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Medieval Persian Texts and Modern Contexts: Mohammad Qazvini
and the Modern Reception of *Chahār Maqāle* (*The Four Discourses*)

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Abstract

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This five-chapter dissertation engages two conventionally separated fields—Modern Perso-Islamic textual criticism inaugurated by Mohammed Qazvini in the context of early 20th-century Iran and Orientalist scholarship, and post-modernist literary theory—to examine the significance of *Chahār Maqāle* for the intellectual discourse of modernity in Iran. Modern Textual Criticism applies its scientific philological research to the historical restoration of texts, ordinarily in a systematic method of excavation, documentation and establishment of the textual history, removal of non-authorial interpolations, avoidance of personal influence, and restoration of an original-authorial text. Post-modernist literary theory provides analytical tools for reading texts and editions within their respective *milieux* as historical products capable of trans-historical continuity. In particular this dissertation argues that the original and the reproduced versions of the text each reveals nuances of a particular historical moment that are not directly retrievable from antiquity, yet both versions share a continuing concern for

recovering elements of Iranian identity, frequently obscured by the effects of a long history of Islamization.

By deconstructing the rhetoric, form and structure in *Chahār Maqāle* in the milieu of its production, this interdisciplinary study explicates several layers of authorial and non-authorial intentionality in the work and argues that Qazvini's interest in this text was partly due to such textual potentials. Critical discourse analysis of Qazvini's methodological techniques and critical views in the context of Iranians' transformation in the modern nation-state era shows that Qazvini's reception and reconstruction of this text was the convergence of a response to the purist tendency in the modern discourse of Iranian national identity, and the continuum of Iranians' collective endeavor to grasp Iran as a distinct cultural and political entity. Qazvini's Perso-Islamic model of identity, discernible from his critical views and methodology, gained momentum in the 1920s through Berlin based journals, and in the 1930s through cultural activities under Rezā Shah's nationalism agenda. By applying cultural understanding to text and textual criticism, the dissertation also challenges the disciplinary character of current Iranian studies, certain philological premises of traditional textual criticism, and the restricted and problematic view of authorial intentionality in current literary theory.

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DEDICATION

To the memory of my brother, Seifollāh whose third year of eternal departure coincided with my defense of this dissertation, and to the memory of my parents from whom I learned perseverance and devotion.

Introduction: *Chahār Maqāle* in the 20th Century



Figure 1. “The Secretary of the Caliph Distracted by His Maidenservant”

Nezāmi ‘Arūzi Samarqāndi *Chahār Maqāle*. 1431. MS T-1954. FI-R12. Museum of Turkish and Islamic Arts, Istanbul. Cited from Eleanor Sims et al., *Peerless Images: Persian Painting and Its Sources*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002, p194. Image107.

Section 1- Methods, Models and Texts

In this dissertation I will examine, from an interdisciplinary point of view, the medieval Persian treatise, *Chahār Maqāle* (1156-57) by Nezāmi ‘Aruzi Samarqandi (d. after 1157) and its critical edition (1910) by the pioneering Iranian scholar, Mohammad Qazvini (1877-1949). As a project in textual studies, through a close reading of the text, its critical-editorial issues, and relevant historical contexts, I try to unearth the impact of socio-political circumstances on the modality of the text and its edition. Hence, the dissertation benefits from research in other disciplines of the humanities, particularly literary criticism, history, philosophy and other cultural products and practices to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the text and textual criticism as cultural activities that draw upon several arrays of the nation’s collective memory, concerns, and consciousness. The main argument as such emerges from a number of other arguments through successive chapters. My methodology employs critical discourse analysis and comparison-contrast technique. My theoretical framework draws upon Foucault’s notion of discourse and Bakhtin’s mode of dialogic thinking. The study is cast in an introduction, five chapters and a conclusion. There is also an appendix, providing additional details from textual reproductions and related materials.

Qazvini’s edition is an early work in a series of groundbreaking editing projects carried out through a Qazvini-Browne-Gibb Memorial Trust collaboration that inaugurated the discipline of modern Persian studies. It is now over one hundred years that Qazvini’s rendition as pervasively mediated the reading of *Chahār Maqāle*. His *Chahār Maqāle*, directly or through Mohammad Mo’in’s glossed edition (1331/1952)

and variorum (1334/1955)¹ which were based on Qazvini's, has been used as the copy-text in all the subsequent editions and translations and the most recent reading edition in 2002.² *Chahār Maqāle* and Qazvini each has received separate scholarly attention. But no scholarly enquiry has been done on the critical and editorial character of this edition in connection with the editor. From a more comprehensive view, scholarly enquiry about inception/genesis of Persian textual criticism is far behind scholarly attention dedicated to other forms of Persian literature. One of the main contributions of the dissertation is to open a new venue in Persian studies where scholarship becomes the subject of its own enquiry from an interdisciplinary point of view; it is at once the means and the end, and also the subject of enquiry by other disciplines. Far from making any claim for the self-sustainability of textual criticism, I argue that if we agreed that texts are culture-specific then the study of textual criticism is the study of culture.

For one thing, this examination of *Chahār Maqāle* indicates that Qazvini's edition is informed by nuances and limits of the context in which he was nurtured and in which he worked. It also reveals a number of issues that have remained unexplored and unaddressed by later critics and readers. I argue that a critical edition, even by a most accurate intention of fidelity to the author's text, is only an "accented"³ or "appropriated"⁴ version of the text. It speaks to, and converses with limits,—both human

¹ On the library catalogue label the year is converted to 1955-1957; since in the original edition the year is in solar calendar, I resolve it tentatively to 1955, assuming that the variorum must have been released in the mid-winter of 1333 or in 1334, according to another copy of the book that coincides with the new year in the Christian calendar. Unless otherwise stated, all references here to Mo'in are to this edition.

² Nezāmi 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahār Maqāle, Chehel Hekāyat. Bāznevisi-ye Majma' al-Navāder (Chahār Maqāle)*. (Ed.) Maryam Majidi, Tehran: Mo'assesse-ye Farhangi-ye Ahl-e Qalam, 1381/2002.

³ I borrow from the title of Hamid Naficy, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking*. Princeton: Princeton UP, 2001.

⁴ This concept, originally by Foucault, I borrow from Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak's description of critical editing in "Introduction: Iran's Literature 1977-1997" in *Iranian Studies*. 30:3-4. (Summer/Fall 1997): (193-213), p 206.

and technological demands—and the sensibility of a particular historical moment that are not retrievable in other historical circumstances. Yet, a critical edition stands in continuity with the original text within a common discursive sphere around common concerns and sensibilities that embraces both historical moments, although through different modes of consciousness. Central to this view is the connection between literary criticism and textual editing. Thus, just as *Chahār Maqāle* carries nuances of the past to the consciousness of its time, the twentieth century edition also appropriates the text as the carrier of cultural memory and situates it in conversation with the present. Redefinition of the Iranian national identity lies at the heart of this sensibility.

My arguments draw upon insight from this comparative study, and are developed within a theoretical frame that combines the societal character of discourse in Foucault's conception with historicity, and interactive attributes in Bakhtin's conception of utterance and dialogism. Foucault renders discourse as "the general domain of statements" where statement could be any utterance or text, which is "governed" by rules, or it is "sometimes as a regulated practice that accounts for a number of statements"⁵ that depends on conditions to allow for its emergence. Norman Fairclough redefines the term in a way that is relevant to the present discussion. He stresses that a discourse is loaded with a perspective on the world, so "they [discourses] have different relations people have to the world, which in turn depends on their positions in the world, their social and personal identities, and the social relationships in which they stand to other people."⁶

Regulated statements, according to Foucault, make their way in the work through the

⁵ Michel Foucault, "The Order of Discourse" in Michael Shapiro (Ed.) *Language and Politics*, New York: New York Press, 1984. (108-138).

⁶ Norman Fairclough, *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London; New York: Routledge, 2003. (123-124).

author, not by her/him. In other words, the prevailing sensibility speaks through the author. Hence he speaks of authorship in terms of the regulators of “contours of texts” emerging within the sphere around certain texts that do share commonality of the mode of “existence, circulation and operation of certain discourses within a society.”⁷

The correspondence between text and utterance in Fairclough’s rendition, as in Joseph Grigely’s definition of text, allows for inviting in Bakhtin’s dialogical sense of the term: “The living utterance, having taken meaning and shape at a particular historical moment in a socially specific environment, cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living, dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance; it cannot fail to become an active participant in social dialogue”.⁸

Accordingly, I view the author’s text of *Chahār Maqāle* and Qazvini’s edition as two “utterances” or versions that can be set along two vertical and parallel axes within an encompassing space which we may designate as the discursive sphere of Iranian identity. Every vertical axis (and there are as many as there are versions) constitutes an irretrievable historical moment. The original *Chahār Maqāle*⁹ takes one vertical axis and accommodates the condition of the eastern territory of the Iranian world at the turn of the 11th-12th century, whereas the axis representing Qazvini’s edition accommodates Iran and Europe in the turn of the 19th-20th century (See Figure 2 below). I argue that the historical situation of versions on every axis establishes negotiation between the production of that version of the text and the socio-political circumstances environing it. From this angle,

⁷ Michel Foucault. “What is an Author” in *Twentieth Century Literary Theory: An Introductory Anthology*. (Ed.) Vassilis Lambropoulos; David Neal. Albany: State U of New York Press, 1987, p 130.

⁸ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel” in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Ed.) Michael Holquist, (Trans.) Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist. Rpt of 1985. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992. (259-422), p 276.

⁹ I mean the work that is transmitted to us through the text and we read as a composition by Nezāmi ‘Aruzi.

Nezāmi ‘Arūzi’s *Chahār Maqāle*, like Qazvini’s edition is a rejoinder to a different situation, speaks to, and converses with historical contingencies that are specific to a given historical moment.

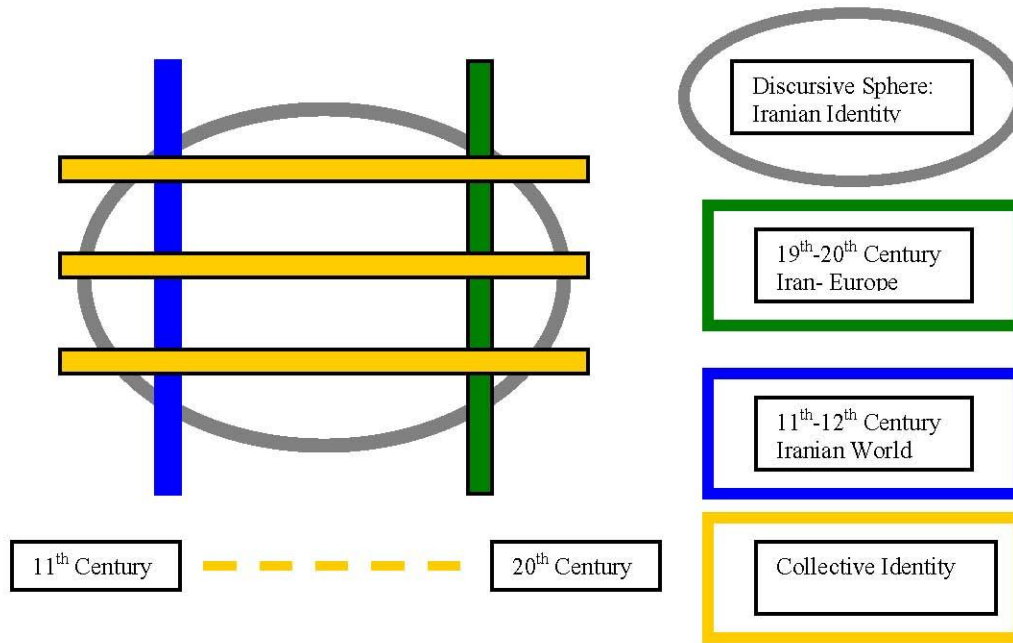


Figure 2: Discursive Space and Collective Identity

My second argument regards the mode of communication between the original text and its reproduced version that occurs along the continuum of cultural memory. *Chahār Maqāle* and Qazvini’s edition, as two utterances or events relate to each other through a dialogic interaction based on common concerns or sensibility along a horizontal axis (and again, there are many). This is the cultural axis of which temporality is an essential element, but is not necessarily bound within the geopolitical territory we now know as Iran. Thus, any version of *Chahār Maqāle* could be placed within the discursive sphere of Iranian collective identity along a temporal continuum that goes all

the way back to ancient Achaemenes, reverberates in the pre-Islamic Iran, flows through the early Perso-Islamic era, survives the Mongol invasion, and re-emerges in the 19th-20th century when a similar sensibility, albeit under a different condition, allows for its re-emergence. The relational mode between versions along the horizontal axis (see Figure 2) is sympathetic because both fall along the same continuum of cultural sensibility. These two axes of dialogism—the horizontal and the vertical-- in utterance (text) relates the edition at a distance from the original because of its irretrievable historical situation, and at the same time, places it in a continuum with the original within a shared discursive sphere through a similar sensibility.

Hence, the third argument concerns the mode of reception: a text is retrieved at moments when circumstances make readers find themselves within the same orbit or discursive sphere, and deeply correlate with those concerns and questions by means of empathy and passion. This should be a moment when an editor finds a particular work really compelling and commits herself/himself to it by purposes that stand above institutional or economic assignments, just as Qazvini did. Aside from institutional and social conditions in the case of Qazvini, it was the true appeal of the work that made him perceive the job as truly answering to “the ultimate wishes” (*montāhā-ye āmāl*) in “serving the language of the endeared *vatan*“ and set out to work “right away” *filfowr* without the slightest hesitation. Anyone who has the slightest experience of the tedious weight of research and writing will agree to read the passion and excitement in this statement far beyond having an institutional job to survive; it is the passionate response of a lover when he finds his dreams coming true. Qazvini proved this devotion even in his personal life. He was a man of faith, yet he did not marry until around the age of forty

four because he had committed himself to an unconventional marriage; i.e., preservation and restoration of the culture of his dear *vatan*.

The fourth argument concerns intentionality in literary criticism. Here, based on a close reading of *Chahār Maqāle* and Qazvini's critical introduction, annotations, and critical decisions I propose that firstly, rather than an authorial intention we must talk of a consecutive and dynamic chain of authorial *intentions*; secondly, we must also talk of *textual* intentions. My fifth argument develops from this last notion of textual intentions and concerns an argument on textuality in literary criticism. Because of interaction between the two axes of dialogism along a common sensibility, nuances of a common concern at a particular historical moment penetrate the discursive universe of each version. Thus the text is charged with potentials that will be activated once the two historical moments converge on and share a similar sensibility.

The sixth and last argument of the dissertation concerns text and textual criticism. Texts are sites of cultural negotiation. Given that the main subjects of textual criticism are texts, then textual criticism is at the center of all cultural activities and cannot be confined within the disciplinary limit of written or spoken words. As a result, the insight from other fields, particularly from literary theory, will be indispensable to textual criticism. Based on this observation I make the macro-argument of the dissertation and propose that textual criticism is at the center of cultures, hence dialogism and democratization in this discipline will encourage dialogue and pluralism in other arenas, including the current political discourse in Iran.

Content of the dissertation consists of an introduction, five chapters and a conclusion. In the introduction I give an overview of the reception history of *Chahār*

Maqāle in 20th century Iran to establish the context of the study. The dissertation unfolds in keeping with my theoretical framework. Therefore, in the two sections of Chapter 1, I present a description of the text on the historical axis of the 11th-12th –century Iranian eastern world. Here, the description of the text is presented according to the author’s stated and implied intentions within the context of the author’s biography and of his time. In Chapter 2, I give a description and an analysis of the text on the historical axis of the early 20th century. So, Qazvini’s reading and critical editing of *Chahār Maqāle* and editorial issues drawn upon close collation of his critical apparatus and the variants and other examinations form the content of this chapter. In Chapter 3, I pursue the same historical axis, now for the context of Qazvini’s life and work. The period spanning from mid-19th to the mid-20th century Iran in relation to Europe is explored to explicate the impact of encounter with new thoughts and new socio-political implications of Europe on the consciousness of the individual and the society. Also, the intellectual and political condition of Europe is included as far as Qazvini and his ideological perspective and scholarly work are concerned. In Chapters 4 and 5 the focus shifts from vertical—diachronic—axes to the horizontal—synchronic—axes; that is, the explication of the continuum of the nation’s cultural memory in the discursive sphere of national identity. Two readings of *Chahār Maqāle* are presented in Chapter 4 to challenge stereotypes on the historicity of *Chahār Maqāle*, and the current understanding of intentionality. Hence, I suggest that it is time to rise above the historical-philological reading that has dominated *Chahār Maqāle* over the past hundred years and initiate a new conversation with the text. In Chapter 5, I situate Qazvini’s work and views in the intellectual discourse of the 19th-20th century Iran from a dialogic perspective. The conclusion offers

a discussion on various theoretical debates about editorial and literary criticism to illuminate the place of my arguments within the discursive sphere of editorial-literary criticism.

In this study my main Persian text is a digital copy of a reprint of the 1910 edition published by Enteshārāt-e Eshrāqi in Tehran, 1363 (1984) in the Majles Library.¹⁰ For reference I have also used a photographed copy of the 1910 edition located in School of Oriental and African Studies of London (SOAS),¹¹ and a (partial) copy/photography from Qazvini's private copy (2006) located in Qazvini's archive at the Faculty of Literature and Humanities, University of Tehran. Sample collation among these three versions confirms that they all are reproduced from the same imprint. A particular merit of Qazvini's copy is his jotted marginalia as a post-print correction or elaboration on textual, linguistic and historical matters. In his variorum edition, Qazvini has written on another copy now located in the collection of Mojtabā Minovi at the Library of Research on Humanities and Cultural Studies in Tehran.¹² My collation of these three copies at random pages reveals that all three are impressions from the same master plate. Yet there must have been an interval between the series which the SOAS copy belongs to, and the series that the other two (Qazvini's private copy and the Eshrāqi reprint) belong to, especially as Browne's

¹⁰ Nezāmi 'Aruzi Samarqandi, Ahmad b. 'Omar b 'Ali. *Ketāb-e Chahār Maqāle* ("The Four Discourses"), (Ed. with Introduction, Notes and Indices) Mohammad b. 'Abdol Wahhāb Qazvini, Gibb Memorial Series, Rpt. of 1910. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Eshrāqi, 1363/1984.

¹¹ Thanks to Interlibrary Loan service at the University of Washington I could take a picture of the main text and parts of the annotations for my reference. This copy carries Browne's autograph on the first page donating the book to the library of SOAS dated November 18th, 1918. But, the printed preface by Browne is dated May 13th, 1920. London: School of Oriental and African Studies, Ref. 555291. SOAS Ref. L104/910. Nezāmi 'Aruzi Samarqandi, Ahmad b. 'Omar b 'Ali. *Ketāb-e Chahār Maqāle*, (Ed.) Mohammad b. 'Abdol Wahhāb Qazvini, Gibb Memorial Series, 1910. (Extra "defected" copies).

¹² See Mohammad Mo'in, "moqaddame", *Chahār Maqāle*, p 84.

brief preface on the SOAS copy confirms the interval.¹³ So, while all the three copies are identical in a particular misprint of a given page number, in Qazvini's copy and Eshrāqi the misprint is corrected with pen, whereas in SOAS copy the misprint remains unchanged. Based on the insight from the collation I have relied on Eshrāqi as a replication of the original edition, at least in the "linguistic codes", in Jerome McGann's words, but I have consulted SOAS and, where available, Qazvini's copy for reassurance. For reference to the book, in the course of my discussion I shorten the title to *Chahār Maqāle*.

For the English version I have relied on Browne's revised translation of 1921.¹⁴ But occasionally for reasons that will be described wherever relevant I had to use the reprint of his 1899 translation (1978). Other than Browne, I have incorporated my own translation wherever I found Browne's translation imprecise. In this case or in any other cases where I do not acknowledge the translator's name, the translation is by Sima Daad.

My transliteration system follows familiar phonetic symbols. To avoid mispronunciation in the case of two problematic Persian/Arabic vowels; i.e., long vowel *a* and the Arabic *ayn* are respectively shown by [ā] and by an apostrophe before *a* ['a]. The only exception in the case of long "a" relates to known names, or names that are originally spelled in English. Also common Anglicized titles or terms, such as khan or shah and sultan and the like keep non-diacritical "a". Also, silent final "h" is simplified to

¹³ In this brief note that is prefaced to the SOAS copy Browne explains that the copy comes from some three hundred and seventy extra "defected" round which are in "cheap binding" and distributed at a cheap price. Browne makes allusion to this extra "defected" prints and his intention of selling them at a cheaper price in a letter dated 19 Sep. 1922 to Taqizādeh. See *Name-hā-ye Edward Browne be Sayyed Hasan Taqizādeh*. (Eds.) 'Abbās Zaryāb Khu'ee and Iraj Afshār. Tehran: Ketāb-hā-ye Jibi, 1354/1975, p 123.

¹⁴ *Chahār Maqāle (Four Discourses)*. Nezāmi 'Arūzi of Samarqand. (Rev. Trans.) Edward G. Browne, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1921. Print. An online copy of this edition, accompanied with an audio file is available at < http://www.archive.org/stream/chaharmaqala032556mbp/chaharmaqala032556mbp_djvu.txt>.

“e”, for example, *khāne* (instead of *khāneh*). But in the case of the suffix “zādeh” to Persian surnames I include [h]. As for years, all the old dates are typically by Arabic lunar calendar in *hijri* (H). Years in the 20th century, particularly after 1925 are typically in the Persian solar calendar. For reference to solar years in pre-20th century, in order to avoid confusion I will use S next to the solar year. But for more recent dates (roughly around or after 1900s) I will not use S, because in the Iranian context the solar calendar has been in use. Therefore, the only time I use the S symbol is for dates in the Iranian context for pre-20th century.

Section 2- *Chahār Maqāle*: A Historical Overview of Reception

With a problematic history of its dual title, *Majma‘al-Navāder* (*A Collection of Rarities*)¹⁵, for its inclusion of four (*chahār*) main essays/discourses (*maqāle*) the book (*ketāb*) is known as *Chahār Maqāle* (or *The Four Discourses* in Browne’s translation). It was written around the mid-12th century by Ahmad b. ‘Omar b. ‘Ali al-Nezāmi al-‘Aruzi Samarqandi, a secretary (*dabir*) at the court of the Shansabāni family, the rulers of Bamiyan in the eastern outskirts of the Persian territory during the 12th and the early 13th centuries.¹⁶ He composed the treatise in the name of Abol-Hasan Hisām al-Din ‘Ali, a prince from the Ghurid rulers of Bamiyan, with the purpose of educating him in the ethics and morals of legitimate rulership. In its entirety the treatise amounts to 89 pages in the Qazvini edition, divided in five sections of relatively equal length. After the brief preface the text opens with an elaborately philosophical prologue or *fasl* as he names it, on

¹⁵ According to Qazvini the book was originally named *Majma‘al-Navāder* but for its inclusion of four treatises it is known as *Chahār Maqāle*. See, Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossaheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, n.p.

¹⁶ 493-612/1099-1215. See: Uthmān, Minhāj al-Din Serāj Juzjāni, *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri*. Vol.1 (Ed.) ‘Abdol Hayy Habibi. Kabul: Anjoman Tārikh-e Afghanistan, 1342 S/1963, pp 318-322. Also, *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri* (Trans.) Sir H. M. Eliot & John Dowson, Lahor: Sang-e-Meel Publications, 2006, pp 39-47.

cosmology and creation to introduce the rationale devised by the author to compose this treatise. The main body contains four chapters on the four important arts and sciences; i.e., those of a secretary (*dabir*), a poet (*shā'er*), an astronomer (*monajjem*),¹⁷ and a physician (*tabib*). Each chapter again forms a self-contained world in its own right with an instructive introduction and an average of ten illustrative historical narratives about the masters of that field.¹⁸ In the opening of the book the author relates to us that he intended to educate the prince in the manner of governance by *qānun-e hekmat*, or in Browne's translation, by "canons of Philosophy".

In the pre-print era, *Chahār Maqāle* had been quoted or referred to in several Persian biographical compendiums and a number of historiographies since the 13th century. In the 19th century, from the plethora of manuscripts it is evident that the reception of the book was quite favorable. The first print version of *Chahār Maqāle* was produced in a non-critical lithographed edition in Tehran (hence, "Tehran edition") in 1305 H./1887 by "His Highness, Abol Qāsem, son of Mohammad Bāqer Khan Biglarbey Qājār" at "a request by Mullā 'Ali Khāwnsāri". It is executed in *nasta'liq* hand style¹⁹ and contains 176 pages of 10x16.5cm, each page being of 12 lines. According to the scribe's account in the colophon, the text was produced on two manuscripts, which are

¹⁷ The Persian-Arabic *monajjem* denotes a person who studies the celestial objects and their effect on the earth. The word translates both as astronomer, that is a person who practices "the branch of science which deals with celestial objects, space, and the physical universe as a whole", and as astrologer, that is, the person who does "the study of the movements and relative positions of celestial bodies interpreted as having an influence on human affairs and the natural world and denotes a person who believes that "astronomical events" play a role in the "human world" (Oxford Reference Online). While this aspect applies to the practitioners of *nojum* in *Chahār Maqāle*, the word is also used as the science of celestial bodies, which was an old science. In order to avoid confusion with the practitioner of "fortune telling" I use astronomy for its scientific connotation for *'elm-e nojum* (science of the stars) in Nezāmi Aruzi's application.

¹⁸ Chapter four has two more anecdotes one of which is quite short. The authenticity of these two anecdotes has been questioned, and Qazvini also reports that no variants agreed with the base text on this matter. Yet he kept with the base copy, so chapter four contains 12 anecdotes.

¹⁹ Nasta'liq: one of the main styles in Persian calligraphy that was developed from Naskh since 8th and 9th century. Its aestheticization is attributed to Mir Emād Tabrizi (1554-1615).

not recorded.²⁰ The text carries marginal notes and lexical corrections in two different hands on almost every page, but it is not a critical edition in the modern sense of the term.

In 1899 *Chahār Maqāle* was introduced to an English-speaking audience through an English translation by the British Persianist scholar, Edward Granville Browne (1862-1926). In the midst of his research on the 15th–century Persian *Tazkerat al-Shu'arā* (*Lives of the Persian Poets*)²¹ Browne learned about *Chahār Maqāle* and was much interested in its usefulness to the compilation of a literary history of Persia.²² He presented his new finding in an address to the International Congress of Orientalists in Paris, September 1897 where he introduced *Chahār Maqāle* as one of the sources for Dowlatshah Samarqandi's *Tazkerat al-Shu'arā* to propose that the treatise should be published in “a series of Persian historical and biographical texts”²³. During the next two years he produced a collated translation of the text with the Tehran lithographed edition of 1887 (L) as the base-text, and two manuscripts (A, B) in the holdings of the British Museum as variants. Browne reported his insight about *Chahār Maqāle* in his article, “The Sources of Da[o]wlatshah: With Some Remarks on the Materials Available for a Literary History of Persia, and an Excursus on Bārbod (Bārbad) and Rudagi” and published it in the January issue of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of Great Britain (1899), to be followed by the English translation of *Chahār Maqāle* in July and October issues of the journal in the same year.²⁴

²⁰ The description given is based on a copy of this edition in the holding of Central Library, University of Tehran (No. D-75). Browne called it L as in lithographed.

²¹ See E. Browne, “The Sources of Da[o]wlatshā[h]”, *The Journal of The Royal Asiatic Society*. Great Britain, (Jan. 1899): (37-69), p 37.

²² This book has been reproduced in three critical editions including 1317/1938 by Mohammad Abbāsi, 1318/1938 by Mohammad Ramezāni and in 2007 by Fāteme ‘Alāghe.

²³ See *Royal Asiatic Society Journal*. Great Britain, (January 1899): (37-69), p 37.

²⁴ See *Royal Asiatic Society Journal*. Great Britain. (January 1899): (37-51 & 613-840).

The first type-set print of *Chahār Maqāle*, i.e., Qazvini's critical edition, was published in January 1910 under the auspices of Gibb Memorial Trust. This edition went through several reprints of the same impression or of a different impression during the first half of the 20th century. It has been directly or indirectly the base-text for almost all the subsequent editions and translations of *Chahār Maqāle* over the past hundred years. The earliest reprint of *Chahār Maqāle* was distributed by Luzac and Company in London under Gibb Memorial Series (No.11) in 1920. In Iran, Eshrāqi published a reprint in 1963 (359 pages).²⁵ This edition is among a series of books that Qazvini executed from the 12th-13th-century prose texts and published under the auspices of Browne and Gibb Memorial. By evidence of the application of unprecedented system of critical editing based on systematic recension and extensive scholarly enquiry that he applied to these texts, Qazvini is known as the pioneer of Persian textual criticism in the modern sense.

Qazvini was born in 1877 during the era of Nāser al-Din, the Qājār (1848-1896) lived a few years under the governance of Mozzafar al-Din Shah of Qājār (1898-1907), and left "Persia" for London in June 1904, in the advent of the most critical socio-political revolution in Iran. Through an encounter with the British teacher and scholar of Persian language and literature, Edward Browne, Qazvini became involved in critical editing of classic Persian texts which required him to settle in Europe for the next thirty six years divided among England (1904-1906), Paris (1906-1915), Berlin (1915-1920), and again Paris (1920-1937), and returned permanently to Iran upon the outbreak of WWII (1939) to live out the rest of his life there, succumbing to illness in 1949.

²⁵ Evidently the book is reprinted of the original impression because all the bibliographical features are precisely identical with 1909-1910 edition. For example, in 1910 edition page 259 is mistakenly printed as 289, but it is corrected by hand to 259. The reprint has the same feature.

During his stay in Europe he completed seven critical editions which were sponsored by the Gibb Memorial Trust. In the meantime, although not a political activist, he cooperated with Iranian nationalist-democrats in the events that followed the Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911) . During World War I (1914-1918), he joined Taqizādeh's Committee of Iranian Nationalists and his journal of *Kāve* in Berlin. Upon relocation to Paris in 1920 he married a woman of Italian origin who gave birth to their only child, a girl by the name of Susan-Nāhid in 1921. Then, he completed *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā of Joveyni* and carried out other projects, including the photograph production of Perso-Arabic manuscripts for the newly founded Iranian Ministry of Culture (*Vezārat-e Farhang*).²⁶ With the outbreak of World War II (1939-1944) Qazvini and his small family returned to Tehran and lived there during the last two years of Rezā Shah Pahlavi (reigned 1925-1941) and the first eight years of Mohammad Rezā Shah (r. 1941-1979/80) until his death in 1949. He is buried in 'Abdol 'Azim shrine of Rey , south of Tehran.

Qazvini's text of *Chahār Maqāle* has been reprinted in several new imprints. The earliest reprint of the main text in clear text was executed in Tehran by S. Jalāl al-Din Tehrani in Majles printing house as a supplement (79 pages) to *Gāhnāme[Chronicle]* of 1311 (1932) with no punctuation other than periods. In 1345 (1966), the text was executed in a new impression with new typesets at Iranshahr printing house of Berlin, but it does not contain Qazvini's annotations. The same edition was reprinted with a new type-set in India in 1932, was edited by Mawlavi Muhammad Rafi' Fāzil, published by

²⁶ See Mohammad Mo'in, "'allāme-ye mo'āser, āqā-ye Mohammad Qazvini", *Majmu'e Maqālāt*, Vol. 1, p 142.

Ram Narain Lal in 123 pages. In this imprint all the variant readings are turned into footnotes but no reference is made to the manuscripts.

During the 1950s, a professor of Tehran University, Mohammad Mo'in (1914-1971) produced a glossed text-book edition, fully punctuated in 1331 (1952) for high school students in 134 pages that was published by Zavvār in Tehran. Mo'in moved Qazvini's variant readings to the footnote and changed the verbal system--*dārad* (has) and *nadārad* (missing)--that Qazvini used to record additions or omissions respectively into arithmetic signs of (+) and (-).²⁷ Here, Mo'in's glosses are given in a separate set of footnotes which are placed under Qazvini's critical apparatus. This edition was reprinted in 1953 and 1954 by Zavvār, followed by a variorum edition in 627 pages during 1955-1957.²⁸ Mo'in used Qazvini's edition as his copy-text, but developed a critical apparatus by including Qazvini's marginalia as well as critical notes by others. Besides, in his variorum edition he made an enquiry about the Istanbul manuscript that Qazvini had used as the base-text, even though he does not seem to have examined it in person.²⁹ This variorum edition was reprinted in 2009 in new typeset and lay-out (736 pages).³⁰

Aside from Qazvini and Mo'in's critical editions and other non-critical editions two different versions of the text have been hitherto produced for young readers, one published several years before 1979 (no date is reported for this version) by Parviz Khānlari and Zabihollāh Safā from the first two chapters in the series of *Shahkār hā-ye*

²⁷ Shifting from verbal recording to the sign system created new discrepancies.

²⁸ See an earlier footnote about the publication date of this variorum edition.

²⁹ When Mo'in did his variorum he addressed the lacuna (*saqat*) mentioned by Qazvini in his "moqaddame" and asked the late Professor Mojtabā Minovi who was then in Istanbul, in a letter dated Ordibehesht (April-May) 1335/1956 to examine the manuscript. Minovi reported that the manuscript had nineteen "excellent illustrations, with two lacunas. According to Minovi, which was confirmed by my examination, four words were erased in the colophon including the name of the copyist. Aside from that, my examination revealed two discrepancies with Minovi's report. Mohammad Mo'in, "dibāche", *Chahār Maqāle* (1-88), p 24.

³⁰ Tehran: Nashr-e Mo'in, 1388/2009.

Adabiyāt-e Farsi [Masterpieces of the Persian Literature], and the other in 2002 with a modified title, *Chahār Maqāle, Chehel Hekāyat [Four Discourses, Forty Anecdotes]*.³¹

Not only from the title, but also from the publisher it becomes evident that the main concern in this modernized version is simplification. By the same token, the book is oriented toward a teenage audience. So, the linguistic merit of the text is obliterated by the need for having this particular age group attracted to its narrative mode. But still, the editor does not do more than a simplified version of Qazvini's introduction.

When it comes to the purpose of this reading edition, nevertheless, she explains: “the objective for re-writing of *Chahār Maqāle* is to present it in a language accessible to contemporary young readers.”³² The significance of the text for this editor resides in its sociological dimension: “Each anecdote... contains subtle allusions to the customs, costumes (*pushāk*), food (*aghziye*) [and the social conducts (*raftār hā-ye ejtemā'i*) of the author's time which is in itself very useful for sociological information.”³³ Although the editor presents herself as knowledgeable about the book, her comments are mostly reproduced from Qazvini'. The only original points are those discernible from the title and from what she says in a few sentences later: “In the revision of the fourth discourse (on the science of medicine) the third and the twelfth anecdotes are omitted because they contain gynecological topics, and the fourth anecdote, with a little modification is placed in the closing chapter.”³⁴ She also makes mention of the philosophical prologue.³⁵

Another version of the text was reproduced in the same year (2002) that may reflect on president Khatami's “Dialogue among Civilizations” agenda (1997-2005) both

³¹ By Maryam Majidi. See footnote 2.

³² Majidi, “moqaddame”, p 10.

³³ Majidi, “moqaddame”, p 9.

³⁴ Majidi, “moqaddame”, p 10.

