complètes*, II, 818.

[62]The metaphor of the sea journey for the composition of poetry dates back to classical authors (see Curtius, *European Literature and the Latin Middle Ages*, 128–30). Lamartine's opposition of a great ship leading the way and Desbordes-Valmore's small raft may also have been inspired by Dante's *Divine Comedy*, specifically *Paradiso* II, verses 1-15. (The *Divine Comedy* inspired several French translations and was popular among nineteenth-century French poets, as has been studied by Pitwood, *Dante and the French Romantics*.)

The second way in which Desbordes-Valmore writes as an outsider is from the per-spective of the academic discipline of Oriental studies and its dissemination in litera-ture by non-academics. The essays and translations available to Desbordes-Valmore were all the work of male orientalists, and the poets famous for engaging with Oriental literature (Goethe and Hugo) were also male. It would only be later in the century that women authors such as Jane Dieulafoy and Judith Gautier would stake a claim to this field. Thirdly, canonical Persian poetry, as it was received in nineteenth-century France, was entirely the work of male authors. Desbordes-Valmore was rewriting Saʿdi not only in terms of cultural setting, but also in terms of the lyric I's gender: as we saw above, the use of modern French and the neutral setting lead the reader to assume that the "robe" refers to a woman's dress and not to a male sage's robe. Des-bordes-Valmore is thus ultimately expanding the period's horizons for women's writing, so that it may include lyric poetry—which, as Danahy has shown, was con-sidered a male genre[63]—engagements with Oriental sources, and the appropriation and redeployment of canonical male voices, in this case, that of Saʿdi. By rewriting Saʿdi's metaphor in a feminine voice Desbordes-Valmore was thus tearing down the wall between the masculine and the feminine realms, as well as that between what was perceived as Western and what was perceived as Oriental.

It has been argued in the field of travel writing that while Western women could use colonial ideology to consider themselves superior to local Middle Eastern populations, they were at the same time the inferior "other" of Western men, which meant that they had something in common with the populations that these men colonized.[64] The intersection of the two hierarchies (gender and Orientalism) thus gave women travel writers a unique perspective, which could lead them to support or challenge one or both of these binaries. One might venture that something akin to this is hap-pening in the case of Desbordes-Valmore, who is indirectly questioning both the exclusion of women from poetry and the sense of difference or separation between European and Persian poetry, something that Victor Hugo had certainly failed to do in *Les Orientales*, despite the ambitious agenda of the collection's preface.

Conclusion

"Les roses de Saadi" is a poem in which classical Persian literature and modern French lyric come together to form one coherent whole, doing away with the rigid categories of "Western" and "Oriental" and "masculine" and "feminine." Marceline Desbordes-Valmore would have first become aware of Saʿdi within the context of the Romantic vogue for Oriental poetry spearheaded in France by Victor Hugo. However, an inquiry into her sources indicates that Desbordes-Valmore's interest in Saʿdi was more than superficial. Not content with the "palatable" translations offered by anthologies such as the *Panthéon Littéraire*, she sought to reach a closer understanding of Saʿdi through what was at the time called a "literal" translation. Her poem's subtle

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[63]Danahy, "Marceline Desbordes-Valmore et la fraternité des poètes," 388-9.
[64]Monicat, *Itinéraires de l'écriture au féminin.*

treatment of the pitfalls and pleasures of language combines two passages from the preface of the *Golestān,* engaging in particular with the metapoetic dimension of Saʿdi's text. At the same time, Desbordes-Valmore recasts Saʿdi's image in a modern setting hinging on a female lyric I. In doing so, she does not engage with Saʿdi as a representative of an inherently other or Oriental perspective, but as an author who shared the same concerns as hers: namely, the parts of our experiences that can and cannot be conveyed through language; the pleasure that literature can bring; and the longevity of the written word over natural time. By exploring these shared concerns, Desbordes-Valmore asserted women poets' and Persian poets' place in the French nineteenth-century literary sphere. Moreover, the imagery of dissolution that she inherited from the preface of the *Golestān* allowed her to redefine the image of the poet as a virile and dominating subject, which had been promulgated by the likes of Baudelaire and Lamartine.

It is no coincidence in my view that the transcending of the temporal, linguistic, religious, and gendered differences between Saʿdi and Desbordes-Valmore is made possible by a lyric poem, rather than a work of prose. Poetry through its polysemic nature has the flexibility to include different perspectives without placing them in opposition. Poetry, moreover, thrives on intertextual dialogue, with poets of all traditions constantly building on what has been written before them through both open and veiled allusions. Finally, the predominance of the first person in lyric poetry is not to be underestimated. While works of prose of the kind examined by Said in *Orientalism* involve a dominant Western I describing a passive Oriental object of study in the third person, Desbordes-Valmore's lyric I identifies with Saʿdi's lyric I. Poetic treatments of the Orient should therefore not be discarded as frivolous Western fantasies, but considered in terms of their potential to tackle cultural difference in a manner that is not possible in prose. Though not all nineteenth-century French poets were as successful as Desbordes-Valmore in liberating themselves from cliché, a closer examination of the status of Persian poetry in French nineteenth-century literary culture may nonetheless help us piece together a different history of Orientalism, one framed in terms of identification, translation, and adaptation, and not only imperialist visions of the exotic.

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Nina Zandjani

The Social and Literary Context of German Translations of Saʿdi's *Golestān*

Saʿdi's Golestān *has been translated into German numerous times since the seventeenth century. The purpose of this article is to examine the social and literary context of three German translations and translators: Karl Heinrich Graf, a theologian and researcher of the Old Testament, published his translation of the* Golestān *in 1846 during German Romanticism; Dieter Bellmann, a professor of Oriental studies, published a revision of Graf's Rosengarten in 1982 in the German Democratic Republic, where literature was strictly regulated; Kathleen Göpel published her indirect translation from English, prepared by the Afghan translator Omar Ali-Shah, in 1997, at a time of intercultural literature, also called "bridge literature." Through examples the article shows how the context may have influenced their translations and how the text has changed when traveling across linguistic and cultural borders.*

Introduction

The purpose of this article is to examine the social and literary context of three selected German translations of the *Golestān* (The Rose Garden) written by the Persian poet Saʿdi (1258), in order to investigate how translational habitus differ, and how historical, cultural and social environments may have influenced the translations.[1] Bourdieu defined habitus as "both the generative principle of objectively classifiable judgements and the system of classification (*principium divisionis*) of these practices."[2] Habitus is thus seen as a set of "durable, transposable dispositions" that is both structured and structuring, and, as principle, habitus generates and organizes practices, and representations, geared towards practical decision-making.[3]

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[1]See Assis Rosa, "Negotiation of Literary Dialogue."
[2]Bourdieu, *Distinction. A Social Critique*, 170.
[3]Hermans, *Translation in Systems*, 163.

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Among the numerous German editions prepared by different translators, I have selected a direct translation from Persian by the theologian Karl Heinrich Graf[4] as the first translation to be investigated, since it is the earliest complete German translation of the *Golestān*. It was published at the end of German Romanticism and during a period of German Orientalism[5] which formed an essential part of the target culture in which the *Golestān* was received and for which the German translation was produced. The second translation in this study was completed more than 130 years later by Dieter Bellmanm,[6] a professor of Arabic and Oriental languages. This is a revised and modernized version of Graf's translation made during the era of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), one of the first classical works of Persian literature to be published in the GDR. The third translation examined is by Kathleen Göpel,[7] an indirect translation, also called translation by relay, from an English version prepared by the Afghan Omar Ali-Shah that same year.

In this article I am concerned with the German translations of the Persian classical text, the habitus connected to the translations, and the role played by the translations in the target culture. As Susan Bassnett points out, the study of classical languages, i.e. Greek and Latin, may have declined in recent years, but ancient writers are being read in translation and continue to generate a great deal of interest.[8] The same goes for classical medieval Persian writers, such as Saʿdi. The influence of Persian poetry on German literature was a matter of interest in the 1880s, as noted e.g. by Paul de Lagarde[9] and Arthur Remy.[10] It was later studied further by Annemarie Schimmel,[11] and in recent years by Andrea Polaschegg,[12] Hamid Tafazoli,[13] Stefan Weidner[14] Faranak Haschemi[15] and Shafiq Shamel.[16] I therefore pose and intend to answer the following questions: Who were/are the translators? What was the social and literary context in Germany at the time of the translations? How and to what degree can we say that the context influenced the translators' habitus and the translations?

Translation Habitus and Sociology in Translation

In order to examine the social and literary context of the three German translations and translators, I will draw on the concepts of the translator's habitus as developed by

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[4]Saʿdi, Moslecheddin Saʿdis Rosengarten (1846).
[5]See Marchand, *German Orientalism*.
[6]Saʿdi, Der Rosengarten (1982); Saʿdi, Der Rosengarten (1998).
[7]Saadi, Gulistan – Der Rosengarten (1997).
[8]Bassnett, "Translators in Search of Originals," 121.
[9]De Lagarde, *Persische Studien*.
[10]Remy, *The Influence of India and Persia on the Poetry of Germany*.
[11]Schimmel, *Orientalische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Literatur*.
[12]Polaschegg, *Der andere Orientalismus*.
[13]Tafazoli, *Der deutsche Persien-Diskurs*.
[14]Weidner, *Poetische Inventur des Orients*.
[15]Haschemi, *Deutsche Dichter begegnen Saʿdi*.
[16]Shamel, *The Convergence: European Enlightenment and Persian Poetry*.

Reine Meylaerts, in the context of the general sociology of translation.[17] Translation habitus and sociology in translation build on Gideon Toury's *Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS) and Beyond*, where he discusses various norms in translation. Toury defines *norms* as

> the translation of general values or ideas shared by community … into performance "instructions" appropriate for and applicable to concrete situations. The "instructions" specify what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension.[18]

Norms thus function as "various types of sociocultural limitations on how translators should act, think and translate appropriately in a certain context and for a certain group of persons."[19] From a scholarly point of view, norms appear as explanatory hypotheses for actual behavior and its perceptible manifestations. The researcher thus looks back from the end of the process towards all that has caused it to become what it did.[20] This means that by studying the translations at a micro-level, we will be able to make statements as to whether the translators' individual background and context might have influenced the translation solutions.

Bourdieu's concept of *field* and *habitus* were introduced into translation studies by Daniel Simeoni. As Meylaerts points out, habitus refers to the subject's internalized system of social structures in the form of dispositions. Under the influence of social position and individual and collective past, every cultural actor thus develops (and continues to develop) a social identity: a certain representation of the world and of the person's position therein.[21]

When Simeoni linked the concept of norms to the idea of a specific *translation habitus*, he started with the generalized, *social habitus*, which Bourdieu described as a *set of dispositions* that we all have. Simeoni then claimed that "becoming a translator is a matter of refining a social habitus into a special habitus."[22] As Meylaerts points out, the notion of habitus has been criticized for being deterministic, static and one-directional, referring to national societies only.[23] She therefore suggested integrating the translators' intercultural habitus into the framework of translation studies. By turning the concept of habitus into an intercultural construct, it should be valid for less homogenous situations, she argues.[24] Rakefet Sela-Sheffy claims that the notion of the habitus is an inspiring general idea more than a concrete workable hypothesis and sees the deterministic view of human action that habitus may convey as a major

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[17]Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms"; and see Chesterman, "Bridge"; Wolf, "Introduction"; Wolf, "Sociology."

[18]Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)*, 63.

[19]Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms," 92.

[20]Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS)*, 65.

[21]Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms," 93.

[22]Simeoni, "Pivotal Status," 18.

[23]Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms," 94.

[24]Ibid., 94.

weakness.[25] In accordance with Simeoni, both Meylaerts and Sela-Sheffy underline that habitus is not merely about professional expertise, it also accounts for a whole model of a person. The translators' habitus is the result of their personalized social and cultural history,[26] especially since most of the translations in human history seem to have been produced by "non-professional translators."[27] In what follows we will therefore study the three translators' individual backgrounds.

The *social habitus* implies that "culture imposes certain models of human action ... the multiplicity of options is a basic social fact."[28] When translators act as they do mainly because they feel it is right to act in a certain way,[29] it is caused by the *special habitus*. As Moira Inghilleri points out, according to Bourdieu, individuals act in habitual, conventionalized ways that are to a large extent the product of the incorporation of social structures, structures that are themselves the product of historical struggles and which are therefore subject to change.[30] The translators as individuals, and the agents around them, are thus in focus in the present article. Additionally, as Meylaerts points out, "translationship amounts to an individuation of collective schemes related to personal history, the collective history of the source culture, the collective history of the target culture, and their intersections."[31] Following Meylaerts' theoretical approach, this would mean that the translations of Graf, Bellmann and Göpel were influenced by these translators' individual and personal background and by the collective history of Iran/Persia not only at the time of Sa'di's completion of *Golestān* (1258), but also at the time of the translators and the relationship between Iran and Germany at the time the translations were prepared. The collective history of the target culture in Graf's case is Germany up to Romanticism, while for Bellmann it is prolonged to the time of the GDR and for Göpel until the end of the millennium. The translations happen at the intersection of target culture, the source culture and the translators' individual background. The examples in the present article are discussed in light of these intersections.

The Persian Source Culture

Iran, in the West earlier called Persia, has a long and proud history of literature and culture. In common usage, classical Persian literature refers to the literary tradition that emerged in the third Islamic century (ninth century AD) simultaneously with the renaissance of the Persian language as a literary medium, as pointed out by Johannes T. P. de Bruijn.[32] The Muslim Arabs' defeat of the Sāsānian Empire in

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[25]Sela-Sheffy, "How to Be a (Recognized) Translator"; Meylaerts, "Revisiting the Classics," 3.
[26]Simeoni, "Pivotal Status," 32.
[27]Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms," 94.
[28]Even-Zohar in Sela-Sheffy, "How to Be a (Recognized) Translator," 4-5.
[29]Sela-Sheffy, "How to Be a (Recognized) Translator," 14.
[30]Inghilleri, "Sociological Approaches," 280.
[31]Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms," 100–1.
[32]Bruijn, "Classical Persian Literature," 2.

651 (AD) opened a new chapter in a long history of Iran.[33] Iran's submission to Islam was a very gradual process, changing the domestic and social life of the people.[34] Bernard Lewis points out that even though Iran was Islamized, it was not Arabized, and that Iran after an interval of silence, re-emerged as a separate, different and distinctive element within Islam, culturally, politically and religiously, contributing to the new Islamic civilization.[35] Even though Persia was not Arabized, and poets wrote their works in Persian, Saʿdi used sections with text in Arabic in his *Golestān* (e.g. chapter 1, story 1).

In the centuries to follow, literature, philosophy and medicine blossomed in the new Persian Muslim society. According to S. H. Nasr, in a sense the scientific activity of this period continued what had begun during the Sāsānian period, but on a much greater scale and with much more universal scope.[36] There is however no evidence for his claim. We still do not know whether the literary branches in classical Persian poetry, e.g. *ghazal* and *qaside*, have any roots in Sāsānian poetry.

As Edward Browne points out, the time of the Mongol conquest and rule (1219–1370) that followed was a period of great cruelty.[37] Nevertheless, this was also a period when mathematical sciences were practiced and developed in Iran, as Kennedy shows.[38]

With the Mongol invasion of Persia, Saʿdi migrated to Baghdad, the metropolis of the Islamic world at that time.[39] Despite the Mongol destruction and cruelty, or possibly because of it, in his works Saʿdi deals with humanism and benevolence. His love and compassion have been the focus for several scholars.[40]

In his foreword, Saʾdi explains that his *Golestān* is written to be acceptable to orators (*motakallemān*) and instructive to secretaries (*motarasselān*).[41] In contrast to other authors of Persian classical literature, Saʿdi wrote his *Golestān* mainly in prose, in the style called "inimitable simplicity" (*sahl-e momtaneʿ*) in Persian literature,[42] which made it a popular source for Persian writers in the centuries to come because it was a break from an elaborate literary tradition. The *Golestān*'s prestige was renewed also during the so-called *Bāzgasht*, the period of "Literary Return" in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[43] Even Persian-speaking writers in the Balkans imitated Saʿdi's *Golestān* in style and content, for example Fevzi of Mostar with his *Bolbolestān*. His ethical-didactic work, including stories and anecdotes written in rhymed prose about Sufism and social motifs in a simple and understand-

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[33]Zarrinkub, "Arab Conquest of Iran," 1.
[34]Ibid., 29.
[35]Lewis, *Iran in History*.
[36]Nasr, "Life Sciences, Alchemy and Medicine," 396.
[37]Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, 427.
[38]Kennedy, "Exact Sciences in Iran," 669–79.
[39]Bellmann, "Nachwort," 350.
[40]Yohannan, *The Poet*; Dashti, *The Realm*; Dalal, *Ethics*; Katouzian, *Saʿdi*.
[41]Saʿdi, گلستان سعدی (*Golestān*), 54.
[42] Lewis, "Golestān," 82.
[43]Bruijn, "Classical Persian Literature," 8; Lewis, "Golestān," 83.

able Persian, was published in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the first half of the eighteenth century.[44] As Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak points out, the "Persian spoken throughout the Iranian plateau for over a millennium, has undergone few changes, remaining essentially at the same stage of morphological evolution."[45] Persian classical texts such as Saʿdi's *Golestān* are therefore readable and understandable for Persian-speaking readers today. This makes it especially interesting to study the translations of the book. While the Persian text, as such, is still readable and in compliance with today's use of the Persian language, previous German translations (such as Olearius') have been modified and modernized by Graf, Bellmann and Göpel to meet with the changing German language standards.

Karl Heinrich Graf (1815–69)

When the German Protestant theologian and Orientalist, Karl Heinrich Graf translated the *Golestān* in the 1840s, German society was experiencing a new era of industrialization. Within philosophy, literature, science, music, mathematics and storytelling, individuals such as Immanuel Kant, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Alexander von Humboldt, Ludwig van Beethoven, Carl Friedrich Gauss and the Brothers Grimm made important contributions, leaving their footprints internationally. Translation activity was substantial during this time, triggered by Goethe's call for world literature in his talk to Eckermann in 1827, with the intention to extend the German literary canon.[46] The immense German translation project aimed to offer translated world literature to German readers through newly established bookshops; Nobert Bachleitner calls them *Übersetzungsfabriken* (translation factories).[47] Such shared social environments in German cultural history will have regulated the performance carried out by the individual translators, their habitus, and the way they acted, thought and translated.[48]

Annemarie Schimmel points out that new impulses had come to Europe from the Orient, but she seems to disregard the cultural relations between Muslims and other religions in Spain, when she states:

> After centuries of blind hate against Islam, the age of Enlightenment contributed to the shaping of a new image of the Orient. French translations of *1001 Nights* had inspired countless poets, musicians and painters, who now dreamt about the romantic Eastern World.[49]

[44]Jovanovič, "Fevzi."
[45]Karimi-Hakkak, "Persian Tradition," 495.
[46]Bachleitner, "Übersetzungsfabriken"; Goethe, "Conversations."
[47]Bachleitner, "Übersetzungsfabriken." See also Zandjani, "German Translations from Medieval Persian," 74.
[48]See also Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms"; and Sela-Sheffy, "How to Be a (Recognized) Translator," 2.
[49]Schimmel, *Friedrich Rückert*, 11. My translation.

The interest in Oriental studies, literature and expressions was so extensive that we can talk about German Orientalism.[50] Among the important and relevant books published during this period, we find Friedrich Rückert's *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser* (Grammar, Poetics and Rhetoric of the Persians), first published as a translation from Persian in the journal *Treasures from the Orient*[51] in 1827, and later reprinted as a book in 1874.[52] It is considered an essential work about Persian poetry.[53]

What was the relation between Graf and the culture he was acting in? His personal history can tell us something about it. Graf studied theology and Oriental languages at the University of Strasburg. There he became acquainted with Eduard W. E. Reuss (1804–91), who had a profound influence on him, first as his teacher of theology and Oriental languages, and later as a close friend with whom he maintained an extensive correspondence. In the correspondence with his teacher and friend Reuss, published by K. Budde in 1904, Graf wrote about his translation of the *Golestān*,[54] as well as his career and his health problems.[55] In his letters, Graf described how he read Saʿdi's *Golestān* in Fleischer's Persian classes at the University of Leipzig in 1844, but had to take additional lessons as this was challenging for him.[56] In that way he became acquainted with Sururi's Arabic commentaries on the book, which laid the basis for his own future translation of the *Golestān*,[57] and thus his translation habitus. Graf spent most of his spare time on the translation of *Golestān*,[58] and Reuss is one of the two persons to whom he dedicated his *Rosengarten*.

Graf's interest in Islam and Oriental languages arose from his urge to achieve a better understanding of the religious history of the Semitic peoples.[59] According to Suzanne Marchand, the common motivation for theologians in the nineteenth century to study and learn Oriental languages was their interest in the land and peoples of the Old Testament.[60] Graf studied Arabic, Hebrew and Persian; in addition, he knew several central European languages, since his first dissertation was written in French and the second in Latin.[61] In his foreword to *Der Rosengarten*, Graf refers to Malcolm's *Sketches of Persia*, written in English. Finally, as a theologian studying the Bible, he must also have known Greek.

The aforementioned Friedrich Rückert was another translator of Persian literature in Graf's time. Among his works are poems adapted from the work of Jalāl al-Dīn

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[50]Marchand, *German Orientalism*.
[51]*Fundgruben des Orients.*
[52]Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser*.
[53]Schimmel, "Orientalische Einflüsse auf die deutsche Literatur," 546-62.
[54]Conrad, *Karl Heinrich Grafs Arbeit*, 28.
[55]Ibid., 41.
[56]Budde and Holzmann, *Eduard Reuss' Briefwechsel*, 210; and Conrad, *Karl Heinrich Grafs Arbeit*, 28.
[57]Budde and Holzmann, *Eduard Reuss' Briefwechsel*, 210f.
[58]Ibid., 225f, 230f.
[59]Conrad, *Karl Heinrich Grafs Arbeit*, 18-19.
[60]Marchand, *German Orientalism*, 181.
[61]See Conrad, *Karl Heinrich Grafs Arbeit*, 183-4.

Rumī. His *Östliche Rosen* (Roses of the Orient) are poems and adaptations inspired by Hafez. He also translated some of Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh* (1890), Saʿdi's *Bustān* (1882) in full, and parts of the *Golestān* (1894–96), in addition to works by Jāmi and Nezāmi.[62] His translation of the *Golestān* was published after his death, in parts from 1894 to 1896, under the title of *Verses from Golestān* in the journal *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literaturgeschichte* some thirty years after Graf's. As Haschemi points out, Rückert was fascinated by the combination of the work's "aesthetics and ethics-didactics," but he disliked the combination of prose and poetry, as it gave him the impression of superficiality and a lack of severity.[63] Annemarie Schimmel in 1988 presented selections of Rückert's work in two volumes; work which she sees as having been widely underestimated. According to her, with his translations, Rückert has donated a treasure to the Germans, something no other language has.[64] Though Graf does not refer to Rückert's translation from Persian, in his foreword he mentions Rückert's translation of Hariri from Arabic as a more professional way of translating than Olearius' German translation of the *Golestān*.[65] Furthermore, in his letters to Reuss, he describes himself as a Rückert *en miniature*.[66] Rückert's work must therefore have regulated Graf's performance and his translation habitus.

Among Graf's publications, we find theological works about the Old Testament, such *as Der Segen Mose's* (1857), *Der Prophet Jeremia erklärt* (1862) and *Die geschichtlichen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1866). Graf was thus not only a translator; he was primarily a teacher, scholar and writer, who became a translator because he was multilingual. We could even call Graf a "non-professional" translator, since he had no formal education as a translator. In his foreword, Graf comments on his strategies when translating the *Golestān*.[67] He compares his choices with those of earlier translators such as Olearius when it comes to the lover's gender in chapter 5, and also in leaving out an "improper" story in Chapter 2. He also relates the translation theories presented by Schleiermacher and Goethe to his own.[68] Among his choices at the micro-level, he discusses his use of the German word *Werkheiliger*, occurring especially in chapter 2, when he refers to the Persian ʿ*ābed* and *zāhed* which he found problematic.[69] At the macro-level, Graf explains that he has chosen to preserve the rhyme in his German translations, but not necessarily Saʿdi's Persian rhythm, as that might tire his readers.[70]

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[62]Schimmel, *Friedrich Rückert*, 147-53.

[63]Haschemi, *Deutsche Dichter begegnen Saʿdi*, 139-40.

[64]Schimmel, *Friedrich Rückert*, 8.

[65]Graf, "Vorrede," xv-xvi.

[66]Budde and Holzmann, *Eduard Reuss' Briefwechsel*, 226.

[67]Graf, "Vorrede," xv–xvii.

[68]Zandjani, "German Translations"; Zandjani, "Paratexte."

[69]Zandjani, "Paratexte."

[70]Graf, "Vorrede," xvii. German original: *Ich war demnach vollkommen berechtigt, mir und dem Leser die Quälerei mit den Metern zu sparen, dagegen habe ich mich in Hinsicht auf die verschiedenen Reimarten genau an den Text zu halten suchen.*

Though Graf lived in a small place, and did not have an academic position, he was part of the extensive translation activity in Germany which Bachleitner called *Übersetzungsfabriken*.[71] Together with Heinrich Leberecht Fleischer, Graf established *Morgenländische Gesellschaft*, the oldest German Oriental Society, in Leipzig in 1845. At the first meeting of the German Oriental Society, the readings of his draft translation of *Golestān* drew applause.[72] Graf's translation of Saʿdi's *Golestān* was published by F. A. Brockhaus in 1846. On the occasion of its 100th anniversary (1905), a history of the publishing house was written, listing Graf's German translation (*Der Rosengarten*) among the "Selected Library of Classics from Abroad" (*Ausgewälthe Bibliothek der Classiker des Auslandes*).[73] Other books in this series included translations from Swedish, French, Italian and Spanish. After having translated the *Golestān* into German in 1846, Graf went on to translate Saʿdi's first book, *Bustān* (1850). He also published a Persian edition of the *Bustān* with Persian commentaries, in Vienna and Leipzig in 1858, with a French title.[74] The French title suggests that the book was aimed at an international readership.

Before Graf's translation one could find entries about Saʿdi and elements from his *Golestān* in several German dictionaries and encyclopedias. For example, in *Damen Conversations Lexikon* (1834–38), which addresses educated women from the bourgeoisie in the nineteenth century, Saʿdi is presented as "the most exquisite Persian lyrical and didactic poet" and his *Golestān* as "his most beautiful poem with a profound moral tendency, where the pleasance of the nightingale's song and the balsamic fragrance of roses is intertwined, creating a magic idyll."[75] The *Brockhaus Conversations-Lexikon* had an entry on *Sadi (Musladin)*.[76] After Graf's translation, Pierer's *Universal-Lexikon* included entries on *Saʿdi/Saadi* and on *wandernde Mönche der Muhammedaner* (wandering Muslim monks).[77] Even more interesting was the appearance of expressions and sayings from the *Golestān* in the German dictionary of proverbs, such as *Grossmüthiger* (generous), *Wolf* (wolf), *Holz* (wood), *Ehre* (honor), *König* (king) and *Fehler* (mistake).[78] This suggests that Saʿdi's *Golestān* was an important source of wisdom in 19th century German society, thanks to the work of German translators in general and Graf in particular.

On the level of special habitus, we can observe that Graf in his notes gives his readers additional information and literary references regarding ideas and values that are important in Persian society. His alphabetical list of the issues contains: *Freigebigkeit* (generosity), *Freundschaft* (friendship), *Genügsamkeit* (modesty/contentment), *Gerechtigkeit* (justice), *Stillschweigen* (silence), *Sündhaftigkeit* (sinfulness), *Ungerechtigkeit* (injustice), *Scheinheiligkeit* (hypocrisy) and *Vergänglichkeit der Welt*

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[71]Bachleitner, "Übersetzungsfabriken."
[72]Budde and Holzmann, Eduard Reuss' Briefwechsel, 238.
[73]Brockhaus, H.E., *Die Firma F.A. Brockhaus*.
[74]"*Le Boustān de Saʿdi : Texte Persan avec un commentaire Persan*." Publisher: Vienne Imp. impériale de la Cour et de l'État.
[75]Herlosssohn, *Damen Conversationslexikon*, 29.
[76]Brockhaus, *Conversationslexikon*, 28-9.
[77]Pierer, *Universal-Lexikon*, 743.
[78]Wander, *Deutsches Sprichwortlexikon*.

(evanescence of the world).[79] Several of these issues are connected to the concept of ʿadab, i.e. ideas and values showing how to behave in Iranian society.

Dieter Bellmann (1934–97)

When Germany was divided into two separate countries after the Second World War (1939–45), literature became strictly regulated in the German Democratic Republic in the East. During this time, Dieter Bellmann lived and worked in academia in East Germany, and revised Graf's *Golestān* translation, published at Kiepenheuer (in 1982). The publication of translated literature from other countries and languages was subject to approval by the GDR authorities before publication. Most of the documentation is openly accessible in German federal archives (*Bundesarchiv*) since the reunification. The archives that I have accessed show that the printing permission was given after a detailed evaluation. In Schreiner's letter of recommendation, enclosed in the letter of approval from the GDR authorities, it was pointed out that Islam had been realized.[80] This must have been a reference to the Islamic Revolution in Iran that took place the previous year. This event, as well as the closeness between the Tudeh party and the GDR, are likely to have been motivating factors for Bellmann to work on Graf's translation.

Islam's function in society was obviously an important issue for Bellmann in the 1970s, since he published several articles on it.[81] This interest is also manifest in much of the paratext of his translation of Saʿdi's *Golestān*.[82] Social habitus forced writers and artists to produce important works of socialistic art closely relevant to the working class in their own country, as well as to the peoples of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.[83] The engagement for socialism and the battle against imperialism, its ideology and apologists, belonged to the very nature of this art, GDR authorities proclaimed.[84] Fritz Raddatz, located in West-Germany, points out that the problem of building up the new German state was not only about establishing a new way of thinking but also concerned the way writers and artists lived their lives.[85] Raddatz quotes from the speech Walter Ulbricht gave at the first Bitterfeld conference[86] in 1959, and which he repeated prior to the sixth congress of writers in May 1969:

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[79]Graf, "Anmerkungen," 299-300.

[80]Das Bundesarchiv, Gustav Kiepenheuer Verlag, Muslih ad-Din Saʿdi: Der Rosengarten

[81]Among his publications about these topics, we find: "*Bemerkungen zum Bild des 'revolutionären Helden' in der Gegenwartsliteratur der arabischen Länder*" (1974), "*Grundfragen des antiimperialistischen Kampfes der Völker Asiens, Afrikas u. Lateinamerikas in der Gegenwart*" (1974), "*Geschichte der Araber T. 2: Die arabische Befreiungsbewegung im Kampf gegen die imperialistische Kolonialherrschaft*" (1974) and "*Bürgerliche arabische Theorien zur kulturellen Funktion des Islam in der Gesellschaft*" (1980).

[82]Zandjani, "Paratexte."

[83]*Panorama DDR, Die DDR stellt sich vor*, 222. My translation.

[84]Ibid., 223. My translation.

[85]Raddatz, *Traditionen und Tendenzen*, 59.

[86]A conference which sought to connect the working class with the artists of the day to form a socialist national culture.

> Dear friends, if you want to master the new problems of the socialist national culture, you have to change your way of living, you have to enter into close contact with the people, you have to experience for yourself how the people establish socialism! Only then will you be able to give shape to these new problems in a literary and artistic way.[87]

Bellmann's list of publications during the time of the GDR shows his familiarity with the subjects of revolutionary heroes, anti-imperialist struggles and liberation movements. "The engagement for socialism and the battle against imperialism, its ideology and apologists"[88] was part of the social and political structures of Bellmann's time. Living in the GDR, Bellmann would have had access to the Russian translations of the *Golestān*, by Aliev (1957). Lambro's Russian translation was published the same year as Bellmann's (1982), and the two translators may have been in contact. It is possible that other pieces of Persian literature in Russian translation influenced him. We cannot know whether he had access to other recent European translations of the *Golestān*, as he lived in the strictly regulated GDR where books from other countries seldom found their way to readers. Another aspect of Bellmann's personal, social and cultural history is his publication in Russian in *Istorija i ekonomika stran arabskovo vostoka i severnoj Afriki* in Moscow (in 1975),[89] as a contribution of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR.[90] This is an example of the close connection between the GDR and the Soviet Union: Russian was in fact obligatory in schools and universities in the GDR at that time.

My investigation of the archives revealed that at the same time as the Kiepenheuer publishing house was granted permission to publish Bellmann's revision of Graf's translation, several other literary works from both Eastern and Western Europe, as well as the USA, India and China were also given permission. Among these are Hans Christian Andersen, Honoré de Balzac, Karel Capek, Sinclair Lewis, Jean Paul Sartre and Arno Schmidt. My archival research has revealed that Bellmann's revised edition was also sold to the Schünemann publishing house in 1982, making it available in West Germany.

According to the catalogue of professors at the University of Leipzig, Bellmann studied classical philology, Oriental studies, Islamic studies and "newer Islamic languages" (i.e. Arabic, Persian and Turkish) at the Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg and in Leipzig from 1953 to 1958 and became a certified orientalist (Diplom-Orientalist).[91] After that, he worked as a freelancer on Persian literature, publishing his first translation from Persian, a selection of Omar Khayyam's *Rubāʿiyyāt*

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[87]Raddatz, *Traditionen und Tendenzen*, 59. German original: "*Liebe Freunde, wenn ihr die neuen Probleme der sozialistischen Nationalkultur meistern wollt, dann müßt ihr eure Lebensweise ändern, dann müßt ihr in einen engen Kontakt zum Volk treten, dann müßt ihr selbst miterleben, wie das Volk den Sozialismus aufbaut! Nur dann werdet ihr in der Lage sein, diese neuen Probleme literarisch und künstlerisch zu gestalten.*"
[88]*Die DDR stellt sich vor*, 223. My translation.
[89]*Arabskoe kul'turnoe nasledie v svete idealističeskix vozzrenij nekotorix arabskix teoretikov kultury.*
[90]*Akademie der Wissenschaften der UdSSR.*
[91]Professorenkatalog, Dieter Johannes Bellmann

(*Zelte der Weisheit*) in 1958. He also broadcast in the Arabic section of Radio Berlin International for a year, before he became politically engaged in the *Liga für Völkerfreundschaft der DDR* from 1965 to 1970 and became deputy director of the *Kulturzentrum der DDR* in Damascus, Syria, which means that he must have obtained permission to travel abroad, at least to an ally of the Soviet Union. During that time, Bellmann defended his doctoral thesis "Das Anstandsbuch des Ibn al-Waššā (*Ein Beitrag zur Kulturgeschichte Bagdads im 3./9. Jh.*)" in 1966. From 1970 to 1978 he was academic senior assistant and lecturer in the Section of African and Middle Eastern Studies (*Afrika- und Nahostwissenschaften*, ANW) at the Karl Marx University of Leipzig. In 1978 he became a lecturer in Arabic literature and was later promoted to professor of Arabic culture (1986-92) and professor of Arabic and Oriental languages (1993-97) at the same university. His merits were obviously noticed by the GDR authorities, as Bellmann received two honors in the 1960s: *Verdienstorden der VAR* (1965) and a silver *Ehrennadel der Liga für Völkerfreundschaft* (1967).

Bellmann was able to present his research in Western Europe, in Paris, in the 1970s. This probably happened because of his loyalty to the GDR and as a way of officially demonstrating the GDR's contribution to international research. His paper about the Arab cultural heritage from the viewpoint of idealistic Arab cultural theories[92] was published as part of the GDR's contribution at 29th Congress of International Orientalists in Paris in 1973.

During the GDR period, the Iranian Marxist party, Tudeh, had its office in East Germany, with connections to the communist party of the country.[93] One of the Tudeh party's active members, the Iranian leftist writer and novelist Bozorg Alavi, lived in East Berlin. His works were banned in Iran from 1953 to 1979.[94] Together with Heinrich F. J. Junker, he edited the comprehensive Persian-German dictionary, first published in 1965 and with several reprints up to 2002. It is most likely that Bellmann knew him, and that he was in contact with him during the revision of Graf's translation, given that Alavi was a visiting professor of Persian language and literature at the Humboldt University in East Berlin and that he also was a translator from Persian into German.

Though the last shah of Iran, Mohammad Reza Pahlavi, fought against socialism and communism inside his own country, there were formal connections between East Germany and Iran in the 1970s. Oliver Bast explains the bilateral connection between East Germany and Iran as a way of exercising pressure on the West.[95] In the 1980s, before the demise of the German Democratic Republic, Bellmann published an article about Arab culture in the present time,[96] and one about women and love stories from the Arab Middle Ages.[97] With the collapse of the GDR, the

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[92]*Das arabische Kulturerbe im Blick idealistischer arabischer Kulturtheoretiker.*
[93]Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, 454-5.
[94]Mirabedini, "Alavi, Bozorg."
[95]Bast, "Germany."
[96]"*Arabische Kultur der Gegenwart: Rückblicke, Bestandsaufnahme, Zukunftserwartungen*" (1984).
[97]"*Ahbār an-nisac*" (1986).

social structures changed, and made it possible for Bellmann to expand his research focus to include Europe outside the "iron curtain." He wrote about mysticism and Sufism in Hafez's reception in Europe, *Mystik oder Sufismus? Bemerkungen zu einem Problem der Hafis—Rezeption in Europa* (1990).

In his afterword, Bellmann states that his revised and extended edition of Graf's translation builds on the Persian editions by Sémelet (Paris 1834), Johnson (London 1863), Platts (London 1871) and Aliev/Alijew (Moscow 1959).[98] Three of these Persian editions were published after Graf's edition, and were thus not accessible to Graf. Bellmann does not inform his readers explicitly about his own translation strategy, on the micro- or macro-level. In in an afterword to the third edition of his revised Graf translation (1998), published after German reunification —and after Bellmann's death—he explains that the changes were made due to "new scientific knowledge" and "modern literary standards",[99] without commenting further on these. Moreover, he states that numerous shorter and longer passages, which had to be omitted because of the prevailing social ethics of Graf's time, have been translated and included in his edition, without going into detail about which these are. Some examples showing changes are discussed by Faranak Haschemi[100] and examples of omissions are discussed by Zandjani.[101] Bellmann's above statements about his inclusion of the stories and passages which Graf had left out are not included in his 1982 edition from the GDR period, even though the missing texts (e.g. about puberty and passing wind) are included. This could imply that the GDR authorities would not have approved of statements showing that rude or immoral passages were included in Bellmann's revised German translation of *Golestān*, but we cannot know that for sure. Schreiner's evaluation of Bellmann's work for the GDR found in the archives (Das Bundesarchive), inform us of the social structures and cultural actors behind censorship in the GDR. Such structures interact with the individual experience of the translator and develop the translator's social identity.[102] They thus could be seen as a constraint on Bellmann's development and shaping of his translation habitus.

Kathleen Göpel (1950–)[103]

Among the factors shaping the German culture at the time that Kathleen Göpel completed her indirect translation of Saʿdi's *Golestān* from English (1997) are the rapid changes known as *Die Wende* (The turnaround). Die Wende refers to the collapse of the German Democratic Republic and German reunification in 1990. With the

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[98]Bellmann, "Nachwort," 301 (1982), 367-8 (1998).

[99]Ibid., 368.

[100]Haschemi, "Deutsche Dichter begegnen Saʿdi," 272-6.

[101]Zandjani, "German Translations from Medieval Persian," 86-94.

[102]See Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms," 93.

[103]She changed her name from Göpel to Göbel when she remarried (email correspondence, 21 January 2017). Further, she considers her date of birth to be private (email correspondence 10 February 2017), but as she was a student in the early 1970s, I assume that she must have been born at the beginning of the 1950s.

fall of the wall between East and West Germany, large numbers of people migrated from East to West.[104] Prior to this, another major migration had occurred in West Germany, when labor was needed to rebuild the country after the end of the Second World War. Migrants from Turkey and southern parts of Europe had entered West Germany as *Gastarbeiter* (guest workers). West Germany experienced a "*Wirtschaftswunder*" and became a leading industrial nation in Europe by the 1980s. After the Islamic Revolution of 1979 and following the Iran-Iraq war (1980–88), large numbers of Iranians entered Germany in the 1980s. By the end of 1998, more than 110,000 immigrants from Iran were living in Germany. These major migrations caused extensive changes in German society, including the literature.[105] Some of the migrants, who had left their homes and started a new life in the West in a setting that in most cases was initially strange to them, have contributed to new kinds of writing. Today, literature written by authors who are shaped by the view of at least two cultural areas is called intercultural literature, multicultural literature, migration literature[106] or bridge literature.[107]

Among the immigrants from Iran and their families we today find examples of writers who have gained a name and reputation in Germany, such as Navid Kermani and SAID (pen name). These writers who deal with German society from an outsider's perspective are now beyond the category of "migration literature" and may be regarded as German writers.[108] They can be considered bridge-builders between cultures, which is also Göpel's intention.[109] Migration not only created new literature, but also new groups of readers who were no longer ethnically German. Göpel, with her translation of the *Golestān*, addresses these new groups of readers, as well as other German readers interested in the culture of the immigrants. Göpel runs her own publishing house and bookshop called Peacock, a popular motif in Persian designs and literature, and her books are distributed at Iranian cultural events. Her target groups underline her interest in cultural understanding and bridge building. In contrast to Graf and Bellmann, the information I have about Göpel is based on interviews she has given, presentations on the publisher's website, my email correspondence with her, and a meeting we had in January 2017.

Upon the publication of her book, *Tiere des Himmels—Weisheitsgeschichten aus dem Orient* (Animals of Heaven—Stories of Wisdom from the Orient), Göpel stated that she read German studies, Psychology, Turkish and Islamic studies at the Free University of Berlin in the early 1970s and that she thereafter traveled to Turkey and continued with Koranic studies and Islamic philosophy in Konya and Istanbul. This brought her closer to the realities of the Islamic cultural sphere.[110]

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[104]Weber, *Kleine Geschichte*.

[105]El-Mafaalani, *Das Integrationsparadox*.

[106]*Migrantenliteratur*.

[107]*Brückenliteratur*; Chiellino, *Interkulturelle*.

[108]Nikjamal, "The Notion."

[109]http://www.theologische-zoologie.de/newsletter-06b. This website is no longer accessible in May 2019.

[110]Taufiq, *Interview with Writer Kathleen Göbel*, 2014.

In Turkey she then began collecting stories, which led to her first volume of traditional Turkish parables, Göpel explains. What do we know about her habitus as a translator? In January 2017, I sent Göpel some questions about her translation of Saʿdi's *Golestān* and followed these up when we met in Berlin shortly after. She explained that the motivation for translating Saʿdi's *Golestān* came as a natural continuation after having translated Omar Khayyam's *Robāiyyāt*. For both her *Golestān* and her *Robāiyyāt*, Göpel used Omar Ali-Shah's English translation as the source text. Both books were published by Göpel's publishing house. When I asked whether she could read Persian or had depended entirely Omar Ali-Shah's English translation, Göpel answered that the translation had been prepared from the English, but in order to avoid the problems of indirect translation, Omar Ali-Shah, who could understand German, did an extensive and detailed review of the text. This was done in close cooperation with the publishing house.[111] Concerning her translation strategy—given that she is both the translator and publisher—Göpel claimed:

> Islamic studies at German universities prefer our translations because they keep as close to the [source] text as the understanding in a European cultural area would permit. In favour of highest possible text authenticity, we have refrained from any metre or any kind of (free) adaption.[112]

In addition to the above statement about translation at the micro-level, Göpel in an interview with *Muslim-Markt*, published on the publisher's website, claimed that though the Persian classics have been available in numerous translations in Germany, they were read and studied mostly by a small circle of experts. Thus, she argued, the wider public knew hardly anything about these sublime works of poetry, the content of which was based on profound wisdom and immense insight into human nature, without losing any of its actuality, validity or fascination over the centuries. This statement about the unsuitability of these earlier translations at the macro-level suggests that Göpel either was not aware of Bellmann's revised edition of Graf's translation or considered it suitable only for a "small circle of experts." The 1982 edition was, as mentioned above, available also in West Germany through Schünemann publishing house, while Bellmann's third edition (1998), published by Beck Verlag in Munich, was available one year after Göpel's translation.

In addition to Khayyam's *Robāiyyāt* and the *Golestān*, Göpel has translated a couple of other books from Omar Ali-Shah's English version: *Die Sufi-Tradition im Westen* and *Sufismus als Therapie*. Further, she translated stories written by Omar Ali-Shah's sister Amina Shah, *Geheimnisse der vier Derwische* (2010). All of these bear witness to her continued interest in Sufism and Muslim mysticism. Under the influence of her

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[111]Email to author, 9 January 2017.

[112]*Unsere Übersetzung wird von den Islamwissenschaftlichen Studiengängen in deutschen Universitäten favorisiert, weil sie so nahe am Text bleibt, wie es ein problemloses Verstehen im europäischen Kulturraum zulässt. Wir haben zugunsten höchstmöglicher Textauthentizität auf Metrik sowie jegliche Art der "Nachdichtung", Eindeutschung und Interpretation verzichtet.* (Email, 4 January 2017).

social position and her collective past, Göpel develops (and continues to develop) a social identity: her representation of the world and her position in it.[113] In her role as bridge-builder Göpel has close connections to the Hafis Institute, which is closely linked to the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Berlin. The aim of the institute is cultural exchange between people in Germany and Iran. On its website, there is a picture of her posing with the members of the board, though she is not named.[114] As a publisher she also seeks to collaborate with Middle Eastern presses: she has chosen to print the third edition (2008) of her translation of Saʿdi's *Golestān* in Damascus and the fourth (2013) in Tehran.

Discussion

The above insights into Graf's, Bellmann's and Göpel's social and cultural background, in both institutional and discursive terms, help us to understand their positions, as well as the possible effect of dynamic constraints, and the evolution of their translational choices at the micro-structural and macro-structural levels.[115] In the following, I will analyze some salient passages in the target texts, i.e. where the three translations evidently vary, in order to investigate how and whether these differences could have been affected by the translators' habitus, and their social and literary contexts. Words and expressions in the Persian source text[116] and in the three German translations in the examples discussed are highlighted in order to illustrate the changes that may have been motivated by the translators' social and literary contexts. Rehatsek's English translation is provided for non-Persian and non-German readers and is not part of the analysis.

In the first example, found in the Introduction of *Golestān*, Saʿdi is meditating on the time which has elapsed, repenting of the life he has squandered. In rhymed prose he states that he was "firmly determined and intent on spending the rest of his life in continual devotion and silence,"[117] before he finally decided to compose the book.

Saʿdi: (یوسفی‌ص ۵۳) که‌فلان **عزم** کرده‌است‌و‌نیّت **جَزم** که‌بقیّتِ‌عمر‌معتکف **نشیند** و‌خاموشی **گزیند**

*ke folān **ʿazm** karde ast-o nīyyat-e **jazm** ke baqīyyat-e ʿomr moʿtakef **neshinad-o khāmoshi gozinad***

Graf: Er ist, sprach er, **zum Entschlusse gekommen** und hat **sich fest vorgenommen**, den übrigen Theil seines Daseins auf dieser Welt sich **dem Dienste Gottes hinzugeben** und **im Stillschweigen zu leben**[118]

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[113]See Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms," 93.
[114]See http://hafis-institut.de/?p=1319&lang=de
[115]See Meylaerts, "Translators and (Their) Norms," 95.
[116]Saʿdi, گلستان سعدی .
[117]Modification of Saʿdi, *Gulistān*, trans. Rehatsek, 81.
[118]Saʿdi, *Rosengarten*, trans. Graf, 8-9.

Bellmann: "Er ist," sprach er, "zum Entschlusse gekommen, den **verbleibenden** Teil seines Daseins auf dieser Welt sich **dem Dienste Allahs hinzugeben** und im Stillschweigen zu leben."[119]

Göpel: daß ich beabsichtigte, mein Leben der **Kontemplation** zu widmen und verdienstvollen Handlungen.[120]

Here, Saʿdi twice makes use of *saj*, i.e. rhymed prose, also called poetic prose: *folān ʿazm karde ast-o nīyyat-e jazm* and *moʿtakef neshinad-o khāmoshi gozinad*. Franklin Lewis defines *saj* as parallel rhymed phrasing,[121] while Thackston defines it as phrases that rhyme with each other but lack the meter that would make them poetry.[122] The rhymed prose is recreated by Graf as: *zum Entschluss gekommen und hat sich fest vorgenommen*, and *dem Dienste Gottes hinzugeben und im Stillschweigen zu leben*. In both instances, Graf creates rhymes without maintaining the same rhythm as Saʿdi.[123] His university education gave him the competence to deal with Persian, and the context of his time, with poets such as Rückert and Goethe, were possibly a source of poetic inspiration for him as an informed reader of Persian.

Bellmann, in revising and modernizing Graf's translation, has removed the rhyming and repetitive part "*und hat sich fest vorgenommen.*" Thereby, both the rhymed prose constructed by Graf and the lightness of Saʿdi's style have been lost in Bellmann's translation. Further, the Arabic loan word *moʿtakef* (معتكف), meaning *devotion*, translated by Graf as *sich dem Dienste Gottes hinzugeben* (to devote to the service of God), has been changed by Bellmann to *sich dem Dienste Allahs hinzugeben* (to devote to the service of Allah), substituting the German word *Gott* (God) with the Muslim term, *Allah*. Bellmann's special habitus or individual intercultural habitus, through his academic expertise in Arabic and Islamic studies, is likely to have motivated these changes. Under the influence of his social position as a professor of Arabic and Islam, Bellmann can publish a translation without poetic values as in his social context, the insight into a foreign culture was considered of greater importance than poetic value.

Göpel's translation has no rhythm or rhyme, nor does it have the lightness of Saʿdi's text. By using a prosaic expression such as *Kontemplation* in German, Göpel demonstrates that her focus is on the content, kernel and essence (meaning-based translation). In her representation of Saʿdi's world, Göpel follows Ali-Shah, who uses "contemplation" in his English translation.[124] Her actions as translator are thus constrained by Ali-Shah's choices. She is loyal to the writer of her source text, Ali-Shah, but less so to Saʿdi, even though her aim is to keep "as close to Saʿdi's text as the under-

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[119]Saʿdi, *Rosengarten*, trans. D. Bellmann, 14-15 (1982), 18 (1998).
[120]Saʿdi, *Gulistan—Der Rosengarten*, trans. K. Göpel, 25.
[121]Lewis, "Golestān-e Saʿdi," 81.
[122]Thackston, "Translator's Preface," viii.
[123]See Graf, "Vorrede," xvii.
[124]Saadi, *Rose Garden*, 17.

standing in a European cultural area would permit."[125] Her loyalty to Ali-Shah can be understood as they have a common fascination for Sufism.

In the second example, from chapter 2, story 27, a king lying on his deathbed proclaims that the first person entering the city gate shall be the new king. It turns out to be a beggar, who after having ruled for some time is opposed by emirs inside the country and kings outside. Saʿdi says: "At last his own troops and subjects also rebelled and deprived him of a portion of his dominions."[126]

سپاه و **رعیّت** بهم بر آمدند و برخی طرفِ بلاد از قبض تِصرفِ او بدر رفت. (یوسفی ص 98) :Saʿdi

*sepāh-o **raʿiyyat** be-ham bar āmadand-o **barkhi ṭaraf-e belād** az qabż-e taṣarrof-e u be-dar raftand.*

Graf: Soldaten und **Untertanen** wurden aufrührerisch und ein Teil der Provinzen machte sich von seiner Herrschaft los.[127]

Bellmann: Soldaten und **ganze Heerscharen** wurden aufrührerisch, ein Teil der Provinzen machte sich von seiner Herrschaft los.[128]

Göpel: Angesichts dieser **Rebellion** und der **territorialen Verluste**.[129]

Saʿdi uses the Arabic loanword *raʿiyyat* (رعیت) from the Arabic رعیّة, meaning *subjects*. Graf has translated it by the corresponding *Untertanen*, i.e. people who are placed *under* the king and thus have to obey him. Bellmann has changed the term to the archaic *Heerscharen* (troops) adding *ganze* (lots of). By doing so, the implicit social hierarchy in the source text is removed, in line with the GDR ideological promotion of equality among members of a society. In Göpel's translation, Saʿdi's text has been shortened substantially, and it uses two prosaic expressions, *Rebellion* and *territoriale Verluste* (loss of territory). She has, again, "favored the highest possible text authenticity," by staying close to Ali-Shah's translation and depriving the text of Saʿdi's rhythm, rhyme and fluent style. This approach is consistent with Göpel's contribution to cultural understanding: Göpel would not sacrifice what she perceived as fidelity to content in order to improve literary qualities.

The third example is found at the end of chapter 7, in a debate between Saʿdi and an opponent about the wealthy and the poor, and generosity and greed. Saʿdi argues: Mostly empty-handed persons pollute the skirt of modesty by transgression, and those who are hungry steal bread.[130]

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[125]See *Muslim-Markt*, "Interviewt Kathleen Göpel."
[126]Saʿdi, *Gulistān*, trans. Rehatsek, 289.
[127]Saʿdi, *Rosengarten*, trans. Graf, 81.
[128]Saʿdi, *Rosengarten*, trans. Bellmann, 96 (1982), 120 (1998).
[129]Saʿdi, *Gulistan—Der Rosengarten*, trans. Göpel, 114.
[130]Saʿdi, *Gulistān*, trans. Rehatsek, 611.

اغلبِ تهیدستان دامنِ عصمت به معصیت آلایند و گرسنگان نان ربایند (یوسفی ص ۱۶۶) :Sa'di

aghlab-e tohī-dastān dāman-e ʿeṣmat be maʿṣīyat ālāyand-o gorosnegān nān robāyand

Graf: Die meisten aber von denen, die nichts besitzen, beschmutzen den Kleider-saum der **Unschuld im Kot** und rauben gleich hungrigen **Hunden ihr Brot**.[131]

Bellmann: Die meisten aber von denen, die nichts besitzen, beschmutzen den Klei-dersaum der **Unfehlbarkeit** dadurch, daß sie sich **gegen diese mächtigen Reichen auflehnen** und aus Hunger **den Menschen ihr Brot rauben**.[132]

Göpel**: Es sind die Armen, die** leicht in Sünde fallen, und **es sind die Hungrigen, die** Brot stehlen.[133]

Here Graf recreates Sa'di's poetic values. He creates the rhymed prose *beschmutzen den Kleidersaum der Unschuld im Kot* (pollute the hem of innocence with dirt) and *rauben gleich hungrigen Hunden ihr Brot* (steal like hungry dogs, their bread), by adding "like dogs" as a characteristic of hungry people. It is likely that Graf here is using his *special habitus*, his special abilities as a writer/poet, but in doing so he changes the text. Indeed, the translation is not loyal to Sa'di's phrasing: *dāman-e ʿeṣmat be maʿṣīyat ālāyand* (they pollute the skirt of modesty by transgression) and *gorosnegān nān robāyand* (those who are hungry steal bread). This is probably one of the "mistakes" that Bellmann claimed to have corrected.[134] The most likely reason for Graf's choice was his intention to create poetic prose by using the rhyming words *Kot* (dirt) and *Brot* (bread). Bellmann has changed Sa'di's text by adding *sich gegen diese mächtigen Reichen auflehnen* (protest against these mighty rich people). Again, this is most probably due to GDR ideology, reflecting the expectations of the readers/authorities: Bellmann needs to present the wealthy in a negative light, since they are associated with capitalism. Finally, Göpel has created a sort of rhythm and rhyme, by repeating the same initials words: *Es sind die Armen, die leicht in Sünde fallen* (It is the poor who easily fall into sin) and *es sind die Hungrigen, die Brot stehlen* (it is the hungry ones who steal bread). In this case, Ali-Shah wrote: "The power of abstinence is lost to the hungry, the hands of the poor become weak on the rein."[135] This means that Göpel, in her intention to be a "bridge-builder between cultures," must have consulted Graf's translation, since "bread" is not mentioned by Ali-Shah. This suggests Göpel's desire to reach a better understanding of Sa'di in her preparation of a book acting as a "cultural bridge."

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[131]Sa'di, *Rosengarten*, trans. Graf, 188.
[132]Sa'di, *Rosengarten*, trans. Bellmann, 229 (1982), 280 (1998).
[133]Sa'di, *Gulistan—Der Rosengarten*, trans. Göpel, 254.
[134]Bellmann, "Nachwort," 368.
[135]Saadi, *Rose Garden*, 185.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this article, I posed three questions about the translators' identity, the social and literary context in Germany at their time, and how and to what degree this context might have influenced their translations. As translations never happen in a vacuum, the personal history of the translator, the collective history of the source culture, and the collective history of the target culture are important factors which influence the translators and their translations.[136] In the present study, I have connected micro-level translation decisions to a wider social context (macro-level) and the translators' habitus. In line with Toury,[137] I have looked back from the end of the process by examining the published translated texts of Graf, Bellmann and Göpel in light of their personal background and the socio-cultural context that may have influenced them.

In earlier studies of the German translations of Saʿdi's *Golestān*, I have examined how the above translators have dealt with potentially taboo matters, imagery in Saʿdi's advice and injunctions, and figures appearing in the Qurʿan and Bible.[138] None of these revealed obvious pro-GDR tendencies in Bellmann's translation. Many of the translation solutions of Graf, Bellmann and Göpel were close, though the translators' paratexts varied substantially.[139] In the present study, I analyzed Graf, Bellmann and Göpel's different solutions in light of the socio-political circumstances the translators lived and worked under. On the micro-level we have seen that Graf places emphasis on poetic devices by recreating rhymed prose (*saj*) of Saʿdi's *Golestān*. Graf had a poetic sensitivity and admired Rückert's ability to recreate Persian poetry in German language. Bellmann deleted parts of the rhymed prose when he believed that the content was not in line with the Persian text. Bellmann wants to correct and improve Graf's translation at a time when the GDR was building up its own literary culture. He prioritizes the elements that introduce the reader to a foreign culture. Göpel wants to break with the traditional "European" translations and keep closer to the (source) text, which results in prosaic choices. Seeing herself as a bridge-builder between nations, Göpel did not choose the English translation of a western translator as her source text. She trusted Ali-Shah, whom she knew personally, believing that as an Afghan he was closer to the source culture. In cases where Göpel has made difference choices to Ali-Shah, these are most probably based on Graf's translation.

Though these three translations have been produced at different times, they were all produced during dramatic changes in German society and literature. Graf's translation was prepared after times of unrest due to the Napoleonic wars (German: *Koalititionskriege*). Through extensive translation activity (*Übersetzungsfabriken*), world literature mainly from English and French, but also from more distant languages such as

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[136]Meylaerts, "Translators."
[137]Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 65.
[138]Zandjani, "German Translations"; Zandjani, "Om a oversette."
[139]Zandjani, "Paratexte."

Persian, was brought to German readers, with the intention to extend the German literary canon. Bellmann revised Graf's translation when the German Democratic Republic was establishing its own literary canon, independent of West Germany, and the translations had to go through evaluation by the authorities. Göpel's translation was published when German society had become multi-cultural, the readers were no longer only ethnic Germans, and migrants had become authors. These events shaped the translators, as they were part of a larger socio-cultural formation of their countries.

Graf, Bellmann and Göpel did not only live at different times, their texts have different trajectories: Graf's is a direct translation, Bellmann's a revision, and Göpel's an indirect translation, or translation by relay. By comparing them I have intended to show how ideas and values in the Persian text may change when traveling across (German) linguistic and cultural borders, due to the translator's habitus in different social and literary contexts. My study has shown that for Graf the poetic value of the *Golestān* was important; for Bellmann it was the foreign content, which had to be adapted to serve GDR ideology; and for Göpel bringing different cultures closer to each other, as well as an interest in Sufism. Though the examples discussed are written in rhymed prose and not poetry, the same challenges may occur in translating them as in translating poetry. According to Jean Boase-Beier, the translation of lyric poetry requires greater skill than all other genres.[140] I believe that Graf was the most gifted translator of the three when it came to poetic sensitivity. The distance in time and space between Saʿdi's composition of the *Golestān* to the publication of its German translations may be seen as an obstacle, making his message less accessible and possibly "hidden" to the translator. My findings show that it is not necessarily the distance between Saʿdi and his translators that led to their different solutions, but rather the translators' different background, context and intentions.

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[140]Boase-Beier, "Poetry," 194.

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Saʿdi in European Languages and Literatures: An Annotated Bibliography

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Betty Hensellek

A Sogdian Drinking Game at Panjikent

This article reconsiders the religio-ritualistic interpretations of the use of the rhyton within eighth-century CE Sogdiana. Through a close art-historical analysis, it argues that three eighth-century wall paintings from Panjikent illustrate a drinking game. This proposal expands the current breadth of meaning attributed to the imagery decorating Sogdian homes. Not only could the paintings illustrate epic narratives, religious veneration, or moral didacticism, but they could also celebrate conviviality, fun, and humor.

Keywords: Tajikistan; Sogdiana; Wall Paintings; Banquet; Games; Rhyton; Wine; Dress

Clothed in splendid silk kaftans and accompanied by unique beribboned creatures, four men sit cross-legged between bowls abounding with fresh fruits (Figure 1). A man wearing a cantaloupe-colored kaftan holds a golden camel-protomed object out to another man in a white kaftan with a floral wreath placed on top of his head.[1] To the far left, a man has unbuttoned his tawny-colored kaftan, baring his pale stomach. On the opposite far right, a fourth man with broad shoulders and a narrow waist raises a rhyton. This attendee dressed in white tilts back his head as a

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[1]This object with the head and forebody of a camel and a serpent-like tail might be a figurine, or perhaps some kind of vessel. Boris I. Marshak read this object as representing a double-spouted rhyton with two animal heads, a camel and an elephant (Zeimal′, *Drevnosti Tadzhikistana*, 219; Baulo and Marshak, "Silver Rhyton," 137).

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Figure 1. Wall painting with banqueters, XXIV:1 Panjikent, Tajikistan, Sogdian, c. 740–750 CE.

Source: State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Panjikent Archaeological Expedition, inv. no. SA-16235. Photograph © State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Leonard Kheifets, Pavel Demidov.

stream of red liquid flows from the gold ram-protomed vessel directly down into his mouth.

These four men, clothed in the latest Sogdian fashion, appear to revel. The party guests converse with one another, their hands waving as they conduct lively discussions. The two central guests exchange words, while the guest baring his midriff appears to have surpassed the others in the quantity of wine he has imbibed, and is relaxing in a joyful drunken state. The handsome guest lifting the rhyton catches the outpouring stream of red wine in his open mouth without a stray drop staining his brilliant white kaftan. In this article, I argue that the scene depicted is a drinking game, and this guest dressed in white is taking his turn to drink from the rhyton.

The image, an eighth-century CE Sogdian wall painting from sector XXIV, room 1 (hereafter XXIV:1) at Panjikent,[2] is famous in pre-Islamic Central Asian art. However, with the notable exception of the eminent Sogdian art scholar Boris I. Marshak, scholarship has not recognized the pleasure or humor expressed in this painting.[3] Discussions have typically focused on the figure holding the rhyton, scrutinizing his actions in isolation from the other attendees and the painting's architectural setting. This decontextualization has affected interpretation, with the result that the use of the rhyton in Sogdiana has commonly been associated with a ritualistic practice,

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[2]This site has numerous spellings based on transliterations from Sogdian, Tajik and Russian: Pendzhikent and Piandzhikent, found in several bibliography entries, are the most common variations from the Russian.

[3]Marshak, *Legends, Tales, and Fables*, 21; in an article on a rhyton in the shape of a female acrobat, Boris I. Marshak suggests without elaboration that this type of rhyton might have been tossed around the room in a game-like manner (Baulo and Marshak, "Silver Rhyton," 136–7).

sometimes loading to speculation that the figure drinking from the rhyton is a priest.[4] Each iteration of this interpretation cites a 1966 article by Dorothy Shepherd on silver rhyta. The author reads each animal protome of a rhyton as the personification of a deity; indicates that the liquid flowing from it should be *haoma*, a beverage drunk in ancient Zoroastrian rituals; and ultimately links the use of the rhyton in greater Iran with a Zoroastrian rite.[5]

This article argues that the wall painting with a rhyton scene from XXIV:1, alongside two other contemporary wall paintings from Panjikent that also depict a man drinking from a rhyton, XXV:12 (Figure 2) and XXV:28 (Figure 3),[6] does not represent a religious ritual, but the parameters and protocols of a lively drinking game suitable for multiple kinds of celebrations.[7] This paper will first introduce the space

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[4]For example, see Jäger, "Rhyta im präislamischen Zentralasien"; Jäger, "Rhyton"; Juliano and Lerner, *Monks and Merchants*, 307; and Louis, "The Hejiacun Rhyton," 211–12; for identification of the drinker as a priest see Jäger, "Rhyta im präislamischen Zentralasien," 198.

[5]Shepherd and Ternbach, "Two Silver Rhyta," 299–301; Shepherd acknowledges in her article that she has no direct visual or textual evidence for this connection, but goes on to write:

> [t]he logical assumption would seem to be that our rhyton [that in the Cleveland Museum of Art, accession number 64.96] was made to be used in a ritual connected with the rites of investiture, or a ritual feast celebrating such an event … [a]lthough we have no direct evidence of the use of the rhyton in this connection, it would seem safe to assume that it may well have been. There is ample evidence to indicate that the rhyton was essentially a ritual vessel. In each of the several illustrations of the rhyton in use … the scene is of a ritual character. It may not be apparent, at first glance, that the gleeful little tippler of the [Cleveland] Museum's silver bowl is preforming a ritual act, but there can be little doubt that he is. (Shepherd and Ternbach, "Two Silver Rhyta," 301)

[6]The publication of each of these wall paintings has warranted different discussion. Aleksandr M. Belenitskii formally describes the banqueters of XXIV:1 in *Mittelasien: Kunst der Sogden* alongside eight colored plates. In 1985 Marshak wrote a catalog entry for an exhibition on ancient Tajikistan featuring the painting (Zeimal', *Drevnosti Tadzhikistana*, 219). In both descriptions the horn-shaped rhyton is highlighted, likely the impetus for later publications' focus on this activity. The paintings from XXV:12 have received minimal attention. Drawings of two sections of banqueters from the western wall are included in an article on a silver rhyton in the form of a female acrobat in 2001 (Baulo and Marshak, "Silver Rhyton"). The article draws a comparison between the boots worn by the female acrobat under discussion and the boots worn by the figurine (argued to be a rhyton in the article) held by the attendee on the far right in the wall painting (Figure 2). The section from the southern part of the western wall is featured in a publication on conservation projects at the Hermitage (Nemchinova, *Restavratsiia v Ermitazhe*, 59–61). Marshak and Valentina I. Raspopova discuss the paintings from XXV:28 in three publications (Marshak and Raspopova, "Sogdiiskoe Izobrazhenie Deda-Zemledel'sta;" Marshak and Raspopova, "Une image sogdienne;" Marshak and Raspopova, "Wall Paintings." The first two in Russian and French focus on the harvesting subject on the northern wall, while the English publication treats the room and wall paintings more fully, albeit with minimal descriptions of the banqueting imagery.

[7]One such celebration appears to be for a fall harvest, which is depicted in the second painting register in XXV:28 (Figure 3). Unlike the other wall paintings with a rhyton scene (Figures 1 and 2), the first register with banqueters and the second register with the harvest in XXV:28 are not separated by a band of pearls (Marshak and Raspopova, "Wall Paintings," 157).

Figure 2. Wall painting with banqueters, XXV:12 Panjikent, Tajikistan, Sogdian, c. 740–750 CE.

in which these paintings were found and outline the key visual distinctions between a formal banquet and a drinking party according to wall paintings from Panjikent. It will then consider how guests drank from a rhyton, and suggest how the game might have been played based on a close study of the paintings' details.

Figure 3. Wall painting with banqueters, XXV:28 Panjikent, Tajikistan, Sogdian, c. 700–722 CE.

Source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Panjikent Archaeological Expedition, inv. no. V-2738, 2739, 2740, 2741, 2742. Photograph © State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Leonard Kheifets, Pavel Demidov.