³⁵ Majidi, “moqaddame”, pp 1-12.

in shape and in approach. This is a parallel (Persian-English), clear-text edition based on a reprint of Qazvini's edition (Tehran: Zavvār, 1339) and the 1921 reprint of Browne's first English translation. The technical editor prefaces the book with a brief introduction on the publication history of the text in the 20th century. The book also carries the English and Persian preface of Browne's translation.³⁶ (Appendix 1)

Non-Persian speaking audiences have received the book either directly through Qazvini's edition, or mediated by Browne's English translations of 1899 and 1921 or Mo'in's edition. The book has been hitherto reproduced in Tajik (1986), and been translated into French,³⁷ Arabic (twice),³⁸ Turkish,³⁹ German (chapter 4, 1990),⁴⁰ Russian (1957),⁴¹ Pashtu (1964),⁴² Czech (1974),⁴³ Urdu (2007)⁴⁴ and partially in

³⁶ *Gozide-ye Chahār Maqāle (Selections from Chahār Maqāle)*. (Technical Ed.) Hushang Rahnamā. Tehran: Hermes Publishers and the International Centre for Dialogue among Civilizations, 1381/2002.

³⁷ The first translation accompanies the Turkish version and is only on chapter four, by Dr. H. P. J. Renaud (64-75), 1936. It was based on Qazvini's edition. The second translation, *Les Qatre Discours*. (traduit du Persan: Isabelle de Gastines), Paris: Bibliothèque Des Oeuvres, 1968. The translator states that it is based on Qazvini and Mo'in: "La présente traduction est fondée sur les éditions Qazvini et Mo'in". Some of the notes are also translated. (Introduction, p 16).

³⁸ *Chahār Maqāle: Al-Maqālat al- Arba'*, (Trans.) Ezzām, 'Abdul Wahhāb and Yahyā al-Khashāb, Cairo: n. p.1949. Print. This translation is based on Qazvini's edition, and accompanied by his abridged annotations "*wa ilay ha khulāsāt havāshi al allāma Muhammad ibn-i Abdul Wahhāb al-Qazwini*" (with the abridged annotation by the scholar Muhammad ibn-i Abdul Wahhab al-Qazwini). The 2nd translation: *Chahār Maqāle: Arba'at Maqālāt*, (Trans.) Muhammad bin. Kitab Tawit, Morocco: Faculty of Humanities of Rubat, 1982. Print. The translation is accompanied by the Persian text in the facing-page format. From a collation between the Persian text and the two editions by Qazvini and Mohammad Mo'in it becomes evident that Tawit has used Qazvini's edition. For example, "Brute" in Qazvini's edition (p 33) is preserved in this translation, whereas Mo'in changed it to "Brune" according to Qazvini's post-published marginalia (p 53).

³⁹ *Tib [']Ilmi ve Mashhur Hekimlerin Meharati (La Science Medical et Habilité des Médecins Célèbres)* (Trans. from French by Dr. Raunard) Dr. A. Süheyl Ünever. Istanbul: Cumhuriyet matbaasi, 1936. This is only the fourth chapter.

⁴⁰ In this translation, anecdotes on Avicenna from chapter four are translated into German in a book on Psychosomatics. (See Mozaffar Zafari, *Psychosomatische Aspekte in der mittelalterlichen Medizin Persiens (Psychosomatic Aspects in the Medicine of Medieval Persian)*. Koln: Kolner Mediinhistorische Beitrage series, 1990.

⁴¹ *Sobranie redkosteĭ; ili, Chetyre besedy [Collected Essays or Chahār Maqāle]*. (Ed. M. Mo'in, 1955-57). (Trans. Russian) S. I. Bayevski and Z.N. Vorojeikin, by the order of A.N. Boldyryov. With a glossary and notes (176 pages). Moscow: Izd-vo vostochnoi lit-ry, 1963.

⁴² [*Chahār Maqāle*] *Da Niẓāmī 'Arūẓī da chahār maqlālah*. (Trans. Pashto) Muhammad 'Abbās. (176 pages). Pishāvar [Pishowar] Yunīvarsitī Buk Ejensī, 1964.

Japanese (1969).⁴⁵ Except for Browne, who supplemented the translation of Qazvini's annotation to his 1919 (1921) edition, and one version of the Arabic, the others include the translation of the text only. It is evident that the book has been received mainly for its content, i.e., its anecdotes and its critical apparatus, not so much for the historical information.

Mohammad Qazvini's reading of *Chahār Maqāle* as a source of historical information, and an example of good Persian writing style has dominated the mode of its reception well through the later 20th century with some degree of differences. By glossing the text for high school and college students, Mohammad Mo'in foregrounded the stylistic history of Persian literature and also dwelt upon this aspect in his examination of the text as an example of the stylistic features of the medieval Persian prose.⁴⁶ Gholām-Hosseini Yusefi (1927-1980), an acclaimed Professor of Persian literature, also accentuated the prose style and the charm of the anecdotes. At the same time, he reminded the reader that it is an unreliable source of historical information.⁴⁷ Attention has been drawn to other aspects of the text in more recent readings. Maryam Majidi, for example, in her non-critical edition of the book (2002) points to the anecdotes as a repository of the cultural condition of the nation in medieval ages.⁴⁸ The instructive introductions of the chapters have also attracted some critics. Iraj Pārsinejād, for

⁴³ [*Chahār Maqāle*] Naučení korunnímu princí aneb Čtyři rozpravy de Nizámí. (Trans. Tchéque) Věra Kubíčková. (145 pages). Praha: Odeon, 1974.

⁴⁴ *Chahār Maqalah*. (Trans.) Shabbir Ahmad Haidari. Delhi: Buk Riviyu, 2007.

⁴⁵ *Perushia itsuwashū[u]* (*Kābūsu no sho. Yottsū no kōwa*). (Tran.) Tsuneo Kuroyanagi. Tokyo: Heibonsha, Showa 44 [1969].

⁴⁶ Mohammad Taqi Bahār, *Sabkshenāsi [Stylistics]*, 3 Vols. 2nd Edition. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Amir Kabir, 1337/1958. Vol. 2 (297-318).

⁴⁷ Gholām-Hosseini Yusefi, "*Chahār Maqāle*" [*Four Discourses*]. *Yāddāsht-hā-i dar Zamīna-ye Farhang va Tārikh [Notes about Culture and History]*. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Sokhan, 1371/1992 (173-182). He gives a resourceful bibliography on the text also.

⁴⁸ Maryam Majidi, "moqaddame". (1-12).

example, calls *Chahār Maqāle* an example of Persian literary criticism in pre-modern era.⁴⁹ It has been also studied from a genre perspective in 1989 by Marta Simidchieva in her doctoral dissertation which she wrote in Russian and defended at Institute for Oriental Studies.⁵⁰

Qazvini's edition has been praised mainly for his historical annotations and lexical emendations. The most notorious critique came from Badi'-al-Zamān Foruzānfar (1276-1349 S/1897-1970), an eminent scholar of Persian literature and Islamic subjects, and the critical editor of Jalāl al-Din Rumi's *Masnavi*. But he has only addressed Qazvini's historical annotations.⁵¹ This fueled a hot argument between him, 'Abbās Eqbāl Āshtiyāni,⁵² and Qazvini,⁵³ which prompted a further response by Foruzānfar. Another topic in the critical discourse of *Chahār Maqāle* regards lexical emendations, which are noted by Mohammad Farzān⁵⁴ and more recently, by 'Abdol Rab 'Erfān, who discusses one undetermined reading of a word.⁵⁵ Recently, Mahmud Omidsalar has reviewed some parts of Qazvini's critical apparatus system in *Chahār Maqāle*.⁵⁶

⁴⁹ Iraj Pārsinejād, "Introduction" in *A History of Literary Criticism in Iran (1866-1951)*. USA: IBEX Publishers, 2003. (13-37).

⁵⁰ I have not seen this dissertation which is in Russian, but learned about it from the author, Marta Simidchieva. Message to the author. 1 Sep. 2008. E-mail. Here she declares that the main focus of her dissertation was "on issues of genre formation".

⁵¹ Badi' al-Zamān Foruzānfar, "enteqādāt bar havāshi-ye *Chahār Maqāle*" ["A Critique on the Annotations of *Chahār Maqāle*"]. Rpt. of Esfand 1309 (March 1931). *Maqāle-hā-ye Badi'-al-Zamān-e Foruzānfar* [Essays by Badi'-al-Zamān-e Foruzānfar] (Ed.) Enāyatollāh Majidi, Tehran: Farhang va Ershād-e Eslāmi, 1382/2003 (41-55).

⁵² 'Abbās Eqbāl Āshtiyāni, "ba'zi molāhezāt dar bāb-e enteqādāt bar havāshi-ye *Chahār Maqāle*" ["Some Considerations on the Critique of the Annotations of *Chahār Maqāle*"]. *Sharq*, 7 (1310/1931) 406-433. . Print Reprinted in Dr. Sayyed Mohammad Dabir-Siyāqi (Ed.) *Majmu'a Maqālāt-e 'Abbās Eqbāl Āshtiyāni* [Collected Essays by 'Abbās Eqbāl Āshtiyāni], Tehran: N. P. 1350/ 1971. (236-255 & 271-273).

⁵³ "Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Foruzānfar" [The Letters of Qazvini to Foruzānfar]. (Ed.) Enāyatollāh Majidi. Rpt. of 20th of Bahman, 1311/February 1933. *Āyande*: Year 17. Tehran, Azar 1370/December 1991 (793-796).

⁵⁴ Mohammad Farzān. "'nazari dar tas-hi-he *Chahār Maqāle*" ["A Glance at the Emendation of *Chahār Maqāle*"]. *Yaghmā*, 5:5 (Shahrivar 1331): (200-205) & *Yaghmā*, 5:6 (Shahrivar 1331): (255-262).

⁵⁵ 'Abdol Rab 'Erfān, "vāzhe-i mahall-e nazar dar *Chahār Maqāle*" [A Questionable Word in *Chahār Maqāle*]. (Tran.) Sharif Hossein Qāsemi. *Qand-e Parsi*, Markaz-e Tahqiqāt-e Farsi, Islamic Republic of Iran, New Delhi, Summer and Sprig 1385/2006. (15-22).

His methodological practices are also discussed by some Iranian critics. Among them I should refer to Milād ‘Azimi. In an interview, Mahmud ‘Ābedi alludes to the difference between Qazvini’s work and the method of the learned scribes who would produce a correct manuscript out of the ones available, it was Qazvini who inaugurated the current method. He underscores three features in Qazvini’s work: first, the evaluation of the manuscripts (recension); second, the collation of the evidences; third, emendation of the text. Concerning the base-text ‘Abbās Māhyār rightly holds that Qazvini used the earliest manuscripts as his base-text in most of his works. He would never decide by his memory but rather would refer to authentic sources.

According to another critic, the merit of Qazvini’s work resides in his judicious observation which enabled him to grasp the author’s intention by way of careful attention to textual nuances construed as manifesting that intention, something that he himself has also stated. He maintains that one way for Qazvini to pursue this end was his command of the Persian stylistic features that would enable him to make sound judgments about problematic cases. As for the method of emendation, Mahmud ‘Ābedi describes his work in terms of an authorial commitment to the text; that is, he would assume himself as the author of the text and would do his best to present the text⁵⁷ in the best possible way.⁵⁸

My study shows that, for one thing, Qazvini’s edition is generally circulated in Iran without annotations. Among the translations, it was only Browne’s revised

⁵⁶ Mahmud Omidshar, “raveshe Qazvini dar tas-hih” [Qazvini’s Method of Emendation]. Message to the author. 17 May 2005. TS. (13-24).

⁵⁷ This is arguable. On the contrary Qazvini has made it clear that a critic-editor is not supposed to claim the position of the author. ‘Ābedi implies that Qazvini would seek the establishment of the author’s intention.

⁵⁸ Round Table, “‘Allāma Qazvini va tas-hih-e mutun”, *Ketāb-e Māh-e Adabiyāt va Falsafe*: 22, Tehran, Mordād 1378 /August 2000. (3-11).

translation of 1921 that included the translation of the annotations in his work. The shortened version of Qazvini's and Mo'in's notes is also included in Isabelle de Gastines's French translation. Moreover, while Mo'in's text was a more widely received version for a few decades, Qazvini's historical approach is dominant in the recent reception of *Chahār Maqāle*. In Iran both editions that were published were based on Qazvini's reading. Maryam Majidi modernized the text for the young readers, but she applied the same historical reading of *Chahār Maqāle*. The Center of the Dialogue between Civilizations also published Qazvini's text in parallel with Browne's translation of 1921 on glossy paper. Given that Mo'in's voluminous variorum rather than Qazvini's complete edition was republished in 2009, one may conclude that Qazvini's text is now prevalent among readers outside academia given its place in the academia to Mo'in's variorum.

Chapter 1- *Chahār Maqāle* in Perspective: A Medieval Book of Counsel

Section 1- Description

So, here is a book, written centuries ago by a courtier to thank his master, and to give him a lesson on the manner of good governance. The prince may not have even asked for it, though there are other examples in which similar documents have been requested or commissioned.⁵⁹ Central to *Chahār Maqāle* is the idea of creating a well-balanced textual universe through intelligence and critical selectivity. This textual universe models itself after the cosmic universe, and at the same time, will set the model for the state. To actualize this model Nezāmi ‘Arūzi (d. after 1157) underscores in the prologue the importance of accomplished and virtuous men of four knowledges—the secretary, the poet, the astronomer and the physician—to an intelligent governor. Accordingly, he opens each chapter with an elaborate discussion about the quality of that art/science and enumerates pre-conditions for the practitioner of that profession. Each critical essay of sorts, in chapters, is followed by an average of ten illustrative anecdotes (twelve in chapter four) about historical characters and events to authenticate the validity of his claim by genuine examples.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Both *Siyāsat Nāme* by Khāwje Nezām al-Molk (11th century) and *Nasihāt al-Moluk* by Mohammad Ghazzālī (11th) were initiated by the order/request of the Saljuq sultans, respectively Malikshah, and Mohammad b. Malikshah.

⁶⁰ Qazvini records that in all the “well-known” (*mashhur*) witnesses the fourth chapter contain eleven anecdotes and Istanbul copy (Q) has twelve anecdotes. (“havāshi”, p 94). Mohammad Farzān dwells on this discrepancy and conjures that the two anecdotes about Adīb ‘Esma’il (8 and 9) must have been originally one anecdote by evidence of the common subject and the transitional style (*siyāq-e mottasel-e sokhan*). He also conjures that the short anecdote about Galen (10) may be a later interpolation. Farzān admits that there is not clue in the text, so he makes three conjectures including the fact that it is much shorter than other anecdotes (6 lines). (Rpt. of *Yaghmā*, Shahrivar 1331 (5:5) Mohammad Mo’in, “ta’liqāt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 18-19). Based on three scenarios that Farzān presents, Mo’in concludes that since the short anecdote is missing in A, B, T, and it exists in Q only [he means the copy of Q that Qazvini used], if it is a later addition in the original Q [manuscript of Istanbul] then chapter four also contains ten anecdotes. But, Mo’in still follows Qazvini in the number of anecdotes. (Mohammad Mo’in, “ta’liqāt”, *Chahār Maqāle*).

The so-called book of counsel was a familiar subject when Nezāmi ‘Aruzi wrote his book. Its origin apparently dates back to the Sassanid era. In the Islamic era books of counsel appeared in New Persian in the early stage of the Persian literary renaissance. The earliest known Persian book on this subject, *Qābus Nāme (The Letter of Qābus)* (1080),⁶¹ was written in the northern state of Tabarestān by the Ziyārid king.⁶² In that book, ‘Onsor al-Ma’āli had left a treatise for his son, a would-be king perhaps, to instruct him in fine detail on all the practical and moral obligations that were assumed to be urgent for a king to deserve the office of governance. He had even taken into account the necessity of developing good writing style, hunting, and the service of qualified courtiers.

More recently, and just in the neighboring region of Khorasan, perhaps around the time our author was still very young, the well-versed Saljuq vizier, Khāwje Nezām al-Molk of Tus (assassinated Ramazan 485/ October 1092) had composed *Siyāsat-Nāme (The Book of Government or Rules for Kings, 485/1092)*,⁶³ an accomplished and eloquent collection of political and moral instructions, supported by relevant examples for Malikshah the Saljuq (d. 485/1092). The author accentuates justice as the final intent of legitimate governance and advised that this aim would be fulfilled through the king’s wisdom and by appointment of knowledgeable men to state affairs. He had accompanied

⁶¹ See ‘Onsor al-Ma’āli Qābus b. Voshmgir, *Qābus-Nāme* (Ed.) Gholām-Hossein Yusefi. Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjeme va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1354/1975.

⁶² For Ziyārid see C. E. Bosworth, “Ziyārids” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Web. <<http://www.iranica.com/articles/ziyarids>>. 18 June 2011. Also see Ebn-e Esfandyār, *Tārikh-e Tabarestān*. Ziyārid were Shi’i, and the later Buyid emerged from their military machinery as an influential Shi’i antagonist of, and even conqueror of Baghdad, they seem to have followed ‘Alavi Zeydi which was spreading in Caspian coastline, Tabarestān, Daylam. ‘Abdol Hossein Zarrinkub also has discussed the rise of ‘Alavi Zeydiye in Tabarestān and Guilān. See *Tārikh-e Mardom-e Iran*, Tehran: Amir-Kabir, 1367/1988, pp 122-123.

⁶³ See *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings (Siyāsat-Nāme)*. (Trans.) Hubert Darke. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1960; also, Rizwan S. ‘Ali Rizvi, “Introductory” in *Ni[e]za[ā]m Al-Mu[o]llk Tusi: His Contribution to Statecraft, Political Theory and the Art of Government*. Lahor: Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1978 (1-35), pp 10 & 28.

these lessons with reference to and examples from *Qu'ran, hadith* (the prophet's sayings) as well as history.⁶⁴

For its inclusion of almost every topic the author rightly had claimed that “no king and lord of command can avoid having and knowing the book”.⁶⁵ The book had inspired another treatise of the same sort, *Nasihāt-al Moluk (Advice to Rulers)* (502-503/1108-09) by the prominent scholar of doctrinal religion, Mohammad al-Ghazzālī (450-505/1058-11) for another Saljuq sultan (Mohammad b. Malikshah).⁶⁶ Even before this book Ghazzālī had authored another book on the virtues of governance known as *Kimiyā-ye Sa'ādat [Alchemy of Bliss]*. Both books included every conceivable aspect of the king's moral and religious obligations drawn upon Islamic texts and practical morals. Like Nezāmī 'Arūzi, Ghazzālī had also set out from quoting the Scripture to recommend, “He who knoweth himself, knoweth his Lord.”⁶⁷ Then evidently, by the mid-12th century books of counsel had already become a familiar genre in Persian literary tradition.⁶⁸

Writing within a familiar set of conventions, while it makes it easier for later writers to follow the conventions, it also challenges their respectability, because as we know in some debates concerning genre, the audience brings to the text certain expectations that are shaped by established conventions. Therefore, the more urgent call

⁶⁴ See Huber Darke, “moqaddame-ye mosahheh” in Khāwje Nezām al-Molk Tusi, *Siyar al-Moluk [Siyāsāt-Nāme]*. (Ed.) Hubert Darke. Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjeme va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1962 (9-31), p 21.

⁶⁵ *Siyar al-Moluk [Siyāsāt-Nāme]*. (Ed.) Hubert Darke, 1962, pp 4-5.

⁶⁶ See , Mohammad al-Ghazzālī, *Nasihāt-al Moluk* (Ed.) Jalāl al-Din Homā'i. Rpt. Of 1315. Tehran: Nashr-e Homā, 1367/1988. Also see Jalāl al-Din Homā'i, “moqaddame-ye mosahheh” in *Nasihāt-al Moluk* (1196), pp 53, and 83-4.

⁶⁷ “*man araf-a nafsahu faqad arafa rabbohu*” .See Mohammad Ghazzālī, *Kimiyā-ye Sa'ādat*. Vol. 1 (Ed.) Hossein Khadiv-jam, Tehran: Sherkat-e Ketāb-hā-ye Jibi, 1354/1975, p 13. See *Chahār Maqāle* , Browne, p 10.

⁶⁸ Even in the Turkish state of Qārākhānid in Transoxiana *Qutadgu Bilig* had the same subject. This was written in 1069 by Yusof Khās Hājib under Qārākhānid rulers of Belāsaghun and Kāshghar in the form of a series of questions and answers. See Peter B. Golden, *Central Asia in World History*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2011, p. 72, and C. E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empir in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994:1040*, GB: University of Edinburgh, 1963, p 19.

on the later author would be to accommodate those expectations, and yet introduce novelties to gain the interest of the audience. Thus, any departure from the convention, or variation, should in appearance at least, be counterbalanced by signs of continuity with that convention.⁶⁹ Nezāmi ‘Aruzi must have been aware of these challenges, and must have known those conventions. He must have been also aware of the necessity to make a new move. Such a consciousness could have been one reason—from a genre perspective—for his distinct work and his departure from the progenitors.

The treatise begins with a careful rhetorical framing. First, the author sets out by distancing the book from similar extant works. While he keeps with what we today may call conventions of the genre, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi introduces variation right in the preface. The author had been at the service of “this house” (*in khāndān*) for “forty five years” by then. But, he does not follow the formulaic “eulogy and gratitude” (*madh-o sanā’*) for the master in the opening of the book to accentuate the virtue of being sincere in his thankfulness by reminding the prince of provisions granted to him, and “make mention (*ezkār*) in this book of those favours (*an’āmi*) ordained (*farmudeh*) and vouchsafed (*be arzāni dāshteh*) by God Almighty to this King of kingly parentage”. Why? A purpose emerges: so that, by good judgment “he may betake himself to the expression of his thanks for them.”⁷⁰

⁶⁹ For the interplay of variation and continuity, or the dynamics of reception and advancement, see Hans Robert Jauss, “Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory” in *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*. (Trans.) Timothy Bahti. (Intro.) Paul De Man. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982, pp3-45; also see Leo Braudy, “Genre: The Conventions of Connection”, in *Film Theory and Criticism*. Marshall Cohen and Leo Braudy (Eds.) New York: Oxford UP, 1999. (613-629).

⁷⁰ Revised translation of *Chahār Maqāle (The Four Discourses)* of Nezāmī-i-‘Arūdī of Samarqand. (Trans.) Edward Granville Browne. London: Luzac, 1921. P 2; *Ketāb-e Chahār Maqāle* (Ed.) Mohammad b. Abd’ul [‘Abdol] Wah[h]āb Qazvini. Rpt. of 1910. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Eshrāqi, 1363/1984, p 2.

This *programmatically* set of intentions, introduces us to the second set of intentions for taking the trouble and writing this book.⁷¹ It is informed by an idea-- appreciation of the master--similar to what he suggests the prince should do before God by dedicating himself “to the Supreme Imperial Court”⁷². The author expresses his thankfulness for being privileged by the opportunity given to him as a servant through the composition of this piece of literature on governance.

But then, he needs to explain what is special about his book. For one thing, it is neither solely a guide to practical conduct like its progenitors⁷³ nor a recommendation of conventional virtues. Like them, he takes upon himself to educate the prince in the ethics of governance. Nevertheless, his teachings (*majles*) are based on *qānun-e hekmat*, or “canons of Philosophy” in Browne’s translation, embellished with *hojaj-e qāte’e* (decisive proofs) and *barāhin-e sāt’e* (trenchant arguments).⁷⁴ The author continues by saying how he employs canons of philosophy to unpack the *true* meaning of kingship and the *true* purpose of governance.⁷⁵ By doing so, he wants to fathom the intention of governance and the placement of the king as the apex of the familiar hierarchical system through an analogy with the system of creation.

The author does all these as a loyal and sincere subject to serve his master by presenting a treatise wherein the driving energy is intelligence, and the end is to motivate

⁷¹ I am borrowing “programmatically intention” from Michael Hancher. Discussing arrays of authorial intention Hancher designates three stages. The intention of doing or accomplishing something he calls programmatically, that is distinct from the accomplishment itself –active intention- and what he wants to achieve by that accomplishment –final intention. See “Three Kinds of Intention” in: MLN. 87: 827-51

⁷² *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 3.

⁷³ ‘Onsor al-Ma’āli Qābus b. Voshmgir, *Qābus-Nāme*. (Ed.) Gholām-Hossein Yusefi. Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjema va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1354/1975; Khāwje Nezām al-Molk Tusi, *Siyar al-Molk [Siyāsāt-Nāme]*. (Ed.) Hubert Darke. Tehran: Bongāh-e Tarjeme va Nashr-e Ketāb, 1962; Mohammad al-Ghazzālī, *Nasihāt-al Molk* (Ed.) Jalāl al-Din Homā’i. Rpt. Of 1315. Tehran: Nashr-e Homā, 1367/1988.

⁷⁴ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 3.

⁷⁵ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 3.

reasoning, contemplation, and observation, rather than dictation of a set of doctrinal rules in the establishment of a virtuous governance. The statement, therefore, not only formulates his intended theme but it also acts as a distinction from similar books of counsel for its noble, humanist and humane intention. This theme Nezāmi ‘Aruzi develops through the establishment of an intelligent ethos and liberal-minded persona, a critical selection of material, inter-textual employment of the philosophers’ voice, and by creating an integrated piece of work where all its elements interconnect with extreme coherence.

Thus, right from the outset the author introduces himself as a loyal and caring servant. But then, he continues by creating the ethos of a philosopher-mentor who takes upon himself to show the way of prosperous and legitimate governance to the prince. Here the author, assuming a role like Aristotle to Alexander, opens the main discussion by a philosophical argument where he invites the prince to a contemplative observation of the divine intelligence in the creation of the universe. To advance in his instruction the author, through a rhetorical excursion, points out the effect of the divine wisdom in the order and ascending consistency of the creature: “He created the stars, and in particular the sun and moon, whereon He made the growth and decay of these to depend.”⁷⁶ One inborn quality of creatures is the desire for perfection. Be it a plant, an animal, or a human being, all living creatures have ascending desires to reach out to the One Cause who stands at the apex beyond the system of creation. By inspiration of the divine intelligence the integrity of the universe is created with coherence and consistency in a

⁷⁶ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 5.

hierarchical system where every species takes a rank in the ladder appropriate to its share of intelligence.

Human beings, while taking the highest rank in the hierarchy of earthly creatures, are similarly classified according to their employment of intelligence. Therefore, in a civilized society, kings are placed in the upper rank, second only to the last position where those whose concerns are universal and existential (i.e., philosophers and prophets) stand. The demarcation line between a philosopher and the prophet is determined by the source of their knowledge: philosophers acquire knowledge “by means of laborious toil (*be ostād va talaqqof va takallof*), voracious reading and writing” but prophets are inspired by divine intelligence through “communication with the Angelic World”⁷⁷ (*peyvastan be ‘ālam-e malā’eke*).

If philosophers and prophets are sitting in the same seat, the position a true king must ascend, rather than the throne, would be immediately below the prophet and philosopher, and a deputy, of equal rank, to imams who are deputies (*nāyeb*) of the Prophet. This is a position connected to the heaven through imam and the Prophet which the king reaches by the enactment of intelligence rather than the privilege of inheritance. In a quick and intelligent move, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi speaks in his own voice and harnesses the logic of Avicenna’s proposition of the prologue to the service of the conclusion that offers a practical interpretation of canons of philosophy. Unlike the politician Khāwje Nezām al-Molk in *Siyāsat-Nāme* who claimed that his *book* should be indispensable to kings, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi, the philosopher-mentor, stresses that a body of intelligent counsels including secretaries, poets, astronomers, and physicians should be indispensable to a *true*, that is, a rational and accountable king. It is such a king that can bring prosperity to

⁷⁷ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 11.

people. Thus, practitioners of these four fields of knowledge represent Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s interpretation of “canons of Philosophy”. By the same token, these four branches of knowledge inspire the four-fold division of the main text.

Moving to chapters, or *maqālat* as he names them, the self-assuming philosopher-mentor whose main concern was contemplation about universal intelligence shifts attention to the creator of a universe, the text, which exemplifies “canons of Philosophy” (*qānun-e hekmat*) in human society. At stake in “canons of Philosophy” lies the idea of making sound selection by application of logical and intelligent standards. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi applies well-thought out standards to the selection of his material. Look how in the conclusion he draws from the prologue the notion of selecting only four groups from professions. Obviously, there must have been other professions that traditionally were conceived of being equally important to the state.

Needless to say if Nezāmi ‘Aruzi had chosen those people he would have had appropriate tools to support his reasoning. So, here we have before us the crucial moment when from numerous options the creator of this textual universe must decide on a selected body of people and anecdotes. Under any selection lies a muted ‘why’ question. Does he not tell us why these professions? Certainly so: in the closing paragraphs of the introduction he reasons that they are “indispensable to a king”. If you like, let us ask to what kind of king? Given that philosophy is driven by intelligence, a king guided by canons of philosophy needs intelligent and virtuous counsels. Now, only a king who contemplates his place in the universe--rather than merely in his land--does so because he conceives of his position in terms of an opportunity for perfection rather than an unquestionable privilege given to him by inheritance, or achieved by the sword. This

king is potentially a natural philosopher, for does a philosopher not show concern about man's place in the universe?

But in *Chahār Maqāle*, selectivity is not confined to the category of counsels. In fact, it begins even from the author's depiction of his addressee out of the four contemporary ruling houses in the Iranian world of his day—the Qarākhānid in Transoxiana, the Saljuqs in Khorasan and the mainland,⁷⁸ the Ghaznavid in the east, and this Ghurid of Firuzkuh and Bamiyan. Nezāmi 'Aruzi came there after spending several years in Khorasan, perhaps going from one local ruler to another to seek a position as other poets would do under the Saljuq era.⁷⁹ But he ended up writing a treatise of counsel, a prose text for the Ghurid prince. As a literate person he must have known about the three other books (not including a contemporary Turkish example from the Qarākhānid domain) on the same topic from recent decades. Hence, writing one more book on the same topic could not give him a special place were it not for its special merits. That may explain why Nezāmi 'Aruzi departs from views taken by authors of the other books and puts this difference up front. As a result, in selecting this patron as the addressee of a philosophical treatise he implies a nice image of himself as well. The sub-text could run thus: I—the author—have a better word in this matter than previous authors. Why? Because I, the author, am coming to a philosopher-king who has a sound judgment in selecting me and providing an apt opportunity so that this part of me-- an intelligent prose writer-- can flourish.

⁷⁸ On the Saljuqs see Mohammad b. 'Ali b. Soleyman Rāvandi, *Rāhat us-Sudur wa Āyāt al-Surur (Being a History of the Seljuqs [Saljuqs])* (Completed around 1204-5). (Ed.) Mohammad Eqbāl. Leyden: Brill & UK: Gibb Memorial, 1921, pp 86-87 & 133-136. On Sultan Sanjar, see pp 167-187.

⁷⁹ See Daniela Meneghini, "Saljuqs vs. Saljuqid Literature" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Web. <<http://persianheritage.com/articles/saljuqs-v>>, 14 Aug. 2011. For the literary history of Saljuq period see Rypka, pp 183-225.

Prose, according to Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s conception of secretarial art, is the art of communication (*montafa’ az mokhātebāti ke dar miyān-e mardom ast*), well-thought out speech, and “logical analogy” (*qiyāsāt-e manteqi*). Hence, prose is governed by reason and norms. Its writing goes through a long process of thinking, reasoning, “visions and re-visions”, as T. S. Eliot once put it.⁸⁰ Poetry, on the contrary, is the realm of “fanciful craft” (*ettesāq moqaddamāt-e mowhama*), “imagination” (*ihām*), and provokes spontaneous emotions (*qovvat-hā-ye ghazbāni va shahvāni rā bar-angizad*). Nezāmi ‘Aruzi, thus conditions the elevation of the prince as a philosopher to his selection of the right person for this task. From here it is only a short step to argue that beneath his expressed intention of serving the prince an implicit intention to market his own merchandize—the advice—emerges from the sub-text. This observation, then, clues us to the possibility of other intentions (conscious and sub-conscious) that will come through as we explore this seemingly straightforward, yet delicately complex universe only to remind us of the unfolding and dynamic nature of the author’s intention.

So, critical selection is an act of creative intelligence equally indispensable to a king-philosopher. Let us begin with the author’s advice. Does he recommend that the king should pick any secretary, poet, astronomer and physician he finds around him? Does he intend that the king should follow a rule of thumb and assume *any* physician to be as good as Avicenna? As an intelligent king, certainly he will not do so for he must decide by canons of reason. These canons function as a yardstick, a standard, a guideline drawn upon the work of outstanding masters that would help him to make right choices.

⁸⁰ “And indeed there will be time... /Time for you and time for me,/And time yet for a hundred indecisions,/And for a hundred visions and revisions,/Before the taking of a toast and tea.”

T. S. Eliot, “The Love Song of Alfred Prufrock” in *Prufrock and Other Observations*. New York: A.A. Knopf, 1920. New York: Bartleby Com., 2011. Lines 23-34. Web. 11 June 2012.

<<http://www.bartleby.com/198/>>.

These guidelines are cast in the introductions that precede successive chapters. Take secretaries for instance. A secretary must be quick in mind, eloquent in rhetoric, and moral in attitude. On the other hand, a good poet must be quick in improvisation, efficient in expression, noble in nature, original in thought, and young in age. An astronomer, rather than arbitrary fortunetelling, must make prognostication by accurate calculations, be well-versed in mathematics, benevolent in morals, and smart in nature. A physician, unlike the one who looks at the effect and relies on pain killers, must have an orderly manner of thought and should target the *cause* of pain, just as Galen had once treated someone's pain of hand by the application of ointment on the shoulder. Moreover, he must have sound judgment and compassion to deeply respect human body and soul.

Through depiction of characters and events in the illustrative part, Nezāmi 'Aruzi, in fact, engages in a purposeful selection. Well-known characters from the 10th-11th century possess a large space in the chapters. Similarly, the Samainid (819-999) who were the first Iranian kings after the conquest of Arabs, as well as their successor,⁸¹ Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni (r. 999-1030) have more presence in the anecdotes than the contemporary Saljuqs (r. mid-11th- 12th centuries in the Iranian territory) who appear only in seven anecdotes. Samanids are commemorated with blessing (*rahamallā-hu*); Mahmud is referred to as "*mote'asseb*" (prejudiced) yet portrayed as a patron of poetry. The Saljuqs, on the other hand, are referred to as nomadic people who did not know the manner of administration,⁸² yet they are named as the supporters of Persian poetry.⁸³

⁸¹ For a historical overview of the Samanid see S. Maqbool Beg Badakhshani, "the Samanids" in *The Ruling Dynasties of Central Asia*. (Ed.) Mohammad Shamsuddin Siddiq. Peshawar: University of Peshawar, 1988. pp. 33-48.

⁸² Anecdote 10, chapter one.

In each field he depicts just a few. Eskāfi for example appears in two anecdotes. His selected secretaries are among the most intelligent characters with insightful knowledge of their learning coming from relatively a large spectrum of courts and territories. Among them are Sāhib b. ‘Ebād (938-995),⁸⁴ the Mo’tazelite Shi’ite secretary of the Buyid governors of the western and central Iranian world who were the rival to the eastern Samanid kings (anecdote 4), a girl from the Buddhist converts house of the Barmecide (6), the Sunni vizier of the Saljuq (‘Amid al-Molk-e Kandari, d. 1064), and the renowned secretary of the first Iranian governors of Khorasan (Abol Qāsem Mohammad b. al-Eskāfi al-Neishaburi, d. during 954-961).⁸⁵ They have in common quickness of mind, control of language, high command of the knowledge of *Qur’an* and Tradition. Eskāfi is given privilege by two anecdotes, not solely because of his command of *Qur’anic* verses, but for his accurate selection of the most appropriate and the pithiest verse to deal with a case in worldly matters. Out of several verses in *Qur’an* about Prophet Nuh (Noah), Eskāfi (according to Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s account) chooses the verse where Nuh (Noah) is called upon by his infidel opponents to prove his honesty.⁸⁶ We should bear in mind that the connection is between the prophet Nuh (Noah) and the Samanid king of the same name. This verse Eskāfi finds most appropriate for conveyance of his complaint to the Samanid king who had neglected his merits.⁸⁷ In a similar way,

⁸³ Anecdote 7, chapter two, Browne, pp 48-49.

⁸⁴ See Qazvini, “havāshi”, pp 107-9; Mohammad Mo’in’s “ta’liqāt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 44-52, and KhāwjeSa’id Bābā’i Hā’eri, Sāhib b. ‘Ebād, *Vazir-e Dinparvar*. Tehran: Sāzmān-e Tabliqāt-e Eslāmi, 1373/1994.

⁸⁵ See Mohammad Qazvini, “havāshi” in *Ketāb-e Chahār Maqāle*, pp 103-104.

⁸⁶ *Qur’an*, 11:34 (Hud). Qazvini takes issue with the historical information of this anecdote. He argues that Eskāfi was contemporary with the Samanid king’s grandfather. He maintains that it not have caused by the copyists’ error, but it should be an intentional rhetorical choice by the author to pun upon “Nuh” (Noah). This was one of the points that Foruzānfar raised in hi critique. See Qazvini, “havāshi”, p 103; Mohammad Mo’in, “ta’liqāt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 35-36.

⁸⁷ Anecdote 1, chapter one.

intelligent selection of a *Qur'anic* verse by the young Barmecide bride of Caliph Ma'mun to prevent the groom from inappropriately approaching her, according to the author, made the caliph raise the family to a superior position. These anecdotes accentuate the strength of the *Qur'anic* rhetoric to trenchant arguments.

The case of 'Abdollah Kātib, the secretary at the court of Qarākhānid⁸⁸ in Samarqand offers another example of using the knowledge of the Scripture for the achievement of practical purposes.⁸⁹ It follows that once Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni sent a set of questions to the Turkish ruler, apparently to check his understanding of the commands of Islam and *Qur'an*, but in fact, to create an ostensible reason for leading an expedition on the pretext of their infidelity. The ruler, alerted by Mahmud's intention, invited all the religious scholars of Transoxiana⁹⁰ to compose a strong and unquestionable reply to safeguard his territory. But, none of their arguments came out strong enough. Finally, the ruler's secretary, Abdollah Kātib (Abdollah, the scribe) intervened and wrote a pithy *fatwā* (religious declaration) based on a saying by the prophet that urges true Moslems "to observe the Lord's command, and to have compassion with those he created." Rather than rhetoric, the ruler and religious authorities (*imams*) were stunned by the power of this statement which would call the attention of the war-seeking orthodox sultan to the compassionate aspect of the religion, a point that had been lost to the prevailing atrocity of religious conflicts. Proportionate combinations of humane intelligence, *Qur'anic* knowledge, and mastery of language convinced our author to join

⁸⁸ For a detailed history of this Turkic house and their governance in Transoxiana see Qazvini, "havāshi", pp 112-113, and Sir Henry Howorth, "The Northern Frontagers of China" in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. (July 1898): (467-502). <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25208007>. 15 July 2012.

⁸⁹ For a detailed and complete discussion on this secretary see Mohammad Mo'in, "ta'liqāt" on *Chahār Maqāle* (Ed.) Mohammad Qazvini, [Variorum Edition], pp 26-29.

⁹⁰ For the complete history and culture of Transoxiana during Islam see Peter B. Golden, particularly chapters 3, 4 and 5.

the ruler in his acknowledgment, “the secretary would suffice and imams were not needed” (*be dabir kefāyat shod va be a’emme hājat nayoftād*).

By evidence of such examples Nezāmi ‘Aruzi establishes standards for selection of articulate and eloquent secretaries who are observant of ethical consideration, motivated by noble intention, responsive to the demands of the moment, with a language diplomatically poignant, pregnant with thought, and informed by the divine and human wisdom. Not a man who knows the rule of good rhetoric, or possesses mastery of pompous words, or good memory of *Qur’anic* verses, or one who has a beautiful hand style (a scribe, as one denotation of Persian *dabir*) is the one. Rather, he should be the one among the best, being of sharp intelligence, keen observation, insightful learning, and selective acumen to allow for the most effective use of his knowledge. Then, it is imperative that a secretary not only be well-versed but also well-grounded in *Qur’an*, *hadith*, sciences, and literature because a secretary functions as the mediator in the king’s communication with his own subjects and with the world beyond his sovereignty. He is the mouthpiece and the administrator both of internal and of foreign affairs. Hence, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi dedicates the first chapter in the hierarchy of his universe--the book--to the secretarial function; i.e., one of the two constituents of logos that is “not a trivial matter.”

Chapter two is dedicated to poetry. Here, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi draws standards of good poetry from reflection on the works of great poets of the Samanid, Ghaznavid and Saljuq era. From several poets he listed in the introduction Nezāmi ‘Aruzi depicts Rudagi, the bard poet of the Samanid court, Ferdowsi, the poet of Iranian national epic; ‘Onsori, the

laureate (*malak al-shu'arā*) of Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni;⁹¹ Amir Mu'izzi, the laureate of Sultan Sanjar, Azraqi, the poet of a Saljuq ruler, Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān, the poet of Ghazni, and Farrokhi. These are paragon of Persian poetry. For example, save for a few lines from earlier poets, the history of the New Persian poetry begins with Rudagi. In addition, it is notable, at the court of the Samanid who modeled their court after the pre-Islamic Sassanid Empire; portrayal of Rudagi is reminiscent of Bārbod, the bard at the court of Sassanid Khosrow Parviz (r.590-625). In fact, the anecdote about the power of his lyric that he sang in company of his harp and moved the Samanid king from Herat towards Bokhara is reminiscent of a similar anecdote of the well-known Bārbod. It follows that when Khosrow Parviz's beloved horse died no one dared to risk his life by disclosing the bad news to the king. So it was left to Bārbod to use his art and convey the news through a lyric that he sang in company of his harp. Thus, this analogy suggests that Rudagi is a cultural icon as well.

For a similar reason, Abol Qāsem Ferdowsi (935-1020) is given a particular place in *Chahār Maqāle*. He is the most prominent figure in the revivification of Iranian national identity after the Arab conquest. His epic poem, *Shahnāme*, a pioneering work in the New Persian literature, recaptured Iranians' ancient history as a response to Arabs' suppression of the nation's historical past in preference for a *Qur'anic* narrative of history. To accentuate the energy of his epic poem Nezāmi 'Aruzi recounts an ironic

⁹¹ By creating the position of *malik al-sh u'arā* (the poet laureate) which he granted to Abol Qāsem Hasan 'Onsori (d. 431/1039), Mahmud enhanced panegyric as a strong tool of propaganda, and qasida as the most fitting form. Although the heroic epic of Ferdowsi –*Shahnāme*-- was completed under Mahmud, it was the true product of the Samanid era. Rypka maintains that Mahmud era promoted romantic epic instead. Due to the Ghaznavid's close affiliation with Baghdad, Arabic language and style influenced Persian poetry and prose. It is mostly in association with these two contributions that Sultan Mahmud, like the Saljuq sultans, appears in the highest number of anecdotes (8) in *Chahār-Maqāle*. See Jan Rypka *History of Iranian Literature* (Ed.) Karl Jahn. Holland: D. Reidel Publishing Company, Dordrecht, 1968, pp 121-122.

anecdote. It follows that when the Ghurid sultan, ‘Alā al-Din, set Ghazni on fire to take revenge for the murder of his two brothers by his contemporary king of Ghazni (a descendent of sultan Mahmud) he sent orders to collect all panegyrics composed in the name of Sultan Mahmud, and locked them away in order to eradicate the memory of the Ghaznavid house. But, at the same time, he himself kept reciting a couplet by Ferdowsi where in a rare occasion the poet had eulogized the Ghaznavid sultan in these words:

Of the child in its cot, ere its lips yet are dry

From the milk of its mother, ‘Mahmud!’ is the cry!

*(cho kudad lab az shir-e mādar beshost/ ze gahvāre Mahmud guyad nakhost)*⁹²

‘Onsori (d. 1039-40), another poet to whom Nezāmi ‘Aruzi pays homage, stands out in Persian poetry for his powerful panegyric. He is another pioneering poet of the New Persian in the high style of Khorasani known for his quickness of improvisation. Moreover, ‘Onsori was the poet laureate of Sultan Mahmud, a position that was created by this sultan and is particularly associated with the development of panegyric *qaside* (ode) in his era. Notwithstanding that Mahmud was from a Turkic origin and whose father emerged from the military machinery of the Samanid, he made a significant contribution to the development of Persian literature. Farrokhi (11th c.) is another prominent poet whose imagination created one the most vivid and dynamic sceneries in Persian poetry.

Most of the principles given in the instructive preface of chapter two are drawn upon the practice of these poets. Their work represents a combination of good imagination and extensive reading of all sciences including the works of ancient logicians. Hence, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi defines poetry as a form of logos where reasoning

⁹² *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 31.

contributes to the instructions he gives the prince for the selection of court poets, and also, to the showing the way of excellence to the novice. Here, the poet communicates to contemporaries and the future an image of the king that he constructs through his art of language. As ‘Onsori said, the name of Mahmud of Ghazni survives in the future not because of the palaces that no longer exist, but by panegyrics that are about him. Therefore, the topic covers different features and requirements needed to duly fulfill the intention ascribed to this function through the “craft” (*senā’at*) of poetry.

A proportionate combination of imagination and thought, talent and learning is the key to the coherence of the product. A poet “must be of healthy temperament (*salim al-fetre*), profound in thought (*‘azim al-fekre*), sound in genius (*sahih al-tab’*), a profound thinker (*jayyed al-raviyye*), subtle of insight (*daqiqā al-nazar*)”. But he must also be “well versed in diverse sciences (*dar anvā’-e ‘olum motanavva’ bāshad*)”.⁹³

Good poetry, he suggests, is effective and powerful. Its imaginative intent operates on the emotions inasmuch as it provokes action. By reference to the case of “an ass-herd” who was moved by a couple of lines so vehemently that he could reach the governance of Khorasan, Nezāmi ‘Arūzi accentuates this stimulating power of poetry.⁹⁴ The lines being one of the earliest evidence in Persian poems read, “If lordship lies within the lion’s jaws, Go risk it, and from those dread portals seize/ Such straight-confronting death as men desire, Or riches, greatness, rank and lasting ease.”⁹⁵ Poets, according to Nezāmi ‘Arūzi’s definition, function importantly in the propaganda machine of the kings:

⁹³ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 1.

⁹⁴ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 27-28.

⁹⁵ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 28.

“The names of the monarchs of the age and the princes of the time are perpetuated by the admirable verse and widely-current poems of this guild”.⁹⁶

An effective poem is also the one that can shape the listener’s view of the world. With an echo of Longinus, he describes the power of poetry which “can make a little thing appear great and a great thing small”⁹⁷ and “By acting on the imagination” it can “control the pathos (excite the faculties of anger and concupiscence)”.⁹⁸ As such, the poets also need to possess practical and moral qualities. Just as other forms of creation are tailored towards a final achievement, the end of a good poem is to register “immortal fame”. This final end explains the importance of the poet’s work, and if a poem, he asks rhetorically, cannot be published because of “being ineffectual for the immortalizing of his [poet’s] name, how can it confer immortality on another?”⁹⁹ And thus, he reminds the prince of the importance of poets to an intelligent king.

The power of poets’ skill in registering the immortal fame of patrons, just like a two-blade dagger, would turn against them if they did not treat the poets appropriately. By some examples, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi perhaps intending to alert the prince of his weapon, shows that ill-treatment of poets is not a wise thing for any ruler to commit. Official mistreatment of Mas’ud Sa’d Salmān, a poet whose constant imprisonment inspired the most powerful poems of prison in classical Persian poetry, caused, according to Nezāmi ‘Aruzi, an eternal scandal for another sultan of Ghazni so that he wonders if the wrongdoing should “be ascribed to strength of purpose, or a heedless nature, or hardness of

⁹⁶ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p27.

⁹⁷ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 27.

⁹⁸ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 27.

⁹⁹ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 31-32.

heart, or a malicious disposition.” No matter what, he calls it a sheer “laudable deed” of negative consequences.¹⁰⁰

Even more notorious is the case of Sultan Mahmud and Ferdowsi. Being hurt by the sultan’s ill-treatment, Ferdowsi moves to the court of the king of Tabarestān in the north west of the Iranian world, prefacing the epic with his name and a severe lampoon verse against Sultan Mahmud in a thousand couplets. Although, according to Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s account, the king of Tabarestān—his host—bought the entire lampoon from Ferdowsi and washed it away, just for a few lines that escaped his attention Mahmud is eternally remembered for his ill-treatment. Even his later endeavor to compensate for the undue reception of his *Shahnāme* could never compensate for the loss of his name. Thus, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi makes it clear to the prince, that “the Poetic Calling is no mean occupation.”

Chapter three is dedicated to astronomers. Here, it is the Moslem-Iranian scientist and astronomer of the 11th century, Abu Rayhān Biruni (973-1048) who is foremost among his primary source of standards. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi defines the scientific nature of astronomy as the result of accurate calculation and judicial conclusions. The true astronomy emerges out of a combination of four sciences including geometry, arithmetic, cosmography and judicial astronomy. Whereas geometry, arithmetic and cosmography deal with the nature and with relation of lines, shapes, numbers, terrestrial-celestial bodies, judicial astronomy pertains to analogical deduction. Given the key role of astronomers in the sustainability of the integrated governance Nezāmi ‘Aruzi stresses that prognostication should develop through a systematic process of observation and reasoning. Inasmuch as he functions as the king’s strategist-mind, an accomplished

¹⁰⁰ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 51.

astronomer must be equipped with two capacities. On the natural side, with an obvious influence of the ancient horoscopy, part of his ability originates from certain cosmological circumstances at the moment of his birth: “[he] should possess in his own horoscope the Part¹⁰¹ of Unseen (*sahm al-gheyb*), and that the Lord of the House of this Part of Unseen should be lucky (*va khodāvand-e khāne-ye sahm al-gheyb mas’ud*), and in a favorable position (*dar mowze’i mahmud*), in order that such pronouncements as he gives may be near the truth.”¹⁰² Yet, he also warns the prince against certain peculiarities in their character that bring them near to weirdness. “Natural intelligence” and “acute mind” form innate capacities of the astronomy whereby he will be able to build the knowledge of the profession.

Accordingly, such natural competence and lucky coincidences will grow into effective function once they are nurtured by good readings and appropriate theoretical means. If the author conceives of mastery in the aforementioned four fields of sciences as imperative to astronomy, he designates the study of books by masters in these fields instrumental to the achievement of the respective sciences. Most of these sources are drawn from Moslem scientists, but reference to Euclid’s and translated books reveals the influence of the Hellenist intelligence, and unravels the imported identity of astronomy. One should keep in mind that astronomy (or astrology) was viewed in a strongly unfavorable light by the orthodox Moslems. The commonality of prognostic competence between astronomy and soothsaying that was generally attributed to Jewish practitioners must have been another cause of their hostility against astronomy. That may explain Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s emphasis on the view that it is imperative for an astronomer to

¹⁰¹ For the translation of *sahm* see Browne’s translation of annotations on *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 132-33. Also, see M. Mo’in, “ta’liqāt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 271-73.

¹⁰² *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 63.

acknowledge God's control of events. The case of his master of astronomy perhaps, 'Omar Khayyām, accentuates this aspect.

Nezāmi 'Aruzi reminds us that as the greatest astronomer of the Saljuq era 'Omar Khayyām would not entirely trust astronomical prognostication.¹⁰³ Yet, his prognostications often came true. For example, the author had heard him saying his tomb would be placed on the crossroad of the north wind and every spring it will be covered by blossoms. This proved true to the author as he paid a visit to 'Omar Khayyām's tomb.¹⁰⁴ In another anecdote, the sultan asked Khayyām to predict the weather so that they could go hunting. Khayyām proposed a certain day for that purpose. But they had not advanced much when the weather turned out adverse. In response to the sultan and courtiers Khayyām ensured them that the snow will soon stop and there would be no more clouds in the forthcoming days, a prediction that came true. These anecdotes suggest that firstly, no controlling power is ascribed to astronomers; secondly, even their well calculated predictions are always susceptible to probability and flaw; and thirdly, their predictions are conclusions they draw upon observation and calculation rather than speculation.

To further distance the science of astronomical practice from heresy and soothsaying Nezāmi 'Aruzi dedicates a few anecdotes to the practice of fake prognostication for the sake of self-interested intentions. In an anecdote he accentuates an astronomer's faith as a sign of trustworthiness by recounting the case of insincerity of a non-Moslem (*kāhen*) pretender. Upon learning the man's arbitrary verdict the king notes that "I knew that this soothsayer never said his prayers and one who agrees not with our

¹⁰³ These two lines are missing in Browne's 1899 translation because, as we learn from Qazvini's variant records, they were missing in the lithographed edition (T). This edition had been Browne's base-text for his 1899 translation. See Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 63.

¹⁰⁴ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 71-72.

shar' (doctrine) agrees not with us.” Nezāmi ‘Arūzi had already recommended that kings should select as confidants those who are true believers in *shar'*. Thus, the themes that Nezāmi ‘Arūzi pursues in chapter three are in accordance with the purpose he pursues in other chapters. He unpacks the “true meaning” of astronomy and the true function of the astronomer to accentuate it as “a necessary Science.”¹⁰⁵

Guidelines for the selection of meritorious physicians as another branch of philosophy in the medieval sense of the word are set in chapter four. Here, the main subject is the science of body, or natural science, and the main source of reference for the author’s instruction is the Moslem Iranian physician and philosopher, Abu ‘Ali Sinā (known as Avicenna, or I[E]bn-e Sinā in the west). The author sets the principles of the physician and medication in the introduction. Accordingly, a physician must have “tender disposition (*raqiq al-kholq*), wise nature (*hakim al-nafs*) and excelling in acumen (*jayyed al-hads*)”,¹⁰⁶ and be of trained mind. This competence, as in other chapters, enables the practitioner of medicine to draw logical conclusions from observation of facts, “rapid deduction of the unknown from the known”¹⁰⁷ (*sor’at-e enteqāli bovad az ma’lum be majhul*) so that he could arrive at sound judgments. The purpose of medicine is to relieve the body from pain and disease. But, given the connection between body and soul, the physician must have accurate insight to the soul, as well; what today we refer to as psychological knowledge. It is a science to be learned through knowledge of the predecessor. But it is also the sound judgement that a physician gains by “extreme compassion” and “respect” for the human body (*sharaf-e nafs ensān*).

¹⁰⁵ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 12.

¹⁰⁶ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 76.

¹⁰⁷ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 76.

Avicenna is depicted as an ideal physician of insightful knowledge and treatment of causes. He is in fact the pioneer of what today we know as psychosomatic treatment. In one anecdote, he could learn about the cause of a prince losing weight and energy due to unspoken love, and could treat his deficiency in health by helping him marry his beloved girl. In another anecdote we are told about Avicenna's treatment of a Buyid prince suffering from melancholia. The prince thought he was a cow and abstained from eating in order to die. Pretending to be a butcher Avicenna could make the prince eat well to be good enough for slaughter. Nezāmi 'Aruzi maintains that beside to God's help and to the physician's natural acumen the logic is needed for the success of medical treatment because it enables the physician to make sound diagnoses that are drawn upon systematic knowledge of diseases.

Other selected celebrities in this chapter include the physician, philosopher and chemist, Mohammad b. Zakariyyā Rāzi (865-925) known as Rhazes or Rasis in the West; 'Abdol Wāhid Juzjāni, a peer-physician and a student of Avicenna;¹⁰⁸ 'Abol-Hossein Mohammad al-Sohaili (d. 1027), the physician at the court of another Iranian ruler in Khāwrazm,¹⁰⁹ and the Christian physician of Ma'mun from the well-known house of Bukhtishu',¹¹⁰ and the physician of the Diyālamid governor of Shiraz. Moreover, in the first anecdote of chapter four Nezāmi 'Aruzi quotes another scientist who recommended a list of books in medicine. Among them, for example, is the well-known Persian medical

¹⁰⁸ See Mohammad Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 253-54.

¹⁰⁹ See Mohammad Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, p 244.

¹¹⁰ See Mohammad Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 238-39. For more information about this family see Max Meyerhof, "An Arabic Compendium of Medico-Philosophical Definitions" in *ISIS*. 10:2. Chicago, University of Chicago (June 1928): (341-348). JSTORE. Web.1 May 2012. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/224503>>.

encyclopedia, *Zakhire-ye Khāwrazmshahi* by Esamā'il Gorgāni (1040-1136), and sources by Galen and several other Moslem physicians.

Save for the first chapter where Nezāmi 'Aruzi does not say anything about himself he includes one or two autobiographical anecdotes in each chapter. In chapter two, he recounts two anecdotes relating to him, one about going to the Saljuq Sultan Sanjar's camp in an (apparently) unsuccessful attempt to get into the court poets, and another about him being at the court of the Ghurid, Malik al-Jebāl where he could win a competition of improvised poetry. Two anecdotes in chapter three are autobiographical. In one, he tells us about a girl in his household (*ajuze*) whom he had taught astronomy and functioned as an astronomer/ astrologer for the women. The last anecdote is also about his having done a prognostication as an astronomical skill that came true. The last anecdote in chapter four is also about his treating a gynecological issue of a young girl in Herat as a man who knew medicine (See below). Thus, the treatise covers a considerable number of anecdotes and references some of which, as Qazvini maintains, are found nowhere else, and counts as a unique source of historical information.

In making critical selections, Nezāmi 'Aruzi acts through the ethos of a liberal-minded critic whose depiction of characters and examples gains no effect of ideological, political, racist or gender difference. True faith rather than superficial piety, sincere morals rather than hypocrisy, insightful observation rather than magnitude of knowledge, intelligence rather than doctrinal obedience govern his decision. Hence, his characters come from diverse political and religious backgrounds, and his universe sets the example for the sovereignty of the reason where every man of intelligence possesses a voice. Hence, instead of well-known scholars of religious sciences such as Mohammad Ghazzāli

who came from the same region where Ferdowsi, a short while earlier had come from—Tus—, or instead of the well-known scholar-vizier of the Saljuq Malikshah, Khāwje Nezām al-Molk Tusi who was contemporary and perhaps in contact with Khayyām, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi lets characters from other sects or religions gain voice in his book only because they are philosophers. The secretary of the Shi’ite court of the Buyid in the Western Iranian world (10th-11th century), who were a rival of the eastern empires of the Samanid and the Ghaznavid is a case in point. Sāhib b. ‘Ebād (Sep. 938-March 995) is praised for the strength of his pithy command on the removal of an abusive judge in Qom. After ensuring the validity of people’s complaints against the judge’s corruption, Sāhib deposed him through a well composed pithy phrase (“oh you, judge of Qom I hereby denounce you for sure and you leave the seat”) by punning on the word Qom (the city of Qom in Arabic literally means, stand up: *yā ayyu hal qāzi be Qom qad ‘azalnāka faqum*).

In another anecdote, the Christian physician of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph--Bokhtishu’-- set an example for compassion, care and reason. It follows that when none of his medicine worked for a close relative of Ma’mun, the caliph gave in to God’s determination. As a result, the physician dared to take risk and apply his last choice of medicine which could cure the patient of the malady. By a similar spirit, in his disdain of a Moslem, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi reserves a supportive tone for the assumedly Jewish scientist, al-Kindi.¹¹¹ See what al-Kindi does with the imam’s robe which he gains upon winning the contest. He simply tears it and makes a pair of socks (*pāytābe*) out of it in the presence of Ma’mun to humiliate the arrogant and prejudiced imam. It is obvious that

¹¹¹ Based on historical documents Qazvini argues that al-Kindi was from a well-known Moslem family (See, “havāshi”, *Chahār Maqāle*. p 204).

Nezāmi ‘Aruzi is not displeased with al-Kindi inasmuch as he explicitly designated the scientist as a Jewish.

Even the infidel Qarā Khatā (originally, Turks of Chinese origin) gains a voice in his book only because he expressed insightful understanding of justice and compassion as the gist of the true faith. Upon the defeat of Sulatan Sanjar the Saljuq this Qarā Khatā left Transoxiana with the Qarākhānid ruler and appointed a prince from the neighboring state (Khāwrazm) to the rulership of Bokhara. But, to keep his manner of rulership under check the Qarā Khatā conqueror assigned a Moslem imam by the name of Ahmad to his office. Later, when he learned about the ruler’s ill-treatment of people the Qarā Khatā king sent a letter, beginning with the *Qur’anic* formulaic “In the name of God the compassionate”, and reminded him in a pithy sentence, “Atamtegin [the ruler] should do what Ahmad orders, and Ahmad order what Mohammad has commanded”. Thus, by punning upon the name Mohammad (perhaps both the Qarākhānid ruler of Samarqand, and the prophet of Islam) the non-Moslem king accentuated the necessity of obedience to the true message of Islamic teachings.¹¹²

In this ideal universe only narrowly or legalistically orthodox Moslems are humiliated. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi does not skip any chance of exposing the ugliness and vice of bigotry and prejudice regardless of how well-received the person might have been. The

¹¹² See the chapter on secretaries, anecdote 8. It is worth noting that, according to Qazvini, Qarākhātā conquerors, although not Moslems, are known for their justice and good behavior towards the conquered territory. (See, “havāshi”, in *Chahār-Maqāle*, pp 112-113.) According to historical sources, at this time Samarqand ruler was Mahmud Khan whom Sanjar had appointed, but after the defeat of Sanjar, this Mahmud Khan fled to Khorasan. It is not clear who was seated to his place in Samarqand (See Howorth, JRAS. (July 1898), p 498. JSTOR. Web. <<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/stable/25208007?seq=33>>. But given that the Qarā Khatā is said to have left the governance of Transoxiana with Qarākhānids, my speculation is that he must have carried a name of Mohammad. If so, then the punning force of the aforementioned quotation becomes relevant because it is both the name of the governor of Samarqand who had control over Bokhara as well, and the name of the Prophet.

well-revered pious Khāwje ‘Abdollah Ansāri (1006-1088) is a case in point. In the eighth anecdote of chapter four we hear about an Adib ‘Esmā’il, a physician whose judicious prognosis about a butcher’s stroke came true, and he could save his life. In the following anecdote, we hear about Khāwje ‘Abdollah Ansāri’s negative response to such a marvelous job in terms of heresy whereby he provoked people of Herat against the scientist and had his followers burn his books. Now, the sheikh happened to fall into a difficult illness. His disciples anonymously sought the physician’s prescription. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi accentuates the nobleness of the scientist as he suggests that Adib ‘Esmā’il recognized the patient; nevertheless, he did not use the opportunity to take revenge on him. Instead, he simply advised the disciples to tell the sheikh, “one should learn knowledge not burn books.”

The criticism becomes even more powerful by the placement order of these two anecdotes in the body of the text. While in the earlier anecdote it is the gratifying virtue of knowledge that is delineated, in the following anecdote the malice of prejudice is highlighted. In fact, the nobility of the Adib’s behavior and the wisdom of the final message sharpen the negative picture of Khāwje ‘Abdollah Ansāri even more powerfully. He was an extremely admired religious character, well known for the extreme piety and spiritual grace that shines through all his prayers of melodious rhyming prose.¹¹³ But none of his charming prayers eliminates the malady of his prejudice. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni does not remain safe from Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s poke of criticism for his bigotry, either. He did not reward Ferdowsi appropriately because, as the author states, some courtiers reminded the sultan of the poet’s religion: “since he is a heretic (*mu’tazilite*) man and of Shi’ite sect (*rāfezi*). This judgment could impress Mahmud who “was a

¹¹³ His book of prayers, *Monājāt-Nāme* is an epitome of excellent rhyming prose in Persian.

prejudiced man” (*mardi mote’aseb bud*). Nezāmi ‘Aruzi shows that the sultan’s prejudice originated from extreme egotism and self-interest, rather than from his sincere devotion to God or religion. When Abu Rayhān Biruni, that paragon of wisdom for all seasons, won a contest that Mahmud had set to test his competence as an astronomer, instead of rewarding him, Mahmud ordered him to be dropped down the porch. And when still he learned that Biruni had prognosticated the event, he got so offended that he imprisoned Biruni for six months. Later at some point, Mahmud told his administrator that the scientist should not have expressed a thought against the king’s liking because, “like children” he had remarked, “kings are, and one should talk in agreement with them to benefit from them.” One could not do a better job in exposing the ego-centrist character of this Sunni sultan than the attribution of such words to him. As demonstrated by these examples, in this textual and democratic universe that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi crafts out of historical material the only password is *reason*.

Thus, the author takes upon himself advising the prince to hold governance of reason, firstly, by having the right offices; secondly, by having the wise officials; thirdly, by employing rubrics of excellence in each office.

Section 2- Context of the Author, the Text and the Addressee

In this section we begin to pursue the history of *Chahār Maqāle* along the historical axis of the early Islamic era (the blue axis in Figure 1). Here, we confine ourselves to the context of the author and the composition. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi dedicated his book to the Ghurid prince. This generation of Ghurid rulers and sultans were from Shansabāni house, with a vague and controversial history. They established an empire on the highlands of Ghur and Tokharistān from the mid-12th to the late 13th century. Yet,

scholarly work on this dynasty is relatively recent. Interest in the history of the Ghurid seems to have been eclipsed by excessive interest in their contemporary dynasties; i.e., the Saljuqs and the Ghaznavids. Except for *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri* no major historical sources reach us from them. In recent times even until the mid-20th century, the history of the Ghurid empire has not been given due attention. As David Thomas reminds us, it was only after 1957 when the site of Jām mosque in Firuzkuh was excavated that the Ghurid attracted the interest of historical research.¹¹⁴

While it is believed that the Ghurid are originally Iranian their lineage is confusingly attributed to the tyrant Zakhāk (Bivarasp) who was “king of Aran”¹¹⁵ in one narrative, and to the legendary Iranian hero, Faridun who overcame the Arab tyrant, Zakhāk (Bivarasp) in the highlands of Ghur, in another narrative. Bosworth conceives of them as the forefathers of the present Tajik people. Given that ‘tajik’ is the modified term for “tāzi” (Arab) as a designation of Persianated Arabs of the eastern Iran their Iranian lineage remains open to question. The second narrative attributes their lineage to

¹¹⁴ David Thomas, “Fīrūzkūh [Firuzkuh]: The summer capital of the Ghurids” in *Cities in the Pre-modern Islamic World: the Urban Impact of Religion, State and Society* (Eds.) Amira K Bennison; Alison L ascoigne, London; New York: Routledge, 2007, p 115. Web. 15 July 2012.

<http://latrobe.academia.edu/DavidThomas/Papers/107251/Firuzkuh_the_summer_capital_of_the_Ghurids>.

¹¹⁵ *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri*, 1963, p 321. C. E. Bosworth draws this view upon Juzjāni (*Tabaqāt-e Nāseri*). See “The Early Islamic History of Ghur” in *Central Asiatic Journal*: VI: 2, June 1961 (116-133), p126. Turning to the same issue in another article--“Ghurids”--he remains ambiguous about their lineage: “obsequious courtiers and genealogists connected the family with the legendary Iranian past y tracing it back to Zakhāk, whose descendants were supposed to have settled in Ghur after Ferēdūn [Faridun] had overthrown Zakhāk’s thousand-year tyranny.” *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Web. July 23 2012.

<<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ghurids>>. But in *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri* the author explicitly refers to two narratives about Shansab’s lineage. One narrative quoted from *Montakhab-e Nāseri* dates their early history to Faridun whose nephews resided in Mendish and developed from there (1963, p 322). In his verdict Bosworth seems to rely on Marquart’s thesis: “Marquart was the first to point out the fact that the Ghūrids [Ghurids], despite the frequency of the name ‘Sām’ in their genealogy, did not derive their origin from Rustam’s [Rostam] family, but from that of the tyrant Zakhāk [Zakhāk], a repugnant figure in the tradition of Iranian lands further to the west.” See Bosworth, “The Early Islamic History of Ghur”, p 126, footnote 32.

Faridun's descendants including the forefathers of Shansab family, who upon Faridun's conquest settled in the Ghur region in the west center of present day Afghanistan.¹¹⁶

Notwithstanding their ambiguous historical origin the Shansabāni obviously considered themselves of Iranian lineage. In the enhancement of the Persian culture they followed the Samanid and the Ghaznavid, and played a significant role in the expansion of the Persian literature in the Moslem India that lasted well through the 19th century.¹¹⁷ They are said to have converted to Islam during the caliphate of Imam 'Ali who gave the banner of rulership to their ancestor—Shansab—, a designation that won his descendants legitimacy for ruling the pagan tribes of Ghur. The Shansabāni were proud for coming from the only region under the Omayyid era (661-750) who had retained the name of Imam 'Ali in their *khotbe* (official sermon). Based on historical studies Bosworth believes that the Shansabāni were initially adherents of Karrāmi school of Sunni Moslems, but when they raised as a sultanate and expanded their dominion they converted to Shāfi'i and then Hanbali schools of their neighboring Khorasan and Ghazni.¹¹⁸

Being repudiated for their military achievements the Shansab family also contributed to the downfall of the Omayyids in the mid-8th century. A Shansabāni ruler, Amir Fulād helped the Khorasani chieftain, Abu Moslem to bring the Abbāsīd house to power. There is still another legendary association between this house and Iranian

¹¹⁶ *Montakhab-e Nāseri* quoted in Minhāj al-Din al-Serāj al-Juzjāni, *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri* or *Tārikh-e Iran va Islam*. Vol.1, 1963, pp 336-337 and the genealogy table between pp 321-322. Medieval Ghur was the basin of the upper Heri Rud, Farah Rud, Ghur Rud, and Khash Rud with intervening mountains. See Bosworth, "The Early Islamic History of Ghur", p 117.

¹¹⁷ For cultural atmosphere of the Ghurid state see Jan Rypka, pp 221-222. For religious condition see Bosworth, "The Early Islamic History of Ghur" and "Ghur" in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. 10, pp 586-590. Also see Ehsān Elāhi, "The Ghurids", "The Ghorids [Ghurids]" in *The Ruling Dynasties of Central Asia* (Ed.) Dr. Mohammad Shamsuddin Siddiqi, Peshawar: Area Study Centre, 1988 (110-129), pp 124-127.

¹¹⁸ See Bosworth, "The Early Islamic History of Ghur", pp 125-26.

ancient history. After Shansab's grandson, Amir Benji Nahārān had gained the emirate by the endorsement of Hārūn al-Rashid (mid-9th century) his grandsons established their rulership at the skirts of Zarmorgh Mountain. According to legends this mountain was the bastion of Zāl, the father of the Iranian's legendary hero, Rostam whom a phoenix had mothered. Nevertheless, precise historical account about these rulers until 493/1099 when 'Ezz al-Din became the ruler is not constant. It was under the same 'Ezz al-Din that, according to *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri*, the Ghur region had grown quite "populous and prosperous to support a cohort of scholars and mystics",¹¹⁹ a point that evidences the cultural vibrancy of Ghurid court since earlier decades of the century.