Sufa-Lined Gathering Rooms

The wall paintings under study were excavated at the Sogdian city of Panjikent in present-day northwestern Tajikistan. Eighth-century CE Panjikent was not particularly large or wealthy, but for modern art historians and archaeologists, Panjikent is spectacular. Since excavations began in 1946, a large number of well-preserved wall paintings have been discovered in the palatial citadel, the temple complex, and notably in private homes in the residential area of the city.[8] All of the rhyton scene wall paintings were excavated from gathering rooms lined with a *sufa*, a built-in bench, in private homes.[9] The painted banqueters were positioned just above the

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[8]For publications with a large number of photographs of Sogdian wall paintings from the residential region of Panjikent, see Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting*; Belenitskii, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Sogden*; and Belenitskii, *Monumental'noe iskusstvo Pendzhikenta.*

[9]The most common type of room for gatherings is termed by Russian archaeologists a reception hall (Russian *paradnii zal*). It is characterized by a square plan, sometimes with wooden columns at the corners that support a wooden raftered ceiling; high walls, which accommodated multiple registers of wall paintings; and, opposite the doorway, a cult wall with its protrusion in the *sufa* (Kulakova, "The Art of Sogdiana," 90). All of the rhyton scene wall paintings (XXIV:1, XXV:12, and XXV:28) come from this type of gathering room. Room XVI:10, from which a wall painting with a depiction of contrasting formal banquet comes, is typologized by Russian archaeologists as a less common type of room for gatherings, a "chapel" or a "home sanctuary" (Russian *kapella* or *domashnoe sviatilishche*). Though the

sufa in a register that wrapped around all four walls of the room.[10] The rhyton scenes were part of larger multi-register painting programs, most of which are only fragmentarily preserved.[11] Visitors, seated on the bench with their backs to the wall, would have looked out to see the paintings decorating the room around them, with the rhyton scene positioned directly behind fellow banqueters lining the *sufa*. This view taken in from across the room would have made it impossible to study any figure in isolation. Rather, groups of figures within one's viewing range would have been taken in together, inviting comparison with the real banqueters seated directly in front of them at eye level. These images would have acted as idealized representations of the guests and the actions intended for the space, while the registers above could be unconnected.[12] This separation of subject in the lowest painting register from those higher is typical for gathering room painting programs, for example the placement of independent tale and fable panels on the lowest painting register with an epic narrative in the register above, as in VI:41 and XXI:1 Panjikent.[13]

The Formal Banquet and the Drinking Party

Details of party guests depicted in the wall paintings from Panjikent are often included in surveys of Sogdian art. Discussions usually label the banquet as representative of quotidian imagery;[14] highlight the luxurious silks worn and their influences;[15] speculate on the collective occupational identity of banqueters;[16] or include

two room types share features of a built-in bench and an open central floor plan, the "chapel" has some unique features that include an entrance through a vestibule, a lower ceiling, a rectangular plan, and a niche on a podium in place of a divine image. Profane and secular uses have been attributed to the chapel; however, in either reading, and like the reception hall, these rooms crucially brought individuals together. For a brief history of the discussion surrounding the debated function of so-called chapels, see Lur'e, "Eshche raz o 'Kapellakh'," 89–90.

[10]Belenitskii, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Sogden*, 112, 119; and Marshak and Raspopova, "Wall Paintings," figs. 23, 27, 29, 31, 34.

[11]The most well-preserved second register of such a room survives from XXV:28 (Figure 3, in addition, see Marshak and Raspopova, "Wall Paintings," figs. 23, 27, 29, 31, 34); also see the upper third of Figure 2, and the feet visible in the upper right section of Figure 1.

[12]In at least one case, XXV:28 (Figure 3), the banquet might indeed be connected with the imagery of a fall harvest in the second register. Unlike other wall paintings with a banquet, the first register is not divided from the second with a border (Marshak and Raspopova, "Wall Paintings," 157).

[13]See respectively Marshak, *Legends, Tales, and Fables*; and Kulakova, "Rospisi paradnogo zala XXI."

[14]For example, see Belenitskii, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Sogden*, 208; Azarpay, *Sogdian Painting*, 117–18; and Belenitskii and Marshak , "The Paintings of Sogdiana," 63–4.

[15]For example, see Belenitskii, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Sogden*, 111; Marshak, "So-called Zandanījī Silks," figs. 29, 30, 31, 32, 33; and Raspopova, "Textiles Represented in Sogdian Murals," figs. 36, 42, 43, 44, 45; Marshak in Sims, Marshak, and Grube, *Peerless Images*, 121.

[16]Merchants for XXIV:10 based on a black wallet hanging from the banqueters' belts rather than a long sword (Belenitskii and Marshak, "L'art de Piandjikent," 18; Belenitskii, *Mittelasien: Kunst der Sogden*, 110–11); artists for XXIV:1 based on the tool cases attached to their belts (Marshak, *Legends, Tales, and Fables*, 20–1). However, these are also worn by the merchants, and has since been questioned, for example by Larisa Kulakova, see Kulakova, "The Art of Sogdiana," 184; a family of agriculturists for

Sogdian representations of the banquet alongside that of the hunt in studies mapping the long tradition of *razm u bazm* in the visual culture of greater Iran.[17] Banquet scenes are typically addressed as a single category, but it is possible to identify two distinct types of festivities attended by party guests—always male in Sogdiana[18]—represented in wall paintings.[19] A differentiation can be proposed based on seating posture, the normative ways in which the kaftan can be styled, and the social activity in which the guests are engaged.

The first type of festivity is a formal banquet, exemplified by the row of banqueters from XVI:10 Panjikent (Figure 4).[20] At the formal banquet, attendees sit rigidly upright and turn their heads stiffly to speak with one another. They sit at a regular interval with their knees overlapping one another. Most attendees wear their kaftan closed with the lapels turned up and buttoned closed around the neck. Only select guests have the privilege to open the lapels of the kaftan, which expose a contrasting color of the inner lining and a tunic worn underneath. Each attendee sips a beverage from a personal drinking vessel.

The second type of festivity represented is a less formal banquet, which I call a rhyton scene and here interpret as the drinking party. These scenes with a rhyton are illustrated in the first and lowest of multiple painting registers in rooms XXIV:1 (Figure 1), XXV:12 (Figure 2), and XXV:28 (Figure 3) at Panjikent. The attendees sit in more relaxed postures, turning more freely to neighbors with some torsos in a three-quarter view, while extending their arms to indicate a more animated conversation. The guests are seated with more space between one another, often at irregular intervals, with servants, entertainers, or fruit dishes placed in between. At first glance, the figures in the rhyton scene appear quite similar to those attending the formal banquet. The attendees all have round faces with small features and are clean shaven, except for a thin mustache; all wear a belted two-toned kaftan, with

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XXV:28 based on the harvesting scene in the register above (Marshak and Raspopova, "Wall Paintings," 157).

[17]Marshak in Sims, Marshak, and Grube, *Peerless Images*, 16, 18, 121.

[18]Though the known Sogdian painting corpus confirms only men's attendance at either the formal banquet or drinking party, in southern Uzbekistan (neighboring Tokharistan) wall paintings of a formal banquet show that women—and indeed women of an elevated status—were actively engaged in this activity alongside men. I am investigating the formal banquet in Tokharistan according to the wall paintings from Balalyk Tepe in a future publication with the German Archaeological Institute. Women are likewise included in depictions of feasting and drinking on funerary monuments belonging to Sogdians or Sogdian descendants in China. See the large corpus of imagery alongside a short discussion on banqueting imagery on these monuments in Wertmann, *Sogdians in China*, 149–57.

[19]This differentiation does not include depictions of a banquet taking place within a pictorial epic, as in the case of a banquet scene in VI:1 Panjikent (Belenitskii, Voronina, and Kostrov, *Skul'ptura i zhivopis'*, pl. 8). This painting illustrates a wholly unique set of guests wearing distinct garments and accessories specific to an epic narrative.

[20]For an in-depth study of the formal banquet in Sogdiana based on the wall paintings from XVI:10, see Hensellek, "Banqueting, Dress, Sogdian Merchant." A sub-category of the formal banquet is that set within a sacred space and probably representing a sacred festivity. Such a banquet decorated a small room, I:10, in the Temple I complex at Panjikent (Iakubovskii et al., *Zhivopis' drevnego Piandzhikenta*, pls. 9, 10).

Figure 4. Wall painting with formal banqueters, XVI:10 Panjikent, Tajikistan, Sogdian, c. 700–722 CE.

Source: The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; Panjikent Archaeological Expedition, inv. no. SA-16215, 16216, 16217. Photograph © State Hermitage Museum. Photo by Leonard Kheifets, Pavel Demidov.

one fabric for the trim and one for the body; and this garment accentuates the idealized masculine body type of broad shoulders and a wasp-thin waist. Upon closer study, however, the range of ways in which the kaftan can be styled varies. In the rhyton scenes attendees do not wear the kaftan closed high around the neck, as most attendees do at the formal banquet. Rather, the kaftan is worn with at least one lapel pulled open, exposing the lining of the right front panel of the garment. As common as wearing only one lapel pulled open is wearing the kaftan with two lapels pulled open in the rhyton scenes. This manner of styling the kaftan with two lapels open is exceptional among the group attending a formal banquet.[21] In the rhyton scenes the figures with two lapels unbuttoned do not wear undergarments, but expose a bare chest. Unique to the drinking party is wearing the kaftan unbuttoned and baring the midriff (Figure 1).

Scanning differences in accessories, no guest wears weaponry to the drinking party; all guests simply wear a thin tool case or a small purse. If a guest unbuttons only one lapel, the cap consistently remains on the head, usually with bangs visible on the forehead (Figures 2 and 3). The ability to open two lapels corresponds with removing the cap (Figures 1 and 3). Thereafter, a fresh floral wreath is placed on the head in place of the removed cap, exposing a popular undercut hairstyle. In XXIV:1 (Figure 1), the guest actively drinking from the rhyton has recently received his wreath: he wears his kaftan with two lapels open, but his cap still covers his hair with the wreath temporarily strung around his neck.

In addition to seating posture and the range of ways in which the kaftan is styled, the drinking party is indicated by the social activity taking place. Attendees in the

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[21]Hensellek, "Banqueting, Dress, Sogdian Merchant."

rhyton scene do not uniformly hold and drink from an individual cup or shallow bowl like the attendees of the formal banquet. Rather a rhyton—and sometimes multiple rhyta[22]—is used and shared among all the attendees. The stream of liquid flowing from the rhyton in the paintings is always red, most likely red wine,[23] a popular beverage in Sogdian culture.[24]

Drinking from the Rhyton

The following discussion of how party guests in Sogdiana would have used the rhyton is based on my observations of the eighth-century wall paintings under discussion, close studies of sixth- to eighth-century silver rhyta (Figures 5 and 6),[25] and exper-

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[22]The banqueters wrapping around the room in XXV:28 use multiple rhyta. An attendee actively drinks from a bird-shaped rhyton on the northern wall (Figure 3). The object in the shape of a head of a mountain ram, which one of the attendees holds, is also perhaps a rhyton. On the southern part of the eastern wall an attendee holds a horn-shaped rhyton with the head of a gazelle (see Marshak and Raspopova, "Wall Paintings," figs. 29, 30). In XXV:12 there are at least two horn-shaped rhyta in use on the western wall (see Baulo and Marshak, "Silver Rhyton," figs. 3, 4). A figure on the northern end holds a peculiar curved object, which might be some kind of vessel. Marshak argues that the figurine held by the attendee to the far right on the southern end of the wall is a type of figural rhyton (Figure 2) (see Baulo and Marshak, "Silver Rhyton," 137).

[23]*Haoma* has also been suggested, but this beverage is a creamy white color with ingredients including the twigs of the *hom* plant, twigs of the pomegranate tree (not the fruit), stream water and milk (Boyce, "Haoma").

[24]Wine is the only beverage mentioned among other foodstuffs in the eighth-century Sogdian economic documents discovered at the Mt. Mug citadel. One document, 6–2, specifically records the delivery of wine for an evening banquet (Bogoliubov and Smirnova, *Sogdiiskie dokumenty*, 29–31); Just beyond Panjikent's city walls, archaeologists uncovered a winery dated to the ninth century CE (Marshak, "Panjikant"). Vineyards and wine production in the region corresponding to ancient Sogdiana still exist today: for example, the historic Xovrenko winery and museum in Samarkand.

[25]The rhyton in the form of a saiga antelope (Figure 5) head now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art was found in a hoard with three other vessels—notably including a second saiga antelope rhyton—in a village near present-day Lutsk, Ukraine in the early nineteenth century (Trever and Lukonin, *Sasanidskoe serebro*, 122). This rhyton has most recently been attributed to workshops further north and east of Sasanian Iran, as well as given a later date into the seventh century (Harper, "Rhyton: Tête d'antelope saïga," 119–20). Although there has also been speculation about the location of production of horn shaped rhyton terminating in the head of a gazelle (Figure 6) now in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery being further north and east (Harper, *Royal Hunter*, 38), its dating has remained in the fourth century, despite scholars questioning that the rhyton's closest parallels in form are indeed with rhyta dated to the seventh and eighth centuries (Gunter and Jett, *Ancient Iranian Metalwork*, 206–7; and Harper, *Royal Hunter*, 36). The fourth-century argument is grounded on technical and stylistic features: the use of spot gilding, and a hatching technique used to signal fur on the animals circling the upper neck of the horn of the vessel (Gunter and Jett, *Ancient Iranian Metalwork*, 206; and Harper, *Royal Hunter*, 36–8). Though these technical and stylistic features are indeed found on Sasanian plates attributed to the earlier centuries of the empire, both of these features are likewise found on silver of seventh- and eighth-century Sogdiana and Greater Khorasan. In Sogdiana and Greater Khorasan hatching is often used to emphasize the fury belly or another distinct part of an animal (for example, see Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, figs. 25, 27, 57, 63), but there are cases in which hatching is used to depict allover fur like those animals represented on the horn of the rhyton with the gazelle head (for example, see Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, figs. 82–5). What does appear to be distinct to the depic-

Figure 5. Silver rhyton in the form of a head of a saiga antelope, hoard said to be found in the region around Lutsk, Ukraine, produced Greater Iranian or Central Asian, sixth to eighth century CE.

Source: Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Rogers Fund 1947, acc. no. 47.100.82.
(a) Silver rhyton in the form of a head of a saiga antelope.
(b) Detail of the lid and ventilation hole on the silver rhyton in the form of a head of a saiga antelope.
Photograph by Betty Hensellek; Courtesy of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
(c) Detail of the indentations on the underside of the silver rhyton in the form of a head of a saiga antelope.
Photograph by Betty Hensellek; Courtesy of the Department of Ancient Near Eastern Art of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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tions of animals on silver from seventh- and eighth-century Sogdiana and Greater Khorasan is an outlining of the horns, antlers, or other unique characteristics of the species (for example, see Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, figs. 20, 25, 27, 42, 61). This outlining at the base of the horns is indeed present on the large gazelle's head of the rhyton, and likewise appears on a ceramic rhyton in the form of a bull's head dated to the sixth to eighth century (see Bijl and Boelens, *Expedition Silk Road*, cat. 151), and on a fragment of a silver rhyton in the form of a bull's head excavated from an eighth-century burial near the village of Vesliana in the Komi Republic, Russia (see Savel'eva, "Khronologiia pogrebal'nykh kompleksov Veslianskogo," 95, fig. 3.2). With the gazelle-headed rhyton, the silver rhyton from Vesliana also shares the spout structure, inlaid eyes, a gilded band around the neck, and fluting along the vessel's neck. This combination of features suggests that the rhyton in the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery is very likely a seventh- or eighth-century work of Central Asia, and not fourth-century Sasanian Iran.

Figure 6. Horn-shaped silver rhyton terminating in the head of a gazelle, Greater Iranian or Central Asian, sixth to eighth century CE.

Source: Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington DC; Gift of Arthur M. Sackler, S1987.33.

imentation with a replica of a Sogdian rhyton (Figure 7).[26] Despite the survival of several sixth- to eighth-century rhyta from Central Eurasia—silver,[27] ceramic,[28] and even a unique agate stone version[29]—the technique of drinking from a rhyton is

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[26]I commissioned a replica of a Sogdian rhyton to be made by metalworking artist Majid Abedi at the Tabriz Arts University on a trip to Iran in March 2018. Abedi created the rhyton based on the representation of the rhyton in the wall painting from XXIV:1 Panjikent (Figure 1) and the silver rhyton in the collection of the Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Figure 6). The rhyton replica is made of silver-plated copper and has inlaid agate eyes. Though the replica's size and form are fairly accurate, its weight is heavier than a wholly silver sixth- to eighth-century rhyton.

[27]E.g. Savel'eva, "Khronologiia pogrebal'nykh kompleksov Veslianskogo," 95, fig. 3.2; Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, figs. 220–3; and Baulo and Marshak, "Silver Rhyton," figs. 1–2; for additional silver rhyta, which are attributed to Gandhara and Tibet, see Colburn, "From the Mediterranean to China," figs. 7.25, 7.30.

[28]The most widely known and disseminated ceramic rhyton form from Iran is that in the shape of a horn with a small animal's head at the spout and a larger human face—usually a woman's head—in the neck of the vessel (for example, see Colburn, "From the Mediterranean to China," 327 fig. 7.20; for an example from Nippur see Harper, *The Royal Hunter*, cat. 83; from Kish see Langdon and Harden, "Excavations at Kish," 27–8, fig. 28); examples of a similar composite form rhyton, but with a man's head are found in burials from western China (for example, see Colburn, "From the Mediterranean to China," 345, fig 7.34); ceramic rhyta of various forms have been found in Sogdiana proper (for example, see Meshkeris, *Terrakoty Samarkandskogo Myzeia*, cat. 365, 366, 368), including one in the shape of a bull's head (Bijl and Boelens, *Expedition Silk Road*, cat. 151).

[29]This unique agate stone rhyton was found in a hoard in the village of Heijia in Shaanxi Province, China. See Louis, "The Hejiacun Rhyton."

Figure 7. Drinking from the replica rhyton created by Majid Abedi in Tabriz, Iran, March 2018.

Source: Courtesy of Monica Eisner.

rarely addressed.[30] Not addressed at all is how the guest drinking from the rhyton might have interacted with the unique rhyton form, and how fellow guests filling the room might have interacted—or perhaps interfered—with the current rhyton drinker.

The rhyta depicted in the Sogdian wall paintings are of two distinct types: a truncated horn terminating in the large head of a wild animal, or in the shape of a wild animal, whether the full body or simply the head.[31] For the former type, the opening in the upper neck of the horn is wide and the spout at the bottom, from which the wine is dispensed, is small, allowing only a narrow stream of liquid to

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[30]Robert Koehl has exceptionally undertaken an in-depth study of rhyton types in the Bronze Age Aegean, dedicating an entire chapter to how different types of rhyta may have been filled and drunk from (Koehl, *Aegean Bronze Age Rhyta*, 259–76).

[31]Boris I. Marshak suggested that the figurine in the hand of the attendee wearing a blue kaftan in XXVI:12 (Figure 2) likewise represents a silver rhyton in the form of a Silenus-like figure drinking from a rhyton (Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients,* 267; Marshak, "Silver Rhyton," 137). Rhyta in unusual and anthropomorphic forms do exist (e.g. in the form of a female acrobat, see Baulo and Marshak, "Silver Rhyton," figs. 1–2, or in the form of a horseman, see Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, 220–3), but I am doubtful, because the attendee holds the object out with both hands to the attendee next to him, who already has a rhyton in his hand.

pass through. The wide opening at the top would allow for the rhyton to be filled by pouring liquid from another spouted container directly into this opening. A cap, or most simply and probably the drinker's thumb, would need to be placed on the small spout to prevent the liquid from draining during filling. For the latter type, a wide opening and narrow spout likewise characterize the vessel. However, because the wide opening is not positioned higher than the spout, a lid is needed to seal the wide opening, like that of a surviving silver rhyton in the shape of the head of a saiga antelope (Figure 5a and b).

To fill this type of rhyton, the drinker's thumb would need to be placed on the spout while directed towards the floor. Upon filling the vessel, the lid could be attached to the wide opening and then the rhyton safely tilted upright. As a detail on the saiga antelope rhyton confirms, a ventilation hole at the top of the vessel would allow for air to replace the dispensed liquid, and thus pour from the spout smoothly.[32] Filling either rhyton type would require two people, most likely the drinker seated holding the rhyton steady and plugging the spout, and an attendant, who could fill the rhyton from above. After being filled, the rhyton could not be set down, because not only would the spout need to remain plugged, but the vessel would also roll over, being footless.

To hold either rhyton type, one would need to place the neck of the animal's head into the palm of the hand. The four fingers would support the neck of the vessel and the thumb of the same hand could plug the spout. The rhyton in the form of an antelope's head indeed has ergonomic indentations along the underside of the vessel's neck, which provide a secure grip (Figure 5c).

To prepare to drink from the rhyton, the drinker would need to curl the arm in, holding the animal's mouth ten or fifteen centimeters from their own mouth. This position would stage a kind of confrontation between the drinker and the animal forming the rhyton. On the rhyta in the paintings and on most surviving rhyta of the greater region, the spout is placed directly between the lips of the animals (Figures 5 and 6), not in the chest as was standard on earlier rhyta of the Achaemenid and Parthian periods.[33] Thus, the drinker needed to stare into the eyes of the beast, many of which on surviving first millennium CE rhyta are large and would originally have been inlaid with stone (Figure 6). The resulting image of the drinker coming face to face with the animal might have been humorous for fellow attendees, whose snickers could throw off the concentration of the drinker. To begin drinking, the thumb would be released and wine would begin to flow, appearing as though the beast were spitting into the guest's open mouth.

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[32]On the rhyton in the shape of the head of a saiga antelope (Figure 5) there is also a hole on either side of the head, but these would have accommodated inset ears, which are now lost.

[33]See a number of examples pictured throughout Ebbinghaus, "Feasting like the Persian King," and the Parthian section of Colburn, "From the Mediterranean to China"; however, this statement is not to say that rhyta in the shape of an animal's head with the spout placed between the lips of the animal did not exist in earlier periods. See, for example, handled Thracian examples in Ebbinghaus, "Creatures of Dionysos," figs. 5.29, 5.30; or a rhyton attributed to Achaemenid Iran found during the early expeditions to Siberia in Lukonin and Ivanov, *Lost Treasures of Persia*, cat. 13.

As with the techniques used to drink from a Spanish *porrón*, catching the stream of wine in one's mouth is only the first of several steps needed to take in mere seconds (Figure 7). The second is determining when and how often to swallow the contents to allow for the continuous flow of wine, which is surprisingly difficult without bringing the lips together. Third is extending the arm to place the rhyton at a greater distance away from the mouth. This movement and the continual decrease in liquid held by the rhyton shifts the curve of the wine stream falling from the spout. One could then shift the hand away from the spout with confidence, as the drinkers do in the paintings (Figures 1, 2 and 3).

The Drinking Game

The exact rules of the drinking game cannot be reconstructed. Perhaps attendees followed a set of instructions, as for example deduced from inscriptions on a Tang era drinking game set from Dantu, Jiangsu province, China,[34] or perhaps the rules were suggested and modified by the host and fellow attendees, as is often the case when drinking together from a Spanish porrón. One's turn typically ends when all of the wine in the vessel is drunk, or more often, when one's calculations are misjudged or concentration is lost—usually by the fault of fellow guests—and wine begins to splash outside of the mouth. At this point, the first player having emptied some of the wine from the rhyton, it would be possible to tilt the vessel back slightly—not requiring the thumb to continuously stop the small spout—in order to pass the vessel to a neighbor.[35]

Looking carefully at the dress and accessories of the painted attendees, further protocols and parameters of the game are revealed. Unlike the formal banquet, and indeed all other activities for which a kaftan is worn in eighth-century Sogdiana, no guest wears a garment under the kaftan at the drinking party. By not wearing an undergarment one can quickly undo the frogging of the kaftan or remove the kaftan entirely if wine begins to splash outside of the mouth and drip onto the neck and chest. Despite taking this precaution of eliminating undergarments, the majority of guests wear light-colored kaftans. Only two figures stand out in darker colors, both red. Playing a game that hinges on miscalculations and distractions that cause spilled red wine would put any light colored garment in danger. Choosing to wear a light-colored kaftan, and in particular brilliant white, would have been a way to show off one's skill. A red kaftan, on the other hand, would be more forgiving, able to hide stains. Wearing red would have been ideal for either first-time attendees or guests content with their lack of talent

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[34]For images of the game stand and draw sticks, translation of the draw sticks, and a discussion of drinking games in Tang China, see Harper, "The *Analects* Jade Candle."

[35]Decorative elements in the vessel appear to have functioned to some degree as indicators for this. When commissioning the replica of the Sogdian rhyton, fluting was incorporated along the base of the vessel's neck like the rhyton in Arthur M. Sackler Gallery (Figures 6 and 7). By experimenting with the replica, it was discovered that the upper edge of this fluting marked a liquid line at which the rhyton could be tipped back and passed, no longer needing the thumb on the spout. Since the vessels are single walled, the hammered fluting is indeed conspicuous from the inside of the vessel.

for drinking from a rhyton. The actions of the attendees depicted on XXV:12 (Figure 2) are particularly revealing in this regard: the figure on the far right, who wears light blue, presumably an experienced rhyton-drinking host or guest, holds a small figurine, or perhaps a rhyton itself.[36] This figurine appears to be a model demonstrating how to drink from the rhyton. Thus, the experienced drinker in the light-colored kaftan uses this model to teach the game to a first-time rhyton-drinking guest in a red kaftan.

The folding out of the kaftan's lapels appears to play a role at the drinking party. Comparatively, at the formal banquet the way one's kaftan lapels are styled is indicative of one's social position: most guests wear their kaftans buttoned closed around the neck, while only a few have the privilege to open both lapels. This opening of the lapels corresponds with wearing the most gold-encrusted accoutrements, sitting further forward than other guests in attendance, and occupying a seat in the room from where one can always see and be seen by everyone in the space.[37] At the drinking party, it seems that the lapels were used light-heartedly and as part of the game. Turning out the lapel of a garment type shared among all attendees would have been an easy means of keeping score in a game underway. At the drinking party this appears to be an indication of those who are leading the game. In XXIV:1 (Figure 1) both figures who wear two lapels open also wear bright white kaftans. In XXV:12 (Figure 2), all of the kaftans are worn with only one lapel turned out. This suggests the start of the game, especially because here the guest in red is actively learning how to drink from the rhyton. In XXV:28 (Figure 3) a number of guests wear one lapel open, but the guest on the far left appears to be doing well in the game, having two lapels pulled open and a wreath placed on his head.

An added challenge of the game might include putting on a bracelet at one's turn. At the formal banquet attendees wear small gold bracelets on each wrist, but at the drinking party, there is only evidence for the drinker with the rhyton wearing a gold bracelet (Figures 1 and 2). Perhaps the single bracelet was made of a heavy material such as iron, which would make extending the arm for the purpose of a game even more strenuous and difficult.

Winning any drinking game poses a greater challenge than simply possessing the aptitude for the physical or mental task at hand. As the game progresses and more alcohol is consumed, the task of catching the wine in one's mouth becomes increasingly difficult. The key to winning, or merely surviving the game, hinges on finding balance and self-restraint in order to not become completely inebriated.[38] The

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[36] Boris I. Marshak suggested that this object represents a silver rhyton in the form of a Silenus-like figure drinking from a rhyton (Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, 267; Baulo and Marshak, "Silver Rhyton," 137). Rhyta in unusual and anthropomorphic forms do exist (e.g. in the form of a female acrobat, see Marshak, "Silver Rhyton"); however, how one would drink from the object as depicted, and why the attendee holds it out with two hands to the attendee in a red kaftan who already has a rhyton in hand, bring doubt to this suggestion.

[37] Hensellek, "Banqueting, Dress, Sogdian Merchant."

[38] Thurnell-Read, "Drinking Games," 497; also see the discussion by Marek Wecowski about balancing alcohol consumption during drinking games at symposia in ancient Greece, Wecowski, *Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, 52.

bodily consequences of consuming too much alcohol are shared among all human beings, and most of these are humiliating, unpleasant and potentially dangerous. The game with the rhyton presents an exceptional challenge, because one's skill at drinking from the rhyton might be directly correlated with the amount of wine one is required to consume—maximally the entire rhyton in a single turn. For those guests new to the game or with poor hand–eye–mouth coordination, their clothing and seat pillows would soak up more alcohol than consumed. As the game progressed, this natural balancing mechanism would allow for those less coordinated to catch up with the more skilled rhyton-drinkers, whose mental and physical agility would slowly dwindle. However, the act of spilling wine, and especially of staining the clothes, could have given the illusion to fellow guests of one being more drunk than one really was. An early Islamic treatise describing mechanical devices used for drinking games discusses a figurine giving this illusion as a prank. One would discard one's wine dregs into the goblet held in the hand of a small figurine. Once filled to capacity, the other hand of the figurine would raise, at which point one would pass the figurine to an unaware guest and instruct them to continue feeding it their wine dregs. At the next filling the figurine would spill the accumulated liquid contents onto the unsuspecting guest.[39]

Alternatively, there may have been penalties for those spilling and splashing wine. In ancient and modern games, penalties often revolve around drinking more. At the Greek symposium this type of penalty included drinking neat wine or wine mixed with sea water.[40] In the Tang and Five Dynasties period in China, numerous poems recount an over-sized vessel called the *gong* 觥, which attendees needed to use as a punishment during drinking games.[41] This sort of penalty would have been particularly reasonable for the rhyton game because it would force the less coordinated players to drink as much as the skilled rhyton-drinkers. In XXIV:1 (Figure 1), the guest on the far left appears to be representing a penalty position. This guest has removed his belt, an action taken in battles in Central Asia to symbolically and physically demonstrate defeat, for example as depicted in a narrative on a wall painting in a neighboring home (XXII:1) at Panjikent.[42] He has furthermore unbuttoned his kaftan, which not only prevents him from utilizing the lapels, but has also transformed his body. This attendee no longer sports the idealized body figure of a narrow waist and broad shoulders that other attendees with the properly worn kaftans still maintain. Instead he sits half-naked exposing a pot belly, a body type shared with Dionysiac, Kubera-like figures, many of whom are depicted joyfully drinking from a rhyton on banqueting vessels and associated objects (Figure 8).[43] After a certain amount of

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[39] Al-Jazarī, *The Book of Knowledge*, 115–17.

[40] Wecowski, *Rise of the Greek Aristocratic Banquet*, 54.

[41] Louis, "The Hejiacun Rhyton," 229; Harper, "The *Analects* Jade Candle," 81.

[42] Marshak, *Legends, Tales, and Fables*, figs. 103–4.

[43] See the images in medallions on several clay vessels from western China (Jäger, "Rhyta im präislamischen Zentralasien," figs. 22–6); on a bronze medallion from the Ferghana region of Uzbekistan (Melikian-Chirvani, "The Iranian Wine Horn," fig. 15); and on a silver bowl attributed to Sasanian Iran (Colburn, "From the Mediterranean to China," fig. 7.23).

Figure 8. Silver plate with the image of a man drinking from a rhyton, said to be from near Tank, Pakistan, Gandharan, fourth to sixth century CE.

wine, one would have likely come to terms with this position. Having reached a point at which one's physical appearance and mental state could be compared to a deity—possibly the Sogdian god Wahšu[44]—could have been a humorous point of drunken pride.[45]

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[44]Markus Mode has proposed this figure type within the Sogdian context to be the Sogdian god, Wahšu (Mode, "Die Religion der Sogder," 164–6); Boris Marshak discusses this figure type on the British Museum plate (Figure 8) as Kubera from the Indian pantheon of gods (Marshak, *Silberschätze des Orients*, 265–76); alternatively Assadullah Souren Melikian-Chirvani suggests that this recurring figure type might not be a religious, but rather a literary figure, the "Magian Master," the Persian Pīr-e Moghān (Melikian-Chirvani, "The Iranian Wine Horn," 112–13).

[45]Despite being drunk, this figure is not depicted as being excessively drunk. In contrast is a depiction of a man drinking from a horn-shaped animal-headed rhyton on a panel of a funerary couch from China belonging to a Central Asian, possibly a Sogdian. The man is portrayed as excessively drunk with his feet raised in the air nearly tumbling from his divan. Significantly this man too has completely unbuttoned his kaftan (see Musée Guimet, *Lit de pierre*, 22, fig. 20–1, 26; and Wertmann, *Sogdians in China*, 152, 156). Thank you to the anonymous reviewer for bringing this particular funerary couch to my attention.

Conclusion

I would like to emphasize that I am not claiming that the rhyton was part of a drinking game on all occasions, and certainly not for all cultures or across time.[46] This argument reconsiders the largely unexamined ritualistic interpretation for the use of the rhyton specifically within the context of eighth-century Sogdiana. In this study, I have looked at the wall paintings in their fuller painting programs. This approach has established that the rhyton drinkers' dress, accoutrements and actions are interconnected with—and should not be read without—the other figures within the given wall painting register, and makes sense of the placement of these wall paintings in the gathering rooms of private homes. This study furthermore considers the distinct form of the rhyton in the period: that is, an animal's head dispensing liquid through its mouth, rather than the animal's head as a decorative detail built into a fixed horn shape.

Finally, one might consider that a drinking game is in fact a social ritual. In studies of the ancient world, the term ritual usually connotes a religious or cultic activity with a divine subject. However, many social activities are likewise practiced and defined by a key set of consistent actions and behaviors, albeit with human subjects, constituting a ritual by definition. Banqueting, drinking parties, and the ensuing drinking games in the ancient world, as today, are prescribed with protocols that make appropriate, for example, what one should wear, what and how one eats and drinks, how and where one sits, and how one interacts with others. The wall paintings discussed here appear to be models for the parameters of such an occasion, in that they demonstrate how, in theory, the social ritual works correctly.

Thus, the two interpretations for the use of the rhyton in Sogdiana, the religio-ritualistic and ludic, are not mutually exclusive. The religious ritual and the social ritual in the ancient world, as today, cannot be entirely separated from one another. However, this is not to say that I believe that the rhyton scenes have an ambiguous meaning, but rather that subjects of the divine and the human realms can overlap one another. This appears to happen in the rhyton scene from XXIV:1 (Figure 1), where the artist may have made an allusion to a Sogdian deity through the dress, body type, and posture of the figure holding the rhyton. The interpretation of the rhyton scenes as a drinking game introduces a new and significant dimension of Sogdian culture into the known pictorial repertoire. The scenes reveal that like the activities of the eighth-century Sogdians themselves, the subject matter of the wall paintings decorating their homes were not always about recounting a linear pictorial

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[46]There is textual support for the use of the rhyton in drinking games in ancient and medieval China. François Louis' article on the agate rhyton from the Hejiacun hoard brings attention to a vessel type called the *gong* 觥 referred to in Chinese literature. The *gong* is usually associated with sauceboat-shaped vessel; however, earlier writers describe the *gong* as a wine horn. In a tenth-century book on ritual objects by Nie Chongyi, the *gong* is described as a vessel from which one drinks as a penalty in drinking games. Though the shape of the vessel is not chronicled in detail, an illustration of an animal-headed rhyton accompanies the text with the caption *gong* (Louis, "The Hejiacun Rhyton," 201–3, 229–30, fig. 1).

narrative, religious veneration, or moral didacticism, but also about conviviality, fun, and humor.

Note on transliteration:

All Russian terms are transliterated according to the American Library Association and Library of Congress, but without the diacritical circumflex over ts for ц, iu for ю, and ia for я; the breve ĭ for й; and the dotted ė for э; authors' names originating in the Cyrillic script are given according to this system with any variation by publication given in parentheses in the bibliography.

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Saghi Gazerani

Kush-e Pildandān, the Anti-Hero: Polemics of Power in Late Antique Iran

This study examines the character of Kush-e Pildandān, the anti-hero of the Kushnāmeh, *by arguing that the protagonist of the poem represents the monarchs of the Kushan dynasty. In order to substantiate this claim, the* Kushnāmeh *is introduced and the process of its formation and its reflections of Kushan history are examined. Then the various components of this image of the enemy are discussed. What is revealed is a polemical strategy of creating an enemy, a unique insight into the political ideology of the Sasanian period. The study offers a glimpse into the ideological discourse of political power in the Late Antique period, and how they drew upon a shared conceptualization of the past.*

Keywords: *Kushnāmeh*; Kushan; Sasanian; *Shāhnāmeh* Tradition; Late Antique Historiography

In the political landscape of the Late Antique world, the Kushan empire was a major player on a par with China, Sasanian Iran and Rome. Yet, unlike its counterparts, relatively little is known about its political, cultural and social history. Situated immediately to the east of the Sasanian Iran, the Kushans were the Sasanians' political rivals and constituted a threat to them until the western territories of their kingdom finally fell and an alliance, known as the Kushano-Sasanian alliance, was formed. The reason we know as little as we do about the Kushans must be sought in the nature of the sources they have bequeathed to us. Like other dynasties, such as the Indo-Scythian and the Indo-Parthian, that rose in the eastern Iranian borderlands, the so-called Indo-Iranian territories, the major sources for the Kushans is drawn from a great number of hoards of coins[1] and epigraphical data, both notoriously difficult to interpret in the absence of narrative history.

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[1]At Mir Zakah site north of the town of Gardez in modern-day Afghanistan, about 3–4 tons of coins, which amount to 500,000 specimens, have been collected. Osmund Bopearachchi has personally seen around 90,000 coins; they include Greco-Bactrian, Indo-Scythian, Indo-Parthian and Kushan and Kushano-Sasanian coins. Bopearachchii, "Recent Coin Hoard Evidence," 102.

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When searching for narrative sources, all has not fallen into oblivion, however. We do know that during the Sasanian period, extensive narrative sources existed. The nature, date and composition of the *Kh^wadāynāmak*, as well as its content, has been subject to extensive scholarly debate.[2] The debate, however, has been significantly limited by the field's continuous preoccupation with facts of history, facts that are admitted to the realm of history only after they have been dutifully separated from fiction. This is why philology, archaeology and numismatics take center stage—and this is not merely due to the exigency of available sources, but also because whatever is deemed to be the surviving material is evaluated with the yardstick of its factual value, solely for the purposes of reconstruction of political history. Fishing for facts will leave one rather empty-handed, because the bulk of extant narratives that have pre-Islamic provenance were not intended to be factually accurate. These narratives are about the past and constitute an extensive corpus of literature, containing histories and stories of the pre-Islamic kings of Iran, albeit in a revised and modified form. Some of these stories that seem to be set in the legendary and mythological sections, however, contain a discernable historical substratum. I shall henceforth refer to this corpus as the Shāhnāmeh tradition, by which I mean narratives that are about Iran's pre-Islamic past and that are organized according to the Pishdādid, Kayānid, Arsacid and Sasanian periodization of history.[3] That this corpus, in fact, should be considered as a body of a unique genre of historiography, containing commentaries, reflections and depiction of contradictory narratives of the past, has been shown in the case of the Sistani Cycle Epics; it forms a unique genre of historiography.[4] If a historical event was significant enough, it is likely to have left its mark on the Shāhnāmeh tradition, either by adding a new a story to the corpus or more likely by modifying a preexisting story, usually depositing a new layer on top of the preexisting layers of that story.

The Kushan–Sasanian rivalry was important and impressive. Shapur II's defeat at the hands of the Kushans was significant enough to be mentioned by an Armenian historian more than a century after it occurred. It is only natural for its reflection to find its way into the corpus of the Shāhnāmeh tradition, and this is what happened. Within this corpus there are, in fact, many references to the Kushans, and here I will discuss one of the major sources that contain reflections of the struggles of the Sasanians against the Kushans and the latter's eventual defeat. This is found in the *Kushnāmeh*, whose protagonist, Kush-e Pildandān, is depicted as an anti-hero representing the Kushan dynasty.

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[2]Shahbazi, "HISTORIOGRAPHY ii. PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD." The various versions and recensions of the *Kh^wadāynāmak*, a collection of stories of kings, which later appears in the early Islamic period. In spite of the survival of a number of such translations and versions, the most notable of which is Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*, there has been an attempt to narrow down the content of the *Kh^wadāynāmak* to one book, one version, or a mere list of Sasanian kings. Since the aim of this study is not to engage in this debate, a summary of the discussion is omitted here.

[3]The corpus includes the pre-Islamic section of Arabic and Persian histories such as Tabari, which attempts to juxtapose and reconcile material from the Shāhnāmeh tradition (governed by its specific chronology) with the chronology of the Abrahamic prophets and their stories (Stories of Prophets/ *qisas al-anbiyā*).

[4]Gazerani, *Sistani Cycle of Epics.*

How could this enhance our understanding of the period? Certainly, if we attempt to mine the *Kushnāmeh* for data to establish a list of Kushan kings or offer yet another chronology for Kanishka's reign, for instance, we will be gravely disappointed. But examining the *Kushnāmeh* with the aim of excavating a layer that reflects a Sasanian–Kushan memory of events, as undertaken in the first part of this study, does help us understand how the polemical discourse against a political rival and enemy was formed, and how it was articulated within the Shāhnāmeh tradition.

The first part of this study, therefore, is devoted to a discussion of the Sasanian polemics against the Kushans as preserved in the *Kushnāmeh*. Several steps had to be taken before arriving at a description of the image of the enemy. In order to do that, I first introduce the *Kushnāmeh*, discuss its sources and manner of formation, and the various modification to its older source during the Saljuq period. The next task is to establish the Sasanian/Kushan layer of the *Kushnāmeh*, because only once the existence of such a layer is established can one argue about its ramifications for our understanding of the political culture of the Sasanians. I discuss how certain names and toponyms, as well as the outline of events, serve as "pegs" that fasten the narrative to their real historical referents. I do so by discussing parallels in names, topography, political history, and finally the construction of sanctuaries where the image of the king was worshipped. After having established the Kushan layer of the *Kushnāmeh*, a bit more must be said regarding the formation of its narrative. As mentioned earlier, this genre does not lend itself to separating fact from fiction, but rather collapses different events and characters into one story by invoking motifs and utilizing themes from the known repertoire of the genre. The discussion resolves several difficulties, such as the Pishdādi chronology of the story and the existence of several characters by the name of Kush who hail from different corpora of literature. What is also revealed as a result of this discussion is that the oldest substratum of the text comes from the Sasanian period, shedding light on how the stories of biblical prophets, preserved in *qisas al-anbiyā*, became intertwined with the Shāhnāmeh tradition, making the extant stories composite in nature. Finally, the character of Kush-e Pildandān as the political rival and enemy of the Sasanians is discussed. In creating the image of an enemy, several strategies of defamation have been employed, creating a powerful anti-hero, a hideous creature who is barely human, a tyrant who perpetuates grievous acts of injustice against his own subjects, and the founder of the "bad religion" of demon worship. Understanding the specifics of the polemics of delegitimization and its nuances would certainly complement our current view of how the ideology of power was articulated during this period.[5]

It is only by collating narrative material from Late Antique Iran with information extracted from inscriptions, coins and rock-reliefs that we start to get a fuller picture of Iran's elusive and distant past. In doing so, we move beyond strict boundaries of political history and venture into less explored aspects of history by taking into consideration mechanisms and strategies by which the image of an enemy was created, and how the very same enemies created their own image, all drawing upon a shared sense of history.

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[5]The current contribution is to complement studies of the same topic that have used different sources to discuss these issues such as Canepa, "Sasanian Iran," and De Jong, "Religion and Politics."

Introducing the Kushnāmeh

Once upon a time, the story of Kush-e Pildandān appeared in detail in various sources of the Shāhnāmeh tradition; sources that, with the exception of the *Kushnāmeh*,[6] are no longer extant.[7] Aside from the *Kushnāmeh*, there are references to this character and his story that reveal that he was a well-known anti-hero, and because, as we shall argue, he represents the Kushan dynasty, a political rival of the Sasanians, there are significant variations in how his story is told and who received the credit for his defeat.[8] Therefore, it is noteworthy that the story of Kush-e Pildandān appeared in many renditions of the Shāhnāmeh tradition, most of which are no longer extant, because over time the story lost its importance.

Fortunately, the *Kushnāmeh*, a detailed narrative of Kush-e Pildandān's adventures, was resurrected during the Saljuq period. Drawing upon an older prose source, the court poet Irānshāh b. Abi al-Khayr put it into verse roughly one century after

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[6]The text is edited based on a unique manuscript and published with a long introduction by Matini: Irānshāh, *Kushnāmeh*, henceforth referred to by its title. For a summary of the plot also see Matini, "Kushnāmah." Noteworthy too is Molé's description of the *Kushnāmeh* and its comparison with other Iranian epics that appeared after Ferdowsi; see Molé, "L'épopée iranienne après Firdosi," 388–90.

[7]It is claimed that the story appeared in sources that are no longer extant. We can argue this because we have evidence that the *Shāhnāmeh*s of both Masʿudi-e Marvazi (verse) and Abu al-Moʾayyad (prose) included stories of Kush. The first is mentioned in the text of the *Kushnāmeh*, 536, as a source containing stories of Kush not included in the *Kushnāmeh*:

<div dir="rtl">

ز مسعودی این داستان بازجوی که او رنج دیده ست از این گفت و گوی

بدان هر که این کارنامه نهاد ز شاهان ایران سخن کرد یاد

</div>

(You should seek out this story from Masʿudi, for whoever set out to compose a book containing the affairs [of bygone times] mentioned also the kings of Iran).

The existence of the story of Kush in the *Great Shāhnāmeh* of Abu al-Moʾayyad is argued based on references to the story of Kush in sources such as Balʿami and *Mojmal* that had used it (see below). For a discussion of the sources of the Shāhnāmeh tradition in general and how some lost sources were incorporated in later works, see Gazerani, "Old Garment."

[8]Many medieval works that drew upon yet older versions of the Shāhnāmeh tradition contain references to the story of Kush-e Pildandān and his eventual defeat. Although complete versions of the story are no longer extant, it is clear from its variations that once it was an important story. Balʿami, *Tārikh-e Balʿami*, 102, for instance, makes Kush a contemporary of Fereydun, and briefly this Kush, who is given a biblical lineage (see below for a discussion of the biblical Kush), takes over Iran, committing injustice and commencing the tradition of idolatry, while the anonymous author of *Mojmal al-tawārikh wa-l-qesas* gives Qāren the credit for having subdued Kush-e Pildandān in China. In his account there are two different characters by the name of Kush. In this regard the references to Kush in the *Mojmal* are closest to the story preserved in the *Kushnāmeh* (*Mojmal al-tawārikh*, 41–2 and 187–9); Mostowfi, *Tārikh-e Gozideh*, 84, where Kush appears in Fereydun's reign in the region of Berbers (west) and is eventually defeated by Sām. According to *Rowzat al-safā*, Kush-e Pildandān, the ruler of China, is captured and imprisoned by Qāren b. Kāveh. Mirkhwānd, *Rowzat as-Safa*, II: 621. Khwāandamir repeats the same story. Khwāndamir, *Tārikh-e Habib al-siyar*, I: 182. In the Sistani cycle, in a famous episode of Bahman visiting the tomb of the Sistani heroes, there is a reference to Kush-e Pildandān, and in this version it is Rostam who is responsible for having defeated him (Irānshāh, *Bahmannāmeh*, 433–4).

Ferdowsi had finished the *Shāhnāmeh*.[9] The bulk of the narrative of the *Kushnāmeh* revolves around the adventures of its protagonist Kush-e Pildandān, the founder of Kushānshahr, who is Zahhāk's nephew and whose father had been appointed to reign over "China" and other eastern territories.[10]

Were it not for its unique extant manuscript, the story of Kush-e Pildandān would have shared the same fate as numerous stories from the Shāhnāmeh tradition excluded from Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*.[11] Like much of Ferdowsi's repertoire and other stories from the Rostam/Sistani cycle, the story of Kush had lost its intended function of (de)legitimizing certain characters and political actors.[12] The anti-hero of the *Kushnāmeh*, at some point in time, was constructed to represent the Kushan kings. This happened during a time when the Kushans were the rivals of the Sasanians. By the time they were being put into New Persian verse, centuries after the collapse of the Sasanian empire, its protagonist, Kush-e Pildandān, had lost his relevance as a political rival.

As we shall see, internal evidence suggests that far from being coherent, the text is composite in nature, derived from many sources. There are inconsistencies surrounding characters and events, references to different sources for the same episode, and abrupt shifts in the narrative. All of these reveal the seams where two different narrations have been sewn together. This hints at the antiquity and multiplicity of the sources, and also provides access to the process of formation of the narrative whereby, as we shall see below, different strands of the narrative from different sources were woven together. Since the events of the *Kushnāmeh* include reflections of the Sasanian conquest of the Kushan kingdom, the first kernel of the Sasanian substratum of the narrative must have taken shape some time in or after the fourth century when the Kushans had been conquered. Yet, like many episodes containing reflections of the Parthian period preserved in the *Shāhnāmeh* and the Sistani cycle, which have been anachronistically placed in the Kayānid section, this essentially Sasanian story has been pushed back to the Pishdādi period. Among other things, it is the story's polemical function that necessitates a particular periodization, resulting in a multi-layered and oftentimes anachronistic narrative. We shall get to this in the subsequent sections.

Here, however, it is necessary to start with the Saljuq-period text, the modification executed by Irānshāh, the rescuer of the old tale. The story had to speak to a different audience and had to be interesting enough to capture their imagination. In the case of the *Kushnāmeh*, Irānshāh—a figure who was very much interested in the old stories

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[9]Irānshāh or Irānshān is also the author of the *Bahmannāmeh*. He served as the court poet of Ghiyāth al-Din Abu Shojaʿ Mohammad b. Malekshāh (498–511 H/1105–18 CE). This provides us with a pretty narrow time frame within which the poem must have been composed.

[10]Much more will be said below about the location of China and other toponyms that appear in the *Kushnāmeh*.

[11]The *Garshāspnāmeh*, *Bahmannāmeh*, *Farāmarznāmeh*, *Borzunāmeh*, *Banu-Goshaspnāmeh*, and *Kok-e Kuhzād* are some of the best-known stories that fall into this category; they have been discussed extensively in Gazerani, *Sistani Cycle*.

[12]That legitimizing discourse was the cornerstone of the Sistani cycle due to its function as historiography has been demonstrated elsewhere; see Gazerani, *Sistani Cycle*.

belonging to the Shāhnāmeh tradition, as apparent in his versification of the *Bahman-nāmeh* in addition to the *Kushnāmeh*—found an ancient book which was in poor shape, and attempted to revive its story. Reviving the stories of ancient books was accepted practice in Iranshāh's literary milieu. In addition to Ferdowsi's famous reference to an ancient book, *Asadi-Tusi*, the author of the *Garshāspnāmeh* also claimed to have had an ancient book as the source of his story.[13] Iranshāh's ancient story, like that of Ferdowsi and Asadi, however, had to be clothed in a new garment so that it would become relevant and attractive enough for his patron Mohammad b. Malekshāh and his courtiers.

Irānshāh employs a few strategies in order to achieve this task by composing a lengthy preface. The structure of the preface, as we shall see, indicates that it was influenced by the literature of the Saljuq period. This preface is the source of much confusion, first because it is much more recent compared to the rest of the narrative (this has been discouraging to scholars, particularly those who are in search of pre-Islamic material), and second because of the choice of naming the imaginary Iranian king who appears in it Kush. This adds to the array of characters who bear the name. The preface, therefore, must be seen as an added Saljuq layer that attempts to create a frame that would make the Sasanian narrative of Kush-e Pildandān relevant, yet ironically has made the text less accessible for the modern reader.

The incomplete preface begins with the story of Kush, the king of Iran,[14] and the eventual defeat of his rival Manush, the Roman emperor. The emperor's brother is sent to Iran's king, where he spends some time at the Iranian court and becomes interested in "knowledge." He arranges for nine books to be sent to him from Rome: the first four are on medicine, works that were known by the time of Irānshāh by way of translations of famous Greek and Roman physicians and authors such as Hippocrates (360–470 BCE), Pliny (23–79 CE) (or alternatively Appolonius of Tayna) and Galen (130–210 CE). The remaining five are histories or *akhbār-e shāhān*.[15] Among the five books is the account of Alexander's adventures in the east. It is important to note that the story of Kush has been presented as part of a larger repertoire containing works on diverse topics.

At this point the preface starts narrating the story contained in the book of Alexander. What we have here, therefore, is a structure similar to *Kalileh wa Demneh* and

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[13]*Kushnāmeh*, 152–3. Dick Davis has suggested that the reference to an ancient book in the beginning of a medieval work might be a literary *topos*, aimed at lending credibility to the medieval author; Davis, "The Problem of Ferdowsi's Sources," 48–57. While this may have been the case elsewhere, here as well as in the Sistani material, enough evidence exists to suggest that different narrations of the events described in the books were extant at the time of the composition of the works. For the case of *Garshaspnāmeh*, some of the content of the older book was incorporated in more recent sources; see Gazerani, "Old Garment," 181–3. Irānshāh's story of how he obtained the story in an ancient, neglected book seems rather credible, given the evidence for the existence of the story in multiple written sources prior to Irāns; see note 7 above.

[14]There are several characters by the name of Kush, which has created a lot of ambiguity, especially for those who have merely "skimmed" through the text. There is an erroneous but common idea circulating about the *Kushnāmeh* whereby its main protagonist is deemed to be the Kush from the Semitic tradition. For a discussion of the different characters that bear the name of Kush in the *Kushnāmeh* see below.

[15]*Kushnāmeh*, 170–1.

the *Thousand and One Nights*, using stories within stories, a storytelling technique that is almost entirely absent in the Shāhnāmeh tradition. The structure of the preface hints at the time of its composition, because the popularity of the *Kalileh wa Demneh* during this time is well established.[16] Also it should be noted that older Iranian stories, both from the Shāhnāmeh tradition as well as the older romance of *Vis-o-Rāmin* have a linear structure and lack the complicated frames characteristic of *Kalileh wa Demneh* and the *Thousand and One Nights*. Therefore, it is highly likely that Irānshāh used this technique of storytelling according to the literary practices and tastes of his times.

The book of Alexander is the second frame of the preface, which details an episode or two from its contents. In the book, we are told, Alexander arrives at a place where a statue of Kush-e Pildandān, the king of China, is erected along with an inscription bequeathed by Kush himself. As expected from this motif, the inscription includes a description of Kush's conquests, his might and his achievements, and finally how he succumbed to death, the inevitable fate of mankind.[17] Alexander becomes curious and yearns to learn Kush's story. His adventures eventually lead him to a wise man named Mahānash, who tells him a brief account of the wars between China and India during Zahhāk's reign. After the king of China, who had offered a safe haven to the descendants of Jamshid, falls on the battlefield, Zahhāk sends his brother, Kush, to be the king of China. The statue that Alexander had seen was of this Kush's son, Kush-e Pildandān. Mahānash hands Alexander a book containing the story of Kush-e Pildandān, and dies shortly after that.[18]

With the handover of the book to Alexander the main story begins. When it comes to the story of Kush, it is given further importance by connecting it with the story of Alexander's adventures in the east. The abovementioned episode of how Alexander obtains the story of Kush-e Pildandān weaves it together with the well-known story of Alexander, and creates a "hook" on which the story of Kush can be hung. But the invocation of the Alexander romance functions more than a mere placement: it

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[16]For a discussion of the significance of *Kalileh wa Demneh* and the diffusion of its various translations see Gazerani, "Ascetic Cat," 4–5.

[17]*Kushnāmeh*, 180:

<div dir="rtl">

همی راند یک روز و یک شب سپاه رسیدند نزدیک سنگی سیاه

بتی بر سر سنگ دید از رخام به نزدیک او شد شه نیکنام

نبشته چنین یافت بر دست اوی که این پیکر کوش وارونه خوی

شه پیل دندان و سالار چین خداوند فرمان و تاج و نگین

...

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([Alexander] drove his army for another day and then through the night until they reached a black rock. He approached it, and on top of the stone he saw an idol made out of alabaster [white] stone. As the king of good repute [i.e. Alexander] came closer to it, he found that the idol was holding in its hand an inscription that read as follows: "this is the statue of ill-tempered Kush, King Pildandān, the monarch of China, lord of great command and kingdom ... ").

[18]*Kushnāmeh*, 182–92.

grants the story credibility. It was known that at that time that Alexander had travelled in the east and the west and had seen many wonders.

Apart from the structure of the preface that reflects the literary taste of its composer's time, there is further evidence demonstrating that this rather peculiar beginning for the story of Kush was a later addition. During the Saljuq period we have examples of other court poets creating large encyclopedias of knowledge covering a spectrum of subjects such as botany, medicine, history, literature and philosophy. The most famous example of such works, the *Nozhatnāmeh ʿOlāʾi*, was written by Irānshāh's contemporary, Shahmardān b. Abi al-Kheyr Rāzi, who served the Kākuyid ruler of Yazd Abu Kalijār b. Garshāsp b. Ali b. Farāmarz (r. 488–513/1095–1119).[19] The *Nozhatnāmeh*, in addition to chapters on medicine and botany, includes a section on history in which we find stories of Rostam's family not contained in the *Shāhnāmeh*. The work was highly influential and served as a model for later works such as *Farokhnāmeh* (598 H/1184 CE)[20] and Fakhr-e Rāzi's *Jāmeʿ al-ʿOlum* (570/1175).[21] Irānshāh too wanted to cast the story of *Kushnāmeh* as a part of a large encyclopedia of knowledge bequeathed by the Romans. Irānshāh's aim was to dress up this ancient—and by his time ideologically/historically irrelevant old story—in attractive new garments. The preface, therefore, is doubtless the work of Irānshāh and most certainly absent from his source which contained the main narrative of Kush-e Pildandān. Irānshāh had a penchant for composing heroic verse and was clearly conscious of the various versions of the stories from the Shāhnāmeh tradition. While putting into verse an old story that had an ancient genesis was a prestigious literary endeavor, the story had to be updated in order to appease the contemporary literary taste. In order to make the composition relevant to his own times, Irānshāh composed the preface in which the story of Kush is handed down as a great encyclopedia containing works of medicine, botany and history—something along the lines of the *Nozhatnāmeh*.

In addition to composing this lengthy preface, Irānshāh has other tricks up his sleeve to make his work relevant. In the narrative of the *Kushnāmeh*, several characters by the name of Kush appear, most notably Kush-e Pildandān, whose adventures unfold in the eastern territories, and the Kush who conquers territories in Africa. In spite of evidence that the western Kush is a character distinct from Kush-e Pildandān, Irānshāh merges the two characters into one. He does so, against the internal logic of his own source, as we shall see, in order to create an all-powerful anti-hero, whose adventures would encompass territories on the edge of the known world from the west to east. This way the adventures of Kush-e Pildandān match those of the famous heroes of the house of Rostam who traversed the eastern and western territories in search of glory and fame. All the strategies employed by Irānshāh certainly ensured that he achieved his aim of dressing up his narrative in new garments before presenting it to his patron.

Since the *Kushnāmeh* is referenced in this study, here I will offer a very brief summary of its main plot. The main narrative consists of two distinct parts. In the first part, events

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[19]Shahmardān Abi al-Kheyr, *Nozhatnāmeh ʿOlāʾi*.
[20]Yazdi, *Farrokhnāmeh*.
[21]Fakhr-e Rāzi, *Jāmeʿ al-ʿOlum*.

from Kush-e Pildandān's birth to his capture and imprisonment in Mount Damāvand are covered. Here we learn that Zahhāk sends his brother Kush to take over the vacant throne of "China." Kush the father has a son, Kush-e Pildandān, the main protagonist of the text. During the first part of the narrative we learn about the struggles of Kush-e Pildandān against Ābtin, Fereydun's father, and later Fereydun himself in the eastern territories of China, Māchin, Kabul and Kushānshahr, and later in the Caspian Sea region. Interspersed between the narration of the battles of Ābtin and other Iranian heroes against Kush-e Pildandān are episodes of wonder and romance. The first part comes to an end with the defeat of Kush-e Pildandān at the hands of Fereydun and his captivity along with to his uncle Zahhāk in Mount Damāvand. That, of course, would have been a great ending to the story. But, astonishingly, in the next part we learn that Kush-e Pildandān is set free, joins Fereydun's court and takes part in battles in the western territories on the Iranians' behalf. Kush-e Pildandān eventually revolts against Fereydun and declares independence from him. Considerable effort and manpower is devoted to bringing him back to the Iranian court and expelling him from his "western" kingdom. It is only towards the end of the reign of the next Iranian king, Manuchehr, that Kush-e Pildandān is defeated. He flees to the eastern territories, where he eventually meets a wise old man who is instrumental in transforming Kush-e Pildandān by educating him, putting him through purifying austerity and finally giving him a surgical makeover by removing his elephant teeth!

Establishing the Kushan Layer of the Kushnāmeh

Names.   The very first clue for the connection of the work to the Kushans is in the name of its protagonist, Kush-e Pildandān. But the name Kush has been a source of confusion because Kush-e Pildandān is certainly not the only character by the name of Kush. It is also the name of his father, who is Zahhāk's brother.[22] Aside from these two, there are several other characters by the same name. As mentioned earlier, the first Kush we encounter in the *Kushnāmeh* appears in Irānshāh's preface and he is the king of Iran. Because this Kush appears in the Saljuq layer, a discussion of his name is not consequential for establishing a connection to the Kushans. Considering the preface is incomplete, we cannot argue for any meaningful connection between all the various Kushes of the main narrative and this character appearing in the preface. There are several descendants of Kush-e Pildandān also by the name of Kush, but the origin of their character/story is to be sought in the biblical tradition. As discussed below, because of the homonym, the characters and stories of Kush-e Pildandān and his descendants have become mixed with the stories related to the biblical Kush.

The repetition of the name Kush, in the case of Zahhāk's brother and his son, Kush-e Pildandān, not only serves as a reminder of the dynastic lineage, but it is one of the "pegs" by which the narrative asserts its historicity. Kush, after all, is not a random name but the name associated with the Kushan dynasty as well as the

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[22]The significance of Kush-e Pildandān's descent from Zahhāk will be discussed below.

territories under its dominion. The name Kushan is an ethnonym referring to a tribe or tribes that first managed to take over the region of Kabul and Kapisa, but it eventually came to denote the region of Bactria, the seat of the Kushan dynasty.[23]

We see a parallel in the *Kushnāmeh*, as the name is passed on from father to son to grandson, and, as discussed below, the city that becomes the seat of Kush-e Pildandān's empire is also called Kush. As far as the story is concerned, the repetition of the name Kush also serves to link him to the Kushan dynasty, a reference that was not lost on the audience. I must clarify here that by audience, I mean the intended audience of the story's oldest layer, which was composed during the Sasanian period: that audience would certainly have been aware of the threat of the Kushan empire and its eventual defeat at the hands of the Sasanians. The name Kush represents the Kushans; "China," as we shall see, represents the eastern territories where Kushānshahr was established, and eventually we learn that it was Kush-e Pildandān who founded Kushānshahr.

There are brief glimpses in the text of the existence of other members of the Kushan dynasty. There is yet another name that may have preserved a reflection of the great king of the Kushan dynasty Kanishka. Kaniyāsh (كنياش)[24] is the prince of Qandahar, who has a secret love affair with Kush-e Pildandān's daughter. We learn that Kush-e Pildandān's daughter, who was the object of her own father's sexual advances, was in love with Kaniyāsh.[25] Unfortunately, there is little in our extant version of the *Kushnāmeh* about Kaniyāsh and his descendants. However, shortly after Kush-e Pildandān learns of the love affair between his daughter and Kaniyāsh, he beheads Kaniyāsh in a fit of jealousy; but, unbeknownst to him, the couple has a three-year-old son, who remains unnamed. That we never learn about the fate of the boy is an indication that the story of Kush-e Pildandān's grandson has been omitted in this current version of the text. It seems rather odd to bring a secret love-child into the narrative and then let this subplot hang loose without returning to it or bringing it to closure. Nevertheless, the name Kaniyāsh and the likely continuation of his line through his child are additional clues that there were more extensive and elaborate narratives regarding Kush and his family in the eastern territories of Kabul and Qandahar.

Topography.   As mentioned earlier, the setting of the *Kushnāmeh*—its landscape, regions and toponyms—are some of the "pegs" by which the narrative is connected to the Kushan kingdom and the encounters with the Sasanians. The Shāhnāmeh tradition, however, because of its own perception of history, its function and above all the mode(s) of its formation, presents us with a rather complex geography. There are actual toponyms that survive until our time, and at other times they represent one or multiple locations that may or may not have anything to do with a present-day city or province. Hence, the region of Mazandaran, today a northern province in Iran, in Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh* refers

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[23]For the significance of the name Kushan (the dynasty) see Fleet, "The Name Kushan," and Allan, "A Note."

[24]The name seemed to have been unfamiliar to the scribe, who produced different versions of it, but it is mostly written as Kaniyāsh or sometimes the letter "ى " is left without dots. *Kushnāmeh*, 407, n. 2, and 409, nn. 1 and 3.

[25]*Kushnāmeh*, 407–9.

in some instances to India, while in other places it denotes Yemen.[26] Additionally, there are landscapes where the real and imagined have been merged, while at other times the narrative transports its characters to an entirely fantastical realm.

The complexities notwithstanding, when studied in their own generic context, the toponyms can yield important information for establishing the Kushan substratum of the text. Toponyms such as "China," Khomdān, Kabul, Qandahar and, most significantly Kushān(shahr) correspond to the delineation of the Kushan kingdom (minus its Indian territories), hence "pinning" the narrative to the historical event of the Kushan period. By the time of the composition of the text Khomdān referred to the city of Xi'an/Chang'an. Nevertheless, the city as described in the *Kushnāmeh* is not the Chinese capital but is situated in the Bactria/Tokhar region. As we shall see, knowledge of China's geography, if we consider the earliest geographical works composed prior to the Saljuq period, was negligible, and was mainly drawn from the *'ajayeb* genre. At the same time, in addition to the geographically misplaced toponym "China," the landscape of the *Kushnāmeh* contains entirely fantastical locations as well. These include the Basilā Island, the second of the two Māchins,[27] a quasi-historical landscape as well as the location associated with the edges of the word, such as the land of Ya'juj and Ma'juj,[28] Alexander's wall and Mount Qāf, a mythological mountain thought to have surrounded the earth.[29]

While the political struggles and wars, with their (de)legitimizing discourse, unfold in the realms associated with the Kushan kingdom, Basilā Island is the

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[26]Monchi-Zadeh describes the different locations of Mazandaran in *Topographisch-Historische Studien*, 48–149.

[27]Māchin is a toponym usually invoked along with "Chin"/China. It has been suggested that Māchin is an originally Sanskrit name (Maha-China/Great China). In Persian literature, generally, it refers to the easternmost territories. Although it must be said that sometimes in the realms of the imagination Māchin could also extend west of the Caspian Sea, as in the popular story of *Samak-e 'Ayyār*, where the name of the king of Māchin is Armanshāh, hence connecting the location of Māchin to Armenia. Māchin, therefore, is one of those vague toponyms that lends itself to being used as an imaginary landscape, and here in the *Kushnāmeh* we have not one but two Māchins!

[28]Ya'juj and Ma'juj (or Gog and Magog in the Judeo-Christian tradition) refer to hostile nations. These hostile nations also feature in the Alexander romance, where it is Alexander who, by building a wall/dam, keeps them at bay. For a discussion of these nations in the Judeo-Christian literature and development of apocalyptic notions and Alexander's role see Anderson, *Alexander's Gate*. Ya'juj and Ma'juj are mentioned in the Qur'an twice, first in 8: 93–94, where the construction of an iron damn by Dhu al-Qarnayn, the benevolent character, is discussed, and second in 21: 96–7, where the breaking of this dam on Judgement Day is described. The mention of Ya'juj and Ma'juj and their wall, usually at the eastern edges of the known world, is also found in numerous literary texts.

[29]This is comparable with the Avestan mountain Haraiti (in Yasht 19) and the Indian mythological mountain Lokaloka, which encircles the earth. Later it was equated with the Alborz ranges, but in Ferdowsi's case, Alborz does not refer to the modern-day mountain range, according to Monchi-Zadeh, but is the same old idea of a mountain range surrounding the earth. See Monchi-Zadeh, *Topographisch-historische Studien*, 88, n. 2. In the Islamic context, Mount Qāf appears in the earliest Qur'anic exegetical works on Surah 50 (Surah al-Qāf), and is described as a mountain surrounding the earth; Tabari, *Jāmī' al-Bayān*, XXI: 401. It becomes part of popular geography preserved in the *'ajāyeb* genre where the mountain is said to be on the edge of the earth and Alexander is said to have visited it. For an example, see Tusi, *'Ajāyeb al-Makhluqāt*, 125–6, 135. In mystical literature, Mount Qāf is seen as the abode of the mythological bird Simorgh, a place also equated with China; 'Attār, *Manteq al-teyr*, 263, 265.

setting for wonder and romance. The internal logic of the narrative demands two groups of settings, one imaginary and the other real. After all, the narrative, in addition to its polemical discourse of delegitimizing an enemy, has the additional function of entertaining its audience. After a series of descriptions of battles and political struggle and the evil deeds of its anti-hero, the narrative offers a break to its audience by transporting the story and its actors to a fantastical realm. The setting is a beautiful island, where the hero, like the audience, enjoy a pleasant, restful respite. There, the hero (here Ābtin), experiences new and delightful sights, smells and tastes, and at the end falls in love with a beautiful princess—a romance that ends happily. Basilā Island, therefore, remains a fantastical place, where one of the non-historical functions of the narratives must be fulfilled.