Thus, assumedly being of Iranian origin, the Ghurid established a kingdom of "overlords of large areas" expanding from eastern Iran, Afghanistan to modern Pakistan by 1200. Like Qarākhānids, the Ghurid governors were initially vassals to Ghaznavid and Saljuq sultans, but around the time Nezāmi 'Aruzi wrote the book, they had gained the caliph's recognition as an independent sultanate. By 540/1145 their dominance had extended to Tokhārestan and Bamiyan where Fakhr al-Din Mas'ud, the father of Nezāmi 'Aruzi's patron, was appointed as the ruler. Their dominance over Bamiyan and Ghazni at a later time as well as their encounter with the Saljuq Sultan Sanjar all happened during the reign of another son of 'Ezz al-Din, i.e.; 'Alā-al Din Hosseyn whose era was the beginning of an expanding dominion stretching "from Neishābur in Iran to Benāres in

¹¹⁹ See David Thomas, p 115. Web. < <http://latrobe.academia.edu/DavidThomas/Papers>>, p 115. 20 Aug. 2011.

eastern India and from the foothills of Himalayas south to Sind” by the end of the 12th century.¹²⁰

The first Ghurid ruler of Bamiyan was Qutb al-Din, another son of ‘Ezz al-Din and the brother of ‘Alā al-Din and Fakhr al-Din, from Shansab family. He made Firuzkuh his capital, and known by the general title of *Malik al-Jebāl* (the ruler of the mountains), he should be the ruler whom Nezāmi ‘Aruzi refers to in an autobiographical anecdote. This Qutb al-Din was poisoned by their rival sultan of Ghazni—Bahrāmshah— in 541/1146.¹²¹ Since it is not clear when this Qutb al-Din came to power it remains a question for query to decide precisely whether it was during the time of the father or the son when Nezāmi ‘Aruzi joined the house. But, it is clear that he wrote his treatise in the name of Fakhr al-Din’s son, the prince of this branch of the Ghurid house in Bamiyan.

Not much is known about Nezāmi ‘Aruzi of Samarqand beyond his scanty autobiographical allusions in *Chahār Maqāle*. Although authors of Persian *tazkeres* (biographical compendia) since the 13th century well through the 19th century have dedicated a section to Nezāmi ‘Aruzi and have quoted anecdotes from *Chahār Maqāle* (with or without reference to the author), they only give sketchy accounts of similar length, generally sufficing to call him a poet of great skill and the author of *Chahār*

¹²⁰ See David Thomas, p 115. Web. <<http://latrobe.academia.edu/DavidThomas/Papers>>, p 117. 20 Aug. 2011.

¹²¹ *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri*, 1363, pp 336-337, and the genealogy table between pp. 321-322. This is the main source of information for contemporary historians on the Ghurid written by a historian of the era who had some familial connection with the house. Also see Qazvini, “Annotation”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 192. For a discussion of this event based on Ibn Al-Athir see Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1977, pp 113-116. Bosworth rightly points out confusion on the date of ‘Ala’ al-Din Ghurid’s penetration in Ghazni to take revenge of Bahrāmshah on the murder of his two brothers, and concludes that it must have taken place later in 544/1149.

Maqāle (called sometimes only as *Majma' al-Navāder*,¹²² sometimes identical with *Majma' al-Navāder*¹²³ and other times as a different book),¹²⁴ a poet of the Ghurid house,¹²⁵ and erroneously, sometimes referred to as the author of the verse romance, *Vis-o Rāmin*.¹²⁶ Among them however, the earliest source of exceptional case is 'Awfi's *Lubāb al-Albāb (The Quintessence of Hearts, 13th century)*.¹²⁷ Written only sixty years after the assumed date of Nezāmi 'Aruzi's death, it contains some unique details.¹²⁸

Three points of significance in 'Awfi's account is particularly illuminating to the future discussion. Firstly, 'Awfi cites the highest number of verse lines by Nezāmi 'Aruzi. Secondly, some of these quoted lines are lampoons not found in any other *tazkeres*. And thirdly, *Lubāb al-Albāb* is the only known source where we learn about a life threat against Nezāmi 'Aruzi by an orthodox Moslem, a point which as I will show, is important for understanding the general atmosphere of the time and Nezāmi 'Aruzi's situation therein, in today's terminology, as an intellectual.¹²⁹

Notwithstanding that Nezāmi 'Aruzi is unanimously introduced as a poet, his only substantial surviving work is the very prose treatise under discussion so that, were it not for *Chahār Maqāle* he might have remained only a name in *tazkeres*. Furthermore, it is

¹²² See Hamdollāh Mostowfi, *Tārikh-e Gozide* (14th c.) (Ed.) Doctor 'Abdol Hossein Navā'i, Tehran: Amir-Kabir, 1362/1983, p 753.

¹²³ For example, Amin Ahmad Rāzi and Rezāqoli Khan Hedāyat.

See Qāzi Ahmad b. Mohammad Ghaffāri, *Tārikh-e Negārestān* (13th c.) (Ed.) Modarres-Guilāni, Tehran: Hafez, 1960, p 59; Rezāqoli Khan Hedāyat, *Majma' al-Fosahā*. 2 Vols. Photographed Edition. Tehran: 1878. Vol. p 5.

¹²⁴ Hāji Khalifā (Mustafā b. 'Abdollāh al-Qustantani al-Rumi al-Hanifi) (17th c.), *Kashf al-Zunun: anna Asmā' al-Kutub wal Funun*. 6 Vols. Beirut: Dār al-Fikr, 1999. Vol.1, p 485; Vol. 2, p 500.

¹²⁵ Rezāqoli Khan Hedāyat, 1878, Vol. 2, p. 635.

¹²⁶ Da[o]watsahh Samarqandi, *Tazkerat al-Shu'arā (Lives of the Persian Poets, 15th c.)* (Ed.) Edward Browne. Leyden: Brill, 1900, p130.

¹²⁷ See Mohammad 'Awfi, *Lubāb al-Albāb*, 2 Vols. Vol. 2 (Ed.) Edward Browne, Leyden: Brill, 1903, pp 207-8. The English title of 'Awfi's book is borrowed from Jan Rypka, p 117.

¹²⁸ Qazvini, "moqaddame-ye mosahheh", *Chahār Maqāle*, p ya.

¹²⁹ Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, p 208.

through this book that we learn about him, and through him, about his time as well as the sensibility of the milieu in which he lived. Save for *Lubāb al-Albāb* other *tazkeres* mostly repeat each other and dedicate a few lines to him, as a poet, a man of knowledge, and the author of *Chahār Maqāle* or/and *Majma' al-Navāder*, a writer of good style. In the 19th century *Majm' al-Fosahā* Rezāqoli Khan Hedāyat maintains that his mastery of prosody (*'aruz*) made him known as 'Aruzi. Hedāyat also maintains that he had a high command (*mahārati kāmel*) of medicine and astronomy, yet concludes that there is not much foundation (*pāye-ye chandān*) about his poesy (*nazm*).¹³⁰

In our time, the first detailed biography of Nezāmi 'Aruzi was collected from "his own numerous allusions" by Edward G. Browne (1862-1926) and was published as an introduction to his 1899 translation.¹³¹ But it was Qazvini who wrote the most, chronologically, coherent and complete biography on Nezāmi 'Aruzi, based on internal and external sources, in his edition of 1910 which I am using as an important secondary source here. Drawing from autobiographical allusions made in the anecdotes, and based on other sources Qazvini argues that Nezāmi 'Aruzi must have been born some years before 500/1106-1107, apparently in Samarqand of Transoxiana. He must have left Samarqand for Balkh in Khorasan as early as 506/1112-13 when he was in contact with the Iranian astronomer, 'Omar Khayyām. From Balkh, in 509/1115-16 he went to Herat, another important city in the south west of Khorasan, and from there, to Tus in the north west of Herat to attend Saljuq Sultan Sanjar's camp in 510/1116-17 "in the hope of obtaining some favor," because he was "having then nothing in the way of equipment or

¹³⁰ *Majma' al-Fosahā*, Vol. 2, 1878, p 635.

¹³¹ See *The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, Great Britain, (July 1899): (617-619).

provision”.¹³² (See the map, below). Then, by evidence of two anecdotes he makes mention of the years 512/1118-19 and 514/1120-21. During these years he must have been in Neishābur, another important city of Khorasan in the south west of Tus. According to his account, it must have been during this time that he met Amir Mu’izzi, the poet laureate of Sultan Sanjar’s court.¹³³ Nezāmi ‘Aruzi does not seem to have ever got into the circle of poets at Sultan Sanjar’s court, and we have no clue whether or not he was even successful in gaining a significant position at other local courts. But, it is very probable that like most of poets in the Saljuq dominion Nezāmi ‘Aruzi had to shift from one local court to another in quest of patronage, which could be one reason for his excursion in the region.¹³⁴ The fact that he does not claim definite affiliation with any Saljuq courts raises the likelihood even more so. Regardless of what he did in the meantime, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi went back to Neishābur in 530/1135-36 to pay a visit to ‘Omar Khayyām’s tomb as homage to his lost “master” (*ostād*), where the author, seeing the tomb, as predicted by the master was covered with blossoms, falls into tears (*gerye bar man oftād*).¹³⁵ After this date we do not hear any more about his whereabouts or sojourn in Khorasan.

As mentioned earlier, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi traveled from Transoxiana through Khorasan to Bamiyan. Therefore, he breathed in three different geopolitical and ideological zones. Each of these regions was run by a different sultan or ruler in the earlier half of the 12th century. Samarqand was under the rule of Turkish Qrarākhānid, the heartland of Khorasan was run by originally Turkman (Ghoz) Saljuqs, and Ghurid

¹³² *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 45.

¹³³ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 45 & pp 77-80.

¹³⁴ See Daniela Meneghini “Saljuqid Literature”. Encyclopaedia Iranica. Web. 4 June 2011. <<http://www.iranica.com/articles/saljuqs-v>>.

¹³⁵ Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 63; *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 71.

region of Bamiyan was under the governance of the originally Iranian Shansabāni house. Aside from his immediate milieu, in the anecdotes he covers a lapse of three centuries. This means that talking about Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s time, and about *Chahār-Maqāle* we deal with a time-span roughly of three hundred years. During the 9th and the 12th centuries, kings/sultans and rulers of the eastern territory of Iran that make some kind of connection with the context of *Chahār-Maqāle* were affiliated with five houses. In this period the eastern Iranian world, at some point, stretched from Rey and Khorasan in the west, to north India, Pakistan and Afghanistan in the east, Transoxiana in the north, Kermān and Systān in the south. Hence, for a comprehensive understanding of the context which has inspired the composition of the text we need to take a look at a larger scope of time than the author’s life span.

We do not have any clue when Nezāmi ‘Aruzi joined the Shansabāni rulers of Ghur and Bamiyan either. All the four references to his affiliation with the Ghurid rulers begin from around 540/1145-46. We do not know where he was during 530/1135-36 and shortly before 541/1146-47. In the last anecdote of chapter two, for the first time he alludes to *dar ān tārikh* (in that time) when he was at the presence of Malik al-Jebāl (the king of the mountains), or *pādeshah* (king/emir).¹³⁶ The Shansabānis chose this title when they established Firuzkuh as their summer capital. Based on *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri* some historians locate the foundation of Firuzkuh by Qutb al-Din in 541/1146-47.¹³⁷ He is also

¹³⁶ See Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 51-53. For further discussion on this chronological issue see Mohammad Mo’in, “ta’liqāt” *Chāhar Maqāle*, pp. 247-249. Based on this discussion, the two important festivals or *eids* of Moslmes are ‘*eid al-fitr*’ celebrating the end of fasting month of Ramazan, and *eid al-Az-hā* (Qorbān) by the 10th of Zill-hajja when the pilgrims of Mecca sacrifice a lamb. From the former ‘*eid*’ to the latter it is there is a laps of 70 days.

¹³⁷ *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri*, and C. E. Bosworth quoted in David Thomas, p 115. Web. 20 Aug. 2011. <<http://latrobe.academia.edu/DavidThomas/Papers>>.

said to have had the Varsād (Warshād) region in his disposition around 540/1145-46.¹³⁸ In the related anecdote we learn that *dar ān tārikh* (in that time) the author had been in the presence of “*amir*” as a poet, and for winning an improvisation competition with other poets he was rewarded the exploitation of lead mines in Varsād “from this *eid* [*eid al-fitr*] to *eid al-Qorbān*”, that is, for seventy days. Now, this Qutb al-Din whom Qazvini believes to be the one referred to in Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s anecdote, was poisoned in 541/1146-47 by their rival sultan of Ghazni, Bahrāmshah.¹³⁹ Again, he should be the same “*khodāvand-e man Malik al-Jebāl*” who, according to Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s anecdote, had sent two Ghurid shepherd dogs to the ruler of Panjdeh (named Amirdād, or Dāvud) as gifts.¹⁴⁰

In fact, the only place where Nezāmi ‘Aruzi gives a time marker about his joining the Ghurid is in the preface. Here, the author says that by then he had been at the ‘service’ of this house for “*chehelo panj sāl*” (forty five years). Although all the witnesses that Qazvini used agree in this date, it contradicts other historical and biographical information including the one I discussed above. This is one of the controversies that neither Qazvini, nor Mohammad Mo’in, nor any one of his critics has pointed out. I will discuss it in chapter three, but it should be noted that such an anachronistic discrepancy may have caused by misreading “four or five years” (*chahār o panj sāl*) that is very close in Persian hand style with “forty five”.¹⁴¹

¹³⁸ See Professor Rana M.N. Ehsān Elāhi, pp 112 & 120. Also, David Thomas, p 139, note 7 on the naming of the city. Web. 20 Aug. 2011. <<http://latrobe.academia.edu/DavidThomas/Papers>>.

¹³⁹ Qazvini, “Annotation” in *Chahār Maqāle*, p192.

¹⁴⁰ Ghur was famous for its dogs. See Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle*, chapter 3, anecdote 5, pp. 60-61. For Qazvini’s note on this point see “annotations”, p 207.

¹⁴¹ For a detailed discussion of this topic see Chapter 2 of the dissertation.

From two other anecdotes, we learn that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi accompanied the Ghurid Sultan ‘Alā al-Din in his battle of 547/1152-53 against the Saljuq Sultan Sanjar in Herat where the Ghurid were defeated and both ‘Alā al-Din and a prince from the patronizing house of Bamiyan fell into Sanjar’s prison. In the last anecdote of chapter three he recounts how his prediction by astrological calculation came true and this prince, Mohammad b. Mas’ud was released on the very day he had prognosticated.¹⁴² That event also, according to the last anecdote of chapter four, forced Nezāmi ‘Aruzi, as an attaché of the Ghurid, to live a clandestine life for a while in Herat. It is by the same anecdote that we learn Nezāmi ‘Aruzi had known enough of medication to treat the host’s daughter of excessive gynecological hemorrhage.¹⁴³ After this year, no more is heard of him in the book, except for the reference he makes in the preface. The author of *Kashf al-Zunun* locates his death in 560/1164-1165. Qazvini estimates it to be after 550/ 1155-56.¹⁴⁴

Regarding his knowledge and skills the primary source is again *Chahār Maqāle*. In the last anecdote of chapter four while recounting how upon the Ghurid defeat by Saljuq Sultan Sanjar he hid in Herat, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi quotes someone who introduced him to the host in these terms: “Men know him as a poet, but, apart from his skill in poetry, he is a man of great attainment, well skilled in astronomy, medication, polite letter-writing and other accomplishments.”¹⁴⁵ In fact, the authors of *tazkeres* (just as “men” in the aforementioned quote did) generally have appraised him as a poet, which of course Rezāqoli Khan Hedāyat did not consider being of significance, although he confirmed his

¹⁴² Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 65-67; *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 74-75.

¹⁴³ *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 87-88.

¹³³ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 96-98.

¹⁴⁵ *Chahār Maqāle: The Four Discourses*, Browne. Rpt. of 1899. GB: Gibb Memorial Trust, 1978, pp 130-131.

mastery of prosody.¹⁴⁶ Based on this 19th-century *tazkere*, and perhaps upon the above mentioned anecdotes Qazvini also confirms that he knew astronomy and medicine.¹⁴⁷ No clear clues do we have what faith he followed from the Moslem schools. Given that in his time the liberal school of Ismai'ite Shi'ism was quite active then, it is not clear if he had any connection with them or not, or if he was Sunni or Shi'ite. Based on an ambiguous phrase in the autobiographical anecdote in chapter two Qazvini speculates that his forefathers might have been originally from the Prophet's tribe of Bani Hāshim. He argues that being Hāshimid Nezāmi 'Aruzi may have been granted the exploitation of the lead mines of Varsād by Malik al-Jebāl for seventy days as a routine tax (*khoms*) paid to the decedents of the Prophet's house.¹⁴⁸

Unlike many texts from earlier centuries *Chahār Maqāle* reached the 20th century in complete textual form and the colophon. It ends by the closing formulaic where the author proffers that may the ruler and the prince “both live happily not for a [limited] period but ad infinitum” (*har do shādmāne na moddati balke jāvdāne*). Yet, the colophon disappoints anyone who looks for a definite date as to when the author even approximately finished the work. Neither do any of the aforementioned sources make any suggestion on that matter. Qazvini resolved this problem by looking into both internal and external evidences. As for internal evidence he used the author's wish for Sultan Sanjar's long-life in the final anecdote to conclude that the book must have been

¹⁴⁶ Rezāqoli Khan Hedāyat, 1878, p 635.

¹⁴⁷ Qazvini, "moqaddame-ye mossahheh", *Chahār Maqāle*, p ha.

¹⁴⁸ Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, p 192. In Shi'ite jurisprudence *khoms*, literally one-fifth, is one of taxes on surplus income given to *sādāt* (lineage of the Prophet) so that they spend it for the betterment of the Moslem community. Qazvini proposes that the current reading, *az ān khoms bāshad* (to be out of that portion) may have originally been *dar ezā' khoms* (in exchange for the portion). But he expresses doubt about the hypothesis (*wallāhu a'alam/* and God knows). The problematic reading has been the subject of a number of conjectures and discussions. See, Mohammad Mo'in, "ta'liqāt", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 247-249.

completed before the recorded date of the sultan's death in 552/1157-58. Then, using another allusion in the introduction of the first chapter where Nezāmi 'Aruzi recommends *Maqāmāt-e Hamidi (Sitting Facetiae, 551/1156-57)*¹⁴⁹ as a useful source for secretaries Qazvini concludes that *Chahār Maqāle* must have been completed in the interval between the completion of *Maqāmāt-e Hamidi* in 551/1156-57, and the recorded date of Sultan Sanjar's death in 552 (1157-158).¹⁵⁰ We remember that inaccuracy of chronological information is detected by Qazvini as the main deficiency in *Chahār Maqāle*.

In the historical context of the Iranian world Nezāmi 'Aruzi's life span coincides with the rulership of three houses in the eastern territory: the Turkman Saljuq sultans¹⁵¹ in Khorasan and the heartland of the Iranian world, the Turkish Qarākhānid rulers in Transoxiana, and the emerging independent Ghurid house in the eastern highlands of Ghur (Firuzkuh)¹⁵² and Bamiyan. Geographically also, Nezāmi 'Aruzi sojourned through three regions in the eastern territory of the Iranian world of his time. He left his hometown in Transoxiana for the important cities of Khorasan, and thence, to Firuzkuh

¹⁴⁹ The translation of the title is by Jan Rypka, p 117.

¹⁵⁰ Qazvini, "moqaddame-ye mossahheh", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp z-h.

¹⁵¹ Kenneth Allin Luther, "The World of the Author and Purpose of His Work", in *The History of the Seljuq [Saljuq] Turks* by Zahir al-Din (approx. 570/1175.). (Trans.) Kenneth Allin Luther. (Ed.) C. E. Bosworth, Surrey, UK: Curzon Press, 2001 (3-14). Luther rightly admits that the collapse of the subsequent Saljuq dynasty in 1194 "did not mean a resurgence of Iranian rulers in the area". See p 4.

¹⁵² Original ruling citadel of the Ghurid was Āhangarān. Firuzkuh was established by Qutb al-Din as the summer capital of the Ghurid. Since we hear no mention of Āhangarān by Nezāmi 'Aruzi we may use it as another evidence to argue he must not have joined the Ghurid house before 541/1146-47 which is the year given for the establishment of Firuzkuh.

and Bamiyan in the east. Here is a simulated trajectory of his excursion:

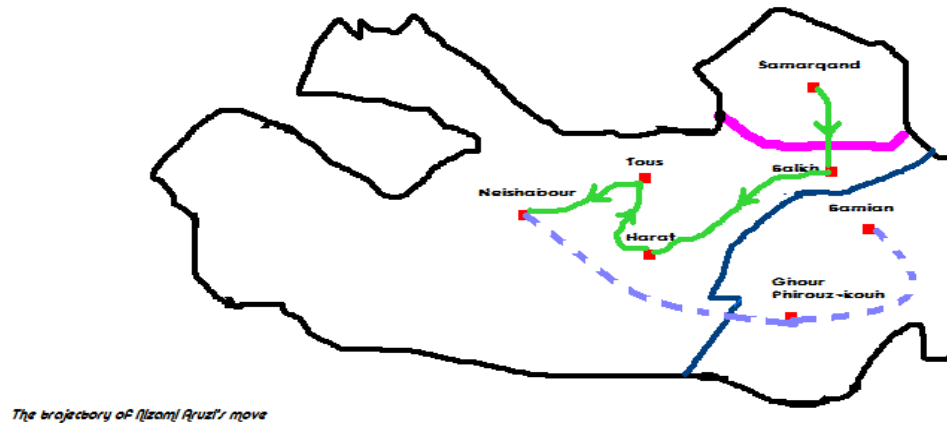


Figure 3. The Trajectory of Nezāmi 'Arūzi, I.

It is worth noting that the Iranian world by the 12th century under the Saljuqs included a vast territory that at some points stretched from Central Asia, Caucasus, to today's Iraq, Syria and Anatolia in the west, and as far as Kermān and Persian Gulf in the south. To this must be added the territory of Persian culture that was stretched to present day Pakistan, Afghanistan and north-eastern India under the Ghaznavid and the Ghurid. Administration of this vast territory was handled by sultans or kings through appointment of local rulers. Rulers would generally concede to be vassals of the sultan of the mainland (generally in Khorasan), otherwise, they would fall prey to expeditions and disturbance by them.

On the other hand, being in charge of the eastern land of the Islamic territory kings and sultans who came to power were subjects to the 'Abbāsīd caliphs as the main sovereign of the Moslem empire. The sovereignty of the sultan or governor would be

endorsed only by including their names in *khutbe* (sermon) of Friday congregation in Baghdad. This tenacious political tie came to a close by the invasion of the land by nomad Mongols in the early 13th century that paved the way for Hulago's expedition to Baghdad and the murder of the last caliph in 1258. This was the end of some five century hegemony of the Baghdad caliphate over the Iranian world. The politico-religious legitimacy of the Baghdad caliphate in turn originated from their genealogical connection with the Prophet's house. Evidently then, religious harmony between Sunni 'Abbāsid caliphs and sultans or kings of the Iranian territory played an important role in the endorsement of the latter's legitimacy. Thus, the religious tendencies of Baghdad would extend to their influence zones and enhanced the dominance of a certain school of Sunni Islam, a case that affected the governance of Transoxiana and Samarqand by the Turkish Qarākhānid.

Nezāmi 'Aruzi's hometown, Samarqand, was an important city of the medieval Iranian world, particularly during the 10th and 11th century. In the earlier times, Samarqand had been one of the most developed towns of Transoxiana, active both in cultural production and in trading during the medieval ages. After being conquered by Moslem Arabs in the 8th century, Samarqand gained reputation for turning into an important center of science and religion. The language spoken in this region, Sughdi, was a dialect of Dari Persian. The long list of the poets and writers of religious, imaginative and non-imaginative literature testifies to the cultural vibrancy of the city in the early centuries of Islamization. Rudagi Samarqandi, the poet, and Abu Hanifa Eskāfi, a well-known secretary (*dabir*) of the Samanid period whom Nezāmi 'Aruzi praises for his secretarial mastery were from Samarqand. It was also in Samarqand that Moslems

learned about paper from the Chinese. The industry must have been flourishing enough in Samarqand to inspire the introduction of the poetic imagery of *kāghaz-e Samarqandi*.¹⁵³

But as of the beginning of the 11th century Samarqand was ruled by a branch of the Turkish house from Central Asia—the Qarākhānid—who had taken over Transoxiana. Being of debatable origin of Qarluq, Chegel, Uighur and Yaghmā the Qarākhānid appear in the political scene of Transoxiana by the mid-6th century as a federation of Turkish nomad tribes. An urban people of this Turkish federation settled in the eastern territory of Balāsaghun and Kāshghar from whence they had ruled the tribes since then.¹⁵⁴

Genealogically, the Qarākhānid associated themselves with the Turkish (Turāni) heroic figure, Afrāsiyab. According to some historical sources people of Kāshghar who were originally shamans converted to Islam by Abu Nasr, the Samanid (d. 960). Accordingly, the first Qarākhānid ruler who converted to Islam seems to have been Hārūn Boghrā Khan known as 'Abdol Karim Sabaq Qarā Khan. It was the same Boghrā Khan that, as historical sources say, was invited by two of the Samanid noblemen (Simjur and Faiq) to attack Nuh (Noah) b. Mansur and could eventually take over Transoxiana. Being of Hanafī school of Sunni religion the Qarākhānid soon gained the approval of the Baghdad caliphs. But in the early half of the 11th century their stability was jeopardized by the interference of the neighboring Ghaznavid who fueled internal conflicts among

¹⁵³ Manucehri, the poet of the Ghaznavid era describes the 11th-century city in these terms: *chonān kārgah-e Samarqand shod zamin az dar-e Balkh tā Khāvarān* (All the land, from the gate of Balkh to Khāvarān, became like the workshops of Samarqand), *dar-o bām-o divār-i ān kārgah chonān zangi-yā-nand kāghazgarān* (at the doors, and roofs, and walls of the workshop there are papermakers that are like niggers). See Fāruq Ansāri, *Herat: Shahr-e Āryā*, Tehran: Markaz-e Asnād-e Pejuheshi, 1383/2004, p 180.

¹⁵⁴ Henry H. Howorth, p 467.

them.¹⁵⁵ In the latter quarter of the 11th century the Qarākhānid stability again fell to peril by internal wars and external threats, particularly by the Saljuqs of Khorasan.

Domestically also the Qarākhānid were challenged by ‘*ulamā*, an aversion that lead to the execution of many scholars in Transoxiana. As the result of three expeditions of the Saljuq sultans (1060s, 1070s, and 1089), the Qarākhānid eventually fell to vassalage under them. According to scanty historical sources it seems that around the time when Nezāmi ‘Aruzi was in Samarqand the city was the scene of severe conflicts among them and by external troops including the rulers of neighboring Khāwrazm. Nezāmi Aruzi does not tell us at what age he left the city, and why he went to Balk. But since he does not mention returning to Samarqand it is very likely that his migration to the more dynamic and stable environment of Khorasan under the powerful Saljuq sultan was motivated by the socio-political and ideological circumstances of Qarākhānid zone of dominance.¹⁵⁶

In Khorasan, on the other hand, he seems to have been learning sciences of his time. In Balkh he was in contact with ‘Omar Khayyām, who had *haqqe ostādi* (right of training) over him as well as other astronomers of the time from whom he must have learned astronomy.¹⁵⁷ In Tus and Herat we hear of him in the capacity of a poet,¹⁵⁸ and in

¹⁵⁵ On Ghaznavids see Dr. Hossein Khan, “The Ghaznavid Dynasty” in *The Ruling Dynasties of Central Asia*. (49-61).

¹⁵⁶ For a more recent overview see Michal Brian, “Il-Khānids” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Web. <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/ilak-khanids>> 13 Aug. 2011.

See Henry H. Howorth, pp 468-69. For his study Henry Howorth relies on the Arab medieval authors particularly Ibn Khaldun. Also, Hossein Khan, “the Qara-Khanids” [Qarākhānid] in *The Ruling Dynasties of Central Asia*, pp 62-71; and Peter B. Golden, Chapters 3, 4, 5.

¹⁵⁷ Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 62-63. For Khāwje Imam Mozaffar Esfārāzi and his collaboration with Khayyām in the establishment of Malikshahi obituary, see Qazvini, “havāshi”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 228.

¹⁵⁸ Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 41; *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 45.

Neishābur he was in contact with *attārān* (pharmacologists).¹⁵⁹ At least in one case he very explicitly points to having been in quest of a position at the court of Sultan Sanjar in 510/1116-17. His contemporary Sultan Sanjar was one of the descendants of the Turkman tribal head who ended the dominion of the Ghaznavid in the decisive war of Dandānghān (1040) and pushed them eastward to their confine in Ghazni. Although purely Turkish, the Saljuqs like Ghaznavids made a significant contribution to the expansion of the Persian Empire and to the dissemination of Persian literature and culture. They were also the great patrons of science and astronomy. Inauguration of *nezāmmiyye* schools by their famous scholar-vizier, Khāwje Nezām al-Molk is the landmark of unanimous institutionalization of religious scholarship and other sciences insofar as they are said to have enhanced the supremacy of their Sunni school. Khayyām constructed the big observatory in Isfahan by the support of Malikshah. All in all, this era witnessed the rise of many poets, writers, and Islamic scientists.

Concerning the social life also the Saljuq era (1040-1194) is known as one of the highlights in the development of the Iranian world. This rise is attributed to the progress of towns, to excellent schools (e.g., *nezāmiyye*), to the shifting of the civil administration from the hands of old nobility into those of intelligent bourgeoisie as well as to the penetrating, though not apparent, influence of the Isma'ilis.¹⁶⁰ Nezāmi 'Aruzi was contemporary with the rulership and sultanate of the most stable and prosperous Saljuq

¹⁵⁹ Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 69-70; *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 77-80.

¹⁶⁰ P 183. For the literary history of Saljuq period see Rypka, pp 183-225. The Isma'ili is a Shi'ite school whose history dates back to the early middle ages. They are famous for their secular, liberal view and for their recklessness that led to assassination of their adversaries in the middle ages. One of their victims was Khāwje Nezām al-Molk, the vizier of the Saljuq house, and the author of *Siyāsāt-Nāme*, whom they stabbed to death by knife due to his position against Isma'ilite. On his assassination see, Rāhat us-Sudur, p 135. For a classical history of the Isma'ili see *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā-ye Joveyni*, Vol. 3, (Ed.) Mohammad Qazvini, Gibb Memorial Series. Leyden: Brill, 1937. Print. For a recent history see Farhād Daftari, *The Isma'ilis: Their History and Doctrines*. Rpt. of 1990. UK, Cambridge: University of Cambridge Press, 1999.

era under the sultanate of Sanjar in Khorasan, who is famous for his conquests and his patronage of literature and sciences. During this period Persian prose adopted technical embellishment of Arabic style. The Persian language extended its influence to western territories of the Saljuq Empire. The genre of didactic literature, partly by the influence of Sufism and partly due to other circumstances, gained currency both in poetry and in prose. It was also during the Saljuq era that a number of key works on literary techniques and lexicography were composed. Two of the famous books of counsel, the aforementioned *Siyāsat-Nāme* by Khāwje Nezām al-Molk, and *Nasihāt al-Moluk* by Mohammad Ghazzālī were products of the Saljuq environment.¹⁶¹

But the Saljuq era was also a time of religious strife and internal conflicts. Based on textual evidence from this period Bosworth reminds us that “there was at this time much religious strife between Sunnis and Shi’ite”. By the same token he alludes to “confident Sunni orthodoxy” and “religious strife in Nishāpur [Neishābur] between Hanafi and Shafi’is [Shāfi’is]”.¹⁶² In the larger setting also the turn of the century coincided with the war between the Christian world and the Moslem world. Jerusalem fell to crusaders in 1099, around the same time that Nezāmi ‘Arūzi must have been still in Transoxiana, and the same time when Iranian world went through antagonism among different Sunni and Shi’ite schools. This restlessness is not only reflected in the frequent wars within the borders, but also in the cultural life of the time that, among other causes, would not allow for an established and permanent stability. No wonder that poets and intellectuals of the Saljuq era did not gain permanent and stable patronage from a single

¹⁶¹ See Daniela Meneghini. Web. 14 Aug 2011. <<http://persianheritage.com/articles/saljuqs-v>>.

¹⁶² See Clifford Edmund Bosworth, “Introduction” in *The History of the Saljuq State (Akḥbār al-Dowlat al-Saljuqiyya)*. n. a. (Trans.) Clifford Edmund Bosworth, London & New York: Routledge, 2011(1-8), pp 3, and 83-84.

court. To secure their living poets and intellectuals moved from one court to another. Hence, his life displays “the sense of fluidity of the territorial, cultural and intellectual borders with which the intellectuals of the time were prepared to live their professional lives.”¹⁶³

Evidently it was at the court of the emerging independent Ghurid state that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi enjoyed permanent patronage whereby he was able to compose *Chahār Maqāle*, a text that is singled out for its rhetorical, stylistic, intellectual and practical merits. But as we can also see, it is a text embedded with cultural and political nuances. By evidence of his style and form in this work one could say that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi joined the Ghurid house when he had already advanced in all the arts and skills needed for a man of letters and an administrator of accomplished ethos. But, it is not clear in what capacity he came into their service. Whereas he assumes the role of the prince’s instructor, like what *atābegs* function in the tradition of the neighboring Saljuq house, this office was unknown to the Ghurids and Ghanzavads.¹⁶⁴ As a result, one may conclude that instructorship was a self-assigned influence Nezāmi ‘Aruzi imported to this emerging empire from his acquaintance with the Saljuq environment.

Being in “the buffer-zone of two empires” in Bosworth’s words, the Ghurid were in critical relation with both of these Persianate Turkish dynasties so that they may be taken as the only house of Iranian origin in the eastern lands.¹⁶⁵ The fact that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi writes a treatise which in many ways, departs from formulaic of books of council

¹⁶³ Daniela Meneghini. Web. 14 Aug. 2011. <<http://persianheritage.com/articles/saljuqs-v>>.

¹⁶⁴ See C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, p 100.

¹⁶⁵ See C. E. Bosworth, *The Later Ghaznavids*, p 68.

written in the Saljuq environment should be viewed in the context of this cultural ambience.

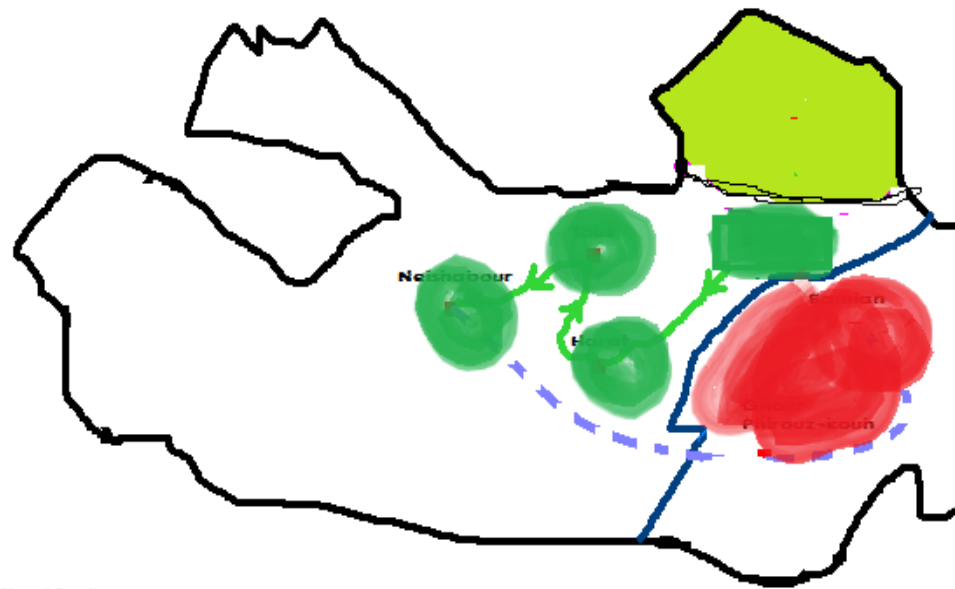
Conclusion

Based on such observations I believe Nezāmi ‘Aruzi was primarily an essayist of philosophical and critical mind in all major scientific fields of his time. In the autobiographical anecdotes Nezāmi ‘Aruzi introduces himself as a poet, an astronomer and a physician. Whether or not he was a poet could be an easier question to answer than to decide whether he was a good one. But one may very certainly claim that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi was an insightful critic and theorist of good poetry according to the literary taste of the medieval ages.¹⁶⁶ As illustrated in the following map he spent his formative life (yellow in the map) in the Qārākhānid zone of Samarqand, developed his intellectual life in Saljuq Khorasan (green) and lived a productive life in the Ghurid realm (red). Hence, he carried the remnants of the Qārākhānid zone and of the florescent Saljuq domain to the court of emerging Ghurid Empire.

Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s work was informed by explicit and implicit intentions that were shaped by the social, ideological, and cultural circumstances of his milieu. At a personal level, he seems to have traveled through eastern territory of the Iranian world to seek knowledge and patronage. At a professional level, he had to compete with rival works. At an intellectual level he was aware and perhaps victim to animosity against rational sciences. And at a national level, like earlier intellectuals of the land he envisioned himself responsible for the preservation of the Iranian cultural memory. His text was in

¹⁶⁶ My reference to “medieval” is only chronological. By no means, “medieval” in my application to the early Islamic history of Iran has anything to do with the dark associations that accompany the term from a Eurocentric perspective of “medieval ages”.

conversation with demands and limits of the milieu he lived in which, as we will see in the forthcoming chapters, operate on *Chahār Maqāle* beyond the control of the author's intention. They inspire the text at various levels and equip the text with potentials for forthcoming reincarnations.



The trajectory of [Nezami] 'Aruzi's move

Figure 4. The Trajectory of Nezāmi 'Aruzi, II.

Chapter 2- Mohammad Qazvini and the Restoration of *Chahār Maqāle*

Just as the text emerged out of a dialogic interaction with the demand and limit of its milieu, its critical edition by Mohammad Qazvini also responded to institutional, socio-cultural and ideological circumstances prevailing Iran and Europe at the turn of the 20th century. Nuances of these circumstances leave their impression at every level of the edition including the critical reading of the text by Qazvini. In this chapter we look at the production of Qazvini's critical edition. Returning to our theoretical model, let us say, in this chapter we revisit the text on the vertical axis of the 19th-20th century, beginning with the text itself. (The green axis on the diagram) As we advance in the dissertation we will find out how much tedious details presented in this chapter are important to our understanding of textual criticism as the melting pot of influences from domains outside written or spoken words and paper and how far it involve personal, social, and practical matters as well.

Section 1- Description

As already noted, the Persian treatise known as *Ketāb-e Chahār Maqāle* began its life in the modern era officially by January 1910 when it was first published in the Gibb Memorial Trust Series in England, originally in five hundred copies, with an extra number of three hundred and seventy “complete” yet “defective” copies that the printing house spared.¹⁶⁷ By 1910 *Chahār Maqāle* was the eleventh book published under the auspices of the Gibb Memorial Trust, and the third book edited by Qazvini published in

¹⁶⁷ Edward Browne in a brief preface to a copy of *Chahār Maqāle* dated 13 May 1920. The copy used in this description is from the same “defective” stock at the holding of SOAS, number PM 891 5511 ARU. This copy carries a handwritten note by its original owner, A. R. Waite where he reports that his copy had been missing in a few pages (fall between 233 and 240 in his copy) and he had transcribed those pages on the blank leaves of the book to complete it. (For more details see the earlier footnote).

the series, the other two being *Marzbān Nāme* (1909) and *Al-Mu'jam fi Ma'āir Ash'ār al-'Ajam* (1909).¹⁶⁸ Opening from the right, the Persian text is presided over by the Persian title in a style of *sols* hand.¹⁶⁹ (Appendix 2)

The Gibb Memorial Series edition contains a total of 406 pages with the main text only in 89 pages (1-89) buried under several layers of appendices and introductions. The book has three types of pagination system. The introduction follows alphabetic numerals, beginning from right with the editor's elaborate introduction with *d* (د) on the second page and ending with *kah* (كح) (=page 23).¹⁷⁰ The main text, in a different font, covers pages 1-89. The critic's extensive annotations and corrections (*havāshi-ye enteqādi*), mostly on historical and biographical issues, takes pages 90-259.¹⁷¹ After the annotations appear three appendices including index of proper names (*asmā.al-rijāl*, pp 261-298), an index of places and tribes (*fihrist al-amākin wal-qabāyil*, pp. 299-310) and an index of

¹⁶⁸ Qazvini had collaborated with Browne in the critical editing of the 1st volume of *Lubāb al-Albāb* which was published in 1906 by Brill Printing House. It seems that Brill and Gibb Memorial had been co-publishers before Gibb started independent publication in 1905 with the publication of a facsimile of *Bābar-Nāme* edited by Mrs. Beveridge, and the second being Browne's abridged translation of *Tārikh-e Tabarestān*, 1905. Commercial interaction between Brill and Gibb Memorial could be illuminating in the transnational commercial cooperation in the early 20th century. According to the secretary to the trustee, "We have not used Brill to produce our books for at least 35 years." Robin Bligh. "Re: Gibb Memorial." Message to the author. 14 Aug. 2007. E-mail.

¹⁶⁹ This is an Islamic hand style, apparently developed from Kufi hand in the earlier era of Islam. I do not have access to the original copy. Hence, unfortunately I cannot give any description of the jacket, although in books by Gibb Memorial Series, the titles are normally in golden font and keeps the same pattern as the inside cover sheet.

¹⁷⁰ In the preface of the SOAS copy (dated 1920) Browne describes the original pagination of the Persian introduction ۴۰-۱=25 pages, the English introduction i-xxiv (24 pages), the text and annotations (1-259), Persian indices and list of variants (261-360). My examination of the same copy as well as a reprint of 1910 by Eshrāqi, 1363/1984 reveals that Browne's report is not exact because the Persian introduction covers 23 pages. Pages beginning from the second page with د and ending in ۴۰ follows:

که . کد . کج . کب . کا . ک . یط . یج . یز . یو . یه . یه . یب . یج . یب . یب . ی . ی . ط . ح . ز . و . ه . د
(*d, h, v, z, h, tā, ye, yā, yab, yaj, yad, yeh, yu, yaz, yah, yat, k, kā, kab, kaj, kad, kah*)

The English introduction also begins with xii on the second page, which covers xi-xxiv (11-24=13 pages). He also maintains that pages 1-259 (main text and annotations) were printed by al-Hilāl in Cairo, and the rest of the book were printed at Brill. But in the English "Preface" on the 1910 edition he writes that the introductions and Persian indices (without referring to the list of variants) were printed in Brill (See p xii).

¹⁷¹ This page is mistakenly printed 289 but in some reprints including the copy published by Eshrāqi (1984) which I use in this study, and the copy of Qazvini's private collection, it is corrected by hand to 259. (Appendix 5).

books (*fihrist al-kutub*, pp. 311-322). A 3-page errata (*ghalat-nāma*, pp 333-335) follows the three appendices, followed by the critical apparatus (*ekhtelāf-e qarā'āt yā noskhe badal-hā-ye chahār gāne*, pp. 327-359) and one more page on errata (*fā'at ghalat-nāme*) (360). On the left, the book opens with a cover sheet and the identity page all amounting to an octave. Two pages from this section are allocated to the list of published and in-process books, and the third is the signature page of Gibb Memorial Series (below), followed by the list of the Gibb Memorial Trustee. (Appendix 3)

Then, there is the English “Preface” by Edward Browne, covering 13 pages (xi-xxiv). The preface is mostly a translation of Qazvini’s introduction supplemented by Browne’s account of the printing procedure. The printing is executed in two Persian typefaces. According to Browne’s account, the main “manuscript” (fair copy) was printed by al-Hilāl in Cairo and went under preliminary proof reading by Dr. Mirzā Mahdi Khan Za’im al-Dowle, the editor of the Persian newspaper, *hekmat*. However, as Browne states, the Persian and English introductions and the three indices were printed in the Brill printing house of Leyden. Qazvini explains that the splitting of the print job was due to Brill’s occupation by “excessive workload” (*kesrat-e eshteqāl*), describing Brill as “the best and the biggest eastern printing house in Europe”.¹⁷² According to Browne’s preface to the book, and by examination of fonts annotations were evidently also printed at al-Hilāl.¹⁷³

The critic-editor’s introduction (*moqaddame-ye mosahheh*) contains the Qazvini’s evaluation and methodology, among other things. Qazvini opens the introduction by acknowledging the appropriateness of selection (*hosn-e entekhāb-e*) of “the valuable

¹⁷² Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle*, p *kab*.

¹⁷³ This preface appears on a copy from SOAS library.

book named *Majma' al-Navāder* [and] known as *Chahār Maqāle*” (*ketāb-e mostatāb-e mowsum be Majma' al-Navāder ma'ruf be Chahār Maqāle*) by “the well-known Orientalist (*mostashreq-e shahir*), Edward Browne”. His appreciation of Browne forms a long paragraph. Next, he provides a history of the book’s reception, the author, , a critique of the text, a brief description of the documents and recension.¹⁷⁴ He also gives an account of how and why he took it upon himself to produce a critical edition of *Chahār Maqāle*.

His estimation of the project, he states, was to take some “five to six months”. But he confesses that it proved a wrong calculation because the text had been extremely contaminated by a “profusion of misreading and interpolations by copyists who are often wanting in literary knowledge in Iran” so that it “has [been] entirely corrupted”. He states that some eight century’s lapse since its composition on the one hand, and extreme sloppiness enacted by uneducated Iranian scribes on the reproduction of secular manuscripts that, unlike the scholarly tradition of the Arabs, did not go through accurate collation, caused an enormous number of errors in the matter of dates and names of characters.¹⁷⁵ Treatment of such historical errors changed the intended timeline of “some five or six months” to several years.

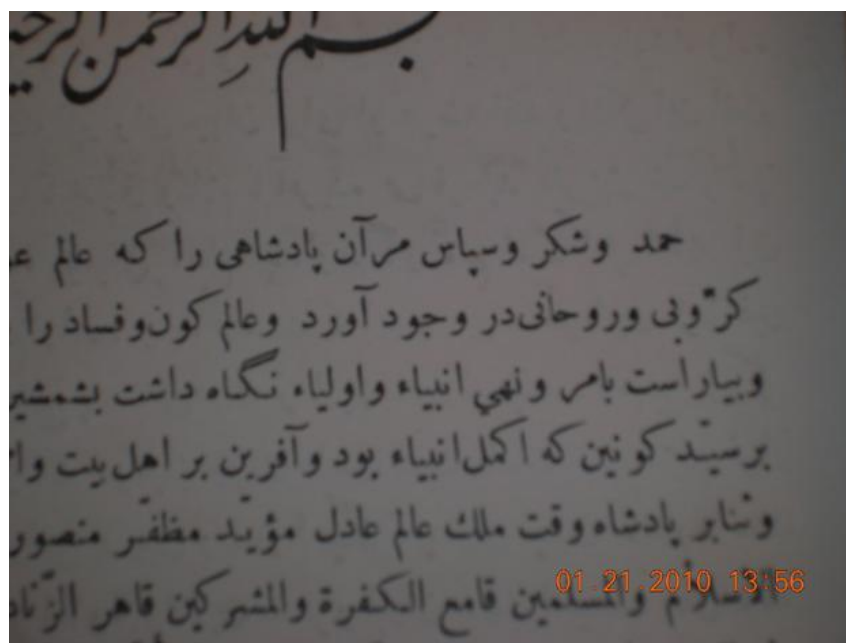
Besides editorial problems, according to this account, the delay had resulted from a practical cause. In the early twentieth century, the Brill printing house in Leyden was the only printing house in Europe that possessed Arabic and Persian typesets. That forced Browne to split the book between two printing houses, one in Cairo and one in Leyden. Sending the first impression back and forth for proofreading from Cairo to Paris where

¹⁷⁴ In chapter 3 of the dissertation I have gone over these parts thoroughly where relevant.

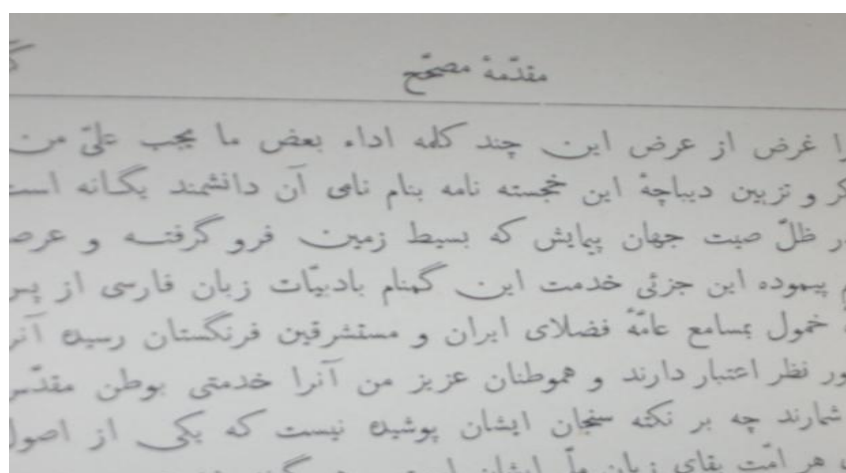
¹⁷⁵ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p *kā*.

Qazvini had settled after 1906 caused further delays. According to Qazvini's account the first impression was proofread by Mahdi Khan Za'im al-Dowle, but it would be sent to Qazvini in Paris for final proof-reading, which must have been repeated more than once, as it is implied by the statement: "the delay was caused by sending backwards and forwards of proofs".¹⁷⁶ Hence, the dissonance between type-face styles:

(Figure 5. Image 1: main text printed in al-Hilāl)



(Figure 6. Image 2: Qazvini's introduction, printed in Brill)



¹⁷⁶ Qazvini, "moqaddame-ye mossahheh", *Chahār Maqāle*, p kab.

Qazvini brings the introduction to a close by special tribute to Browne for two reasons. Firstly, he praises Browne for “forty years of sincere dedication” to the promotion and circulation of the important Persian historical and literary heritage” through publication and translation of the classical Persian texts.¹⁷⁷ Secondly, and even more significantly, Qazvini expresses his extreme gratitude to Browne as a true lover of Iranian history and culture, and as a supporter of the Constitution Revolution (1905-1911) in Iran: “and if so far his endeavors and services about Iran has been only scholarly and limited to a small number of Iranians, in the recent years that is the time of Iranian political revolution and the establishment of Constitution government ... for his invaluable endeavor and extreme support of this nobleman,...the fame of his love for Iran and his humanitarian love and righteousness has reached the ears of many people” (*va agar tā konun masā’i va khadamāt-e ishān dar bāre-ye Iran faqat ‘elmi va mashhud jami’i mahdud az fozalā va ‘ulamā-ye Iran bud dar in sanavāt-e akhire ke dowre-ye enqelāb-e siyāsi-ye Iran va ta’ sis-e hokumat-e mashrute bud,...be vāsete-ye zahamāt-e shāyān va khadamāt-e namāyān-e ān bozorgvār bā mashrute... sayt-e Iran dusti va haq parasti va nik fetrati-ye ān jenāb dar Iran gushzad-e kāfe-ye anām gashte...*)¹⁷⁸ The introduction is dated 14th of January, 1910 (2nd of Muharram, 1328).

Qazvini’s *Chahār Maqāle* was reproduced in clear text edition; i.e., the main text is void of footnotes or numbers. Pages are void of footnotes. Notes and variant readings are moved to the appendices. Obviously, the publication of the book did not end Qazvini’s research. In fact, for several years after the publication of the book Qazvini

¹⁷⁷ Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p kaj.

¹⁷⁸ Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p kad.

kept noting further comments on the variant readings on the margin of his own two printed copies.¹⁷⁹

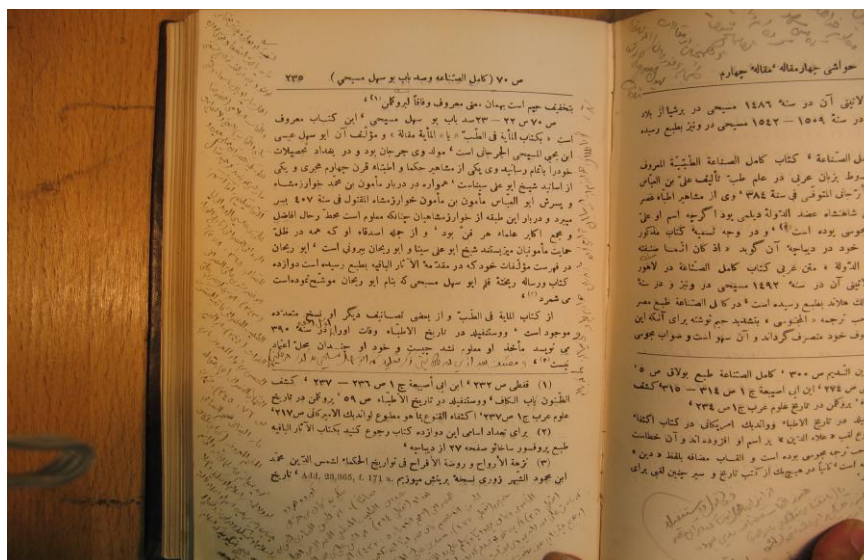


Figure 7- Image 3: Qazvini's annotations and notes

But, it was left to one of his students from the next generation to accomplish this task. Mo'in moved the critical apparatus to the footnotes, and added another footnote for his own glosses. This edition amounts to some 627 pages.

¹⁷⁹ One of these two copies is in the holding in the special collection of Faculty of Humanities at Tehran University (No. I- B- 13) which I have taken the above image from. The other copy is reported to be in the holding of Minovi Library in Tehran.

Section 2- Mode of Reading

Qazvini's reading of *Chahār Maqāle* is obviously historical. For him the text, as Marta Simidchieva said in the case of *Siyāsat-Nāme*, is a source of historical information,¹⁸⁰ both about the land and about the language. In the second paragraph of the introduction he maintains that although *Chahār Maqāle* is tiny in size it is “one of the extremely important literary books in the Persian language” (*yeki az kotob-e adabiyye-ye besyār mohemm-e Farsi*) for its “*qadam*” (age), for being one of the rare books that survived “constant invasions and massacres of the land by savage clans (*omam-e vahshiye*) such as Arabs and Mongols and Turks and Ghoz and the like” and have outlived Iranians' negligence of their ancestral heritage and “the evidence of their greatness and nobility” (*mujebāt-e majd-o sharaf-e khod*). The second value of the book, according to Qazvini, draws from its inclusion of invaluable information about historical issues and biographies (*eshtemāl-e ketāb bar besyāri az matāleb-e tārikhi va tarājem-e mashā-hir-e ā'lam*). Its third value for him derives from the style of composition (*sabk-e enshā*). It is written in a “fine, clear, concise style, so different from the florid and diffuse style of majority of later Persian writers”¹⁸¹ (*ijāz lafz va eshbā'e ma'ni va selāsat-e kalām va kholovv az mota'ātefāt-e motarādefat va asjā'e saqile va sanā-ye'e lafziyeh-ye bārade ke shive-ye nākhosh-e ghāleb-e nevisandegān-e iran bekhusus mote'akherin-e ishān bude*).¹⁸²

¹⁸⁰ See Marta Simidchieva, “*Siyāsat-Nāme* Revisited: The Questions of Authenticity” in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference In Iranian Studies* (Eds.) Fragner, Bert G. et al. Roma: Instituto Italiano Per il Medio ed Estrem Oriente, 1995 (657-674).

¹⁸¹ See Edward Browne, “Preface” in *Chahār Maqāle* (Ed.) Mohammad Qazvini, 1910 (xi-xxiv), p ii.

¹⁸² Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, n.p. and d.

Qazvini states that the book is the epitome of a well-balanced and mature style of Persian prose that could be an example of good writing for “every modern Iranian” (*har Irani-ye jadid*).¹⁸³ He appreciates the book for its brevity (*ekhtesār*) of content, smallness of size (*segħar-e hajm*), richness of historical data, and charming (*delkash*). The importance of chapter two is particularly stressed for its information about a large number of earliest Persian poets from Samanid, Ghaznavid, Diyālamid, Khānid, Saljuqs and Ghurid eras (11th-12th). Chapter three is also specifically singled out for its unique information about ‘Omar Khayyām. As a witness to the importance of Khayyām, Qazvini refers to the high reception of “the poet” by Americans and Europeans through the English translation of his *rubā’is*. He stresses that *Chahār Maqāle* is the only primary source on Khayyām inasmuch as it gives firsthand information about him, given that the author had known and met Khayyām. An account of a recent event by British literati for the celebration of Khayyām and his English translator, Fitzgerald, accompanies this quite elaborate note.¹⁸⁴

Yet it is for the same informative function attributed to the text that Qazvini blamed the author’s “inaccuracy” of chronological information. Qazvini depicted this aspect as leverage to linger on further: “Scrutinizing and close reading of the book demonstrates that despite his high position in virtues (*‘olovv-e maqām-e vey dar fazā’el*) and his excellence in the literary arts (*taqaddom-e vey dar ‘olum-e adabiyyie*) Nezāmi ‘Aruzi shows manifest weakness (*za’fi namāyān*) in the craft (*fann*) of history”. To develop this argument he gave a long list of flawed historical and chronological cases from the pool of what he had pinpointed in the text. Some of these flaws evoke explicit

¹⁸³ Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p. d.

¹⁸⁴ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp. d-h.

irritation in him. For example, that the author has conceived of the famous scribe of the Samanid era—Eskāfi-- in the first anecdote of chapter one as contemporary to Nuh (Noah) b. Mansur is termed as “a terrible mistake” (*sahv-e ‘azim*) not “forgivable” (*moghtafar*)” in any one, because, maintains he, Eskāfi had been contemporary with, Nuh b. Nasr,¹⁸⁵ the grandfather of the mentioned king. Interestingly enough, in the annotations he admitted that such a mistake must have intentionally occurred for the author to produce a desired rhetorical effect. (See chapter 1, section 1 in the dissertation).

Concerning the anecdote of Ma'mun's marriage in the same chapter, Qazvini argues that Hasan b. Sahl, from the Iranian house of Barmecide and the vizier of Ma'mun is mistaken for his brother Fazl b. Sahl. By the same token, he is irritated by the author's flaw in describing the Arab philosopher, Ya'qub Is-hāq al-Kindi as Jewish while “he and his fathers and his grand fathers were among the most famous Moslem families”.¹⁸⁶ Such mistakes are criticized by the editor as “ridiculous confluents” (*takhlitāt-e moz-hek*) and are used as reasons in support of his argument about the text's unreliability in the historical data. As a critic he deploys analysis in order to arrive at a judgment, and then, at a decision about the emendation of the text.

Detecting the author's “inaccuracies” Qazvini undertakes, as a critic-editor, the treatment of chronological and historical errors, because, “since the pivot of the use and utility of history books” he argues, “is solely bound to the authenticity of names and dates, and should these two items be corrupted and unreliable, history books will be like a lifeless body (*jesm-e bi jān*) and inscription on a façade (*naqsh-e bar eyvān*), and will be

¹⁸⁵ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p yab.

¹⁸⁶ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp yad-ya.

no more than legends of unknown time and place and agents”.¹⁸⁷ Hence, he appended a copious section with extensive scholarly notes on almost every single character, book, and event that appears in the text, sometimes quite elaborately. For instance, the note on Abu Rayhān Biruni takes six pages (193-197), and on Khayyām takes eighteen pages (209-227). These notes are of two types. If the author did not err on historical grounds, Qazvini would provide an elaborated explanation. As examples one may refer to his note on Abu Ma’shar Balkhi (d. 885) on pp 198-99 of the annotations.¹⁸⁸

If the author’s information was erroneous, then he—the editor—had to provide the correct information, for example, in the case of Eskāfi. With a size twice the main text these appendices or *havāshi enteqādi* as he named them, in fact, provide the historical and bibliographic context for the names and events in the book which indicates his endeavor to situate the text in the historical context as precisely as possible. This historical reading, as we will see, has several ramifications in his practice. Also, it has implications for the reading of the text.

For one thing, ‘Aruzi’s prologue does not gain any due attention from Qazvini. He relates to us that the book’s name draws from its inclusion of four chapters. In his reading also it is the “charm” of anecdotes, and of course “inaccuracy” of the historical information in anecdotes that are accentuated. The prologue is not even mentioned in the description of *Chahār Maqāle*. With a little more attention, Mohammad Mo’in notices prologue as far as he points out the resonance of some lines to Avicenna’s Persian philosophical book, *Dānesh-Nāme-ye ‘Alā’i*. As a result, two things get obscured. First, the philosophical thrust of the work gets virtually obliterated to the extent of missing

¹⁸⁷ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār-Maqāle*, p kā.

¹⁸⁸ Qazvini, “havāshi”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 198-99.

some of the allusions that the author, intentionally or sub-consciously, makes about his time. Take, for example, the anecdote of al-Kindi. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi opens the anecdote in these terms: “Ya’qub ibn. Is-hāq al-Kindi, though he was a Jew, was the philosopher of his age and the wisest man of his time”.¹⁸⁹ Based on accurate sources and thorough enquiry Qazivini dedicates three pages to argue that “Ya’qub Is-hāq al-Kindi” was from a well-known Moslem Arab house. Then he concludes, “The purpose of such a lengthy discussion (*tatvil*) is to show the author’s error in calling him a Jew... therefore this anecdote which is based on such an unfounded and uncertain (*amri bātel va asāsi vāhi*) point is itself untrue (*bātel*) and is a fabrication of narrators (*akāzib-e rovvāt*) and a forgery of storytellers (*khoraḡāt-e qossās*)”, and maintains that the only true point in this anecdote is Abu Ma’shar’s animosity against al-Kindi before beginning to study astronomy.¹⁹⁰

The argument, from Qazivni’s historical viewpoint holds consistency. But, he firstly does not take into account that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s primary purpose was to appropriate history to the development of his argument in a literary piece. Conventionally, it is assumed that classical Persian historiography has a pale border line with literary writing.¹⁹¹ In fact, history and literature have never held a clear border line, although the application of history to literature has changed over the time. However, this consciousness should not prevent us from reading *Chahār Maqāle* as a literary narrative, just as Aristotle in the ancient times and Shakespeare in more recent times allowed for history to be the subject of imagination for certain effects.

¹⁸⁹ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 64.

¹⁹⁰ Qazivini, “havāshi”, *Chahār Maqāle* (203-206), pp 203-4.

¹⁹¹ See Julie Scott Meisami, “History as Literature” in *Iranian Studies*. 33: 1-2 (2000): (15-30).

One problem, then, leads to the next. Perhaps, by missing this point Qazvini misses thematic coherence of the text. As a result, the significance of all the anecdotes where the author, again intentionally or sub-consciously, signals to the animosity of the orthodox Moslems against philosophers gets lost. For example, he misses the same theme in anecdotes of Khāwje ‘Abdollah Ansāri and Adib ‘Esmā’il, Sultan Mahmud’s mistreatment of Biruni, Avicenna’s migration to Tabarestān in the west just to evade going to Sultan Mahmud’s court, or even, the author’s life threatened by an attack, according to the same *Lubāb al-Albāb* that he himself refers to. Although some of these anecdotes are not historically true the very fact represented in them *through* these characters should not fail our attention.

By the same token and as a second implication, such a reading arises from an ironical situation. Qazvini is so occupied by historization of the anecdotes that he misses historicity of the text. Jan Rypka’s observation is one example of what I mean by historicity of the text. Situating the work in the historical context Rypka reminds us that *Chahār Maqāle* “was composed in the environment of the Ghurid dynasty and thus certainly reflects the intentions of the latter as well as opposition to everything related to the enemy, in particular, the Ghaznavids.”¹⁹² What distinguishes Rypka’s reading is the attention to the motive, or *intentions* of the Ghurid for supporting such a work. He quite reasonably situates the composition in dialectical interaction with the Ghaznavids. He also calls attention to the different mode of *Chahār Maqāle* in comparison to contemporary books of governance inasmuch as its focus falls on the counsels rather than

¹⁹² Jan Rypka, (221-222), p222.

the king.¹⁹³ Yet, there is more to historicity of the text. As we will see in chapter four of this dissertation, it is also dialogism that informs the *intention*.

As suggested earlier, pondering the *why* question leads us to explication of Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s purpose in writing this treatise just as he did: he intends to convene a conference (*majlesi*) on the “canons of philosophy” rather than simply reporting on historical matters. The main question would be another way of looking at the history by asking why Nezāmi ‘Aruzi insisted on the governance by the wisdom of philosophers. One can discern such a critical attention from Furuzānfar’s critique of Qazvini’s historical annotations. For example, regarding Qazvini’s note on Salāmi, the companion of Abubakr Khāwrazmi (“havāshi, p 125) Furuzānfar bases his historical argument on a reasoning based on common sense rather than written documents. His main critique is that we have no clue why Abubakr should have selected Salāmi among several other learned men around him, and then, he could not have been so important to prompt men to travel and seek his presence.¹⁹⁴

Fascination with documented information prevents Qazvini from considering that thematic integrity is essential to the textual integrity, and true textual integrity is achieved once all parts are read together. As I mentioned earlier, Qazvini almost drops the preface and the prologue from critical annotations. Aside from that, in the annotations, only five notes are on the author’s preface, and they are about names of the Ghurid rulers or sultans alluded to by the author. The prologue also gets only five notes, two are lexicographical

¹⁹³ Jan Rypka, p 427. “Of a different type is the *Chahār Maqāle* “The Four Discourses”, by the poet Nizāmi Aruḍi [Nezāmi ‘Aruzi] which was written between the ... 1155-1156. He completely disregards the ruler and devotes his attention to the four classes of advisors most necessary to the latter: ministers, poets, astrologers and doctors, giving his opinion on ten eminent representatives of each of these professions.”

¹⁹⁴ Badi’ al-Zamān Furuzānfar, “Enteqādāt bar havāshi-ye *Chahār Maqāle*”, n.p. 1309/1930, (8-22), pp 12-13.

considerations, one is reference to the number of anecdotes in each chapter, one discusses the philological background of a place name, “Tamghāj” (which receives extensive attention from him even in his post-publication notes), and one is about the relation of imams and kings. References to a “medieval compendium of scientific beliefs” or to Avicenna do not receive any attention from Qazvini.¹⁹⁵

In fact, Qazvini overlooks this philosophical dimension of the text because he seems more occupied with what the book carried, the historical information, rather than what the text did as a discursive universe. As a result, the other dimension of the text’s historicity, reflecting on the ideological conflicts and the significance of the Ghurid’s cultural “environment” remains almost totally neglected. Furuzānfar criticized Qazvini for a similar point, albeit at a philological level. Here is what he says about Qazvini’s employment of “vizier” for secretaries: “But in none of the authors’ and poets’ collections (*divāns*) from the fifth century [*hijri*] none of these two positions are alluded to as vizier and... it is not expected of scholars and the learned to equate the current meanings of words in their own time with their meanings in the past without evidence.”¹⁹⁶ Nevertheless, one could argue that still *Chahār Maqāle* communicated with Qazvini, and it would be quite convincing to say so. But, the problem is a contradiction that needs to be settled. Either we should succumb to all the exigencies of “scientific” method and expect fairly equal attention to all the historical facts of the text (for example, inter-textuality), or we should painfully accept that editing involves the intervention of human consciousness, biases and preferences. Acknowledgement of such a view allows

¹⁹⁵ C. N. Seddon, *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, GB & Ireland, July 1933: (687-690). Also see Mohammad Mo’in’s “ta’liqāt-e”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 6-9 and p 7, footnote 1. Mo’in also, in a few other footnotes on the prologue, makes reference to Avicenna’s *Dānesh-Nāme-ye ‘Alā’i*.

¹⁹⁶ Badi’ al-Zamān-e Furuzānfar, “deqqat dar ba’zi molāhezāt” [Considering a Few Notes]. n. p. 1310/1931 (23-40), p 26.

for the acknowledgment of the historicity of the text. As a result, we will admit that there is no single “canonical” reading of a text even if it carried the prestige of such an eminent and devoted scholar as Qazvini, and by the same token, we will allow for looking into Qazvini’s edition more critically and openly.

Section 3- Critical-Editorial Processing

In the restoration of texts, as we will see, Qazvini applies a method of critical editing that displays affinity both with Moslem scholarly tradition and with European techniques of textual criticism. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s inaccuracies, as Qazvini called it, were not the only problems of *Chahār Maqāle*, which Qazvini spent some five years to fix by gleaning historical information from the most reliable sources available to him. In addition to the historical information, *Chahār Maqāle* had several textual problems that Qazvini had to address in one way or another. With no authorial or near authorial documentation, he re-constructed the text from non-authorial evidence and carried out the emendation of missing historical information through reasoning based on external and internal documents; that is to say, on other texts on the content of *Chahār Maqāle*. In this section, I will focus on his methodology of critical editing in *Chahār Maqāle* in the context of Moslem and European traditions of textual criticism.

Qazvini is universally acknowledged to be the pioneer of the scholarly or scientific method (*ravesh-e ‘elmi*) of Persian textual criticism.¹⁹⁷ Yet, specification of his

¹⁹⁷ For views about his method and about his sources of inspiration see ‘Abdol Hossein Zarrinkub, “Mohammad Qazvini va naqd-e mutun”, in *Yādnāme-ye Mohammad Qazvini* (Ed.) ‘Ali Dehbāshi. Tehran: Nashr-e Ketāb va Farhang, 1378/1999 (283-88), pp 284-85; Mohammad ‘Ali Jamālzādeh, “Mirzā Mohammad Khan Qazvini”, *Yādnāme-ye Mohammad Qazvini*, (215-230), pp 217-18; Mohammad Mohit-Tabā’ tabā’i, “yād-e ‘allāme Mohammad Qazvini”, *Yādnāme-ye Mohammad Qazvini*, (204-214), pp 209-210; Sayyed Hasan Taqizādeh, “khatābe dar majles-e yādbud-e ‘allāme Qazvini”, *Yādnāme-ye Mohammad Qazvini* (139-155), p 147. ‘Abbās Eqbāl-Āshtiyāni, “zāye’e-ye ‘azim-e jobrān nāpazir” in *Ketāb-e ‘Allāme Mohammad Qazvini*, Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Edāre-ye Koll-e Negāresh-e Vezārat-e Farhang, 1328 /1949

“scientific method” has not gone through scholarly analysis. The label “scientific” in the modern discourse of critical editing denotes a method of collation, emendation and restoration that was developed by some 18th-19th German scholars of classical textual tradition and gained momentum through the work of Karl Lachmann’s edition of the classical Roman poet in *Lucretius* (1851). Evolution of scientific editing in Germany concurred with the dominance of the positivist movement in the 19th century which is based on theories as frames to explain phenomena.¹⁹⁸ As a result of this positivist view of the philological tradition, the adherents of scientific method set out with a suspicious view of scribes as “necessary agents of transmission who unfortunately introduced unintentional errors as well as deliberate modifications into the texts they copied”. Hence, the ultimate goal of a textual critic in the application of a scientific method is to establish “the text of the earliest model”, the recovery of “a single text, the putative original” creation of the author by the employment of “a rational, objective method”. This goal is achieved by “a well-trained, astute editor” who applies the method “systematically” and acts as “the author’s interpreter and literary executor”.¹⁹⁹ This aimed-for copy is the archetype or Ur-Text before the split happened in the tradition. For example, it is the text before it split into the two descendants in Qazvini’s recension model he established for the documents of *Chahār Maqāle*. One implication of the scientific method is recension,

(49-56), p 53. Najib Māyel-Heravi, *Tārikh-e Noskhe Pardāzi va Tas-hih-e Enteqādi-ye Noskhe-hā-ye Khatti [The History of the Manuscript Reproduction and the Critical Emendation of the Manuscripts]*, Tehran: Vezārat-e Farhang va Ershād-e Eslāmi, 1380/2001, p 394; Mojtabā Minovi, “Obituaries: Mirzā Mu[o]hammad Khan Qazvini”, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*. 13: 2 (1950): (547-550), p 549. Web. 22 May 2010.
<<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu>>.