Let us now turn our attention to those toponyms that bear significance for establishing the Kushan layer of the text. Kush-e Pildandān's territories are generally referred to as China, with its chief city of Khomdān. But where is this China and what is its relationship to today's China? It has been noted that the China of Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh* refers to the southwestern territories of China, including Khotan, Tokhārestān and eastern Turkestan. In Ferdowsi's text, Turks and Chinese are often mentioned together, especially when the composition of eastern armies is discussed. In many instances, China is equated with Khotan, with the Sea of China separating Khotan from the land of the Turks.[30] This understanding of the location of China and its relationship to Makrān, which itself has been equated with the land of Sind, is useful because Makrān seems to be a neighboring land to Kush-e Pildandān's territories, and its king comes to his aid as an ally.[31] In Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*, during Kay Khosrow's great war against Afrāsiyāb, all of a sudden the setting of the struggle is changed from "Chin" to Makrān.[32] It is clear that Makrān is thought to be the general region of Sind, and therefore the narrative should have a mechanism for transposing its characters into this territory, which would be far away from China if we take China to be the western territories of the modern country. Yet, as Monchi-Zadeh points out, Ferdowsi's Makrān/Chin describes the bulk of the Indo-Iranian borderlands, including the northern region of Balkh, stretching into Khotan and all the way out to the borders of the Khāqān's lands.[33] Furthermore, there might be evidence that the land of China, in an episode in the *Shāhnāmeh*, borders the land of the Kushans.[34]

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[30]See Monchi-Zadeh, *Topographisch-historische Studien,*184 and 249.

[31]*Kushnāmeh*, 477 and 513, where the king of Makrān is introduced as an ally of Kush along with the rulers of the regions of Tibet and Māchin.

[32]For this episode see Ferdowsi, *Shāhnāmeh*, IV: 293. This is where the conquest of Makran begins, and there are references before and after this story that clearly situate Makran close to or in the vicinity of "China."

[33]Monchi-Zadeh, *Topographisch-historische Studien*, 234.

[34]The lines in question are from an episode of Kay Khosrow's great wars (Ferdowsi, *Shāhnāmeh*, IV: 183; henceforth cited by title):

This rather imprecise notion of China persisted in Islamic times, where it is equated with Turkistan.[35] Actually, in the *Kushnāmeh* there is a passage that describes the different provinces of "China." When Kush writes to his *marzbān*s asking them to send him beautiful women from his realms, he mentions Fakhar, a territory between northern Afghanistan and Tajikistan, Tibet and Qandahar.[36] As a matter of fact, in some of the earliest geographical works, the bulk of the information provided about China, with its capital city of Khomdan, are episodes from Alexander romances, indicating that China and Khomdan were used as being synonymous with the world's eastern edge.[37]

But let us take a step away from the *Kushnāmeh* and consider what we do know about the geographical setting of the Kushan dynasty. One of the few things that we know with certainty about the Kushans is the location of their rise to power. That is because there is consensus among the scholars that the first Kushan king, Kujula Kadphises, began his reign after the conquest of the Kabul valley.[38] There is little doubt that Kujula and the Indo-Parthian king Gondophares[39] were contempor-

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همه نامداران ماچین و چین

نشسته به مرز (کورستانـــکروشانـــکروسانـــکُشانی) زمین

(All the notables from Māchin and Chin, were sitting on the borders of the land of [Kawrestān/Karushān/Korusān/ Koshani]).

Now the puzzle is in the reading of this toponym, which Khaleqi-Motlaq has edited based on an alternate manuscript as Kawrestān. Marquart thought the correct reading was Koshāni-zamin and, based on other toponyms in the passage, argued that they are intended as the borderlands of the Kushan empire; Marquart, *Anrang und Wehrot*, 139, n, 4. Monchi-Zadeh offered a different reading, but his interpretation requires the transformation of the word in question into several other forms ending with Kavusān, which seems hardly plausible (Monchi-Zadeh, *Topographisch-historische Studien*, 219). The differences of orthography and interpretation notwithstanding, the Koshāni/Kushan reading seems a possibility.

[35]Istakhri, *al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 11:

اما مملکت چین در میانه دریا و زمین غز و زمین تبت باشد. و چین خود این اقلیمست. لیکن دیگر شهرهای ترکستان را نسبت کنند .

(As for the kingdom of China, it is situated between the sea, the land of the Ghuzz, and the land of Tibet. The actual China is this land, but many other cities of Turkestan are called by this name.)

[36]*Kushnāmeh*, 409.

[37]Ibn Khurdādbeh, *Kitāb al-masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 264. There is even less information in Ibn Ḥawqal, *Ṣurat al-ard*, I: 168—a mere mention of the name of the capital city and that it borders the regions of Tibet.

[38]This event is also very significant for the Indo-Parthians, whose founder Gondophares also played a crucial role in this region. It is important to keep in mind that Gondophares and the Indo-Parthians are the same characters whose actions have been preserved in the Shāhnāmeh tradition as stories of Rostam and his family, who reigned over the kingdom of Sistan; see Gazerani, *Sistani Cycle*, Chapter 1, for an in-depth discussion of identification of Gondophares with Rostam's family. The relationship of the Kushans and the house of Rostam/Indo-Parthians is also preserved in the Shāhnāmeh tradition and will be discussed elsewhere at length.

[39]For more on Gondophares see Bivar, "Gondophares."

aries, and since the reign of Gondophares has been dated to 19/20–46+ CE—one of the very few dates about which there is broad agreement[40]—we are provided with a timeframe for the events that transpired in the Kabul valley in which Gondophares and Kujula Kadphises Kujula, who was also known as the prince of Kapa, struggled over the province of Kabul with Gondophares. Eventually, it was the Kushan Kujula who ended the occupation of the Indo-Parthian Gondophares and established himself in the region, hence building the first center of Kushan power.[41] According to one interpretation of the coins, Gondophares' occupation lasted for some time, subsequent to which the Kushans ousted the Indo-Parthians from this region. It is speculated that the Kushan takeover of the Kabul valley took place around the middle of the first century.[42] The Kushans established themselves in this region before moving their center of power to Bactria.[43] These conclusions have been drawn based on the documented overstrikes of coins belonging to Gondophares[44] and Kujula, but the numismatic evidence is substantiated in a rare passage from Chinese sources. In a Chinese chronicle, there is a description of the rise to power of Kujula Kadphises (Qiu-jiu-zhen) as Kushan *xi-hou*. He managed to unite the Yuezhi tribes and conquer the region of Kabul and its vicinities. The chronicle further reports that Kujula died at the age of eighty and was succeeded by his son Wima (Yan-go-zhen), who then conquered India. The source of this report is the Chinese general Ban Chao who added this information to the chronicle based on reports received up to 107 CE.[45] The rise to power of Kujula as hegemon (*yagbu*) of the Yuezhi seems to have taken place in the aftermath of Gondophares' invasion of the Kabul valley.[46]

In the *Kushnāmeh*, the setting for the first set of battles after Kush the father's rise to power is in fact not China, but Kabul. The mention of Kabul is confined to this episode that takes place at the beginning of Kush the father's autonomous reign in the region. It is in the mountainous regions of the Kabul valley that the battles between Ābtin and Kush the father unfold. Ābtin is forced to withdraw and escapes to the first and then second Māchin.[47] The mention of Kabul is strange, so much so that it was thought to have been a scribal error by the editor of the text, but it is far from an oversight.[48] It is one of the toponyms that has been preserved, by coincidence, during the various revisions of the text. What we have here in the *Kushnāmeh* echoes the trajectory of the Kushan history: their first stronghold was

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[40]With the exception of R. C. Senior, who has offered an alternative dating for Gondophares, but his proposed date creates several other problems; Senior, *Indo-Scythian Coins and History*, I: 66.

[41]Bivar, "Kushan Dynasty."

[42]Cribb, "The Heraus Coins," 131.

[43]Mac Dowall, "Numismatic Evidence."

[44]While agreeing to the existence of clashes documented by overstrikes, Michael Alram expresses doubt about Gondophares' conquest of Kabul, citing insufficient evidence. Alram, "Indo-Parthians and Early Kushan."

[45]Cribb, "The Heraus Coins."

[46]Cribb, "The Early Kushan Kings."

[47]*Kushnāmeh*, 247.

[48]*Kushnāmeh*, 247, n. 2.

Kabul, and that in fact is mentioned as the seat of power of Kush at the beginning of the narrative. As the story progresses, and especially during the reign of Kush-e Pildandān, the seat of power shifts to the city of Khomdān, and then to the newly established Kushān(shahr).

In the *Kushnāmeh*, Khomdān is the capital city of China, an identification repeated by some medieval geographers.[49] Let us not forget that China had a vague definition and could very well have encompassed the region of Tokhār/Bactria. But there is further evidence that Khomdān, as it is used in the text, is the city of Balkh. First, there is still a city by the name of Khomdān in the northeastern province of Takhār. Second, Khomdān is the metropolis mentioned in connection with Balkh in the Syriac list of monks and priests in the eighth-century bilingual (Chinese and Syriac) Xi'an Monument.[50] This is of utmost significance, since Balkh was in fact the seat of the Kushan empire. Hence what we have so far is the parallel rise of power of the Kushans in Kabul and their stronghold in the region of Bactria.

As if the references to Kabul and the region of Bactria were not enough, the *Kushnāmeh* offers the most convincing piece of evidence for connecting its anti-hero to the Kushan dynasty, by ascribing the founding of a city by the name of Kushan to him. Kush-e Pildandān, upon returning from his adventures in Transoxiana, hears about a wondrous place, nothing short of a paradise on earth. Once he crosses a river, he arrives in a mountainous region, where he finds many mines, of both gold and turquoise, and there he builds his city. It is in this city that he orders a statue of himself to be made, an image that becomes the object of worship for the inhabitants of Shahr-e Kushān. It is important to note that the title of this section refers to Shahr-e Kushān as Kushānshahr, and it is likely that two different forms of the name are due to the exigency of the poem's metrical requirements.[51] Aside from the name, it is also significant how Kushānshahr is described, especially the mention of an abundance of gold and turquoise mines in its vicinity. Northern Afghanistan, particularly the Balkh and Badakhshan regions, are known for the abundance of their mines. The text emphasizes the richness of Kush's treasury, especially its gold and precious jewels, when Kushānshahr falls to Qāren, the appointed general of the Iranian king.[52] The founding of Kushānshahr, as the city of Kush, is significant enough to establish the Kushan layer of the text, and tidbits of information such as the presence of mines of precious stones pin down the location. Add to this the evidence from the medieval geographer Ibn Faqih, who mentions that among the many "Alexandrias" established by Alexander, one is called Kush and that is the city of Balkh.[53]

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[49]For example, Istakhri, *al-Masālik wa-l-mamālik*, 11.

[50]For the history and scholarship on the monument see Lieu, "Epigraphica Nestoriana Serica," 227–46. Reference to the priest from Khomdān is at 235.

[51]*Kushnāmeh*, 499–500.

[52]*Kushnāmeh*, 531.

[53]Ibn Faqih, *Kitāb al-buldān*, 617: "التي سميت كوش وهى بلخ . و منها الاسكندرية" (Among the Alexandrias there is one called Kush and that is Balkh).

Note this information is repeated verbatim by Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, I: 638.

When considering the toponyms mentioned in the *Kushnāmeh*, along with the details provided, one can establish that in fact there is a substratum in the text that narrates the events of the Kushans' rise and eventual defeat at the hands of the Sasanians. As we shall see, there are further parallels between the *Kushnāmeh* and what little we do know of Kushan history.

Outline of events.   The struggle over the city of Kush and other territories under Kush-e Pildandān's control is a lengthy affair during the course of which the Iranian party suffers numerous defeats. These events described in the *Kushnāmeh* are based on actual historical events. Here, I will briefly offer an outline of the Sasanians' encounter with the Kushans. Obviously the Kushans and the Sasanians were political rivals, and we have evidence that some of the members of the last Parthian king's family sought refuge with the Kushan kings.[54]

The first attempts of conquests of the Kushan empire coincides with Ardashir I's (224–40 CE) raids in Khurasan, which extended into the northern Kushan territories of Balkh and beyond.[55] It is apparent that these initial raids did not result in Sasanian dominion over the Kushan territories. There is evidence of several other attempts during the reign of subsequent Sasanian kings. Ardashir's son, Shapur I (r. 240/2–270/2) seems to have reached the Kabul valley, as evident by the rock-relief left behind on Rag-i Bibi.[56] The Armenian historian P'awatos Buzand (ca. 470) reports two occasions where the Persian army under Shapur II (309–79) suffered defeat at the hands of the Kushan army.[57] The memory of these setbacks must have been significant and enduring enough to have been captured by the Armenian historian a century after it occurred.

Sasanian attempts to conquer the Kushan empire persisted throughout the reign of Bahram II (279–93 CE).[58] There is speculation about the identity of the various groups—such as the Huns, the Chionites and the Kidarites, as well as the Kushans—and their activities in the eastern fringes of the Sasanian empire.[59] What remains certain is that the conquest of Kushānshāhr was a hard-fought series of battles stretching over the reign of several Sasanian kings. At some point, however, the Sasanians did manage to install their own vassal kings, known by the title of Kushānshāh (as opposed to the Kushan kings who bore the epithet Šaonano Šao, king of kings). The Kushānshāh were essentially vassals of the Sasanians, and their existence is attested by both the Sasanian inscriptions[60] and the series of coins they left behind. There have been many

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[54]The two sons of Ardavan sought refuge with Kabulshāh, who is generally thought to be a Kushan. *Kārnāmeh-ye Ardashir-e Bābakān*, 55.

[55]Vaissière, "Kushanshahs." See Shahbazi, *Tamaddon-e sāsāni*, 100, and 270–1, where Shahbazi postulates about a treaty reached between Ardashir and the Kushan king of the time. This claim has not been substantiated by numismatic evidence, however.

[56]See Grenet, "Sasanian Relief," where he identifies the king depicted on the relief as Shapur I.

[57]Garsoïan, *Epic Histories*, 197–8, and 217–18.

[58]Grenet, "Sasanian Relief," 259.

[59]Potts, "Sasanian Iran," 287–301.

[60]The first Sasanian mention of a Kushan king is found in Humbach and Skjærvø, *The Sasanian Inscription of Paikuli*, 44.

attempts to date and identify the Kushano-Sasanian kings.[61] Although there is no general consensus about when the main line of Kushānshāh commenced their reign, it seems to have occurred roughly around the year 300 CE.[62]

The new line of Kushānshāhs are clearly distinct from the previous Kushans, but not all local Kushan rulers were installed by Sasanian governors or kings. This is evident from the pantheon of gods and other images depicted on the Kushano-Sasanian coins, where local deities and iconographical traditions are mixed with Sasanian influences. It has been argued that had all the Kushan governors and officials been replaced with Sasanian officials sent from western Iran, the local interest depicted on the coins would have been totally obliterated.[63]

To summarize the events, it can be said that there were several attempts by the Sasanian kings, starting with their first, Ardashir I, to establish direct dominion over the Kushan empire. There were subsequent raids by his successors, who left the footprints of their attempts at overthrowing the Kushan empire. Although these attempts were temporarily successful, the establishment of Sasanian control over the northern part of the Kushan empire is only attested subsequent to the establishment of the Kushano-Sasanian kings, or the Kushānshāhs, around 300 CE. But even after the defeat of the main line of Kushans, the Kushan local rulers and their specific customs and traditions had a great influence on the Kushānshāhs, as depicted on their coins.

Now let us examine how the conflict between the Iranians and Kush-e Pildandān, the king of Kushānshahr, unfolds. In the *Kushnāmeh*, the conquest of Chin/Kushānshahr is a long process and although there are short-lived victories for Iranians, it takes several generations of Iranian kings and heroes to accomplish it. Their first attack is led by Ābtin, Fereydun's father, and this is the aforementioned attack on the surroundings of Kabul. Ābtin is defeated and escapes, and on his second attempt gains a short-lived victory.[64] Although Kush himself is absent, Ābtin is unable to break the resistance at Kush's capital city, and when Kush does arrive, once again Ābtin is chased away.[65] Next, and long after his father's demise, Fereydun appoints Nastuh-e Shiruy to tackle Kush-e Pildandān and to conquer his kingdom in order to annex it to Iran. The choice of Nastuh is a rather curious one, for he is not by any means a well-known character in the Shāhnāmeh tradition. He is one of the heroes who, according to Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*, serves at Fereydun's court.

It is important to consider this choice, because it reveals one of the consequences of transposing this episode, which clearly reflects the affairs of the Sasanian period so far back into the Pishdādid period of the Shāhnāmeh tradition's chronology. Once Kush is made Zahhāk's close relative and a contemporary, everything else has to be narrated

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[61]Schindel, "Ardashir I Kushanshah," identifies the first two Kushanshahs as Ardashir I and II based chiefly on iconographical evidence. For a discussion of different attempts at dating the Kushānshāhs see Schindel, "Kushanshah: ii Kushano-Sasanian Coinage."

[62]Grenet, "Sasanian Relief," 259, where he gives the date 280s–290s CE for Peroz. Schindel also thinks that the beginning of the main line of Kushānshāhs can be dated to about 300 CE.

[63]Schindel, "Sasaniden, Kushan, Kushano-Sasaniden."

[64]*Kushnāmeh*, 247.

[65]*Kushnāmeh*, 307–20.

in that period. In other words, the established chronology of the genre takes precedence over historical accuracy, and this is due to the centrality of the narrative's polemical discourse. In other words, it is more important for Kush-e Pildandān to be Zahhāk's nephew (and of demonic descent) than to place the narration of the affairs of his kingdom in its accurate historical period. This does not mean there is no chronological accuracy, however. Once a character or an event has been placed in a certain period, everything else must remain chronologically consistent. This is why, instead of a better-known hero, those who tackle him from the Iranian side must be heroes from Fereydun's reign. As a matter of fact, when it comes to major events and actors, there is great internal coherence within the genre. For instance, at this point in Fereydun's reign the two prominent heroes, Garshāsp and Narimān, were busy with the conquest of India, while Qāren, another known character, had been sent off to Rum to defeat the western enemy. That Garshāsp and Qāren were busy on their respective adventures is well known, not from this particular text, but through intertextual references to episodes narrated elsewhere in the Shāhnāmeh tradition.[66] It is this kind of reasoning that justifies the choice of Nastuh-e Shiruy as the commander of the army sent to subdue Kush-e Pildandān.

Nastuh, however, suffers a humiliating defeat at the hands of Kush.[67] Next is the turn of Qobād, son of Kaveh and Qāren's brother. At first Qobād seems to be winning, but Kush-e Pildandān gets reinforcements from Makrān and eventually inflicts a crushing defeat on Qobād's army as well.[68] After a hiatus, Qāren, the mighty ancestor of the Qāren/Gudarziān house, is sent to the eastern realms with the same mission. Qāren defeats Kush and captures him on the battlefield, but there is still resistance in the capital city. He eventually conquers the city and wanders around Chin in order to subdue all rebels who resist the Iranian authority. He captures all of them and exiles them to Iran along with their families, not leaving anything to chance before he himself returns to Iran.[69] Kush-e Pildandān is imprisoned in Damāvand along with his uncle, Zahhāk, and Nastuh is installed as the new governor of Chin, a position that is eventually passed on to his son, Ardashir.

I think it goes without saying that the general outline of the Sasanians' struggles against the Kushans matches the description found in the *Kushnāmeh*. In both cases the conquest of the territories took several generations, and along the way there were short-lived victories but not a permanent Iranian dominion. There was a breaking point, and in the historical records that is signified by the appearance of the Kushano-Sasanian Kushānshāhs and here by the capture of Kush and appointment of Nastuh, an Iranian hero, to the kingdom of Kush. But the parallel does not end here: one should wonder why Kush-e Pildandān, the anti-hero of the story, whose capture and defeat is supposed to be celebrated, is once again taken out of captivity to serve the Iranian king, and why at the very end his image is rehabilitated

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[66]For example, for Garshāsp's adventures in India, see Asadi Tusi, *Garshāspnāmeh*, 77–197.
[67]*Kushnāmeh*, 461–4.
[68]*Kushnāmeh*, 464–95.
[69]*Kushnāmeh*, 511–32.

(more on this below).[70] It must have to do with the forging of an alliance with the local Kushan rulers—something that left its imprint on the syncretic iconography of the Kushānshāhs, which signifies their continued presence and alliance with the Sasanians. If we take Kush-e Pildandān as a representative of all Kushan rulers, it is only natural to whitewash the demonic imagery constructed for him while he occupied the role of an enemy, once he has become an ally. This is precisely what happens in the *Kushnāmeh*.

Kushan sanctuaries.   Having the image of the king as the object of worship, as in the case of Kush-e Pildandān, should be of great interest to anyone familiar with the salient themes of Kushan history. In fact, in the *Kushnāmeh*, the statue of Kush plays a significant role, not only while Kush is alive, but also a long time after his demise, when Alexander the Great encounters it. The image of Kush, aside from being worshipped, has a memorialization function: it is there as a key to unlocking the story of Kush, as well as his message about the material world. But what does the *Kushnāmeh*'s mention of Kush's statue, housed in an elaborately adorned structure and intended to be worshipped, have to do with the actual facts of the Kushan history? There is in fact a parallel between the poem and what remains, in the form of archaeological discoveries of structures that contained statues of Kushan kings.

The nature of these structures, known as Kushan sanctuaries, like everything else related to Kushan history, is contested and complicated. Three such structures (*bagolaggo* in Bactrian, *devakula* in Sanskrit) have been discovered, two in Afghanistan, i.e. Rabatak and Surkh Kotal, and Māt near Mathura in India.[71] They were places where images of kings and gods were kept.[72] In Rabatak and Surkh Kotal, the inscriptions in the structure call it *bagolagoo*, "house of gods," while the sanctuary of Māt bears the same title in Sanskrit, *devakula*.

In his influential work on the Kushans, Rosenfield characterized these as temples dedicated to the ancestors of Kushan kings in accordance with what he perceived to be a dynastic cult. He postulated that the Kushan sanctuaries were places where Kushan kings were worshipped along with their dynastic pantheon of gods.[73]

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[70]For more on the transformation of Kush-e Pildandān see below.

[71]For Māt see Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 140–2; and Fussman, "The Māṭ devakula." For Surkh Kotal see Schlumberger, Le Berre, and Fussman, "Surkh Kotal en Bactriane." For Rabatak see Sims-Williams and Cribb, "A New Bactrian Inscription," and "Further Notes."

[72]Bracey, "Policy, Patronage," 209.

[73]The religion of the Kushans seems to have its roots in a number of traditions. There are deities from Greco-Roman, Iranian and Indian (both Buddhist and Hindu) pantheons. Whereas the earlier Kushan kings seemed to have officially endorsed a smaller number of deities—for instance the only deity appearing on Vima Kadphises' coins is the Indian god Śiva—the number of deities on the coinage of Kanishka and Huvishka is increased to include mainly gods from the Iranian pantheon. There is a trend in Kushan scholarship that insists on the predominance of Iranian/Zoroastrian elements (for example see Bracy, "Policy, Patronage"; Grenet, "Zoroastrianism among Kushans"; Grenet, "Iranian Gods in Hindu Garb"). Of particular interest in debates regarding the religion of the Kushans is that about the identity of the Bactrian god Oešo, who has been identified with the Avestan god Vayu by some, in spite of the fact that he has been clearly depicted as the Hindu god Śiva (see Cribb, "Shiva Images on Kushan," which

Rosenfield proposed that this type of dynastic cult was introduced from the west into India, since there is no parallel for it in Indian history.[74] The only example that can be considered as a precursor to the Kushan sanctuaries is the sanctuary of Nanghat, dated to around the turn of the millennium, which was devoted to the worship of the rulers of Satavaha dynasty, and linked to the Indo-Parthians, who also were a conquering group.[75] The lack of precedence in India, as noted by Rosenfield, may be due to the possible nomadic roots of the practice of building a cultic sanctuary. More recently, in an attempt to establish an Iranian precedence for the practice, the common nomadic background of the Iranian groups that left various types of sanctuaries has been pointed out.[76]

The notion of a dynastic cult devoted to the ritual worship of Kushan kings has been challenged, but not dismissed.[77] This is because the divinity of the Kushan kings represented in these sanctuaries is emphasized by titles such as *devaputra* (son of god), *devamanusa* (god in human form), *bago* (god/lord) and *bagopouro* (son of god/from Surkh Kotal). The opposition to the notion of the Kushan kings as divine beings notwithstanding, the function of sanctuaries as places dedicated to the *worship* of the Kushan kings could not be brushed aside, chiefly because of the royal titles such as "son of god" attributed to the Kushan kings. No exact parallels could be found in the Indian or Iranian contexts. Rosenfield had argued that at no time in Indian literature is any king referred to as *devaputra*,[78] and the concept of the king's divinity in the Iranian context is notoriously complicated.[79] With the discovery of Rabatak, new divine epithets ascribed to the Kushan kings came to light, lending credit to Rosenfield's thesis. More recently, Mukherjee expands on Rosenfield's thesis and speculates that the Kushan kings were worshipped at these sanctuaries while alive, as well as after their death.[80]

Antonio Panaino and Gherardo Gnoli once again reexamine Rosenfield's thesis and add certain significant nuances to the notion of dynastic cult.[81] Panaino argues that ritual sacrifice to the soul of a living king, or that of a dead one, was not unheard of in the Sasanian context.[82] He addresses Kanishka's new title, translated as "worthy of divine worship," attempting to define what the divinization of the king actually meant. The presence of this and other divinely imbued epithets, as Panaino

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contains a summary of the debate up to the point of its publication; also see Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits*, 154–8).

[74]Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 140–2.

[75]Ibid., 156–8.

[76]Canepa, "Dynastic Sanctuaries," 97.

[77]Verardi and Grossato, "Kushana Emperors as Cakravartins," where the authors attempt to discredit the notion of a dynastic cult. Among the counter-arguments, for instance, is that Surkh Kotal was not a sanctuary but a temple with portable images; but this itself is based on their interpretation of the few lines of the inscription.

[78]Rosenfield, *Dynastic Art*, 202.

[79]For a summary of the extensive literature on this topic see Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits*, 56–8.

[80]Mukherajee, *Kushanā Studies*, 280.

[81]Panaino, "The Bactrian Royal Title," 331–46; Gnoli, "Some Notes," 141–60.

[82]Panaino, "The Bactrian Royal Title," 342.

argues, "cannot prove a crude witness to complete divinization, although such a solution remains theoretically possible."[83] He then discusses practices of divinization from the Hellenistic and Sasanian context, as well as alluding to possible Indian and Chinese influences. While in the Greco-Roman context there is evidence of ritual performed for the king's image, there is also an Iranian/Sasanian practice whereby fires dedicated to the soul of the living king and his living and departed ancestors were established, and where rituals, most significantly sacrifice, were performed. It is argued that the Kushan kings' divinity, and the function of the sanctuaries, could be seen in the context of the Sasanian practice, but even then, he concludes, "these comparisons cannot eliminate the special character of the Kušan kingship, where the worship of the king's person took on some divine connotations."[84] This special character of Kushan worship of the king, as we shall see, is significant for the purposes of our discussion of the *Kushnāmeh*. Equally significant is Gnoli's study, where he begins by offering a significant reinterpretation of the pantheon of deities in the Rabatak inscription, concluding that the deities mentioned in the list, other than the pair occupying the top of the list,[85] are associated with death, the final judgement and the hereafter.[86] It is then argued that the Rabatak temple, which contained the statues of three dead Kushan kings and one live one, might have been a place where reverence was owed to the deceased ancestors or their "spirits" or *fravaši*.[87] To summarize the findings of both studies, the Rabatak sanctuary was a place where ancestors and the living king were venerated with some notion of divinity. While the nature of the divinization cannot be established, there is a funerary or, as Gnoli put it, *post mortem* aspect to the Kushan king's worship at the sanctuary of Rabatak, and by extension at other Kushan sanctuaries where statues of Kushan kings have been found.

The description of the same motif from the *Kushnāmeh* is actually a reflection of the practice of building statues of Kushan kings, both dead and alive, so that they may be worshipped. It is repeated, time and again, that the statue of Kush, and that of his daughter, were built to be worshipped.[88] Kush, as we shall see below, is made to realize his mortal and limited nature as a human being and gives up claims to divinity. But still, after this episode, he builds a statue of himself and houses it in a domed structure at the very end of the story. This is how the structure is described:

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[83]Ibid., 340.

[84]Ibid., 342.

[85]At the top of the listed pantheon in the inscription, he identifies Ahuramazda/Śiva (Muzudhuwan and Nana/Umma(Omma), who form a pair. Gnoli, "Some Notes," 143.

[86]These are Mithra, Nairosang and Sroša. Sroša is the figure that guides the soul after death while Nairosang is Ahura Mazda's messenger and is associated with Sroša, who cooperates with the future savior Peshutan and prepares Wištāsp for his journey to paradise, and Mithra, who is the judge of souls at the Činvat bridge. Gnoli, "Some Notes," 143.

[87]For the development of the idea of fravaši, see Boyce, "Fravaši."

[88]See below for a detailed discussion of Kush-e Pildandān's practice of making idols in his own image and the poem's condemnation of the practice.

He built an enormous dome,
all from granite stone, not from mere wood and sticks.
He made an idol in his own image from shining crystal,
then he placed his seal on that dome.
Then he had a great lamp built from the same stone,
a lamp that was burning oil.
When lit, it was as though a great fire was burning on earth;
it burned like an illuminating candle.
Each year at the time of spring,
all of a sudden it lit up at night time.
During the time when nature flourished, when the world became new,
this sun (i.e. the great lamp) lit up the Constellation of Cancer.[89]
When Alexander encountered this idol, he broke it.
But he did not touch the great lamp.
That dome and lamp still stand today;
they are not harmed by the passage of time.[90]

In some ways the narrative comes full circle with the description of Kush-e Pildan-dān's idol, because it connects the end to the beginning, where Alexander had encountered the very same statue. At the very beginning Alexander, on his adventures, had found a statue made out of alabaster, erected on a plinth.[91] There he also found Kush-e Pildandān's "advice," where the central theme is the world's ephemeral nature. In this inscription, Kush left a description of the splendor of his kingdom, and his own might, all of which have been reduced to nothing. Alexander, upon reading the inscription and learning of Kush-e Pildandān's lost greatness, and after shedding tears of sorrow at this reminder of his own eventual end, becomes interested in Kush's story.[92]

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[89]The constellation of Cancer is only visible on spring nights.
[90]*Kushnāmeh*, 683:

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در او گنبدی ساخت هشتاد گز همه سنگ خاره نه چوب و نه گز
بتی ساخت بلّور بر چهر خویش نهاد اندر آن گنبد از مهر خویش
ز بلّور، قندیل کردش یکی به نیرنگ روغنش داد اندکی
چو از سقف گنبد درآویختند بدو روغن زیت برریختند
یکی آتش اندر زمین بر فروخت به کردار شمع فروزان بسوخت
چو رفتی به برج حمل آفتاب برافروختی ناگاه گاه خواب
چنین تا جهان پر ز گلشن شدی ز خورشید خرچنگ روشن شدی
سکندر بدان بت رسید و شکست نکرد، این شگفتی، به قندیل دست
بجای است قندیل و گنبد هنوز زیانش ندارد خزان و تموز

</div>

[91]*Kushnāmeh*, 180.
[92]*Kushnāmeh*, 180–1.

The parallels to what we know about the Kushan sanctuaries is rather striking. Kush-e Pildandān's statue, much like the ones belonging to the great Kushan kings, remains, to be worshipped after his death. It is housed in a domed structure and is standing on a stone plinth. It certainly could be argued that it is a mere coincidence that three fragmentary statues of Kushan kings found at the Surkh Kotal sanctuary all fit this description. The statues, like that of Kush, have been crafted from light-colored stone. Most significantly, however, there is an emphasis in the text that these statues of Kush and his daughter were made for ritualistic purposes. We know that many years after the demise of the great Kushans, these structures, albeit in a ruinous state, were still dotting the landscape of the former Kushan kingdom. This is corroborated by the archaeological finds as well as by the proclamation in the *Kushnāmeh*'s text that the dome where the statue of Kush-e Pildandān was once housed "is still standing today."[93]

Peculiarities of the Genre: Precision and Chronology

The Sasanian layer.   There is an interesting juncture in the *Kushnāmeh*'s narrative where much is revealed about the way the Shāhnāmeh tradition was formed, and specifically how more recent stories are "pushed back in time" and embedded in its familiar chronology. This is significant for the present discussion beyond its revelation of the mechanism of the formation of this corpus of literature. Here, in discussing how and why the story of Kush-e Pildandān was pushed back into the period of Zahhāk/Fereydun, we can in fact establish the Sasanian provenance of the story. This crucial juncture in the story is where Ābtin is about to leave the scene (by being killed by Zahhāk) and his son Fereydun is to take his place. Now the story of Fereydun and his upbringing by the cow, Barmāyeh, and his eventual triumph over Zahhāk was well known. By the time the Kushan layer of the Shāhnāmeh tradition, as we have it in the *Kushnāmeh*'s source, was being developed, the Avestan myth of the dragon-slaying hero, Fereydun (Θraētaona) had been known, embellished, revised, told and retold for many centuries. If the new layer of the story of Kush were to be credible, therefore, it had to adhere to the known facts of the plot, but also take into account contemporary sentiments.

One of the best-known versions of the story must have been the one Ferdowsi put into verse in the *Shāhnāmeh*, a story that incorporates few but significant elements of the Avestan myth. According to this version, Ābtin is killed by Zahhāk, and his mother, fearing for the newly born Fereydun, entrusts him to be raised by Barmāyeh, the famous cow, and her keeper.[94] Three years later, Farānak takes Fereydun and escapes to a place in India, where the Alborz Mountain is said to be located.[95]

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[93] *Kushnāmeh*, 683.
[94] *Shāhnāmeh*, I: 62–3.
[95] *Shāhnāmeh*, I: 64:

<div dir="rtl">

ببرم پی از خاک جادوستان شوم با پسر سوی هندوستان
شوم ناپدید از میان گروه برم خوبرخ را به البرز کوه

</div>

Eventually, in this version, Fereydun learns of his descent and of Zahhāk's atrocities, removes him from power and becomes Iran's king.

In the *Kushnāmeh*, some of the elements of this well-known story remain the same, but some others have been modified. First is the question of Barmāyeh, the cow, because in the well-known narrative, this animal is of great significance and having been suckled by her is one of Fereydun's distinguishing traits. In this version, Barmāyeh makes an appearance, not as a cow but a chosen *dāyeh*, a person put in charge of his upbringing. Ābtin has chosen Barmāyān, a minister at his court, to be in charge of Fereydun, and there in the wilderness of the mountains, Barmāyān sets up a throne for Fereydun and teaches him how to read and write. There is an insistence on the importance of acquiring knowledge, and this is different from the older version of the story, where the significance was placed on the magical circumstances of the child's survival, hinting at his auspicious future. The narrative, however, has to justify its new interpretation of Fereydun's upbringing: after all everyone knew that Barmāyeh was a cow, and Fereydun an abandoned infant in the wilderness. In fact, the text does justify the new version of events by addressing the different version:

> Everyone says that he [Fereydun] was suckled by the cow, Barmāyeh.
> If you are to listen to what the commoners say,
> you will never learn the accurate version of events, the way things actually happened.
> Milk is a metaphor for knowledge and instead of *gāh* (the court set up for Fereydun in the Mountains), they will say *gāv* (cow).
> Fereydun learned his knowledge at that court, for it was founded by Barmāyān with knowledge.[96]

What we have in the *Kushnāmeh* version, therefore, is a revision that takes into account the sentiments of its contemporary audiences. This type of revision to the Shāhnāmeh tradition must have begun in the Sasanian period and continued to be practiced for the first few centuries after the fall of the Sasanians. But with the passing of time, and the process of transmission of various facets of knowledge at full force, new sentiments, beliefs and preferences had to be accounted for. What we witness is a process that I call "diluting the magical," here exemplified by updating the myth of Barmāyeh the cow into the minister Barmāyān with the aim of granting Fereydun knowledge. Having acquired knowledge had become equally essential (if not more so) to an auspicious birth and special upbringing.

(I shall abscond from this magic-afflicted land. Along with my son, I shall go to India. I shall hide from crowds and I shall take him [lit. the one with a beautiful face] to Mount Alborz).

[96]*Kushnāmeh*, 398:

<div dir="rtl">

چنین گفت هر کس ز مردان مرد که از گاو برمایه او شیر خورد
سخن گر تو از عام خواهی شنود ندانی شنودن بدانسان که بود
همی شیر دانش نماید به راز همی گاه را گاو گویند باز
فریدون از آن گاه دانش گشاد که برماین آن را به دانش نهاد

</div>

This trend of "updating" the stories of the Shāhnāmeh tradition by diluting the magical elements is not unique to the *Kushnāmeh*, but is characteristic of more recent additions to the text. One such example is found in a version of the story of Zahhāk. According to this version, which appears in multiple sources, there were no serpents on his shoulders, but what appeared as snakes were outgrowths of flesh that protruded from his skin due to a rare disease with which Zahhāk had been afflicted. The *Nozhatnāmeh*, among other sources, offers this version of Zahhāk's snakes while also claiming that the Simorgh was not a mythological bird, but a wise man and Rostam's mentor. References to his nest should be read as the wise man's home or abode.[97] Ferdowsi also, in spite of his loyalty to his sources, attempts to explain away the presence of the demon Akvān. Once Rostam slays the demon, Ferdowsi takes a break from recounting this tale to offer his own commentary. He feels obliged to justify the fantastical element in his narrative by telling his audience that they should think of the demons as evil people, otherwise the point of the story would be lost to them.[98]

In the *Kushnāmeh*, aside from "diluting the magical," we see also that the location of the transpired events has been updated. While in the *Shāhnāmeh*, Mount Alborz referred to India, in the *Kushnāmeh*, although the toponym is kept, the location refers to the Alborz mountain range in northern Iran. This process indicates that the story of *Kushnāmeh* is a more recent addition to the Shāhnāmeh tradition, where we have internal evidence from the text that buttresses the thesis of its Sasanian origin.

Included in the same section of the story is a partial translation of the Middle Persian text *Andarznāmeh-ye Bozorgmehr*, also known as *Yadgār-e Bozorgmehr*. The Bozorgmehr mentioned in the title is none other than Khosrow Anushirvān's famous councilor, to whom many words of wisdom have been attributed. Various versions of the *Andarznāmeh* exist, most notably the Middle Persian text and Ferdowsi's versification of a large part of it, as well as what is preserved in the *Kushnāmeh*. Jalal Matini has established the Pahlavi origin of the verses in the *Kushnāmeh* by comparing the lines to the Middle Persian text as well as Ferdowsi's version. According to Matini,

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[97]Shahmardān Abi al-Kheyr, *Nozhatnāmeh*, 302–3 and 342–3.

[98]*Shāhnāmeh*, III: 296-297:

تو مر دیو را مردم بد شناس کسی کو ندارد ز یزدان سپاس
هر آنکو گذشت از ره مردمی ز دیوان شمر، مشمر از آدمی
خرد گر برین گفتها نگرود مگر نیک معنیش می نشود

(You should consider evil people as demons, those who don't show God gratitude. Whoever fell off the path of humanness, count him among the demons and not among humans. Intellect refuses to follow such notions, unless it [does not] hear their true meaning).

Note that here both the readings نشنود and بشنود (according to main vs. alternate manuscripts) are possible. I think if we consider the context and the meaning of the verse, it makes much more sense to read it as بشنود.

there is no doubt that the lines (verses 4363–592) in the *Kushnāmeh* are based on the Pahlavi text. Out of 264 stanzas in the Middle Persian version, 100 have been included in the *Kushnāmeh*, whereas in Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh* 123 of those stanzas have been included. There is evidence that both versifications are based on the Middle Persian text, and that they occurred independent of each other. In other words, there are enough differences and discrepancies between the *Shāhnāmeh* and *Kushnāmeh* versions to exclude the possibility of Irānshāh having copied it from Ferdowsi.[99] This is remarkable because unlike in the *Shāhnāmeh*, where the person uttering the words of wisdom is in fact Bozorgmehr, in the *Kushnāmeh* there is no mention of him. Instead, questions are addressed by Kamdād, a member of Ābtin's retinue, at Saklat's court to the sage Barmāyān. Yet both the form, namely the question and answer format, and the content of the Pahlavi treatise have been kept to a large extent. What this suggests, other than establishing the Sasanian provenance of the source of the *Kushnāmeh*, is the pervasiveness of such material centuries after the collapse of the Sasanian polity.

Biblical Kush: the merging of traditions.   The question of the use of Kush as an ethnonym referring to the Kushans has been complicated by the appearance of line of descendants of Kush-e Pildandān, starting with his son Kanʿān.[100] Kanʿān is the father of yet another character by the name of Kush, who is the father of Namrud.[101] Obviously the reference here in Kanʿān (Canaan), Kush or Cush and Namrud (Nimrod) are two biblical figures that appear in the Hebrew Bible. According to the biblical tradition, Canaan, Cush and Nimrod are sons of Ham, one of Noah's three sons, who populate the earth after the flood. Ham is Cush's father, and Nimrod his son, while Canaan is Cush's brother (Genesis 10: 6–8). But aside from this character, the name Kush also appears in the biblical tradition to refer to a land, also described in the Hebrew Bible (Isiah 18: 1–2). The oldest mention of the name Kush is from Egyptian texts dated to the twentieth century BCE, whereupon the name and presumably the geographical designation entered Near Eastern languages, including Old Persian. There are various interpretations of the location of the land of Kush in different ancient languages of the Near East, but most indicate eastern African regions of Ethiopia and Nubia.[102] As a matter of fact, the land of Kush, according to biblical literature, stretches from Egypt to Central Africa. It follows then that the adjective Kushite/Kushi refers to a person of African descent, but this interpretation equating Kushite with African/ black and in turn with slavery is a post-biblical phenomenon.[103]

The biblical character Cush, son of Ham, and his genealogy appear in the corpus of the *qisas al-anbiyā*, a large collection of stories about the Abrahamic prophets. When the Abbasid authors composed their first histories, their search for historical material prior to the Prophet Muhammad's birth led them to two main sources, first the *qisas*

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[99]Matini, "Tarjomeh-ye manzum-e digari."
[100]*Kushnāmeh*, 406.
[101]*Kushnāmeh*, 497.
[102]Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham*, 17–25.
[103]Ibid., 167.

al-anbiyā and second the Shāhnāmeh tradition. Pre-Islamic history, according to these and later Islamic histories, therefore, consisted of stories and anecdotes from these two different sources. It comes as no surprise, therefore, that the biblical Cush, a descendant of Noah, makes an appearance in the pre-Islamic section of the Islamic histories. For example, according to Tabari, Kush is the son of Ham and brother of Kanʿān and father of Namrud. It is Kush's sons who populate Ethiopia, Sind and India.[104] The same genealogy, with some small variations, is mentioned by Maqdisi,[105] Masʿudi[106] and Balʿami,[107] to name a few historians who reported the biblical histories. The differences notwithstanding, it is clear that the story of Kanʿan, Kush and Namrud, as they appear in the *Kushnāmeh*, belong to the biblical narrative. That the biblical Kush was made a relative of Kush-e Pildandān is a result of the merging of two characters: the eastern Kush-e Pildandān who represents the Kushan kings with the biblical Kush.

Why, one might ask, would these two characters be fused together? The obvious starting point is the homonymy, of course. While this may have been the starting point, there are reasons beyond the mere similarity of the names. The biblical story of Kush, father of Nimrod, as narrated in the *qisas al-anbiyā*, was useful in the construction of Kush-e Pildandān's image as an enemy. After all, Nimrod is seen, especially in the Islamic tradition, as the opponent to Abrahamic monotheism. It's interesting that Kush-e Pildandān's proclivity for idol-worship—which, as we shall see, stems from the reflection of Kushan religious practices—has been connected to the idol-worship of Nimrod. The impetus for sewing together the narratives, as it were, by making the biblical Cush the son of Kush-e Pildandān must have been the usefulness of the story of Nimrod, Cush's son, as the perpetrator of evil deeds. As a matter of fact, the consolidation of the genealogies of the two lines has resulted in more than the solidification of Kush-e Pildandān's image as an anti-hero. It solves the enigma of Kush's adventures in the western territories and his connection to Africa.

The best clue offered for the existence and merging of a number of the narratives is found in the text of *Kushnāmeh* itself. Here one of the aforementioned "seams" of the narrative, a place where the two different characters are merged into one, appears in plain view. We are told by Irānshāh that there is confusion about the identity of Kush who wandered westward. According to some versions of the story, Irānshāh informs us, the Kush who embarked on adventures in the western territories was not Kush-e Pildandān, but his son. Irānshāh does not like this version of events and thinks that the person was none other than Kush-e Pildandān himself.[108] In another verse the Kush of the African adventures is identified as Kush-e Pildandān's grandson, namely the one with the biblical genealogy.[109] Yet, for Irānshāh, who had a free hand in editing the narratives in order to offer his own version, the idea of two

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[104]Tabari, *Tārikh Tabari*, I: 202

[105]Maqdisī, *al-Badʾ wa-l-tārīkh*, III: 27.

[106]Masʿūdi, *Murūj al-dhahab*, III: 5.

[107]Balʿami, *Tārikh-e Balʿami*, 104.

[108]*Kushnāmeh*, 546.

[109]*Kushnāmeh*, 552.

different Kushes, father and son or father and grandson, one in the west and one in the east, was unsuitable, and so he melded the two characters into one.

The idea that the Kush of the western adventures was not Kush-e Pildandān but his grandson had slipped back into Irānshāh's narrative, or rather remained unedited. It would make sense, considering the narrative of the *Kushnāmeh*, that the Kush of the west would be Kush-e Pildandān's grandson, because the narrative, or Irānshāh's source, had taken pains to weave together the biblical genealogy of Kanʿān, Namrud and Kush together with that of the main protagonist of the narrative. Why relate the account of the birth of Kanʿān and his son Kush and his son Namrud, if they are never to be mentioned again in the narrative? It seems, therefore, that the weaving together of the biblical line with the Kushes of the east was present in Irānshāh's source, but the two Kushes, the one in the east reflecting the affairs of the Kushan empire, though related, was kept distinct from the Kush who built a kingdom in Africa. Yet why would Irānshāh want to merge the two Kushes of the two different traditions and backgrounds and geographical locations into one where his source(s) had taken the pains to bring them together through a genealogical connection? Let us remember that Irānshāh was putting into verse an ancient story whose historical references and the polemical battles had lost their relevance. In his function as a pane-gyric poet, his task was to please his patron by composing a grand heroic narrative modelled on the known heroes of the Shāhnāmeh tradition. If Garshāsp and other members of the family of Rostam can accomplish astonishing feats in the east and the west, would it not be fitting for Irānshāh's anti-hero to have achievements of the same caliber? After all, going to the limits of the known world, both in the east and the west, and specifically the land of Kush in Africa, was ascribed to Alexander, whose heroic adventures served as a model for heroic discourse.[110] It would, therefore, serve Irānshāh's purpose to erase the distinction between the Kush of the west and Kush-e Pildandān, the founder of Kushānshār, and merge the two characters into one by creating one powerful anti-hero who is twice as dangerous and repulsive.

Creating the Enemy

Genealogy and dehumanization. The carefully constructed image of the enemy begins with the way in which he enters the world. In the ancient world in general, and in the Iranian world in particular, being of the right stock (*gohar*) is one of the prerequisites for the assumption of political power. Since it is the Shāhnāmeh tra-dition that defines the historical discourse of Iran's pre-Islamic past, when concocting a genealogy for the purposes of legitimacy one must claim descent from one of the kings belonging to the Shāhnāmeh tradition. It is not just monarchs and dynasties who had to link their reign to one of the figures in the Shāhnāmeh tradition, but well after the fall of the Sasanians, when local histories of different regions of Iran

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[110]For example, Alexander travels to Africa and conquers the land of Kush according to a Hebrew version of Alexander romance, Goldenberg, *The Curse of Ham*, 64. See also Döntiz, "Alexander the Great," 36.

identify the founders of their respective regions, they are all exclusively figures from the Shāhnāmeh tradition.[111] Since the Shāhnāmeh tradition is where historical discourse unfolds, their anti-heroes also need to be placed within the world defined by its periodization, its heroes and its kings. As we shall see, this is exactly what happens in the case of the Kushans: they are made to be the descendants of Zahhāk, morally and ethically speaking one of the worst, if not the worst character of the Shāhnāmeh tradition.

But evil or not, Kush-e Pildandān, the character that stands for the entire dynasty of the Kushans, is not an ordinary fellow. Therefore, his birth is an extraordinary affair. In fact, some of the very same motifs describing the birth of a distinguished person are invoked to underline the fact that he is distinguished. Kush is born to a beautiful mother from a group of people by the name of Pilgush (lit., elephant-eared). The name notwithstanding, the mother's appearance is not unusual. Kush, the father (Zahhāk's brother), is also devoid of non-human features. Yet baby Kush has fangs like a boar, ears like an elephant, his hair is red, his eyes are deep blue and there is a black mark between his shoulder blades.[112] He is such a hideous creature that upon setting eyes on him, his father kills the child's mother for having borne such a demon-child.[113] Kush the infant, therefore, is cast off by his father into wilderness, so far sharing a fate similar to Zāl, who is abandoned in the wilderness by his father because upon birth his hair is white, a flaw that is perceived to indicate his "demonic" nature.[114] But unlike Zāl, who is brought up by the benevolent Simorgh, Kush-e Pildandān is found by his father's enemy and Fereydun's father Ābtin. This, in turn, resembles the *topos* of the cast-off future king/prophet who is raised by his family's enemies.[115]

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[111]Gazerani, *Sistani Cycle*, 31, n. 99.

[112]*Kushnāmeh*, 202:

<div dir="rtl">

دو دندان خوك و دو گوش آنِ پيل   سرو موي سرخ و دو ديده چو نيل
ميان دو كتفش نشاني سياه   سِيه چون تن مردم پرگناه
</div>

(He had two teeth like boars, two ears like elephants;
his hair and head were red, two eyes dark blue.
Between his shoulder blades he bore a black mark,
black the color of the bodies of sinful people.)

[113]*Kushnāmeh,* 202-203; where he is called بچه اهرمن , child of Ahriman or demon-child.
[114]*Shāhnāmeh*, I: 166, Zāl is also called "devil-child" بچه اهرمن by his father, Sām:

<div dir="rtl">

از اين بچّه چون بچّه اهرمن سيه پيكر و موى سرِچون سمن
چو آيند و پرسند گردنكشان چه گويم از اين بچه بد نشان
چه گويم كه اين بچه ديو چيست پلنگ دو رنگست گر بربريست
</div>

[(Sām speaking] What will all he heroes say when they ask about this ill-omened child,
this *ahrimanic* child, with his black body and white hair?
How can I describe this demon-child?
Like a tiger he has stripes upon his back.)

[115]For a discussion of this motif, see Gazerani, "Zahhāk's Story and History," 206–7.

When Ābtin finds Kush, he does not take pity on him. Instead he resorts to all sorts of violent and brutal acts to kill the infant. First, he attempts to feed it to a dog and then to a lion, and finally he attempts to burn it in fire. After the baby Kush survives it all, his wife tells Ābtin that perhaps the infant is meant to live and promises to nurse it and raise it as her own child. The saving of the child by the wife of the person who is supposed to get rid of it is consistent with the abandoned child motif.[116]

The narrative, therefore, constructs a character that is both significant by means of invoking this *topos*, and at the same time highlights the fact that this character is distinguished, a great, powerful anti-hero, a worthy opponent of the Iranian kings and heroes. This reversal of the heroic motif in order to create an anti-hero is practiced elsewhere within the Shāhnāmeh tradition. For example, the Kayānid king Bahman, according to the Sistani version of events, fails to kill a dragon and is instead devoured by the beast. I have shown elsewhere that dragon-slaying was a feat attributed to a hero who would become the future king, and failing to do so indicates Bahman's lack of legitimacy. According to the Sistani version of events, Bahman is in fact an illegitimate king, an evil character who slays Rostam's son, Farāmarz, imprisons Zāl, and razes the kingdom of Sistan and plunders its wealth. Therefore, one easy way to buttress his image as an anti-hero is his inability to kill a dragon.[117] Here, too, we see how by reversing an established motif, a character is constructed that is distinguished and abhorrent at the same time.

In this case the demonic ancestry of the enemy was complemented by the appearance of the non-human features rendering the enemy only partially human. As we shall see, there are other elements added to his physical appearance to complete the characterization as less than good, human and natural. At the same time, Kush's non-human quality grants him bestial strength, creating an enemy who is both exceptionally loathsome and strong.

Although having been raised by Ābtin, Kush-e Pildandān eventually joins his father, but he does so after having slain his own brother, Nivrasb, whom he encountered on the battlefield while still fighting in Ābtin's camp.[118] Once he is reunited with his family, Kush-e Pildandān learns that he is of the lineage of Zahhāk. His father's seeming pride in the lineage is rather confusing to Kush-e Pildandān, because having been raised by Ābtin he had thought that Zahhāk was anything but a source of pride. But here his father gives him another version of history: it is Ābtin who is from an *ahrimanic* lineage, because he is a descendant of Jamshid, and Jamshid was the very king whose hubris was to such an extent that he claimed divinity, and thus allowed humankind to be afflicted by suffering, disease and death.[119] What

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[116]Although it is not always the wife who rescues the child, it appears in some famous examples of the motif. See *Kushnāmeh*, 203.

[117]Gazerani, *Sistani Cycle*, 185–93.

[118]Nivrasb is Kush-e Pildandān's brother. The name is not attested in Justi's work, *Das iranisches Namenbuch*. My guess is that the name has been constructed to sound like Bivarasp, one of Zahhāk's names, in order to emphasize Kush and Nivrasb's descent from Zahhāk.

[119]*Kushnāmeh*, 234.

we encounter here, in the alternate narration of events, is one of the interesting characteristics of the Shāhnāmeh tradition.

Deeds.   A king's legitimacy in the Shāhnāmeh tradition is affirmed by the twin qualities of lineage (*gohar*) and skills/deeds (*honar*). Simply put, if a king has both, then and only then is he in possession of divine glory (*farr*), the one and only legitimizing source of political power. In creating an anti-hero, as we have seen, the reverse process is at play. Kush-e Pildandān, who represents the Kushan dynasty as a whole, has the worst possible lineage. After establishing his demonic pedigree, the text turns its attention to argue that its anti-hero also lacks skills of governance (*honar*).

It is known that the most significant measure of a king's action is whether he acts according to a certain conception of justice or the circle of justice, a conception that was prevalent for the *longue durée* of much of Iran's known history. It comes as no surprise that Kush-e Pildandān, once a king in his own right—i.e. after having received the mandate from Zaḥḥāk to reign over the eastern territories—perpetrates unspeakable acts of injustice. To be precise, after defeating his local enemies and contenders to gain power, he expands his empire to encompass vast territories including Turan, Makrān and India, and once he is able to enforce payment of tributes from the kings of these territories, he is described as having behaved in the following manner:

> He deviated from the path of religion, custom, and justice;
> he set out to commit injustice.
> He set aside all compassion;
> he took away people's possessions.
> He became dauntless; he became ruthless; an unjust tyrant.
> He washed his hands of all goodness.
> Every day he singled out a beautiful woman.
> As night fell, he acted unjustly, took her away from her husband.
> He kidnapped beautiful children, both male and female, to become his lovers.
> When his counselor gave him advice against it, he didn't heed it.
> His harmful acts were not diminished over the years.[120]

These are the last things we hear about Kush-e Pildandān before the narrative shifts to the story of Ābtin and his romance with Farārang (Farānak, Fereydun's mother). The people of the city of Khomdān are described as despondent and helpless. This is the

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[120]*Kushnāmeh*, 326:

<div dir="rtl">

بگشت از ره دین و آیین و داد به بیداد دست و زبان برگشاد

سر از چنبر مهر بیرون کشید همی بستد از مردمان هر چه دید

ستمکار و خونریز و بی با ک شد ز نیکی دل و دست او پاک شد

نشان جست روزی از آن خوبروی شب آمد، ستم کرد بستد ز شوی

ز ره کودک خوب را بر گرفت دلارای هم ماده هم نر گرفت

نیارست دستور دادنش پند نه در سالیان کرد کمتر گزند

</div>

last thing we are told before the narrative takes a break from the gloomy scene in order to narrate a romantic episode unfolding in the safety of Basilā Island. When the narrative returns to the city of Khomdān and Kush-e Pildandān as its ruler seventy-six pages later, the audience once again is reminded of Kush's deeds:

> He took away from everyone whatever he could find;
> he spilled the blood of many distinguished noblemen.
> He forced women into his bed;
> he did the same to children.
> Neither a man's wealth was safe,
> nor were his wife and children immune from him.[121]

The people of Khomdān decide to approach Zahhāk and inform him of Kush-e Pildandān's ruthless acts, but Zahhāk condones his nephew's actions. Once they return, and Kush-e Pildandān learns what they have done, he hangs them from trees, creating so much horror in the city that no one dares to complain again.[122] This gruesome display of injustice seals his image as a tyrant.

But let us step back and see what it is here that the discourse of this genre considers injustice, for that in fact leads us to the definition, albeit partial, of legitimacy in Late Antique Iran. That Kush-e Pildandān essentially plunders the denizens of Khomdān and takes any woman and child that he desires into captivity is not in itself considered an evil act according to the Shāhnāmeh tradition. There are many examples of such actions carried out by Iranian kings and heroes, but in these cases such violent acts are perpetuated against a conquered population and not the kings' own subjects.[123] Kush-e Pildandān, however, transgresses the moral purview of the genre by doing this to his own subjects, the very same people whose happiness, according to the notion of "circle of justice," is a prerequisite for him to be considered a just ruler. Being bereft of justice is the definite measuring stick for one's actions and is the most serious and delegitimizing charge any king could face. As a matter of fact, this sentiment is expressed explicitly at the end of this episode: "The worst of times are those when kings tread the path of injustice."[124]

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[121]*Kushnāmeh*, 402:

<div dir="rtl">

همی بستد از هر کسی هر چه یافت به خون گرانمایه مردم شتافت
زنان را سوی بستر خویش برد همان کودکان را بر خویش برد
نه بر خواسته مرد را دسترس نه ایمن به فرزند و زن ایچ کس

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[122]*Kushnāmeh*, 402–3.

[123]Examples of this type of accepted violence are Garshāsp's army's plunder of Kabul as well as the devastation of the kingdom of Makrān by the Iranian army during Kay Khosrow's reign. Asadi Tusi, *Garshāspnāmeh*, 257–8; *Shāhnāmeh*, IV: 295.

[124]*Kushnāmeh*, 403; one instance of the gravity of king's unjust acts is articulated at the end of this section:.

<div dir="rtl">

" زمانه نبینی بتر زآن که شاه   همه راه بیداد دارد نگاه "

</div>

Aside from taking what is not his, stealing women and children to satisfy his see-mingly insatiable sexual desire is another charge brought against Kush-e Pildnadān. This charge of promiscuity or a lascivious lifestyle, of course, is a common rhetorical technique, and was in fact leveled against the Kushans in the Syriac *Book of the Law of Countries* by Bardesanes of Edessa (145–222 CE).[125] But whereas Bardesanes empha-sizes the promiscuous habits of Kushan women, Sasanian polemics against the Kushans concerned themselves with the mismanagement of women as property. After all, Kush-e Pildandān takes women who do not belong to him. Interestingly this type of transgression was committed by Mazdak, another enemy of the Sasanians. Most of the debate concerning the issue of Mazdak's practices vis-à-vis women has been centered on whether the practice of women-sharing was real or not.[126] And that is of relevance for establishing the practices of the Mazdakites and other sects in the early Islamic period who are purported to have revived this practice. However, as far as Sasanian polemics is concerned, we have descriptions of how, once Mazdak revolted, he took women and wealth, a behavior that reminds us of the deeds of Kush-e Pildandān.[127] Like Mazdak, Kush-e Pildandān takes what is not rightfully and legally his, be it wealth or women.

The second piece of the puzzle in the construction of the image of our anti-hero has therefore been put into place. The description and emphasis on Kush-e Pildandān's particular brand of injustice leaves no room for the audience to give him the benefit of the doubt. His demonic lineage and revolting appearance have been coupled with his heinous actions of robbing his subjects of their wealth, homes, women and children. The picture of those complaining about his atrocities hanging from trees in vast numbers has the poignancy of perpetually sealing the image of the Kushan ruler as the embodiment of evil in the minds of the audience.

Religion. The heading of the section following the gruesome scene of people hanging from trees reads "Kush invites people to worship him," but this is not an accurate title. What follows here is a general discourse on the part of Irānshāh on the evils of idol-worship. But shortly thereafter we encounter the first mention of Kush's idol con-struction and worship.

The story of Kush-e Pildandān's pursuit of his own daughter, and her refusal to sleep with her father, is actually the starting point for demonstrating Kush's bad reli-gion. His daughter not only refuses him, but takes a secret lover, Kaniyāsh, the prince of Qandahar. Once Kush-e Pildandān learns of the affair, he kills his own daughter in

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[125]Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, 21: "Among the Bactrians known as Kushans women wear men's clothing and ornaments of gold and pearls. They are waited on by their servants rather than their hus-bands. They ride mares decked out in gold and precious stones. But these women are not chaste and they have intercourse with their servants and foreigners. Their husbands do not reproach them and the women are not afraid. We cannot say, however, of all Bactrian women that Venus is placed with Jupiter in the house of Mars at the meridian, where rich, adulterous and husband-dominating women are born."

[126]For example, see Crone, "Zoroastrian Communism."

[127]In Tabari's narrative of Mazdakite revolt, we read that the Mazdakites invaded people's homes, taking over their household, women and wealth; Tabari, *Tārikh-e Tabari*, II: 101:

" حتى كانوا يدخلون على الرجل فى داره فيغلبونه على منزله ، نسائه ، امواله ."

a fit of rage. But soon after, he is overcome by remorse and this is when he orders statues of his daughter to be made and sent all around the east. This is the origin of idol-worship in the eastern territories.[128] The next time we hear about Kush's idol-worship is when he is on his western adventures and tries to spread his faith in the western territories. This is how the scene is described:

> Just as he had done in China, he sent out orders to all the *mobeds* in the world.
> He ordered them to build an idol in each house, and adorn it according to ritual.
> According to the customs and in the shape of Kush the Great,
> they then made idols, small and big.
> When women and men got up,
> they prostrated before it in the manner of Buddhists (*shaman*).
> They put their heads down at its feet;
> they sang its praises.
> Kush, the unjust tyrant, used to tell these dull-witted people:
> "I am the lord upon this earth, for I can set it to ruin or make it flourish at my volition."
> …
> People, close to him as well as distant,
> converted to his religion:
> all became idol-worshippers;
> all drunk on the wine offered by demons.
> If Kush were to find anyone who refused to worship idols,
> he would cut off his head without hesitation.[129]

It is important to note that for a short while, Kush-e Pildandān's evil traits, if not completely erased, were not as evident. That was a necessary adjustment because Kush

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[128]*Kushnāmeh*, 411.
[129]*Kushnāmeh*, 597–8:

بدانگه فرمود بر او به چین بفرمود تا موبدان زمین
به هر خانه ای بتی ساختند نگارش به آیین پرداختند
به آیین ودیدار کوش سترگ بتی پیش بنهاد خرد و بزرگ
ز بستر چو برخاستی مرد و زن شدی پیش ایشان بسان شمن
نهادی سر از پیش او بر زمین فراوان بر او خواندندی آفرین
همی گفت با مردم تیره هوش ستمکار و بیداد جوینده کوش
که پروردگار این جهان را منم که آباد ویران چو خواهم کنم
…
بپذرفت مردم هم کیش اوی اگر بود بیگانه، ار خویش اوی
…
به فرمان او بت پرستان شدند ز جام می دیو مستان شدند
کرا یافت کاو بت ندارد به پیش سر از تن جدا کردش آن تیره کیش

was sent to the west as commander/vassal of Fereydun. But after some time his wicked nature catches up with him and he refuses to follow Fereydun's orders. The above-quoted passage on his idol-worship appears in the narrative right after Kush once again reverts to his evil self.

There is a repetition of the story of Kush falling in love with his own daughter and his daughter refusing him, which results in him killing her. This time around also he builds idols in his daughter's image.[130] The fact that an entire story is repeated is rather strange. It is one of the text's inconsistencies mentioned in the introduction. This particular repetition is a result of the fact that the Kush that engages in the adventures in the west is a different character from Kush-e Pildandān. More evidence to support this will be offered below. There is also further emphasis on Kush's claim to divinity, as he is made to assist Rostam in his battles against the demons of Mazandaran. Sometime after he returns to his kingdom and holds court he proclaims:

I do not want anyone calling me king,
for I am no less than the creator.
The world came into existence from me.
Who can dare to leave the sphere of my influence?
I am God upon this earth;
 if I decide, I can set ruin to this world.[131]

The implications of the depiction of Kush-e Pildandān as the progenitor of idolatry in the known world adds another thick layer of wickedness to his image as an anti-hero. That is obviously so for its last intended audience, at the Saljuq court, as it would have been since its creation during the Sasanian period. Islam's iconoclasm is at the cornerstone of its religious worldview. When it comes to Zoroastrianism, things are a little bit more nuanced. Mary Boyce's thesis on Zoroastrian iconoclasm[132] has been recently revised by Michael Shenkar, who concludes that there is no evidence of iconoclasm. Instead of militantly iconoclastic, Shenkar argues, Zoroastrianism was and remains aniconic.[133] Furthermore, we know now that the so-called cult of fire to which much of western Iran adhered was different than the cult of idols. As a matter of fact, tensions are recorded by post-conquest authors between fire-worshippers and idol-worshippers. While evidence of the two different religious groups is meager, it has been shown that there is a dichotomy when it comes to the religious practices in the

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[130]*Kushnāmeh*, 654–5.
[131]*Kushnāmeh*, 662:

نخواهم که خواند مرا شاه کس مرا آفریننده خواند و بس
جهان از من آمد بدین سان پدید سر از چنبر من که یارد کشید؟
منم، تا جهان بود خواهد، خدای چو خواهم درآرم جهان را به پای

[132]Boyce, "Iconoclasm among the Zoroastrians."
[133]Shenkar, "Rethinking Sasanian Iconoclasm."

eastern and western provinces of Irānshahr on the eve of the Arab invasion. While the Arabs encountered idols and idol-temples in the east, no such occurrences have been recorded in the west. Furthermore, it has been noted that there seems to have been a shift from idol-worship to fire-worship, whereby many idol-temples were converted into fire-temples.[134] Whether Sasanians practiced militant iconoclasm by destroying idol-temples or replacing them with fire-temples cannot be firmly established. It has been suggested that Sasanian society, while not iconoclastic—for it tolerated depiction of Iranian deities exclusively on rock-reliefs, coins and seals—eventually developed polemics against idols and idolatry.[135]

Erecting statues of gods and goddesses as objects of worship, as the Kushans had done, therefore, did not fall into the mainstream of western Zoroastrian practice. Added to that, the foreign religion of Buddhism was widely practiced in parts of Kushan kingdom especially in Gandhara, where previous to the rise of the Kushans it had developed its distinct character. Buddhism found supporters and patrons in some of the Kushan rulers, most famously Kanishka, who issued the rare but remarkable Buddha coins.[136] There is, therefore, solid historical evidence for religious practices of the Kushans that would have been considered abhorrent to the western Zoroastrian world. Adding this layer to the image of Kush-e Pildandān is neither a product of the composer(s) imagination nor has it been shaped as a result of the influences of Islamic iconoclasm. It is, rather, based on historical reality of the different religious practices of the Kushans and the Sasanians.