¹⁹⁸ W. S. Vorster, “Through the Eyes of a Historian” in *Text and Interpretation: New approaches in the Criticism of the New Testament* (Eds.) Hartin, P. J. and J. H. Petzer. Leyden, Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1991 (15-43), p 18.

¹⁹⁹ See Mary B. Speer, “Old French Literature”, in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research* (Ed.) D. C. Greetham, New York: MLAA, 1995 (382-41), p 389.

or gradation of evidence according to philological tests. In adopting this strategy, Lachmann proposed a testing tool based on common errors, omissions and deletions in the readings of manuscripts as a test for the establishment of the family tree or genealogical stemma. This tool was deemed to be “the surest test of affinity, since if they are numerous they can hardly have arisen by accident, and they cannot have been imported into a text by comparison with other manuscripts.”²⁰⁰ The test helps to determine the descendants of common parents, arrangement of the documents within familial branches, and to exclude later descendants in a branch where the original exemplar is available.

Qazvini, in the restoration of *Chahār Maqāle* was not in a position anywhere close to the condition which caused the development of this particular mode of scientific method, particularly as it regards the number and the provenance of received manuscripts. Yet, we see that some aspects of these techniques resonate with his editorial work. At the same time, we need also to keep in mind that the tradition of British textual scholarship—to which Qazvini was exposed—in many ways did not have much interest in the German method. In the British scholarship, one may need to look for sources of inspiration at the work of the 16th-17th century humanist philologists, particularly historical philology of Richard Bentley (1662-1742) rather than the Lachmannian mathematical method.²⁰¹ It is also a point to take into account that the science of

²⁰⁰ F. W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913, p 130. Print. D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*, New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1994, pp 313-323. Sebastiano Timpanaro, *The Genesis of Lachmann's Method*, Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 2005, pp 58-102.

²⁰¹ For the British textual criticism, methodology of textual criticism applied by Richard Bentley (1662-1742)--“the founder of historical philology”—to classical literature which was based on deep and broad knowledge, logical reasoning, and acumen is a more apt model. *Christian Classics Ethereal Library*. Web. 15 July 2012. <<http://www.ccel.org/ccel/bentley>>. Also on Bentley see, Sebastian Timpanaro, pp 54-64 & 84-88.

genealogy was not entirely absent from British scholarly consciousness. Without making any claim here, we know that Charles Darwin (1809-1882) published his book, *On the Origin of Species* in the final year (November 1859) of a decade that in the earlier part of it Lachmann had introduced his genealogical recension in his edition of *Lucretius*.

Awareness of developments in the Western setting of textual criticism helps us to arrive at a better explanation about the premises underlying Qazvini's decisions. Yet there are other conditions, in particular, the circumstances of textual transmission in Persian culture, his extensive knowledge of the textual traditions of Persian and Arabic, and the influence of the religious culture that Qazvini grew up in, which must be taken into consideration. For example, Qazvini follows the same philological principle in his collation test that had an older history in the Moslem scholarship in the transmission of Tradition (*hadith*) and transmission (*revāyat*). It needs to be noted that Qazvini came from an Islamic education background. (See chapter three of the dissertation.) Since the early decades of the birth of Islam, Moslems developed a strong discipline of textual criticism in the field of *Qu'ran*, as well as sayings of the Prophet and his disciples (Tradition) as the basis for the *sharia*, or their legalistic system.²⁰² The interplay of all these led to the development of a method which is at once native and new, traditional and modern, original but not incoherent with the established and known conventions. What Qazvini's close student and associate, 'Abbās Eqbāl-Āshtiyāni observes about the symbiotic sources of his methodological principles prove sound by this study. He says, :
 "The late [master] had special favor for literature and history and biography and *derayat*,

²⁰² See Frantz Rosenthal, *The Technique and Approach of Muslim [Moslem] Scholarship*, Roma: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1947, chapter 3, pp 41-42. Print. Also by the same author, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (Trans.) Emile and Jenny Marmorstein, GB: Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1975, pp 15-23.

or interpretation [the foundation of *fiqh*]²⁰³ among the old sciences because they, in addition to the enhancement of the mind, use a method of exploration and observation and evaluation of the different dialectic arguments (*aqvāl*) and the acceptance of the strong and authentic ones and the refutation of the weak and unfounded arguments. And this method is almost the same as the European method of transmitted sciences (*'olum-e naqliyye*)”.²⁰⁴

One of the decisive principles for Qazvini is the closeness of the document to its origin, hence he always privileges the earliest manuscript: “I have always stayed with a principle (*vajhol 'eiyn*) and that principle urges that there is not the slightest trust in the late manuscripts and printed texts, and one must, by all means, first refer to the old manuscripts [textus receptus] to make sure of the authenticity (*sehhat*) of the given reading. Then one should begin to react to and critique the anomalies.”²⁰⁵ This is precisely the principle of philological recension.²⁰⁶ But, his subscription to such a principle, which is known as “*aqdam-e nosakh assah-e nosakh*” (the earliest document is the most authentic one) is also informed by his knowledge of the socio-historical condition that governed Persian manuscripts rather than subscription to an imported formula. Therefore, under such circumstances his insistence on this philological principle complies with Qazvini’s moral and intellectual upbringing as a trustworthy mediator of *aqvāl*.

²⁰³ Online dictionary of Dehkhodā defines *derayat* as a subject which explores the significance implied in the Prophet’s sayings by the interpretation of words and meanings. Web. <<http://www.loghatnaameh.org>>.

²⁰⁴ ‘Abbās Eqbāl Āshtiyāni, “zā-ye-‘e-ye ‘azim-e jobrān –nā-pazir”, *Yādegār*, 5: 8-9, N.D. (1-8.), p 5.

²⁰⁵ *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh: 1912-1939 [Qazvini’s Letters to Taqizādeh: 1912-1939]* (Ed.) Iraj Afshār, Tehran: Jāvidān, 1353/1974, p 133.

²⁰⁶ F. W. Hall, p 128.

As it regards *Chahār Maqāle*, unlike the condition in classical studies, Qazvini had only four documents. They included a transcribed copy from an illuminated old manuscript (see the image on the front page of this dissertation) that was located in Istanbul (for practical reasons I refer to this transcribed copy as Q1).²⁰⁷ Two manuscripts were the ones from the collection of, then, British Museum which Qazvini refers to as (A) and (B),²⁰⁸ and there was also a copy of a lithographed edition published in Tehran which he referred to as T. Qazvini does not state the location of this lithographed copy. In a further departure from the condition of classical and biblical studies all the four witnesses of *Chahār Maqāle* carried dated colophons. MS (Q) is dated from 835/1431,²⁰⁹ MS (A) is dated from 1017 /1608 written in the southern region of Bardsir (Kermān); MS (B) is dated from 1275/1857, and the lithographed edition of Tehran (T) was produced in 1305/1887 by Mullā ‘Ali Khāwnsāri.²¹⁰ (Appendix 4)

²⁰⁷ My enquiries for Browne’s copy (Qazvini’s base-text) in Browne’s archive at the library of Cambridge University; Qazvini’s archive at the Central Library of Tehran University; and at the British Library did not return any result. Neither were my queries from the British scholar of Edward Browne, Professor John Gurney. He responded: “I cannot recall ever seeing the copy of the manuscript you mention and imagine that it must have remained with Qavini,”. John Gurney. “Re: E. G. Browne.” Message to the author. 20 July 2007. E-mail. The Iranian bibliographer, Iraj Afshār who was the ex-trustee of Qazvini’s archive and the editor of the letters he wrote to his close friend and social activist, Hasan Taqizādeh, also did not know about this copy over a telephone conversation.2007.

²⁰⁸ Actually he followed Browne in naming these manuscripts as A and B.

²⁰⁹ During early decades of the 20th century with the relocation of Ottoman private collections to libraries this manuscript changed two places before it ended up in Turkish and Islam Art Museum, No. T-1954. I could find and examine this manuscript in 2009, although under extreme constraints of time very briefly.

²¹⁰ (I have used a copy of this edition belonging to Central Library of Tehran University, No. D-75. It consists of 176 pages, each page with twelve lines and marginal correction or addition. MS (A) is numbered as Or. 3705, and MS (B) is numbered as Or. 2955 (reported by Qazvini as 1274/1857, but as I have reported somewhere else it is 1275/1858). It seems that Qazvini has adopted Browne’s codicological information on this manuscript because Browne also dates this document as 1275 in the introduction to the 1899 translation. (p 613). I have examined manuscripts A and B at the Oriental section of British Library. Descriptions given here are based on the collation of Qazvini’s critical apparatus and these two manuscripts which I conducted during summer 2007. MS (A) consists of 37 folios, each page of 21 lines in *nasta’liq*. MS.(B) consists of 60 folios, each page of 15 lines. But I could not find the copy of the Istanbul manuscript that Qazvini had used.

Qazvini did not rely on the dated colophon.²¹¹ To establish the recension he evaluated the authenticity of readings of the received texts by philological tests. Accordingly, he found readings in MS (A) to be “corrected” (*mosahhah*) and “sound” (*mazbut*), MS (B) to be average in authenticity and deficiency” (*dar sehhat va soqm motevasset*),²¹² and lithographed edition (T) to be “extremely corrupted and contaminated” (*be ghāyat saqim va maghlut*). Qazvini found MS (Q) –albeit by evidence of its copy—strongly different from the other three for “additional lines and sentences” and even the inclusion of “an entire section” (*fasl*)²¹³ in this witness that is missing in the other three, and at the same time, there is “a large lacuna in this copy” that corresponds to 10 pages in the print edition (41:11-50:17).²¹⁴ By extending the provenance of the original manuscript to this copy Qazvini decided on it as the least contaminated document due to “distance in time and place” (*qedam va bo’ d-e masāfat*).

One of the important contributions of the scientific method to textual criticism regards recension. Recension departs from the conventional method of textual criticism in its approach to manuscripts because it brings the idea of “classification” and hierarchy, and the establishment of a base-text to the editorial procedure. Thus, unlike in the conventional method where all available manuscripts are placed horizontally (*arz dādan*) to produce an eclectic conflated edition, here documents are arranged vertically in a

²¹¹ Sources are many to give as examples. But some works that illuminate aspects of migration and preservation of Persian manuscripts include Najib Māyel-Heravi, pp 365-377; Iraj Afshār in *Bayāz-e Safar: Yāddāsh-t-hā-ye Safar dar Zamīne-ye Iraanshenāsi, Ketābshenāsi, va Noskheshenāsi*. Tehran: Tus, 1354/1975. I have mentioned some of these issues in chapter s 3 and 5.

²¹² This manuscript is the first in a collection of three texts transcribed by the same scribe. The date on the colophon of *Chahār Maqāle* (folio 60) is given as 1275. Qazvini has recorded the date of the colophon of the last work.

²¹³ This corresponds to the anecdote 11 in chapter four on pages 85-87 of Qazvini’s printed edition, and 95-96 of Browne’s translation.

²¹⁴ The lacuna falls between “*marā bā sultan Malikshah sepord dar in beyt*” (“entrusting me to the King in this verse...”) corresponding to line 4th from the bottom of p 43 in Browne and line 11 on p 41 of Qazvini’s edition, and “*az Amir ‘Abdol Razzāq shenidam beTus*” (“I heard from Amir ‘Abdol Razzāq in Tus”), corresponding to line 16on p 58 in Browne, and line 17 on page 50 in Qazvini’s printed edition).

descending order by genealogical hierarchy among the extant documents based on philological (historical approach to linguistic and other aspects of texts) evidence in order to determine a base-text which is closest in linguistic features to the original (often lost). The text restored from recension is supposed to be the archetype or the lost original document before the split had happened to the familial branch.

We learn from Najib Māyel-Heravi and other sources that in Persian textual criticism, the notion of base-text did not have precedence inasmuch as all manuscripts of the work were collated horizontally, although sometimes critically but unsystematically, to produce a conflated eclectic edition out of all existing witnesses.²¹⁵ Among other factors this method often caused extreme corruption, contamination and interpolation in the “collated” manuscripts. Although even in such “unscientific”, or unsystematic applications, some critical consciousness governs selection of readings, conflation has caused extreme corruption to classical texts.²¹⁶ Therefore, establishment of the base-text and of a systematic gradation are two methodological tools that Qazvini introduced to Persian tradition of critical editing.

Based upon his examination, Qazvini came up with two familial branches based on a genealogical stemmatics. With an echo of Lachmannian method (although he never makes any reference to him) he observed that since A, B, and T share “the same errors, the same additions and omissions” they belong to “the same family’ as they say here” and decides that “they are either all transcribed from a fourth document (*noskhe-ye rābe*) or have been reproduced [consecutively] from one another.” By the same token, he suggests

²¹⁵ For eclectic editing see, J. H. Petzer, “Eclecticism and the Text of the New Testament” in *Text and Interpretation: New Approaches in the Criticism of the New Testament*, (47-62).

²¹⁶ See Najib Māyel-Heravi, pp 385-88.

that A, B, and T must have derived from an exemplar (*asl*) other than the exemplar from which manuscript Q was derived.²¹⁷ Here is a graphical illustration of his recension:

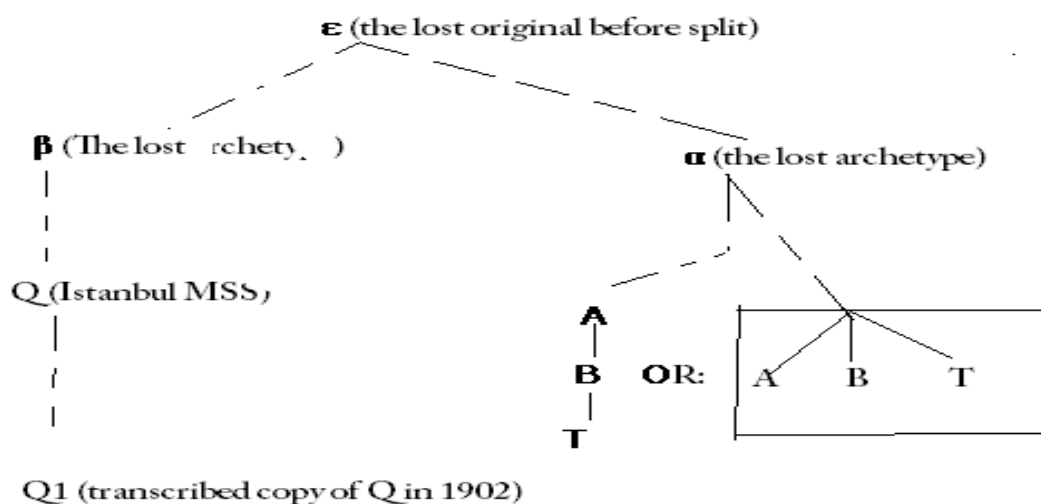


Figure 8. Recension, A, B, T

The second stage in the production of a critical edition concerns emendation or correction of the missing items or flawed elements in the base-text. Emendation calls for critical judgment at various levels. Generally speaking, a critic-editor has three options to treat the flaws of the text in hand. S/he may recover the problems such as lexical and textual omissions, additions or corruptions simply by aesthetic and subjective norms, or depend on received witnesses and produce an edition by conflation of the best readings to come up with an eclectic edition, or the editor may produce an edition by correcting the base-text by variants and from a retrospective approach. In taking this method the editor still has to make a decision about how far s/he wants to go back in the history of the work. Hence, s/he needs to decide whether to produce a replication of a text that the

²¹⁷ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mosahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp yat-k.

author actually wrote (holograph), or a version that the author did not actually write but would ideally intend to (Ur-Text), or the archetype of the extant stemma, or just as the French classicist, Joseph Bédier (1834-1938) proposed, to reproduce the readings of the manuscript s/he evaluates as best-text.²¹⁸

Regarding Qazvini's work on *Chahār Maqāle*, it is obvious that he did not follow anything comparable to what later was known as the best-text theory. As for the authorial text, Qazvini time and again has stressed the preference for the author's text. But given that *Chahār Maqāle* did not reach him in a condition anywhere close to the author's age, we need to take a look at his emendation to see how he proceeded.

In practice, examination of the readings in the base-text and its authenticity is fundamental to any critical editing. One such tool is a paleographical test. In case of *Chahār Maqāle*, given that Qazvini worked with a recent transcribed copy of the original MS (Q) he does not report any paleographical test. Neither does he evaluate the two manuscripts (A, B), or the lithographed edition by paleographical test. His evaluation is mainly based on lexical and textual tests. It is by this metric that he, for example, finds the readings of the 19th century T extremely flawed and corrupted, especially due to the editor's hand-written interpolations. In the critical apparatus he records a sum total of 732 variant readings. 208 of these concern the readings of his base text, from which he finds a total sum of 26 missing words or passages.²¹⁹ All the remaining 182 cases are corruption at a linguistic level.

²¹⁸ On this theory see, D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship: An Introduction*, pp 323-25. Also see, Mary B. Speer, "Old French Literature" in *Scholarly Editing: A Guide to Research* (Ed.) D. C. Greetham, New York: MLA, 1995 (382-416), pp 394-404; Edmund J. Campion, "Early Modern French Literature" in *Scholarly Editing* (417-437), pp 417-422; Alain Corbellari, *Joseph Bédier: écrivain et philologue*, Genève: Librairie Droz, 1997.

²¹⁹ For example, on page 84, the entire sentence beginning with "*nabz-e ou dar dast begereft....*" to "*basande ast.*" are added by Qazvini, and is placed in square brackets. (84:16-17).

Aside from linguistic problems Qazvini detected several textual problems in the content. While the source of the linguistic problems is scribal and non-authorial in this particular case, the source of the textual/content problems is typically authorial. In the introduction, Qazvini accordingly finds the author accountable for chronological and historical errors of the text.²²⁰

There was still a third problem that Qazvini faced, and it was on codicological grounds. Here, by the same metrics he used for his genealogical recension, Qazvini holds that the document (Q) stands out from the other three witnesses in a number of significant ways. (See above) In reporting the big lacuna in the copy he used (Q1), Qazvini wonders whether it was transmitted from the “original exemplar of the Istanbul copy” (*asl-e noskhe-ye Istanbul*), or it was caused by Browne’s scribe. In expressing this doubt he obviously acknowledges the distance between the original exemplar and his own copy, a point that he does not bring up again inasmuch as he extends the complete weight of the exemplar to this copy.

The next step in the production of a critical edition by scholarly guidelines concerns the treatment of corruptions, omissions, and inaccuracies. These are treated through a careful and systematic procedure in *Chahār Maqāle*. He explains that the base of his reading is that of MS Q except in “dubious positions (*mavāze’-e mashkuke va ma’lum al-khatā*) and ostensibly flawed” readings where he refrains from relying on the base-text. To fix such linguistic errors, Qazvini applied three strategies. Primarily he used variants to fix problematic readings in the base-text. Out of a sum total of 732 recorded

²²⁰ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p yab. “Despite the highness of virtues (*‘olovv-e tab’*) and priority in literary dimension (*taqaddom dar ‘olum-e adabiyye*) Nezāmi ‘Aruzi has explicit inadequacy in the art/craft of history (*za’fi namāyān dar fann-e tārikh*)”.

variant readings in the critical apparatus, 208 emendations are reported to have been applied to the base-text. Correction of erroneous lexical readings amounts to 182 cases.

Aside from using variants Qazvini also incorporated other strategies for this purpose. External sources were consulted in cases where all witnesses are “*moztareb*” (confused). Moreover, in 18 cases he appealed to analogical corrections (*tas-hih-e qiyāsi*), in 17 cases he did silent correction, and left one case uncorrected but designated by a question mark, and in one other case he inserted his own correction that is placed in brackets.²²¹ There are also a few cases where he found the reading problematic by lexical or semantic tests but did not intervene with the main text, and moved what he assumed to be the “original” (*asl*) readings to the critical apparatus.

For correction, he also depends on external sources, especially those that offer inter-textual evidence. For the big lacuna he made extensive use of historiographies and biographical compendiums, particularly *Tārikh-e Tabarestān* by Ebn-e Esfandiyyār (13th century) as well as other sources such as *Borhān-e Qāte*,²²² manuscript of *Divān-e Farrokhi*,²²³ Turner Macan’s edition of *Shahnāme*, *Mujiz* by Kommi,²²⁴ *Kolliyāt-e Qānun*,²²⁵ *Mabda’ va Ma’ād*.²²⁶ Even in reference to external sources, his thrust is still historical and philological inasmuch as he consults older extant manuscripts or an

²²¹ Mahmud Omidsalar has addressed such silent corrections as silent *tas-hih-e qiyāsi* in a note on *Chahār Maqāle*. (He kindly sent me the unpublished copy of his paper, “Allāma Qazvini va fann-e tas-hih-e matn”. He gives the example of “*Sa’di*” to “*soghdī*” (28:10); “*moghlaq*” to “*moflaq*” (p 28, line 4 from the bottom), “*moqarrar*” to “*maqrū*” (30:1), “*kalanjadi*” to “*kalanjari*” (30:1). P 22. It is worth noting, however, that Omidsalar’s record is not accurate in the case of “*Sa’idi*” and “*Soghdī*” inasmuch as the correction of this item is reported by Qazvini in the critical apparatus by conjecture. See Qazvini, “*ekhtelāf-e qarā’āt*” in *Chahār Maqāle*, p 332.

²²² See Qazvini, “*ekhtelāf-e qarā’āt*”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 333.

²²³ See Qazvini, “*ekhtelāf-e qarā’āt*”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 336.

²²⁴ See Qazvini, “*ekhtelāf-e qarā’āt*”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 351.

²²⁵ See Qazvini, “*ekhtelāf-e qarā’āt*”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 350.

²²⁶ See Qazvini, “*ekhtelāf-e qarā’āt*”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 353.

authoritative edition of a text, for example, the 1829 edition of Turner Macan's *Shahnāme*,²²⁷ or all the manuscripts of *Tārikh-e Tabarestān*.

The reading variants (*ekhtelāf-e qarā'āt*) takes some 30 pages (327-359) appended to the end of the book, even after the triple indices. He applies a verbal system of recording to show the inclusion of (has/*dārad*) and lack of a reading (does not have/*nadārad*). He indicates his suggestion alternatively by “in original” (*dar asl*, or *fil-asl*, or *asl*), “instead of” (*be-jā-ye*), or even by saying that all the readings are erroneous, for example, *moflaq* instead of *moghlaq* (28, line 4 from bottom) where the difference in written Persian is between ق/ف, or *maqrū'* (30:1) where he records that all readings are different.²²⁸ Uncertainties are described by the adjective *mashkuk* (uncertain/doubtful).²²⁹

Qazvini reproduced the main text in clear edition. He placed textual and content errors in appended chapters. Preparation of historical notes for the annotation must have been the most time-consuming part of the editing. His main undertaking was to treat the author's “obvious” chronological and historical errors. Hence, this aspect is subjected to heavy-handed emendation insomuch as these annotations cover a 165-page appendix (*havāshi-ye enteqādi*) immediately after the main text (90-259). In this section he provides extensive historical information about most of the characters, events and dates mentioned in the book, sometimes quite elaborately. So far, we have taken a look at what Qazvini did. In what follows I would like to examine more analytically the implications of his work.

²²⁷ *Abol al-Qāsem Firdowsi [Ferdowsi]* (Ed.) Turner Macan. Calcutta: Baptist mission press, 1829.

²²⁸ See Qazvini, “ekhtelāf-e qarā'āt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 332-333.

²²⁹ For example, “bānizi” (28:9). See, Qazvini, “ekhtelāf-e qarā'āt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 331; “kafā'i” (28:15), see Qazvini, “ekhtelāf-e qarā'āt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 332.

Section 4- Ambivalences and Inconsistencies

Qazvini, thus and to a large extent, restored and enriched the historical and textual integrity of *Chahār Maqāle*. Yet, as we will see his edition reveals several cases of ambivalence, inconsistency and discrepancy that are caused by various reasons including his historical approach, limited resources, lack of access to the original base-text, human fallibility and other reasons. Qazvini's historical reading finds ramification in several aspects of his editing procedure, and may be better understood through the lens of Thomas Tanselle's definition.

In his discussion about historical editing, Tanselle draws a distinction between an editor whose goal is to restore “a work” and the one who aims at “a document”: “An editor whose goal is to reproduce a handwritten or printed documentary text is focusing on the text of a document, not on a work; an editor who incorporates alterations, however few, can no longer claim to be presenting the text of a document but is going beyond the document to focus on something else, normally work as intended at some past moment”.²³⁰ Accordingly, Tanselle talks of documents only as versions of the work. From this perspective, then, he distinguishes between “creative” editors²³¹ who “collaborate with the author to improve the work” and “professional scholars” whose “aim is to preserve or reconstruct a text as it existed at some prior moment”.²³² By his definition, historical editing covers a large spectrum that includes both complete impartiality in reproduction of a document (diplomatic or facsimile), and editorial

²³⁰ G. Thomas Tanselle, “Varieties of Scholarly Editing”, in *Scholarly Editing*, (9-32), p 17.

²³¹ Qazvini would call the work of such “creative” editors as *tajdid-e ahd-e shabāb* (revival of the young age period). (Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak: a note).

²³² Tanselle, pp 13-14.

alteration to restore a version of the work that ultimately is viewed as one mode of an individual author's production, or a collaborative product.²³³

One objective of historical editing within this spectrum is to reconstruct a text out of a document that “existed at some prior moment.”²³⁴ Moreover, elaborating on the adjective “scholarly” Tanselle punctuates it in terms of the work of an editor who is “learned and following a set of rigorous procedures”,²³⁵ that is, applying a “systematic approach to establishing...relations among the extant texts” using “human judgment as a means of correcting the defects of documentary texts”.²³⁶ But then, he also reminds us that there is a difference between a historical approach whereby the editor takes on a “passive role” and the one whereby the editor is an “active repairer of the damage wrought by time”.²³⁷ It is in the light of such a definition that Qazvini's editorial work in *Chahār Maqāle* is historical *and* scholarly both in reading and in methodology.

Whereas the printing history of *Chahār Maqāle* displays the impact of production on the presentation beyond Qazvini's control, his introduction and his practice reveal what he intentionally or unintentionally applied in the course of restoration. Here, he relates to us two things: first, his conception of *Chahār Maqāle*, or the “work” in Tansellean sense of the word.²³⁸ Second, it is the self-conception of his editorial ethos in restoring that “work”. The former relates to textual criticism, the latter regards his ideological position whereby he views the task as a “service to the language of the

²³³ Tanselle, p 11.

²³⁴ Tanselle, p 14.

²³⁵ Tanselle, p 14.

²³⁶ Tanselle, p 19.

²³⁷ Tanselle, p 16.

²³⁸ Tanselle's distinction helps me address the peculiarities in Qazvini's decision. My understanding is that for Tanselle work is an intended idea whose fulfillment may or may not be achieved by the author. Document is the physical carrier of the work. And text is the manuscript or any other artifact that is registered in various versions. Thus, we may conclude that document is equal to witness, and text to manuscripts. See Tanselle, p 12.

beloved *vatan*". In this chapter I would like to confine myself to the analysis of his critical-editorial accomplishment and leave the ideological motive to the last chapter.

A close reading of his editorial practice in *Chahār Maqāle* indicates that Qazvini oscillates between restoring the text of the "work" and the text of the "document", that is to say, between restoring an "*asl*" or "original" which is the author's intended ideal work (Ur-Text), and an "*asl*" which is the archetype of his base-text (Q). He views the text as a repository of historical information. It contains names of the earliest Persian poets that would be otherwise, according to him unknown to us; it exemplifies the excellence of Persian prose style to the extent of being a "model for every modern/new (*jadid*) Iranian", and finally, it comes to us from the golden past of Iranian history before it was demolished by "Mongols" and other "*omam-e vahshiye*" (uncivilized people).

Rather than a literary text he treats *Chahār Maqāle* as the source of historical information in double sense. Hence, from his perspective, the author is twice a historian: he is a competent one as far as the language is concerned (master of style), but an "inaccurate" or inadequate one as far as the chronological information given in the text is concerned. Therefore, Qazvini's commitment is twofold. On the one hand, he should "improve" or "repair" the historiographer-author's errors as a *literary critic*. This is where he repairs those errors through annotation to bring "the work" to life. On the other hand, as a *textual critic* he should fix the corruption inflicted upon the text by copyists as an active repairer.

By historical annotations for every single name or event, and then removing them to a separate section Qazvini helps to contextualize the narrative for the reader. In doing so Qazvini exceeds the limit of the author's text to enlarge the historical perspective for

the reader. This is one part of the story that accounts for the copious annotations which stem from his ideological, nationalist commitment. For that matter, he clearly is a “conservative” critic-editor and remains outside the text, but he “accents” it with his particular reading of *Chahār Maqāle*. Why? Because of the other part of the story; that is to say, where he envisions himself as an editor, or an “active repairer” of a “text of the document” to restore it “to a prior moment” through “the author’s intermediate versions”, in Tanselle’s statement.

To better understand and appreciate Qazvini’s editing work we need to hook our analysis into a number of theoretical and methodological principles that he applies to the reconstruction of *Chahār Maqāle* and to other works. As a critic-editor his first job is to evaluate the received documents. From his report it becomes evident that the only test he used to evaluate the documents is philological, that is, by historical linguistic features and by the dates given in the colophons. Echoing a Pergemanian²³⁹ view and with philological premises he privileged the earliest documents as the least corrupted, or what he termed as “*aqdam-e nosakh asahh-e nosakh*”.²⁴⁰ This principle is not a mechanical formula. It is based on accurate knowledge of the Persian textual tradition and the problematic history of textual production due to invasions, relocations, religious and ideological conflicts, and natural disasters that created unreliable conditions for textual reproduction of Persian secular literature in the pre-modern context.²⁴¹

A number of socio-political and cultural circumstances affected the production of Persian manuscripts after the 14th century to such a degree that these manuscripts are

²³⁹ On the historical background of the dichotomy in textual criticism—Alexandrian analogical method versus Pergemanian linguistic—see D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, pp 297-302.

²⁴⁰ See for example, *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 50-55.

²⁴¹ See *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, 239-241. Also see Najib Mayel Heravi, pp 385-389.

generally conceived as being less reliable than the earlier ones. Among them one may point to the application of an aesthetic dimension to transcription that has often worked to the disadvantage of lexical accuracy. The character of the Persian script with its diacritical features and strokes are reasons for misreading by copyists.²⁴² And even more so are interpolations that educated scribes have done to improve what they would assume to be corruption. In a comment on ‘Awfī’s *Javāme’ al-Hekāyāt* (*The Necklace of Anecdotes*) Qazvini stresses, “Numerous manuscripts exist from this book ... Of course, this job [reconstruction] must be done on the old witnesses which are definitely not later than the eighth century (14th), or at most, the ninth century (15th) the later manuscripts of

²⁴² Due to the wholesale destruction of the libraries by Mongols in the early 13th century a rupture took place in the Iranian written heritage. Not only is an autograph from the medieval Persian world almost inconceivable, but the existence of an authorized manuscript from the pre-Mongol era was also highly unlikely. The manuscript of *Chahār Maqāle* was produced in Herat perhaps from a lost exemplar. Herat was the capital of the Timurid sultan Shāhrokh, a patron of Persian art and literature (1405-1447). The Timurid sultans were a Turkic dynasty who ruled the mainland of Persia, Transoxiana, Khorasan, Turkmanistan, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan from the mid-14th century to the opening years of the 16th century. This was a time when Chinese painting made a strong influence on the Iranian pictorial culture. The manuscripts produced in this era are typically ornamented and illuminated with colorful paintings. This is particularly true of the manuscripts which were produced for the court collection. As indicated by the date given in the colophon of the Istanbul manuscript (Q) and from the ornamentation and the hand it must have been produced in a workshop of Shahrokh’s court. Its affiliation with the court becomes evident from the phrase: “*tamm al-keṭāb be ‘avven al malik al-Wahab... be dār al-molk al-Herat...ba’d al-sultani ghafarallāh*” (completed the book with the help of malik Wahab ... in the court of Herat... after my sultan, may God bless him). This affiliation authenticates the value of the manuscript. According to Francis Richard, the books that were produced in Iran for royal collections are reliable manuscripts because they would be transcribed by well-versed calligraphers with much care in terms of the content and aesthetics. It is in consideration of the provenance as such that the Istanbul manuscript is so strongly accentuated by Qazvini as a reliable criterion for the base-text. It must have been due to such an unfavorable situation that Qazvini insisted on the reliance on the older manuscripts. The age of manuscripts is presumed to have a direct relation with its corruption. In Europe the classical philologists of the 16th-17th centuries maintained the same attitude. The principle actually endured in the 19th century genealogical approach. The observation of this principle caused Qazvini to rely on the mechanical reproduction of the original reliable manuscript only because it was transcribed from (and perhaps collated) mechanically from the eldest witness. See, *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 62-64.

Also see Māyel-Heravi, p336 for a particular form of forgery called *khatt-e mozzavar*.

For information about the social milieu prevailing the reproduction of Persian manuscripts, and the effect of aestheticization on the products during the 14th and 15th centuries see Francis Richard, *Ketāb-e Irani* 2006, pp. 37-79. For the effect of Persian scripts on textual condition see Mohammad Qazvini, “Tas-hif” in *Yāddāsh-t-hā-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 10 (Ed.) Iraj Afshār, Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Dāneshgāh-e Tehran, 1354/1975, pp 3-21.

the text have many interpolations and additions due to its wide reception...²⁴³ The comment sheds further light on the reason why the copy of Q which he conceives of as less contaminated than others due to the “distance of time and space” is privileged above the actual manuscript (A) which he evaluates as correct and of good reading. Last but not least, one cannot neglect the universal consensus among textual scholars about vulnerability of later reproductions of texts.²⁴⁴ With a long history of reception both in the Moslem and in the Western textual traditions this principle very well responds to the modern historical and philological approach. By the same token, in all his editions where Qazvini had more than one manuscript he privileged the readings of the earliest witness.²⁴⁵

For that matter he is often cautious with later manuscripts because of what he conceives to be the lack of a scholarly tradition like what Arab textual scholars have maintained, particularly about dates and names and places.²⁴⁶ Thus, he privileges even a copy produced around 1900 by a reliable mediator (Dr. Bahjat Wahbi was appointed by Browne) of the 1431 manuscript in Istanbul to manuscript (A) that is dated from

²⁴³ See for example, Mohammad Qazvini, “moqddame” in Mohammad b. al-Jājarī, *Munes al-Ahrār fi Daqāyeq al-Ash’ār*, Vol. 1 (Ed.) Mir Sāleh Tabibi, n.p. n.d, p 1.