Understanding the complex world of the Kushan religion, two other observations can be made about Kush's idol-worship: first, the story with the construction of an idol in the shape of his daughter, i.e. a feminine deity; and second, his own claims to divinity. Both of these factors have been emphasized in the text through repetition. The first, the story of the statue of his daughter, may have been constructed in order to justify the prevalence of goddess worship in the Kushan kingdom. Goddesses such Nana[137] assumed a significant place at the head of the Kushan pantheon and were widely worshipped by kings and commoners. Nana was also placed as the head of deities in the Rabatak inscription.[138] Aside from Nana, the Great Goddess of eastern Iranian territories, the goddess Ardoxšo was also widely worshipped[139] Her image is most widely depicted on the reverse of late Kushan coins. Additionally, she

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[134]Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits*, 44.

[135]Shenkar argues that the Zoroastrian priesthood's discourse against idols and idolatry denotes "bad religion" in general and was formulated in response to challenges of Christianity; "Rethinking Zoroastrian Iconoclasm," 492.

[136]For Kanishka's Buddha coins see Cribb, "Kanishka's Buddha Image Coins," and more recently Raven, "Design Diversity."

[137]For a summary of studies on Nana see Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits*, 116–28.

[138]Sims-Williams and Cribb, "A New Bactrian Inscription," 76 (line 2 of the inscription) and 108 (commentary on line 2). Nana was the most widely depicted deity on Kaniskha's coins, and she seemed to have been worshipped by the common people, as attested by the presence of earthen figurines; Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits*, 117.

[139]There have been inconclusive attempts to identify Ardoxšo with the Avestan Aši (Ahura Mazda's daughter), as well as the Iranian goddess Anahita. She stands for abundance, but also has a legitimizing

is the only figure paired with Pharro (*farr*), for whom there are free-standing images.[140]

The Kushans depicted anthropomorphic images of their goddesses and disseminated them on their coins. The importance and prevalence of the images of goddesses could have given rise to the story of Kush-e Pildandān's daughter and her posthumously constructed image. This brings us to the second factor, namely Kush's claim to divinity. That, too, can be a reflection of Kushan emperors as self-proclaimed divine beings, as discussed above in the context of Kushan sanctuaries.

In spite of the *Kushnāmeh*'s condemnation of Kush's religion, his practices, abominable as they are made to be, did not play a crucial role in forming the image of Kush as an anti-hero. As we saw, his idol-worship is rebuked, but Kush's "bad religion" is not rebuked as much as one would expect if Zoroastrian priests had a say in it. Being an adherent of a questionable creed is after all associated with being non-Iranian. Shaul Shaked has argued that the very term non-Iranian, *an-er*, in addition to its geographical and ethnic designation, had religious connotations.[141] Here, "bad religion" is part of the image of Kush as an *an-er* and this is not the basis on which the polemics against him is built. The question of him being the progenitor of idolatry is, in fact, an etiological tale because its primary function is to provide an explanation for the reality of existence of a number of religious practices in the eastern Iranian lands with icons as objects of veneration. The Kushan period is significant for the spread of Buddhism, already established in Gandhara, to Central Asia and eventually to China, with numbers of Buddhist monks and monasteries flourishing on the edges of the Sasanian empire.[142] Buddhism, however, was not the only religion practiced in the eastern territories that made ritualistic use of icons; as noted above, the religion practiced by the Kushans themselves made use of images as objects of worship, as opposed to the western aniconic tradition. In the *Kushnāmeh* we have reflections of how the religion of the Kushans was perceived by the Sasanians, and how its worship of cultic icons was seen as bad religion. But more importantly, Kush's bad religion is used against him while he is an enemy.

The rehabilitation of Kush.   Although the aim of the *Kushnāmeh* is to create an anti-hero, a political enemy who is less than human, unjust and with detestable beliefs, we find that the same character can and eventually does become a political ally of the Iranian throne. Let us recall that Kush-e Pildandān is eventually defeated by the Iranians, but instead of being killed, he is imprisoned in Mount Damāvand. Later on, he is freed from captivity in order to partake in conquests of the western

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function; Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits*, 83. It has also been postulated that Ardoxšo is a local Kushan; Rosenfield, *Dynastic Arts*, 74–5.

[140]Shenkar, *Intangible Spirits*, 83.

[141]Shaked, "Religion in the Late Sasanian Period." For a more general summary of religion during the Sasanian period, see de Jong, "Religion and Politics."

[142]For the spread of Buddhism in Indo-Iranian borderlands, which includes a discussion of Buddhism's spread during the Kushan period, see Tremblay, "Serindia: Buddhism among Iranians"; Rosenfield, "Some Debating Points."

territories/Africa at Fereydun's behest. The sudden shifting of alliances and loyalties are, of course, due to the fact that the story has been constructed according to the historical realities of the Kushano–Sasanian relationships. As discussed above, the Sasanians eventually conquer Kushānshāhr, but the indigenous Kushan element is not obliterated. The *Kushnāmeh* now has to accommodate this new reality of the Kushans, and that has to deconstruct the image built of the enemy. In other words, the anti-hero needs to be peeled away from Kush-e Pildandān's image, layer by layer.

Let us see how the text handles this problem. We know that Kush-e Pildandān is freed[143] to serve the Iranian king in his adventures in the west (in other versions this was a descendant of the Great Kush), where he builds a kingdom. For some time he acts as a commander sent by Fereydun, but eventually he becomes rebellious and reverts to his old ways. What is important, however, is that at the end of his life he goes through a complete transformation.

Kush's reform commences not consciously or willingly, but he is led to it. One day while on a hunt, he encounters an exceptional wild ass (*gur*), and not being able to catch up with it, Kush follows it until it disappears from sight, and he is left thirsty and hungry in the wilderness. The wild ass is considered to be a semi-magical animal, and oftentimes the swiftness of its movements and the lines on its back have been used metaphorically to indicate the mundane world's impermanence.[144] Amongst its other functions is its appearance in a hunting motif, and this is what we have here. The animal is so bewitching that the hero cannot help but follow him: the *gur* leads him astray first to wilderness, and then disappears.[145] Once in the wilderness and lost, the hero enters a magical landscape where something out of the ordinary happens. Here, Kush wanders and eventually sees a palace. Knocking at the gate, a wise old man opens the door and Kush, once again, repeats his claim to divinity, but also asks for help. The old man laughs at this contradiction and then rebukes Kush for his hubris and his ignorance and asks him to leave. Eventually, however, he agrees to set Kush straight, and that involves going through several stages of rehabilitation. After soliciting a promise from him to cease his claims to divinity, Kush is put on a diet of fruits. Kush becomes feeble enough to admit that he has no power over his own body, let alone anyone else. After the wise man has ensured that Kush has learned the intended lesson, he removes the outward signs of Kush-e Pildandān's evil character, namely his huge teeth and his elephant ears.[146] With the transformation completed, the new Kush sets out to acquire knowledge. His training begins with learning how to write, then he learns whatever there is to know about medicine, astrology and casting

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[143]In this version of the story; in others the Kush of western adventures, as we saw above, was a different character.

[144]For the animal's symbolism see Gazerani, "From Ancient India."

[145]An example of this is found in the story of *Samak-e ʿayyār* where Khorshid-shāh is led astray by a *gur*, which is how he meets and falls in love with Mahpari. This becomes the impetus for the narrative to move forward. Arjāni, *Samak-e ʿayyār*, I: 8.

[146]*Kushnāmeh*, 669.

spells.[147] Then the wise man tells him about the seven virtues (*haft pand*).[148] Kush now embarks on a journey of building magnificent structures with innovative features, like a fountain. Among the structures he builds are a dome and a temple to house his own image. This, of course, is inconsistent with his rehabilitated image, but it may be due to the fact that the narratives of several characters of the dynasty were enmeshed to create one great Kush. In other words, in all likelihood the character in the original story was not great Kush but one of his descendants, creating more of a parallel between the outline of Kushan history and the text. This is the temple/sanctuary that Alexander eventually comes across. Actually, in the case of a golden structure by the name of Eram, also one of great feats of Kush, we are informed that the building of this structure has been attributed to the Chinese emperor Māhang as well as a previous Kush. In the text, we do have a mention of Māhang, but there is no other Kush and that is because the last composer of the text, Irānshāh, had decided to conflate all the stories of various characters by the name of Kush into one great anti-hero. Be this as it may, the *Kushnāmeh* ends with an emphasis on Kush's newly acquired good traits and his complete transformation.

Conclusion

As we have seen, one major arena where the battle of political legitimacy was to be fought was the shared history conceptualized and articulated by the Shāhnāmeh tradition. This was so for the Sasanians when they attempted to create a powerful image of the enemy. If we ignore the body of stories that are in some ways the output of these battles, because we do not have a "purely" Sasanian version of them, we not only miss out on the potential to explore aspects of social and cultural history of the period, but are also misinformed about how the material was formed, transmitted and recycled through many centuries. It is within this worldview, historical periodization and polemics of power, and among a familiar cast of its characters, that the past is recounted. The conception of the past articulated in this corpus was in fact tapped into in order to argue for the legitimacy of the contemporary political reality.

The response to the legitimizing efforts of the Kushans, which included the adoption and appropriation of Iranian cultural elements—a fact that was perhaps viewed as an encroachment upon an Iranian cultural heritage—received a swift response from the Sasanians, evident in the way they crafted the image of Kush-e Pildandān as an anti-hero. In creating an enemy that suffered from all relevant vices a ruler could be afflicted with, they revealed a strategy for dealing with a political rival. Previously, the strategy of appropriation was employed in the case of Alexander, who was

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[147]Because of its associations with sorcery, it is strange that "casting spells" is listed among the good sciences. In the Iranian context, anything associated with sorcery is usually considered evil and its practitioners are strongly condemned.

[148]The seven virtues are ۱.خرد ۲. دانش ۳ . هوش ۴.راستی ۵. پاکی ۶. مهر ۷. داد و آزادگی (1) Wisdom; (2) Knowledge; (3) Intelligence; (4) Honesty; (5) Purity; (6) Compassion; (7) Justice and freedom/being free-spirited. *Kushnāmeh*, 670–3.

made half-Iranian. The strategy of elimination was employed in the case of the Parthian history, as the Sasanians attempted to obliterate the history of stories of their predecessors and rivals from the corpus of the Shāhnāmeh tradition. The character of Kush-e Pildandān is a result of dehumanizing the enemy by attributing the worst possible vices to him, creating a figure that resembles a caricature, a strategy that is still employed using some of the same motifs and themes in the Iranian political sphere. A careful consideration of the charges brought against the enemy, in turn, sheds light on the important components of the discourse of legitimacy. As we begin to bring back materials drawn from diverse sources into our examination of the Late Antique period, such a picture of the socio-political landscape begins to fill out.

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Nahid Norozi

The "Metal Army" of Alexander in the War against the Indian King Porus in Three Persian Alexander Books (Tenth-Fourteenth Centuries)

The article focuses on a very particular episode of the eastern Alexander legend, i.e. the building of an extraordinary "metal army" employed by Alexander in his war against the Indian King Porus, which is present in at least three Persian accounts written between the tenth and fourteenth centuries CE: the "Book of Kings" (Shāh-nāmeh) by Ferdowsi, the "Book of Dārāb" (Dārāb-nāmeh), attributed to Tarsusi, and an "Alexander-book" (Eskandar-nāmeh) in prose copied by ʿAbd al-Kāfi ibn Abu al-Barakāt. Compared to the most remote source, the text of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and to the closest ones (the Armenian version of the fifth century, the Syriac text of the sixth-seventh centuries, and the Hebrew version of the tenth-eleventh centuries), it is argued that the Persian authors have not passively received the inherited materials; on the contrary, they have been able to liven up the scene of Alexander's battle against the Indian King Porus by bringing onto the battlefield a fiery and phantasmagorical army of metal, giving us one of the more amazing episodes in the eastern legend of the great Macedonian.

Keywords: Alexander; Metal Army; Telesm; *Shāh-nāmeh*; *Dārāb-nāmeh*; *Eskandar-nāmeh*; Indian King Porus

Introduction

Alexander's story, widely reflected in world literature from antiquity to the Middle Ages and beyond, has been the subject of a multitude of studies and research.[1] In Neo-Persian literature, there is a considerable number of Alexander-books.[2]

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[1]For a few reference works see, for example: Kroll, *Historia Alexandri Magni*; Tarn, *Alexander the Great II*; Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*; Merkelbach and Trumpf, *Die Quellen*. A broad comparative look is in Bridges and Bürgel, *The Problematics of Power*; Harf-Lancner, Kappler, and Suard, *Alexandre le Grand*; Saccone, *Alessandro/Dhū l-Qarnayn*.

[2]There are at least fifteen; see Hanaway, "ESKANDAR-NĀMA" and Zolfaqari, Baqeri, and Heydarpur, "Janbeh-hā-ye mardom-shenākhti," 36-7, to which should be added another Alexandreid, recently published, from the fifteenth–sixteenth centuries: Bāqi, *Eskandar-nāmeh*.

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These are either poems of an epic character in rhyming distichs (*mathnavi*) or extensive stories in prose that tell the adventures of the Greek king, for which there is now a wide range of critical literature.[3]

In addition to various Alexander-books in Persian literature, we also know works that, although not entitled *Eskandar-nāmeh* or "Book of Alexander," largely contain the Alexandrian matter. This is the case, for example, in an eleventh- or twelfth-century work in prose dedicated to the figure of King Darius III, entitled *Dārāb-nāmeh* (The Book of Darius) and attributed to Abu Taher Tarsusi,[4] in which, despite the rather misleading title, the events of Alexander take up about two-thirds of the total volume (see below). There are also works of a historical (historical-geographic) or religious nature, many of which contain chapters dedicated to the Macedonian king,[5] but we will not focus on them in this article.

The remote source of the Persian Alexander-books seems to be the Greek Alexander Romance of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, of which four recensions (α, β, γ, δ) are traceable, a text composed by a native of Alexandria at some date after 200 BC and possibly much later (the earliest extant version in ancient Greek is from the third century AD). Several manuscripts attribute the work to Alexander's court historian Callisthenes, who died before Alexander and therefore could not have written a full account of his life. According to Cary, this text "was subsequently elaborated and enlarged by the addition of much material, especially letters supposed to have been written by Alexander and others."[6] It was translated into Latin in the fourth century AD by Julius Valerius (*Res Gestae Alexandri Macedonis*, widely popular in medieval Europe), and later, as is known, was reworked into the main European languages.[7] In the pre-Islamic period the Pseudo-Callisthenes' Alexander Romance was translated

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[3]There are numerous studies concerning Alexander's romance in Persian literature, including: Nöldeke, Beiträge; Bertel's, Roman ob Aleksandre; Montgomery Watt, "ISKANDAR," 127; Hanaway, "Persian Popular Romances"; Safavi, *Eskandar*; Bertotti, "Vedute di città perfette"; Hanaway, "ESKANDAR-NĀMA"; Kappler, "Alexandre le Grand"; Casari, *Alessandro e Utopia*; Saccone, "Introduzione"; Feuillebois-Pierunek, "Les figures d'Alexandre"; Stoneman, Erickson, and Netton, *The Alexander Romance*. The most recent survey is in Manteghi, *Alexander the Great in the Persian Tradition*.

[4]Tarsusi, *Dārāb-nāmeh*. See also Watt, "ISKANDAR," 133; Tarsusi, *Alexandre le Grand en Iran*; also Gaillard, "Introduction"; Parvin Gonabadi, "Dārāb-nāma"; Ebrahimi, "Sheklgiri-ye chehreh-ye Eskandar." There is also a complete Russian translation by N.B. Kondyreva: Tarsusi, *Darabname*.

[5]The following historical works can be cited, in which information on Alexander is treated or mentioned: Anklesaria, Zand-Ākāsih, 274-7, 306-7; Boyce, The Letter of Tansar, 36-7; Boyce, Textual Sources, 114; Anonymous, Ardā Wirāz Nāmag, 76; Dinawari, *Kitāb al-Akhbār*, 31-41; Ibn al-Balkhi, *Fārs-nāmeh*, 15-16, 55-7; Al-Isfahāni, *Taʾrīkh*, 39-40; al-Masʿudi, *Murūj*, I: 318-32; Anonymous, *Mojmal*, chap. 4; Rāzi, *Rawḥ al-jinān*, vol. VII; Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadāni, *Kitāb al-buldān*; Tabari, *Taʾrīkh al-rusūl*, I: 693-4, 697, 701; Al-Biruni, *Āthār*, 59-66; Abu Eshāq Nishāburi, Qeṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ.

[6]Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 9.

[7]The transmission of the text and the relationship between its four recensions (and the derived translations) is discussed in Cary, *The Medieval Alexander*, 9-12, whose book is still a standard reference for the reflection of Alexander's legend in medieval European literature. In addition to the reference works mentioned in note 1, see Berg, "An Early Source"; Abel, *Le roman d'Alexandre*; Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*; Samuel, "The Earliest"; Frugoni, *La fortuna*; Boitani et al., *Alessandro*. See also Zuwiyya, *A Companion to Alexander Literature*; Stock, *Alexander the Great in the Middle Ages*.

into Syriac and from there probably into Pahlavi. The Syriac version essentially became the source of many translations and re-elaborations in the languages of the Middle East, starting with Pahlavi and Arabic.[8] But it is necessary to keep in mind that another source plays a fundamental role in the transmission to the medieval Muslim world of the figure of the great Macedonian. In the Koran,[9] in which a reflection of the Pseudo-Callisthenes' text is captured, probably mediated by the Syrian source, we find a figure called the Two-Horned (*Dhū-l Qarnayn*), a prophet of the monotheism that he spreads to the four corners of the world, which some exegetical currents recognize as the Alexander of the Greek tradition.[10]

In general, it can be observed that, in Persian literature, Alexandrian material is further enriched with fantastic and marvelous elements,[11] which also draw on local folklore, especially in the prose versions intended for a wider audience.[12] In short, the Alexandrian matter emerges in the very rich and varied Persian literary tradition, involving, as Angelo Piemontese asserts, universal history, cosmography, boating, military art, environmental *mirabilia*, mechanics or technical inventiveness, sapiential epistolography, hermeticism, moral philosophy, political doctrine, Koranic commentary, and anecdotes.[13]

Here we will dwell, however, on a very particular aspect, which concerns more the Alexander leader and explorer than the Alexander prophet-missionary. That is, the focus will be on the characters and functions of an extraordinary "metal army" present in Alexander's war against the Indian King Porus in at least three Persian Alexander-books written between the tenth and fourteenth centuries.

The "Book of Kings" (Shāh-nāmeh) of Ferdowsi

The first most famous example of Alexander-books in neo-Persian literature is contained in the *Shāh-nāmeh* (The Book of Kings), a monumental poem in 50,000 couplets by Ferdowsi (940-1020), the most famous composer of the Iranian epic.[14] In this work, the poet dedicates a long chapter to Alexander,[15] as he considers him, to all

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[8]See Nöldeke, Beiträge, 1-152; Wright, "SYRIAC LITERATURE," 850b; Yarshater, "IRANIAN NATIONAL HISTORY"; Afshār, "Introduction"; Lévi, "La Légende," II; Lévi, "La Légende," VII; Budge, *The History of Alexander*; Budge, *The Life*; Gaster, "An Old Hebrew"; García Gómez, *Un texto árabe*; De Polignac, "L'image d'Alexander." The most recent and complete study is Doufikar-Aerts, *Alexander Magnus*.

[9]*Sura* XVIII, 83-98.

[10]On this epithet, see Anderson, "Alexander's Horns"; Abel, "*Dū'l Qarnayn*"; Safavi, *Eskandar*, 265-310; Saccone, "Introduzione", 11-12.

[11]See Abel, "La Figure"; Piemontese, "La figura"; Casari, *Alessandro e Utopia*.

[12]See Marzolph, "The Creative"; Mahjub, "Motāleʿeh"; Zakavati Qaragezlou, "Eskandar-nāmeh-ye naqqāli," 173-6; Dashti, "Qesse-hā-ye ʿāmiyāneh."

[13]Piemontese, "La figura," 177.

[14]For information on Ferdowsi's biography and work, see Pizzi, "Introduzione"; Molé, "L'épopée"; Bausani, "La letteratura," 359-61, 362-84, 421-3; Rypka, *History*, 154-62; Safā, *Hamāseh-sarāyi*, 171-265; Arberry, *Classical*, 42-52; Shahbazi, *Ferdowsi*; Safā, *Tārikh-e adabiyāt*, vol. I: 458-521; Khaleghi-Motlagh, "FERDOWSI ABU'L QĀSEM."

[15] The edition used here is Ferdowsi, *Shāh-nāmeh*.

intents and purposes, an Iranian sovereign. This is not only because he actually domi-
nated Persia, but also because of his origins, presented by Ferdowsi as Iranian on his
father's side, Dārāb, who had married Nāhid, the daughter of Faylaqus/Filiqus, the
Qaysar of Rum.[16]

In the episode of Alexander's war against the Indian King Porus (Fur, in the original
Persian), the Greek king finds himself in difficulty before an army that is far more
numerous than his own, and is also better armed, having at its disposal a host of ele-
phants. These are animals unknown to the Greeks and Alexander must even have a
wax statue of an elephant built by the wise Greeks (*filsufān-e Rum*), probably to
natural size, in order to understand the problem he has to face. After that he consults
the same wise men to find a solution; then he orders a team of skilled blacksmiths,
coming, says the text, from Persia, Greece and Egypt, to build an army of thousands
of metal knights mounted on iron horses pulled by means of wheels/carts. Let us read
the verses about this Ferdowsian episode:

<div dir="rtl">

بفرمود تا فیلسوفان روم یکی پیل کردند پیشش ز موم

چنین گفت کاکنون به پاکیزه رای کی آرد یکی چاره ی این بجای؟

نشستند دانش پژوهان بهم همی چاره جستند بر بیش و کم

یکی انجمن کرد از آهنگران هر آنکس که بودند ازیشان سران

ز رومی و از مصری و پارسی فزون بود مرد از چهل بار سی

یکی بارگی ساختند آهنین سوارش از آهن، ز آهنش زین

به میخ و به مس درزها دوختند سوار و تن باره بفروختند[17]

</div>

[Alexander] commanded the Greek wise men
    To build before him a wax elephant
So he said, "Now with enlightened opinion
    Who will find a solution to this problem?"
Those seekers of wisdom gathered together
    Trying to find a solution to the various problems
[So Alexander] had the blacksmiths gathered together
    The best among them
From Greece, Egypt and Persia*
    There were more than forty times thirty
They built a horse made of iron
    And a knight with his iron saddle
They stitched the joints with nails and copper
    And made the knight and the horse's body red-hot.

This iron army must clearly serve to counter the imposing force of the elephants of the
Indian King Porus. Alexander seems aware that, in the face of the bewilderment and
terror caused to the Greeks by the Indian elephants, only a device of great psychologi-

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[16]Ferdowsi, *Shāh-nāmeh*, vol. V: 520-6, vv. 64-136.
[17]Ferdowsi, *Shāh-nāmeh*, vol. VI: 43, vv. 550-6. Here and henceforth all translations are mine unless
otherwise specified.

cal impact on the enemy can prevent the defeat of his army. The effect of this iron army—which reminds us, in a completely different context, of another famous army, complete with carts and horses, unearthed by excavations in China in 1974[18]—is not limited, however, to the psychological one. It is clear that, seen from afar, the iron army will misleadingly increase the number of Greek knights that King Porus and the Indian army believe they are facing. Actually Alexander ordered his blacksmiths to build real war machines that, as we shall see, will serve to annihilate the spearhead of the enemy forces, namely the elephants. Alexander shortly thereafter orders his men to fill the bellies of the iron horses with naphtha, or oil, and we will see immediately how this strange iron army will prove to be the decisive weapon:

<div dir="rtl">

به گردون همی راندند پیش شاه درونش پر از نفط کرده سیاه

سکندر بدید آن، پسند آمدش خردمند را سودمند آمدش

بفرمود تا زان فزون از هزار از آهن بکردند اسب و سوار

از آن ابرش و خنگ و بور و سیاه که دیده ست شاهی از آهن سپاه

سرِ ماه را کار شد ساخته و زو چاره گر کشت پرداخته [19]

</div>

With the wheels/carts[20] they pushed [the horse] near to the king
  Filling his belly with black naphtha
Alexander saw it and was satisfied with it
  To the wise king this seemed to be a useful thing
He ordered them to make over a thousand
  Like that horse and that iron knight
The horses were tawny, brown, white and black
  Which king had ever seen an army of iron?
At the end of the month [the iron army] was built
  And from the work those makers were freed

This decision to fill the bellies of the metal horses with naphtha is Alexander's true "secret weapon." The naphtha inside the iron horses is set on fire, and in front of the Indian army a terrifying vision suddenly appears: an army of flaming knights. The Indian soldiers are horrified and terrified. But the elephants, on the other hand, do not get scared and, on the contrary, launch an attack:

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[18]According to some archaeologists, the creation of the terracotta army, part of the mausoleum of the first emperor of the Qin dynasty, Shi Huangdi (260-210 BC), was inspired by the presence of Hellenistic statues spread in Asia following the conquests of Alexander the Great. This hypothesis would account for the sudden appearance in China of statues at natural height, an artistic product apparently unprecedented in Chinese art, while it was common in the Greek world. The hypothesis is based on the discovery, in the excavation area, of European mitochondrial DNA and refined figurines of bronze birds made with lost wax casting, a sculptural technique that was known in Greek sculpture and ancient Egypt. See Johnston, "Ancient Greeks May Have Built."

[19]Ferdowsi, *Shāh-nāmeh*, vol. VI: 43, vv. 557-61.

[20]Italo Pizzi in Firdusi, *Il libro*, 583-4, translates *gardun* as "ruote" (wheels), but the text is ambiguous.

از آهن سپاهی به گردون براند که جز با سوارانِ جنگی نماند

[...]

به اسپ و به نفط آتش اندر زدند همه لشکر فور بر سر بر زدند

از آتش بر افروخت نفط سیاه نجنبید از آن کآهنین بُد سپاه

چو پیلان ندیدند ازیشان گریز برفتند با لشکر از جای تیز [21]

They pushed forward an iron army on the wheels/carts
   That looked like a bunch of knights
[...]
Then inside the horses full of naphtha they set fire
   And all of Porus' soldiers raised their heads up
With that fire the blackening naphtha started burning
   [But] it didn't spread because the army was made of iron
As the elephants didn't see those horses flee
   They swiftly set off on an assault with the army

When the elephants of the Indian King Porus hurl themselves at the iron army, they are burned and frightened by touching them with their trunks, thus being rendered powerless and harmless:

چو خرطوم هاشان بر آتش گرفت بماندند از آن پیل بانان شگفت

همه لشکر هند باز گشتند باز همان زنده پیلان گردن فراز

سکندر پس لشکر بد گمان همی تاخت بر سانِ بادِ دمان

چنین تا هوا نیلگون شد به رنگ سپه را نماندْ آن زمان جای جنگ [22]

When their trunks were burned with fire [of those iron horses]
   The guardians of the elephants were astounded:
The whole Indian army withdrew
   Including those elephants, terrible and proud.
Alexander chased that evil army
   Running furiously as the wind does
Until the air was darkened [by the night]
   and of his army remained no one to fight.

This strange "war machine"—that is, the army made up of the hot and flaming iron horses—was able to get Alexander out of trouble and solve the battle in his favor by neutralizing the elephants of King Porus.

One might expect that this episode of the Ferdowsian Alexander-book would be taken up by its imitators. But neither Nezāmi[23] in his famous *Eskandar-*

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[21]Ferdowsi, *Shāh-nāmeh*, vol. VI: 43-4, vv. 562, 565-7.

[22]Ferdowsi, *Shāh-nāmeh*, vol. VI: 44, 569-72.

[23]For general information about the author see Bausani, "La letteratura," 396-439; Safā, *Tārikh-e ada-biyāt*, vol. II, 798-824; Rypka, *History*, 210-13; Arberry, *Classical*, 122-9; Chelkowski, "NIZĀMĪ GAND-JAWĪ"; Zarrinkub, *Pir-e Ganjeh*; Orsatti, "ḴOSROW O ŠIRIN."

nāmeh[24] of 10,500 couplets nor Amir Khosrow of Delhi[25] in his Alexander-book[26] make any mention of the iron army; both poets even pass over Alexander's war with Porus, perhaps having conceived in their poems another drawing of the Macedonian king, less centered on the epic-war tone and more on the sapiential-prophetic and symbolic one.

The Dārāb-nāmeh *Attributed to Tarsusi*

We find again the same motif of the iron army in a Persian text in prose, that has all the air of a traditional tale or a folk prose narrative (*dāstān*) indebted to oral tradition,[27] the *Dārāb-nāmeh* (The Book of Darius) attributed to the aforementioned Tarsusi, an author of the twelfth century.

It occurs exactly at the moment when Alexander must face the elephants of the Indian king, similar to the episode from Ferdowsi's *Book of Kings* which we examined up close a little while ago. Let us read this passage and then move on to some considerations. Alexander, not knowing what to do in face of the elephants of King Porus, summons Aristotle:

> اسکندر ارسطاطالیس را گفت که تدبیر جنگ ما چیست؟ [ارسطاطالیس گفت] این طلسمها بباید ساختن
> تا این کار تو برآید. اسکندر بفرمود تا آهنگران و زوبین گران و ریخته گران بیاوردند و هر که
> [خایسکی توانستی] زدن او را جمع کردند و اسپان ریختند و مردان، در زیر پای ایشان گردونها،
> و در میان ایشان ریگ و گوگرد و نفط اندر مالیدند و همه را بدان نیمهٔ آب بردند .و در شب صف
> ساختند چنانک فور خبر نداشت و آن دوازده هزار مرد مسین و اسپ در صف بایستانیدند و لشکر
> در قفای ایشان بایستادند.[28]

Alexander asked Aristotle: "What is the solution you propose to [win] our battle?" Aristotle answered: "You have to build talismans for your problem to be solved." Alexander then ordered the blacksmiths, lance makers and foundrymen to be called and they gathered together everyone who was able to work with a smith's hammer and so they forged horses and knights, placing wheels under their feet. Then they filled the belly [of the metal figures] with sand and sulfur, wetting it with naphtha and they took it all to the opposite bank of the river and at night

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[24]The reference edition of *Eskandar-nāmeh* (*Sharaf-nāmeh* and *Eqbāl-nāmeh*) is Nezāmi, *Kolliyāt*. There are several translations into European languages: Nizami, Iskender-nāma; Nizami, *Das Alexanderbuch*; Nezâmi, *Il libro*. Regarding the studies on Nezāmi, we refer to De Blois, "ESKANDAR-NĀMA OF NEZĀMI."

[25]For an introduction to this author see Piemontese, "Introduzione"; Bürgel, "L'attitude"; Safā, *Tārikh*, III/2: 771-97; Piemontese, "Le fonti"; Arberry, *Classical*, 274-82; Bausani, "La letteratura," 261, 281, 283, 461, 470, 484-8, 524-5; Bürgel, *Il discorso*, 68-70; Schimmel, "AMĪR KOSROW DEHLAVĪ."

[26]The reference edition is Amir Khosrow, *Āʾineh* of which a fine Italian translation is available: Amir Khusrau, *Lo Specchio*.

[27]See Rubanovich, "Orality in Medieval Persian Literature," 660-75.

[28]Tarsusi, *Dārāb-nāmeh*, 225.

they lined up in such a way that Fur was totally unaware [of what was going on]. They arranged twelve thousand copper men and horses in rows and placed the army behind them.

Then begins the battle of the Greeks with the Indian army of King Porus who, we are informed, was also reinforced by the presence of elephants equipped with armor whose bodies are described by Tarsusi as being "as big as mountains." Moreover, in this army, there are also furious bulls led by warriors.

As can be seen from these passages, there are few differences from Ferdowsi's version and these focus on specific details: for example, one reads that the army had been forged in copper instead of iron; the knights were 12,000 instead of 1,000 in Ferdowsi's story; the wheels are placed directly under the legs of the horses (in Ferdowsi the text is more vague, and it could be understood that the horses and knights are placed on carts). But certainly the most interesting detail, and which makes the real difference between the two texts, is the presence of another primary character, Aristotle, while in Ferdowsi's text there is only generic reference to "Greek wise men" (*filsufān-e Rum*). Aristotle appears here in a new role as the designer of "talismans" (*telesm*), a word that here refers to a technical device[29] rather than to a talisman with its magical-supernatural features.

Tarsusi is roughly a contemporary of Nezāmi who, in his *Eskandar-nāmeh* in two parts, makes Greek philosophers the privileged interlocutors of the Macedonian king. For example, in the second part (*Eqbāl-nāmeh*) three philosophers (Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle) entrust the king with "books of advice" (*pand-nāmeh*) that he will take on his journey to the East. And a philosopher, Apollonius, will accompany him, proving decisive with his "technical" advice in resolving more than one difficult situation, namely by inventing special automatons defined in the text with the term *telesm*,[30] which Tarsusi also uses. It is clear that in this episode Tarsusi shows an attitude similar to the poet Nezāmi, that is, he underlines the "wisdom" and Alexander's ability to make use of science rather than the ability or cunning of the king.

Let us return to Tarsusi's text, which continues like this:

آن طلسمات را براندند. [سپاه فور آن طلسمات را بدیدند] برابر طلسمات آمدند و پیلان بر عادت خویش همه خرطومها بر آن مردان و اسپان زدند، آن خرطومهای ایشان بسوخت که آن طلسمها تفسیده بود و آن پیلان همه روی برگردانیدند. سپاه اسکندر تیغ و تیر و گرز و عمود و ساطور و [...] در ایشان نهادند[31]

They pushed the talismans forward.[32] When Porus' troops saw those talismans, they advanced and the elephants as usual attacked with their trunk touching the

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[29]According to Zabih-Allāh Safā; see Tarsusi, *Dārāb-nāmeh*, 605.

[30]Cf. Saccone, *Viaggi*, 175-303. For the episode concerning the *telesms* of Apollonius, see Nezāmi, *Kolliyāt*, 1289.

[31]Tarsusi, *Dārāb-nāmeh*, 226.

[32]That is, the army of copper knights.

horses and the knights [of metal], but they were burned since those talismans were red-hot. As a result, all the elephants withdrew, and so Alexander's army started striking them with swords, arrows, clubs, spears, axes.

So, thanks to these extraordinary copper war machines, Tarsusi's Alexander, just like Ferdowsi's, manages to defeat the imposing army of the Indian King Porus. The two stories, as one can see, are very similar in their structure, but a detail emerges above all at the lexical level that cannot escape our attention: horses and copper knights are indicated with the precise term *telesm*, or talismans. In all probability we find a reflection in Tarsusi's account of the ancient link between the art of the blacksmith, the one who forges metal in fire, and the magic and alchemical arts (think here of the use of copper and sulfur, two fundamental elements of this art), well attested in the Greek world and even before in the Mesopotamian and Egyptian ones.[33] The knights and horses of this copper army are undoubtedly a human artifact, the result of a technique at every stage of their construction and use, but the terminology used unequivocally signals a strong ancient magical dimension.

The Episode in Various Recensions of the Pseudo-Callisthenes

It should be investigated at this point what might be the source of this motif, i.e. the iron or copper army that appears in the two Persian Alexander-books examined so far. Upon a further examination of the historical and legendary works written in Greek about the Alexandrian events, we find no mention of this or a similar motif in the episode of the battle with Porus or in the *Bibliotheca historica* of Diodorus Siculus (first century),[34] or in the *Parallel Lives*[35] of Plutarch (second century), or even less in the *Anabases* of Arriano (second century).[36]

However, something similar can be found in the Pseudo-Callisthenes' text, a work considered as a distant source—through various mediations—of the Alexander-story contained in *The Book of the Kings* of Ferdowsi and probably to some extent also later of *The Book of Darius* attributed to Tarsusi. Let us see what the Pseudo-Callisthenes says in the chapter on the battle of the Macedonian king with the Indian King Porus:

As Alexander was leaving, he saw the regiment of Porus' animals. He racked his brains and thought hard, and what do you think the cunning fellow did? He had all the bronze statues he possessed and all the armour he had taken as booty from the soldiers heated up thoroughly until they were red-hot, and then set up in front of the army like a wall. The trumpets sounded the battle-cry. Porus ordered his beasts to be released. As the beasts rushed forward, they leapt on to the statues and clung to them; at once their muzzles were badly burnt and they

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[33]See Eliade, *Forgerons* and Gilchrist, *Alchemy*, in particular chapter 2. See also Lory, *Alchimie*, 10-24.
[34]The text consulted is the Italian translation Diodoro Siculo, *Biblioteca*.
[35]The text consulted is the Italian translation Plutarco, *Vite*.
[36]The text consulted is the Italian translation Arriano, *Anabasi*.

let go immediately. That is how the resourceful Alexander put an end to the attack of the beasts.[37]

The passage of the Pseudo-Callisthenes' text (third century), which is reproduced very faithfully in the Armenian version (fifth century),[38] is decidedly more sober than the Persian versions analyzed above. On the Indian side it can be seen that elephants are not expressly mentioned; we read of generic beasts or wild animals.[39] The most substantial differences concern the Greek part. Alexander does not have any ad hoc metal army built or forged, but—according to the text—uses "bronze statues and weapons" previously won as booty to create a sort of metal barrier burned by fire, to be placed between his army and the ranks of the enemy. The practical effect is always the same: the Indian beasts, venturing to bite on this red-hot barrier made up of "bronze statues," burn themselves and become useless in the battle.

The Pseudo-Callisthenes therefore speaks of unspecified "bronze statues," and not of horses or knights, which appears to be an obvious and happy fantastic extension of the Greek source by the Persian authors, even if evidently it cannot be excluded a priori that such an extension had already been started in some phase before the appearance of this material in the sphere of the Iranian world. And in fact it can be noted that in the eastern versions such as the Syriac (sixth-seventh centuries), the Hebrew (tenth-eleventh centuries) and the Ethiopian (much later, however, being from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries), there are elements closer to the Persian versions than to the model of the Pseudo-Callisthenes.

For example, in the Hebrew version, which is almost contemporary to the *Shāh-nāmeh* of Ferdowsi, we see the presence of incendiary material, hollow statues, and wheels or rather carts:

> Alexander then took counsel as to how to combat them. As a result, he ordered that hollow bronze statues be made and he had them filled with burning coals. They were then placed on iron carts which he ordered to be brought close to the elephants. Thinking that the statues were real men, the elephants stretched forth their trunks to seize and to devour them. The statues in the meantime had become heated by the fire. Thus when the elephants smelled the fire, they drew back and were unable to approach the Persian forces.[40]

In the Syriac version (sixth-seventh centuries), which could be one of the sources of the *Shāh-nāmeh* through mediations unknown to us (Pahlavi or Arabic summaries and/or re-elaborations), instead of statues we find "brazen images" (i.e. figures in

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[37]Pseudo-Callithenes, *The Greek*, 129-30.

[38]See Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Romance*, 119-20.

[39]Although a few paragraphs before, elephants were mentioned: "When Porus read this letter from Alexander he [...] assembled the barbarian hordes, as well as the elephants and other beasts" (Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Greek*, 129).

[40]Bonfils, *The Book*, 119.

material similar to brass) that have the form—and here is the interesting point as it is close to the Persian versions—of "men and quadrupeds." Also here, as in the later Hebrew version, there is the element of the cart:

> Then he [Alexander] sat down and reflected in his mind, and gave orders to bring such brazen images as could be found among his troops. And when the images were collected, which were in the form of men and quadrupeds—now they were about twenty-four thousand in number—he ordered a smith's furnace to be set up; and they brought much wood and set fire to it, and heated those images in the fire, and the images became glowing coals of fire. Then they took hold of them with iron tongs, and placed them upon iron chariots, and led the chariots before the ranks of the warriors; and Alexander commanded horns and trumpets to be sounded. When the wild beasts that were in the ranks of the king of the Indians heard the sound of the trumpets, they rushed upon the ranks of Alexander's army; and since the brazen images which were full of fire were in the van, they laid hold of them with their mouths and lips, and burnt their mouths and their lips. Some of them died (on the spot), and some of them retired beaten and fled away to the camp of the king of the Indians.[41]

Among the eastern Alexander-books, the Ethiopian version is the one closest, in this context, to the Persian versions examined so far. It seems it has retained considerable vestiges of the lost early Arabic translation of the Syriac version.[42] This could suggest a common Arabic source on which the Ethiopic version and the *Shāh-nāmeh* drew, a hypothesis that deserves a deeper investigation not possible here.

Eskandar-nāmeh *In Prose Copied by ʿAbd al-Kāfi ibn Abi al-Barakāt*

There is another important prose text not easy to date (about twelfth-fourteenth century) entitled *Eskandar-nāmeh*,[43] which, according to its editor Iraj Afshār, is a Persian version of Pseudo-Callisthenes.[44] But the text in question is actually much

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[41]See Budge, *The History of Alexander*, 90-1.

[42]See Doufikar-Aerts' assessment of Weymann's study in her *Alexander Magnus Arabicus*, 4, 60-1. In fact, in the Ethiopian version, the "metal images" represent nothing less than elephants themselves, so that they produce an effect of equal weight on the war scene. Moreover here we read, as in the Persian versions, that the bold idea of creating a metal army came from Alexander's advisors and not from himself as seen in the other versions, because the text explicitly tells of the presence of elephants and not of indefinite ferocious beasts. In addition to the incendiary material, there is also talk of the number of soldiers and the images built, details not of secondary philological importance, which are also found in the Persian versions. See Pseudo-Callisthenes, *The Life and Exploits*, 119-21.

[43]Anonymous, *Eskandar-nāmeh*.

[44]Information already given in the subtitle, added by the editor, Iraj Afshār: *revāyat-e fārsi az Kālis-tenus-e dorughin* (the Persian version of the Pseudo-Callistene) which could only be for promotional purposes since the editor himself does not discuss at all the possible relations of the version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes with *Iskandar-nāmeh* edited by him. In p. 17 of his introduction, before listing the different

wider than that of the known Pseudo-Callisthenes, since it is largely enriched with additional autochthonous elements and various other events.[45] A closer look at the passage about Alexander's war with King Porus reveals other new and interesting elements:

اسکندر چون آن لشکر و آن فیلان چون کوههای آهن بدید بهراسید که او و لشکر او هرگز چندان فیل یک جا ندیده بودند. لشکر جمله پیش اسکندر آمدند و گفتند ما طاقت [حرب فیلا]ن نداریم و ما با کوه آهن حرب نتوانیم کردن. اسکندر گفت خدای ـ عزّ و جلّ ـ یار ماست، مترسید و دل را قوی دارید که من این ساعت ایشان را مقهور کنم.

پس بفرمود تا مردمان پارس بزودی آمدند و همه تیراندازان چابک. پنج هزار مرد برآمدند که با وی آمده بودند از ولایت پارس. شاه بفرمود تا صندوقها ساختند و دو هزار مرد گزیده از آن میان اختیار کرد و در آن صندوقها نشاند، هریک مرد در صندوقی. و بفرمود تا هزار شتر بیسراک را به قیر بیندوند و آن صندوقها بر آن شتران سیاه نهادند و آن تیراندازان را در آن صندوقها بردند با تیر و کمان و ناوک و بفرمود تا هر عرب که در لشکرگاه بودند بیامدند. و بر اشتری دو مرد عرب سیاه بر نشستند با قارورهٔ آتش و نفط و روی بدان صف فیلان نهادند. و اسکندر لشکر بیاراسته و میمنهٔ لشکر ایرانیان را داد و میسره به رومیان داد و خود با خاصگان در قلب بایستاد.

پس لشکر فور چون برابر فیل آمدند فور فیل بانان را فرموده که شما صبر کنید تا بدانید که کار ما به چه رسد. اگر ـ و العیاذ بالله ـ هزیمت بر ما افتد آن گه شما فیلان را از جایگاه بجنبانید.

پس چون لشکر روی در یکدیگر نهادند و آن شتران سیاه را برانگیختند در برابر فیلان و دهل بزدند و آن عربان از پشت اشتران آواز تکبیر برآوردند و آن قاروره های آتش و نفط بر آن فیلان انداختند فیلان از آن هول و فزع روی باز پس کردند و به هزیمت بشدند و تیراندازان از آن صندوقها تیر همی انداختند و آن روز چهارصد فیل زیادت بیفکندند و آن دیگران همه هزیمت گرفتند.

و اسکندر چون بدید که لشکر پارس و عرب هندوان را هزیمت کردند شادمان شدند و روی بدیشان نهاد به جملهٔ لشکر و صف ایشان بردرید.[46]

When Alexander saw Porus's army and the elephants, those awesome mountains of iron, he was alarmed, for neither he nor his men had ever seen so many elephants in one place. His men complained: "We cannot battle elephants; and we have no power against mountains of iron." Alexander replied: "Be not dismayed, for God is on our side. Have courage. They shall be defeated in no time." He then summoned the people of Pars. Five thousand men who had accompanied him from Pars came to his presence, all dexterous marksmen. He ordered them to build boxes; and he chose 2.000 of them to carry out his plan. He ordered 1.000 young, strong camels to be smeared with tar and he had the boxes placed upon the blackened camels, each box manned by an archer with his bows and arrows.

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versions of Alexander's story in various languages, Afshār only says they might be useful for comparative study.

[45]See Afshār, "Introduction," 10-12.

[46]Anonymous, *Eskandar-nāmeh*, 61.

He then summoned all the Arabs in the army, and two dark Arabs mounted every camel. They set for the lines of elephants with bottles of naphtha and with fire. And Alexander positioned his troops, giving the right wing to the Iranians [not "Indians" as in Southgate's translation] and the left to the Rumis, while he and the nobles stood in the center of the troops.

When Porus's army arrived before that of Alexander, Porus said to the elephant drivers: "Wait until you see how we fare in the battle. If, God forbid, we are defeated, use the elephants."

When the armies started the attack, Alexander's men charged at the elephants with the blackened camels. They beat the drums while the Arabs on the back of the camels cried "Allah Akbar", and threw the bottles of flaming naphtha at the elephants, who, terror-stricken, turned to flee. But the marksmen continued shooting at them from the boxes, killing more than 400 elephants, and putting the rest to flight. When Alexander saw that the Arabs and the men from Pars had defeated the Indians, he rejoiced. He attacked the enemy with all his men and broke their lines.[47]

After reading this passage, to doubt that it may be a Persian version of the Pseudo-Callisthenes would be understandable because the episode is constructed in a completely different way from the Greek source. To cite only a few differential elements, and limiting the subject matter to the abovementioned passage, there are no statues or images that are found in the Pseudo-Callisthenes (and in the eastern versions examined above). Moreover, they are not general attacking beasts, but it is explicitly said that they are mounted camels of Alexander's army, whose drivers are armed with bottles full of naphtha that are thrown at the elephants; also the underlining of the presence, in Alexander's army, of "dark Arabs" is clearly an element that has little to do with the Greek source. Rather, there is some similarity with the Persian texts previously examined from Ferdowsi onwards, which explicitly speak of the incendiary material as *naft*, focusing on the significance of the burns inflicted on the enemy's elephants. The author, however, does not consider the "iron army" of the great Ferdowsian poem, which a Persian author of the twelfth century could hardly ignore. His Alexander prefers to rely on living knights and camels, something that can lead us to believe that it is a deliberate and conscious choice. In this prose *Eskandar-nāmeh*, Alexander's cunning is specially highlighted: here he does not resort to an iron army, but prepares a team of apparently harmless camels. The Indian King Porus mistakenly avoids using his breakthrough units, the elephants, underestimating the level of threat the camels could pose. Evidently these camels were prepared in such a way as to seem (although the text does not explicitly say so) in the distance almost a normal caravan of merchants. It is not by chance that Porus, when later he sees the ranks of the elephants

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[47]Anonymous, *Iskandarnamah*, 19-20. A more recent translation is Venetis, *The Persian Alexander*.

routed by the "sappers" armed with incendiary bottles, takes the blame for the mistake saying: "Alas, all is lost. It was a mistake to save the elephants first,"[48] as he had not thrown them into battle from the beginningt, having not even remotely sensed the danger.

Conclusions

The Persian authors, Ferdowsi and Tarsusi in particular, do not emphasize Alexander's cunning as does Pseudo-Callisthenes, but rather underline his wisdom in this episode. If Ferdowsi introduces Alexander to us in consultation with the Greek wise men (*filsufān-e Rum*), Tarsusi, the supposed author of *Dārāb-nāmeh*, goes even further. He offers us a version of the episode in which he highlights the extraordinary role of Aristotle, whom the Islamic world also perceives as the master of the great Macedonian. In this regard, Tarsusi seems very close to Nezāmi who, as we have seen above, had built the whole second part of his *Eskandar-nāmeh* on the relationship between Alexander and the philosophers, presenting the Greek king as a wise man surrounded by wise men, certainly not as a "smart" character and easily resorting to expedients.[49] From this point of view, the episode narrated in the third Persian Alexander-book (see above), in which philosophers and wise men do not appear, is perhaps more faithful to the spirit of the distant Greek source.

A second consideration concerns the increase of the technical-engineering aspect that characterizes the solutions of the Alexander of the Persian authors compared to the Greek model. An entire enormous factory was set up by Ferdowsi's Alexander with 1,200 blacksmiths, "technicians" coming from Persia, Egypt, and Greece, as if to say that the best international know-how of the time came from those regions. Even Tarsusi, in the footsteps of Ferdowsi, amply underlined the technical aspect with the difference that here Aristotle is presented as an "engineer": it is he who invents the *telesm*, the decisive weapon. In the *Eskandar-nāmeh* of the twelfth-fourteenth centuries, the author, while renouncing the Ferdowsian iron army, invented a new military technique *ante litteram*, sending the troops to the assault with unprecedented "incendiary bottles" thrown by camel-drivers.

Another important element to note in this episode of Alexander's war against King Porus, particularly in the comparison between the Persian Alexander-books of Ferdowsi and Tarsusi and that of Pseudo-Callisthenes, is the presence of wheels, that is, mobility. Ferdowsi with his iron army moving on wheels/carts creates a perception of living knights and horses and therefore creates a more believable apparent threat to the elephants and soldiers of the Indian enemy. The final effect is also psychologically more impressive than that created by the "bronze statues" of the Pseudo-Callisthenes, which stand as a formidable but completely static barrier. It is true, as has been shown above, that the element of the wheels (or of the carts) was already present in the Syriac

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[48]Anonymous, *Iskandarnamah*, 20.
[49]See Nezāmi, *Kolliyāt*, 1181. On Alexander's character in all three works discussed here, see Rubanovich, "A Hero without Borders," 215-29.

version. This further corroborates the hypothesis that Ferdowsi drew on materials deriving indirectly from this source. Tarsusi, as we have seen, explicitly places the wheels under the legs of the horses, further accentuating the aspect of mobility and the likelihood of it being Alexander's army in the eyes of the enemy. Moreover, it should be remembered that, in the Syriac version, the wheels were placed not under the horses, but under a cart that carries the "brazen images ... in form of men and quadrupeds." In short, Tarsusi, in painting the scene of the iron army, is certainly more incisive and realistic even than the alleged Syrian source.

Ferdowsi seems to us more convincing also from the more general point of view of the construction of the episode, which is artistically very effective and with great visual impact. It should be noted that in the chessboard of the battlefield Ferdowsi has planned to counter the elephants of King Porus with metal horses in various colors, to make the army more real, and not only with simple soldiers. I used the word "chessboard" not by chance. As is widely known, in the original Indian chess transmitted through Persia to the West,[50] the elephant, whose European counterpart is the bishop, and the horse have about the same value, although they move with different patterns. Can it be assumed that Ferdowsi had in mind the game of chess in building the episode of Alexander's battle against the Indian King Porus? In order to better face his opponent's elephants, Ferdowsi perhaps finds it more convincing that the metal soldiers are mounted on horses and that they are not just pawns on the "chessboard" of the battlefield.

Compared to the most remote source, the text of Pseudo-Callisthenes, and to the closest ones (Syriac text, further summaries or Arabic/Pahlavi reworkings), the Persian authors have not only passively received the inherited materials, but have undoubtedly been able to enliven the scene of Alexander's battle against the Indian King Porus, moving onto the battlefield an entire blazing and phantasmagorical army of metal, and giving us perhaps one of the most amazing episodes of the eastern legend of the great Macedonian.

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[50]See the famous treatise in Pahlavi on the game of chess, Italian translation by Panaino, *La novella*.

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Albert Kaganovitch

The Jewish Communities of Central Asia in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods

When the Jews first settled in Central Asia is uncertain, but circumstantial evidence clearly indicates that this happened at least two and a half thousand years ago. In the first millennium AD*, the Jews lived only in cities no farther than 750 km east of the Caspian sea (in the eighth–eleventh centuries the sea was called Khazarian). Only later did they migrate to the central part of the region, to cities like Samarkand and Bukhara. It is possible that Jews from Khazaria joined them, since they already had tight trade connections with Central Asia and China. There is no trace of evidence regarding the existence of Jews in the entirety of Central Asia in the early sixteenth century. At the very end of the sixteenth century Bukhara became the new ethnoreligious center of the Jews in that region. In the first half of the nineteenth century, thanks to European travelers visiting Central Asia at that time, the term "Bukharan Jews" was assigned to this sub-ethnic Jewish group. Drawing on a wide range of primary and secondary source materials, this article aims to prove that the presence of Jews in Central Asia was not continuous, and therefore the modern Bukharan Jews are not descendants of the first Jewish settlers there. It also attempts to determine where Central Asia's first Jewish population disappeared to.*

Early Jewish Settlements in Central Asia

According to Michael Zand's assumptions, the first Jews in Central Asia settled in the southwestern parts of contemporary Turkmenistan during the Achaemenid domination, sometime after 559 BC.[1] The first direct evidence for their presence is a Babylonian Talmud story (tractate "'Avodah Zarah"), dating back to fourth-century AD Pumbedita (present-day in province Anbar, Iraq), is about Semu'el bar Bisena, a religious academy member. The story describes how, while he was in Marv, Semu'el bar Bisena refused to drink alcoholic beverages, doubting their ritual cleanliness.

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[1]For details see Zand, "Bukharan Jews," 531.

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Zand argues that such doubts may indicate that Jews had already been dwelling in Marv for several generations, long enough for a Babylonian *amora* (authority on Judaic law) to suspect that knowledge or fulfillment of certain ritual requirements was lacking. At the end of the sixth century, the *amora* of the Babylonian academies finally began to be recognized beyond the limits of Mesopotamia.[2] A series of archeological discoveries also confirms the presence of Jews in the Marv oasis. Among them there are objects with inscriptions in square Hebrew, dishes from the second or third centuries AD, and a number of ossuaries (receptacles for holding the bones of the dead) from the sixth century AD.[3] In addition, a report by al-Tabari describes how Marv's Jews (as well as the Zoroastrians and Christians) had been recognized as *ahl al-dhimma* in ca. 739, a community responsible for tax payment to the Muslim administration.[4]

The first evidence of Jews living in northwest Central Asia dates back to the middle of the first millennium AD. A remark in the *Šahrestānīhā-ye Ērānšahr*, dating back to the sixth century, claims that Narseh, the founder of Kat (the then capital of Khorezm), was the son of a Jew. This statement is apparently traceable to an earlier legend aimed at explaining the presence of Jews in Kat.[5] Al-Tabari also writes about how the Khorezm-Shah would consult the *ahbar* among his other subjects, the word *ahbar* referring to non-Muslim religious authorities, particularly Jewish rabbis. This serves as further proof of a Jewish presence in the city before the Arab invasion of Khorezm (ca. 712).[6]

In addition, up until the tenth to eleventh centuries the Aramaic alphabet was used to record the special Khorezmian language that belonged to the East Iranian language subgroup. Soviet archeologist Sergei Tolstov drew attention to the Hebrew form of the Aramaic font on Khorezmian coins from the first half of the eighth century.[7]

Because Bulan, the ruler of Khazaria in the late 730s, converted to (presumably preTalmudic) Judaism,[8] it can be concluded that the Jews have existed in the Khazarian Empire since at least the beginning of the eighth century. The decision to come there was most likely influenced by Caucasian Jews, who became citizens of the Khazarian kaganat as a result of the extension of its border to the south. Douglas Dunlop argued that in the first decade of the ninth century Khazarian King Obadiah conducted a religious reform in the country, adopting the rabbinical form of Judaism as a state

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[2]Ibid., 532.

[3]Livshits and Osmanova, "New Parthian Inscriptions," 99–105; Ershov, "Nekotorye itogi," 179–80; Klevan, *Le-toldot ha-Yehudim*, 9.

[4]*The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XXVI, 24 [1688].

[5]Bartold, *Sochineniia*, vol. 3, 545; Zand, "Bukharan Jews," 532.

[6]*The History of al-Tabari*, vol. XXIII, 185 [1237]. Konstantin Inostrantsev was the first to state this theory. See Inostrantsev, "O domusul'manskoi kul'ture," 293–4. But Bartold expressed his doubts. Bartold, *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, part 1, 220. See also Zand's support for Inostrantsev's position: Zand, "Hityashvut ha-Yehudim," 9.

[7]Tolstov, *Drevnii Khorezm*, 187–91.

[8]Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 109–20, 158. Although, sources contradict each other in this matter. See their overview: Golden, "The Conversion of the Khazars to Judaism," 151–4.

religion.[9] It is clear that such a turn would not have been possible without the help of immigrant rabbis, and Obadiah most likely relied on immigrants from Muslim countries. Jewish historian Joseph haKohen (1496–1575) points out Persia's defeat by the Arabs in 690 in his work *Emeq ha-Bakha* (The Vale of Tears, 1575), which made extensive use of Spanish and Italian manuscripts. He describes how the Jews left Persia, wandered from country to country, and eventually arrived in Rus and Germany, where they found many of their brethren.[10] Obviously, these Persian Jews migrated to Europe through Khazaria, where they arrived via the Khorezm or the Caucasus, which was later conquered by the Arabs. If the author was right about the initial cause of emigration being the Arab conquest of Persia, then it really should have begun from the middle of the seventh century. By Rus, the author did not mean the modern (to him) Moscovia, though he mentioned it once in this book, but the Kievan Rus of the tenth to eleventh centuries.

Al-Masʿudi (ca. 943) also argued that the Jews came to Khazaria from all Muslim countries as well as from Byzantium.[11] He pointed out that the Byzantine Jews were migrating to Khazaria because they were persecuted by Romanos I Lekapenos, who ruled in 920–44. Al-Masʿudi also mentions that Khazaria's mass conversions to Judaism happened earlier, during the reign of Abbasid Caliph Harun al-Rashid (786–809), which perfectly matches with the time of Obadiah's reform. Another important piece of evidence is from an unknown Khazarian, the author of the famous Schechter Letter (also called the "Cambridge Document," ca. 949). In this Hebrew letter, Khazarian Jews are mentioned as coming from Baghdad and Khorasan, and the Greek lands are in third place.[12] This order, most likely, is chronological, but could be quantitative. Analyzing the Schechter letter, Omeljan Pritsak proposes that, although it does not appear to be a translation from a different language, it retained the terminology and fragments of the linguistic structure

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[9]Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 148. Constantin Zuckerman argues that the official Judaization of Khazaria occurred in ca. 861, based on the *Vita Constantinii* (Life of Constantine), which describes a dispute between Greek missionary Cyril and a rabbi in the presence of the Khazarian king. Zuckerman, "On the Date of the Khazars'," 237–50. But an analysis of the source doesn't erase the possibility that the Khazar elite was already Judaized at the time of the dispute. This is proved by the emergence of a Khazarian coin with the words "Mūsā rasūl Allāh" (Mosesis the Messenger of God), dating back to 837–38. Kovalev, "Creating Khazar Identity," 226–36. The lack of sources, on the one hand, leaves us uncertain whether this is the first coin with such a message, and on the other hand, if it were in fact among the first, what political background hadn't allowed such a coin to be minted before?

[10]haKohen, *Emeq ha-Bakha*, 19.

[11]Al-Masʿudi, *Muruj al-dhahab*, vol. 2, 8–9.

[12]Schechter, "An Unknown Khazar Document," 206, 215. These and the following sources and arguments refute Alexander Kulik's version about the Byzantine origins of the Khazarian Jews. See Kulik, "The Jews of Slavia Graeca", 307–311. One can only assume the predominance of Jews from Byzantium in the Khazar settlements of the Crimea from the second quarter of the 10th century. There is no direct evidence of the preservation of their cultural heritage by the 11th century. Some examples of mutual cultural influence between Christians of Kievan Rus and the local Jews do not prove the Byzantine origin of the latter.

found in the Persian language,[13] indicating that Persian or Judeo-Persian was the unknown Jewish Khazarian's writing language. This in itself is a sign of the Jewish elite's origin in Khazaria.

In those days Khorezm was often considered part of Great Khorasan, primarily because of its role in Khorasanian culture. Al-Istakhri (ca. 941) and Al-Muqaddasi (ca. 985) considered Khorezm part of geographical Khorasan,[14] and it seems that the first Khorasanian Jews in Khazaria (especially in its capital, Itil) emigrated (but not all of them) from Khorezm because of that close proximity. Tolstov also points out the Khorezmian Jews' similar migration. He believes that the Islamization of Khorezm prompted Jews to emigrate to Khazaria[15] and flee the hostility of Khorasanian governor Qutayba ibn Muslim, who captured Khorezm in 711. Although Tolstov states that after the ensuing unsuccessful Khorezmian uprising the elite and the Jews were repressed, in reality the Jewish masses hardly suffered. Otherwise, they would have moved to Khazaria and this would be reflected in the Jewish–Khazarian correspondence or in the testimonies of Arab geographers. This is why it is possible that Walter J. Fischel was right when he claimed that, unlike Byzantine Jews, Khorasanian Jews were led to Khazaria above all by their commercial activity.[16]

For the previously stated reasons, most of the Khazarian Jews, if not all, spoke the Judeo-Persian language. The spread of the Khorasanian liturgy (also known as the Babylonian liturgy, to which we will return) in Khazaria indicates this too. The Byzantine Jews who migrated later were forced to accept this liturgy in order to assimilate. Most likely, the Khorezmian cities Kat and, somewhat later, Gorgānj (otherwise known as Urgench, and not to be confused with Gorgān, a Persian city in the southeast corner of the Caspian Sea) were regional centers of Jewish scholarship for Khazarian Jews. The famous work of scientist Muhammad ibn Musa al-Khwarizmi—"Chronology of the Jews" (ca. 850)[17] provides evidence of Jewish scientists in Khorezm.

The Khazarian caravan trade to China was led through Khorezm. A business letter in Judeo-Persian by a Jewish merchant of Khazaria or Khorezm was found in Dandan Uiliq (West China), dating back to the end of the eighth century. This merchant was engaged in the barter of clothing, apparently with local Turks.[18] Traveler Abu Zaid Hassan al-Sirafi recorded that 100,000 Mohamedans, Jews, Christians, and Parsees arrived in Canton or Confu in 878 for reasons of

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[13]Pritsak, "Historical and Geographical Evaluation," 127–9.

[14]Al-Istakhri, "Kniga putei i stran," 178, 180; Al-Muqaddasī, "Aḥsan al-taqāsim fī maʿrifat al-aqālīm," 202, 205.

[15]Tolstov, *Drevnii Khorezm*, 192; Tolstov, "Novogodnii prazdnik 'kalandas'," 96–8. In that latter work, Tolstov even assumed that a Judaization of the Khorezmian non-Jewish elite, who also migrated to Khazaria, was taking place. This version drew sharp criticism from Mikhail Artamonov. Artamonov, *Istoriia khazar*, 283–7.

[16]Fischel, "The Jews of Central Asia," 48.

[17]Ibid., 44.

[18]Fischel, "The Rediscovery," 151; Margoliouth, "Judaeo-Persian Document," 570–4; Utas, "The Jewish-Persian Fragment."

commerce.[19] These Jewish traders went under the name Radhaniya, meaning "those who know the way" in Persian, which could indicate the Persian language's dominance among the five other languages known to them, including Arabic, Greek, French, Andalusian, and Slavic, according to the work of Persian geographer Ibn Khordadbeh (ca. 820–912).[20] Knowledge of trade routes directly correlates with knowledge of languages.

Just before its end in the tenth century, Khazaria came under the political control of Khorezm, according to Mas'udi,[21] and later Dunlop and Artamonov.[22] Khorezm's economic growth contributed greatly to its strengthening. Istakhri (ca. 941) reports that the trading caravans had routes from Gorganj to Gorgān, Khazaria, and Khorasan.[23] A geography book, *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (ca. 982), written in Persian by an unknown author, reports that the Khorezmian capital Kat was the gold trade market for Khazars, Turks, and all of Mawarannahr.[24] Ibn Hawqal (ca. 988) wrote that Gorganj, the second largest city in Khorezm and the center of trade with the Ghuzz, had regular caravans going to Khazaria and Khorasan.[25] Aleksandr Iakubovskii believes that Khorezmian merchants grew to own most trade caravan routes from Egypt to China and from Bulgar to Kashgar, and even invested their capital in trade between Mongolia and China.[26] Therefore, it is logical that some Khazarian merchants would have moved to Kat and Gorganj in the second half of the tenth century, due to the relocation of the trade center from Itil to Khorezm. From there, it was easier for them to continue engaging in trade, including trade with China.

Calling the trade route from China the "Silk Road" is hardly correct,[27] since at least the sixth century, silk, understandably, hardly appeared among the goods imported from China. From the middle of the sixth century, Byzantium extended silk production in its empire. Arab traveler Ibn Khordadbeh (circa 846) does not mention silk at all while listing Radhanites trade items from China.[28] Ibn al-Faqih (ca. 903) reported that the Radhanites brought silk from the land of Franks to al-Farama (Egypt) instead.[29] Additionally, Istakhri (ca. 941) indicated that Gorgān and areas near Marv were producing large quantities of silk.[30] The manuscript "Ḥudūd al-

[19]Neubauer, "Jews in China," 128; Leslie, *The Survival of the Chinese Jews*, 8.

[20]Ibn Khurradadhbih, "On the Routes," 111. The other version is based on the phonetic coincidence with the name Radhaniya as proposed by Moshe Gil, that they actually came from the eastern shore of the Tigris River in Iraq, known in medieval times as the district of Radhan. Gil, "The Radhanite Merchants and the Land of Radhan," 300.

[21]Al-Mas'udi, *Muruj al-dhahab*, vol. 2, 9–11.

[22]Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 244–7; Artamonov, *Istoriia khazar*, 511–12.

[23]Al-Istakhri, "Kniga putei i stran," 178.

[24]*Hudud al-Alam, The Regions of the World*, 121.

[25]Ibn Hawqal, "On Khwarazm and Its Trade," 176.

[26]Iakubovskii, "Feodal'noe obshchestvo," 35.

[27]Khodadad Rezakhani observes the "Silk Road" stereotype's development in Rezakhani, "The Road That Never Was," 420–33.

[28]Ibn Khurradadhbih, "On the Routes," 111.

[29]Ibnal-Faqih, "On the Radhaniya," 113.

[30]Al-Istakhri, "Kniga putei i stran," 168, 174.

ʿĀlam" (ca. 982) also reports that silk and silk fabrics were being produced by inhabitants of Isfahan, Astabad, Gorgān, Nishapur, and Marv.[31] In fact, silk boosted Nishapur into the richest city in Khorasan, as indicated by an unknown author. Muqaddasī (ca. 985) wrote that the majority of the population of Astrabad worked as silk weavers.[32] Abu Shama al-Maqdisi (middle of the thirteenth century) also does not mention silk as an item the Radhanites exported from China.[33] Therefore, if Chinese silk was indeed delivered into Central Asia at that time, it would have been a very expensive, thin silk, a luxury item, and its import volume would not have been large.