²⁴⁴ This view is attributed to Pergamanian. See D. C. Greetham, *Textual Scholarship*, pp 297-302.

²⁴⁵ Mahmud ‘Ābedi maintains that even though the learned scribes used to produce a correct manuscript out of the ones available, it was Qazvini who inaugurated the current method. He underscores three features in Qazvini’s work: first, the evaluation of the manuscripts (recension); second, the collation of the manuscripts; third, emendation of the text. Concerning the base-text ‘Abbās Māhyār rightly holds that Qazvini used the earliest manuscripts as his base-text in most of his works. He would never decide by his memory but rather would refer to authentic sources. According to Mahmud Futuhi the merit of Qazvini’s work resides in his judicious observation which enabled him to reproduce the author’s intention by the access to the author’s experience. One way for Qazvini to pursue this end was his intuitive knowledge of stylistics that would enable him to make sound judgments about the problematic cases. As for the method of emendation Mahmud ‘Ābedi describes his work in terms of an authorial commitment to the text, that is, he would assume himself as the author of the text and would do his best to present the text in the best possible way. (Round Table, “‘Allāma Qazvini va tas-hih-e mutun”, *Ketāb-e Māh-e Adabiyyāt va Falsafe*: 22, Tehran, Mordād 1378 /August 2000. (3-11).

²⁴⁶ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p kā.

1017/1608) and is available to him and he even evaluated its reading as “corrected” (*mosahhah*) and “sound” (*mazbut*).²⁴⁷

To establish his base-text Qazvini applies a genealogical approach that echoes Lachmannian recension. Reflecting on Tanselle’s clarification is helpful. He defines recension as “the effort to construct the text of the common ancestor of the surviving texts by choosing among the variants in those texts in the light of the postulated stemma”, and differentiates it from conjectural emendation, which “is the effort to improve the recension by the introduction of editorial conjectures, readings not present in any documentary text but proposed by the editor as what the author intended.”²⁴⁸ Qazvini displays both these states in his work. One example of inconsistency occurs in his recension. His collation of the documents again resonates with Lachmannian technique of recension, which is determined by the common discrepancies. But his ethical commitments and reasoning complies with the tradition in which he was educated. Hence, he maintains that MSS Q drastically departed from the other three in “correctness and addition and missing” (*sehhat va ziyāde va noqsān*). In particular, he points to the large lacuna. But, he does not follow all the consequences of such a procedure. For one thing, according to Lachmannian recension he must have dismissed at least, B and T in his emendation given that he assumed both derived directly from A. Yet, he also proposes that they may have been reproduced one from the other sequentially; that is to say, T from B, and B from A. His establishment of relation among these three documents, according to Paul Maas’s reading of Lachmann would allow for four scenarios which

²⁴⁷ The word *mosahhah* denotes a text that is emended and cleansed of scribal mistake or error. See *Loghatnāme-ye Dehkhodā*. Web. <<http://www.loghatnaameh.org>>.

²⁴⁸ Tanselle, p 20.

may be shown graphically as follows:

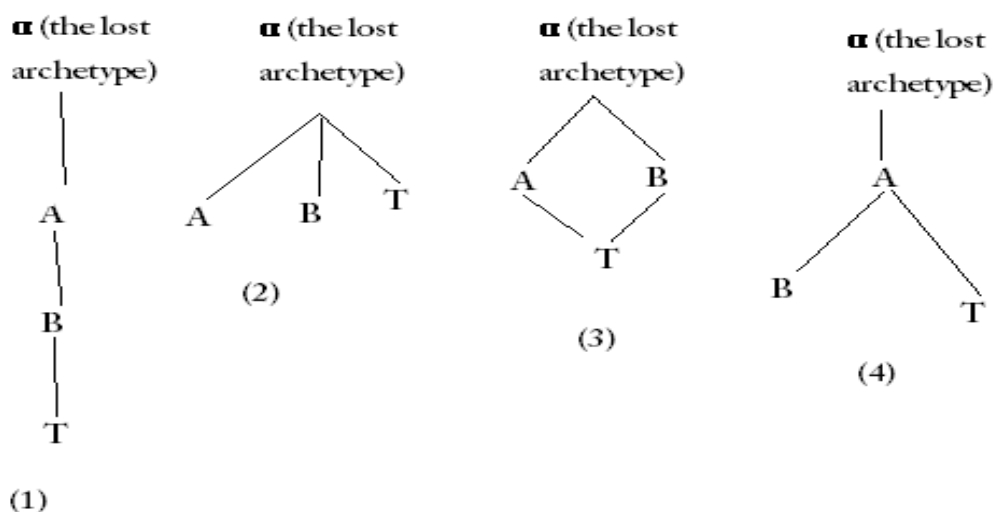


Figure 9. Lost Archetype: four scenarios

At least, in scenarios 1 and 4, B and T must have been dismissed. But Qazvini, due to ambivalence yields to what corresponds to scenarios 2 and 3 in our graph, and uses all documents in the correction of the base-text, even the “extremely corrupted and contaminated” T copy, which is another instance of his inconsistency under his own principles. The “prior moment” he wants to restore seems to be sometimes the archetype or parent of MSS (Q), at other times this “prior moment” appears to be the author’s original text, and still at other times, it looks like the “prior moment” is the work, the Ur-Text, or the ideal text that the author must have accomplished but did not. This last part is reflected in the treatment of historical errors and the addition of historical information. But the first and second goals reveal themselves as the result of his ambiguous application of the word “*asl*”.

Secondly, Qazvini seems to be ambivalent whether it is an ideal authorial text he is after, or the original exemplar of Q, that is a “text of work” in its 1431 version. The ambivalence reveals itself particularly in ambiguous application of “*dar asl*” (in the original) and “*be jā-ye*” (instead of) in his critical apparatus. For example, with regards to “*bāred*” or “*resānand*” whereas he records the reading of Q to be different he decides respectively on “*zāyed*” (p 51, line 1) and “*sepārand*” (p 51, line 16)²⁴⁹ without telling us where those readings are coming from and why he is proposing them.²⁵⁰ In a similar way, he uses *dar asl* (in the archetype, in Q, or in the Ur-Text?) before a suggested reading which is different from the reading of his documents, but he does not insert it in the text. Thus, it suffices for him to inform the reader of the conjectural reading of the original. For example, in page 86, line 1, in the archetype, he keeps *midānand* but reports: “in the original: *midārand*”).²⁵¹ The question remains, what exactly this original means.

Such ambivalences become significant when he tries to keep the text intact by his corrections. This is particularly true of one chronological case. In dealing with an “obvious” error such as the one on page 44, line 19 where the text gives the year “five hundred and seventy two” but he corrects it to [four hundred]. Here, he reports his intervention by adding (*saha*=corrected) in the parenthesis. Likewise, he uses [] to bracket words, phrases, or sentences that may have been dropped by the scribe, or should be in the text by the evidence of variants,²⁵² for example: “in analogy [with] one another”, or “from [the presence of] Khāwrazm Shah”, or “the science of judicial astrology [is a science]...” There are thirteen positions in the text where he applies such intrusions

²⁴⁹ These are the locations given by Qazvini in his critical apparatus.

²⁵⁰ See, Qazvini, “ekhtelāf-e qarā’āt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 342.

²⁵¹ See, Qazvini, “ekhtelāf-e qarā’āt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p 358.

²⁵² Juyā Jahānbakhsh, *Rāhnamā-ye Tas-hih-e Motun (Guide to Editing Manuscripts)*, Tehran: Mirās-e Maktoob, 1384/2005, p 62.

(10:17 / 45:12 / 49:13/ 54:14 / 55:14 / 55:3 / 55:10 / 78:4 / 80:1 / 80:2/ 82:6 / 84:16-17 / 86:4 / 86:21-22). In two cases he adds a question mark within a parenthesis after a name, 22:11, “the son of Amir *Biyābāni* (?)”; 82:6 “*besarkh* (?)”. He does not annotate these items; therefore, we cannot tell exactly what he might have meant by the (?), and in 14 cases he corrects errors by announced analogy (*ravesh-e qiyāsi*); i.e., by consideration of the subject, semantics, syntax, history, or other contextual evidence.²⁵³ In such cases Qazvini gives the variant readings, but retracts from them by stated analogical emendations. But he does not always keep track. At the same time, according to his critical apparatus, he deviates from the readings of all documents simply by saying “*tas-hih-e in kalame mashkuk ast*” (correction of this word is doubtful), and by using a different reading. Whose reading? No clues. Here are cases that I would call “semi-silent correction”: 1:8 (*zahir al-ayyām*), 6:16 (‘*ālam-e ‘ulvi*’); 12:16 (*wāhidat bi wāhida*), 23:5 (*dalili*), 23:8 (*almughira*), 23:10 (*almughira*), 24:15 (*kuseh fāli*), 26: 17 (*al-lays*), 28:9 (*Bānizi*), 28:10 (*soghdi*), 28:21 (*moflaq*), 30:1 (*maqrū*’), 32:1-2 (*gu ‘yi ke daru ajzā ‘e arzi nist*), 46:11 (*Bānizi*).

Another instance of inconsistency occurs in his variant recordings. One assumption he proposed was that A, B, T were similar because. “almost the same errors and additions/interpolations and omissions exist among the three” adding in parenthesis, “regardless of the handwritten interpolations in the Tehran copy”. This identification seems to have a psychological effect on his variant readings so that in some cases he records readings for T in relation to A and B which did not prove accurate by my collation of the critical apparatus with the primary sources. This assumption might have psychologically made him either skip collation in every case, or see what he mentally

²⁵³ Juyā Jahānbakhsh, p 31.

desired to see. For example, on page 1, line 1, Qazvini's recording says "B, T: *belā tavassot* (instead of: *betavassot*)". My collation gives: B: *betavassot*. T: "*belā tavassot*" (On the margin, (T) also has *bevaasete-ye* in a different hand). Thus, he reports the reading of T to B. Or, on page 72, last two lines, gives: "A, B, T: *kerāmat kard*." My collation gives: T: *kerāmat farmud*. Obviously, he misses the variation of "*kard*" to "*farmud*" (fulfilled) in T. Sometimes he gives readings for all the variant carriers, but the examination reveals exactly the opposite. For example, on page 1, line 3 he records: "A, B, T: lacks *ruhāni*" . My examination shows that all the three have *ruhāni*. (Appendix 4)

The ambivalence is reflected in the mise-en-page of the edition as well. The main text is presented in clear-text edition which is typical in an eclectic mode of editing.²⁵⁴ But the problem is inconsistency in what Qazvini intended to do by giving all historical context to the reader. The delayed critical apparatus and annotations as appendices obliterate the collation and contextualization. Bulky size of these notes and their separate placements have been two reasons for the absence of appendices in most reprints and reading editions of the Gibb Memorial copy. The supplementation of these notes, of course, was a later decision for practical reasons. Qazvini tells us: "After a long time when the text of the book was prepared for printing, Mr. Professor Browne recommended that my [textual] notes of this slave be *also* [my emphasis] printed in the back/bottom (*zeyl-e*) of the book".²⁵⁵ The adverb "also" strengthens the fact that the supplementation of the historical annotations to the book must have been suggested by Browne rather than being Qazvini's decision. He describes the work in annotations in these terms: "and to emend the names of the people and places and books, and the digits of the years, and so

²⁵⁴ On eclecticism see, J. H. Petzer, "Eclecticism and the Text of the New Testament" in *Text and Interpretation: New Approaches in the Criticism of the New Testament*. (47-62).

²⁵⁵ Qazvini, "moqaddame-ye mossahheh", *Chahār Maqāle*, p *kab*.

forth, I kept referring to numerous books of history and literature and biography and religions (*masālek*) and territories (*mamālek*) and else which were located in the big libraries of London and Paris, whose names are given in the index at the end of the book, and I corrected not only each subject, but also each word by speculations (*mezān*), and annotated each historical or literary or lexical or other items.”²⁵⁶

Intentional inconsistencies and controversies, of course, may be explained in terms of what Tanselle suggested the work of “active repairer”, which Houseman calls a dog’s instinct, or “sound judgment”²⁵⁷, and Qazvini, being inspired by his Islamic background, time and again refers to as “*shamm-e fiqāhati*” (judicial common sense). In a letter to his peer and close friend, Sayyed Hasan Taqizādeh (1878-1970), he explicitly advocates the editor’s intervention in fixing orthographical discrepancies using his/her perceptiveness if the discrepancy is not authorial:

Here [orthographic features] it is also evident that one cannot dismiss the author’s spelling to include Rashidud Din’s spelling [secondary text], and so on and so forth in other cases such as this wherein the basis and foundation is sound taste (*zowq-e salim*) and the above mentioned *shamm-e fiqāhati* (power of conjecture) plus the constant continuous extreme caution and the retention of the exemplar as far as possible (*noskhe-ye mahma amkan*) and 99 percent in its original textual condition and reference to one’s own corrections and decisions (*ijtihādāt*) in the margin,

²⁵⁶ Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p *kab*.

²⁵⁷ A. E. Housman, “The Application of Thought to Textual Criticism” in *Selected Prose*. (Ed.) John Carter. UK: Cambridge UP, 1961 (131-150), pp 132-133.

unless one is positive and even certain about the erroneousness of the exemplar, that is the scribe's error not the author's error.²⁵⁸

While there is a subtle implication in the difference between the vehicle in Houseman's analogy (dog's instinct) and Qazvini's metaphor (*faqih's* logical deduction by perceptual observation) which calls for due attention in its own right, by *shamm-e fiqāhati*, or power of conjecture, a critic can practice *ijtihād*, or legalistic judgment. In fact, Qazvini was against "automate" or "absolute" surrender to the reading of the text. In a letter to Taqizādeh he criticizes him for not taking a position in treatment of a "*ghalat-hā-ye vāzeh-e qat'i-ye eyn al-yaqini*" (certain definite visible errors) by "following the original text" (*motābe'at-e asl-e noskhe*).²⁵⁹

Qazvini's fervor for historical emendation, as I mentioned earlier, is both ideological and theoretical. In doing so he employs reasoning and syllogism in a very effective way. One problem in the case of *Chahār Maqāle* concerns dates—for example, the death and life of the author, or the composition date of the book. (See section on the author's biography) he determines the composition date of the book. One of the most famous examples of Qazvini's logical deduction occurs in the prose introduction prefaced to the Iranian national epic, Ferdowsi's *Shahnāme (Book of Kings)* (10th century). Here, his main focus falls on the authorship of the prose introduction which prefaces the old manuscripts of *Shahnāme* (before 15th century). Based upon a number points of internal and external evidence, he clarifies the question on the authorship of this prose introduction and concludes that it is not authored by Ferdowsi, but it was derived from an older prose book of kings known as Abu Mansuri *Shahnāme*, and that it is the only part

²⁵⁸ See *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 240-41.

²⁵⁹ See *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 310-311.

remaining from the main text, i.e., Ferdowsi's source of his verse epic. Thus, through textual observations Qazvini comes upon a discovery in the scholarship of *Shahnāme*.²⁶⁰

His annotations in *Chahār Maqāle* provide several instances of such reasoning to deduce unknown dates, or to correct the author's "huge flaw" (*sahv-e 'azim*) due to anachronism.²⁶¹ Concerning an anecdote about Mas'ud-e Sa'd Salmān and Sultan Ebrāhim of Ghazni (chapter two) by mathematical argument he shows that the given date 572 is wrong and 472 is correct.²⁶² In a similar way, he finds five or six anachronisms in the anecdote of the battle between Sultan Mohammad b. Malikshah and Shahāb al-Din Alb Ghāzi (chapter two). He argues that all the flaws cannot have been due to the anecdotal source of Nezāmi 'Aruzi's, but they must have been caused by some scribe's interpolations.²⁶³ He even rejects the argument that Rezāqoli Khan Hedāyat following 'Aliqoli Khan Dāghestāni makes on Mas'ud S'ad Salmān's duration of imprisonment as an anachronism that is caused by orthographical similarity in the editor's recording of "eight" (*hasht*) for "twenty" (*bist*).²⁶⁴ But, he himself displays similar instances of flawed arguments. Badi' al-Zamān Foruzānfar (1897-1970) a textual scholar in his own right, detected eighteen flaws in Qazvini's historical annotations.²⁶⁵

Unfortunately, even he does not notice a case that is most likely an anachronism by the editor. According to A, B, and T, and Q which I could consult for this issue, and Browne, Qazvini, and Mo'in follow, in the preface the author introduces himself and says

²⁶⁰ Qazvini, "moqaddame-ye qadim-e *Shahnāme*", *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini, -ye Qazvini*, Vol. 2 (Ed.) 'Abbās Eqbāl Āshtiyāni, Tehran: Donyā-ye Ketāb, 1364/1985, pp 5-29.

²⁶¹ Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 102-103.

²⁶² Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 178-79.

²⁶³ Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, p 183.

²⁶⁴ Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 181-82.

²⁶⁵ Badi' al-Zamān Foruzānfar, "enteqādāt bar havāshi-ye *Chahār Maqāle*" [Critiques on Annotation of *Chahār Maqāle*], Rpt. of Esfand 1309 (March 1931). *Maqāle-hā-ye Badi'-al-Zamān-e Foruzānfar* [Essays by Badi'a--Zamān-e Foruzānfar] (Ed.) Enāyatollāh Majidi, Tehran: Farhang va Ershād-e Eslāmi, 1382/2003 (41-55).

that he has been at the service of this house (the Ghurid) for “forty five years”. Based on similar arguments that Qazvini makes, this time-lapse does not accord with other chronological data.

For one thing, according to Qazvini’s reasoning the book must have been completed between 551-552/1156-57.²⁶⁶ Then, from the anecdote on Rudagi we learn that in 504 when he had still been in Samarqand he heard about Rudagi from Abu Rajāʿ. From Qazvini’s own argument in the introduction we read that the Ghurid were of two lineages. The sovereigns from the main house who were named sultans (543/1148) governed in Ghur with Firuzkuh as their capital. The other branch included another brother of the Ghurid sultan who was given the rulership of Bamiyan in Tokharistān. They were vassals to the main sultanate of the Ghur, and were titled as *muluk* (pl. of *malik*), or rulers. Qazvini maintains that Nezāmi ‘Arūzi’s patron (prince) was the son of the first Bamiyan ruler of this second branch. From the author’s preface also Qazvini maintains that the author had been in the service of this Bamiyan branch of rulers, not the sultans.²⁶⁷ Therefore, one could argue that “forty five years” does not accord with the rulership of Bamiyan house.

According to Minhāj al-Serāj in *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri*, the first Ghurid who was entitled “sultan”, was Seif al-Din Suri (540-544/1146-1151), the brother of Qutb al-Din.²⁶⁸ After his murder in the battle against Bahrāmshah of Ghazni, the third brother, ‘Alā al-Din took his place and ruled 544-551/1149-1156. The fourth brother was Fakhr al-Din, the ruler of Bamiyan whose son is the addressee of *Chahār Maqāla*. Upon the death of Qutb al-Din, that is after 541/1146, ‘Alā al-Din appointed Fakhr al-Din as the

²⁶⁶ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp *za-ha*.

²⁶⁷ See Qazvini, “moqaddame-ye mossahheh”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp *ta-ya*.

²⁶⁸ See *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri*, p 336.

ruler of Bamiyan.²⁶⁹ Therefore, we cannot help but reject the unsettled phrase *chehelo panj sāl* in preference to the well-argued date of the composition and take it as an unaddressed textual problem for now.²⁷⁰ Again, one could argue, either Qazvini's calculation of the composition date is not accurate, or the date given here is not correct. Interestingly, Qazvini stresses "forty five years" in the same discussion. If Qazvini's calculation is correct then forty five years is an anachronism caused by the confusion of pairing "four or five" (*chahār o panj sāl*) in letters which can be easily misread in Persian orthography for "forty five", especially that the evidence from the author's remaining couplet reveals such numerical phrasing as the author's stylistic feature.²⁷¹ It should be noted that due to diacritical features and the joint system of scripts in Persian *tas-hif* (misspelling) and *tah-rif* (diacritical misplacement) are common phenomena in Persian manuscript transmission.

Based on other allusions in the text, if we accepted Qazvini's reasoning and agreed that he composed the book between 551/1156 and 552/1157 then he cannot have been at the Ghurid "service" for forty five years by the time he completed the book, because then he must have come to the region of Ghur around 1112. Such a date neither

²⁶⁹ Qazvini dates the beginning of his sultanate around 543/1148. (See "moqaddame-ye mosahheh", *Chahār Maqāle*, p *tā*. To anticipate, the problem appears to hinge on a mistaking of 'four to five years' for 'forty five years.' This unaddressed contradiction, as I will show, is important firstly for textual editing, secondly for my discussion of the historical period in which he lived, and thirdly for showing the limits of the so-called "scientific" editing so much applauded for its determinacy in modern textual criticism. That a scrupulous editor such as Qazvini did not pause on this contradiction has a significance of its own right to which I will return in subsequent chapters.

²⁷⁰ I will give due space to this point when I will discuss Qazvini's work.

²⁷¹ his phrasal reference to sequential numbers has evidence in the only few couplets left from Nezāmi 'Aruzi and cited in the oldest Persian *tazkere* of the poets, *Lubāb al-Albāb* by Mohammad 'Awfi (approximately 618/1221). See Qazvini's introduction in *Lubāb al-Albāb*, volume 2. (Eds.) Edward G. Browne & Mohammad Qazvini, Leyden: E. J. Brill and Luzac & Co. 1906. p *ta*, and must have been a stylistic feature in his writing to show approximation, like eightish, fivish, etc... in English: "seven eight" [twice in the same couple], "three four" [twice], "one two", "five six". This is approved by the evidence of the lines quoted from him by 'Awfi where almost in every case the author/poet uses such phrases in reference to numerical: "*cho haft hasht harifim*", "*be haft hasht honar*", "*se chār konde*", "*yek deu dowr*", "*se chār gāde*", "*panj shesh mani*", "*haft hasht bande*". (Ibid, p 207).

agrees with other biographical facts about the author, nor with the history of the Shansabāni's establishment in Ghur as rulers. Hence, Nezāmi 'Aruzi must have gained reception with their house around the same time. In this case, Qazvini does not question the contradiction between the author's claim and the date of the composition which he had drawn upon proof.

One important aspect in Qazvini's work is the religious commitment that he extends to the accomplishment of editorial work. What textual critics name "trained imagination" or "sound judgment" and is conceived of as an essential requirement for a genuine editor, in Qazvini's case draws from his training in the Islamic textual tradition. Time and again Qazvini uses *shamm-e fiqāhati* to stress the critic's trained acumen in deducing decisions on textual issues about the undocumented facts from factual clues. Like other markers in the register of his language, the phrase resonates with the jargon of *hadith* (Tradition) and jurisprudence. According to the comprehensive Persian dictionary of Dehkhodā, *shamm-e fiqāhati* pertains to the knowledge of religious science (*dānestan-e 'elm-e din*) and the talent for deduction (*dānestan chili rā va daryāftan*). The interpretation of religious texts helps the religious authority to do *ijtihād*, derive laws from the Prophet's sayings and from *Qur'an* to answer questions of sacred and secular affairs. The Arabic word *ijtihād* (literally, 'exerting oneself') refers to the individual deduction of legal rules on the basis of intellectual reasoning.²⁷²

²⁷² "The principles underlying Twelver *ijtihād* were outlined during the Mongol periods by the scholar 'Allāme (Arabic: 'the greatly learned') al-Hilli (1250-1325), who was active in Hilla, in southern Iraq, which was at that time the center of Twelve Shi'ite learning. In his view, only scholars possess the ability to arrive at valid knowledge by means of rational reflection, and they must have completed the appropriate course of training for this purpose. However, the *mujtahid*-that is, a scholar who practices *ijtihād* is fallible, because only the twelfth imam can claim to be infallible. ... This conception of rational *ijtihād*, which was definitively developed in Twelver Shi'ism ..., establishes the authority of the mujtahid in matters of religion and law and thus provides the basis for the increasing influence-which was also political-of

Fidelity to the author's words, which derives from observation of the religious ethic of trustworthiness, may count as the reason for some of inconsistencies that we have gone over so far. The application of such an obligation underlies logical reasoning for deciding on issues of unknown sources. When he deals with issues of unknown sources Qazvini reveals it to the reader by a question mark, or by adding the sentence, *wallā hulla'alam* (God knows best). By reporting such uncertainties Qazvini indicates his strong commitment to what he assumes to be the author's text. It is also a way for the documentation of uncertainties or disagreement with the text. Documentation of non-authorial materials, be it the editor's disagreement or the scholar's sources, was strongly accentuated by Moslem scholars even though it may not always have followed a coherent system. Omidisalar alludes to the case of Hasan b. Mohammad b. Hasan al-Qomi as an evidence of this ethical consciousness in the Islamic world since the early centuries: "...I have compiled this book and chronicle from these [aforementioned] texts, they cannot denigrate [my work] by saying that I have only collected the word of others and have plagiarized from them. I can lay no claim to the contents of this book beyond its arrangement. Only the information that specifically concerns Qumm [Qom] and its inhabitants [is original], and has been collected by myself with great toil. Everything else is taken from other chronicles and histories."²⁷³

Resonance of Islamic background is best reflected in Qazvini's technical terminology which reveals a strong influence of Arabic-Islamic jargon. His treatment of

Twelver scholars." See Monika Gronke, *IRAN: A Short History From Islamization to the Present* (Trans.) Steven Rendall. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2008, pp 91-92.

²⁷³ Quoted in Omidisalar's "Editorial Theory in *Shahnama [Shahnāme]* Studies", *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam*. 27. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University (2002):(245-282), p 257. Also see, Qomi, Hasan b. Mohammad b. Hasan. *Ketāb-e Tārikh-e Qom*. (Ed.) Sayyed Jalāl -'Din Tehrani, Tehran: Matba'e-ye Majles, 1313/1934, p14.

uncertain issues or corruption also reveals a conceptual influence of Moslem scholarship. Arabic terms such as *eyzan* (similarly), *huwal-sawāb* (and it is correct), *kazā* (the same), *fi jami'al nusakh* (in all copies), *tammata* (finished) *assah* (most correct) *aqdam* (earliest) and *sahha* (corrected) possess high frequency in his parlance. In addition to Arabic words, Persian and Persianate Arabic words and phrases such as *khatā* (error), *mashkuk* (suspicious), *moztareb* (confused), *tas-hih-e qiyāsi* (analogical correction), *sāqet* (missing), *maghlut* (erred), *mowze'/mavāze'* (position/positions), *fāhesh* (blatant), *sahv* (mistake), *saqim* (corrupted), *noskhe* (copy/manuscript/document) form another group in his typical terminology. With a similar ethos, by sharing his uncertainty while he sustains a sincere relation with the reader Qazvini leaves the door open to future enquiry.

In conclusion, it is obvious that Qazvini's intention was to restore the text by firm demonstrable documents and with the application of the most accurate techniques. His historical philology was charged with a religious sense that drove him to the employment of the most efficient practical tools from the native tradition and modern European scholarship. Yet, for reasons beyond his control sometimes, his edition leaves several inconsistencies. One such reason derives from his historical reading of the text, and from his conception of the historicity of the text. To better understand the circumstances in which he was nurtured and in which he worked, we need to situate him in the socio-political and educational milieu he was born to, and was nurtured in.

Chapter 3- Tradition, Transition, and Ambivalent Transactions

In this chapter, I enlarge the scope of our enquiry along the historical (diachronic) axis of the 19th-20th century to include the editor and his socio-political environment in Iran and Europe (green axis on the diagram, Figure 1). To put it another way, the chapter is dedicated to the history of transactions at various levels told through the story of the man's formative moral and intellectual life, and the impact of these transactions on the consciousness of the individual and on the culture. It is the story of Qazvini as well as of Iranian culture and society in transition from the old to the new, from the traditional to the modern, from Qājār *Persia* to Pahlavi *Iran*. It is also the story of traveling texts, traveling ideas and transformation. And it relates the recycling of the Perso-Islamic textual culture in the European context, and the formative setting of a discipline at the dialogic intersection of the native and non-native cultures.

Section 1- Biography

Mohammad, known alternatively as Sheikh Mohammad Khan, Mirzā Mohammad Khan, and entitled by Iranians as *'allāme* (most learned), was the firstborn of 'Abdol Wahhāb, known as Mullā Āqā (d. 1888), and Sara Khātun (d. 1905).²⁷⁴ He was born in Tehran, on the 15th of Rabi' I, 1294/30 March, 1877. His father was an Arabic teacher at Mo'ayyer al-Mamālek *madresse*,²⁷⁵ an educated man of scholarly repute and one of the

²⁷⁴ See Qāsem Ghani, "dar ahvāl va akhlāq-e marhum-e Qazvini" in *Yāddāsh-t-hā-ye Doktor Qāsem Ghani*, Vol.5. London: Cyrus Ghani, 1981. (176-189), p 164; Mohammad Qazvini, *Yāddāsh-t-hā-ye Qazvini*, Vol.8. (Ed.) Iraj Afshār. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Dāneshgāh-e Tehran, 1345/1966. pp. 210 & 188; Mohammad. Qazvini, [autobiography] in *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 1. (7-30), p 7.

²⁷⁵ See *Al-Ma'āser al-Āsār*. Vol. 1. in *Chehel Sāl Tārikh-e Iran dar Dowre-ye Pādeshahi-ye Nāser al-Din Shah*, pp 46 & 217.

authors of *Nāme-ye Dāneshvarān* [*Book of the Learned*], a prestigious biographical encyclopedia about the Moslem celebrities.²⁷⁶

Up to the age of twelve young Mohammad received early education, then conventionally being Arabic and *Qur'an* taught by clerics at traditional *maktab- khāne* (literally, house of learning) under his father. Loss of the father and the consequent difficult straits of the family could have forced young Qazvini to abandon his studies in order to support the orphaned family, as would happen in similar situations. But thanks to 'Abdol Rab Ābādi's (later Shams-al-'Ulamā)²⁷⁷ guardianship—a friend and colleague of his father's—he could continue his schooling at traditional seminaries (Mo'ayyer al-Mamālik and Marvi) as a *talabe* (student of religious subjects). Although by then the first modern polytechnic school—Dār al-Funun—had been already available to the sons of the elite (1851), seminary schools were still the only option available to the youth of middle class families. Qazvini did not end up a cleric but, as we will see, he took away from his early education an insatiable love and excellent knowledge of Arabic grammar and literature. He also took away a profound influence of Moslem traditions that had enduring implications to his later scholarly career. Qazvini's teachers were among well-established religious authorities or *mojtahids* who played a significant role in the events leading up to the Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911) and its aftermath. The most influential among them was Sheikh Fazlollāh Nuri whose early support of the revolution soon turned into radical opposition to the secular codes of the constitution and went so far in his counter actions that he was sentenced to death by hanging by constitutionalists.

²⁷⁶ *Nāme-ye Dāneshvarān-e Nāseri*, 6 Vols. Vol. 1 (Ed.) Sayyed Rezā Sadr, Qom: Dār al-Fekr- Dār al-'Elm, 1338/1959.

²⁷⁷ Literally, the sun of the learned.

A tutorial occasion achieved through Shams al-‘Ulamā introduced young Qazvini to Zokā al-Molk (later Forughī) and his two sons, Mohammad ‘Ali (1877-1942) and Abol Hasan, both of whom were graduates of Dār al-Funun and speakers of French, which triggered in Qazvini an interest in the language. This tutorial relationship developed into a lasting friendship between young Qazvini and Mohammad ‘Ali, the future three-time prime minister of Iran, and an influential character in Rezā Shah’s (r. 1925-1941) cultural nationalization.

While as a graduate of seminary school he was not conventionally expected to approach non-Moslem schools, in his mid-twenties Qazvini began a diploma program in French language at Alliance Francaise, one of the foreign schools founded in Tehran in 1890 with a focus on language and literature.²⁷⁸ Within two years he achieved a “certificat d’etude” in French, followed by a third year volunteer attendance for fluency that lasted until his departure from Tehran to Europe in 1904.²⁷⁹

Earlier in 1904 Qazvini received an invitation, apparently with a sum of 100 *tomans*, from his younger brother, Mirzā Ahmad Khan who was then in London on a temporary business assignment.²⁸⁰ Knowing the interest of his older brother in the old Persian and Arabic manuscripts, Mirzā Ahmad Khan suggested that Sheikh Mohammad should come to London and spend a few months in London to visit the collection of the British Museum. When on a hot day of late June in 1904 he said adieu to the last image of his tearful old mother from the rear of the departing stage-coach, Qazvini was also saying farewell to the tenacious grip of limits imposed on him by his clerical background

²⁷⁸ See Monica M. Ringer, pp 129-133.

²⁷⁹ See Bahrāmīyān, *Yādnāme-ye Mohammad Qazvini*, p 35.

²⁸⁰ See Qāsem Ghani, 1981, p165; also see Shahpar Ansāri, “The Life, Works, and Times of Muhammad Qazvini (1877-1949)”. M. A. thesis. University of Utah. 1990, p 38.

to arrive in the vibrant scholarly setting of Europe in the turn of the century. Years later, time and again, he expressed his thankfulness to God for saving him from *mohit-e ākhundi*, and *tarz-e fekr-e Najafi* (Najafi mentality), that is, the closed system of thought dominating the Shi'ite clerical schools. At the same time, he felt grateful to God for providing him an opportunity to see "Farangestān" (Europe)²⁸¹ and acquire modern knowledge.²⁸² He reached London through Rasht, Anzali, Russia, Germany and the Netherlands by land and sea.²⁸³

Qazvini's arrival in London situated him in the orbit of Browne-Gibb Memorial Trust-Orientalist scholarship. His introduction to Browne, whether it was a pre-arranged event as suggested by the early 20th century polemist, Ahmad Kasravi (1890-1946)²⁸⁴ or a lucky coincidence, set the turning point of the Persian studies.²⁸⁵ In England, he came in contact with Orientalist scholars, the Arabist Professor A.A. Bevan, and H. F. Amedroz (d. 1917),²⁸⁶ and was involved in a series of editorial projects with the newly founded Gibb Memorial Trust through its trustee, Edward Browne. In 1906, upon the appointment to an editorial project he moved to Paris where he completed and published five critically edited works under the auspices of Gibb Memorial Trust before moving to Berlin due to the circumstances of First World War in October 1915. In Paris, he came in contact with a number of French Orientalists including Harwig Derenbourg (d.1908)

²⁸¹ Farangestān, literally meaning the place of Franks, is an epithet for Europeans in Persian.

²⁸² 'Abbās Eqbāl-Ashtiyāni, *Allāme Mohammad Qazvini*, p 53.

²⁸³ Qazvini [Autobiography], p 13.

²⁸⁴ Ahmad Kaseravi, *Dar Pirāmun-e Adabiyyāt [On Literature]*, Tehran: Ferdows, 1378/1999, p 153.

²⁸⁵ Qazvini's telegraph from Bādkuba reached his brother, Mirzā Ahmad Khan in London on the very day he met Edward Browne, apparently by chance, at 'Ala'al-Saltāna's house, the Persia's ambassador to London (d. 24th June, 1918). Upon hearing from his brother about Qazvini and the cause of his travel, Browne became interested in him and invited both of them to Cambridge even before Qazvini had reached the shore of Britain Mohit-Tabātabā'i, *Allāme Mohammad Qazvini*, pp 31-32.