The participation of Jews to the trade route is indicated in a Kyrgyz legend recorded at the end of the nineteenth century in the Fergana region, Andijan district. According to the legend, a Jew on a camel came by a Muslim house located in a steppe. After he was denied lodging for being an infidel, he went on. The Muslim saint Azrat-Sultan (also known as Aḥmad Yasavi, a poet and promoter of Sufism in Central Asia, living in 1103–66/1167 Yasi, what would today be Turkestan town, South Kazakhstan), who was staying in that house, found out about the incident. Azrat-Sultan went after the Jew and asked him to return. The Jew agreed only on condition that Azrat-Sultan would carry him and the camel on his back, which Azrat-Sultan did, with God's help. After that, the Jew converted to Islam.[34] The town of Turkestan is located on the road leading from ancient Khorezm to China. The "Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam" mentioned a settlement called Yahudliq (literally a place abundant in Jews). It was located in the borderland between Fergana Valley and the westward region of Ilaq, also on the way to China, but from Khorasan.[35] According to the records of Arab traveler Abū Dolaf, a community of Jews was also residing in tenth-century Bahī town, East Turkestan (Chinese province of Xinjiang).[36]

According to a stele found in Kaifeng City, East China, a population of Jews had settled there under the Northern Song dynasty (959–1126). At that time Bianjing was the capital, later to be renamed "Kaifeng." As indicated on the same stele, seventy Jewish families brought the emperor cotton fabrics from the western lands, and he allowed them to settle there. In 1163, they built a synagogue, which would later be rebuilt several times.[37] Adolf Neubauer claims that these immigrants were Iranian-speaking and practiced *nosah Parsi*—Persian liturgy.[38] We will return to the question of language and liturgy later, but it is important to note for now that the synagogue's builder was referred to as "ustad," the Persian word for master or teacher, according to the Kaifeng Jewish records. The Persian language was the lingua franca all over the Far East during the Middle Ages, according to Berthold Laufer. His argument is based on

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[31]*Hudud al-Alam, The Regions of the World*, 102, 105, 131, 133.
[32]Al-Muqaddasī, "Aḥsanal-taqāsimfi maʿrifatal-aqālīm," 208.
[33]Bartold, *Sochineniia*, vol. 6, 346.
[34]Poiarkov, "Karakirgizskie legendy, skazki i verovaniia," 11–12.
[35]*Hudud al-Alam, The Regions of the World*, 117.
[36]Zand, "Bukharan Jews," 534.
[37]Adler, "Chinese Jews," 21.
[38]Neubauer, "Jews in China," 127.

the Persian names of many Jews, as recorded in the Mongolian Yüan dynasty annals (1279/1280–1368).[39] The annuals also contain references to Zhuhu, "Jews," usually along with Muslims, in various cities in China, such as the Jewish communities in Hangchow, Ningpo, and Beijing.[40] Visiting Beijing in 1719, the Scottish doctor and traveler John Bell noted, "few Jews and Mahometans residing here supposed to have entered China about six or seven hundred years ago in company with western Tartars."[41] Here "Tartars" could refer to native Khazars, and "Mahometans" might refer to Khoresmians.

We have some evidence pointing to the existence of several strong Jewish communities in Khorezm after the death of Khazaria. Living in the highly developed city of Gorganj for twenty-three years (from 995 to 1017), Abū al-Rayhān al-Bīrūni provided an exceptionally detailed description of Jewish chronology, numerology, history, ritual of the annual cycle, knowledge of the Torah, and also acquaintance with Séder ʿOlám (סֵדֶר עוֹלָם, literally "the order of the world") in his "al-Atar al-Baqia."[42] Without a doubt, it was based on information provided by Jewish informants. One of them Yaʾqub ibn Musa Neqresi, was a resident of Gorganj, but there were others whose names Biruni did not mention. It is likely, however, that he relied on one or more Jews from Kat, one of the suburbs near his birthplace. Furthermore, his reports on the writings of his teacher, Abu'l-ʿAbbas Iransahri, who must have been a resident of Kat, suggest that the teacher had good informants there on Christianity, Manicheism, and Judaism, but unreliable ones on Indian beliefs.[43]

In the second half of the twelfth century, the Jewish traveler Benjamin of Tudela stated that there were a total of 8,000 Jews in the city of Giva (referred to as Gina in another instance). According to him, Giva was a large city on the banks of the Gozan River (i.e. Oxus or Amu Darya).[44] Some authors believe that there was a mistake in writing and that he is really referring to the town of Khiva,[45] located 150 km from this river. But in this case it would be strange that when providing Jewish statistics Benjamin of Tudela does not mention Gorganj, the then capital of Khorezm and a really big city on the banks of the Gozan River.[46] Apparently, the traveler was relying on data from other informants. As a result, distortions of Gorganj and

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[39]Laufer, "A Chinese–Hebrew Manuscript," 192.

[40]Wong and Yasharpour, *The Haggadah of the Kaifeng Jews*, 3

[41]Bell, "Travels from St. Petersburg," 415.

[42]See the Russian translation for the most complete Petersburg version of the manuscript (thirteenth century): Biruni, *Izbrannye proizvedeniia*, vol. 1, 20, 25–40, 67–75, 90–101, 160–95, 301–16. See also: Schreiner, "Les Juifs dans Al-Beruni," 258–66.

[43]Zand, "Bukharan Jews," 534.

[44]Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Rabbi*, vol.1, 128. About the shared identity of these river names, see: Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries*, 428.

[45]Slousch, "Les Juifs à Boukhara," 403; Klevan, *Le-toldot ha-Yehudim*, 15.

[46]On the fact that Khorezm reached the peak of power and prosperity in the twelfth to early thirteenth centuries, see Bartold, *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, part 1, 794. The even less likely version of Fischel and Zand implies that text was referring to Ghazna (Afghanistan), which is even further away from the river Gozan (Oxus) River. See Fischel, "The Jews of Central Asia," 38, 39; Zand, "Bukharan Jews," 533.

Khiva have merged into one name—Giva (Gina). Moreover, the author further writes about what exactly characterizes the Gorganj of that time: "Very extensive commerce is carried on in this place, to which resort traders of all countries and languages."[47]

Gorganj continued to flourish. Arab geographer Yakut who visited it in 1219, a few years before the Mongol conquest, stated that he had never seen such a powerful and rich city.[48] After Gorganj's capture by the Juchi Khan Mongols, many residents of the city were executed, as reported by Arab-Persian sources.[49] But perhaps this was an exaggeration, as the city was quickly reborn. In the first half of fourteenth century Arab traveler Ibn Battuta described Gorganj as "the largest, greatest, most beautiful and most important city of the Turks. It has fine bazaars and broad streets, a great number of buildings and an abundance of commodities."[50] His contemporary, the traveler Ḥamdallāh Mustawfī Qazvīnī, noted that Gorganj was rebuilt several dozen kilometers away from its old location.[51]

The Arab geographer Shihāb ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī ibn Fadlallah reports in the first half of the fourteenth century that the number of Jews and Christians permitted to settle in Khorezm (by which he was referring to its capital Gorganj) was restricted to 100 houses in each community.[52] In Gorganj, in 1339, Shelomo b. Shmuʿel compiled an exegetical dictionary on the Jewish Bible, Talmud and Midrashim in the Khorezmian dialect of Judeo-Persian, *Sefer ha-melitsa* (The Book of Eloquence).[53] Amnon Netzer argues that the book, copied in Marv[54] in 1473, evidences a developed community, with scientists who had a profound knowledge of scholasticism. It is possible that the author of the dictionary died during the terrible epidemic that erupted in Golden Horde, Gorganj, and Caucasus in the summer of 1346. According to the Russian chronicle "Vladimirskii letopisets," which reports on this epidemic, there was no one to bury the dead. Jews are mentioned as being among the victims.[55] After that the city failed to recover, and came under attack from Timur, who destroyed it in 1388.

There is no early evidence of the permanent residence of Jews in the first millennium AD in other parts of Central Asia, i.e. outside its western part (Turkmenistan and Khorezm). The ancient cities of Central Asia, Bukhara and Samarkand, were probably later inhabited by Jews after the beginning of Jewish migration to China. We also have no evidence, even indirect, of the participation of the Bukhara and

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[47]Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Rabbi*, vol. 1, 128.
[48]Le Strange, *The Lands*, 448.
[49]See an overview of these sources: Timokhin, "Uchastie Dzhuchi-khana," 49–52.
[50]Gibb, *The Travels of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa*, 541.
[51]Le Strange, *The Lands*, 449.
[52]Elomari, "Otryvki iz sochineniia," 242–3.
[53]Fischel, "The Jews of Central Asia," 44–5. Netzer, *Otsar kitve ha-yad*, 45. It is likely that many Jews in Marv died in 1510, when, as the chronicler Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari puts it, the Iranian Sham Ismail I Safavī exterminated the city's population and destroyed the city walls; Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari, *Sharaf-nama-yi shakhi*, vol. 1, 83.
[54]Netzer, *Otsar kitve ha-yad*, 45.
[55]*Vladimirskii letopisets*, 108.

Samarkand Jews in the caravan trade with China. There is no such evidence regarding the Jews of the Marv oasis either.[56] Unlike the Christian West, the East did not view trade as a shameful occupation, and therefore no ethnic group was disdainful of it. Because of this, the Jews could not find an unoccupied niche here, and double trade taxes in Muslim countries diminished their commercial success.

Jews of Samarkand and Bukhara in the Twelfth–Fifteenth Centuries

It is uncertain when Jews first settled in Samarkand, though they likely moved there from Khazaria, Khorezm, and maybe from Marv. The abovementioned dictionary copy of 1473 is the last piece of evidence of the Jews' stay in old Marv. In any case, in the second half of the twelfth century, Benjamin of Tudela recorded the number of Jews in Samarkand to be 50,000 and that they had a *nāsī* (elder of the community) by the name of 'Obadiah.[57] This figure, fantastic as it is, attests to a contemporary belief that the Jewish population was quite numerous. A large Jewish population at that time in Samarkand is also evidenced by Burhān al-Dīn Marġināni's book *Kitab al-Ḥidoya* (Hedaya), finished there in 1178, which comments on various Islamic laws and pays considerable attention to *al-Kitabi* ("people of the Book"). Similarly, Abū Hafs al-Nasafī's book *Al-Qand Fi Taarikhei Samarkand*, renamed as *Qandiya-e Khurd* (The Small Qandiya) and *Qand dar ta'rīf Samarqand* (The Sweet in the Acquaintance with Samarkand) in reduced translations to Persian, provides additional proof. First written in Arabic in 1142–43, the book tells the tale of a Jewish sage arriving from China to Samarkand and teaching its inhabitants to build irrigation ditches and tall buildings with glazed tiles.[58] Some authors assumed that the Jewish community suffered along with everyone else when Samarkand was conquered by the Mongols in 1220, an event accompanied by great destruction and the enslavement of many inhabitants,[59] but we have no evidence of Samarkandian Jews being killed by Mongols.

The wars' destruction led to the Radhanites' transcontinental trade center moving to Western Europe, and perhaps the Jewish merchants from major Central Asian cities followed suit. With reference to al-Tabari, Moshe Gil reports that in the early 1060s, Abū Imrān Mūsā b. Halfōn al-Samarqandī transported a shipment of twenty pre-shrunk dresses, five coats, four Sicilian headdresses, and raw fabrics for a merchant in Alexandria.[60] It is clear that Abū Imrān Mūsā did not live in Samarkand, as he would not have been able to send Sicilian headdresses to Egypt. Since his brother-

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[56]Despite the absence of such information, many historians follow the stereotype that if a source mentions a Jew, then he must be a merchant, and their assertions about the participation of Jews in the "Great Silk Road" trade is reinforced only by the fact of Jewish presence on this road's allegedly very elaborate routes. Some examples are Cansdale, "Jews on the Silk Roads," 23–30; Naimark, "Sledy evreiskoi kul'tury," 76; Foltz, "Judaism and the Silk Route," 11; Rabinowitz, *Jewish Merchant Adventurers*, 15.

[57]Benjamin of Tudela, *The Itinerary of Rabbi*, vol. 1, 129.

[58]Viatkin, "Samarkandskie legendy," 224–6.

[59]See for example Pozailov, *Mi-bukh'arah li-Yerushalayim*, 26.

[60]Gil, *Jews in Islamic Countries*, 531.

in-law lived in Palermo at the time, as reported by the same al-Tabari, it is possible that Abū Imrān Mūsā's family lived there or elsewhere in Italy.

The disappearance of Jews from Samarkand somewhere in the thirteenth or fourteenth century is indicated by several facts. Visiting Central Asia in 1404 Ruy González de Clavijo did not mention Jews when enumerating the ethnic groups that lived in Samarkand at that time: Turks, Arabs, Moors, Armenians, and Greeks.[61] The English traveler Henry Lansdell, while visiting Samarkand in 1883, met a local rabbi who told him a legend according to which the city was destroyed seven times, killing 24,000 Jewish kohanim. Kohanim of Samarkand, according to this legend, had a separate cemetery from the rest of the Jews.[62] There is no mention as to how the rest of the Jews died, likely due to the legend fading away over the years. As for the exact figure of the dead kohens, it appears to have been the result of projecting the total number of Torah kohanic divisions, to highlight the severity of the loss of spiritual leadership. According to the Jewish annals, King David divided the services of the Temple in Jerusalem and the Tabernacle kohanim in twenty-four priestly groups.[63] Most likely, the victim count during the conquest of Samarkand was greatly overestimated, especially when it comes to a one-time slaughter.

The above mentioned Benjamin of Tudela does not say anything about Bukhara. Perhaps a number of Jews moved there from Samarkand after his visit. According to a written source, as early as 1239/40, all Jews and Christians were killed in Bukhara by order of ṣūfī Abū'l Karamal-Dārānī, though it is doubtful he managed to kill them all. In any case, according to Ibn-Battuta's information, the Chagatay Khan Buzan (r. 1334–35) allowed Christians and Jews to rebuild their temples,[64] as there had been some great massacre there before.

In the second half of the fifteenth century there was a well-established Jewish community in Bukhara. Its rabbi was named Ovadia, according to a copyist of the Torah by the name of Avraham ben Beniamin, in 1488. The grandson of Ovadia himself, Yakov, copied the book *Mishneh Torah* by Moses Maimonides (Rambam) two years earlier, in Bukhara. A few more religious writings were copied in Bukhara by Elkanan Cohen Bar Eliezer in 1496, 1497, and 1498. Around 1490 in Bukhara Uziel Moshe Ben-David wrote poetry in Hebrew and Persian. A number of learned men in this Jewish community suggest that the population of Jews increased, which would be the result of resettlement from the destroyed Gorganj—the former cultural center of the Jews of Central Asia, and located just over 400 km away.

There is no trace of evidence regarding the existence of Jews in the entirety of Central Asia from the early sixteenth century and until the 1590s. Most likely, they were converted to Islam or died during Uzbek Khan Moḥammad Shaibani's (r. 1501–10) rise to power, along with many Bukharan residents. The chronicler

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[61]De Clavijo, *Narrative of the Embassy*, 171.
[62]Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, vol. 1, 594.
[63]Chronicles 24: 1–19.
[64]Bartold, *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, part 1, 76; Fischel, "The Jews of Central Asia," 43.

Hafiz-e Tanysh Bukhari writes that the khan "was engaged in a holy war against the infidels and rebels, and exerted efforts to drive out the enemies of faith."[65] Records of the chronicler do not contain details, and therefore it is difficult to say who he meant. After all, the enemies of faith could be the Shiites, whom Khan Shaibani had been fighting hard for many years.

Apparently, Jews assimilated in the territory of the former Khorezm state at the time as well. Russian General Nikolai Murav'ëv, who traveled in Turkestan in 1819–20, reported finding Jews in Khiva who had converted to Islam.[66] According to Bartold's theory, the conversion of the Jews of Khiva to Islam must have taken place a sufficiently long time ago, as otherwise the descendants of the involuntary proselytes would have returned to Judaism after the arrival of Russians in the 1870s.[67] The confirmation of this conversion's antiquity is found in Christian missionary Joseph Wolfe's book, where he records some retellings of Jews of the Bukhara and Marv oasis in the first half of the 1840s. According to these retellings, Khivinian Jews assimilated among the Turkmens were often involved in wars against the hated Bukharan emirs. During the battles, alongside the war-cry of the native Khivians "Serenk," the Hebrew words "Rabone Shel Olam" (lord of the world) could also be heard.[68]

The disappearance of Jews is confirmed, for example, by the English traveler Anthony Jenkinson; when traveling to Central Asia in the late 1550s, he described the state of the economy in Bukhara, but did not mention the presence of Jews in that city.[69] If Jenkinson had found a Jewish population there, he certainly would have mentioned it, since in his notes he disputes the hypothesis, then widespread in western Europe, claiming that the Mongols descended from the ten lost tribes. This hypothesis goes back to the letters of the legendary King Prester John. Various attempts were made to find these tribes. Finally, one of the supporters of this hypothesis, the famous traveler John Mandeville, in his manuscript dating to the second half of the fourteenth century, claims to have localized the tribes in the mountains on the Caspian Sea coast. Considering the absence of mountains on the eastern coast of this sea, the localization appears to be about the North Caucasus. Mandeville reports that although Alexander the Great blocked the way out of the mountains with insurmountable stones, some Jews from these tribes still managed to escape. They allegedly crossed the desert with dragons and came to Bukhara, whose lands were inhabited by mythical animals.[70] Obviously, the news about Khazaria's disintegration was reflected in Mandeville's information on the Jews leaving the North Caucasus. Mandeville's notes became very popular and were published in several hundreds editions.

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[65]Hafiz-i Tanysh Bukhari, *Sharaf-nama-yi shakhi*, vol. 1, 83.

[66]Murav'ëv, *Puteshestvie v Turkmeniiu i Khivu*, vol. 2, 30, 135

[67]Bartold, *Sochineniia*, vol. 2, part 1, 374–5.

[68]Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission of Bokhara*, 380. The Jews of Marv oasis were recent settlers from Mashhad.

[69]Jenkinson, "The Voyages and Travels," vol. 9, 378–9.

[70]Mandeville, *Travels*, 174–7. See the critical analysis of the various fantasies collected in Higgins, *Writing East*; Tzanaki, *Mandeville's Medieval Audiences*; Larner, "Plucking Hairs," 133–55.

While arguing against the story's explanation of the Bukharan residents' Jewish origin, Anthony Jenkinson states that the similar appearance of urban residents (which he calls Tajiks) with Jews cannot be strong evidence for this theory.[71] Therefore, if Jews had not left Bukhara or had not died there, but converted to Islam at the very beginning of the sixteenth century, then by the time of Jenkinson's visit there would be the first or second generation of converts still living in the city. In that case, someone would have told Jenkinson about this large group of converts.

Anthony Jenkinson's travel notes could not convince the still numerous supporters of the theory that identified the Mongols with the ten lost tribes. Giles Fletcher, who served as English ambassador in the Russian tsardom in 1588, published the work "Tatars or Ten Tribes" in 1610. He localized the residence of the descendants of the captive tribes in Central Asia, especially on the northeastern coast of the Caspian Sea,[72] i.e. in the Khorezmian state. Fletcher did not present any evidence for this and therefore it is difficult to identify his source. Perhaps he got the same information as the Dutch merchant Isaac Abrahamszoon Massa, who was in Moscow in 1601–9. In particular, Massa wrote that the Russian elite family Godunov originated from the Caspian region of the Golden Horde, which was destroyed during Timur's time. He noted that there are ruins of magnificent buildings with Greek and Jewish inscriptions, partially gilded[73], but unlike Fletcher, Massa does not even roughly indicate where this city was located. Perhaps that city is Gorganj or Saksin (presumably the city was on the mouth of the Volga[74]), which likely was also destroyed during Timur's campaign to the Golden Horde, through Khorezm, and along the Volga River. The campaign ended with the defeat of Golden Horde khan Tokhtamysh in the battle of the River Kondurcha (present-day Samara region) in 1391.

The legend of the ten lost tribes remained very popular in western Europe until the second half of the nineteenth century, as follows from Claudius Buchanan's *Christian Researches in Asia*.[75] This legend was not only popular among Christians; in 1760, in their letter to the Chinese Jews, London's Jews wondered if they had heard anything about the Israelites in Tartary or the lost ten tribes.[76]

Returning to the issue of the disappearance of Jews in sixteenth-century Central Asia, one cannot exclude their flight to China, as their connections with Chinese Jews did not cease. Written in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Kaifeng, mainly in Judeo-Persian, two Easter Haggadahs speak in favor of exactly this development. Fook-Kong Wong and Dalia Yasharpour argue that the texts are very close to the Judeo-Bukharian or Judeo-Khorasanian writing.[77] In fact, they can only be in Judeo-Khorasanian writing, or at least its Khorezmian variety, since it is unlikely

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[71]Jenkinson, "The Voyages and Travels," vol. 9, 378–9.
[72]Benite, *The Ten Lost Tribes*, 189–90.
[73]Massa, *Kratkoe izvestie o Moskovii*, 34.
[74]Grekov and Iakubovskii, *Zolotaia orda i eë padenie*, 23.
[75]Buchanan, *Christian Researches in Asia*, 131.
[76]Katz, "The Chinese Jews," 904.
[77]Wong and Yasharpour, *The Haggadah of the Kaifeng Jews*, 12, 56–64.

that Jews in Bukhara had managed to create their own separate writing. This is confirmed by Shaul Shaked, who claims that the written language of Kaifeng Jews is the Khorasanian dialect of the Judeo-Iranian languages, which was only used in Greater Khorasan from the eighth to the thirteenth century.[78] In addition, it is difficult to believe that the Jews of Kaifeng retained a Jewish writing and language from the second half of the tenth century. It is reasonable to assume that this culture in China was supported by new groups of Jewish emigrants from Central Asia.

As Wong and Yasharpour note, these two Passover Haggadahs differ from the famous liturgies by the absence of reciting Psalm 136 and the drinking of the fifth cup of wine. Therefore, they believe that the Haggadahs are written in accordance with the early Babylonian liturgy.[79] Based on research on these and other texts, the scholar of comparative religion Rafael Verblovski also concludes that Jews in Kaifeng used the Babylonian liturgy, a predecessor to its Persian version.[80] In fact, in medieval rabbinical correspondence this liturgy is sometimes referred to as Khorasanian.[81] Its long preservation can be explained only by China and Central Asia's conditions of isolation. Khorasanian influence is also indicated by some Passover ritual differences in Kaifeng. At the end of the nineteenth century, Elkan Nathan Adler considered the Kaifeng Jews' liturgical practice an amazingly preserved fragment of the old Jewish culture in Central Asia.[82]

The Genesis of Jews in Bukhara at the End of the Sixteenth to the Beginning of the Nineteenth Centuries

Suddenly, by the turn of the seventeenth century a whole Jewish quarter, Maḥalla-ye Kohna (old quarter), was established in Bukhara. The appearance of Jews in the city was reflected in the literature. In 1606 Khwājāh Bukhārāʾī composed the epic Judeo-Persian poem "Dāniāl-nāma," consisting of 2,175 parts and based on the "Book of Daniel" and various Midrashim. In 1704, also in Bukhara, Benyamin ben Mishāʾel (Aminā) edited the text and inserted several of his own verses in it. The work is written in an epic style reminiscent of Judeo-Persian works "Musā-nāma" by Šāhin, Shirazi poet, and "Fatḥ-nāma" by ʿEmrāni, Isfahani poet.[83] Approximately at the beginning of the eighteenth century Yosef b. Isaac (Yūsuf Yahūdī) added his own verses to ʿEmrāni's poem "Qeṣṣa-ye haft barādarān" ("The Story of the Seven Brothers") in 1688. In 1749 he also wrote the epic poem "Antioḵus-nāma" (Book of Antiochus).[84] In all these works, the Judeo-Persian literary tradition is clearly traced, testifying to the close cultural intercommunal ties that could hardly be maintained from isolated Bukhara.

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[78]Shaked, "Tmi'a 'o Hishtamrut," 348–51.
[79]Wong and Yasharpour, *The Haggadah of the Kaifeng Jews*, 75.
[80]Verblovski, "Al Yehude Kaifeng," 56–9.
[81]Fischel, "The Jews of Central Asia," 45–6.
[82]Adler, "The Persian Jews," 586, 601–25.
[83]Netzer, *Otsar kitve ha-yad*, 33.
[84]Bacher, "Judaeo-Persian," 318–24.

Having migrated to Bukhara and being isolated, the Jews gradually moved from the Judeo-Persian to Judeo-Tajik literary language, which for the first time found some manifestations in "Antio<u>k</u>us-nāma."[85]Another significant work is the narrative poem "Bi yād-e Khodāidād" ("To the Memory of Khodāidād"), also known simply as "Khodāidād," written by Ibrāhim b. Abī'l Khayr in 1809. Such a late language transition to Judeo-Tajik, influenced by the local population, also indirectly indicates a late migration, otherwise this linguistic assimilation would have occurred earlier. As we can see from the fundamental research of Ivan Zarubin, the phonetics and morphology of the Judeo-Tajik language greatly differ from the Tajik dialects of Central Asia.[86] After a long break in Bukhara, the manuscripts began to be copied again. There are manuscripts that were copied there in 1590, 1663, 1666, 1696, 1725, 1771, 1775 (two), 1778, 1781, and 1797. All this indicates the presence of religiously and secularly learned men among the Bukharan Jews.

Where did the new Jewish community in Bukhara come from? They were most likely forcibly relocated to Bukhara from some Khorasanian city that was captured by the Shaybanid dynasty khan Abdallāh's (r. 1583–98) troops. It is important to note that Jews have lived in large numbers in Khorasan for centuries. According to Moqaddasi, there were "many Jews and few Christians" in 980s Khorasan.[87] By the end of the sixteenth century, Jews could settle in the capital of Khorasan, Mashhad, which became one of the main cities of Persia, although in the early thirteenth century it was only a small town.[88] The researcher of Persian economy Willem Floor names Mashhad among other major Persian textile production centers. From the end of the fifteenth century to the end of the sixteenth, Mashhadi silk, especially velvet, could compete with the famous Genoa silk. However, throughout the seventeenth century, the city is mentioned only once regarding textile production, and even then in relation to its felt carpets.[89] This fact is important for understanding the motives for the deportation, as Jews were heavily engaged in silk weaving, to which we will return below. Here, we only note that from the late sixteenth century, the silk trade became the most significant in Safavid Iran and the Ottoman Empire, as the rulers of these countries valued it greatly. Raw silk and silk fabrics were the most important items of trade for Persia with India, Russia, and western Europe.[90] However, soon there were no Jews in Mashhad at all until the

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[85]Zand, "Evreisko-persidskaia literatura," vol. 2, 446.

[86]Zarubin, "Ocherk razgovornogo iazyka."

[87]Al-Muqaddasī, "Aḥsan al-taqāsim fī maʿrifatal-aqālīm," 201.

[88]Ibn al-Assir, reporting the destruction of Khorasan by the Oghuz in 1161, notes that they killed many residents of Mashhad, where Ali Ibn-Musa (Imam Reza) is buried. It is unlikely that this author would have provided this last detail if, during the writing of the chronicle in 1231, Mashhad was a famous city. Ibn al-Assir, "al-Kamil fi-t-tarih," vol. 1, 399. But already in the first half of the fourteenth century Qazvīnī and Ibn Batuta noted that Mashhad was a big city. See Le Strange, *The Lands*, 390. In 1507/8, Sheibani-khan appointed his cousin Seyyed Khadi-Khoja as the city's ruler, which speaks of the city's importance. Hondamir, "Habibal-Siyar," vol. 2, 42. During the entire sixteenth century, neighboring states were waging wars for the ownership of Mashhad.

[89]Floor, *The Persian Textile Industry*, 34, 36, 41.

[90]Dale, *The Muslim Empires*, 106–23; Newman, *Safavid Iran*, 62–3.

1730s. This is a result of their complete transfer to Bukhara between 1589 until 1598, when Abdallāh Khan ruled Mashhad.

However, Jews could have been forcibly relocated to Bukhara from another Khorasanian city instead—Nishapur, ruled by Abdallāh Khan from 1590 to 1597. Jews had long lived in Nishapur according to information collected by Richard W. Bulliet. In particular, he reports that two Jewish villages were incorporated into Nishapur during its growth. Eleventh-century sources present cases of individual Jews who lived in this city.[91] The forcible transfer of Jews from Nishapur, the previous capital of Khorasan and a major city, is backed up by the fact that it was one of the centers of the Persia's silk industry too, as mentioned above.

Abdallāh Khan's main motivation for deporting the weavers was to damage the Persian economy, as he considered the Persian ruler his principal enemy. Additionally, it is unknown how long the inhabitants of Central Asia were producing silk fabric, but Bukharian silk fabrics were of far lower quality than the Persian ones in the sixteenth century.[92] Central Asian nobility preferred Persian silks, which stopped being delivered because of the war with Shah ʿAbbās I (r. 1588–1629). Abdallāh Khan could not disregard this, especially since he paid great attention to the economy, as can be seen from his monetary reform that ended the economic crisis.[93] Central Asian silk was not in demand outside the region, except in India,[94] and something had to be done. Like Shah ʿAbbās I, Abdallāh Khan made great efforts to develop the international trade. In this, he stood out from his predecessors, as Stephen Frederic Dale argues.[95] The ability to export silk fabrics instead of raw silk seemed especially promising to him. Additionally, silkworms have been cultivated in the Ferghana Valley of Central Asia for centuries and carried large cultural significance. According to a local ancient legend recorded in the late nineteenth century, the prophet Job was healing near the Khazret-Ayub hot springs. The worms falling from him landed in the water, where they turned into leeches, and on the mulberry, where they turned into silkworms.[96]

The Jews' relocation from Khorasan to Bukhara is recorded in legends collected by Europeans at various times; these legends are either disregarded by historians or not paid due attention. In 1831 Bukhara, the Scottish traveler and explorer Alexander Burnes was informed that the Jews had moved there from Mashhad.[97] The same information was reported in 1848 to the British journalist Joachim Hayward Stocqueler.[98]

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[91]Bulliet, *The Patricians of Nishapur*, 15.
[92]Iakubovskii, "Feodal'noe obshchestvo," 45.
[93]Davidovich, *Istoriia monetnogo dela*, 85, 190.
[94]Dale, *The Muslim Empires*, 24.
[95]Dale, *Indian Merchants*, 14.
[96]"Shelkovodstvo v Ferganskoi oblasti," 162.
[97]Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. 1, 275.
[98]Stocqueler, *The Oriental Interpreter*, 35.

In 1845 the London-based *Jewish Chronicle*, reported that Jews had migrated to Bukhara 300 years before from Qazvin (northwestern Persia), according to one Bukharan Jewish traveler.[99] Russian officer and ethnographer Aleksandr Khoroshkhin, while visiting Bukhara in the early 1870s, concluded that the relocation of Jews occurred during the reign of Iskander-Khan, according to available sources.[100] Iskander-Khan was on the Bukharan throne in 1561–83, but it is well known that all the affairs in the state were managed by his son, the very same Abdallāh Khan who robbed the throne for his father from another branch of the Shaybanids. Russian general Leonid Sobolev collected the information in 1872, from which it followed that the Jews came to Bukhara from Persia.[101] A contrasting legend, heard in 1863 by the Hungarian traveler Arminius Vambery, confirms the resettlement of Jews to Bukhara, but dates it to the beginning of the eighteenth century and claims that the settlers were formerly residents of Marv and Tabriz.[102]

According to information recorded in 1897 by a collector of Jewish manuscripts, Elkan Nathan Adler, the Jews were moved from Sabzevar to Samarkand by Genghis Khan, from where they were relocated to Bukhara in 1598—very close to the indicated time.[103] However there is no information about the Jews of Samarkand from the thirteenth century until the second half of the seventeenth, when it became the hometown of the poet Elisha ben Samuel, known by the penname Rāghib (Pers. Desirous one), the author of the Judeo-Persian epics *Shahzādah va Ṣūfī* (Pers. The Prince and the Ṣūfī, 1680) and *Ḥanukka-nāma* (Pers. The Book of Ḥanukkah, after 1680), as well as of several Hebrew poems.[104] The disappearing of the Jewish populace in the city was perhaps a result of forced conversions to Islam as well as emigration. The appearance of this poet there can only be the result of migrations from Bukhara to Samarkand. But the Jewish community did not reside there for long. By the early eighteenth century the community had all but ceased to exist, because Samarkand was almost completely destroyed, first by Kazakh nomads and then by Nader Shah in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The Jewish community reappeared in Samarkand only in the first third of the nineteenth century as a result of a second emigration from Bukhara.[105] In this regard, the information Lansdell heard from Rabbi Samarkand about the absence of Jews in the city for more than a century seems quite reliable.[106]

Even in the 1920s–1940s, the Bukharan Jews preserved legends about their mass migration from Mashhad to Bukhara. According to one particular legend, 400 years ago there was a queen of Bukhara who could not have children. The king consulted doctors but to no avail. Then someone told him that a Jewish doctor

[99] *The Jewish Chronicle*, July 18, 1845, 196.
[100] Khoroshkhin, "Narody Srednei Azii," 322.
[101] Sobolev, "Geograficheskie i statisticheskie svedeniia," 167.
[102] Vambery, *Travels in Central Asia*, 372.
[103] Adler, *Jews in Many Lands*, 221–2.
[104] Netzer, *Otsar kitve ha-yad*, 34–6.
[105] Kaganovitch, *Druz'ia ponevole*, 47–50.
[106] Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, vol. 1, 594–5.

living in Mashhad could cure the queen of her sterility. The king and queen went to Mashhad and soon after their return the queen gave birth to a child. The king wished such a learned doctor would live in his kingdom and he promised to fulfill all of the Jew's wishes if he'd only settle in Bukhara. The doctor was a religious Jew and he refused to go to Bukhara, as there would be no other Jews he could pray as a minyan with. The king then offered to bring ten Jews to Bukhara, who constituted the beginnings of a Jewish community. The Jews who subsequently immigrated introduced silk weaving and textile dyeing to Bukhara, this being occupations they pursued up to the time of the story's telling. The Muslims learned these trades from the Jews.[107] Soviet ethnographer Olga Sukhareva collected another legend in the 1950s recalling the resettlement of several Jewish ancestors, who were silk weavers.[108] However, this legend places this event considerably earlier, as it claims that Timur (r. 1370–1405) was the ruler who ordered Jews to move to Bukhara, but from Bagdad this time, which he captured in 1401.

The Jews in Bukhara were not happy with the resettlement. Tsofi Ben Iliahu Ha-Levi made an inscription on the copy of *Mishneh Torah* which read: "I ... edited this book and carefully studied in the country Bukhara in 1590, during a strong hatred of us and persecution."[109] By persecutions, the *sofer* (the scribe) likely meant the violent relocation.[110] The fact that he used the word "edited" rather than "copied" or "copied and edited" testifies that the book was copied before the relocation, and he edited the text in Bukhara.

According to one legend recorded in 1899, the Jews in Bukhara initially prayed in the mosque of Madjid Magav.[111] Alternative information implies that they prayed in the Chukur mosque, but that is unlikely since it was reported a quarter of a century later—in the middle of the 1920s.[112] A few decades after the deportation, the Jewish community in Bukhara finally got permission to build a synagogue, and it was erected at the beginning of 1620.[113]

In the aforementioned story, heard by Vambery, Jewish settlers appeared to be silk weavers. There were other rulers who resettled the Jews for the development of this craft. Assigning a high value to production and trade of silk fabrics in his domestic and foreign policy, in 1612 Shah ʿAbbās I forcibly relocated more than a thousand families of Jewish weavers from Zagem (also known as Zagrum or Bazari, a city in Kakheti, a historical area in the territory of modern Georgia) into Faraḥābād, a city on the southern shore of the Caspian Sea. By 1619, the total number of Jewish settlers

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[107]"J.D.B. News Letter," *Jewish Telegraphic Agency*, January 16, 1928.

[108]Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 166.

[109]Archive of National Library of Israel, F23007, 30.

[110]The scribe did not know yet that after their deportation, the situation of those Jews remaining under Shah Abbās I's authority deteriorated significantly. See Loeb, "Dhimmi Status," 249–50. It became worse than that of those Jews who found themselves in the Sunni Bukhara.

[111]Rabin, "Biografiah," 547.

[112]Amitin-Shapiro, "Predanie," 6.

[113]Ibid., 3–8.

was 7,000.[114] Nāder Shāh Afshar (r. 1736–47) also strove to develop the economy of the northern Persian provinces. Wishing to develop the crafts in Mashhad in particular, he forcibly moved the Jews from Qazvin and other Persian cities to there in the second half of the 1730s to the first half of the 1740s.[115]

In the early seventeenth century, it seemed the silk produced by Jews started to be exported from Bukhara into Moscovia and Siberia. Seventeenth century Russian sources mention that silk fabrics were imported in quantities from Bukhara, often under the names *kitaika* and *zenden'*.[116] The production of silk fabrics became the main occupation of Bukharan Jews for a long time. A Russian non-commissioned officer Fillip Efremov, who lived there for several years at the end of the 1770s, noted the outstanding professional skills of Jews, whom he observed to produce silk fabrics in large quantities.[117] Timofei Burnashev, who visited Bukhara a decade and a half later, wrote that Jews would dye silk and produce fabrics and other products from it.[118] The skills of the Bukharan Jews' were pointed out by the Russian service lieutenant Abdulnasyr Subkhankulov in 1809, the Indian traveler Meer Izzut-Oollah in 1813, and the Russian priest Vasilii Budrin, a member of the Russian expedition in 1820.[119]

After their arrival in Bukhara, Jewish weavers did not take on the two economic niches habitual for Jews in medieval Europe—money lending and trade, since they were already occupied. Traditionally, Tajik-speaking Muslims engaged in trade, and money lending was mostly the niche of Indians.[120] Only at the very beginning of the nineteenth century did the Bukharan Jews begin to get involved in trade, under the influence of expanding economic ties with Russia.[121] Nevertheless, by 1885 a third of Jews in the city Bukhara were still engaged in the production of silk. Their quality silk fabrics were traditionally purchased for the emir's palace. The translucent silk shawls (*kalgai*) they wove were especially valued.[122] The Turkestani governor-general's senior official of custom requests, Mikhail Brodovskii, who was distributing advanced technologies in agricultural production, wrote in 1874 that mostly Bukharan Jews engaged in the raw silk production of Central Asia.[123]

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[114]"Pietro Della Valle's Travels," 51, 94; Matthee, *The Politics of Trade*, 42, 44, 74–8, 102. Regarding ʿAbbās I's attitude towards the Jewish population see Moreen, "The Status of Religious Minorities," 124.

[115]Wolff, *Researches and Missionary Labours*, 132; Ben-Zvi, *ʿAlilot dam*, 320; Levy, "Eduiot ve-t'eudot," 57.

[116]"Torgovye snosheniia Moskovskogo gosudarstva," 109, 143, 213; Ziiaev, *Ekonomicheskie sviazi Srednei Azii*, 27, 33–53, 59–70.

[117]Efremov, *Deviatiletnee stranstvovanie i prikliucheniia*, 96.

[118]Burnashev, "Puteshestviia ot Sibirskoi linii," 276.

[119]Subkhankulov, "Iz zamechanii," 101–3; Izzut-Oollah, *Travels in Central Asia*, 65; Budrin, "Russkie v Bukhare," 29. About this also see: "Nekotorye svedeniia o Bukharii," 296; Eversmann, "Embassy to Bucharia," 54.

[120]Documentary evidence on the usury's occupation of Indians in Bukhara in the late sixteenth century can be seen in Levi, *The Indian Diaspora*, 154, 217–19.

[121]Kaganovitch, *Druz'ia ponevole*, 41–7.

[122]Khadashot, *Hamelits* [חדשות, המליץ], 1885, no. 79, 4; Obruchev, *Po goram i pustyniam*, 63; Sukhareva, *Kvartal'naia obshchina*, 76.

[123]Brodovskii, *Tekhnicheskie proizvodstva*, 27.

In fact, at that time in Bukhara, inhabitants of the Muslims quarters Alvondj, Tup-khona, Khonako, Eshoni Pir, and Mir-Mas'ud were engaged in this craft too; and in the last two quarters only Chala (Jews converted to Islam) produced raw silk.[124] By the end of the nineteenth century, Jews were not the only silk weavers in Bukhara. Silk weaving was also done by Tajik-speaking Muslims in the Abdullo-khoja, Juizar, Gozio'n, Korkhana, Kosagaron, Shaikh Djalol, Khauzi Nau, and Urgandjio'n quarters, among others.[125] They were mostly descendants of former Marv residents, whom Shah Murad and his son Haydar relocated to Bukhara in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The rest of the silk weavers in the city, according to Marv's Olga Sukhareva, were native Muslims of Bukhara who learned this art from Marv's deportees.[126]

<center>***</center>

After moving to Bukhara, the Jewish community grew at a rapid pace. Visiting Khiva and Bukhara in 1741, the English merchant Jonas Hanway noted that Bukhara had a large number of Jews;[127] however, he did not specify how many. The relative political stability and tolerance towards the Jewish community lead to increased Jewish immigration to Bukhara from Afghanistan, Persia, and even Syria and Iraq. This is evidenced by many oral family histories and toponymic nicknames (*lakobs*) based on their native cities and countries. These immigrants very quickly assimilated among the local Jews. Indirect sources help us estimate the number of Jews in the whole of the Bukharan emirate since 1810. At that time it was inhabited by 2,500 Jews, including 1,900 in the city of Bukhara.[128]

In this way, the descendants of Jews relocated to Bukhara at the end of the sixteenth century were preserved in separate Jewish ethnic groups with their own distinctive cultures and languages, as well as clear self-identity. In comparison, the Jews living in Central Asia before them left only occasional traces of evidence behind until their disappearance at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The only certainty is their great cultural impact on the Jewish communities of Khazaria and China.

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[124]Sukhareva, *Kvartal'naia obshchina*, 74, 82, 107, 223.

[125]Ibid., 95, 97, 100, 103, 110–15, 120–3.

[126]Sukhareva, *Bukhara*, 216.

[127]Hanway, *An Historical Account*, vol. 1, 353.

[128]Kaganovitch, *Druz'ia ponevole*, 58.

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Reading In, Looking Out: Hermeneutics by Implication in an Early Fifteenth-Century Anthology

This article investigates aspects of mise-en-page in British Library Add. MS. 27261, an anthology of twenty-three texts on mixed subjects produced for Eskandar Soltān (d. 818/ 1415), grandson of Timur and self-styled ruler of territories in southern Iran during the early fifteenth century. It examines the juxtaposition of literary and scientific texts together with images in Add. MS. 27261, and explores the correlations that these juxtapositions create. It concludes that the London anthology should be seen as a coherent intellectual enterprise, and as an interpretative project designed to feed Eskandar's experiments with different forms of knowledge.

Keywords: Philology; Hermeneutics; Manuscript Culture; Editorial Practices; Eskandar Soltān; Nezāmi Ganjavi; Astronomy

Introduction

Recent studies have begun to uncover the existence of what we might term systems of "hermeneutics by implication" within medieval Islamicate anthology cultures. Standing in contrast to techniques of explicit analysis such as commentary (*sharh*) and exegesis (*tafsir*), hermeneutics by implication depend on the juxtaposition of complementary motifs, ideas or texts, which help to explain one another. Such juxtapositions, created by editorial design, encourage readers to discover connections between materials which are often superficially disparate, and aid in their interpretation. For example, as Adam Talib shows, certain collections of Arabic verse, such as *Kitāb al-muḥibb wa-l-maḥbūb wa-l-mashmūm wa-l-mashrūb* (*The Book of Lover,*

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Beloved, Musk and Wine)[1] by al-Sarī al-Raffāʾ (d. c. 362/972), juxtapose poems with overlapping formal features or imagery, often without gloss or comment, to create "a subtle, inexplicit progression of thematic and rhetorical movements."[2] The primary function of such juxtapositions may have been to inculcate the tenets of practical literary criticism in readers without recourse to long-winded analysis; in other words, they make a work instructive and underscore its pedagogical utility, but they keep it readable. Similarly, Beatrice Gruendler writes of the associative approach adopted by Ibn Abī Ḥajala (d. 776/1375) in his prosimetric work *Sukkardān al-sulṭān* (*The Sultan's Sugar-Bowl*), stating that the book's appendices are rendered coherent by a "mesh of variegated motifs that strings together the widest possible array of historical, geographic, religious, legendary, literary and medical tidbits."[3] Again, these juxtapositions bind the text together and allow the author considerable scope to explore different intellectual fields which help to elucidate one another. These examples go to show that, although many of us may be used to thinking of the production of meaning as a phenomenon founded on techniques involving discussion and analysis, critical culture is not always explicit.[4] Rather than explaining what a passage means, a book's editors can provide readers with a framework for reading in and undertaking analyses through their arrangement of material. This is not a question of readers attaching randomly subjective meanings to texts—although such readings are always possible—but one of authors and editors encouraging particular programs of eisegesis.[5]

This article applies the concept of hermeneutics by implication to a Persian manuscript anthology of the early fifteenth century. The codex in question is British Library Add. MS. 27261,[6] a luxury pocket-sized collection of twenty-three texts covering the diverse fields of

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[1]As the title implies, this is an anthology of erotic and descriptive poetry.

[2]Talib, "Woven Together as Though Randomly Strung," 24, 37 ff. Talib's article extends the findings of Sadan in his article "Maidens' Hair and Starry Skies."

[3]Gruendler, "Literary Sweets," 73.

[4]Recent research has gone some way to reconstructing late medieval and early modern reading practices within the context of Arabic, Persian and Ottoman literary cultures. It is worth emphasizing that the techniques of exegesis (reading out) and eisegesis (reading in) are not mutually exclusive, and that the two modes seem to have been used sometimes by the same people concurrently. See, for example, el-Rouayheb, "The Rise of 'Deep Reading'," 210: "*Muṭālaʿah* [deep reading] ... is ... a close examination of a scholarly text that starts with noting its syntactic, semantic, rhetorical and logical features. Having done this, the reader should sum up the relevant issue by conceiving in his mind the claim (*mabdaʿ*), the argument (*wasaṭ*), and the principles on which the argument rests (*maqṭaʿ*) ... In his endeavors to thus unlock a scholarly handbook, a reader should follow the example of an acknowledged commentary." This stance argues that readers should read into texts, but that their own interpretations should be tempered by reference to a commentary in which an established set of meanings is expounded. Not entirely dissimilarly, Alam's article "Mughal Philology" explores the productive relationship between intuitive and formal criticism in ʿAbd al-Latīf ʿAbd Allāh ʿAbbāsi Gujarāti's (d. ca. 1638/9) editing of Rumi's *Masnavi*.

[5]Although *eisegesis* is a word with a long history, I borrow the term from Elman, "Striving for Meaning," 76-7.

[6]Add. MS. 27261 has been digitized in its entirety and is available to view at https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=add_ms_27261. For an overview of the contents of the manuscript, see Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts*, 868-72. For the poets featured, see Mahdavi, "Fehrest-e Jong-e Eskandar Mirzā Teymuri."

literature, law, medicine, alchemy, theology, history, astronomy and mathematics, which was produced in 813-14/1410-11 for Eskandar b. ʿOmar Sheykh (d. 818/1415), the Timurid ruler of Fars.[7] The manuscript has been studied extensively by historians of art on account of the value of its paintings and marginal decoration.[8] It has also received attention from modern editors, because it is an early source for the history of several late medieval texts, including the *divān* of Hāfez.[9] Furthermore, the poets whose writings it contains have been catalogued in detail by scholars of Persian literature.[10] It is therefore well known. However, it has never been examined as a coherent intellectual enterprise, in which texts, images and decoration are juxtaposed in order to help explain one another.[11] My focus here is on how the anthology's creators may have intended Eskandar, its first owner and reader, to view the manuscript. While attention is now being paid to connecting Eskandar's theological and political program with his patronage of the arts, I stop short of arguing that the schemes of reading suggested in the anthology are either unique or reflective of a particular political philosophy.[12] Yet I do contend that its physical integration of texts and images renders the anthology something like a puzzle, from which Eskandar may have been intended to derive benefit. The book was not just a beautiful object and a compilation of instructive writings, but also a tool designed to feed Eskandar's intellectual experiments with different forms of knowledge, and the interaction between texts and images was an important part of how it operated.

Text Block and Margin: Associative Methods of Arrangement

Add. MS. 27261 develops trends seen in extant books of the late fourteenth century. As in the so-called Behbahān Anthology of 801/1398 (Türk ve Islam Eserleri Müzesi,

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[7]Eskandar's life and patronage have been treated extensively in scholarship, and for that reason I do not propose to discuss either in detail here. For his life, see Soucek, "Eskandar b. ʿOmar Šayx b. Timur"; Soucek, "Eskandar Solṭān"; Aubin, "Le mécenat timouride à Shiraz"; Richard, "Un témoignage inexploité." For discussions of his patronage of the visual arts, see Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan"; Keshavarz, "The Horoscope of Iskandar Sultan"; Akalay, "An Illustrated Astrological Work"; Wright, *The Look of the Book*, 84-105, 167-72; Robinson, "'Zenith of his Time'." For his political and theological programs, see Binbaş, "Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism"; Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science."

[8]See Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sultan"; Soucek, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami's Khamseh," 283-306; Brend, "Beyond the Pale"; Roxburgh, "The Aesthetics of Aggregation"; Wright, *The Look of the Book*, 84-105, 167-72; and the two blog postings by Muhammad Isa Waley, "The Miscellany of Iskandar Sultan," and "Inscriptions in the Miscellany of Iskandar Sultan."

[9]The manuscript was, for example, used as a source for the textual history of Shabestari's poem *Saʿā-datnāmeh* by the editor of Shabestari, *Majmuʿeh-ye āsār*. It was also used for Khānlari, *Divān-e Hāfez*, which is generally regarded as one of the most authoritative editions of the text. Khānlari also made a series of emendations to the Divān using Add. MS. 27261 which were first published as articles in the journal *Yaghmā*, and then as Khānlari, *Chand Nokteh.*

[10]See Mahdavi, "Fehrest-e Jong-e Eskandar Mirza Teymuri."

[11]For not dissimilar kinds of reading practices in a late thirteenth-/early fourteenth-century anthology made for a French queen, see Huot, "A Book Made for a Queen."

[12]On Eskandar Solṭān's use of theology in the service of politics, see, most recently, Binbaş, "Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism."

1950), one text is presented in the central text block (*matn*) of each page, and another text is generally wrapped around the margin (*hāshiyyeh*).[13] The presence of two texts on each page, which was partly a practical way of saving space and reducing the physical bulk of the manuscripts, meant that paintings had to be integrated into the two anthologies in imaginative ways.[14] In both cases, images often occupy the text block, replacing the central text but leaving the marginal text in place. So, in Add. MS. 27261, fourteen of the twenty large-scale paintings are not juxtaposed with the text that they appear to illustrate, but are instead surrounded by a marginal text. Of the remaining six large-scale paintings in the manuscript, five are full-page and are not juxtaposed with any text, and one begins beneath a section of both central and marginal text. Most of the paintings in the opening section of the manuscript, which depict scenes from Nezāmi Ganjavi's (d. ca. 602-12/1205-15) *Khamseh* (*Quintet*), are in fact surrounded by one of three marginal texts: ʿAttār's (d. 618/1221) *Elāhināmeh* (*Divine Book*), the same poet's *Manteq al-teyr* (*The Oration of the Birds*), and a miniature anthology of early and late medieval poetry which is arranged by form and genre. Later paintings are organized in a similar way. For example, f. 298b, "Rostam Rescues Bizhan from the Well," a scene which illustrates a passage from Ferdowsi's (d. 410 or 416/1019 or 1025) *Shāhnāmeh* (*The Book of Kings*), is surrounded by the text of Beyzavi's (d. between 685/1286 and 716/1316) *Nezām al-tavārikh* (*The Order of Histories*), a history of Iran. The painting on f. 371b ("A Patient Sits in Bed while a Doctor Feels His Pulse"), which responds to a treatise on astrology and the interpretation of dreams, is surrounded by a marginal text on medicine.

An obvious question arises: can any sense of design be discerned in the juxtapositions of central and marginal texts throughout the manuscript, and, if so, how might this affect our viewing of the paintings? A simple answer is that the central and marginal texts are always arranged in a fashion which allows for cross-readings in theme and genre. For example, the narratives of Nezāmi Ganjavi's *Khamseh* harmonize well with those of ʿAttār's *masnavi*s because both works often use storytelling as a vehicle for exploring ethical precepts.[15] The extracts from the part-mythological, part-historical *Shāhnāmeh* can be read in parallel with the accounts of Beyzavi's *Nezām al-tavārikh*, the earliest sections of which cover the same dynasties as Ferdowsi's text.[16] The alchemical treatise *Tohfat al-gharāʾeb* (*The Gift of Curiosities*) is comparable with the *qasāʾed* on the Prophet and the Shiʿite imams which are presented on the same pages, because occult knowledge was perceived to be something "latent" in the

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[13]On the Behbahān anthology, see Ağa-Oğlu, "The Landscape Miniatures."

[14]A full visual analysis of each of the large-scale paintings illustrating the text of Nezāmi's *Khamseh* in Add. MS. 27261 is given in Soucek, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami's Khamseh," 283-306.

[15]On the didactic aspects of Nezāmi's *masnavi*s, see Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 192-236; on ʿAttār, see Davis, "The Journey as Paradigm"; Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*. This is not to suggest that the works of either author should necessarily be categorized as "didactic," as they engage with other kinds of writing. For example, on the use of parody in Nezāmi's *Khosrow o shirin*, see van Ruymbeke, "What Is It That Khusraw Learns?"

[16]For a work in English on Ferdowsi as a historian and author, see Davis, *Epic and Sedition*; Beyzavi's *Nezām al-tavārikh* appears to have attracted practically no scholarly attention in its own right.

imams.[17] Esmāʿil ebn Hasan Jorjāni's (d. 531/1136-37) medical treatise *Khoffi-ye ʿalāʾi* (roughly, *ʿAlāʾ al-Dowleh's Pocket Book*)[18] can be read alongside works on the law and astrology because legal prescriptions affected the human body, and it was commonly accepted that the movements of the heavenly bodies made people well or ill.[19] For similar reasons, Shahmardān ibn Abi l-Kheyr's (lived eleventh century) book on astronomy and astrology, *Rowzat al-monajjemin* (*The Astronomers' Garden*), works well alongside treatises on veterinary medicine, alchemy and knowledge of God: the prime mover turns the heavenly bodies, which in turn influence animal (and human) health, and bring about changes in precious metals.[20] Thus, the anthology's texts appear to be organized in an associative way in order to complement one another. This method of arrangement breaks down barriers between different genres and emphasizes points of continuity between texts.

Yet we can go further than simply speaking of broad correspondences between the texts. Throughout Add. MS. 27261, the central and marginal material is organized so that complementary readings can be made on every page. Two examples, which are entirely typical, and which are drawn at random from different parts of the manuscript, illustrate this point. On f. 142b, a common reading emerges between the text block and the margin. Here, the *matn* contains part of the introduction to Nezāmi's *Haft Peykar* (*The Seven Beauties*), while the beginning of a miniature anthology of poetry runs around the *hāshiyyeh*. Nezāmi enjoins his patron to recognize the majesty and bounty of God, and then praises speech as His only undying creation. These sentiments harmonize well with the marginal poems, which are all exordiums on the unity of God. One particular line from a poem by ʿEmādi Shahriyāri (also known as ʿEmād al-Din Ghaznavi, d. 573/1177-78 or 582/1186-87) stands out, because it unites the ideas of speech and divine majesty: "Praise be to the Creator, who arranged in two words / These seven domes which extend for six days."[21] Thus, a clear dialogue concerning the nature of divine speech emerges from this page. The reference to the "seven domes" (*haft qobbeh*) of the seven heavens in ʿEmādi Shahriyāri's poem also brings us back to the text in the *matn*, emphasizing the cosmological significance of the number seven in the *Haft Peykar*, and reminding us of the episode in Nezāmi's text in which Bahrām constructs seven domes to house the seven princesses.

Another example of harmonization comes from f. 337a, where lyric *ghazal* poems by Hasan Dehlavi (d. ca. 738/1338) are surrounded in the margin by passages from an introduction to astrology which explain when is the best time to undertake actions

[17]See Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science," 317.
[18]See Dehkhodā and Moʿin, *Loghatnāmeh*, fasc. 10 (letter Kh.), 665, col. 3. "Khoffi" means a book that is small enough to fit inside a shoe; "ʿalāʾi" refers to the Khwārezmshāh ʿAlāʾ al-Dowleh Atsiz, for whom Jorjāni compiled this compendium.
[19]Prescriptions and proscriptions concerning food, drink, bodily functions and coitus represent the most obvious ways in which the law could affect health. On this point, and the importance of the Zodiac in humoral pathology, see Pormann and Savage-Smith, *Medieval Islamic Medicine*, 43-5.
[20]See n. 52 below.
[21]*Sobhān khāleqi ke beyārāst az do harf / in haft qobbeh rā ke be-shesh ruz bar keshand.*

such as buying property, sowing crops, beginning a student's education, taking medi-cine, engaging in therapeutic bloodletting, and going to town (Figure 1).[22] Correspon-dences emerge from reading across the two texts, as the following lines by Hasan show: "What will happen to me today at dawn? / Pour that scarlet shower of pearls into the goblet / Nothing is better than the wine cup / Take my pen and paper away."[23] While the first of these two lines is ostensibly about wine, the image of pouring red liquid into a bowl recalls the practice of therapeutic bloodletting that is mentioned in the margin.[24] The reference to books and pens evokes the discussion of when to begin a student's education. Moving over to the next page (f. 337b), one of Hasan's poems speaks of abjuring oaths: "Once again, we have broken our pledge to the beloved / We repented and then recanted."[25] The topic is mirrored in the marginal discussion of when to bind oneself to others through oaths. To the right of the text block, Hasan's narrator begs his interlocuter to clothe him in the garb of nobility, while marginal comments at the top of the page discuss when one should importune others.

A striking case of correspondence comes on ff. 277a-8b of the manuscript (Figure 2). The text of the *matn* is from Nezāmi's *Eqbālnāmeh* (*The Book of Felicity*). In the narrative, Eskandar (Alexander the Great) has just reached the point of pro-phecy and is receiving the testaments of the assembled Greek philosophers; the text here consists of the ethical counsels of Aristotle, which are concerned with how a man who is both a prophet and a king should comport himself. They include the lines: "If a king repents of his justice / The state will be ruined / God created you for the sake of justice / Tyranny cannot come from an unjust king."[26] The margin contains a long *qasideh* by the poet Basāti Samarqandi (d. 840/1436 or 37) composed in praise of Eskandar Soltān.[27] Highlighting in red ink makes certain phrases in Basāti's panegyric stand out, among them: "Eskandar, consider this, and think the rest all tales / This speech is correct, all others are storytellers";[28] "You are Eskandar,

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[22]The astrological text is *Madkhal-e manzum* (*The Versified Introduction [to Astrology]*), composed by ʿAbd al-Jabbār Khojandi in 616/1219-20, which has been edited and print published in Rezāzādeh-ye Malek, *Tankalushā*, 168-211. The version of this text presented in Add. MS. 27261 demonstrates signifi-cant differences in comparison with the printed edition; it appears to be an abridgement.

[23]*Che shavad zin siyah-sepid marā / dar qadah riz laʿl-e gowhar-bār / beh ze qarābeh nist majmuʿi / qalam o kāghaz az miyān bardār.* Cf. Hasan Dehlavi, *Divān*, 272-3.

[24]Blood and wine are brought into comparison in earlier verses about therapeutic bloodletting. In a *qetʿeh* composed when the last Ghaznavid, Bahrāmshāh, was bled, Shehāb al-Din Shāh ʿAli Abi Rejāʾ al-Ghaznavi writes: "Drinking wine after he bade the minstrels sit, the king desired bloodshed and called for the venesector ... [who] dug a silver channel with the tip of his iron needle and brought forth carnelians from the gold-sprinkling hand of the king." ʿOwfi, *Lobāb al-albāb*, 2: 281.

[25]*Bāz ʿahd-e niyāz beshekastim / towbeh kardim o bāz beshekastim.* Cf. Hasan Dehlavi, *Divān*, 333.

[26]*Shah az dād-e khvud gar pashimān shavad / velāyat ze bidād virān shavad / torā izad az bahr-e ʿadl āfarid / setam nāyad az shāh-e ʿādel padid.* Add. MS. 27261, f. 278a; Nezāmi Ganjavi, *Kolliyāt*, 897.

[27]Dowlatshāh Samarqandi tells us that Basāti was associated with the court of Khalil, Eskandar Soltān's cousin, in Samarqand (Dowlatshāh Samarqandi, *The Tadhkiratu ʾsh-Shuʿará*, 352-6). The terms in which Basāti addresses him in this poem suggest that Eskandar had already taken control of Fars when the *qasideh* was composed. Did they perhaps correspond by letter?
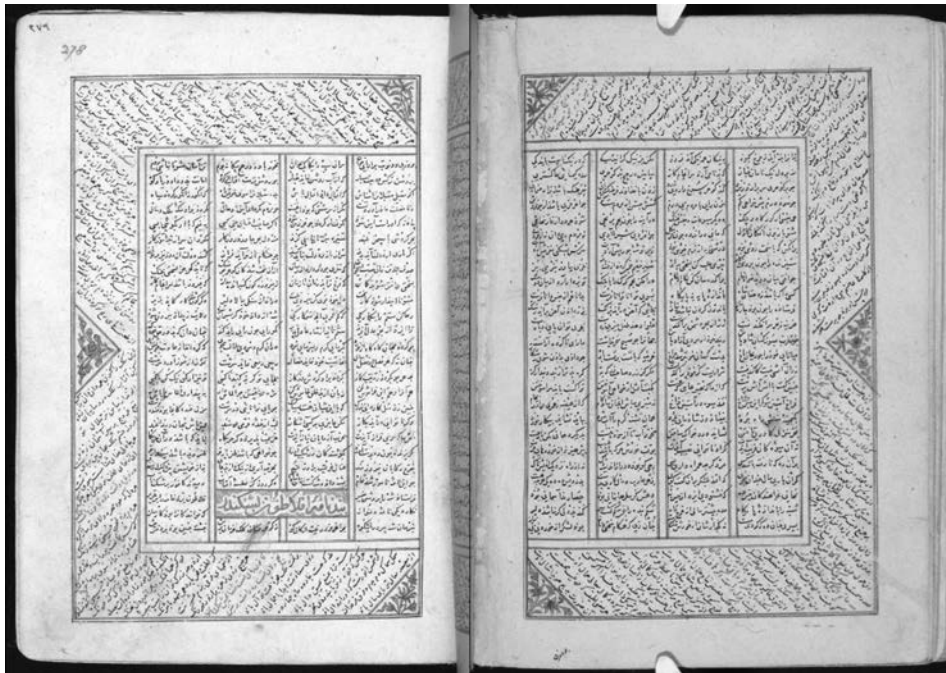
[28]*Eskandar in shomar to o bāqi fesāneh dān / in-ast qowl-e rāst degar-hā fesāneh-khvān.*

Figure 1. Add. MS. 27261 f. 337a: *Ghazals* by Hasan Dehlavi; astrological treatise. © The British Library Board.

Figure 2. Add. MS. 27261 ff. 277b-8a: *Eqbālnāmeh* of Nezāmi; a *qasideh* in praise of Eskandar Soltān. © The British Library Board.

more pleasant than the fount of life,"[29] an image recalling the adventures of Nezāmi's hero in the land of darkness;[30] and "the law laid down by your considered view heals the kingdom and the faith / The path of your rule is the straight way through certitude."[31] These phrases simultaneously identify Eskandar Soltān with Nezāmi's hero and distinguish him. Like Nezāmi's Eskandar, he is a prophet,[32] and a king whose rule has the power to lead the community in accordance with God's laws. Yet he is real, whereas Nezāmi's Eskandar is one of the fictive "tales" which Basāti mentions; and he is "more pleasant" than the fount of life, which Nezāmi's Eskandar fails to find.[33] It is worth adding that this case provides some additional support for the

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[29]*Eskandari lotftar az cheshmeh-ye heyāt.*

[30]See Nezāmi Ganjavi, *Kolliyāt*, 823-6. Eskandar travels into the land of darkness in search of the spring that grants immortality

[31]*Qānun-e ra'y-e tost shefā-bakhsh-e molk o din / nahj-e velā-ye tost rah-e rāst bar yaqin.* "The straight way" (*rah-e rāst*) is an obvious reference to Q1:6: "Show us the straight way" (*al-ṣirāṭ al-mustaqīm*).

[32]For Eskandar's (self-)representation as a prophet in the works of history and theology that he patronized, see Binbaş, "Timurid Experimentation with Eschatological Absolutism." The literary evidence is still unexamined.

[33]See Nezāmi Ganjavi, *Kolliyāt*, 825.

theory that the visual representations of Nezāmi's Eskandar on ff. 225b, 230a and 286a of Add. MS. 27261 double as portraits of Eskandar Soltān.[34]

The examples given above testify to what extent texts can be manipulated when they are reproduced within the book. As with other late medieval editors, both in Iran and elsewhere, the makers of Add. MS. 27261 do not seem to have had a strong interest in establishing a "fundamental" edition of each text in the anthology. Rather, they abridged and arranged them in order to create coherence on each page, a productive framework which would stimulate the reader's critical investigation of the underlying patterns between material. To give one example of their manipulation of texts, their recension of the astrological work *Madkhal-e manzum* displays significant differences with the modern print edition, which does attempt to reconstruct an original text. Passages are absent from Add. MS. 27261, and the order of many is inverted. The resulting recension cannot simply be imputed to a poor-quality or defective textual source. It reflects a literary culture in which the original intentions of a text's author were sacrificed to editorial concerns about the coherence of the page.

Illustration, Analogy and Independent Scene: Images and Marginal Texts

The associative arrangement of material throughout the anthology is not only confined to the written texts. Complementary readings can be made in all cases in the manuscript where a painting is surrounded by a marginal text. This is not a case of direct correspondence, but rather a form of juxtaposition which gives rise to overlapping interpretative strategies. The editors' method of arrangement affects our understanding of the paintings because it forces them to operate on more than one level, meaning that they not only depict events from works such as Nezāmi's *Khamseh* and Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*, but also act as spaces for contemplating a connected set of ideas. Contrary to what one might assume, this does not render them more dependent on the texts, but rather emphasizes their independence as images in which different meanings can converge.

A good example of this phenomenon is f. 118a, which features a painting depicting Majnun's establishment of just rule over the animals in the *matn*, and, in the margin, text describing the Prophet's invitation to the jinn and animals to attend him (Figure 3). On looking at the marginal text and the painting together, the viewer is invited to think of parallels between Majnun and the Prophet, to compare their ethical stances, and thereby to gain new interpretative perspectives on both the text and the image. The comparison created by the juxtaposition counters Nezāmi's statement that Majnun himself became like a wild beast among the animals, and dispels any doubt over whether Majnun should be taken as a positive ethical exemplum.[35]

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[34]This suggestion is made in Soucek, "Illustrated Manuscripts of Nizami's Khamseh," 304. As Soucek implies, however, tropical comparisons between present kings and past rulers of history and myth were so common that it is difficult to believe that the editors of Add. MS. 27261 would not have automatically chosen to draw these parallels anyway (see ibid., 292).

[35]See Nezāmi Ganjavi, *Kolliyāt*, 396.

Figure 3. Add. MS 27261 f. 118a: Majnun and the animals; ʿAttār's *Elāhināmeh*. © The British Library Board.

On f. 38a, the painting is of Shirin gazing at Khosrow's portrait, while the marginal text describes the passion of the slave Ayāz for his master, Mahmud of Ghazneh. The image and the text are united by more than the general theme of lovers and beloveds. Both treat the desire of the beloved for their lover, inverting the common topos of the lover as the active pursuer of the beloved. While we look at Shirin beholding her lover, we can read the following lines in the margin:

> The king said to [Ayāz]: "What is your prey?" / He
> replied: "His name is Mahmud."
>
> The king said: "Show me your lasso." / He let his
> long locks fall to the floor
>
> And said: "My lasso is my wavering locks, / And the
> king of the world is prey for it."
>
> This speech affected Mahmud's soul / He hung his
> head and his cheeks burned like wood aflame.[36]

The juxtaposition of this text with the image of Shirin looking at Khosrow leads to a kind of harmonization, in which the visual and the verbal elements of the page debate a shared theme.

How do the paintings work in conjunction with texts which are not narratives? The image on f. 159b responds to one of the embedded anecdotes from Nezāmi's *Haft Peykar* (Figure 4). It depicts the story's hero, Torktāzi, being handed a cup of wine by Torktāz, the fairy queen, who is about to undress in front of him but first enjoins him to close his eyes. He opens them to find himself back in the basket that transported him to her domain.[37] This story, in which the protagonist must unravel truth from sensible reality, and only recognizes what has happened to him when his adventure is over, is given a new interpretative slant by the marginal lyric poems. One by Shahid Balkhi[38] reads: "Like the narcissus and the rose, knowledge and the means / Do not bloom together in the garden / Whoever has the knowledge has no means / And whoever the means, little knowledge";[39] another by Ma'rufi Balkhi[40] states: "Bring the wine cup to me and let me sip from your lips / For your

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[36]For the text, see 'Attār, *Manteq al-teyr va elāhināmeh*, 305: *shahash goftā shekār-e to kodām ast / javābash dād ke u mahmud nām ast / shahash goftā kamand-e khvish benemāy / sar-e zolf-e darāz afkand bar pāy / kamandam goft zolf-e biqarār ast / shah-e 'ālam kamandam rā shekār ast / asar kard in sokhan dar jān-e mahmud / foru afkand sar misukht chun 'ud.*
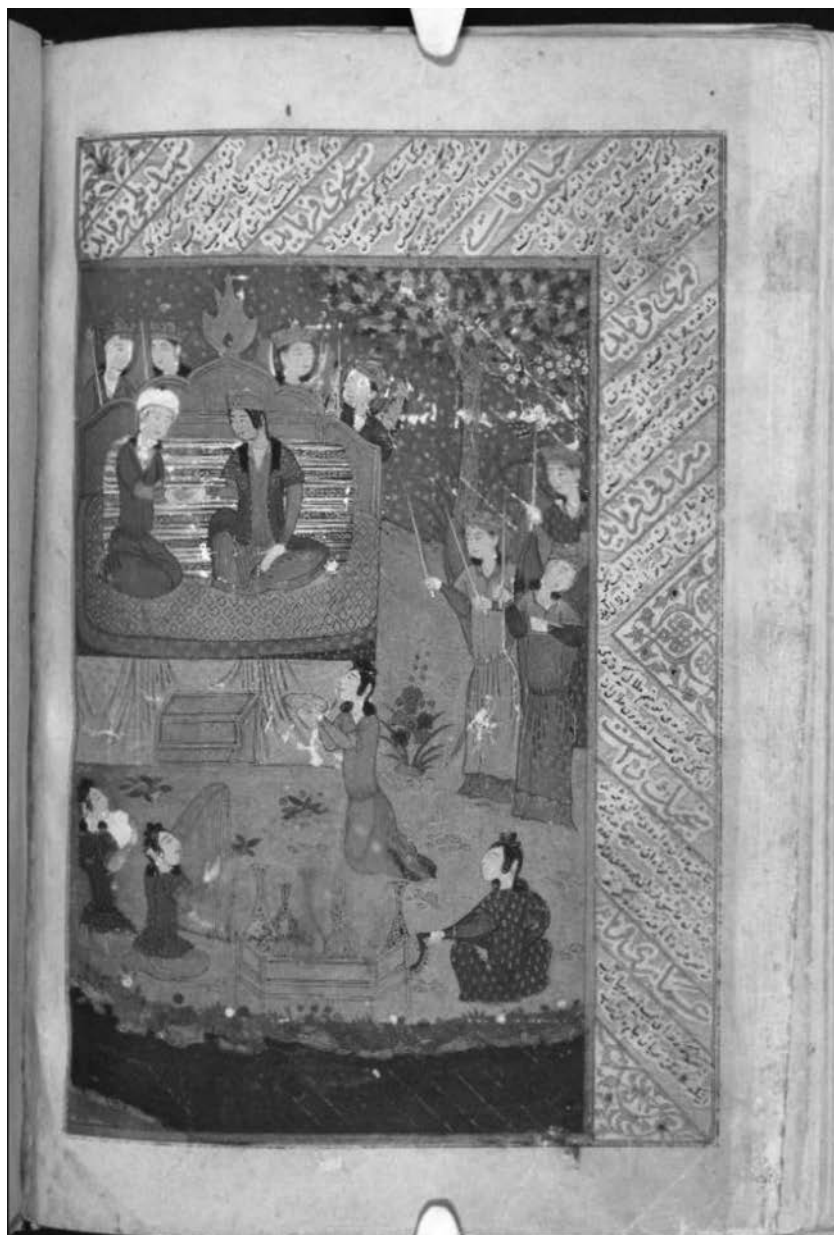
[37]For an English translation of this passage, see Nezāmi Ganjavi, *The Haft Paykar*, 128-32.

[38]Shahid (or perhaps preferably, Shuhayd) Balkhi was a poet and philosopher of the late ninth/early tenth centuries. See Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, 1: 20-1.

[39]*Dānesh o khvāsteh cho narges o gol / har do dar bāgh nashekoftad be-ham / harke rā dānesh ast khvāsteh nist / o ānk rā khvāstast dānesh kam.* Cf. Lazard *Les premiers poètes persans*, 2: 31.

[40]Ma'rufi is another important Sāmānid poet who specialized in lyric and satirical verse. See Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, 1: 31. This poem does not feature in the fragments collected by Lazard.

Figure 4. Add. MS. 27261 f. 159b: Torktāz and Torktāzi; marginal lyric and gnomic poems. © The British Library Board.

lips would turn poison into limpid wine / If I see your face, wine becomes licit for me / Since wine has overcome me, it must be licit";[41] and finally, one ascribed to ʿAmāri says: "O wonder, they have lit a fire in the water / Look at that wine-cup and that wine."[42]

As with the other examples given above, these lines do not break Nezāmi's text open and analyze it, but they offer a way of understanding the image by intersecting with it. In the first verse quoted here, the sardonic suggestion that knowledge and ability are diametrically opposed parallels Torktāzi's postponed recognition of what has happened to him. In the second poem, the lover's kiss is aligned with a kind of cure-all that alters our powers of perception for the better. The half-line complements Nezāmi's story, in which the protagonist's hard lesson in love changes his understanding of the world. The last poem is ekphrastic, and can be read as a playful appeal to the viewer to look at the image of the two would-be lovers drinking wine.

It has been contended that the paintings in the first half of Add. MS. 27261 "deal with causes and effects. The narrative elements of poetry are emphasized."[43] Yet this characterization only addresses one aspect of how these images function on the page. They are imbricated in a set of meanings which the viewer creates by moving their eyes between image and text. On one level, the painting on f. 159b visualizes an episode from *Haft Peykar*; on another it is simply a decorative scene which recalls many other depictions of enthroned lovers; but on a third level, it is an analogy which intersects with the themes and topoi of the lyric poetry that surrounds it. When viewed in conjunction with the image, the marginal poems impart a life lesson, enjoining the viewer to approach love with their eyes open. They also underscore the process of thinking through visual experience, a theme with which Nezāmi's text is concerned, but which—obviously—takes on a heightened significance within the context of the painting.

Two final examples fully demonstrate the complexity of text-image relationships in MS. Add. 27261. The double-page painting on ff. 362b-3a provides a schematic bird's eye view of the city of Mecca, its surrounding hills, and the Haram, which is populated by white-robed pilgrims in their state of ritual purity. Angels inhabit the sky over the sanctuary. Text projects into the right-hand page: the margin speaks of cures for ailments which commonly affect travelers, such as gangrene of the feet,[44] while the text block discusses the formulae that pilgrims on Hajj must pronounce and the things that are forbidden to them in *ehrām*—sex, swearing, the recollection of sex in the presence of women, and "sin." The painting is not an illustration of these concepts, but rather a visualization of the promise of what awaits the pilgrim who can overcome what they

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[41]*Beyār jām labālab deh az labālab shurbash / ke zahreh bā lab-e to bādeh-ye zolāl āyad / man agar ruy-e to binam halāl gardad mey / az ānk mey bejast andarun halāl āyad.*

[42]*Ātash kardand ey ʿajab dar miyān-e āb / ink negāh kon to be-ān jām o ān sharāb.* The image of fire in water refers to red wine.

[43]Roxburgh, "The Aesthetics of Aggregation," 125.

[44]For a print edition of this text, see Esmāʿil ebn Hasan Jorjāni, *Khoffi-ye ʿalāʾi*, 85-6.

discuss: the perils of travel to Arabia on land and by sea; and the invalidation of pilgrimage through breaking *ehrām*.[45] It builds on both texts.

Similar processes are in play on f. 371b (Figure 5). The painting depicts a patient sitting up in a makeshift bed while a doctor feels his pulse. Behind the physician stands a serving girl holding a tray of poultices. The marginal text is part of a medical treatise which discusses how doctors should diagnose the sick, and how they should alter their treatment methods after observing their patients and taking their vital signs.[46] The text recognizes that the body must not be treated to the exclusion of the psyche: a doctor should inquire as to the patient's sleep, so as to ensure that their brain is sound. Some patients also require their loved ones and intimates to stay with them in order to regain their strength. The text of the *matn* on the previous and facing pages provides diagnostic methods for interpreting dreams. One table states that patients should name the objects which they see in their dreams, and that the first letter of each object will determine whether the dreams are well- or ill-omened. Since it depicts a figure in bed, the image on f. 371b takes on a double significance: it is as relevant to the text on dream interpretation as it is to the treatise on medicine, emphasizing the convergence of psychic and physical approaches in the treatment of sickness.

Visual and Verbal Play: The Case of *Rowzat al-Monajjemin*

The text of the *matn* of the last ten folios of the anthology (ff. 533b-543b) consists of the chapter on the forms of the constellations from *Rowzat al-monajjemin* (*The Astronomers' Garden*), a work by the eleventh-century polymath Shahmardān ibn Abi l-Kheyr which deals with astronomy and astrology.[47] These pages are, for the most part, bordered by vignettes which at first glance seem to be discrete and randomly arranged. For example, the margin of f. 537b contains two separate monochrome scenes, one depicting a male figure out hawking on horseback for ducks, the other showing a jackal tearing into the stomach of a camel, a composition which recalls an episode from *Kalīla wa-Dimna*.[48] The margin of f. 538b contains images of a pair of lovers gazing at one another; Khosrow looking at the bathing Shirin; a stork; and two rams in combat. As these examples suggest, some of the vignettes featured throughout this section recall moments from well-known narratives, while

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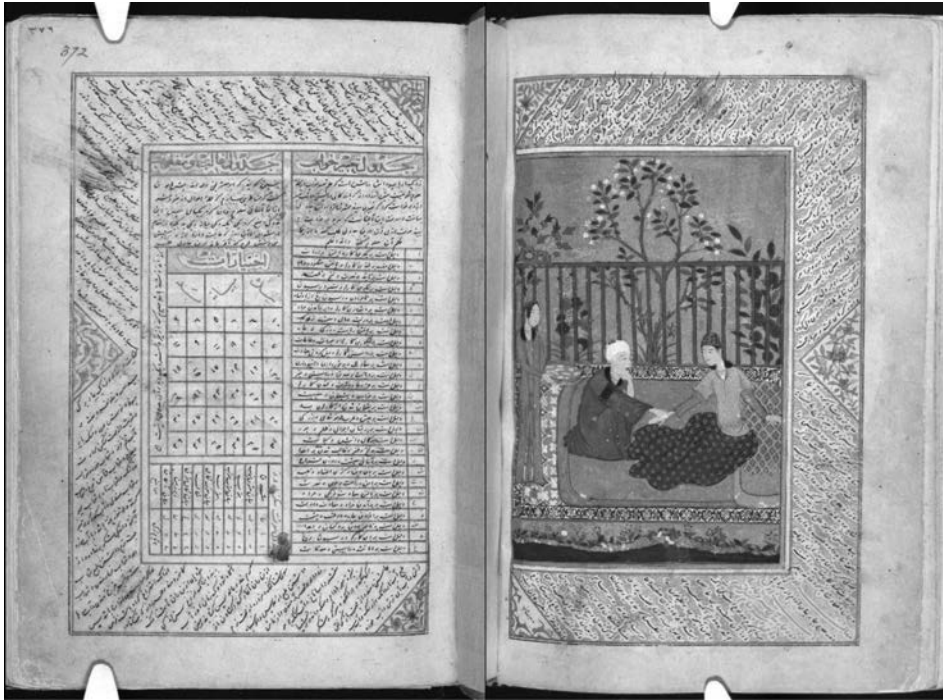[45]On *ehrām* see Wensinck and Jomier, "Iḥrām."

[46]Jorjāni's methods of treatment include the making of poultices, something which is referenced in the painting. For a print edition of the text, see Esmāʿil ebn Hasan Jorjāni, *Khoffi-ye ʿalāʾi*, 123-5.

[47]For a biography of Shahmardān ebn Abi l-Kheyr, see Shahmardān ebn Abi l-Kheyr, *Rowzat al-monajjemin*, *noh-yāzdah*. Akhvān Zanjāni's edition is a facsimile in rather unclear *naskh*.

[48]This scene is formally quite close to a sketch which depicts a lion, two jackals and crows tearing into the stomach of a camel, and which is found in the Diez album A. fol. 72 p. 6, no. 3. Roxburgh, "Persian Drawing", 76 n. 94 connects the Diez image to the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* manuscript made for Baysunghur Mirzā in Herat in 1429. The episode from *Kalīla wa-Dimna* with which these images engage is an embedded anecdote that tells of how a leopard, a jackal and a crow tricked a camel into allowing himself to be killed in order to feed an injured lion.

Figure 5. Add. MS. 27261 ff. 371b-2a: A doctor treating his patient; tables on dream interpretation. © The British Library Board.

others are thematically and technically reminiscent of near-contemporary preparatory sketches and single-page drawings.

It is possible that ff. 533b-543b were not originally intended to be decorated in this fashion, because there is a breakdown in the arrangement of *Rowzat al-monajjemin*, and several folios are absent. This can be deduced from the fact that the northern constellations are incorrectly intermixed with the southern ones,[49] and several constellations are also missing.[50] There are further issues with the marginal text, Shabestari's (d. 740/1340) *Saʿādatnāmeh* (*The Book of Felicity*), which breaks off at f. 553b,

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[49]Ff. 534 and 535b are misplaced. F. 534b details the second two southern constellations and should lead onto the text of f. 541a, which picks up with the southern constellation Hydra. It appears that the confusion over the order of the constellations occurred when the text was being copied, since f. 535 is not coherent: f. 535a concerns Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, which are the first two northern constellations in the lists of stars, while f. 535b concerns Andromeda, which is the twentieth of the northern constellations. Ff. 536a-537b cover the northern constellations from Draco to Pegasus, which should come before Andromeda. ff. 538a-540b cover the Zodiac and are coherent.

[50]There ought to be another page of text after f. 533b with the first two southern constellations (Cetus and Orion), and another three folios from f. 535b with the northern constellations from Boötes to Ophiuchus.

then reappears in the margin of f. 539b, then breaks off again, before finally trailing off without actually ending on f. 540b.[51] The confusion begins on f. 534a, where the margin has been left free of both text and image. If we follow the order of the constellations, f. 534 ought to be placed before f. 541, where the margin is also free of text and image. Assuming that the text-block was ruled and illuminated first, that the central text was copied next, that the marginal text was written out after that, and that the marginal paintings and drawings were executed last of all, it seems possible that the mix-up with the arrangement of the central text meant that it was not considered expedient to copy out the marginal text, and so the artist filled in the margins of this section with vignettes.

Although the decorated margins of ff. 533b-543b may not have been part of the anthology's original plan, we can still consider the artist's approach to filling in the blank spaces. Contrary to prevailing scholarly opinion, the marginal images often do appear to engage with the themes of *Rowzat al-monajjemin*, in an oblique and playful way which is dependent on a close reading of the text as a whole. In some cases, the astrological import of the paintings and drawings is obvious. For example, the margins of ff. 534b-535a, surrounding text which discusses the constellations of Canis Minor, Argo, Ursa Major and Ursa Minor, depict air, earth, fire and water, the four elements (*tabāʾiʿ* or *arkān*) from which Shahmardān ebn Abi l-Kheyr and the astrologers who preceded him claimed that life and the planetary bodies were constituted (Figure 6).[52] Each of the scenes is inhabited by a sampling of the beings associated with the given element: fire contains angels, birds inhabit the air, waterfowl, a turtle and a sea monster churn the water, and big cats roam the earth. Fire and air are depicted above water and earth, reflecting the idea that the former were "lighter" and the latter "heavier."[53] The stars, the four elements and animal life were thought to be closely connected: like several of his predecessors, Shahmardān ebn Abi l-Kheyr contended that the natures of each species of living creature were determined by the influences of the constellations and the planetary bodies. For example, elephants, ducks, cranes and crocodiles were governed by the moon, while lions, wolves, leopards and birds of prey were to be associated with Mars.[54] The inclusion of animals on ff. 534b-535a and more broadly throughout the marginalia of this section should not, therefore, strike us as random, but rather as a basic

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[51]Compare the text of f. 539b and f. 540b with Shabestari, *Majmuʿeh-ye āsār*, 241.

[52]For Shahmardān ebn Abi l-Kheyr's introduction to the four elements, see Add. MS. 27261, f. 387b. The simplest discussion of the elements' role in astrology is given in Abū Maʿshar, *Kitāb al-mudkhal*, 2:7-8: "The second type [of science] is the science of the decrees [of the stars], which consists of knowledge of every planet and sphere and of the particular nature of their indications; and of what comes into being and happens because of the force of their different movements and their effect on this world (which is located below the sphere of the moon) in terms of altering destinies and changing the elements, which are fire, air, water and earth; and [the effect of the planets and spheres] on the things that are made from these elements, in terms of individual animals, plants and stones."

[53]See Add. MS. 27261, f. 387b.

[54]Add. MS. 27261, f. 393a.

Figure 6. Add. MS. 27261 ff. 534b-5a: Astrological treatise; the four elements. © The British Library Board.

aspect of the study of cosmography, creation and the effects exerted by the heavenly bodies on life on earth.

In some cases, it is possible that the vignettes of animals and humans seen throughout this section also intersect obliquely with Shahmardān ebn Abi l-Kheyr's prognostications concerning the events that come to pass under the influence of certain heavenly bodies. Kings go hunting when Saturn is in the twelfth house, and they behave towards the people with clemency and justice when it is in the eleventh house.[55] Cloven-hooved animals are in fine fettle when Mars is in the second house.[56] The images that we see in the margins of ff. 536b-537b—showing flourishing animal life, a subject prostrate before a crowned ruler, and a princely figure out hunting—serve as visual exempla of the extent to which the heavenly bodies, which were moved in turn by God, supposedly dictated the natures of all humans and animals.

Three sets of marginal images in this section of the manuscript may operate in a more ludic fashion than those examined thus far, each necessitating a close reading

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[55]Add. MS. 27261, f. 458a.

[56]Add. MS. 27261, f. 457b. It is probably needless to add that the different sources do not always agree on which animals should be associated with which heavenly bodies. A useful list is provided in Āmoli, *Nafā᾽es al-fonun*, 3:289-98.

of the first text in the anthology—Nezāmi Ganjavi's *Khamseh*, which makes considerable use of astrological themes in its poetic imagery. The marginalia of f. 533b depict two armies confronting one another at the top of the page; an angel holding a bridle in the right-hand margin; and, at the bottom, Bahrām Gur fighting a dragon, an episode drawn from Nezāmi's *Haft Peykar* which is the subject of a painting earlier in the manuscript (Figure 7). The images on f. 533b can all be viewed as playful visual puns relating to aspects of astrology: the constellation Auriga is known as *Mumsik al-aʿinna* ("he who holds the reins") in Arabic, which may help to elucidate the otherwise curious iconography of the angel carrying the bridle.[57] Bahrām is another name for the planet Mars,[58] the planet of war; the theme of warfare explains the battle going on at the top of the page.[59] The dragon represents the Moon's descending node (*al-dhanab*, i.e. the tail [of the dragon]), which is famously ill-starred in astrology.[60] It is important to stress that the reading of Bahrām's encounter with the dragon as a parallel for the conjunction of the moon's descending node with Mars is not of the artist's invention, since Nezāmi himself makes the astrological aspect of the episode a clear subtext in the *Khamseh*.[61] However, the fact that the artist picked up on this and chose to reference it here suggests that he was engaged in close study of the anthology's texts, and that he expected the book's readers to do the same in order to understand the joke.

The visual recollection of *Khosrow o Shirin* on f. 538b is based on a similarly detailed reading of astrological imagery in the text of the *Khamseh* (Figure 8). When relating how Khosrow came across Shirin bathing in a spring, Nezāmi compares his hero to "the sun, who had wandered from his course," and his heroine to "the moon, whose place was in the Pleiades."[62] Khosrow is unaware that this moon is destined to "descend in his constellation of the Zodiac (*dar borj-e u*)."[63] As she finishes bathing and arises from the water, Shirin is described as "the moon ascending in Aquarius," causing Khosrow to rain tears,[64] the basic astrological concept being that

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[57]Auriga is not usually represented as an angel. The Greek iconography is of a charioteer with one leg crossed over the other, holding a bridle; on Islamic celestial globes and in books of fixed stars, the constellation is sometimes depicted as a male figure, wearing a headdress, who either kneels or stands. In the Islamic representations, the reins are often replaced with an object that looks like a quirt. The angel on f. 533b retains the basic posture of Auriga, with bent or crossed legs, and holds the bridle.

[58]See Add. MS. 27261, f. 387b: "Marikh-Bahrām."

[59]On the martial influence of Mars see also Add. MS. 27261, f. 520b.

[60]On the maleficence of *al-dhanab*, see Add. MS. 27261 f. 521b; Kunitzsch, "The Description of the Night," 107-8. A full study of the moon's ascending and descending nodes and their representation is given in Hartner, "The Pseudoplanetary Nodes." On *al-dhanab*, see ibid., 120-1. A more recent study is Kuehn, *The Dragon*, 136-44.

[61]See the brief remarks in Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 218-19, n.44, 218.

[62]*Ke bāshad jā-ye ān mah bar sorayyā … bedān cheshmeh ke jā-ye māh gashteh / ʿajab bin kāftāb az rāh gashteh*. Nezāmi Ganjavi, *Kolliyāt*, 135.

[63]*Nabud āgāh ke ān shabrang o ān māh / be-borj-e u forud āyand nāgāh*. Nezāmi Ganjavi, *Kolliyāt*, 135. The line has the more prosaic primary meaning that Shirin will dismount from her horse in Khosrow's castle.

[64]*Feshānd az dideh bārān sahābi / ke tāleʿ shod qamar dar borj-e ābi*. Nezāmi Ganjavi, *Kolliyāt*, 135.

Figure 7. Add. MS. 27261 f. 533b: Astrological treatise; the descent of the moon in Mars. © The British Library Board.

Figure 8. ff. 538b-9a: Astrological treatise. © The British Library Board.

when the moon rises in Aquarius it generates rainfall.[65] The artist's visual recollection of the text at this point of the manuscript connects not narrative action, but poetic metaphor, with what was perceived to be scientific fact. This not only links different parts of the anthology together, but argues that literature can help to instruct the reader in scientific principles, and vice versa. We can therefore go further than the contention that

> the decoration of the pages on which these scientific texts were written down also links them—by way of rich ornamental motifs, animals, dragons, Chinese-style bands and clouds, scenes from Nizami's *Khamsa* and cartouches with Iskandar Sultan's name, titles and lines of poetry—ostensibly to the other genres of knowledge and to Timurid courtly patronage for the arts.[66]

Rather, the marginal decoration of ff.533b-543b acts as a kind of visual analogy to Shahmardān ebn Abi l-Kheyr's scientific text.

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[65]See Add. MS. 27261, ff. 459a, 460b. The Moon in Aquarius (*dalw*) can cause 'much rain and a southerly wind' (*bād-i janub*). A southerly wind is also called a 'deviant wind' (*bād-i nakbā*), q.v. Deh-khodā.

[66]Brentjes, "The Interplay of Science, Art and Literature," 463.

The vignette recalling *Leyli va Majnun* on f. 539a is equally involved. In the top left-hand margin, Majnun kneels surrounded by a fawn and lions (Figure 8). A shadowy dog and hare run across the bottom of the page. These two seemingly separate episodes actually feature together in a single line of Nezāmi's text. When describing how Majnun retreated to the desert and established harmony among the beasts, the poet adds, as an aside: "The dog made peace with the hare / The lioness suckled the fawn."[67] The first of these two images can be interpreted as an astrological joke. The dog is the constellation Canis Major (Sirius), while the hare is the constellation Lepus. These two bodies are positioned next to one another in the heavens, and so the dog is often shown ceaselessly attempting to catch the hare in textual representations and on celestial globes (Figure 9).[68]

The vignette of the dog and the hare in the margin of f. 539a mimics these kinds of representations, and it therefore performs at least three functions simultaneously: it is decorative; it is an evocation of two constellations; and it is a visual puzzle which can only be related to the other vignettes on the same page through a close reading of the *Khamseh*. Nezāmi's text is particularly suited to being mined in this way because the poet integrates astrological imagery into the body of his narratives and engages in extensive descriptions of the constellations. An additional reason why the painter may have responded to this particular section of the text in the margin of f. 539a is that it is followed by a long and memorable passage, which extends to several pages in the print editions of the text, describing each constellation and planet visible to Majnun in the night sky.[69]

The marginal images surveyed in this section cannot be considered illustrative or diagrammatic, yet do engage with texts. Some of them are perhaps best described as analogical motifs which develop connections between *Rowzat al-monajjemin* and the *Khamseh*. They also allow the painter to reference levels of imagery in Nezāmi's text which—while central to the experience of the *Khamseh* as it is read—would be difficult to represent in visual form without compromising our understanding of plot. This evidence brings into question the assumption that vignettes such as the scene of Majnun and the animals in the margin of f.538a are visual "interpolations," inserted into the margins with the primary intention of subverting the viewer's expectations of what they should see on the decorated page.[70] Instead, the reverse seems to be true: these images are designed to challenge the viewer to consider how an apparently random vignette should be integrated within the book's program. While it is true that viewers are not obliged to read the text of the anthology, the primary aim of these marginal images is not to "promote, or reinforce, a habit of looking that did not require reading."[71] They foster the viewer's combination of the modes of close

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[67]*Sag bā khargush solh kardeh / āhu-bareh shir-e shir khurdeh.* Nezāmi Ganjavi, *Kolliyāt*, 395.
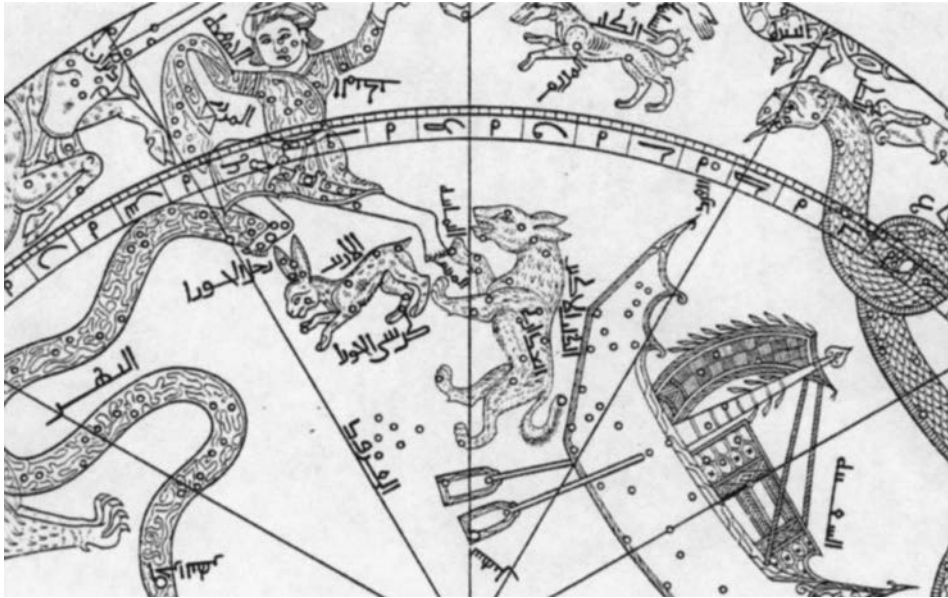
[68]See Savage-Smith and Belloli, *Islamicate Celestial Globes*, 194-7 (images 195-6); Dorn, "Description of the Celestial Globe," Pl. B.

[69]Nezāmi Ganjavi, *Kolliyāt*, 398-401.

[70]Cf. Roxburgh, "The Aesthetics of Aggregation," 126-7, 135-6.

[71]Ibid., 130.

Figure 9. Detail of Dorn 1829 Pl. B (Image out of copyright).

reading, memorization and looking. These are visual puns that depend, primarily, on an associative way of thinking which can link images with words.

Inventio and Experiment

I suggest that the pairings of text, marginal text and image studied in this paper both reflect critical ways of thinking and are designed to inculcate them in the viewer, and that they should be attributed to the careful design of the manuscript's editors. By "editors," I mean a group which may well have included the painter, the paper-ruler, the two calligraphers—Mohammad al-Halvā'i and Nāser al-kāteb—as well as the literary and intellectual figures who manipulated the texts. Qevām al-Din Moham-mad Yazdi's (d. 830/1426 or 27) list of the notable men associated with Eskandar's court includes figures such as the astronomer Ghiyās al-Din Jamshid b. Mas'ud b. Mahmud Kāshi (d. 832/1429), who contributed the epistle *Mokhtasar dar ʿelm-e hey'at* (*A Compendium on the Science of Astronomy*) to Add. MS. 27261,[72] as well as numerous physicians, musicians, artists and religious scholars.[73] Could a select group of Eskandar's inner circle of boon companions (*nodamā'*), with their differing competencies and specialisms, have edited the volume collectively?

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[72]See Richard, "Un témoignage inexploité," 61.
[73]See ibid., 53-8.

The research of intellectual historians has paved the way for us to explore the extent to which the sorts of visual and verbal puzzles which predominate in Add. MS. 27261 intersect with early fifteenth-century theoretical discussions of reading. As Melvin-Koushki shows, the lettrist thinker Sāʾen al-Din Torkeh, who compiled several books under Eskandar Soltān's patronage and was affiliated with his court in Isfahan for a time, discusses critical frameworks in his epistle on Lettrism (*Resāleh-ye horuf*), which was written in 817/1414 in Shiraz.[74] In this treatise, Torkeh expounds a hermeneutic system in which differing interpretative systems apply to the different ranks of men; it is only Torkeh's elite—prophets and lettrists themselves—who are capable of piercing through appearances and understanding essential meanings.[75] This can be understood as an approach to the critical analysis of visual experience. Similarly suggestive comments come in the introduction to Torkeh's Persian commentary on *Nazm al-sulūk* (*The Poem of the Way*, also known as *Nazm al-durr* and *al-tāʾiyya al-kubrā*), the long mystical poem by Ibn al-Fāriḍ (d. 632/1235), where is it is essentially implied that visual experience is subjective, because people construct meaning out of stimuli in accordance with their abilities.[76]

We should perhaps be cautious about seeing Torkeh's highly abstracted and intellectualized framework—of which the above discussion is a simplification—as one that would have exerted a broad appeal outside purely scholarly networks in his own time. We should also remember that many of the texts in Add. MS. 27261 are commentaries and relatively simple introductions to different branches of knowledge, not necessarily the sort of texts designed for consumption by one of Torkeh's "men of might and vision."[77] Nevertheless, it is worth considering the notion that three functions of Add. MS. 27261 may have been to spur its readers to discover connections between things intuitively, to test ideas and think through their consequences, and to look beyond formal appearances to find underlying patterns. It is conventional among scholars to argue that the books produced for royal Timurid patrons projected their power, legitimized their rule, or instructed them in the elements of Persian culture. Add. MS. 27261 is more sophisticated: it offers the reader ways of experimenting with critical thought. The inventive potential of the book may be one reason why Eskandar Soltān had so many anthologies made for him. His other anthologies may strike us as similar to Add. MS. 27261 in their content, but it is possible that the juxtapositions which they create are very different. Variations in the relationships between central and marginal texts, the rate of illustration, and the presence or absence of marginal images would have all contributed to the creation of different juxtapositions, and therefore different dialogues, on each page.

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[74]Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science," 88-90; edition and translation, ibid. 463-90. It is worth noting that a *ghazal* by Torkeh appears on Add. MS. 27261 ff. 247a-b.

[75]Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science," 465; English trans. 478.

[76]Torkeh, *Sharh-e Nazm al-dorr*, 6. A full translation of this passage is given in Melvin-Koushki, "The Quest for a Universal Science," 401-7. For a broader discussion of why and how we should engage with the critical thought of writers such as Torkeh, see Melvin-Koushki, "*Taḥqīq* vs. *Taqlīd*."

[77]A reference to Q.38:45: "Remember our servants Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, men of might and vision." Torkeh uses the phrase to designate his elite stratum of readers.

Conclusion

This paper has aimed to emphasize two basic ideas. The first is the importance of pre-modern editors, a group of people whose role is virtually never discussed in modern scholarship on medieval Persian manuscript culture. Here I have advanced a strong model of editorship, in which the concerns of the book's makers to manipulate old material to new effect was ultimately far more important than what any of the texts' authors had meant to say. The second, linked, concept is that implicit frameworks for interpretation can be as sophisticated and complex as explicit analysis. The juxtaposition of material on the physical page offered one way for editors to guide readers to create meaning by looking and thinking, and to discover connections which altered the significance of what they saw. Add. MS. 27261 was a tightly controlled intellectual, literary and artistic project.

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Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Muṣḥaf: The *Qurʾān* Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān in the Pars Museum

This article presents a very rare manuscript of a Muntakhab al-Suwar *(selection of Qurʾanic chapters) calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrukh. This manuscript was transcribed in large format in Ramaḍān 830 AH/June 1427 AD and endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh in Ramaḍān 834 AH/May-June 1431 AD. Therefore, it is considered to be one of the last known works calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. It is kept in the Pars museum in Shiraz. In this article, the unique codicology and special characteristics of this masterpiece are studied, and the important historical aspects of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and the art works attributed to him are elaborated. The style of his calligraphy will also be examined to find out the sources of inspiration for his distinct style.*

Keywords: Codicology; Qurʾān Manuscript; Islamic Calligraphy; Tīmūrid Era; Ibrāhīm Sulṭān; Shiraz; Shāh-Chirāgh Shrine

Introduction

In formatting Islamic manuscripts, the Holy Qurʾān has been produced in either one or several volumes. If all the chapters (*sūra*s) of a Qurʾān are put together in one volume, it is known as a *Qurʾān-i Jāmiʿ* ("complete Qurʾān"). Qurʾāns in 2, 4, 30, 60 and 120 sections are also common in the production of Qurʾān manuscripts. In these Qurʾāns, the order of the chapters and verses is respected and the number of volumes usually follows the arrangement of the Holy Qurʾān. For example, in the Qurʾāns of thirty sections, which are the most common Qurʾān manuscripts of several volumes, each *juzʾ* makes one volume: the first volume contains the first *juzʾ*, the second volume contains the second *juzʾ*, and so on to the thirtieth volume.

There is another type of Qurʾān manuscript where a selection of chapters is put together in one volume. These Qurʾāns are known as *Muntakhab al-Suwar* (a selection of chapters). In comparison to the other types of Qurʾān manuscripts, *Muntakhab al-Suwar* is rare. This article presents a very rare Qurʾān manuscript of *Muntakhab al-Suwar* calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān b. Shāhrukh. This Qurʾān, the Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Muṣḥaf (ISM), is one of the most important manuscripts produced in

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Shiraz in the Tīmūrid era. However, it is not much known by researchers. In this paper, the unique codicology and special characteristics of this masterpiece are studied. Prior to that, we consider the important historical qualities of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and the art works attributed to him. The style of his calligraphy in this Qurʾān will also be examined to find out the source of inspiration for his distinct style.

The ISM was endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh[1] during Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's lifetime. However, there is no accurate documented information about this manuscript and its whereabouts until 1936. In this year, the ISM was transferred from the Holy Shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh to the Pars Museum.[2] Years later, M. T. Dānish-Pazhūh mentioned the ISM in his report on the manuscripts of the Pars Museum. However, he confused its codicology with the monumental Qurʾān known as *Hifdah-Man*, which is also attributed to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān.[3] Based on an old catalogue, both these Qurʾāns were kept in the same cabinet in the museum.[4] Some other scholars also made the similar mistake and failed to notice the differences between these two Qurʾāns.[5]

In early 1976, the ISM and two other manuscripts of the Pars Museum were exhibited in "An Exhibition of Qurʾān Manuscripts at the British Library." A brief description of the ISM was presented in the catalogue of this exhibition.[6] In that year, Martin Lings, one of the authors of this catalogue, used the same description along with the pictures of the opening double page and the *sūra* heading cartouche of *al-Shūrā* in *The Qurʾānic Art of Calligraphy and Illustration*.[7]

The ISM is registered in the old inventories of the Pars Museum under numbers 279 and 430. In the new register, it comes under number 550.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Patronage of the Arts

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, the son of Shāhrukh and the grandson of Tīmūr, was born in late Shawwāl 796 AH/August 1394 AD[8] and passed away in early Shawwāl 838 AH/ May 1435 AD.[9] Tīmūr gave him the title of "Sulṭān Ibrāhīm,"[10] and his nickname

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[1]Shāh-Chirāgh is the resting place of Aḥmad, the son of Mūsā al-Kāẓim, the seventh Imam of the Shiʿa. Aḥmad is the older brother of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, the eighth Imam of the Shiʿa, who is buried in Mashhad. According to historical documents, Aḥmad was murdered by the agents of al-Maʾmūn, the Abbasid caliph, in Shiraz and buried there. Shāh-Chirāgh has at least been known since the tenth century AD, and numerous manuscripts have been endowed to his shrine since the fourteenth century AD. See Junayd Shīrāzī, *Tadhkira-yi Hizār-Mazār*, 331–7; Furṣat Shīrāzī, *Āthār-i ʿAjam*, 745–9.
[2]National Library and Archives of Iran, no. 250–987.
[3]Dānish-Pazhūh, "Fihrist-i Kitāb-Khāna-hā-yi Shīrāz," 257–9.
[4]Aflaṭūnī, *Rāhnamā-yi Mūza-yi Pārs*, 11.
[5]See Soucek, "Ebrahim Soltan," 76-8.
[6]Lings and Safadi, *The Qurʾān: Catalogue of an Exhibition of Qurʾān Manuscripts*, 74.
[7]Lings, *The Qurʾānic Art of Calligraphy and Illumination*, pl. 81–2; see also Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 370.
[8]Shāmī, *Zafarnāma*, 156–7; Yazdī, *Zafarnāma*, 788–9.
[9]Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn va Majmaʿ-i Baḥrayn*, 449; Faṣīḥ-khwāfī, *Mujmal*, 276.
[10]Shāmī, *Zafarnāma*, 157.

was "Abū al-Fatḥ." He was also called "Mughīth al-Dīn." He has been given some other names and titles in the historical documents but he is most often known as "Ibrāhīm Sulṭān."[11]

In Rajab 817 AH/September 1414 AD, when Ibrāhīm Sulṭān was only twenty-one years old, he was appointed governor of Fars province. He ruled in Shiraz, the capital city of Fars, for nearly two decades. Previously, he had been the governor of Balkh (1409–14 AD) and he was not meant to become the governor of Fars. After defeating a rebellion by Iskandar Sulṭān, Shāhrukh intended to appoint Amīr Miḍrāb Bahādur as the governor of Fars province. However, after his sudden death, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān became the governor of Fars instead.[12]

At the beginning of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's rule of Fars, Mīrzā Bāyqarā attacked Shiraz with the encouragement of Iskandar Sulṭān, the former governor of Fars. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's forces were defeated near Bayḍāʾ.[13] Ibrāhīm Sulṭān lost his position in Shiraz for more than five months (Rabīʿ I to Ramaḍān 818 AH/May to November 1415 AD), until his father Shāhrukh returned and helped him to regain the governorship.[14] This time Shāhrukh made more systematic provisions to strengthen his son's position as the ruler of Fars. Therefore, the second half of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's life was spent peacefully in Shiraz, until his sudden death.

After the restoration of his rule over Fars, there are two main points about Ibrāhīm Sulṭān in the historical documents: first, his skillful ability in war, such as with Azerbaijan (823 AH/1420 AD and 832 AH/1429 AD), Nakhchivan (824 AH/1421 AD) and Khuzestan (825 AH/1422 AD), where he fought alongside his father, Shāhrukh; second, his patronage of the arts and literature, which spread his fame from Shiraz to Samarqand and Herat. Nearly all Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's cultural and artistic achievements occurred when he was the governor of Fars.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān took the throne in Shiraz from his rebellious cousin Iskandar Sulṭān (1410–14 AD). Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and his cousin had different political views. However, in terms of the patronage of the arts, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān is regarded as the one who continued what Iskandar Sulṭān had started. It is known that Iskandar Sulṭān had established an atelier in Shiraz and supported the arts, especially the production of important literary manuscripts.[15] In fact, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān stepped into Iskandar Sulṭān's shoes and revived his atelier. A comparative study of the works produced during the reigns of these two Tīmūrid princes in Shiraz reveals the influence of Iskandar Sulṭān's atelier on the style and decoration of the manuscripts ordered by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. We even know of some artists, such as Maḥmūd al-Ḥusaynī, Jalāl al-Dīn

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[11]See Soucek, "Ebrahim Soltan," 76–8.

[12]Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, *Zubdat al-Tavārīkh*, 599–662; Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn va Majmaʿ-i Baḥrayn*, 200–3; Faṣīḥ-khwāfī, *Mujmal*, 216–18.

[13]A small region near Shiraz.

[14]Khwānd-Mīr, *Tarīkh-i Ḥabīb al-Sīyar*, 593–5; Samarqandī, *Maṭlaʿ-i Saʿdayn wa Majmaʿ-i Baḥrayn*, 218–27; Faṣīḥ-khwāfī, *Mujmal*, 221–3.

[15]See Soucek, "Eskandar Soltan," 603–4; for the list of the manuscripts written under his patronage, see Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 370–1; Soucek, "The Manuscripts of Iskandar Sulṭān," 116–31.

Maḥmūd al-Mughīthī and Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Mudhahhib, who worked under the rule of both princes.[16] After the fall of Iskandar Sulṭān, these artists joined Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's atelier.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān was versed in literature and he held the scholars in high esteem and gave them a great deal of support and encouragement. There are a few literary works attributed to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. Scholars such as Sharaf al-Dīn ʿAlī Yazdī, Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, Kamāl al-Dīn b. Ghīyāth al-Dīn Shīrāzī, Ṭālib Jājrumī, Ḥājjī Manṣūr, Shujāʿ and Ḥāfiẓ ʿAllāf Shīrāzī wrote their books under his patronage and dedicated them to him. An inventory of the artists and the valuable manuscripts of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's library has been compiled and is still being expanded.[17] These impressive activities have put Ibrāhīm Sulṭān at the top of the patrons of the arts in the Tīmūrid era. In addition to his fame as a patron of the arts, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān himself was a great artist.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and Calligraphy

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān was a calligrapher and he was as famous as his brother Bāysunqur Mīrzā for calligraphy. He wrote in the "*six* scripts" (*aqlām sitta*) following the style of Yāqūt al-Mustaʿsimī. Dawlat-shāh Samarqandī (1438–94 AD) hinted at this.[18] The influence of Yāqūt on the calligraphers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries AD who wrote in the "*six* scripts" was apparent. Though Ibrāhīm Sulṭān was not an exception to this influence, he has to be considered as the follower of Pīr-Muḥammad Shīrāzī, a lesser known calligrapher of the fourteenth–fifteenth century AD.

Pīr-Muḥammad Shirazi was Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's master in calligraphy. Pīr-Muḥammad wrote in the "*six* scripts" so masterfully that he was called the "Yāqūt-e Thānī" (the second Yāqūt).[19] It is believed that Pīr-Muḥammad wrote many inscriptions on the stone tombs, shrines and monuments in Shiraz.[20] However, his only known inscription is in the Jāmiʿ ʿAtīq mosque.[21] The writing style of this inscription indicates that Ibrāhīm Sulṭān followed the style of his master to some extent.

In the historical documents, Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's talent in calligraphy has been praised and a number of works attributed to him have been mentioned,[22] such as his *sar-mashq*s (examples of calligraphy), which changed hands amongst calligraphers, a tile

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[16]Richard, "Nasr al-Soltāni, Nasir al-Din Mozahheb," 89–91, 99–100.

[17]For the manuscripts transcribed under Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's patronage, see Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 369–70; Sims, "Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Illustrated *Zafarnama*," 132–43; Richard, "Nasr al-Soltāni, Nasir al-Din Mozahheb," 87–104; Uluc, "An Iskandarnāma of Niẓāmī," 235–53.

[18]Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā*, 380.

[19]Budāq Munshī Qazwīnī, "Javāhir al-Akhbār," 111; Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad, "Qavānīn al-Khuṭuṭ," 311.

[20]Qāḍi Ahmad Qummī, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 67; Budāq Munshī Qazwīnī, "Javāhir al-Akhbār," 111.

[21]This inscription is placed in two separate panels on both sides of the entrance to the Khudāy-Khāna (House of God) in the Jāmiʿ ʿAtīq mosque. For this inscription and Pīr-Muḥammad Shīrāzī, see Mirza-Abolqasemi, "Katība-yi Pīr-Muḥammad-i Shīrāzī," 94–6.

inscription in Saʿdī's tomb, and some inscriptions in the Dār al-Ṣafā and Dār al-Aytām monuments in Shiraz. Unfortunately, none of these works have survived, but their descriptions in the historical documents reveal a special characteristic of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's style in calligraphy, which is his preference for using large scripts. This is the reason why he was well known for the calligraphy of the inscriptions as well as the monumental Qurʾān manuscripts. This particular type of calligraphy spread amongst Yāqūt's followers in the fourteenth century AD, and it stood out especially in the *thuluth* and *muḥaqqaq* scripts. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān also preferred these two types of scripts to the other *aqlām sitta*.

There are three inscriptions of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān in Tachara Palace in Persepolis and an important one in the shrine of ʿPal b. Ḥamza in Shiraz.[23] All of these inscriptions were written in the *thuluth* script. There is a Qurʾān manuscript in the *kūfī* script, which is in the library of Astān Quds Razavī, the holy shrine in Mashhad. This Qurʾān is attributed to Jaʿfar al-Ṣādiq, the sixth Imam of the Shiʿa. The last page of this manuscript had been damaged, and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān rewrote it in the *thuluth* script.[24] It is reported that there is a page of album (*muraqqaʿ*) in the bold *thuluth*, *naskh* and gold *riqāʿ* scripts.[25] There is also a two-volume Qurʾān in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which is considered to be Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's unique transcription in the *naskh* script.[26]

In addition, a famous Qurʾān manuscript of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān is in the library of Astān Quds Razavī, which he had endowed to the shrine of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā.[27] This Qurʾān is a *Muntakhab al-Suwar* and it is similar to the one in the Pars museum in terms of dimensions, ruling (*jadwal*), ruling board (*misṭara*), calligraphy style and illumination. Therefore, it is more relevant to this study.

Codicology of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Musḥ af in the Pars Museum

Dimensions.   The ISM's cover measures 66 cm by 46 cm and each leaf is 65 cm by 44 cm. In terms of size, the ISM is amongst the few monumental volumes of the Qurʾān produced from the early fourteenth to the middle of the fifteenth century AD in the Islamic lands. The history of such Qurʾāns goes back to the Qurʾān of

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[22]See Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā*, 379–80; Sirāj Shīrāzī, *Tuḥfat al-Muḥibbīn*, 141; Vāla Iṣfahānī, *Khuld-i Barīn*, 522–3; Qāḍī Aḥmad Qummī, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 69–71; ʿAlī Afandī, *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān*, 49; Ḥusaynī Fasāʾī, *Fārsnāma*, 433.

[23]For more information about Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's inscriptions in Shiraz, see Mirza-Abolqasemi, "Ibrāhīm Sulṭān va Katība-Nigārī," 21–30.

[24]No. 17. Gulchīn-Maʿānī, *Rāhnamā-yi Ganjīna-yi Qurʾān*, 53–4.

[25]Bayānī, *Aḥvāl wa Āthār-i Khushnivīsān*, 1014.

[26]No. 13.228; Jackson and Yohannan, *Catalogue of the Collection of Persian Manuscripts*, 172–7; Lentz and Lowry, *Tīmūr and the Princely Vision*, 84, 332–3.

[27]No. 414. Sixteen leaves of this Qurʾān were transcribed in the *thuluth* and *rayḥānī* scripts in 827 AH/1424 AD. This manuscript measures 81.7cm by 61.7cm and it includes twelve *Sūras* of the Qurʾān. For more information, see Gulchīn-Maʿānī, *Rāhnamā-yi Ganjīna-yi Qurʾān*, 137–9; also for pictures of this volume, see *Muntakhab-i Suwar-i Qurʾān-i Karīm bi Khaṭṭ-i Ibrāhīm Sulṭān*.

thirty sections (*juzʾ*) ordered by Sulṭān Uljāytū. This Qurʾān measures 72 cm by 50 cm and it was produced from 1306 to 1313 AD in Baghdad.[28] However, other Qurʾāns of a similar size were produced in the latter half of the fourteenth century AD.[29] Such monumental Qurʾāns were also transcribed in Shiraz, including the *Hifdah-Man*.[30] Therefore, the ISM and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Qurʾān manuscript in the library of Astān Quds Razavī are the latest examples from this period produced in such large sizes.

Binding. The binding of the ISM is of brown leather and the inner lining of the binding is of thin cardboard. The binding is decorated with a large medallion and corners in a frame measuring 55 cm by 34 cm. The border of the binding is decorated with a stamped chain design (*ḍarbī zanjīrī*). The medallion is in the form of *chalīpā*, with smaller head medallions at the top and bottom. Inside this medallion, there is another medallion with two head medallions. The medallion and the corners are covered with an intricate arabesque motif and latticework technique (*mushabbak*). Due to the latticework technique, this arabesque design has changed in some parts such as the form of stems, flowers and leaves (Figure 1).

The doublure is also decorated with a medallion and corners and arabesque motifs made by stamping. However, the inner and outer parts of the binding have different designs (Figure 2).

The Order of the Pages. The ISM is made of thirty-six leaves (seventy-two pages) that have been mostly arranged in binion gatherings. The transcription of this book starts from the back of the first leaf and it ends with a colophon (*tarqīma*) on the thirty-fourth leaf. The endowment note of the ISM is also written on the back of this leaf. The last two leaves are left blank. This book contains eighteen small chapters (*sūra*s) of the Qurʾān (Table 1). The Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Qurʾān manuscript in the library of Astān Quds Razavī contains twelve *sūra*s, eight of which are the same as the ISM.[31]

Illumination and Ruling. The illuminations of this book include the opening double page, the *sūra* heading cartouches, the endowment medallion, the roundels amongst

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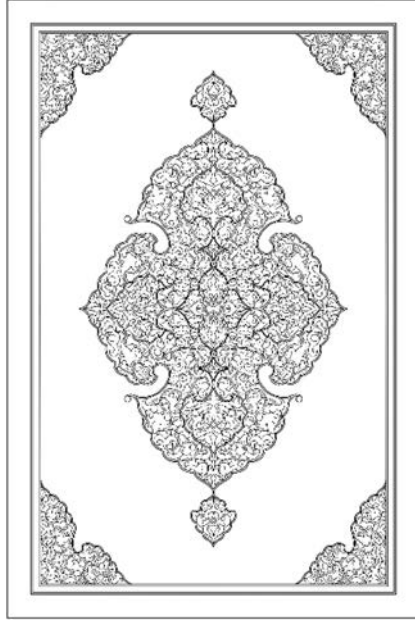[28]James, *Manuscripts of the Holy Qurʾān from the Mamluk Era*, 92–126.

[29]Producing a manuscript of this size corresponds to the size of Baghdadi paper. Baghdadi was the largest paper made in Islamic lands in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries AD. Al-Qalqashandī mentions this as one of the most famous types of paper in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. This paper was apparently produced in various sizes. For more information and examples, see Blair, *Islamic Calligraphy*, 250–1; Gacek, *Arabic Manuscripts*, 192; James, *Manuscripts of the Holy Qurʾān from the Mamluk Era*, 28, 30-3; Lings, *Splendors of Qurʾān Calligraphy and Illumination*, pl. 105, 107, 109, 125, 137.

[30]The *Hifdah-Man* Qurʾān has been transcribed in two volumes measuring 72cm by 48cm. This Qurʾān was kept in a place called Qurʾān Gate. It is situated at the north entrance to Shiraz. The transcription of this Qurʾān is attributed to Ibrāhīm Sulṭān. On this Qurʾān, see Mirza-Abolqasemi, "Qurʾān-i Hifdah-Man," 233–8.

[31]The same *sūra*s in both Qurʾāns are *al-Fātiḥa, Yā Sīn, al-Dahr, al-Ḍuḥā, al-Kāfirūn, al-Ikhlāṣ, al-Falaq* and *al-Nās*. For comparison, see *Muntakhab-i Suwar-i Qurʾān-i Karīm bi Khaṭṭ-i Ibrāhīm Sulṭān* and Mirza-Abolqasemi, *Muṣḥaf-i Ibrāhīm*.

Figure 1. The medallion and the corners with arabesque design on the outer binding (drawn by hand and graphics software).

Source: The Qurʾān Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.
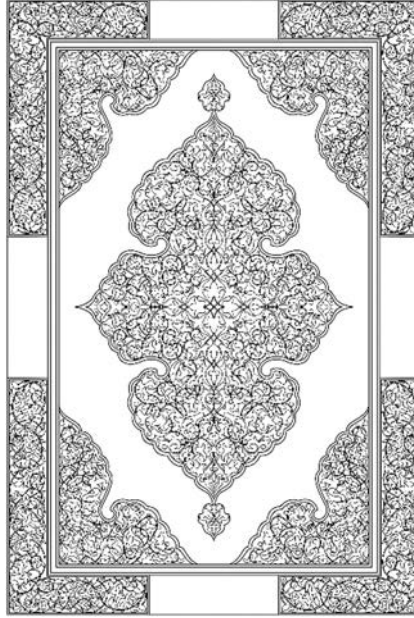
the verses, and the marking of fifth and tenth verses (*khams* and *ʿashr*) in the margins of the pages. The illuminations follow the colorful floral style that was common in the fifteenth century AD. Different colors such as cinnabar (red), white, black, turquoise and green have been used in the illuminations, but the main colors are gold and lapis. Lapis is mostly the field color and gold has been used for drawing the motifs. Except in the repeated motifs (*vāgīra*) of the opening double page and the endowment medallion on the last page, the illumination designs are in the floral pattern (*khatāʾī*). The scroll arabesque is also seen in some of the *sūra* heading cartouches (Figure 3).

The illumination of this book follows a style that Elaine Wright names "the blue-and-gold floral." She believes that this style existed at least from the Muẓaffarid to the end of the Tīmūrid era.[32] Even-edged wide bands in the cartouches, small pear-shaped elements in the exterior contour of the opening double page, and the golden scroll arabesque motifs in the illumination of the ISM exactly correspond to the basic features of the blue-and-gold floral style.

The features of the ISM's illumination resemble some manuscripts produced under Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's patronage, such as the three divans kept in the National Library of

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[32]For more information about this style and examples, see Wright, *The Look of the Book*, 71–80.

Figure 2. The medallion and the corners with arabesque design on the inner binding (drawn by hand and graphics software).

Source: The Qurʾān Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

France (no. 1469),[33] the Qurʾān in the Khalili Collection,[34] the anthology (*jung*) in the Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul (no. 1997),[35] and the *Shāhnāma* in the Bodleian Library (no. 176).[36]

The illuminator of the Bodleian and the Istanbul volumes is called Naṣr al-Sulṭānī, believed to be none other than Naṣīr al-Dīn Muḥammad Mudhahhib, who was the head of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's library in 835 AH/1431 AD in Shiraz.[37] The ISM was illuminated shortly before this time (1427–31). Therefore, it is likely that the illuminations were done under the supervision of Naṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Mudhahhib or even by his own hands.

The ruling of the ordinary pages in the ISM measures approximately 49 cm by 33 cm. The variation in size goes back to the "malevolence of quadrature" (*tarbīʿ*),

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[33]Richard, *Splendeurs persanes manuscrits*, 75–6.

[34]James, *After Tīmūr*, 26–7.

[35]Richard, "Nasr al-Soltāni, Nasir al-Din Mozahheb," 93–5.

[36]Abdullaeva and Melville, *The Persian Book of Kings*, 51–7.

[37]Richard, "Nasr al-Soltāni, Nasir al-Din Mozahheb," 93–5. For this text, see Raʿnā-Ḥusaynī, "Manshūr-i Kalāntarī-yi Khāwja Naṣīr-i Mudhahhib," 69–72.

Table 1.   The names and orders of the *suras*

No	Order of *Sura*	Name of *Sura*	Folios
1	1	al-Fātiḥa	1b-1b
2	20	Ṭā Hā	2a-11b
3	36	Yā Sīn	11b-17a
4	42	al-Showrā	17a-23b
5	44	al-Dukhān	23b-26b
6	76	al-Dahr	26b-28b
7	92	al-Layl	28b-29b
8	93	al-Ḍuḥā	29b-30a
9	105	al-Fīl	30a-30b
10	106	Quraysh	30b-31a
11	107	al-Māʾūn	31a-31a
12	108	al-Kawthar	31a-31b
13	109	al-Kāfirūn	31b-32a
14	110	al-Naṣr	32a-32b
15	111	al-Masad	32b-32b
16	112	al-Ikhlāṣ	33a-33a
17	113	al-Falaq	33a-33b
18	114	al-Nās	33b-34a

The Qurʾān, Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.
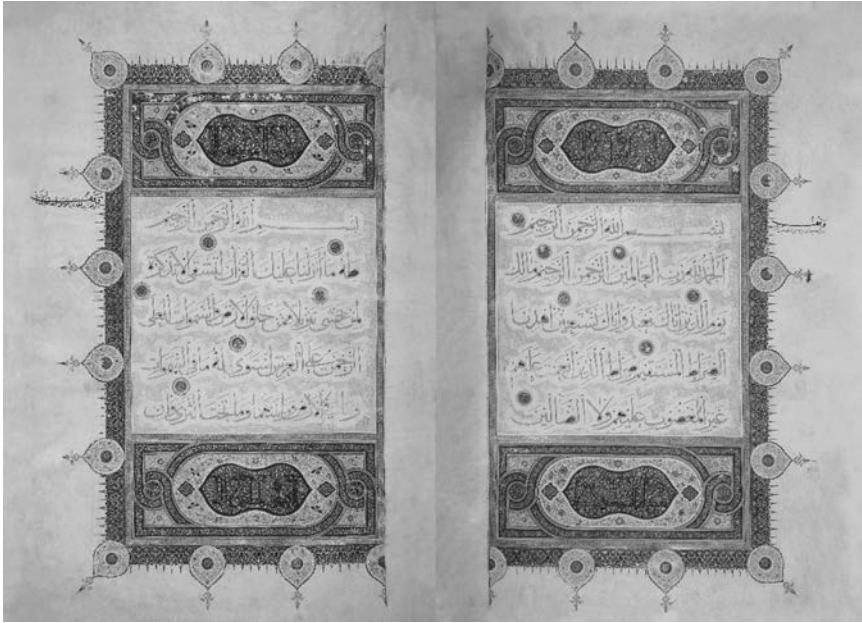
an old belief in Islamic culture.[38] There are different ways of avoiding *tarbīʿ* in the ruling, including altering the ninety-degree angle. The irregularity of the ruling varies by approximately one centimeter, which makes it difficult to measure the margins of the pages accurately. The average size of the margins of the ordinary pages is 9 cm at the top, 7 cm at the bottom, 3 cm on the left, and 8.5 cm on the right.

The ruling of the ordinary pages, like the opening double page, is divided into three sections, but they are not separated by the dividing lines. In the top and bottom sections of every page, two lines of the Qurʾān are written in bold *thuluth*, tending towards the *muḥaqqaq* script. The space between the two lines is filled with five lines in the *rayḥānī* script. Therefore, every page includes seven lines in large and small scripts. The ruling board (*misṭara*) of the bold *thuluth* script and the *rayḥānī* script is 10 cm and 5 cm respectively (Figure 4).

The size and the location of the *sūra* heading cartouches follow the ruling board (*misṭara*) of the page in the Qurʾān manuscripts and depend on where the previous *sūra* has ended. In this volume, most of the *sūra* heading cartouches are between 9.5 cm and 10.5 cm in breadth, equivalent to the size of the ruling board of a large

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[38]Shaykh al-Hukamāʾī, "Nuḥūsat-i Tarbiʿ," 89–92.

Figure 3. The opening double page.

Source: The Qurʾān Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431A.D, fols. 1b-2a. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.
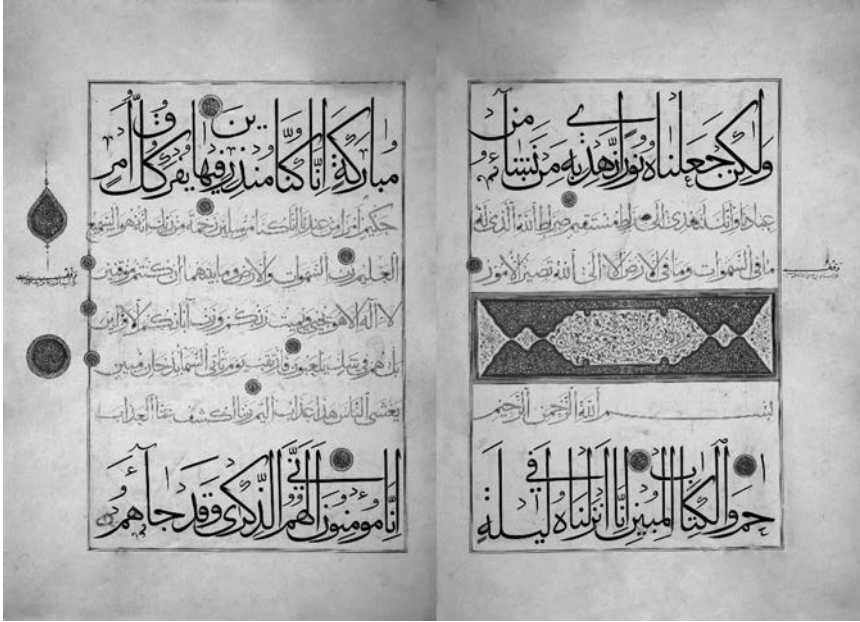
line or two small lines. Therefore, if a *sūra* heading cartouche is placed at the top or bottom of the page, it would replace a large line, and if it is placed in the middle of the page, it would replace two small lines (Figure 4). An exception to this rule is the *Sūrat al-Naṣr* (32a) with a breadth of 14.6 cm, which is equivalent to the size of the ruling board of three small lines, and is considered to be the broadest *sūra* heading cartouche. Two other exceptions are the *al-Dīn* and *al-Kawthar sūra*s (31a), measuring 3.3 cm and 5.5 cm respectively, which are the narrowest *sūra* heading cartouches.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān has made a mistake in the transcription of the opening words of the *basmalah*, which is seen under the illumination of the *al-Ikhlās sūra* heading cartouche (Figure 5).

The Calligraphy Style.   As mentioned above, the ISM has been transcribed in the *thuluth* and *rayḥānī* scripts. The *thuluth* is in black ink outlined in gold, and the *rayḥānī* is in gold ink outlined in black. The diacritical marks are in black ink. In the *rayḥānī* script, the eyes of the letters are filled with black and lapis, and in the *thuluth* script, they are either filled with gold or left blank. The dots are square and round in these two scripts.

The measurement of the ruling board (*misṭara*) and some letters show that the *thuluth* script is twice as wide as the *rayḥānī* script. These large and small scripts

Figure 4. Typical double page with *sura* heading cartouche of al-Dukhan and the marking of fifth and tenth verses (*khams* and *ʿashr*) in the margin. Bold *thuluth* (tending towards *muḥaqqaq*) and *rayḥānī* scripts.

Source: The Qurʾān Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD fols. 23a-24b. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

are not necessarily uniform in terms of shape, size and some other elements, but they show that this Qurʾān manuscript was written by the same scribe. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's Qurʾān in the library of Astān Quds Razavī was transcribed in the same manner.

The vertical letters in the *thuluth* script are highly elongated. This point is more prominent in some letters such as *alif* and *lām*, because they cover almost the whole width of the line. Furthermore, in the majority of the lines, a word or a part of the word has parted from its rightful place and been superscripted. These are outstanding features of the Islamic epigraphy style that was common in the Tīmūrid era.
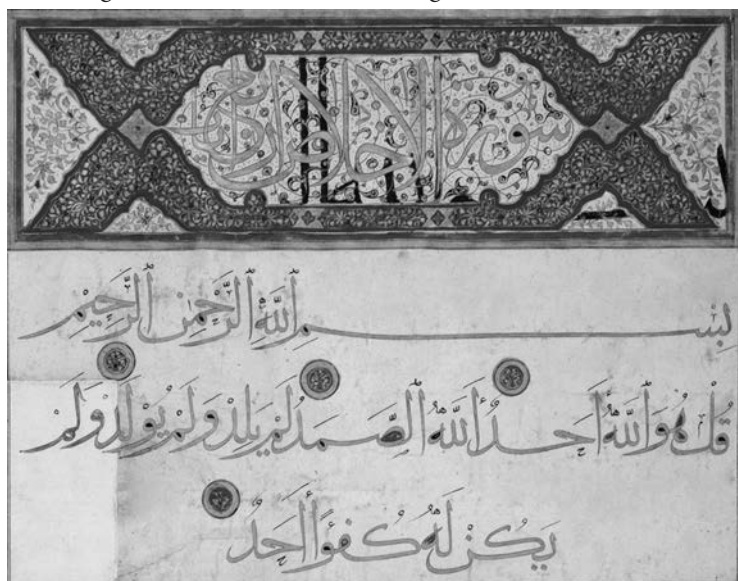
The historians often rely on Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's inscriptions when describing his skill in calligraphy.[39] As mentioned before, there is an inscription of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān at the entrance of the holy shrine of ʿAlī b. Ḥamza in Shiraz (Figure 6), which is assumed to be the remains of his monuments near the gate of Iṣṭakhr.[40] The text of this inscrip-

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[39]See Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat al-Shuʿarā*, 379–80; Sirāj Shīrāzī, *Tuḥfat al-Muḥibbīn*, 141; Budāq Munshī Qazwīnī, "Javāhir al-Akhbār," 111; Vāla Iṣfahānī, *Khuld-i Barīn*, 522–3; Qāḍi Aḥmad Qummī, *Calligraphers and Painters*, 69–71; ʿAlī Afandī, *Manāqib-i Hunarvarān*, 49.

[40]Sahrāgard, "Ibrāhīm Sulṭān Bānī-yi Madrasa-yi Dār al-Ṣafā-yi Sulṭānī-yi Shiraz," 90–3; Mirza-Abolqasemi, "Ibrāhīm Sulṭān va Katība-Nigārī," 23–4.

Figure 5. *Al-Ikhlās sura* heading cartouche and verses.

tion includes a saying of the prophet Ibrāhīm, written in the *thuluth* script and carved into stone. This inscription has been transcribed in a similar way to the bold *thuluth* script of the two Qurʾān manuscripts, which are in the Pars museum and the library of Astān Quds Razavī (Figures 6, 7 and 8). A comparative study of these examples reveals that Ibrāhīm Sulṭān followed a similar style in the calligraphy of his inscriptions and Qurʾāns. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's transcription of the monumental Qurʾāns resulted from his interest and skill in epigraphy.

Figure 6. Ibrahim Sulṭān's inscription at the entrance of the holy shrine of ʿAlī b. Ḥamza in Shiraz. The *thuluth* script (n.d.).

Figure 7. A typical line of the bold *thuluth* script (tending towards *muḥaqqaq* script).

Source: The Qurʾān Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH/1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, fol. 29a. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.
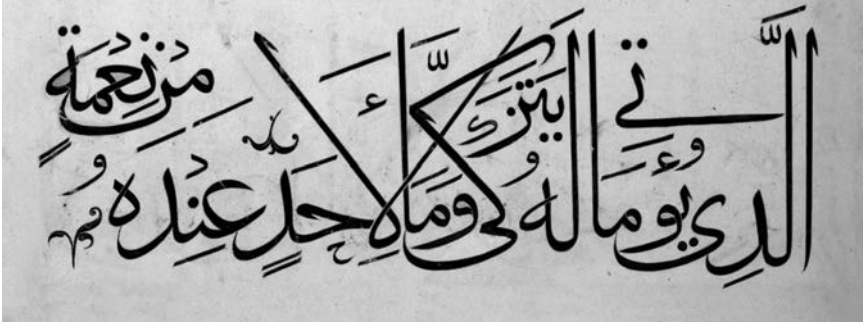
Figure 8. A typical line of the bold *thuluth* script.

Source: The Qurʾān Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān and endowed to the holy shrine of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā, dated 827 AH/1424 AD, Mashhad, The library of Astān Quds Razavī, Ms. 414.

The Colophon and Endowment. The colophon is written on the thirty-fourth leaf just after the *Sūrat al-Nās* in four lines, three of which are in the *tawqīʿ* script and one in the bold *thuluth* script (Figure 9). The text of the colophon reads:

كتبهُ اضعفُ عباد الله الرّحمن ابرهيمسلطانُ بن شاهرخشاه

عفا الله عنهُ و غُفر سيّئاته حامداً لله تعالى و مُصَلياً على

نبيّه محمدٍ و آله الطيّبين الطّاهرين و سلّم فى رابع رمضان المباركِ

حِجّة ثَلاثين و ثَمانِمائة الهجريّة النّبويّة[41]

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[41]Ibrāhīm Sulṭān son of the king Shāhrukh, may God forgive him, scribed it on the fourth day of Ramaḍān in the year 830 AH, with praise and greetings to the prophet Muḥammad and his descendants.

Ibrāhīm Sulṭān finished this volume on the fourth day of Ramaḍān in 830 AH/29 June 1427 AD. The transcription of his Qurʾān manuscript which is at the Metropolitan Museum was also finished on this date.[42] It is surprising that the transcription of both Qurʾāns ended on the same day. Of course, it seems probable that only the colophons were written on the same day as the end of the transcription. It is interesting that the texts of both colophons (*tarqīma*) were written in the same way.[43] At any rate, four years after the completion date of the transcription, the ISM was endowed to Shāh-Chirāgh (Ramaḍān 834 AH/May 1431 AD). The text of the endowment was written in the *naskh* script and black ink on the back of the thirty-fourth leaf. This text is inside a large round medallion and it contains seventeen lines (Figure 10).[44]

In the colophon of the Qurʾān manuscript in the library of Astān Quds Razavī, it is stated that this Qurʾān has been transcribed and endowed as the blessing of Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's pilgrimage to the shrine of ʿAlī b. Mūsā al-Riḍā in Mashhad. However, there is no evidence in the ISM to show that the transcription of this Qurʾān was firstly intended to be endowed to the shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh. Anyhow, the endowment of such fine and monumental Qurʾāns to the shrines of Shiʿa Imams in Mashhad and Shiraz can be seen in the light of the friendly relationship between the Tīmūrid court and the Shiʿas in Iran.

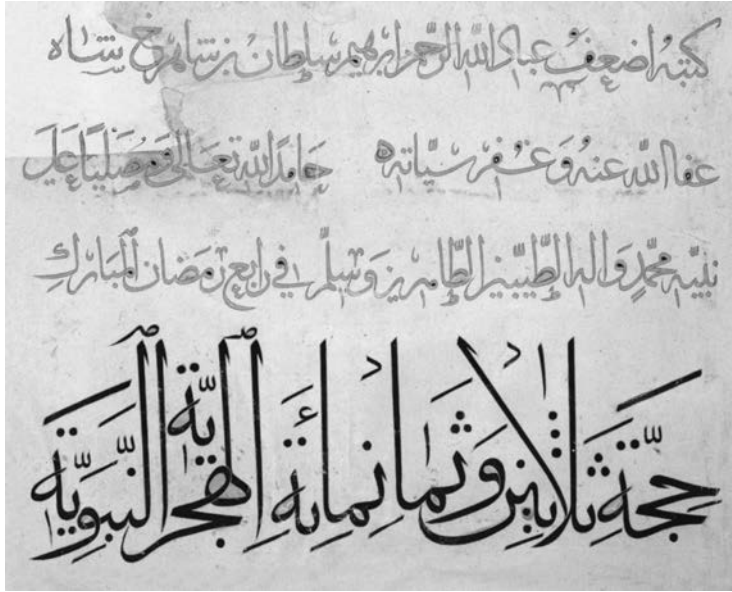[42]See Jackson and Yohannan, *Catalogue of the Collection of Persian Manuscripts*, 172–7.
[43]The following is the text of the colophon of the Metropolitan Museum's Qurʾān:

كتبهُ اضعفُ عباد الله الرّحمن ابر هيمسلطانُ بن شاهر خ بن كوركان عفى الله عنهُ و غُفر سيّاته فى رابع رمضان المباركِ حجّة ثلاثين و ثَمانِمائة الهجريّة النّبويّة .

[44]The text of the endowment is as follows:

الحَمدُ لِلّهِ الّذى اَنزَلَ الكِتابَ المُبين./ هُدىً لِلمُتَّقِين عَلَى مَن هُوَ رَحمَةً لِلعِالمِينَ عَليه و عَلَى اِلِهِ الطّيّبينَ و عِترَتِهِ الطّاهِرين / اَفضَلُ صَلَواتِ المُصَلِّين اِبدَ الابِدين. و اصطَفى مِن خُلَّصِ عَبيدِهِ المُكرّمين و خُلَائِفِه / فى الاَرضين السُّلطانَ الاَعدَلَ الاَكمَلَ الاَعظَم مَولَى اَعاظِم المُلوكِ و السَّلاطين فى العالم / جامِعَ الفَضيلَتَين العَظيمَتَين الحَماسَةِ و الدَّراسَة بِمَآثِرِ السَّيفِ و القَلَم حائِزِ الخِلافَتَين الصُّورىّ و المَعنَوىّ بِعاليا / الهِمَم و زاكِياتِ الشّيَم. سَمَى خَليلَ اَللّهِ غَوثَ عِبادِهِ. وَفيّاً لحَقّ الحَقّ وَفقَ مُرادِه. مُغيثِ السَّلطَنَة / و الدّنيا و الدّين مُعين الاسلام و المُسلِمين المُختَصّ بِاَنظارِ اَلطافِ مُنزِلَ الفُرقان اَبوالفَتح ابرَهيم سُلطان. و وَقّقَهُ / بِفَضلِه العَميم لِكتَبَة مَا فى الصَّحيفَةِ الشّريفَة هَذِه مِن سُوَرِ القُرآنِ الحَكيم بِالبَنَانِ الكَريم. ثَمَّ اَلهَمَهُ بِفَضلِه / الكَريم اَن جَعَلَها وَقفاً مُؤَبّداً صَحيحاً شَرعيّاً عَلَى المَشهَد المُطَهَّر و المَزار المُبارَكِ المُنَوَّر لِلسَّيّدِ السَّعيدِ الحَميد شُعبَة / الكَرامَة و النّبُوة و الرّسالَة و وَردَة رَوضَة الوِلايَة و الجَلالَة الإمَام بن الإمام بن الإمام اَحمَد بن مُوسَى بن جَعفَر الصّادِق اِلى / يَوم القِيام بِلا انصِرام و انخِرام فى بَلدَة شيراز صينَت مِنَ المَكارِه و الاعواز اَباحَ الإنتِفاعَ بِها فى ذَلِك المَقامَ / الشّريفَة عَلى قاطِبَة المُؤمِنينَ دَهر الدّاهِرين تَقَبّلَ اَللّه تَعالى هَذِهِ الحَسَنَةَ السَّنِيَّةَ و سائِرَ نَظائِرَها مِن السُّلطانِ العادِل المُؤَيّد المُوَقَّف / المُشَارِ اِلَيه و خَلّدَ فى مَراضيهِ مَآثِر مُلكِه و سُلطانِهِ و اَفاضَ عَلَى العالَمينَ ذَوارِ فَبِرّه و امتِنانه و زادَ جَلّ و عَلا تَوفيقَهُ لِفُنُون / الخَيراتِ و صُنوف المَبَرّاتِ و اِقامَة العَدل و اِشاعَة الاِحسانِ بَينَ الخَلائِق عَلَى مُرورِ الشّهور و كُرورِ السَّنَواتِ / بِحُرمَة بَرَكاتِ الكِتابِ المَجيدِ الّذى لا يَأتيهِ الباطِلُ مِن بَين يَدَيهِ و لا مِن خَلفِهِ تَنزيلٌ / مِن حَكيمٍ حَميد. و حُرِّرَ فى الشَّهرِ المُبارَكِ رَمَضان الّذى اُنزِلَ فيهِ / القُرآن لِسَنَةً اَربَعٍ و ثَلثين و ثَمانِمِئَةٍ .

Figure 9. The colophon.

Source: The Qur'ān Calligraphed by Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, dated 830 AH /1427 AD, endowed to the holy shrine of Shāh-Chirāgh, dated 834 AH/1431 AD, fol. 34a. Shiraz, Pars Museum, Ms. 550.

The Damage and Restoration. The passing of time has left slight scratches and wear on the binding of the book. Due to damage to the stamped leather of the binding, some pieces of the lattice arabesque motifs are missing. There were two major areas of damage to the leather of the back cover, measuring 28×22 cm and 22×20 cm. This damage was repaired using some leather pieces from another old book binding. These leather pieces were separated from a large stamped (*ḍarbī*) binding with arabesque motifs and a medallion and corner design. The motifs on the leather pieces do not correspond exactly to those on the main binding but they are close.

The dryness and thinness of the leaves have caused some cracks, especially near the spine. This damage, often caused by turning leaves, has been repaired using long strips of paper. The square plain border of the first and the thirty-fourth leaves and the plain border near the edge of the second and thirty-third leaves have also been protected with strips of paper. This paper is lighter in color and thicker than the original and it has been used in other parts of the ISM. Fortunately, the damage and restoration have not gone beyond the margin and they have not affected the text except on the last few leaves (27–34). The most significant restoration of these leaves include: first, the *sūra* heading cartouches of *al-Kāfirūn, al-Naṣr, al-Masad, al-Falaq* and *al-Nās*; second, the marks of the fifth and tenth verses (*khams* and *ʿashr*); and, finally,

Figure 10. The endowment.

the missing words in the text of verses, the colophon (*tarqīma*) and the endowment of the Qurʾān.

The restoration of the illuminations of the last few leaves corresponds closely to the original design and color. The rewriting of the missing texts has been carried out meticulously. Furthermore, a few stains are seen on some leaves, possibly due to damp in the place where the Qurʾān was kept.

Conclusion

There is a four-year gap between the transcription and the endowment of this Qurʾān (ISM). This delay might be due to the processes of completing the manuscript, such as the ruling, the illumination and the binding. It is also possible that this Qurʾān had been transcribed for a different reason and it was later endowed to the Shāh-

Chirāgh shrine. Anyway, the endowment of this Qurʾān to the most important shrine in Shiraz reveals Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's devotion to Shiʿa Muslims.

This Qurʾān (ISM) is one of the most brilliant manuscripts produced in Shiraz in the Tīmūrid era. The format of this book (a selection of Qurʾān *sūra*s) corresponds to the prevalent style of selected literary manuscripts in Shiraz at that time. The anthology (*jung*) manuscripts produced in Iskandar Sulṭān and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's ateliers are good examples of this format. The codicology of the ISM, including paper size, page format and calligraphic style, is similar to the Qurʾān in the library of Astān Quds Razavī. Ibrāhīm Sulṭān transcribed both manuscripts in the same large and small scripts. The large scripts of these two monumental Qurʾāns are impressive. This style of writing is Ibrāhīm Sulṭān's main quality in transcribing these Qurʾāns and it is inspired by his devotion to epigraphy.

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Li-Chiao Chen

The Signing of the Sino-Iranian Treaty of 1920

This article looks at the efforts China and Iran made towards strengthening themselves and their search for independence and integrity after the First World War. Since the nineteenth century, the two countries had been in a similar situation, under pressure from treaties and rivalries with European powers. The change of the world order brought about by the 1914–18 war created an opportunity for China and Iran to claim back their rights, such as ending extra-territoriality. After the war, the Fourteen Points drawn up by the American president, Woodrow Wilson, gave hope for China and Iran to maintain their independence and integrity. During the Paris Peace Conference of 1919, China and Iran made both gains and losses. China was unable to solve the Shandong Problem but became one of the founding members of the League of Nations, while Iran did not get access to the Peace Conference but obtained Britain's assurance of independence and integrity by signing the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919, and then joined the League of Nations. China and Iran attempted to bring about cooperation between Asian countries, and therefore signed a treaty in 1920. The significance of the treaty was that the two countries agreed not to grant extra-territoriality to each other, which was what both countries were seeking to achieve at that time.

Introduction

A hundred years ago, China and Iran started their relationship with a treaty signed in 1920 (preserved in the Institute of Modern History, Academia Sinica, in Taipei). This was a significant event after the First World War (hereafter the War), as the two countries shared a similar fate, such as unequal treaties with foreign

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powers and being compelled to begin westernizing reformation.[1] Hitherto, while the relationship between the West and Iran has been explored in academic studies, that between China and Iran has rarely been examined. This paper attempts to explore the reason for the two Asian countries signing a treaty at that time, and to look at the history of the War from a different angle.

Since the nineteenth century, the Qing dynasty in China had granted to foreign powers certain territories, loans, most-favored-nation status, and immunity of foreigners from Chinese laws, known as extra-territoriality,[2] as had Qajar Iran. During the early Qajar Iran period, the failure of disputes with Russia over the Caucasian area resulted in the signing of the Treaty of Turkmenchay of 1828, in which Iran granted extra-territoriality to the Russians.[3] Some Chinese materials demonstrate that China was concerned with what was taking place in Iran during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For instance, the Chinese press covered the Iranian constitutional revolution of 1906, their interest stemming from the fact that the Chinese were making efforts toward a constitution at the same time.[4] And, the Anglo-Russian pressure being experienced by Iran between 1907 and 1911 was featured in some Chinese magazines.[5] Removal of unequal treaties was viewed by both Qing and Qajar as a way to their independence and integrity.

After the outbreak of the War, China had disputes with Japan over the Shandong Problem as a result of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1915.[6] The Beijing government, having previously declared its neutrality, set out to join the War by sending its citizens to Europe as workers in 1916 and declared war on Germany in August 1917.[7] Iran had been dismembered as a result of the Anglo-Russian Convention signed by Russia and Britain in 1907 (hereafter the 1907 Convention) which had partitioned Iran into three zones: the northern zone was Russia's sphere of influence, the southeastern zone was Britain's, and there was a neutral zone in the middle.[8] The Iranian government declared its neutrality during the War, but was nevertheless involved with it because of the battles fought between Ottoman and Russian troops in its northwestern marginal area while British troops entered southern Iran.[9] As a result of their separate histories, one purpose shared by the two Asian countries was to remove the influence of foreign powers, especially after the War.

There have been many studies on China and Iran's diplomatic situation during the Paris Peace Conference (hereafter the Conference), but only dealing with each country separately. Regarding China, some works argue that China failed in relation

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[1]"Unequal treaties" was a term that was generally used in Chinese studies on the modern history of China, and can be seen in Oliver Bast's article "Duping the British and Outwitting the Russians?," 262.

[2]Wang, "The Discourse of Unequal Treaties in Modern China," 402.

[3]Huweritz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, 101–2.

[4]Wang, "The Iranian Constitutional Revolution."

[5]Qian, "What Happens in Persia in Recent Times," 13–21.

[6]Ling, "Japan's Policy toward China 1911–1915."

[7]See Xu, *China and the Great War*, 113–53, and Wu, *America and Chinese Politics 1917–1928*, 13–34.

[8]Huweritz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, 265–7.

[9]Ramazani, *The Foreign Policy of Iran*, 114–36.

to Shandong during the Conference, while other more recent works state that in fact China did as well as it could at the time.[10] As for Iran, research on the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919 has mostly argued both for its failure and its success,[11] as well as examining the relationship between Iran, the United States, Britain, and Russia.[12] Oliver Bast's article on Sino-Iranian relations after the War, "Iran va Konferans-e Solh-e 1919," argues that Iran had thought of claiming its rights just as China had, but that China having entered the War, among other reasons, meant that it was not a good example for Iran to follow.[13] It is certain that what happened in China and Iran after the War is very important to academic studies, but their relationship has not yet been discussed.

Therefore, given the similar situations under which the two Asian countries were suffering, it is worth exploring their foreign relations 100 years ago, the purpose behind the signing of the Sino-Iranian Treaty in 1920 (hereafter the 1920 Treaty), and the meaning of the Treaty. This article, based on documents from the British Foreign Office, the US Department of State, *Foreign Relations of the United States*, and the Archives of the Institute of Modern History of Academia Sinica, explores China and Iran's diplomatic strategies after the War, situations that the two parties encountered during the Conference, and the signing of the 1920 Treaty and its consequences.

The America Option for China and Iran

At the end of the War, it was known that a conference would take place, and China and Iran both wished to be included. Both countries were inspired by the principle of self-determination included in the Fourteen Points issued by the president of the United States, Woodrow Wilson, in January 1918.[14] The Beijing and Tehran governments both attempted to take this opportunity to strengthen themselves, and Wilson's principles could be the best option for achieving this. The question was whether the United States would offer a realistic option for China and Iran to reach their aims.

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[10]Chen, "Lu Cheng-Hsiang and the Paris Peace Conference"; Chang, "V. K. Wellington Koo's Diplomacy"; Tang, *The Peking Government and the League of Nations*; Chen, *China's Journey to the World*; Tang, *Paris Peace Conference and China Diplomacy*; and Deng, *The Paris Peace Conference and Beijing's Internal-External Struggles*.

[11]Klein, "British Policy and the Iranian Constitution"; Olson, "The Genesis of the Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919"; Katouzian, *The Political Economy of Modern Iran*, 77–9; Olson, *Anglo-Iranian Relations*; Sabahi, *British Policy in Persia 1918–1925*, 33–58; Keddie, "Iran under the Later Qajars, 1848–1922"; Volodarsky, *The Soviet Union and its Southern Neighbours*, 24–32; Katouzian, "The Campaign against the Anglo-Iranian Agreement of 1919"; Bast, "Putting the Record Straight" ; Katouzian, *State and Society in Iran*, 88–120; Gohli-Majd, *From Qajar to Pahlavi*, 22–6.

[12]Heravi, *Iranian–American Diplomacy*, 35–51, and Ishtiaq, *Anglo-Iranian Relations 1905–1919*, 311–29; Ghods, *Iran in the Twentieth Century*, 54–56.

[13]Bast, "Iran va Konferans-e Solh-e 1919."

[14]Sefārat-e Iran dar Washington beh Vezārat-e Khārejeh, January 9, 1918, in Bayāt and Shahrezāʾi, *Āmāl-e Irāniān*, 109.

During the War, the Beijing government negotiated with countries that had not previously signed any treaties with China, such as Cuba, Chile, and Switzerland, not to grant extra-territoriality when signing treaties.[15] This has been termed "Treaty Revision Diplomacy" by Taiwanese scholar Chi-Hua Tang.[16] In addition, after the Fourteen Points, Wellington Ku (Chinese name Ku Wei-Chun), the Chinese minister in Washington, argued that the United States was likely to be the only power that would support China, because they would take action to protect their own interests in China.[17]

Nevertheless, the United States did not give the Chinese government a satisfactory answer because of differing opinions between American diplomats and statesmen in Beijing and Washington. For instance, Japan's interests in China were recognized by the Lansing-Ishii Agreement in November 1917. Japan played an important role in America's policies toward China at the time.[18] In contrast, the United States minister to China, Paul S. Reinsch, wished China to join the War, and looked forward to more assistance from the United States to China in order to strengthen America's efforts to stop Japanese expansion.[19] It can be seen that Washington was mainly concerned with Japanese interests in East Asia, while Reinsch wished to prevent Japanese invasion and expansion. President Wilson was primarily concerned with European affairs, so it was necessary to satisfy Japan, a rising power in East Asia. In comparison to Japan, China, in a civil war in 1918, was showing its weakness.[20] The Shandong Problem, which was China's argument with Japan, was not a priority for American diplomacy. Shandong remained under Japan's control. It could be seen that China's America option was going badly.

As for Iran, after the new Russian government was established in November 1917, the Soviets announced that the conventional partitioning of Iran (referring to the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907) was annulled, and began the withdrawal of Russian troops.[21] This could be a time for Iran to be released. The Iranian minister in St. Petersburg then asked the Soviet government for an official notice of the abolition of the 1907 Convention. The Iranian government also declared the cancelation of extra-territoriality.[22] In February 1918, the Soviet government announced that there were no longer any unequal treaties with Iran, which was followed by movements to end treaties and concessions in relation to Iran.[23] Owing to the friendliness of the Soviets—which, of course, was not entirely sincere, because the Soviets were weak at that point[24]—Iran had opportunities to claim its rights. However, at that

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[15]Tang, "The Beginning of Treaty Revision."
[16]Tang, *Treaty Revision Campaign of the Beijing Government*.
[17]Chang, "V. K. Wellington Koo's Diplomacy," 34.
[18]Eto, "China's International Relations 1911–1931," 104.
[19]Wu, *America and Chinese Politics 1917–1928*, 25.
[20]Ibid., 55–6.
[21]Rezun, *The Soviet Union and Iran*, 31.
[22]Ramazani, *The Foreign Policy of Iran*, 158–9.
[23]Fatemi, *Diplomatic History of Persia 1917–1923*, 8.
[24]Kazemzadeh, "Russia and the Middle East," 521.

time, Britain had recognized Iran's independence and integrity, but refused to withdraw its troops from Iran and to cancel the 1907 Convention. This showed that Britain was fully aware that the departure of the Soviets allowed Britain to obtain full control of Iran without intervention from other foreign powers.

Iran was negotiating its rights with the United States too, but the end to this was just like China's experience. In December 1917, Mehdi Khan, the Iranian minister in Washington, telegraphed the Secretary of State of the United States in relation to President Wilson's message to Congress earlier that month. Iran felt encouraged by Wilson, who had expressed the desire to reach a permanent peace based on international justice and to respect the sovereignty and independence of every nation. The minister also argued:

> Persia feels that these losses and wrongs necessitate and justify her to have representation at the peace conference, in order that the obstacles interposed through foreign interference with her internal affairs, which have threatened her independence and retarded her progress and development, may be wholly removed.[25]

Mehdi Khan's demands included participation in the Peace Conference, the guarantee of Persia's independence and sovereignty, the revision of the Treaty of Turkmenchay, and the abolition of all other arrangements and agreements which had been forcibly imposed upon Iran.[26] Although Robert Lansing, US Secretary of State, replied that Iran would have the support of the United States at the Conference,[27] he did not specify what form that support would take. John Caldwell, American minister in Tehran, had no clear thoughts on assisting Iran.[28] In fact, the United States, from its establishment in the late eighteenth century, had no specific interest in Iran, and was primarily concerned during the War with European affairs. It is clear that neither Lansing nor Caldwell knew how to deal with Iranian affairs. Mirza 'Ali Quli Khan, the Iranian minister in Washington, talked again to Lansing in October 1918, saying that Iran wished to "insure her [Iran], after the war, against a recurrence of such hopeless conditions, which have afflicted the people of that ancient land."[29] Lansing merely replied that decisions would be made after Wilson had arrived in Paris.[30]

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[25]The Persian Minister (Mehdi Khan) to the Secretary of State, December 17, 1917, in Alexander and Nanes, *The United States and Iran*, 15.

[26]The Persian Legation to the Department of State [Memorandum], in Alexander and Nanes, *The United States and Iran*, 16.

[27]Yeselson, *United States–Persian Diplomatic Relations*, 146.

[28]Heravi, *Iranian–American Diplomacy*, 36.

[29]The Persian Chargé (Ali-Kuli Khan) to the Secretary State, October 5, 1918, no. 177, in Alexander and Nanes, *The United States and Iran*, 19.

[30]The Secretary of State to the Persian Chargé (Ali-Kuli Khan), no. 26, 763.72119.3279, Washington, December 2, 1918, *United States Department of State Papers relating to the Foreign Relation of the United States* (hereafter *FRUS*), The Paris Peace Conference. Vol. 1. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1919, 261.

Iran and China had a similar situation and purpose, and both made efforts to eliminate pressures from foreign powers. After the War, the United States became a hopeful option to the Asian "brothers." However, the Fourteen Points and self-determination declared by Wilson were simply ideals that could not be practiced in China and Iran. As regards the Chinese question, Japan became a factor with which the United States was concerned, while the United States had no clear way to deal with the Iranian question. Wilson's Fourteen Points were inspiring in the beginning, but turned out to be a considerable disappointment to the international society, as Erez Manela argues in his book.[31]

The Less Than Satisfactory Paris Peace Conference

The Conference was generally viewed as a significant event in reconstructing the world and initiating a time of peace. But was it really so promising for China and Iran? Both China and Iran sought to enter the Conference to claim their rights and interests. China, as one of the victors, was eligible to be a member of the Conference, but nevertheless its admission was not smooth. The Entente Powers rejected China on the grounds that it was in a civil war and had not actually joined the War. The Beijing government appealed for assistance from the United States, and in the meantime contacted Britain with a further request to be included in the Peace Conference.[32] Ku suggested to the Chinese Foreign Ministry that the United States was the only power likely to help and that, therefore, China should acknowledge statements made by them.[33] On 14 November 1918, Ku again telegraphed the Chinese Foreign Ministry:

> The Vice Secretary of State of the United States said once the Entente intended to refuse the admission of China to the Conference, the United States should assist China. In addition, China in fact declared war on Germany and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and there would not be negotiations for peace if China could not enter the Conference. Lansing also argued that the Entente had no reason to refuse China's entrance because there were issues of the Conference relating to China's interests. He also stated that China could be confident that the United States would make a just decision.[34]

At the end of 1918, when the Chinese civil war came to an end, the Entente Powers in Paris had no excuse for blocking China from the Conference.[35]

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[31]Manela, *The Wilsonian Moment*, 215–25.

[32]Tang, *Paris Peace Conference*, 82.

[33]To the Foreign Ministry, May 21, 1918, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 03-12-008-02-012.

[34]To the Foreign Ministry, November 14, 1918, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 03-12-008-02-036.

[35]Ling, *History of Modern Sino-Japanese Relations*, 164.

An intrinsic part of the mission of the Chinese delegation was in relation to the Shandong Problem. The aims included "to claim all the rights and interests in the Province of Shandong taken by Germany, and which could not be transferred to Japan," "to cancel part or all of the stipulations of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of 1915," and "to cancel all the privileges granted to foreigners in China, such as extraterritoriality and sphere of influence."[36] The Chinese delegation, however, encountered difficulties in the Conference.

Japan contended that all the interests of Germany in Shandong must be transferred to Japan without conditions.[37] When Ku talked to Wilson about resolutions to the Shandong Problem at the Conference, Wilson did not give an answer. Lu Cheng-Hsiang, foreign minister, also indicated that Britain would not help because of the Anglo-Japanese alliance since 1902.[38] Japan refused to return Shandong to China,[39] and then stated that if there was not a satisfactory resolution of the Shandong Problem, its delegates would leave Paris. Meanwhile, the Italian prime minister left Paris because of the Fiume question. Then Wilson agreed to the Japanese demand. Lu argued that China would refuse to sign the peace treaty while the Shandong Problem remained in question.[40] Nevertheless, in May 1919, the Chinese delegation signed the peace treaties, except for the part on Shandong.[41] Therefore, a positive result was that China had membership of the League of Nations.[42] Although the Chinese delegation did not get what they wanted, signing the peace treaty was an alternative to a mediated situation, creating an opportunity to see the Shandong Problem discussed at the Washington Conference in 1921.

Meanwhile, Iran was in a worse situation than China. In January 1919, George Curzon, interim British foreign minister, argued that Iran had not been a belligerent, and its admission to the Conference could not be allowed. Britain had always acknowledged Iran's independence and integrity and, in addition, the 1907 Convention had been canceled. Britain would not therefore give any favors if Iran did not accept Britain's friendliness.[43] The Iranian government was then informed that neutral parties were not allowed admission to the Conference.[44] On 30 January, the Iranian foreign minister, Moshaver al-Dowleh, requested admission to the Conference despite other neutral countries not being admitted, and the cancelation of previously signed treaties, conventions, and agreements that disregarded Iran's integrity

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[36]Chang, *Diplomatic History of the Republic of China*, 257.

[37]Deng, *The Paris Peace Conference*, 50–1.

[38]Received from the Foreign Minister, April 17, 1919, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 03-33-150-01-044.

[39]The Seventy-Second Meeting, April 22, 1919, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 03-37-011-03-008.

[40]Kawashima, *The Formation of Modern China*, 236.

[41]Ibid., 240.

[42]Tang, *The Peking Government and the League of Nations*, 18.

[43]Curzon to Balfour, January 10, 1919, no. 20, Foreign Office, National Archives, Kew: FO248/1255.

[44]Cox to Curzon, January 11, 1919, 6345, no. 20, FO371/3858.

and sovereignty.[45] It can be seen that the demands still remained the same as at the beginning, the main aim being to eliminate foreign pressures. Moshaver insisted that the eight demands perfectly fitted Wilson's Fourteen Points; however, it would be difficult, or even impossible, for Iran to enter the Conference on account of its neutrality.

The only message that Britain conveyed to Iran was that anything demanded by Iran could be negotiated with Britain rather than by the Conference.[46] Curzon had been the Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, and he was definitely aware of the importance of the security of India and its neighboring regions. Once Iran was stable, India would be secure. The policy remained the same even when the War had ended.[47] Curzon's objective was to ensure that British influence extended from the Mediterranean to the western side of India, where Iran was of importance for Britain to prevent Germany, the Ottoman Empire, and Soviet Russia from encroaching into Afghanistan and India.[48] The British foreign minister, Arthur James Balfour, shared the same view, and tried to make the Iranian foreign minister understand Britain's perspective.[49]

On 23 March 1919, the Iranian delegation in Paris set out ten demands, including annulment of the 1907 Convention, the ending of intervention in the domestic affairs of Iran, and revision of the treaties previously signed between Iran and foreign countries.[50] However, they eventually realized, in early April, that there was no possibility of participating in the Conference.[51] Balfour stated that Iran must be aware of the reality that Britain would be a friend; otherwise, if Iran cooperated with other powers, Britain would not acknowledge its independence.[52] Obviously, Britain was threatening Iran. Actually, the Conference was concerned with the partition of the Ottoman Empire and, as Wilson returned to the United States in June, there was no longer a possibility of Iran entering the Conference.[53]

Meanwhile, the Iranian prime minister, Vosuq al-Dowleh, had negotiations with Percy Cox, British minister in Tehran. His demands were just the same as his delegates in Paris, such as to "guarantee Persia's independence; support efforts to secure war damages from Turkey and Russia; agree in principle to a revision of the tariff; and assist in the possible recovery of some lost territories."[54] Under British pressure, Vosuq al-Dowleh had the means to change Iran's situation as well. In his terms, Britain, even though it was not at all popular at that time, was the main European power in the Middle East after the War, and it was absolutely the only option at

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[45]The Persian Foreign Minister (Aligoli) to the Persian Chargé (Ali-Kuli Khan), Enclosure 2, no. 30, *FRUS*, 259.

[46]Curzon to Cox, March 26, 1919, 48160, no. 38, FO416/56.

[47]Olson, "The Genesis of the Anglo-Persian Agreements," 185.

[48]Temperly, *A History of the Peace Conference of Paris*, 210.

[49]Balfour to Curzon, March 27, 1919, no. 178, FO248/1255.

[50]Claims of Persia before the Conference of the Preliminaries of Peace at Paris, April 17, 1919, 60025, FO371/3860.

[51]Cox to Curzon, April 9, 1919, no. 255, FO248/1256.

[52]Balfour to Curzon, May 2, 1919, 67783, no. 800, FO371/3860.

[53]Bast, "Putting the Record Straight," 270.

[54]Olson, *Anglo-Iranian Relations*, 231.

that time for Iran to negotiate with.[55] Iran's option to maintain its independence and integrity moved from the United States to Britain. An Anglo-Iranian treaty was signed on 9 August by Vosuq al-Dowleh and Cox, and included the following stipulations:

1. The British Government reiterate, in the most categorical manner, the undertakings which they have repeatedly given in the past to respect absolutely the independence and integrity of Persia.
2. For the purpose of financing the reforms of this agreement, the British Government offer to provide or arrange a substantial loan for the Persian Government, for which adequate security shall be sought by the two Governments in consultation in the revenues of the customs or other sources of income at the disposal of the Persian Government.
3. The two Governments agree to the appointment forthwith of a joint Committee of experts for the examination and revision of the existing Customs Tariff with a view to accord with the legitimate interests of the country and to promote its prosperity.[56]

It could not be known what would come next, owing to British dominance in Iran's economy and finances, but at least Iran received a guarantee of independence and integrity from Britain, which to some extent made up for not having admission to the Conference.

Both parties were satisfied with the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919 (hereafter the 1919 Treaty). Vosuq al-Dowleh said that Iran was in a difficult position and expressed "thanks for the assistance that His Imperial Majesty, the leaders of Islam and the British Government rendered me, or else I would probably have been unable to carry out my program."[57] The Iranian foreign minister expressed the view that the 1919 Treaty would maintain Iran's independence and integrity while enabling the country to receive financial and economic assistance from Britain, and would improve Anglo-Iranian relations in the future.[58] Nevertheless, the 1919 Treaty was not welcomed by public opinion in Iran, the public perceiving Iran as still under the control of Britain, the situation being similar to the Shandong Problem in China.[59]

Curzon also argued that Iran was eligible to be a member of the forthcoming League of Nations.[60] The Iranian prince, Firuz Mirza, stated that the Treaty was "meant to furnish Persia with the means of directing her course, in the full enjoyment

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[55]Ghani, *Iran and the Rise of Reza Shah*, 31.

[56]Huweritz, *Diplomacy in the Near and Middle East*, 64–6.

[57]Delegates to the Peace Conference, Translation from Raad, August 19, 1919, Decimal File 891.00 January 2, 1919–November 12, 1922.

[58]August 26, 1919, no. 89, FO248/1256, 315.

[59]"Enʿekās-e Qarārdād-e Iran va Engelis dar Farānseh," *Āmāl-e Irāniān*, 7 Moharram 1338 (October 2, 1919), 691.

[60]Lord Curzon's Speech on Persia at the Banquet given in honor of His Highness Prince Nosrat al-Dowleh at the Carlton Hotel, September 18, 1919, FO248/1257.

of her political and economic independence, towards progress and prosperity" and that "the League of Nations is about to meet, ... we will both sides comply with our obligations as members of the League of Nations in laying immediately before it the text of our Agreement."[61]

The Times reported that the Iranian tariff and customs regulations were being revised, and that the new tariffs would be part of equitable arrangements to "secure the sorely needed increase in the Persian revenue."[62] Vosuq al-Dowleh, also writing in *The Times*, stated that "the independence of Persia is not endangered by her foreign neighbours, but by the bad internal situation, ... to remember that nothing less than the united effort of the whole country is adequate."[63] Of course, to the opposition, the 1919 Treaty was an insult to Iran; but to Vosuq al-Dowleh, the 1919 Treaty could be a first step toward easing part of the pressure on Iran. Proof of this came on 21 November 1919, when Iran was invited to join the League of Nations.[64]

The Conference was important to China and Iran, but the atmosphere for the two Asian countries was tricky because they were not the main players. America and Japan were influential in the East and in Asia, and Britain was dominant in the Middle East. Therefore, China could not claim Shandong back at the Conference, while Iran was not even a member of it. However, they did still make some progress. To some extent, the strengthening of both countries achieved a measure of success in 1919.

The Sino-Iranian Treaty of 1920

When China and Iran encountered their respective problems, the two Asian countries paid attention to each other. For example, an article in a Chinese newspaper, *Shenbao*, commented that Iran, as a neutral state during the War, had suffered from the fighting between the Ottoman and Russian troops in the Province of Azerbaijan.[65] Another article commented that Iran was struggling for its freedom, and still felt pain during the War even though it was a neutral state.[66] In 1919, a document by the Beijing Foreign Ministry mentioned that:

> After the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907, Iran was not a country at all. Britain failed to push us to join the war, but Iran also refused to declare war on Germany. ... Now Germany has failed, Iran has remained neutral so that Britain should not violate Iran's independence which they promised before.[67]

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[61]"The Anglo-Persian Agreement," *The Times*, September 24, 1914, 9.
[62]"Britain's Aid to Persia," *The Time*s, March 24, 1920, 15.
[63]"Persian Prime Minister's Reform Manifesto," *The Times*, April 5, 1920, 7.
[64]Howard-Ellis, *The Origin Structure*, 101.
[65]"Persia in the European War," *Shenbao*, October 19, 1919, 19.
[66]Hao-Bei, "A New Situation of Persia," *Pacific Ocean (Shanghai)*, 1, no. 10 (1918), 28–30.
[67]The Suggestions made to the European Peace Conference, February 27, 1919, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 03-37-007-03-033.

Regarding the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919, an article published in *Dongfang Zazhi* mentioned Iran's loss during the War and criticized the way its demands were ignored by the Conference, claiming that the 1919 Treaty was another evil action perpetrated against Iran.[68] An article in *Ta Kung Pao (Tianjin)* argued that the 1919 Treaty was also a conspiracy by Britain to control Tibet and Central Asia (including Iran) in order to end the influence of Russia completely.[69] Another comment published in *Ta Kung Pao (Tianjin)* stated that Iran's situation was just like the Shandong Problem, and so China should be on the side of Iran.[70] In February 1919, a Persian document from the Iranian Foreign Ministry announced that Britain should abolish unequal treaties and the Anglo-Russian Convention of 1907 in relation to China and Iran.[71] China's efforts at treaty revision were supported by Iran.

In March 1920, China and Iran had their first contact in the Italian city of Rome. On 6 March, a telegraph from the Chinese minister in Italy, Kuan-Chi Wang, said that Issac Khan, Iranian minister in Italy, had been instructed by the Iranian government to negotiate a treaty of friendship. Issac Khan argued that it would make good sense for Asian countries to unite and help each other, his government having emphasized that China and Iran were both in Asia, and had enjoyed a good relationship since the Tang Dynasty. After the War, signing a treaty had become a matter of urgency.[72] For his part, Wang mentioned that "China and Iran were ancient civilized countries, but all encountered serious challenges from foreign powers now," and he agreed to sign a treaty of friendship.[73] It is therefore clear that the motives of the two Asian countries to unite were their similar situations and their historical connections. The next day, the Chinese Foreign Ministry replied to Wang:

"Since Iran has been a friend of business since the Tang Dynasty, and now they have the same ambition as ours, you are therefore instructed to sign an equal treaty with Iran, based on the Sino-Bolivian Treaty."[74]

The Sino-Bolivian Treaty had been signed on 3 December 1919, and was the first equal treaty of the Beijing government.[75] The most significant part of the Sino-Bolivian Treaty was that extra-territoriality was not included,[76] and a

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[68]"Persia's Wishes," *Dongfang Zazhi*, 17, no. 5 (1920), 37–8.

[69]"Foreign Press on the British Policy towards Central Asia," *Ta Kung Pao (Tianjin)*, August 23, 1919, 3.

[70]"The Persian Question," *Ta Kung Pao (Tianjin)*, August 25, 1919, 2.

[71]Vezārat-e Omur-e Khārejeh, Moshāver al-Mamālek, in *Āmāl-e Irāniān*, 29 Rabi ʿath-Thani 1337 (February 1, 1919), no. 121, p. 206.

[72]Sino-Iranian Treaty and Consulate, September 16, 1920, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 112.6/0002.

[73]Telegraph from Wang, March 6, 1920, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 112.6/0001.

[74]Telegraph for Wang, 7 March 1920, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 112.6/0001.

[75]Tang, *Treaty Revision Campaign of the Beijing Government*, pp. 77-79.

[76]Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Collection of Treaties*, 478.

treaty without extra-territoriality symbolized respect for others' independence. Although the western powers did not abrogate their extra-territoriality in China until the 1930s, the Sino-Bolivian Treaty was significant for the Chinese government, and so China and Iran were going to sign a treaty for the same purpose. Wang's tele-graph, on 12 March 1920, argued that the civilians of both countries should obey the laws of the place where they resided.[77] On 13 May, a draft of the treaty was drawn up, and *Ta Kung Pao (Tianjin)* reported that the Sino-Iranian Treaty had been signed, based on the Sino-Bolivian Treaty, excluding extra-territoriality.[78] In addition, the signing of a treaty by China and Iran denoted the strengthening of the Asian countries.

The 1920 Treaty was signed on 1 June. Article 2 stipulated:

> Ambassadors, Ministers and Chargés d'Affaires that the high contracting parties may be willing to assign to the courts of each other, together with all their staff, will be accepted at the respective courts of the two Governments, and will be treated in the same manner as Ministers and other diplomatic representatives of the most favored nations are treated, and will have the same privileges, with the exception of dealing with disputes concerning their own subjects.

Article 4 stated:

> The subjects of each of the high contracting parties, while residing in or traveling through the territories of the other, will be subject to the local laws, and all judicial matters arising from disputes, crimes, etc. will be settled before the local tribunals of Persia or China, respectively.[79]

The meaning of these two articles was that the two countries did not grant one another extra-territoriality. Although Wang mentioned that Issac Khan was upset about the wording in the articles,[80] the details were not specifically written. The treaty was ratified by the Beijing government on 16 September, which represented the two Asian countries officially establishing their friendship. For the Beijing govern-ment it was the second equal treaty with other countries, while for the Iranian govern-ment it was possibly the first equal treaty.

After the 1920 Treaty, the two countries could be seen to cooperate with each other in the League of Nations. For example, regarding elections to the council of the League

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[77]Telegraph from Wang, 12 March 1920, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 112.6/0001.

[78]"The Draft Treaty with Persia was ready to be ratified," *Ta Kung Pao (Tianjin)*, 13 May 1920, p. 3.

[79]The Sino-Iranian Treaty, June 1, 1920, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 03-23-096-01-001.The English version of the treaty can be seen in Treaty between Persia and China, 1 June 1920, no. 712, August 18, 1921, Decimal File 791.9311, US Department of State.

[80]Telegraph from Wang, July 29, 1920, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 112.6-0001.

as a non-permanent member, Iran supported the Chinese delegate.[81] In June 1920, Iran agreed in the League of Nations to provide 2,000 pounds sterling for the establishment of twenty health centers in Poland.[82] Iran's assistance in the League of Nations demonstrates that the country was attempting to enter the so-called family of nations, this concept having been used by Immanuel C. Y. Hsu.[83] In his work, Hsu mentioned that the Ottoman Empire had entered the family of nations from 1856, and China after 1858. After the War, Iran, an Asian country which seemed to be a less important power in world history, also finally became a member of the family of nations. The cooperation of China and Iran symbolized the united power of Asian countries after the War.

Aftermath of the Treaty

The strengthening of China and Iran after the War was not in fact supported by the United States, which had played a role of offering hope at the time. When the Washington Conference was convened by the United States in November 1921, the Chinese delegate, Shih Chao Chi, claimed that China's objective was to build a country of complete independence with ten principles,[84] later shortened by Elihu Root, the American delegate, into the Root Principles, which stated:

1. To respect the sovereignty, the independence, and the territorial and administrative integrity of China.
2. To provide the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable government, overcoming the difficulties incident to the change from the old and long-continued imperial form of government.
3. To safeguard for the world, so far as it is within our power, the principle of equal opportunity for the commerce and industry of all nations throughout the territory of China.
4. To refrain from taking advantage of the present conditions in order to seek special rights or privileges which would abridge the rights of subjects or citizens of friendly states and from countenancing action inimical to the security of such states.[85]

In addition, during the Washington Conference China wished to reopen discussions on the Shandong Problem, which had been an urgent question for the

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[81]Telegraph from Geneva, December 18, 1921, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 03-38-014-01-011.
[82]"Daily Notes of the League of Nations," *Shenbao*, December 19, 1920, 3.
[83]Hsu, *China's Entrance into the Family of Nations*. Benjamin C. Frotna shares the same view in using the term "European club." See Fortna, "The Reign of Abdülhamid II," 44.
[84]Telegraph from Washington, November 22, 1921, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 03-39-024-02-006.
[85]Wang, *Unequal Treaties and China*, 74.

Chinese since 1918. The issue also related to the question of China's independence and integrity. However, Japan insisted on its rights in Shandong. In the end, the Treaty for the Settlement of Outstanding Questions Relative to Shandong was signed in February 1922, in which ironically China even had to "buy" back the Jiaozhou–Jinan Railway occupied by Japan. The Beijing government made efforts to eliminate losses at the Washington Conference, but actually Chinese sovereignty was still not complete.

Regarding Iran, in August 1918 Caldwell telegraphed Lansing to say that Britain would continue its occupation in Iran, on account of disturbances.[86] He clearly had no confidence in Iran's central government.[87] After the signing of the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919, Caldwell complained that the Treaty was not accepted by the Iranian people[88] and that it had not been ratified by the Iranian Majles (there was no Majles during the War),[89] and so the hope for independence vanished.[90] Lansing also blamed the difficulties over the entrance of the Iranian delegation to the Conference on the simple indifference of the Iranian government.[91]

The Americans were also critical of the 1919 Treaty, declaring that "Persia does not wish American aid or support hereafter, and this in spite of the well-known fact that the Persian Peace Commission at Paris openly and urgently sought American aid," and denied they had refused aid to Iran.[92] Meanwhile, the United States did not want to cancel extra-territoriality, which they had been granted through the Treaty of Friendship and Commerce of 1856.[93] Compared with Britain, the United States looked to the Iranians like a new bullying power. The United States also insisted that it would not assist Iran in canceling capitulations and would not cede privileges that had been granted by Iran.[94] During the Washington Conference, the Iranian minister in Washington asserted that Root's four principles could be applied to Iran, as they were experiencing the same situation as China had encountered. However, the State Department of the United States rejected this because Iran was not a Far Eastern state.[95] If the United States were to give up its privileges in Iran, such as extra-territoriality, its influence would be weakened.

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[86]Caldwell to Lansing, August 2, 1918, Decimal File 891.00, US Department of State.
[87]Sefārat-e Iran dar Washington beh Vezārat-e Omur-e Khārejeh, in *Āmāl-e Irāniān*, June 19, 1918, 166.
[88]The Minister in Persia (Caldwell) to the Secretary of State, 741.91/81: Telegram, August 13, 1919, *FRUS*, 699.
[89]The Minister in Persia (Caldwell) to the Secretary of State, 741.91/22: Telegram, August 16, 1919, *FRUS*, 699.
[90]The Minister in Persia (Caldwell) to the Secretary of State, 741.91/83: Telegram, August 28, 1919, *FRUS*, 701.
[91]The Minister in Persia (Caldwell) to the Secretary of State, 741.91/83: Telegram, September 4, 1919, *FRUS*, 699.
[92]"Persia and the Agreement," *The Times*, October 4, 1919, p. 7.
[93]Treaty of Friendship and Commerce, in Alexander and Nanes, *The United States and Iran*, 2–5.
[94]Yeselson, *United States–Persian Diplomatic Relations*, 176.
[95]Ibid., 177.

Moreover, the two Asian countries had their own problems in maintaining their mutual cooperation. The Qajar government collapsed in 1921 and was replaced in 1925 by the Pahlavi dynasty led by Reza Shah, while the Beijing government was replaced by the Chiang Kai-Shek regime in 1928. Iran, in 1923, became a non-permanent member of the council of the League of Nations,[96] which frustrated China. Although China and Iran began to negotiate a commercial treaty after 1929, it seemed that Iran was not keen to discuss the business. In their meetings in Rome, the Chinese minister was told by his Iranian colleague that the Iranian government was looking forward to the signed treaty, owing to their Asian brotherhood.[97] However, only a draft and not a formal treaty was signed. Besides, the two Asian countries had no official contact, such as a consulate or a legation, despite the Sino-Iranian Treaty of 1920. There were no legations between the two Asian countries until 1942.[98]

Conclusion

At the end of the 1910s and the beginning of the 1920s, their similar situations led to China and Iran initiating a formal relationship by signing the 1920 Treaty. The two Asian countries had been under pressure from wars and treaties with foreign powers since the nineteenth century. While most studies give attention to Iran's relationship with the West, this paper explores a union of the two Asian countries, China and Iran, after the War.

A common problem in the Late Qing China and Qajar Iran was the strangling of treaties. The late Qing had made an attempt to revise the treaties inherited by the Beijing government after 1911. Regarding the cancelation of extra-territoriality, the Sino-Bolivian Treaty of 1919, the first equal treaty between China and a foreign country, stipulated that extra-territoriality was not included. Iran also suffered from the same problem through the Treaty of Turkmenchay of 1828, signed with Russia. The 1917 Soviet Revolution, however, heralded the end of pressure from the unequal treaty.

Wilson's Fourteen Points and the Paris Peace Conference played important roles for both China and Iran. Both had difficulties entering the Conference. China, as a victor, was questioned at the beginning of the Conference, and was not able to claim sovereignty over Shandong. Iran, as a neutral state, was not eligible for admission to the Conference. Nevertheless, the two countries both found an appropriate way to change their situation. China became a member of the League of Nations by signing the peace treaties, except for the Shandong part, while Iran was invited to join the

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[96]Telegraph from Geneva, September 23, 1923, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 03-38-015-02-030.

[97]Sino-Iranian Commercial Treaty, July 29, 1930, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 112.6/0003, 103–5.

[98]Sino-Iranian Treaty and Consulates, April 27, 1942, The Archives of the Institute of Modern History (Academia Sinica), no. 112.6/0006.

League of Nations through signing the Anglo-Iranian Treaty of 1919 with Britain's acknowledgment of Iran's independence and integrity.

The United States became an obstacle to self-determination, which had been a hope just after the War. China and Iran were both disappointed in President Wilson. Nevertheless, the two Asian countries, at that time, were each aware of the other's situation, which was why the Sino-Iranian Treaty of 1920 was signed. The most significant part was that extra-territoriality was not included. In addition, their cooperation in the League of Nations showed the ambition of these Asian countries to strengthen themselves. However, each in its own way also encountered the fall and rise of their respective central governments.

After the War, China and Iran entered into a new dimension of their history. Strengthening their position at that time was a common objective of the two Asian countries. Although developments were not completely satisfactory, the two countries were struggling for their freedom, and positive opportunities that arose after the War. Indeed, they made every effort to resist foreign pressure and protect their interests.

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Review Essay

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Stephen Frederic Dale

A History of Persian Literature, Vol. IX, Persian Literature from Outside Iran: The Indian Subcontinent, Anatolia, Central Asia, and in Judeo-Persian, John R. Perry ed., (sponsored by Persian Heritage Foundation and the Ehsan Yarshater Center for Iranian Studies, Columbia University), London: I. B. Tauris, 2018, ISBN-10 184511910X, ISBN-13 978-1845119102, 512 pp.

Ehsan Yarshater illumined the wealth, diversity and influence of Iranian studies during a lifetime of scholarly effort, and he ensured that his exaltation of Iranian culture would be widely recognized and preserved by founding two major intellectual enterprises, the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* and the multi-volume series *A History of Persian Literature*. Neither of these projects could possibly be completed during his lifetime. Entries in the comprehensive *Encyclopaedia Iranica* reached the letter K at the time of his death and only six volumes of the planned twenty volumes of *A History of Persian Literature* have now been published, with three additional volumes forthcoming in 2019. When these two monumental projects are eventually finished they will constitute a remarkable legacy and a compelling realization of Ehsan Yarshater's vision, as well as a testament to the cultural stature of Iranian civilization. This most recent volume to appear in the series of Persian literature monographs is titled *Persian Literature from Outside Iran, the Indian Subcontinent, Anatolia, Central Asia and in Judeo Persian* (hereafter *HPL-IX*). While the title is not nearly as sonorous as Persian verse, it accurately reflects the editor John R. Perry's goal of illuminating the diverse environments and evolving histories of Persian language and literature beyond—and within—the Iranian plateau.

As John Perry notes in his introduction, this volume discusses the production of Persian literature outside Iran—and Judeo-Persian within—from the ninth to the eighteenth century, a period when the language functioned as the lingua franca of the eastern Islamic world. With the exception of Keith Hitchin's essay on Tajik literature and V. B. Moreen's article on Judeo-Persian, this volume concerns the history of Persian literature in territories where the majority of the inhabitants were neither

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Iranian nor native speakers of Persian. This includes India, where the population spoke multiple Indo-European and Dravidian languages, Anatolia and Central Asia, where Turkic language speakers had become dominant during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, and Afghanistan, where some of the population spoke Persian and Turkish, but in the east and the true Afghan homelands most were native speakers of the ancient Indo-European language Pushtu.[1] The introduction, use and eventual decline of Persian literature in these diverse regions constitute a complex and fascinating case of regional linguistic evolution.

It is particularly intriguing that the language generally classified as "New Persian," that is Persian written in a modified Arabic script and incorporating much Arabic vocabulary, developed only in the ninth century and did not originate in Fars, but in Khurâsân, one of the historic centers of Iranian civilization, and Māwarānnahr, the easternmost region of Iranian settlement since Achaemenid times.[2] These were both evidently areas of increased Iranian settlement from the seventh century CE, as Iranians fled eastwards from Arab conquests. The first well-known New Persian poets wrote their verse at the court of the Sāmānids (819–999) in the late ninth century. A self-consciously Iranian lineage, whose rulers at one time extended their control to as far as the Ferghānah Valley and to eastern Pakistan, the Sāmānids were descendants of an Iranian *dihqān* or landed family, and their presence in Māwarānnahr testifies to Iranian settlement in the Central Asian region. Powerfully conscious of their Iranian identity, the dynasty resuscitated Persian language and literature during this era that Vladimir Minorsky once elegantly identified as the "Persian Intermezzo," the period between the ninth-century revival of Persian literature and the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when Mongol armies ravaged both Khurâsân and Mâwarânnahr.[3] Sāmānid poets, most notably Rûdakî and Ferdowsi, exemplified this process. The Sāmānid-sponsored renaissance of Iranian culture is especially remarkable considering it occurred in an area and period when Turkic tribes, the Qarakhānids and Oghuz, had overrun much of Māwarānnahr—even raiding in the immediate area of Bukhârâ, the Sāmānid capital. These tribes flooded the region with a Turkic-speaking population that gradually led to a decline in the use of the Iranian language Soghdian, as well as New Persian. Only in the Yaghnabi/Yaghnobi region of eastern Tajikistan does a Soghdian-derived language survive, while Tajik, a variety of New Persian, has retained its currency only among the predominantly Iranian population of the mountainous, isolated Tajikistan region. As the *Encyclopeadia Iranica* describes the linguistic situation:

> Towards the late 1lth century, the status of Persian written in the Arabic script may be described as follows. 1. NP [New Persian] had become fully developed das a language of literature, administration and scholarship. 2. NP had become an "Islamic language," as is seen from the contents of its texts and is measurable

[1]Regarding the spread and eventual dominance of Turkic languages in Mâwarânnahr see Golden, "The Turkic World." Kāshghari is notable for his anti-Iranian sentiments and condescending remarks about Oghuz who had become tainted with Persian linguistic influence, 520 and 524.
[2]Paul, "Persian Language i. Early New Persian."
[3]Minorsky, "La Domination des Dailamites," 21.

through the influx of Arabic loanwords into Persian. 3. NP had started expanding over the boundaries of the historical Persian speaking regions proper, into other areas such as Central Asia and North India.[4]

It would be more accurate to say that New Persian initially developed not only in Khurâsân but in contiguous areas outside the modern boundaries of the Iranian state in Māwarānnahr, Afghanistan and South Asia, as evidenced by the example of the Sāmānids and their *ghulām* offshoots, the Ghaznavids—the eventual eastern Afghan base of Ferdowsi and other Persian-speaking poets and intellectuals such as al-Bîrûni. In any event, this new Islamic Persian, not Sanskrit or any South Asian tongue, became the practical and prestigious administrative and literary language of Muslims, who invaded India, and of the Seljuqs and their allied Oghuz tribes, who, as largely illiterate Muslims, adopted this available Islamic language as they moved into Persian-speaking regions in Khurâsân and beyond, where Iranian, Persian-speaking administrators such as Nizām al-Mulk, previously Ghaznavid subjects, awaited them. Persian continued to prosper in South Asia as the language of the relatively small predominantly Turkic ruling class and their Turkic, Iranian and other Muslim subjects in the Delhi Sultanate and subsequent Timurid-Mughal empire. This represented partly a continuation of the Persianate culture of the Ghaznavids, partly the consequence of Iranian migration into India both before and after the Mongol invasions, and partly a consequence of the prestige of Iranian imperial traditions, which many literati understood from translations of late Sasanid texts and more immediately Ferdowsi's great verse epic the *Shāhnāmeh*.

Persian's survival in South Asia depended on Indo-Muslim political dominance and its influenced waned with the deterioration of Timurid-Mughal power in the eighteenth century, by which time it had long since given birth to a highly Persianized Urdu, the "language of the camp"—or more accurately the hybrid language of the broader Indo-Muslim population later known to the British as Hindustani. Persian's survival as a national language in Afghanistan is partly a factor of Safavid and Timurid-Mughal political control of the region until the eighteenth century, partly also a factor of the existence of Persian-speaking populations in the Khurâsân provinces of western Afghanistan, the Hazârahs in the central mountainous regions and Persian-speaking nomads such as the Aimak tribes and, finally, very much a factor of the impoverished, tribal fragmentation of the Pushtu-speaking population, which did not develop sufficient centralized political power whose rulers might have patronized the growth of Pushtu as a court and administrative language. In Iran Persian survived partly as a factor of the existence of a substantial Persian-speaking Iranian population, as well as the Seljuq absorption of Persianate culture as the largely illiterate Oghuz tribes moved through the Iranian cultural portal of Khurâsân. The Seljuqs of Rum or Anatolia, like their cousins in Iran, utilized Persian as their state language and poets such as Rûmi thrived within their boundaries, but ultimately the lack of a substantial Iranian population and the growth of the massive Oghuz tribal diaspora throughout the

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[4]Paul, "Persian Language i. Early New Persian."

region meant that most member of the Turkic population did not encounter a substantial population of Persian speakers or experience a dominant Persianate culture. In western Anatolia particularly the Oghuz adopted Turkish as their Islamic language, most notably in the Karamanid and Ottoman states in far western Anatolia, whose distance from Iranian influences is reflected in the fact that no Karamanid rulers took Persian names or titles, as had occurred among the Ghaznavids and Iranian Seljuqs. In Māwarānnahr,[5] Turks had also become the dominant population well before the fifteenth century, when Bâbur, the future founder of the Timurid-Mughal empire, reported that all the population of his Timurid appanage of Andijân in the Ferghānah Valley spoke Turki, his language also, in which he wrote his great autobiography.[6] By Bâbur's adolescence Turki had developed a classical literary tradition, most notably in the person of Mîr ʿAlî Shîr Navāʾi (d. 1501) coincidentally a resident of Khurâsân in Timurid Herat, one of the centers of New Persian. In Māwarānnahr, though, unlike western Anatolia, Persian retained far more currency. It became the administrative and literary language of the predominantly Turkic Uzbeks, and continued to function as the prestigious literary language for centuries, despite Navāʾi's argument that Turki was the far superior language.[7]

This volume testifies to the range and depth of Persian literature in South Asia, with studies that occupy slightly more than half of the book. These include three introductory essays on Indo-Persian verse by Alyssa Gabby, who describes the initial foundation of centers for Indo-Persian court poetry, Persian literature under the Ghaznavids and provides brief studies of three Delhi Sultanate-era poets: Amîr Khosrow, Hasan Sejzi and Badr Châchi. Her contribution represents the only sustained discussion of Indo-Persian verse in this volume, which is later to be the exclusive subject of volume 8 of this series. Readers would expect to find important examples of Indo-Persian verse in any volume devoted to Persian literature in the subcontinent, but what makes this volume exceptional are a series of articles on related subjects: "Teaching Persian in South Asia" by Tariq Rahman, "The Persian Language Sciences" by John R. Perry, "Persian Historiography in India" by Blaine Auer, "Persian Literature of the Parsis" by Jamsheed K. Choksy, "Ismaili literature in Persian in Central and South Asia" by A. G. Rawân Farhâdi, "Persian Medical Literature" by Fabrizio Speziale and a final essay on "Inscriptions and Art Historical Literature" by Yves Porter.

Readers ought to be aware of two aspects of this volume. First, this is not a book primarily devoted to Delhi-Sultanate-era Indo-Persian literature, for only Alyssa Gabby discusses Indo-Persian verse at length and she restricts her essay to the pre-Timurid-Mughal era. Others range widely over the Indo-Persian literary landscape and several deal with much later periods. Second, all of the authors ignore the Persian literature of South India. The lack of attention given to the south is a common feature of Indo-Muslim scholarship, but literary and historical Indo-

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[5]For the Seljuqs of Rum see among other sources Canby et al., *Court and Cosmos*.
[6]Bâbur's Turki is now accessible in Eiji Mano's magnificent edited edition. See Mano, *Zahîr al-Din Muhammad Bâbur*.
[7]Nawāʾi, *Muhakamat al-Lughatain*.

Persian literature was also written in the south, which was briefly, and very late, part of the Timurid-Mughal empire. These include many published Persian sources on the Carnatic, such as Burhân Ibn Hasan's *Tûzak-i Wālājāhi* and multiple Persian manuscripts, such as the *Gulshan-i Sa'ādat*, which are housed in the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library.[8] One of the most unusual Persian texts from Madras is the *Ruqa'ât-i Wālājāhi*, a collection of two years of Persian correspondence between representatives of the East India Company and the reigning Nawab of Arcot Muhammad 'Alî Wālājāhi in the late eighteenth century.[9] Incidentally, the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library holds one of several Indian manuscript collections that include or are devoted exclusively to Indo-Persian works, whose holdings might possibly form an appendix of a later volume in this series. As a footnote, it is important to note that South Indian Persian literature was an east coast or Coromandel Coast phenomenon. Neither Persian nor Urdu was used in southwestern India, where Dravidian languages, such as Malayalam, held sway, and local Muslims, if they were connected to the larger Islamic world, knew Arabic or spoke a local patois, as they did in Kerala, where Arabi-Malayalam can still be heard in popular songs.

Alyssa Gabbay's introductory essay and thoughtful introduction to the foundation of Persian as the elite language first raises important questions about "colonialism," "syncretism," "authenticity" or "purity" of the adoption and spread of Persian. In particular she questions what culture or bias Indo-Persian writers exhibited in their writings. Thus in illustrating the verse for the Ghaznavid and Delhi Sultanate periods, Gabbay describes the insularity of poets such as Abu'l-Faraj Runi (d. ca. 1107), who exemplified many of the early Persian poets' bias in ignoring the culture or environment in which they wrote, and she describes how the well-known Mas'ud Sa'd-e Salmān thought India had to be made over in Iran's image, even while writing nostalgically about his hometown of Lahore. She then focuses on two important poets of Delhi, Amîr Khôsrow and Hasan-e Sejzi. In this context it is worth noting that one later Indo-Persian poet, the well-connected Ashraf Māzandarāni (ca. 1620–1704), exhibited what may be the most complete catalogue of conflicted feelings that an Iranian poet expressed for his Iranian home and adopted Indian homeland. Implicitly identifying himself as one of the "destitute Iranians" whose "indigence" led him to migrate to India where "gold is scattered like stars in the night sky," he expressed contradictory feelings for the country where he prospered, but whose culture he found to be a poor copy of the original—that is Iran. Like some of these earlier writers who found employment in wealthy India, he felt, as he said, "mournful in his exile."[10]

Gabbay's discussion of Amir Khôsrow and Hasan-e Sejzi appropriately emphasizes the remarkable range and influence of Khôsrow and both his and Sejzi's devotion to and involvement with the Chishti Sufi Nezâm al-Din Owliyā. A scholar who has written an appreciative study of Khosrow, she conveys the complexity and seeming

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[8]Burhân ibn Hasan, *Tûzak-i Wâlâjâhi*.
[9]Chandrasekharan, *Ruqa'ât-i-Wâlâjâhi*.
[10]Dale, "A Safavid Poet in the Heart of Darkness."

contradictions in his verse in which Khosrow simultaneously praises the conquests of his Delhi Sultanate patrons but also expresses deeply emotional praise for his native Indian homeland that contrasts with the conflicted verse of émigré writers such as Salman or Māzandarāni. As she shows, Sejzi echoes his "Indianness" less comprehensively but effectively in a poem modeled on Nizami's *Layla and Majnun*, but featuring instead two doomed Hindu lovers that "exemplifies the Indianizing of Persian literary culture."[11] Khosrow and Sejzi were both also disciples of Nezâm al-din Owliyā, whom Sejzi memorialized in his engaging *malfuzat*-like memorial to the Chishti saint, the Favā'ed al-fo'ād. Gabbay appropriately concludes her study of these two writers by stressing that they have exerted literary influence far beyond India's borders in both Iran and Central Asia. Bâbur offers an early sixteenth-century anecdote testifying to Khôsrow's fame. In his autobiography he reports that his father, ruling from Akhsı in the bucolic Ferghānah Valley in the late fifteenth century, knew Khosrow's works, which had also been praised by sophisticated literati of Timurid Herat in the fifteenth century. Indeed Khosrow enjoyed an international literary reputation in the eastern Islamic world unmatched by any other Indo-Persian poet—from any era.

Following Gabbay's essay are two closely related chapters: Tariq Rahman's "Teaching of Persian in South Asia" and John R. Perry's, "The Persian Language Sciences in India." Regarding the teaching of Persian and speaking as an individual who arrived in India following formal language study with Lambton's Persian Grammar, I can testify to the continued presence, even in Madras/Chennai, of *munshi*s, who could teach foreigners Persian and who, in my case at least, insisted that I read passages from Sa'di's *Gulistan* before we could turn to examine eighteenth-century Indo-Persian manuscripts—one of which included the mysterious Indo-European term "matchbox."[12] In Madras one text in a Persian college course also used excerpts from Morier's *Haji Baba of Isfahan.* Later in Madras I was able to purchase a copy of Sir William Jones' *Grammar of the Persian Language* and a small volume printed in Ahmedabad, Gujarat in 1966 titled *Muntakhabāt-i Nasr o Nazm-i Fārsi*, "Selections in Persian" used for the Pre-university Arts Examination of 1967, 1968 and 1969. This book includes selections from the *Siāsat Nāmah* of Nizām al-Mulk, the *Bahāristān of Jāmî,* the Ruba'iyat of 'Umar Khayyam and selections from the works of Sa'di.

Rahman makes a number of valuable observations in his article, including the role of *madrasas* as institutes of education, where Hindus could learn Persian, citing as an example Chandra Bhān Brahman, the subject of a recent biography by Rajeev Kinra.[13] He also reminds readers that Persian literature was not theological but poetic, and much of it explicitly or implicitly Sufi, but nonetheless goes on to argue that

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[11]Gabbay, section on "Two Poets of Delhi," *HPL-IX*, 43.

[12]One of my teachers in Madras was Saiyid Hamza Husain, an official Urdu Munshi, who knew Persian and graciously gave me a copy of a his Persian transcription of the *Tadhkirat al-Ansâb*, taken from Manuscript No. 578 in volume II of Subrahmanya Sastri and Chandrasekharan, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Islamic Manuscripts.*

[13]Kinra, *Writing Self, Writing Empire.*

Persian education inculcated a whole set of Muslim cultural values. As he notes, the prestige of Persian persisted well into the British era. The College of Fort William in Calcutta founded in 1800 was perhaps the important institution for teaching the language to British officers. Others learned it from *munshi*s, and this included (Sir) John Malcolm, a subaltern in Madras, East India Company officer official, ambassador to the Qajar court in Tehran, governor of Bombay and finally the author of a massive *History of Persia* in 1815, dedicated to the Duke of Wellington.[14] Rahman also points out that many well-educated Timurid-Mughal women also learned Persian, most notably Awrangzeb's talented daughter Zêb al-Nesā Begum and Jahān-ārā, the daughter of Shāh Jahān.

John Perry follows Rahman's essay with a study of New Persian *farhang*s or Persian dictionaries and he observes that during a nearly 700-year period of Sultanate and Mughal rulers "India was the leading center for the development of Persian lexicography," beginning, interestingly, with Fakhr al-Dîn Mobārakshāh Qavvâs Ghaznavi in 1300, which was published in Tehran in 1974. Perry points out that Persian lexicography greatly benefited from the influx of Iranian literati during Akbar's rule (1556–1605), some of whom prepared *farhang*s commissioned by the Mughal court as part of their effort to purify Indo-Persian. He also points out that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries all Persian *farhang*s cited some vocabulary from Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*. He goes on to discuss the grammar and usage, including interesting comments of the controversy of *este'māl-e-Hend*, or Indian usage, observing how "two principal features distinguished Indo-Persian idiom from the "standard: of Iran (corresponding exactly to the features that in later generations have distinguished Indian English from British English)."[15] He concludes with a brief survey of later Indian lexicographers, including the work of Têk Chand Bahār (d. 1766), whom he characterizes as "one of the most brilliant minds and most popular lexicographers in this galaxy [of late Indian scholars."[16]

Following these chapters on literature, education and language, Blaine Auer has written an essay on 800 years of Indo-Persian historical writing. He does not begin with Persian language works of the Ghaznavid era, but it is worth mentioning here the unique work by the eleventh-century Abu'l Fazl Bayhaqi, the *Tārikh-i Bayhaqi*. Bayhaqi wrote what is arguably the finest Persian history of this New Persian era, perhaps the single most accomplished historical work of an Iranian scholar, a critical, personally informed and balanced historical account of the early Ghaznavid era.[17] It is fair to say, I believe, that no later Persian language history in Iran or India, with the exception of Rashid al-Din's universal history, equaled the critical scholarship and literary polish of Bayhaqi's work.

After citing guides to major collections Auer provides a series of excellent summaries of major Persian language historians of the Sultanate, Mughal and British

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[14]Malcolm, *The History of Persia.*
[15]. Perry, "The Persian Language Sciences in India," *HPL-IX*, 88.
[16]Ibid., 91.
[17]See Kazemi, "Morality and Idealism."

eras, with excursions into works produced in Kalpi and Gujarat and in the wealthy Deccan sultanates. He identifies the Iranian or Persianate references of many Sultanate authors, beginning with standard Islamic allusions to examples of Sasanian justice, such as Fahkr al-Din Modabber, whose 1206 work the *Sharjare-ye ansāb* is regarded as the first Sultanate history. Fakhr al-Din's history is an account of the reign of the Ghurid ruler Mohammad b. Sām and has the character of a *nasîhat nāmeh*, extolling Iranian models, as well as a chronicle. Fakhr al-Din is doubly notable because in his work Taʻrikh-i Fakhruʼd-Din Mubārakshāh and writing in Persian he included a section on the superiority of the Turks, Turkish princes and the Turkish language, an essay on Turkistan, descriptions of the Oghuz and the Jewish Khazars, a specimen of a quatrain in Turkish, descriptions of the Soghdian and Uighur alphabets and a list of Turkish tribes, including the Afshar, the Oghuz Qizilbash tribe whose leader Nāder Shâh Afshār succeeded the Safavids and invaded India in the eighteenth century.[18]

It is impossible to summarize Auer's ambitious survey of Indo-Persian historians, the most notable of whom in the Sultanate era was the courtier and *qādi* Juzjāni (b. 1193), who wrote the most extensive historical account of the early Sultanate era and even provided an account of the Mongol execution of the last ʻAbbasid caliph in 1258, the prolific author of verse histories Amir Khôsrow Dehlâvî (d. 1325) and Dehlavi's contemporary Zîyā al-Dîn Barani. Amir Khosrow was the most famous and in literary terms, the most accomplished historian and, as Auer notes, he was the "first author in India, writing in Persian, to make a significant contribution to the genre of historical narratives in verse."[19] His series of historical *mathnavis* include the *Qerān al-sadeyn*, "The Conjunction of Two Auspicious Stars," the remarkable "tour de force" *Noh Sepehr* or "Nine Heavens" and his stylistically unique *Khazā'en al-fotuh* or "Treasury of Victories."[20] His contemporary, the courtier Zîyā al-Dîn Barani (d. 1357), is generally thought of as the preeminent narrative and didactic historian of the Sultanate era. As Auer notes, Baranî was a reflective scholar, who discussed the worth of history as a discipline. Baranî, who was careful to cite works that he used, lists both Arabic/Islamic titles and a diverse collection of Persian works, including translations of Sasanid-era texts as well as those of earlier Sultanate authors. Baranî, who considered history to have a didactic purpose, wrote one of the most important Sultanate histories, informed by his intimate knowledge of state affairs, the *Tārikh-e Firuzshāhi*, but in terms of the Iranian influence, his work of political theory the *Fatāwā-i Jahāndāri* is in many ways far more interesting.

The *Fatâwa* is the embittered complaint of a displaced *nadim* lamenting that Delhi sultans were far more concerned with their income than their religion. Baranî denounces Sultanate rulers in general, reporting that they not only allowed "infidels and polytheists" to thrive but that these men actually "were pleased with the fact that infidels, Polytheists, idol worshippers and cow dung worshippers build houses like palaces, wear clothes of brocade and ride Arab horses caparisoned with gold

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[18]Marvar-rûdî, *Ta'rikh-i Fakhruʼd-Dîn Mubârakshâh.*
[19]Auer, "Persian Historiography in India," *HPL-IX*, 103.
[20]Ibid., 105.

and silver ornaments."[21] Barani felt that in the decayed, post-Caliphate circumstances of his time sultans had no choice but to act like pre-Islamic Iranian emperors. He cited Iranian examples to justify the appointment highborn individuals, such as himself. With Baranî we get a depressed and dismissed courtier professing a political version of Ashraf Māzandarānî's artfully expressed sense of dismay with India. Auer alludes to Barani's own characterization of his work as didactic, and it is also important to recall that the insightful English historian Peter Hardy wrote an important study of Barani's work, which included comments on several Sultanate historians, in which he discussed the rhetorical nature of Barani's didactic historical texts and critiqued the idea that his work or that of others could be accepted as factual accounts of events.[22]

Auer usefully surveys some of the Persian language histories produced at regional Indo-Muslim courts. He rightly emphasizes the number written in wealthy Gujarat, which emerged as an independent sultanate following Temür's invasion and destruction of the Delhi Sultanate in 1398. Some of these works, such as the *Mirat-i Sikandari*, have been translated into English.[23] Equally important and numerous were Persian language works produced at the Deccan courts, such as the Bahmanids (1347–1527), in central India. One of the earliest of these works was Esāmi's *Fotuh al-salātin*, a poetical work modeled on Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh*, another of the many signs of the currency of this text in India and one in which Mahmud of Ghazna is cited as the "epitome of Persian kingship."[24] When the Russian Anafasy Nikitin visited the Bahmânî sultanate in the 1470s he wrote, referring to this sultanate, "the rulers and nobles in the land of India are all Khorasanians."[25] Other histories were produced at the Ahmednagar, Bijâpûr and Golconda courts, where Iranians and Persian cultural influence was strong. "Fereshta" (1572–1623) is perhaps the most famous of the Persian language historians at these courts for his *Golshan-e Ebrāhimi*, which began with Mahmud of Ghazna but is particularly important because of its thorough coverage of the history of the Deccan sultanates. Iranians and Persianate culture were especially pronounced in the Bijâpûr sultanate (1489–1686), whose rulers were Shi'as.

With the Mughal conquest of Hindustan in 1526 the Persian influence in north India grew even stronger than it had been under the Delhi sultans and in this context it is worth emphasizing the importance of D. N. Marshall's survey of Mughal literature for an understanding of the range of topics that Persian-language scholars produced in these centuries.[26] As a Central Asian Turk Bâbur, the founder of the dynasty spoke and wrote Turki, later classified as Chaghatai Turkish, as his native tongue, but, like so many of his literate contemporaries, he also knew

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[21]Habib, *The Political Theory of the Delhi Sultanate*, 48.
[22]Hardy, *Historians of Medieval India*. Hardy's work is a fundamental historiographical study for the understanding of Indo-Muslim traditional narrative history or any pre-modern Muslim historical text.
[23]The Persian text is cited by Auer, *HPL-IX*, 116–17 and n. 72.
[24]Ibid., 118.
[25]Haidar and Sardar, *Sultans of the Deccan*, 4.
[26]Marshall, *Mughals in India: A Bibliographical Survey*.

Persian and wrote some endearingly bad adolescent verse in that language. His descendants retained some knowledge of Turki, but they did not support its literature. Instead Persian quickly became the dominant administrative and literary language of the dynasty, its officials and the broader Muslim literati. During the reign of Babur's grandson, the emperor Akbar (1556–1605), Persian became ascendant. Two members of the dynasty produced idiosyncratic Persian language memoirs: the first in the late sixteenth century by Bâbur's daughter, Golbadan Begam (c. 1523–1603), and the second by the emperor Jahangir (r. 1605–27). Babur's cousin, Mirzā Mohammad Heydar Dughlat, also wrote an important history of the Mongols and a memoir of his own life with Bâbur and his son Homāyun. Then, from the Akbar's time through the reign of his grandson Shah Jahan Persian-language historical writing proliferated, highlighted by the monumental narrative and administrative work of Akbar's confident and official Abu'l Fazl, who wrote the three-volume *Akbar-nāmeh*. Auer ably surveys the most important examples of the blizzard of Persian-language historical texts that culminated with the illustrated works of Mughal imperial grandeur produced under Shâh Jahān, who carefully supervised their production. Persian-language historical writing continued to be produced during the early years of British rule, but Persian gradually gave way to Urdu and English after English became the East India Company's official language in 1837.

The following articles on "Persian Literature of the Parsis … " and "Ismaili Literature in Persian in Central and South Asia" discuss the literature and culture of two persecuted minority communities with which I am largely unfamiliar, apart from casual friendships. Other readers equally unfamiliar with Parsi and Indian Ismaili culture may respond as appreciatively as I did in valuing these contributions as primers on significant but poorly understood traditions. In this way I found J. M. Choksy's essay on Parsi literature to be not simply a survey of Parsi literature but also an elegant, revelatory introduction to the Indian Parsi community. He notes: "Original compositions by Parsis include both poetry and prose covering semi-historical, religious, and folk topics."[27] Choksy demonstrates how these texts, which date to the fifteenth century and later, illustrate Parsi religious duties, rituals and their mytho-historical memory of their Iranian homeland, which he has described in his many publications. He also explains the particular circumstances of Parsi linguistic history, many of whose members first adopted Gujerati, the language of their predominantly western Indian homeland. Then, as the British took control of the area in the mid-nineteenth century, Parsis adapted to these new circumstances by adopting British customs and the English language, as they became an increasingly secular community. He points out that by 1931 more than half of the Parsi community regarded English as their primary language. This was in contrast to north Indian Muslims who adopted highly Persianized Urdu as their mother tongue, even if they learned English for practical and professional reasons. In all of this it is important to note that for Parsis the *Shāhnāmeh* represented an integral aspect of Parsi culture, rather than just a foundational literary text, a source of aphorisms or an evocation of Iranian

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[27]Choksy, "Persian Literature of the Parsis in India," *HPL-IX*, 140.

imperial traditions. Recitations of the text and "staging of dramatic performances where Persian and Gujarati passages were interwoven were popular ... until the middle of the nineteenth century."[28]

Farhad Daftary, the director of the Institute of Ismaili Studies, more briefly discusses the history of the Ismaili community, some of whose Persian-speaking members settled very early in their history in Afghanistan, Central Asia, the Sind and the Deccan. His description of the Indian Ismaili community forms only a small portion of an article in which Daftary describes the theology and history of the Ismaili sect within the Islamic world and more particularly in Iran. There Nāser-e Khosrow (b. 1004), "theologian, philosopher and a renowned poet in Persian," was the towering Ismaili intellectual, "the last major proponent of the so-called Iranian Ismaili school of philosophical theology."[29] It was in Iran, of course, where a hostile Islamic environment led "the Nezāri Ismailis to produce "military commanders rather than theologians," including Hasan-e Sabbāh (d. 1124) the ruler of Alamut, proponent of assassination and victim of the Mongols. It was also in Iran that Ismailis disguised themselves as Sufis and came to treasure the great mystic poets of Iran as their co-religionists. Nonetheless, with the advent of the Safavids Iranian Ismailis became persecuted anew and one of their leaders, Shah Taher Hosayni (d. ca. 1549), fled to India to avoid execution and settled in the Deccan, where he became a leader of the small preexisting Ismaili community. Daftary describes some Persian-language Ismaili literature from the later history of that community, which was driven from Qajar Iran and settled in Bombay in 1848 led by the Aga Khan I. These include the autobiography of the Aga Khan and a number of religious treatises in Persian, thereby preserving the "Persian literary tradition of Ismailism —a tradition dating back one millennium to the writings of Naser-e Khosrow and Hasan-e Sabbāh."[30]

Daftary's contribution is followed by two other articles on Indo-Persian literature: Fabrizio Speziale on "Persian Medical Literature" and Yves Porter on "Inscriptions and Art-Historical Writing." Speziale's fine, lucid essay is especially stimulating, as it is not just confined to listing Persian-language medical texts on the Avicennan Graeco-Islamic medical tradition, but also describes a number of Persian works composed on Indian/Sanskritic medicine. As he points out, "The production of Persian texts on Indian medicine and sciences must be regarded among the great cross-cultural enterprises realized in the scientific cultures of both the Muslim world and South Asia."[31] His essay covers several aspects of Indo-Persian medical texts. These include Indo-Persian works on the Avicennian tradition, *Yunāni tebb*, written by Iranian emigrants, indigenous South Asian Muslims or even Hindus and Persian texts dealing with indigenous Sanskritic *ayurvedic* medicine, which concentrated initially on useful Indian drugs. He points out that the Iranian Shi'i writers of

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[28]Ibid., 163.
[29]Ibid., 177.
[30]Daftary, "Ismaili Literature in Persian in Central and South Asia," *HPL-IX*, 188.
[31]Speziali, "Persian Medical Literature in South Asia," *HPL-IX*, 192.

medical texts were prominent during the pre-Timurid-Mughal era in the Deccan sultanates, most notably in Shi'i Bijâpûr and then later in Timurid-Mughal India, at whose court Iranian physicians gathered. One such individual, Yusof b. Mohammad "Yusofi" of Herat, was Babur and Humayun's court physician. He wrote a number of medical works, including a summary of Avicenna's work on pulse analysis and the 1530 treatise *Qasidah dar hifz-sihhat* on hygiene, dedicated to Bâbur, who died that year following a series of illnesses in the previous few years.[32] In the nineteenth century Indo-Persian medical literature, like Indo-Persian verse, gradually ceased to be written, as Urdu became the language of Avicennian medical literature.

Yves Porter's essay, "Inscriptions and Art-Historical Writing," is primarily devoted to literature on the arts and crafts but it also includes brief allusions to inscriptions dating to the Sultanate and Mughal eras. The two sections on inscriptions are very brief, for while he alludes to the *Epigraphia Indica of the Archeological Survey of India* he does not mention the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, also known as the Arabic and Persian Supplement of the *Epigraphia Indica*, or such studies as V. S. Bendrey's careful work, *A Study of Muslim Inscriptions*.[33] Otherwise Porter's study focuses on historical texts that contain references to arts and crafts or those that deal explicitly and systematically with these subjects. In the first category he cites works such as the Amîr Khosrow Dehlavi's *Qerān al-saʿdeyn* (1284), which includes details on paper and book manufacture. He continues by citing the many relevant Mughal sources, beginning with Bâbur's Turki autobiography, which contains multiple references to "artistic activity," and then the numerous Persian works that contain information on the arts, such as Abu' Fazl's monumental works the *Ā'in-e Akbari* and *Akbar-nāme* or the emperor Jahangir's memoirs—the memoirs, after all, of an aesthete. Porter points out that Shāh Jahān's buildings were not only the subject of his own historical chronicle but that the Taj Mahal inspired works on geometry and mathematics, such as one written in 1634 by the son of one of the builders, Atā Allah Ostād Ahmed Meʿmār, who also produced a Persian translation of a Sanskrit treatise on algebra, the *Bijganit*. Porter cites several later works, including the important, comprehensive 1846 treatise by Vājed-ʿAli Khan, the *Matlaʿ al-ʿolum va majmaʿ al-fonun*. It is worth mentioning that readers who are interested in Indo-Persian writing on the arts may also wish to consult the indices of Marshall's important bibliography, cited above, the *Mughals in India* vol. I (1967) and Supplementary Part I (1996).

Following the extensive coverage on India are two entries on the two areas where Persian survived largely as a lingua franca, as its wider usage atrophied in the face of numerous and politically dominant Turkic-speaking populations: Anatolia and the Ottoman realms and Uzbekistan. In Anatolia Persian was introduced as an administrative and literary language during the realm of the Seljuq sultans of Rum, who, like their Iranian cousins, demonstrated the Persianate influence in their dynasty by their

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[32]Ibid., 198; and Marshall, *Mughals in India: A Bibliographical Survey*, 496.
[33]Bendrey, *A Study of Muslim Inscriptions*.

evolving dynastic names going from the Oghuz Turki to Muslim to Iranian, beginning with Sultan Kiliç Arslan (1056–92) and effectively concluding with Ala al-Dîn Kayqubād (1220–37) just prior to the Mongol invasions. The earliest historical works in Seljuq Anatolia were written in Persian, which also became the language of administration. Konya also attracted Iranian-speaking literati, most importantly Jalāl-al-Din Rumi (d. 1273). Nonetheless unlike Sultanate and Timurid-Mughal India, where Persian usage originated as an imperial or administrative language of a small number of Turkic rulers and evolved to become the preferred tongue of the literate Indo-Muslim population of northern and central India, in Anatolia Persian drowned in a sea of Islamized Oghuz Turks. In western Anatolia of the Karamanids and Ottomans, Oghuz Turkish evolved to become the administrative and eventually literary language in these regions far removed from substantial Iranian populations.

Sooyong Kim, the author of a recent study of the early Ottoman poet Zati (1471–1546), aptly describes the process by which Persian gradually ceased to be widely used except among a limited literati class, who long preserved their attachment to the language and used it as a literary model even after it long ceased to be widely spoken. He points out that "It is worth mentioning that, for all the states ruled by Turkish dynasties at the time [of the poet]—the Safavids in Iran, the Shaybanids in Central Asia, and the Mughals in India—only the Ottomans made a point of eventually substituting Turkish for Persian as the primary language of court culture."[34] Nonetheless, as he carefully documents, following the conquest of Constantinople Ottoman sultans welcomed Iranians to their court and patronized Persian letters throughout the sixteenth century. Mehmed II invited the astronomical scholar ʿAli Qushji of Samarqand to Istanbul (d. 1474) and gave a stipend to Jāmi (d. 1494) after the poet declined to leave Herat. The prestige of Persian letters long survived among Ottoman rulers and in Ottoman literary circles, but increasingly that meant the cultivation of Persian works translated into Turkish. Mehmed III (1595–1605) effectively ended "the period of high Persian influence at the Ottoman court," but well before this time Turkish had supplanted Persian as the preferred medium of Ottoman court poets.[35] With the intensification of Ottoman-Safavid rivalry few Iranians continued arriving in Istanbul, but the stylistic influence of Persian verse continued throughout the seventeenth century, as exemplified by the works of Nefʿi (d. 1635) and Nābi (d. 1712), both of whom wrote verse modeled on *sabk-e Hendi*, the so-called "Indian style" of Sāʾeb of Tabriz (d. 1677).[36]

Ertuğrul Ökten follows Kim's discussion of Anatolia with an extensive and fascinating survey of "Persian in Central Asia under Uzbek Rule." As he mentions, Persian had first become a literary language in the region under the patronage of the Sāmānids of Bukhara (819–1005), and long continued to be the "classical language for educated Transoxianians of whatever ethnicity," even after waves of Turks had entered the

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[34]Kim, *The Last of an Age*.
[35]Kim, section on "Anatolia and the Ottoman Realms," *HPL-IX*, 233–4.
[36]Ibid., 235–6. Regarding the "Indian style" of Persian verse see especially the comments of Losensky in his important study *Welcoming Fighāni*, 3–4, 40–2.

region and Chaghatai Turkish had become a prose medium for literature and verse during the late Timurid era—in the persons of Babur and Mîr 'Alî Shir Navā'i.[37] Citing the work of the contemporary Uzbek scholar Aftandil Erkinov, he reports that bilingualism in Persian and Turkish was the rule for centuries in the three autonomous centers of literary production, the cities of Bukhara, Khwārazm and Kokand. After first alluding to the existence of the Persian poetical circle of Jāmi and his contemporaries such as Bannāʾi, he cites some of the approximately 150 Persian poets who were active in Khurâsân until the middle of the sixteenth century. He also mentions the presence of 100 poets in Bukhara and forty-five in Samarqand in the first half of the sixteenth century and says that poets in Bukhara modeled themselves on the bilingualism found among writers of the fifteenth-century Herat school, including Sultan Hosayn Bāyqarā (d. 1506), citing many examples of poets who wrote in both languages, favoring the *ghazal* but also persisting with the riddles or *moʿammā*s so beloved of Timurid writers. As a source for sixteenth-century literary history he cites Motrebi's *Tadhkerat al-shoʿarā* (1604), whose author also discussed the technicalities of verse. Interestingly Motrebi, who lived in India from 1626 to 1628, mentions several Central Asian poets who emigrated to India, and the literary wave increased in the late seventeenth century after Bukhara ceased its patronage of court poets. Ökten remarks about this Indian connection that it "must have been" one of the principal causes of the spread of the *sabk-e Hendi* style to Central Asia, although he notes that many poets there had also been directly influenced by Sāʾeb's verse. Nonetheless, he cites the case of Emlā of Bukhara (d. 750–1), who emulated the classical *sabk-e Iraqi* style of the earlier thirteenth through fifteenth centuries.

By this time, though, poetic production had decreased in the corrupt and oppressive Bukharan khānate, although Persian literature continued to be produced there, while in Khokand and Khwarazm, Uzbek gradually became the dominant literary language. Ökten treats these two centers much more briefly, surveying Persian verse in Kokand from the 1780s to the 1920s and Khwarazm only during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He includes an interesting description of the court literary circle of Kokand, and highlights the existence of "accomplished women poets" in the nineteenth century. He also cites a late nineteenth-century Uzbek writer of Kokand Moqimi (1850–1903), who also wrote Persian verse, who was distinctly influenced by Hafez, Saʿdi, Jāmî and the Indian Bedil. His discussion of Khwarazm, the original home of Turki literature, is limited to a few brief paragraphs and mention of a few nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Persian poets, including Āgāhi (d. 1857), a translator who was, perhaps for that reason, familiar with classical Persian literature.[38]

The next two essays in the volume, Keith Hitchens' *Tajik Literature* and R. Fathadi's and John Perry's *Persian Literature in Modern Afghanistan*, both represent major contributions to these subjects. In a very substantial and admirable way they resemble Choksy's fine contribution on the Parsis. That is, they are writing about regions and

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[37]Ökten, "Persian Literature in Central Asia Under Uzbek Rule," *HPL-IX,* 240.
[38]For the history of Central Asian Turkic literature see Eckmann's work *Harezm, Kipçak ve Çağatay Türkçesi üzerine araştırmalar.*

Persian literature not among most scholars' common knowledge of Persianate language and culture. These authors are primarily writing about Persian literature in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—leaving aside here the question in the Tajik case of how to classify the literature in Evgeny Bertels' book on ninth-, tenth- and eleventh-century Persian-Tajik literature.[39] Keith Hitchens, a wide-ranging scholar of Southwest and Central Asian cultures, prefaces his study with a brief discussion of the Tajik situation prior to the 1917 Soviet Revolution, largely focused on Tajik writers in the Bukhara khanate. He discusses their role in the Jadid movement and focuses on the writer Sadriddin ʿAyni (1878–1954), a traditionally educated Persian poet who wrote traditional verse but became socially engaged following the 1905 Russian Revolution.

ʿAyni continued to work for Jadid causes during the First World War and then found himself in a new political and cultural environment after the Soviets created separate Uzbek and Tajik republics. Hitchens traces ʿAyni's long career, as he became "a leading figure of the initial period of Tajik realist prose" in the 1920s and 1930s, providing a compelling example of the evolution of an entirely traditionally trained writer of classical-style verse into a novelist by the late 1930s. Hitchens then traces the activities of Tajik writers during the Second World War as many turned to anti-Nazi Soviet ideology and produced works thoroughly imbued with Soviet socialist realism. He describes how some Tajik writers even turned to the altogether foreign genre of drama under Soviet influence. In the postwar era, and post-Stalinist era, Tajik writers were able to recover some of their artistic autonomy even while the increasing dominance of Russian language left them exposed to new artistic influences. Writing noticeably less ideological literature than earlier times had demanded, they turned to more realist fiction and in both verse and prose depicted individuals' psychology and their social situations. Free verse, however controversial, was gradually introduced and in the 1970s authors such as Bozor Sobir (b. 1928) were influenced by Pushkin and foreign writers to create poetry that engaged with complex personal and political concerns, as in the writings of Loiq Sherali (1941–2000). With the Perestroika period of the 1980s poets not only freely expanded on earlier human themes but also responded to the political opening by expressing concern about the fate of the Tajik language, which had suffered under the Soviet insistence on the supremacy of Russian. Altogether readers will come away from the essay with a sense of the tortured evolution of Tajik literature in the most treacherous political circumstances, and Hitchens concludes with an appropriate observation regarding the difficult and ever-shifting social and political terrain in which Tajik writers have had to work.

> Tajik literature in the twentieth century experienced a drama of its own as political regimes and social systems of diverse intentions succeeded one another: the Manghits and their Tsarist Russian overseers, the Bolsheviks, the Stalinists, the conventional Soviet authoritarians, and, finally, the proponents of independence.

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[39]Bertels, *Istoriya Persidsko-Tadjikskoi Literatury.*

Writers could not help being deeply involved in the processes of social change and thus they were obliged to adapt their art to circumstances over which they had little if any control.[40]

Afghan writers of Persian literature experienced a less ideologically constrained but still politically tumultuous environment. As described by A. G. Rawan Farhadi and John R. Perry, Persian poetry and prose was the administrative and literary language of the first Afghan state formed by Ahmad Shah Dorrānî in 1747 and it remains one of the official languages of Afghanistan in the twenty-first century, while being reclassified as Dari, "the eighth-century term for New Persian."[41] The Dorrānîs themselves composed Persian in both the classical Iranian style as well as in the *sabk-e Hendi* of Sā'eb. Bedil (1644–1720), the Indo-Persian mystical/philosophical poet, became especially influential among Afghan writers, while he has never been popular in Iran.

Afghan Persian writers included Sardar Gholām-Muhammad Tarzi (1830–1900), father of the famous Mahmud Tarzi (1866–1935). Mahmud Tarzi became the major Afghan literary and political intellectual of the early twentieth century. Among many other achievements, he "inspired a group of constitutionalist 'Young Afghans' on the model of the [Ottoman] Young Turks,"[42] and wrote Persian prose and verse in an influential idiomatic, lucid, unadorned style. The nineteenth-century Afghan Persian poets even included a woman, with the *takhallus* or penname *Makhfi* or "Concealed," who wrote classically styled Persian verse. As the authors demonstrate, until very recently nearly all Afghan Persian poets have written verse that observed traditional ʿ*aruz* or prosodic rules and repeated the same topics and imagery found in the classical Persian poetry of Hafez and Saʿdi. They include fascinating but little-known verse a group of Afghan writers produced in response to the persistent conflict with British India, termed *jangnāme-hā*, some of which evoked the great Ferdowsi, as did Tarzi in a 1911 poem written in the meter employed by the author of the *Shāhnāmeh*. Other writers produced prose histories in Persian, beginning with Mahmud al-Hoseyni's mid-eighteenth-century *Tārikh-e Ahmad-Shāhi* and continuing in the late nineteenth century with the important work by Mohammad Kāteb Hazāra, the *Serāj al-tawārikh*, and other works written in traditional narrative style of earlier Persian historical chronicles. Much more recently the writer and government official Ghobār (1897–1978) wrote an innovative study of Ahmad Shah Dorrāni, *Ahmad Shāh Bābā-ye Afghān*, a work notable for "its plain Persian style and broad use of sources."[43] He later wrote a politically radical, ambitious but scholarly history of Afghanistan, infused with democratic and Marxist ideology, which was banned while he was imprisoned.

Rawan Farhadi and Perry devote the final section of their article to a brief account of nationalist historiographical writing and a survey of Afghan prose fictions and lit-

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[40]Hitchens, "Tajik Literature," *HPL-IX*, 339.
[41]Farhadi and Perry, "Persian Literature in Modern Afghanistan," *HPL-IX*, 342.
[42]Ibid., 344, 362–9.
[43]Ibid., 373–5.

erary criticism. A group of politically engaged writers produced works as part of an effort to define an Afghan nationalism. Some examples of their manifesto appeared in the journal *Āryānā*, and asserted that "the area known as Greater Khurâsân was not part of Irānshahr or Greater Iran, but was politically and culturally, the prototype of present-day Afghanistan."[44] Apart from describing this politicized genre, the authors preface their survey of Afghan Persian prose fiction and literary criticism with suggestions that the *dāstān*, tale or saga, and the *hekāyat*, anecdote or story, can be seen as natural precursors of "modern" (read Europeanized) prose literature. Mohammad Tarzi is mentioned again in this context as someone who introduced translations of European short stories in his journal *Serāj al-Akhbār* and who, in 1907, published translations of Jules Verne's novels. The earliest Perso-Afghan novelists actually hailed from British-Indian Punjab, where they were exposed to western literary models. One of the most interesting "modern" Perso-Afghan writers was Sayyed Bahā al-Din Majruh (1928–88), a saiyid who received a western education in France and Germany, where he read Hegel and became interested in Sartre and western existentialism. His four-volume philosophical/political allegory was published just before a Mujahidin faction assassinated him in 1988. Rawan Farhadi and Perry conclude their survey with brief accounts of literature produced in the post-Taliban period, including a Naguib Mahfouz-like work by Akram Osman titled *Kucheh-ye mā*, "Our Street."

The final contributor to this collection is V. B. Moreen, the author of several major monographs on Judeo-Persian literature. She begins her essay by returning to the subject of the rise of New Persian, emphasizing that Iranian Jews produced the first known examples of the "new" language. Among the examples of their use of this revived language she cites inscriptions on tombs near Jām, a copper tablet found on the Malabar coast, the site of the ancient Jewish Cochin community, and a legal document from Ahwaz dated to 1020–21. She goes on to describe Judeo-Persian commentaries on biblical literature and a range of translations of Hebrew and Aramaic *tafsir* texts into Judeo-Persian. Moreen reports that the earliest example of a Judeo-Persian religious text is a translation of the Pentateuch dated to 1319, and writes that in the following centuries scholars produced a wide variety of "biblical books from Prophets, Psalms, Proverbs, Ruth, Job and Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes, Esther and Daniel."[45] As for belles-lettres literature, which was largely poetry, she dates the earliest composition of this verse to the late Mongol lkhanate era that ended in 1336, and discusses a wide variety of transcriptions of classical Persian verse, especially the verse of Saʿdi, Hafez and Jāmi, whose works were transcribed into the Hebrew alphabet. As with other Persian literary traditions discussed in this volume, Ferdowsi's *Shāhnāmeh* was also an influential text for Judeo-Persian, and "exerted a powerful influence on all Judeo-Persian epics."

In discussing Judeo-Persian epic poetry she writes that Mowlānā Shāhin of Shiraz, who wrote in the late Ilkhanate era, was not only the earliest but also the most impor-

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[44]Ibid., 376.
[45]Moreen, "Judeo-Persian Literature," *HPL-IX*, 393.

tant writer of Judeo-Persian verse. An author of *mathnavi*s, whose subject was the Pentateuch, Shāhin employed Iranian literary motifs and Iranian heroic traditions in an apparent effort to produce a Ferdowsi-like Judeo-Persian epic. In her view, Shāhin "Iranized" biblical narratives. She concludes her essay with brief introductions to Judeo-Persian religious and lyrical verse, two Judeo-Persian historical chronicles, written by a grandfather and grandson, which cover events in Iran between 1616 and 1662 and 1721 and the most important work of Judeo-Persian philosophy, Yehudah b. Elʾazar's *Hobot Yehudah*, "The Duties of Judah" (1686), which inculcates fundamental Jewish beliefs in a period marked by Safavid persecution and the appearance of the "false Messiah," Sabbatai Levi (d. 1676) in Istanbul. Finally, Moreen raises the interesting question as to whether Jews knew the Perso-Arabic alphabet. She concludes by hypothesizing that while some scholars read the original Persian texts, most probably knew the literature through transcriptions or oral recitation.

Overall this carefully edited volume introduces readers to a remarkably diverse set of essays on Persian literature, much of which is not widely known to literary and historical scholars of Persian verse and historiography. The essays on the Parsis, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Afghans and Jews are especially welcome introductions to little-known literary traditions and, in varying degrees, to the historical and political environments of their authors. My first question regarding the volume has to do not with the quality of the essays, which is uniformly high, but with their selection and organization. While I sympathize with the problem of organization of such a vast oeuvre, I think it was a mistake to state that the Indian section of the volume deals primarily with prose literature, that another volume on Indo-Persian poetry would follow, but then to introduce a limited essay on Indo-Persian literature in the first chapter. It would have been far more satisfactory to have a single volume devoted to Indo-Persian verse, which might include a chapter on the relation of Indo-Persian language and literature to Urdu. Then a separate volume could be devoted to Indo-Persian prose literature, including not only the Parsis and history, but music, science, Sufism and philosophy. It would have made sense, I believe, to devote a separate volume to Persian literature in Anatolia, Afghanistan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Second, I think that because each essay is separate and distinct unto itself the Introduction needed to do more to explain certain topics to readers. This would include an explanation of the profound literary and political significance of the *Shāhnāmeh*, which is mentioned as having been noted in five essays. It would also include an explanation of the terms *sabk-e Irāqi* and *sabk-e Hendi*, which are alluded to several times but never adequately explained. Who were the *sabk-e Irāqi* poets and what distinguishes their verse from the Indian style. Who were the later poets such as Sāʾeb of Tabriz and Bedil of India? The mention of these writers in discussions of *sabk-e Hendi* is confusing, since the section on Indo-Persian verse ends with the fourteenth century well before the style evolved. Finally, the essay on Judeo-Persian literature would probably fit better in an Iranian volume; it seems out of place here—as it does in the title. There is so much wonderful material here, but after reading and rereading the essays I could not avoid feeling that the volume was a somewhat ill-fitted collection rather than a cohesive whole.

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Reviews

Iraniyat, Melliyat, Qowmiyat, Asghar Schirazi, Tehran: Jahān Ketāb, 1395 (2016), ISBN 978-600-6732-49-7 (pbk), 822 pp.

Few other topics have received as much attention in the field of Iranian studies or have been the subject of as many contentious political debates as those of Iranian national identity, nationalism, and the relationship between ethnic minorities and the state. Over the past century in Iran, nationalist ideologies, in particular, have served as rallying points for opposition movements, rationalizations for repressive state policies, and, more recently in combination with religion, as bases for the legitimization of a quasi-theocratic state. Asghar Schirazi's new book, *Iraniyat, Melliyat, Qowmiyat*, is an outstanding and timely addition to the burgeoning literature on these topics, surpassing other recent works in the depth and breadth of its coverage, objectivity, and careful attention to the pertinent historical contexts for the ideas in question.

The book consists of an introduction, four extensive chapters, and a comprehensive bibliography. It opens with reviews of a number of current theoretical perspectives on nationalism and provides operational definitions for its three major foci, the ideological orientations that the author labels as *Iraniyat*, *melliyat*, and *qowmiyat*. He defines

"*Iraniyat*" or "*Iran-garā'i*" (lit. Iranism or Iranianism) as a set of beliefs that seek to protect Iran as a territory, state, or cultural entity (civilization). In its modern form, the concept has been embraced by intellectuals in their efforts to promote a distinctly Iranian cultural identity and by rulers to bolster or expand their authority. *Melliyat* or *Melli-garā'i*, as defined by the author, is an ideology that promotes popular sovereignty and the rights of a people, as citizens of a nation-state rather than subjects of a ruler, irrespective of their religious, ethnic, or political views. And finally, the term "*qow-miyat*" (which can be translated as "ethnicism") refers to *ethnie*s or ethnic groups, whose loyalties are based mostly on shared language, religion, real or imagined common ancestry, and territorial claims that may extend beyond the borders of a single state. The five chapters that follow the introduction explore these themes over a century-and-a-half of Iranian history from the 1800s to the onset of the Second World War and the abdication of Reza Shah Pahlavi in 1941.

Chapter 1 provides an extensive survey of the writings of several renowned scholars, including Gerardo Gnoli, Bert Fragner, Ehsan Yarshater, Shahrokh Meskoob, Ahmad Ashraf, and Hamid Ahmadi, on the three themes of the book in the pre-Qajar period. As the author notes, the concept of *mellat* (nation), in the modern sense of the term, rather than in its more traditional reference to followers of a religion, did not enter the political discourse in Iran until the last decades of the nineteenth century. However, this did not mean that an Iranian identity needed to be "invented" or "imagined" *de novo* in the late nineteenth century. As Schirazi's extensive review shows, certain elements of a distinctive Iranian *cultural identity*—forged in the pre-Islamic or, more specifically, Sasanian period—had persisted long after the advent of Islam:

> In the Islamic period, governance was mainly in the hands of Arabs, Turks, and Mongols. During this period, the ruling Turks and Mongols called the territory over which they ruled "Iran" ... All its inhabitants, Persians, Arabs, Turks, Kurds, or any other *qowm* [*ethnie*], were subjects of the king and under his command. On this basis, they were all recognized as Iranians. This is not to deny differences or conflicts among or within these *qowm*s, but this was the common factor that bound them together ... Another connecting factor was the Persian language, which served as a common medium of [communication and] understanding among groups with different ethnic loyalties—a role that was also performed by other elements of a common culture, such a literature, which were also mediated mainly through Persian. (pp. 127-8)

In the next chapter, the author focuses on the gradual rise of nationalist thinking in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Influenced by their encounters with the West, a number of mostly secular intellectuals introduced the ideas of the nation, national unity, popular sovereignty, homeland, and patriotism at a time when their country was still in a state of economic, political and social backwardness and faced frequent threats from outside powers. They stressed the need to protect Iran's territorial integrity and independence, criticized the corruption and arbitrariness of the rulers,

and extolled the virtues of modernity and progress. A major difference between Iranian and European nationalism, therefore, was the fact that the latter was born in the context of an already modern civilization, whereas, in the case of Iran, the rise of nationalism, in many ways, preceded modernity. The chapter presents the ideas of several groups of prominent nationalist thinkers in the late Qajar period, including the secular nationalists Akhundzādeh, Kermāni, and Tālebof; "conservative nationalists" Marāghehʾi (in his *Travels of Ebrāhim-Beyg*) and Malkum Khan; enlightened Qajar officials Prince Abbas Mirzā, Hājj Mirzā Āqāsi, Amir Kabir, Moshir al-Dowleh; and the pan-Islamist "al-Afghani." The author then explores the impact of the ideas of these thinkers on Qajar society and politics through a detailed examination of the press, the formation of *anjoman*s (political societies), schools, libraries, and new historiographic genres. The final section of the chapter describes the reactions of the various ethnic groups, including the Azerbaijanis, Kurds, Turkomans, Arabs, and Baluchis, to the rising nationalist sentiments and, more generally, the ramifications of these developments for the Tobacco Revolt of 1891-92 and the impending Constitutional Revolution:

> [T]he nation until the end of this period [the nineteenth century] was still an idea. The nationalists were not describing the ideology of an existing nation, but they were speaking of a nation that was still to be born, or they wanted to create ... The participation of the ethnic elites in propagating the ideas of nation and Iranian nationalism was quite varied and was almost limited to the Azerbaijanis and the Persian speakers. Even the Kurdish, Arab, Baluchi, and Turkoman elites who considered themselves Iranians were more preoccupied with the interests of their tribes, clans, or *qowm*s. The term *mellat* [nation] was acquiring a new, modern meaning in this period and was destined to become a concept whose essential connotation is the sovereignty of the nation ... This change was taking place at a time when ... the cultural underpinnings and the economic, social, and political pre-conditions of nationhood were just sprouting. (pp. 336-7)

Chapter 3 focuses on the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11, which, in Schirazi's view, turned the idea of nation with its emphasis on the principles of popular sovereignty and citizens' fundamental rights into reality. The chapter starts with a review of Mohammad-Ali Forughi's remarkable treatise on *Hoquq-e asāsi yaʿni ādāb-e Mashrutiyat-e doval* (Fundamental Rights as Norms for Constitutional Governments) that laid out the legal framework for constitutional government in great detail. The chapter then draws a comparison between the position of secular constitutionalists vs. Islamists (*mashruteh* vs. *mashruʿeh*) and analyzes the ways in which both viewpoints were incorporated in the 1906 constitution. The influence of nationalist viewpoints on the 1906 constitution is reflected, for example, in the repeated use of the term *mellat* (nation) in its modern sense, i.e. as the source of legitimacy for the government.

Similarly, the word *vatan* (homeland), which traditionally referred to an individual's birthplace, became closely associated with Iran, not merely as a birthplace, but as the progenitor of the nation (*mām-e vatan*). It may be interesting to note that even a cursory look at the fierce debates between the proponents of a secular approach to constitutional governance and those who insisted on basing the new order on Shari'a laws reveals a striking similarity to the debates and maneuverings that took place in the drafting of the Islamic Republic's constitution some seven decades later—a topic that Schirazi's earlier book, *The Constitution of Iran: Politics and the State in the Islamic Republic* (1997), addresses masterfully and in great detail. The remainder of Chapter 3 offers a review of the impact of the constitutional movement on its contemporary press, literature, political parties, and civic life, as well as on various social classes, tribes, women, and ethnic minorities.

Focusing on the period between the First World War and the 1921 coup by Reza Khan, Chapter 4 analyzes the domestic and international conditions that led most supporters of constitutionalism and democracy, including the liberal intellectuals, to modify their positions in favor of a powerful centralized state capable of ensuring national unity, protecting the country's independence and territorial integrity, and moving the country along the path of modernity and progress. The principal reasons for this turnaround, according to Schirazi, were "the fear of external and internal threats and the danger of the loss of the country, its independence, and the calamities and disorders that were tearing the county apart and threatening its territorial integrity" (p. 630). The external threat in question came from the two old imperial powers, the tsarist and later Bolshevik Russia and Great Britain, and the Ottomans who were driven by a pan-Turkist ideology which resonated strongly with some Turkish-speaking Iranians. The internal threats became manifest in several secessionist movements, often supported by outside powers, in Azerbaijan, Gilān, the Kurdish areas, and Khuzestān. It was clearly in response to these threats that nationalist sentiments—or, in Schirazi's terminology, *Iraniyat*—became more dominant. National unity, independence, and protection of Iran's territorial integrity, they argued, required a commitment to greater unity, a single common language (Persian), a centralized government, and above all a capable and powerful leader—even if this meant giving up on the democratic ideals of the constitutional movement.

Finally, Chapter 5 offers a critical evaluation of Reza Shah Pahlavi's reign with a focus on the three main themes of the book. He is given credit for ending the chaotic conditions that had pushed the country to the edge of collapse by pacifying the rebellious tribes and defeating secessionist movements; he is also praised for creating a modern army, a centralized bureaucracy, improving the country's infrastructure, creating a public education system for both sexes, and various other measures to build a modern state. The bulk of the chapter, however, is devoted to citing examples of his autocratic manner of rule, intolerance for any form of dissent, brutality in dealing with rebellious tribes and those that he distrusted (including several prominent state officials who fell out of favor), and his seemingly insatiable appetite for landed properties

that were often seized by force from their private owners. Reza Shah is also criticized for implementing a Persian-only language policy in schools, government offices, and the media, as well as for adopting a uniformist definition of Iranian national identity (*Iraniyat*) based heavily on the presumed Aryan origins of *all* Iranians and the Persian language.

Schirazi's criticisms of Reza Shah's autocratic rule and "uniformist" (*yeksān-sāz*) cultural policies are well-founded and meticulously documented. While many of the justifications for these policies—political stability, national unity, and moderniz-ation—were the same as those that many enlightened Iranians had come to embrace after one of the most turbulent periods in the country's modern history, the undemocratic and ruthless manner in which the policies were implemented turned many of them into ardent critics and opponents of Reza Shah. And yet in any critical evaluation of Reza Shah's rule, it is important to keep in mind that the time he was in power, the 1920s and 1930s, was one in which authoritarian and repressive regimes were the rule no matter in which direction he and his countrymen gazed. The regimes in Turkey, the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, Germany, Spain, and Latin America were hardly more democratic, tolerant, or non-"uniformist" in their policies toward and treatment of their "subalterns" or "others" than the Iranian regime under Reza Shah. Furthermore, the focus on the authoritarian charac-ter and policies of the autocrat at the top tends to ignore the fact that the creation of numerous modern institutions in both public and private sectors and the greatly expanded opportunities for education and training at home and abroad enabled a whole new class of bureaucrats, professionals, technical experts, educators, intellectuals, entrepreneurs, women, artists and ordinary citizens to contribute to the building of a more dynamic and modern society.

One of the merits of *Iraniyat, Melliyat, Qowmiyat* is the inclusion of the perspec-tives, reactions, and involvement of members of various ethnic groups, beyond the Persian-speaking majority, in intellectual debates, journalistic coverage, and political movements over the period that the book covers. Given the nature of the topics covered by the book, the author's scholarly commitment to inclusiveness and plural-ism is particularly germane and critical. It is somewhat surprising, then, that the book pays little or no attention to the status, the views, and the fate of Iran's religious min-orities—the Zoroastrians, Christians (Armenians), Jews, and Bahāʾis—in connection with the topics and developments that it covers. Given the expressed commitment of the liberal nationalists to protect the fundamental rights of all citizens regardless of their religious affiliations, how can an analysis of the most significant and formative political movements in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries ignore the fate of religious minorities?

In its detailed reliance on primary sources, judicious attention to the works of other scholars on the topic, and, above all, by carefully locating his analyses and arguments in their appropriate historical, political, and cultural contexts, Asghar Schirazi's *Iraniyat, Melliyat, Qowmiyat* is an extraordinary scholarly achievement. It is an indispensable contribution, not only to the study of Iranian cultural identity and nationalism, but also to Iran's modern intellectual and social history. One can only hope that its

prodigious author is working on a sequel that would cover the period from where the book ends (the outbreak of the Second World War) to the present.

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Check for updates

The Age of Aryamehr: Late Pahlavi Iran and its Global Entanglements, Roham Alvandi (ed.), London: Gingko, 2018, ISBN 978-1-909942-18-9 (hbk), 291 pp.

Roham Alvandi notes in the introductory chapter to the volume under review that the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi "marked the high-point of Iran's global inter-connectedness" (p. 1). As editor, Alvandi issues a call for scholars "to escape the boundaries of national history and examine the international and transnational threads that connected Iran to the world." *The Age of Aryamehr* succeeds in contributing to "the globalisation of the historiography of modern Iran" (p. 26) and reveals the emerging interpretive schisms in that historiography.

Eight contributors fuse questions from Iranian studies with frameworks from international history, a field that examines multidirectional global flows and "power" in its many forms. Most chapters are interested in the power and prestige of the Pahlavi dynasty, mainly, but not exclusively, during its final two decades. In the introduction Alvandi offers a framework that can be described as the "global Cold War" meets "Pahlavism."[1] More important, the book embodies two schools of "Pahlavi Revisionism."[2] The first sees the shah as an "autonomous" actor on the world stage, and the second makes the case that Pahlavi elites were "cosmopolitan."

"Autonomy" has multiple meanings in the historiography. Mark Gasiorowski utilized the concept to demonstrate how the US–Iran relationship empowered the shah to "resist political pressures from domestic social groups" and become "divorced from the interests and needs of society."[3] This is not the kind of autonomy discussed in Alvandi's volume. Instead, the contributors collectively contend that the shah broke free from patron–client relationships to become a tour de force on the international scene during the 1960s and 1970s. At least three authors explicitly situate their arguments within this framework (pp. 38, 95–6, 260n. 1).[4]

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[1] Westad, *The Global Cold War*; Shakibi, *Pahlavi Iran and the Politics of Occidentalism*.
[2] This term is used in a range of contexts, but it is often used to describe Cooper, *The Fall of Heaven*. See Alvandi, "Review of *The Fall of Heaven*."
[3] Gasiorowski, *U.S. Foreign Policy and the Shah*, xii–xiii.
[4] Alvandi, *Nixon, Kissinger, and the Shah*; Castiglioni, "No Longer a Client."

Whether in economic or drug policy, Ramin Nassehi and Maziyar Ghiabi demonstrate that "the Iranian state often adopted the modernization impetus on its own terms" (p. 103). Nassehi's most original contribution relates to how Iran's technocrats lost faith in Walt Rostow's modernization theory after the economic crisis of 1960, turning instead to the ideas of Raúl Prebisch and Import Substitution Industrialization. Ghiabi explains how the shah's drug policies ebbed and flowed in relation to his relative dependence on, or autonomy from, the United States. Opium and heroin prohibition began in 1955 but was repealed for a "coupon system" in 1969, "most symbolically, when the newly-elected US President Richard Nixon declared a 'War on Drugs'" (p. 95).

A third example of the autonomy argument can be found in Cyrus Schayegh's chapter on "the shah's worldwide political diplomatic offensive" (p. 264). To illustrate the point, Schayegh explains how the shah engaged with all Cold War blocs and established relations with North Vietnam in 1973, despite the views of "Iran's US patron of old" (p. 263). In deconstructing the *tamaddon-e bozorg*, or Great Civilization, Schayegh offers new insights by shifting the focus away from the "forces emerging victorious from the 1970s" (pp. 281–2). Left unaddressed is how, precisely, the shah's domestic autonomy may have been a prerequisite for such alleged international autonomy.

A second school of revisionism is inspired by Abbas Milani, whose detailed biographical portraits have humanized the major figures of the Pahlavi period.[5] Four chapters move beyond the autonomy argument and portray the royal family as flagbearers of what Alvandi describes as "elite cosmopolitan worldliness in an era characterised by populist nativism" (p. 22).

These chapters are biographical and/or center on major cultural projects of the late Pahlavi period. Robert Steele's well-researched chapter on Persepolis, October 1971, is based on the assumption that "the sustained media scrutiny and vociferous domestic opposition to the Celebrations give the impression that they were a resounding failure" (p. 111) and, for that reason, are in need of revision.[6] Such an approach appears more subtly in the two chapters by Houchang Chehabi. He turns first to Prime Minister Amir Abbas Hoveyda, a "cosmopolitan dandy" (p. 147), and then to the Shiraz Arts Festival and Empress Farah Diba. Chehabi finds that the shah's "autocratic formality" stood in contrast to her approach "that was reflected in the atmosphere that reigned at Shiraz and Persepolis" (p. 197). In another chapter, Samine Tabatabaei argues that the Tehran Museum of Contemporary Art, which opened in 1977 under the direction of the empress' cousin, created a "cosmopolitan coevalness" (p. 203) between Iran and the world.

A problematic inherent to both schools of Pahlavi revisionism, but especially the second, is their elitism.[7] The most important actors in *Age of Aryamehr* are, not surprisingly, the shahanshah and shahbanou alongside their relatives, confidants, and servants. The only exception is Claudia Castiglioni's excellent chapter on the ties between Euro-

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[5]Milani, *The Persian Sphinx*; Milani, *Eminent Persians*; Milani, *The Shah*.

[6]Other scholars acknowledge the Orientalist tone of the American media but find a lack of critical coverage on the event. Dorman and Farhang, *The US Press and Iran*, 120.

[7]This is similar to Ferguson et al., *The Shock of the Global*.

pean intellectuals and anti-shah Iranian organizers. Some chapters sidestep key historical issues in attempts to rehabilitate the memory of the monarchy. Most chapters portray the Pahlavis, not as "frustrated democrat[s],"[8] but as enlightened elites managing change in "the post-liberal age of Aryamehr" (p. 13). One is reminded of Arthur Marwick's provocative global history of the "long sixties" in which the preferred change agents were those who exercised "measured judgement" against radical movements that, to Marwick, championed the "Great Marxisant Fallacy."[9]

To Alvandi, an elite-driven "dialogue of civilisations" signaled "the state's response to the narrative of *gharbzadegi*" (p. 22). However, when writing about the Great Civilization, Alvandi oddly reminds readers that "Pahlavi Iran was hardly unique amongst sultanistic regimes of the era in seeking legitimisation through such invented forms of nativism" (p. 14). These contradictions reveal the false binary that drives the interpretive framework, tilts the history unnecessarily toward Pahlavi elites and away from transnational social movements, and ignores the possibility that both the regime and the opposition borrowed from cosmopolitan and nativist discourses. Moreover, without engaging with scholars such as Hamid Dabashi and Ramin Jahanbegloo, readers are left wondering what exactly is meant by "cosmopolitanism." Dabashi's protagonists were certainly not the Pahlavis, but rather the country's writers, artists, intellectuals, and others that defied the state and contributed to a revolutionary praxis that defies simple categorization.[10]

Interpretive questions aside, the rich bibliographies display how these scholars so ably globalize the history of late Pahlavi Iran. There is a range of Persian-language material, including issues of *Ettelāʿāt*, records from the Central Bank of Iran, speeches and writings by the royal family, and SAVAK reports. Diplomatic documents from the United States, Great Britain, and the Netherlands are used in creative ways. The records of intergovernmental organizations are featured, especially those of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. The Paris-based UNESCO archives and the Bibliothèque de Documentation International Contemporaine are cited, as are the papers of Fred Halliday located at the London School of Economics. Multiple chapters utilize the English- and Persian-language interviews in Harvard University's Iranian Oral History Collection, along with those with the Foundation for Iranian Studies.

Are the 1960s and 1970s best described as "the Age of Aryamehr"? Probably not. But the chapters make a compelling case for globalizing the historiography of modern Iran, and the book makes an important intervention by adding the Iranian case to international histories of the 1960s and 1970s. Both are welcome developments.

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Another Season, A Bilingual Edition with Critical Introduction, Annotations and Archival Material, Freydoun Farokhzad, ed. and trans. Nima Mina, London: Mehri Publication, 2019, ISBN 978-19993747-9-2, paperback, 160 pp.

This collection of Freydoun Farokhzad's[1] poems, *Andere Jahreszeit* (Another Season), written in German and translated into English by Nima Mina, introduces readers to aspects of Farokhzad's work that have been occluded by his reputation as singer, songwriter, and TV and radio entertainer in Iran prior to the 1979 revolution. Iranians

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[1]Nima Mina has retained the transliteration of Freydoun Farokhzad used in Germany.

who remember Farokhzad from the TV and radio shows he hosted, *Mikhak-e Noqreh'i* (Silver Carnation), *The National Show*, *Salam Hamsāyeh-hā*, and *Bozorgtarin Namāyesh-e Hafteh*, will be pleasantly surprised to discover the less well-known facet of his artistic work.

Long before Farokhzad rose to prominence for his role in the Iranian TV industry, he had published poetry in German while he attended university. In 1963 eleven of his poems were published in the literary yearbook *Vorzeichen 2*, alongside works by prominent German writers of the time. A year later, he published a book of poetry, *Andere Jahrzeit* (Another Season), for which he received the literary award of the city of Berlin. This book of poetry is included in the collection edited and masterfully translated into English by Nima Mina and consists of four chapters: "Thought in Persian, Spoken in German," "Portrait of a Country," "Experience," and "What I Have Left to Say." The German original of all the poems appear alongside the English renderings by Mina, making the volume an excellent resource for students and scholars of comparative literature and translation studies. Also included is an afterword written by Johannes Bobrowski, a German literary figure who joined the anti-Nazi movement and fought on the eastern and western fronts during the Second World War. After the Berlin Wall was erected, Bobrowski chose to live in East Berlin despite the fact that he was not a communist and belonged to one of the five non-communist parties. In addition to Bobrowski's commentary, Mina includes the poem "The Autumn" as well as reproductions of a handwritten letter and postcard addressed by Farokhzad to Bobrowski.

Mina's informative introduction is richly enhanced by his archival research and interviews he conducted with members of Farokhzad's family, friends, and acquaintances. In his introduction, Mina traces Farokhzad's trajectory from his early schooling in Iran to his university education in Germany. When Farokhzad left for Germany, he was twenty-two and, notwithstanding his age, he acquired German rather quickly. Subsequently he completed a master's degree in political science at Ludwig Maximilien University in Munich and wrote a thesis on the relationship between the state and the Protestant church in the German Democratic Republic. He had embarked on a doctoral thesis, "Marx, Engels, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg and the Polish Question," which he abandoned to return to Iran after his sister's death in a car accident in February 1967. On his return, Farokhzad was accompanied by his wife, Anja Buczkowski, a writer and actress, whom he married in 1962, and their son, Rostam. Farokhzad remained in Iran after the marriage ended and he became one of the most successful figures in Iranian popular culture, but his career as an entertainer and TV personality came to a halt after the 1979 revolution.

Farokhzad was initially sympathetic toward the revolutionary movement and provided support in the form of aid for those injured in the demonstrations against the monarchy. But soon after the success of the revolution, like other celebrities and entertainers, he was convened by the revolutionary tribunal and forced to sign an agreement stipulating that he would refrain from public performances considered anathema to the new Islamic ideals and codes of conduct and appearance. The tribunal also confiscated some of his property. Like many other members of the Iranian entertainment

industry, Farokhzad was profoundly disillusioned with the outcome of the revolution and distanced himself from it.

After his flight from Iran in 1982, Farokhzad joined Iranian opposition forces and drew on his popularity to galvanize large crowds against the regime. He was equally active in assisting underage Iranian POWs in Iraq: "He travelled to Iraq three times on behalf of UNICEF, and each time brought between 25 and 30 of these children back to Europe with him" (p. 10). He joined the organization Derafsh-e Kāviāni, founded by Manuchehr Ganji in Paris, and moderated one of their shortwave radio shows. Farokhzad's opposition to the revolutionary regime did not go unnoticed. In August 1992, when he was living in Bonn, he was stabbed to death and beheaded by three individuals, believed to have been agents of the Islamic Republic. While Farokhzad's gruesome murder was investigated by the German Federal Office of Criminal Investigation (Bundeskriminalamt) and Interpol and the assassins were identified, no one was charged with the crime. Mina attributes this inaction to the German government's interest in establishing closer diplomatic and economic ties with Iran which would have been jeopardized had the investigations led to arrests and trials.

In the portrait Mina paints of Freydoun Farokhzad, he is careful not to have Forugh Farrokhzad's reputation overshadow her younger brother's contributions to Iranian culture. Citing from correspondence between the siblings, he reveals Forugh's support for her brother's poetry and his pursuit of literary creativity. Farokhzad was also warmly received by Bozorg Alavi, an Iranian writer who lived in exile in East Berlin, where Farokhzad visited him. One of the poems, "Persian Women," is dedicated to Alavi.

The poems range in length and, as indicated by the chapter titles, theme. Mina describes the poems in the first and second chapters as imagistic "with no specific, named local references. They express the sensory perceptions of a detached, lyrical 'I' who is confronted with a new environment," which the speaker does not perceive as alienating but rather attempts to comprehend and imbue with a "homelike feeling" (p. 26). In contrast, Mina sees the poems in the third and fourth chapters as more abstract and yet focused on historical and political events from the atom bomb to racial segregation, to Berlin as a divided city, to dictatorship. Farokhzad conveys his keen observations in a language and style Bobrowski does not see as a mere product of imitation:

> I think that with these poems something new has happened, something we should not allow quickly identifiable influences to disguise: the naturalness we notice in the language extends all the way to the metaphors; they immediately gain life and energy from the initial situation so that they evolve into actions and able to grow, walk, to fly. (p. 145)

The poems about Iran, or the speaker's impressions of his homeland, exhibit at once a sense of longing and an acute awareness of realities that cut through the veneer of the familiar and the treasured, as in the example of "Avowal":

My fatherland
The land of roses
and nightingales

Wilted roses
Mute nightingales. (p. 88)

The poem's invocation of the classical Persian tropes of roses and nightingales sets up an expectation of their affirmation, but instead they are revealed to be emptied out of any association with the sublime and the otherworldly. In Farokhzad's keen observations, we see a desire to translate and bring across impressions of home and homeland without glossing over the discordant and the disturbing. For instance, the poem "Land in Shade" begins with images of violence that set the stage for an inevitable departure: "thus I leave that I'll no longer / have to enchain/my words" (p. 94). Written long before Farokhzad's flight from post-revolution Iran, these poems foreshadow the exile Farokhzad and countless other Iranians were to experience in the decades after the revolution. They also remind us of the persistence of political oppression in spite of a revolution whose objective was to end tyranny.

Freydoun Farokhzad: Another Season is a welcome addition to the Iranian cultural history and will serve scholars and amateurs alike. The collection will also shed light on the hopes of a generation that sacrificed a great deal for ideals which were never realized. Nima Mina is to be applauded for deepening our understanding of Farokhzad's multifaceted contributions to modern Iranian culture and its global reach.

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Check for updates

In Memoriam

Check for updates

Sayyed Mohammad Dabirsiyāqi (24 February 1920–8 October 2018) Educator, Writer, Editor, and Scholar of Classical Persian Literature

From Qazvin to Tus: A Personal Memoir

The name of Dr. Sayyed Mohammad Dabirsiyāqi has lingered in my mind ever since the day I came to know books, and began to read the poetry of Manuchehri and Farrokhi and memorize their long *qasida*s in my youth. Of course, in those years I was studying in the corner of some county in south Khorasan. I never could have imagined that, one day, I would become a colleague and confidant of the owner of that name: how could I ever think myself deserving of his special friendship, kindness, and affection? Some time later, when I could use dictionaries and would see the *Loghat al-Fors* and the *Ānandrāj* in the libraries, once again the name of Dabirsiyāqi shone out; let's say that I still didn't understand the phrase "through the efforts of" (*be ehtemām*) very well.

Years passed, and my path took me to the Dehkhodā Lexicon Institute in Tehran. If I am not mistaken, it was in that very Institute that I first saw that open face and high forehead. I had gone to the Institute to obtain the volumes of the *Loghat-nāmeh* when I saw, written on the back of the door to the Deputy Office of the *Loghat-nāmeh*, "Dr. Sayyed Mohammad Dabirsiyāqi." I went inside on some pretext and said "hello"; with this, a bond of friendship, initiated by the one side, was firmly established between us.

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To the soul of the great Dr. Gholām-Hosayn Yusofi, who expended such efforts to set up and advance doctoral studies in Persian language and literature, my greetings! A source of that effort is connected with the topic of our discussion, namely Dr. Dabir-siyāqi. The matter is as follows: after the initial doctoral program in Persian Language and Literature that was founded at Tehran University, the doctoral program in Mashhad was established through the boundless efforts and perseverance of the late Yusofi in the year 1355 (1976). In that inaugural year, one of Yusofi's ideas for elevating this program—to the enormous benefit of the students—was to invite some famous pro-fessors from Tehran to lead seminars in their respective fields of specialization. I remem-ber such luminaries as Ahmad Ārām, Iraj Afshār, Ahmad Tafazzoli, Hosayn Karimān, and Mohammad Dabirsiyāqi, among others, being part of that program. Each one of them stayed at our university one week, and every day, for a number of hours, they would give talks to the students on some topic or other. I, too, having joined the faculty the previous year, sat in and audited these classes and benefited from those scho-lars' generous presence. I remember that Dr. Dabirsiyāqi, who was the Deputy to Dr. Shahidi at the Dehkhodā Lexicon Institute at the time, gave it his all and discussed Persian dictionaries and lexicography every day over the course of the entire week. I truly learned lexicography—its meaning, its importance, its sources—from Dabirsiyāqi.

Those were the years—before the Moscow *Shāhnāmeh*—that the edition by Dabir-siyāqi formed the basis of *Shāhnāmeh* studies; I too, having become familiar with this edition in my high school courses, would refer to it in all of my works and studies related to the *Shāhnameh*. When I had become totally absorbed in the world of the *Shāhnāmeh*, Dabirsiyāqi's two-volume concordance came out in 1348 (1969), and ever since then it has been like an extension of my hand in referring to the text. There were not the computerized systems and Internet searches back in those years that we have now.

In Ordibehesht 1385 (April-May 2006) we rolled up our sleeves and organized a large conference in the Ferdowsi Cultural Center (*Farhangsarā-ye Ferdowsi*), which I had recently established as an NGO, with the participation of all the world-renowned *Shāhnāmeh* scholars under the title "*Shāhnāmeh* Textual Studies: from Shiraz to Tus." Dabirsiyāqi, with his chic clothes and impeccable tie, was there in our gathering, sitting next to M.-N. Osmanov (Russia), Iraj Afshār, Mohammad-ʿAli Eslāmi-Nodushan, Djalal Khaleghi-Motlagh, Mahmoud Omidsalar, Chander Shekhar (India), ʿAli Ravāqi, Mir Jalāl al-Din Kazzāzi, Rasul Hādizādeh (Tajikistan), and dozens of other well-known faces. Dabirsiyāqi spoke about the editing of the *Shāhnāmeh* and proudly defended the national identity of Iran.

In the last years of his life, Professor Dabirsiyāqi abandoned the dystopia of Tehran to seek repose in Qazvin, his beloved birthplace. By means of the friendship that, from Rasht and Qazvin to Tehran and Mashhad, had been "performing the walk of Safa and Marwa" between us, I was kept apprised of his heath, and letters were in constant exchange. In the last days of 1388 (2010), Bayhaqi's *History*, edited by myself and my friend Mahdi Sayyedi, with notes and detailed commentary in two volumes, came out. I had not sent it to him, but he procured the book from somewhere and, with his friends, carefully investigated many of its subjects. I had invited him to participate

again in an annual conference in honor of Ferdowsi in Mashhad; then, in Farvardin of 1390 (March-April 2011), a long letter from Dabirsiyāqi arrived at my address, written in an elegant hand and bearing many compliments. After the pleasantries, he had written:

> Following my greetings and submission of friendship and gratitude for the invitation to the celebrations in Tus and to visiting the *Āstān-e Qods-e Rezavi*, and with regrets for my inability to travel due to age and indisposition; if I might trouble you with a few points about the *History* and your valuable work in the two-volume edition. I read both volumes carefully and praised its newly-discovered insights and comprehensive, useful explanations. For the last fifteen years, we have been hosting a weekly meeting on Wednesday afternoons with a group of university professors and local scholars (both ladies and gentlemen), where we have systematically read the *Shāhnāmeh*, then the *Golestān* and *Bustān*, then *Vis and Rāmin* and the masnavis of Shāh Dāʿi-Allāh Shirazi; in the last two years, we have carefully read Bayhaqi's *History* in turns, along with the necessary explanations, for which your edited copy—along with previous editions by the late Dr. Fayyāz, the late Dr. Saʿid Naficy, ʿAbd al-Hosayn Ehsāni, and the late Ahmad Adib Peshawari—was consulted. Although some in that gathering insisted that there are points in your edition that need to be revised and should be published in a journal or periodical, I refused; for the work of editing these days has mostly become a venue for nit-picking and pedantry, not guidance and correction. Your efforts on Bayhaqi's work carry such value that only some points in need of amendment will be noted so that they could be rectified in the next printing, and that's enough.

After that, he brought up in detail a great number of issues concerning both typos and errors, some of which we had been aware of ourselves, with such generous patience and accuracy that it elicited the reader's praise and admiration. Whether authoring *The Vanguards of Persian Poetry* (*Pishāhangān-e sheʿr-e fārsi*) or editing and publishing the divans of the outstanding poets of the Ghaznavid era (Farrokhi, Manuchehri, and ʿOnsori), Dabirsiyāqi had few peers in the study of the literature of Khorasan.

After reading the letter, and comparing the topics with the text, I immediately called him and thanked him for all his insight, precision, and equanimity. At the same time, I firmly insisted that he publish these views and critiques anywhere he deemed appropriate, or that he allow me to take them to be published somewhere. With complete humility, he declared that he had written these matters for me purely with the aim of correcting them, and there was absolutely no need to publish them. I was humbled and said, "he lays the fruit-laden branch upon the ground."[1] I included all of his suggestions in the notes of the revised edition in order to acknowledge and thank him. When I went to Qazvin on 26 Mordad

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[1] This is a quote from Saʿdi's *Bustān*, chapter 4 (line 2471 in Yusofi's edition), when ʿUmar goes out of his way to apologize for a slight offense; in this way, remarks the poet, do the great humble themselves before their inferiors.

1397 (17 August 2018), I sought to call on Dabirsiyāqi, but I was told that he was in absolutely no state for visitors. Never will that handsome appearance and engaging grin of his, which I believe he had inherited from his fellow Qazvinis ʿObayd Zākāni and ʿAli-Akbar Dehkhodā, be far from my thoughts, until ...

Alas, that "the event happens before you think!"[2]

Mohammad-Jafar Yahaghi
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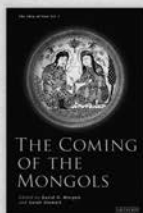
Translated from the Persian by Cameron Cross
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor

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[2]From Forugh Farrokhzād's poem *Imān biyāvarim be āghāz-e fasl-e sard*. The passage reads: "I told my mother: 'It's all over now.' / I said, 'It always happens before you think / We must put our condolence notice in the paper'" (trans. by Hasan Javadi and Susan Sallée, Mage, 2010).