²⁸⁶ M. Qazvini, [Autobiography], *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 1, Rpt. of 1332/1953, pp 13-14; and *Yāddāsh-hā-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 8, p 153.

whose classes on Hymerite orthography he attended at Louvre, and Professor Barbier de Meynard (d.1908) whose classes on comparative Indo-European and Arabic syntax he attended at the Sourbon. He was also acquainted with the lexicographer, M.Meillet, as well as the Orientalist, M.Clement Huart. While being occupied with scholarly work Qazvini also acted in support of the Iranian nationalist-democratic activities during and after the Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911) (See below).

By the beginning of First World War the manuscripts he was working on were moved out of Paris. The alliance of France with the long-time adversary of Iranians' democratic movement, Russia, was even a more important reason for Qazvini to accept the invitation of his like-minded friend, Sayyed Hasan Taqizādeh (1878-1970), and depart for Berlin on October 15th, 1915 by train a few days before the borders were permanently closed.²⁸⁷

During his five year-stay in Berlin he collaborated with Taqizādeh's publication of the pro-German journal, *Kāve*, presided over the weekly literary seminars with a number of Iranian literary figures and nationalist activists including Mohammad 'Ali Jamālzādeh,²⁸⁸ Hossein Kāzemzādeh Iranshahr, Mahmud Ghanizādeh, Mirzā Fazl 'Ali Mojtahed, Mohammad 'Ali Khan Tarbiyat, Mohammad Rezā Mosāvāt,²⁸⁹ and Ebrāhim Purdāvud²⁹⁰ In the meantime, he conducted research on Perso-Arabic holdings of Berlin

²⁸⁷ Amu 'Ughli was a pro-Constitution militant with strong connections with the Causian liberalist activists.

²⁸⁸ He is known as the founder of the modern Persian short story by the publication of *Yeki Bud Yeki Nabud* (*Once Upon a Time*). The book was published in Berlin in 1921 by Iranshahr printing house where *Kāve* was printed. The theme of the most important story in the collection is a satire on the situation of Persian language.

²⁸⁹ He was in the National Defense Committee (komite-ye defā' melli) that liberalists had formed to fight against Russian and British control of Iran in Kermāshah and Qom.

²⁹⁰ Mohammad Qazvini [Autobiography], *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāla-ye Qazvini*, pp 17-23; Mohammad 'Ali Jamālzādeh, "Mirzā Mohammad Khan-e Qazvini", *Yādnāme-ye 'Allāma Mohammad Qazvini*, pp 215-230

libraries, and penned considerable amount of notes on various issues including his observation of the socio-political situation of Germany and Europe, chronology of events and characters.²⁹¹ He also developed his knowledge of German, and stayed in contact with a number of German Orientalist scholars, two of whom were his students of Persian.²⁹²

Several months after the conclusion of the war, Qazvini could gain his visa to France only through the intervention of his old friend, Mohammad ‘Ali Foroughi (Zokā al-Molk), then being in Paris on a diplomatic mission on behalf of Vosuq al-Dowle’s cabinet. He left Berlin on the 4th of January 1920 by train and reached Paris via Switzerland on the 8th of January.²⁹³

Immediately after his return to Paris, Qazvini resumed the project of *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā*, then being the only source of living for him.²⁹⁴ By then, the government of Persia under the administration of Vosuq al-Dowle approved of a regular annual pension to him whereby he was able to resettle in Paris.²⁹⁵ As already noted, earlier in the same year, he married a woman of Italian origin by the name of Roza Chiavi who soon gave birth to their only child, a girl by the name of Susan-Nāhid (22nd February, 1921).²⁹⁶ Qazvini and his family resided in their new-constructed apartment at Port d’Orlean near Moneso Park.

²⁹¹ See “ruznāme-ye dowrān-e eqāmat-e Orupā” in *Yāddāsh-t-hā-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 9 (179-253). Also on his travel to Berlin see Qazvini [Autobiography], *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, p 17; Jamshid Behnām, Jamshid Behnām, *Berlani-hā: Andishmandān-e Irani dar Berlan 1915-1930*, Tehran: Farzān, 1379/2000. (7-21); and Sayyed Hasan Taqizādeh, ‘*Allāme Mohammad Qazvini*, pp 10-11.

²⁹² Mohammad Qazvini, “ruznāma-ye dowrān-e eqāmat-e Orupā” in *Yāddāsh-t-hā-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 9, pp 204-207; Qazvini [autobiography], *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāla-ye Qazvini*, pp 22-23; Mohammad Mo’in, “allāma-ye mo’āser, āqā-ye Mohammad Qazvini” in *Majmu’a Maqālāt*, Vol. 1 (Ed.) Mahdokht-e Mo’in, Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Mo’in, 1364/1985 (128-156), pp 134-35.

²⁹³ See *Yāddāsh-t-hā-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 9, pp 221-224.

²⁹⁴ Mohammad Qazvini. Letter to Edward. March 1921. MS. Browne’s archive. Box 8 (a), Bundle 9. Pembroke Collection. Library of Cambridge University.

²⁹⁵ Qazvini, [autobiography], *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, pp 26-27.

²⁹⁶ See *Nāme hā-ye Tehran*, p 403; *Yāddāsh-t-hā-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 9, p 231.

At some point, Qazvini substituted Edgar Blochet (1870-1937), the Orientalist scholar, and also librarian and bibliographer of Oriental manuscripts at Bibliothèque Nationale de France for one year,²⁹⁷ and for the deceased Clemant Huart (d. 30th of December, 1926) at the Oriental School of Paris as a Persian teacher for another term. In 1928, by a request from the Royal Court minister, ‘Abdol Hossein Teymurtāsh (1883-1933) Qazvini commenced a ten-year photography project from rare Persian manuscripts for the Ministry of Culture (*Vezārat-e Farhang*) in the reign of Rezā Shah (1925-1941).²⁹⁸ In the same year also he represented Persia in the Orientalist Conference at Cambridge. During his second stay in Paris, Qazvini made acquaintance with a number of other French Orientalists including Egyptologist Professor Peul Casanoa (d. March 1926 in Egypt), and the chief editor of *Journal d’Asiatic*, Gabriel Fernand.²⁹⁹

The completion of the work with Gibb Memorial by the publication of the last volume of *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā of Joveyni* in 1937, and the condition of Europe in the advent of a second war drove him towards the last relocation. In fact, when he decided to leave France he had already spent quite a long time considering the idea. As World War II broke out, he left Paris with his wife and daughter and took a long journey by train through the Balkans, Istanbul and Iraq to reach Tehran on September 30th of the same year to avoid life or death in the sphere of Hitler’s regime.³⁰⁰

In Iran, Qazvini lived under the last two years of Rezā Shah’s reign well through the early years of the reign of his son, young Mohammad Rezā Shah (r. 1941-1979) who

²⁹⁷ See Qāsem Ghani, *Yāddāsh-t-hā*, Vol. 5, p 166.

²⁹⁸ ‘Abbās Eqbāl-Āshtiyāni, “sharh-e hāl-e marhum-e Qazvini“, *Allāma Mohammad Qazvini*, pp 41-42; Mohammad Mo’in, *Majmu’e Maqālāt*, pp 140-141; Jamshid Sorushyār, “nāme-i az ‘allāma Moḥammad Qazvini be Mohtasham al-Saltane Esfandiyāri”. *Āyandeh* 12: 11-12 (1365?):(762-767).

²⁹⁹ See Qazvini, [Autobiography] in *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, pp 26-27.

³⁰⁰ Mohsen Forughi, “yādi az Mohammad Qazvini”. Rpt. of *Yaghmā*, 4th Tir, 1341/1962 in *Yādnāme-ye ‘Allāma Mohammad Qazvini* (231-235), p 235. Explaining the reason for his return Qazvini had said that he neither wanted to get killed by Hitler’s bombs, nor was willing to live under Hitler’s regime.

showed interest in keeping company of learned scholars including Qazvini in weekly gatherings at the court. Despite his close connection with the court and the influential political figures Qazvini never was a political activist in the narrow sense of the word, but he was certainly a sincere lover of Iran and Iranianness, and an advocate of the Iranians' nationalist-democratic movement. As of the late autumn in 1948, his health deteriorated by prostate illness and arthritis. He underwent a surgery in the fall of the same year but could not survive the consequences beyond a few months and succumbed to death on Friday night, 27th of May, 1949. His tomb is located in 'Abol Fotuh Rāzi section, number 5022. In Iran he contributed to a few editorial projects. (See below).

Section 2- Work and Context

Qazvini's life span (1877-1949) coincided with a tumultuous era in the socio-cultural and political history of Iran and Europe. Not only for his unique historical situation but also for his liaison with many influential epoch-making events, figures and institutions in Iran and in Europe Qazvini's personal and intellectual life history is informed by events that happened in Iran and Europe during his life span, and by the cultural identity that he contributed to its formation as well. Hence, the biography of the man is closely interwoven with the cultural transformations of his milieu. In the seven decades spanning between 1877 and 1949, medieval Qājar Persia was officially transformed to Pahlavi's "pseudo-modernized"³⁰¹ Iran; Iranians adopted many institutional models of Europe; and Europe went through two wars of enormous consequences to its geopolitical and moral identity. Circumstances of Persia in these decades bring to mind a model of transformation that in Lotman's theory of literary shifts

³⁰¹ See, Gavin Hambly, "The Pahlavi Autocracy: Riza Shah [Rezā Shah] (1921-1941)" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 7, (Eds.) Peter Avery et al. 1991 (213-243), p 221.

goes through developing stages of “ambivalence” before the tradition is entirely replaced by the new through the fulfillment of a “dynamic leap”. In this theoretical pattern ambivalence is a process of penetration of the new in a well-cemented closed system of tradition that takes place as the result of early encounters, or cracks as he calls them.³⁰² By this model of transformation Qazvini lived the ambivalence of a transitional moment in the history of Iran, and he himself became an active contributor to that transition. Yet, unlike Lotman’s dynamic leap in this case, ambivalences culminated to cohabitation of the traditional with the modern, rather than replacement of the former by the latter. I am pushing the limit of this concept further to explain the dynamics of transformation in Qazvini’s life and milieu. As such, I use his biography as a lens to look into the socio-political and cultural context of Iran and Europe in the 19th-20th centuries.

Qazvini was born in a moment of Iranian history when the contact with Europe had already introduced early cracks in the traditional norms of the Iranian society. This process had taken a fresh energy by the early 1870s through a series of reforms that Nāser-al-Din Shah by the influence of his first European trip (1873)³⁰³ and the premiership of Mohammad Hossein Khan Moshir al-Dowle (Dec. 1871-73), a graduate of Dār al-Funun and an experienced diplomat of progressive ideas had initiated in certain aspects of the social life. His two-year office paved the way for the expansion of the press and publication under the directorship of another graduate of Dār al-Funun, Mohammad Hasan Khan Sani’al-Dowle, (later E’etemād al-Saltane) (1843-1896).³⁰⁴ Inauguration of

³⁰² I borrow the application of this term to the socio-cultural circumstances of the eve of Constitution era from Ahmad Karmi-Hakkak’s appropriation of Yuri Lotman’s “Dynamic Model” to the same concept in *Recasting Persian Poetry*, Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1995, p 15.

³⁰³ Nāser al-Din Shah made three trips to Europe in 1873, 1878, and 1889.

³⁰⁴ See Abbās Amānat, “E’TEMĀD-AL-SALTĀNA, MOḤAMMAD-ḤASAN KHAN MOQADDAM MARĀĠĀ’Ī”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Web. 11 May 2012. <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/etemad-al-saltana>>. Also see, Mohammad Hossein Khan E’etemād al-Saltane. *Al-Ma’āser al-Āsār*. Vol. 1. in

the Bureau of Governmental Newspapers (*Edāre-ye Ruznāme jāt-e Dowlati*) (1870-71), Exclusive Governmental Bureau of Translation (*Dār al-Trajame-ye Khāss-e Dowlati*) (1872), the publication of the first typeset print newspaper (*Iran*, 1871),³⁰⁵ and the establishment of the Society of the House of Authorship (*Anjoman-e Dār al-Ta'lif*) by the Ministry of Sciences where Qazvini's father contributed to, are cases in point. Mullā Āqā joined the House of Authorship in the same year Mohammad was born to be one of the four authors (including his friend, 'Abdol Rab Ābādi/ later Shams al-'Ulamā) of *Nāme-ye Dāneshvarān* [*Book of the Learned*]. Later on in his life Qazvini would recall that his father had left a room full of research notes for the entries of the encyclopedia.³⁰⁶

Qazvini's moral biography as a man of letters began at an early age in the scholarly sphere of his father's presence. It was in the middle of the father's scholarly work that young Mohammad took lessons in Arabic from him. This early intellectual experience must have inspired the young boy with an insatiable thirst for biography of people, a methodic discipline in data collection, and a life-long interest in learning Arabic as well as other languages that shaped his later scholarly ethos. We learn from him that even as a teen-age student, for several years every day during summer time he would enthusiastically travel to the northern part of Tehran to ask his questions on Arabic and Perisian literature from the bilingual poet-celebrity, Sayyed Ahmad Adib Pishāvari

Chehel Sāl Tārikh-e Iran dar Dowre-ye Pādeshahi-ye Nāser al-Din Shah. (Ed.) Iraj Afshār. Tehran: Asātir, 1363/1984, p 46.

³⁰⁵ See Peter Avery, "Printing, the Press and Literature in Modern Iran" in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. 7 (815-869), pp 824-25. Web. 2 June 2012.
<http://histories.cambridge.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu/uid=2312/extract?id=chol9780521200950_C_HOL9780521200950A023>.

³⁰⁶ 'A. Eqbāl-Āshtiyāni, *Allāme Mohammad Qazvini*, p37.

(1844-1930)³⁰⁷ who spent summertime at the shrine of Imāmzādeh Sāleh. There, the young student would register the sage's answers "in "the treasury of memory" (*khazāne-ye demāgh*), or would write in his "pocket notebook",³⁰⁸ a habit that Qazsvini kept over his entire life and produced an enormous collection of notebooks and notecards about his observation on a large variety of subjects. At some point even as a student, in order to learn the terminology of wrestling from first hand resources and by direct observation, young Mohammad committed himself to regular attendance at *zurkhāne* (the house of traditional wrestling) and noting down all he would hear.³⁰⁹

The loss of the father brought Mohammad under the guardianship of the father's close friend and colleague, 'Abd al-Rabb-e Ābādi (later Shams al-'Ulamā). By the late 1880s, modern education had already been introduced to the sons of the Iranian elite through Dār al-Funun (College of Polytechnics). For the sons of the middle-class families, the traditional Islamic *madresse* (seminary) was the only educational venue. It was by his guardian that Mohammad was placed at one of these seminary schools to study as a destined cleric. The curriculum of seminaries was conventionally structured around traditional subjects including Arabic semantics and syntax (*sarf-o nahv*), Islamic jurisprudence and law (*fiqh*, 'usul-e fiqh, *fiqh-e khārej*), theology (*kalām*), traditional philosophy (*hekmat-e qadim*), basic principles of jurisprudence ('*usul*), as well as lexicography, logic, mathematics, astronomy, general history and literary history.³¹⁰ It

³⁰⁷ See Munibur Rahman, "Adib Pishahvari". *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Web. 12 Aug. 2012. <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/adib-pisavari-poetic-name-of-sayyed-ahmad-b>>. Also, 'Ali Abolhasani (Monzer). *Āyene-dār-e Tal'at-e Yār*. Tehran: Chāp o Nashr-e Bonyād, 1373. (1-145).

³⁰⁸ Qazvini, [Autobiography], *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-y-e Qazvini*, Vol.1, pp 9-10.

³⁰⁹ See [Q. Ghani?], "be yād-e mahum 'allāme Qazvini" in 'Allameh Mohammad Qazvini (57-71), p 68.

³¹⁰ See Q. Ghani, 1981, p. 164; Qazvini [autobiography] in *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-y-e Qazvini*, Vol.1, pp 7-8. 'A. Eqbāl-Āshtiyāni, 1328/1949, pp.37-38; Mojtaba Minovi, "Obituaries: Mirza Mohammad

was also by this guardian that young Mohammad's name was added to the authorial board of the encyclopedia so that they could receive a small portion of Mullā Āqā's royalty whereby his mother was able to raise the three children to adulthood. Thus, from an early age Mohammad was involved in the cultural sphere of Nāseri era, and as manifested in the examples quoted from him by his associates, even as a young man Qazvini acted in the footsteps of his father's inquisitive capacity and his interest in history of people.³¹¹

Mastery of Arabic language opened new venues before him even as a student and set the direction of his future life. Aside from having a job in the House of Authorship (*Dār al'Ta'lif*) he began teaching Arabic at his alma maters, Mo'yyer al-Mamālek and Marvi schools as well as to private students. It was by this capacity that he was introduced to Zokā al-Molk's (later Foroughi) family. For Qazvini, this incident must have opened a window to the new trend of thoughts, or in Lotman's terminology, it made an early crack in the young man's traditional worldview. Mirzā Mohammad Hossein Khan Zokā al-Molk (1839-1907) was a poet, litterateur, journalist, and a progressive character of European trend of thought.³¹² He was from an emerging generation of Iranian intellectuals of the Nāseri era who contributed to the transitional moment of Iranian modern history by introducing new thoughts through educational publications. The acquaintance not only secured a place for Qazvini in the literary circles at Zokā al-Molk's

Khan Qazvini", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*. UK: The University of London, 13:2 (1950): (547-550), p 548. Web. 20 Oct. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu>>.

³¹¹ See Shahpar Ansāri, p 29.

³¹² See Manouchehr Kāsheff, M. H. Khan Zoka-al Molk (Foroughi) in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol.10. New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press, 2001. (112-113). Mojtabā Minovi. Web. 20 Oct. 2010. <<http://www.jstor.org.offcampus.lib.washington.edu>>, p 548. Mohammad Qazvini [autobiography], *Dowra-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāla-ye Qazvini*, pp 11-12.

house where he must have been exposed to new thoughts, but also secured a job for him as a translator, editor and writer in the man's later publishing career.

Assassination of Nāser al-Din Shah in 1896 opened space for reforms in other arenas, particularly in the domain of education and the press which accelerated the pace of transformation in the socio-political life of Iranians in the forthcoming decade. With the accession of Mozaffar al-Din Shah (1896-1907) to the throne, and under the short-term administration of the reformist character, Amin al-Dowle (1844-1904)³¹³ as his grand vizier (March 1897-June 1898) the grip of government on the press was relatively loosened. Zokā al-Molk, who, for example, had been imprisoned for publishing an article in a London-based oppositional newspaper (*Qānun*) under Nāser-al-Din Shah's reign, could now publish his own newspaper (*Tarbiyat*) that was the first non-governmental journal, and soon became the first daily newspaper in Iran (1897). Amin al-Dowle's office is particularly known for the inauguration of new schools and the expansion of modern education.³¹⁴

Unfortunately, the fast pace of reforms soon came to a halt. Amin al-Dowle's support of new schools ignited the rage of the clerics who found their authority in danger by the new system of education. Conspiracies of the displeased courtiers also added to the adversary situation to precipitate the resignation of the progressive grand vizier. Thus, Amin al-Dowle (literally, the trustee of the state) relinquished the office in less than fourteen months to his pro-Russian rival, Amin al-Sultan (literally, the trustee of sultan) (July 7th, 1898- Sep.1903).

³¹³ See H. F. Farmāyān, "Mirzā 'Ali Khan Amin al-Dowle", *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Web. 11 May 2012. <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/amin-al-Dowle-mirza-ali-khan>>.

³¹⁴ For the history of modern education in Iran see Monica Ringer, particularly chapters 4, 5, and 6, pp 109-205. Also, Yahyā Dowlatābādi, *Tārikh-e Mo'āser: Hayāt-e Yahyā*, Vol. 1. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e 'Asār, 1371/1992. (Chapter 25, 178-185).

The premiership of Amin al-Dowle had a couple of significant consequences to Qazvini's intellectual career. For one thing, when in 1897 Zokā al-Molk began the publication of *Tarbiyat* (literally, education), he asked young Qazvini to translate articles from Arabic to be published in his journal. Shortly later, upon the appointment of Zokā al-Molk to the director of the Book Publishing House (*Sherkat-e Tab'e Kotob*) in 1898,³¹⁵ by the newly-founded organization for the promotion of new schools—*Anjoman Ma'aref* (Society of Knowledges)—Qazvini was invited to write and translate material for new textbooks (1898). The inauguration of this society by a group of European-oriented elite in February was motivated by the fast-growing number of new schools. Just within less than two years under Amin al-Dowle's administration tens of modern elementary schools were opened in Tehran and other cities.³¹⁶ One of the undertakings of the society was to meet the need of the new schools for textbooks. Hence, the trustee of the society opened a printing house (*Sherkat-e Tab'e Kotob*) for “the compilation, translation, and publication of useful books” including “a number of history books and school text books [textbooks]”,³¹⁷ and invited Zokā al-Molk Forughi as the director of the house. Qazvini and Mohammad 'Ali Forughi (his son) were also employed as writers and editors.³¹⁸ Qazvini's translation of a book in natural sciences from Arabic to Persian titled as *Gharāyeb-e Zamin va 'Ajāyeb-e Āsemān* (*Oddities of the Earth and Wonders of the*

³¹⁵ See A. Anwār, “Anjoman-e Ma'aref” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol.2, London & New York: Routledge, 1987, pp 86-88. Web. 16 July 2012. <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anjoman-e-maaref>>. Also see M. Ajoudani, pp 270,271,272 & Monica M. Ringer, *Education, Religion, and the Discourse of Cultural Reform in Qajar Iran*. California, Costa Mesa: Mazda Publishers, Inc., 2001, pp 163-170.

³¹⁶ For the history of modern education in Iran see Monica Ringer, particularly chapters 4, 5, and 6 (109-205). Also, Yahyā Dowlatābādi, *Tārikh-e Mo'āser: Hayāt-e Yahyā*. Vol. 1. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e 'Asār, 1371/1992, chapter 25 (178-185).

³¹⁷ See A. Anwār. “anjoman-e ma'aref”. *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Vol.2. 1982. (86-88), p 87. Web. 16 July 2012. <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/anjoman-e-maaref>>. Also Monika Ringer, pp 163-70.

³¹⁸ See A. Anwār. Also see Māshāllāh Ājudāni. *Mashrute-ye Irani [Iranian Constitution]*. Rpt. of 1382/2003. Tehran: Bākhṭaran, 1383/2004, pp 163-70.

Sky, and its publication with an introduction by Zokā al-Molk (1317/1899) was accomplished in this context.³¹⁹

Another consequence of Qazvini's acquaintance with the Zokā al-Molk's (Forughi) family regards his interest in learning the French language. Earlier in his tutorial course he had asked Mohammad 'Ali to teach him the language in exchange of learning Arabic from him. But, now in the opening years of the 20th century Qazvini enrolled in a French school. The influence of the hard grip of tradition cannot be better illustrated than Qazvini's account of his clandestine attendance at this language school.³²⁰ But, this rigorous divergence from clerical doctrines paved the way for his travel to Europe and his emergence as a modern Moslem Iranian scholar, just as the development of Western social and educational models widened the long-time crack in the traditional identity of Iranian society to accommodate the nation's aspirations for a modern state through the Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911).

By the closing years of the 19th century the need for change had been an exigency that even a number of religious authorities would call for. Among them was the liberal-minded clergy, Sheikh Hādi Najmābādi (1834-1902).³²¹ We learn from Qazvini that over two years every day he kept attending the sheikh's open sessions to hear his rational and progressive views of Islamic doctrines. The endeavor by these religious authorities stemmed from their sound understanding of the inevitable demands that the modern era had created. This experience might have awakened in Qazvini early consciousness about

³¹⁹ *Gharāyeb-e Zamin va Ajāyeb-e Āsemān* (Trans.) Mohammad Qazvini (Ed.) Mohammad Hossein Khan Zokā al-Molk, Tehran: Sherkat-e Tab'-e Kotob, Rajab 1316/1898. Lithograph on paper. National Library of Iran, No. 258403: 16S/755. The book was revised and prefaced by Zokā al-Molk. The scientific view of the book demonstrated a modern approach to education drastically different from that of traditional madresse which Qazvini himself had graduated from. See p 11.

³²⁰ See Qāsem Ghani, 1981, p 165. On the opening of foregin schools in Iran see See M. Ājudāni, pp 269-79

³²¹ See Hāj Sheikh Hādi Najmābādi, *Tahrir al-'Oqalā* [*Composition of the Wise*]. (Ed.) Mortezā Najmābādi. Tehran: Vezārat-e Farhang va Ershād-e Eslāmi, 1378/1999.

the dynamic dimension of Islam. Tolerance of diversity featured the sheikh's environment. Qazvini relates to us "diverse people from Moslem and Jewish and Bābi and other sects" would attend the sheikh's sessions that were held in front of his residence to learn from his liberal views. According to Qazvin's account the sheikh's teachings did "the most effective contribution to the enlightenment of minds and the uncovering of superstition among intellectual people and talented individuals of the time".³²² He himself was a case in point.

While the growing consciousness among the young generation brought about new expectations, the Qājār monarchy and its governing body did little to accommodate such expectations. Historians of 19th-century Iran have defined the years spanning between 1898 and 1906 as the most tumultuous and chaotic period of the Qājār era. Under the premiership of 'Ali Asghar Khan Amin al-Sultan (1843-Aug. 1907) not only did the educational situation deteriorate but economic conditions also worsened due to two loans from Russia for the shah's two European trips for treatment (1900 and 1902) in exchange of their "political concession in Iran". Aside from deteriorating economic condition, people suffered from the oppressive conduct of 'Abdol Majid 'Ayn al-Dowle (literally, the eyes of the state), the ruler of Tehran during Aug. 1904-Aug. 1906.³²³

Qazvini's scholarly potentials came to fruition during these tumultuous years of the Iranian modern history, and advanced intermittently by his involvement in the Iranians' nationalist-democratic movement. Obviously, displeasure with such chaotic socio-political circumstances must have been a strong motive for Qazvini's departure. In addition, his own scholarly aspirations on the one hand, and dissatisfaction with a

³²² See Qazvini, [Autobiography], *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, Vol., pp 8-9.

³²³ Markaz-e Motāle'āt-e Ardabil. Web.3 June 2012. <<http://tarikheardabil.blogfa.com/post-88.aspx>>.

position at the House of Authorship and Publication (that he felt did not make full use of his abilities), and the poor condition of literary studies at home, on the other hand were equally frustrating³²⁴ to the young patriotic scholar who, by then, had developed an insatiable desire for learning about the historical past of his homeland as well as the modern world. This desire coincided with the heyday of Orientalist scholarship in Europe. Hence, Qazvini took upon himself the excavation of the legacy of his homeland in the libraries of London and Paris. In Europe, he was engaged with the Persian textual restoration in the heyday of Oriental scholarship and the dominance of the philological approach and scientific method in critical editing. From this angle, Qazvini's travel to Europe in 1904 may be viewed as the beginning of a lover's quest for the ancestral, often forgotten, relics that needed to be discovered, uncovered and recovered.

He left Iran on the eve of the Constitutional Revolution. His acquaintance with Edward Browne set the beginning of his scholarly career. Browne was a teacher of Persian at Cambridge and an Orientalist of scholarly repute. He had begun his activity in 1890s by publishing his research on early Perso-Islamic literary history in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. The journal reflected the research on the written legacy of Turks, Arabs and Persians. By the pre-mature death of Elias John Wilkinson (1857-1901), a young scholar of Persian, Arabic and Turkish, and as a result of the establishment of Gibb Memorial Trust by his mother in 1902, Browne had been appointed to the trustee of the foundation. The objective of the Trust, defined as "supporting the preparation of and publishing books arising from academic research into the history, literature, philosophy and religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs" was

³²⁴ See Mohit-Tabātabā'i, *Allāme Mohammad Qazvini*, p 31.

perfectly in tune with the burgeoning interest in the restoration of Oriental texts in Europe.

As a well-versed and self-motivated young scholar Qazvini was obviously a promising match. Browne took advantage of the situation to pursue his own research and launch several projects.³²⁵ Soon a close collaboration and friendship took shape between the two which lasted until Browne's death in 1926. During over two decades of collaboration Browne acted as the institutional sponsor and intellectual mentor to Qazvini's scholarly accomplishments.³²⁶ Given what followed one could claim that this meeting was a turning point in Persian literary and textual studies with far reaching consequences to the Iranian cultural setting in the 20th century.³²⁷

Shortly after Qazvini settled in London, he wrote a critical introduction to Reynold Nicholson's edition of *Tazkerat al-Awliyā*, a biography of mystic characters by the Sufi author, Sheikh 'Attār of Neishābur (1145-46 c. 1221).³²⁸ At the same time, he took over the critical proofing of the 1st volume of Mohammad 'Awfi's *Lubāb al-Albāb* (*The Quintessence of Hearts*). Browne had published the critical edition of the second volume of *Lubāb al-Albāb* in 1903, and began working on the first volume later. Qazvini joined the project from part four of this volume. Even though his role was limited to second collation, historical annotations, and the writing of an introduction, the pattern of enquiry method he established here kept evolving in his later works and reached its apex in the three volume project of *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā* of Joveyni (1912-1937). The edition

³²⁵ See an earlier footnote on the collaboration between Gibb Memorial Trust and Brill.

³²⁶ Qazvini, "vafāt-e ostād Browne-e Ingilisi" [Obituary] in *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 2, p 330; also see his introductions on the critical editions in Gibb Memoiral Series.

³²⁷ See Iraj Afshār. "taḥqīqāt-e Irani: as safar-e Mohammad Qazvini be Orupā tā ta'sis-e dowre-ye doctori-ye adabiyāt-e Farsi", *Gowhar*. 6. (1358/1979-80): (128-133 & 216-223).

³²⁸ The essay is dated 24 Shawwāl 1322/ 1 January 1905, but the book was published in 1907.

was published in clear text containing 86 pages of supplemented critical apparatus and annotations (289-363) in 1906.

In his earlier settlement in London Qazvini also received a request from Browne to work on *Chahār Maqāle* (*Four Discourses*). This was the first independent editing project to which Qazvini was appointed and, like almost all other works he executed, was the first critical, type-set print edition of the work in Persian. (See chapter 2). While beginning his work on *Chahār Maqāle* he concurrently collected available material on two other texts from the 13th century; i.e., Shams al-Din Mohammad Qeys Rāzi's *Al-Mo'jam fi Ma'ā'ir Ash'ār al-'Ajam* and Sa'd al-Din Varāvini's *Marzbān Nāme* (*Letter of Marzbān*) (1210-1225). *Al-Mo'jam fi Ma'ā'ir Ash'ār al-'Ajam* is a book on the art of language, prosody, and criticism in Persian with extensive examples by early or contemporary poets of the author's time. Qazvini evaluated the book unique for its inclusion of Persian literary techniques. But the book has also an instrumental importance drawn from its inter-textual status for him. Qazvini appreciated its inclusion of complete version of lost or earlier Persian poems. The edition was published earlier in 1909.

While working on *Chahār Maqāle* and *Al-Mo'jam*, then in Paris, Qazvini asked a friend who was in London to transcribe a copy of the 762/1360 manuscript of *Marzbān Nāme* which was transcribed in Shiraz and was located in the library of British Museum. *Marzbān Nāme* was originally written in Tabari dialect by a Marzbān b. Rostam b. Shervin in the late 10th century. Two hundred years later Sa'd al-Din Varāvini translated it into Persian. Some twenty years earlier, another Persian translation of the text had been produced under the title of *Rowzat al-'Uqul* [*Paradise of Wisdom*] in the Asian territory of present Turkey (Malatya). It is Varāvini's version that Qazvini edited. *Marzbān Nāme*

also was published in 1909. In the meantime, he wrote a biographical essay on the 11th - 12th century poet, Mas'ud Sa'd Salman (1046-1121) which was translated by Browne into English and was published in two issues of *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.³²⁹

During these years the situation went through dramatic changes in Iran. Less than two years after Qazvini arrived in London protests escalated in Tehran against the ill-behavior of the ruler of Tehran ('Ayn al-Dowle) and culminated to a public sanctuary at the shrine of 'Abdol 'Azim under the leadership of two well-revered *mujtahids* (religious authorities), Āyatollāh Behbahāni and Āyatollāh Tabātabā'i. Guilds and clericals formed the main body of this upheaval at the earlier stages. Their initial call was for the establishment of the house of justice (*edālat khāne*) (Jan. 10th, 1906), the removal of the Belgian officer (Mr. Nuas) from the Iranian custom house, and the dismissal of 'Ayn al-Dowle from the rulership of Tehran. As things went on the upheaval became louder and continued until finally the people called for the establishment of *mashrute*, or contingent governance by the constitutional law and under the control of the people's deputies.³³⁰ Followed by final concession to the establishment of the assembly house and codification of law in Dec. 1906, Mozaffar al-Din Shah passed away on the early days of January 1907 to be succeeded by his son, the pro-Russian adverse of the Constitution, Prince Mohammad 'Ali Mirzā (1872-1925). This was the beginning of a series of bloody conflicts and tragic events.

³²⁹ *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, GB and Irelan, October 1905 (693-740), and January 1906 (11-51).

³³⁰ See Nikki Keddie and Mehrdād Amānat, *The Cambridge History of Iran*, p 203; Ahmad Kasravi Tabrizi, *Tārikh-e Mashrute-ye Iran [History of Iranian Constitution]*, Vol. 1. Tehran: Amir-Kabir, 1363/1984, pp 110-112. Kasravi comments that during those days "constitution was uttered by tongues (*zabān-hā ba goftan-e mashrute bāz shod*) and some (*kesāni*) had somehow suggested to the people the significance of constitution (*mashrute*) and freedom (*āzādi*) and parliament (*pārlemān*)", p 111.

The conflict heightened between deputies of the national assembly on the one hand, and the shah and his supporters from conservative clerics under the leadership of Sheikh Fazlollāh Nuri on the other hand. The course of events led to the shah's bombardment of the national assembly in July 1908 and the arrest and execution of deputies and journalists. The event drove a number of deputies including the influential democrat, Sayyed Hasan Taqizādeh, and the liberalist journalist, 'Ali Akbar Dehkhodā (later lexicographer) to Istanbul and Europe. The prelude to this thirteen-month shutdown of the national assembly known as the *estebdād saghir* (Lesser Autocracy) was, in fact, a strategic treaty in 1907 between Russia and Britain that put an end to the long-term rivalry of two imperialist powers in Persia by dividing the country into two influence zones in the north (Russia) and the south (Britain), with a neutral zone in the center.

The autocracy came to an end in 1909 when the nationalist troops came over shah's brigade, and the national assembly resumed. The deposed shah took refuge with the Russian embassy and was replaced by his under-aged son, Prince Ahmad in July 1909. But, the deposed monarch did not relinquish. The climax of his provocative actions under the support of the Russian came through in 1911 by the shutdown of the parliament and the siege of Tabriz which ended up by the massacre of people in 1912. The ill-consequences of Britain's alliance with Russia were depicted by Browne and his like-minded deputies and liberalist politicians in "Persian Committee" to stop the unfair foreign policy of the British government. This brought the Iranian elite and their British supporters through Taqizādeh who was then in Istanbul, and Edward Browne who had been in the Persian Committee, into collaboration.

It was precisely during the years Qazvini was working on the aforementioned projects that the political circumstances worsened. Even as a man with scholarly passion he did not remain inactive. During the great siege and massacre of Tabriz Taqizādeh closely monitored the events from Istanbul and collected the news to send them to Browne or Qazvini for translation and publication in the British and French press. In the meantime, Qazvini and a group of cohorts, namely, Kāzemzādeh Iranshahr,³³¹ Purdāvud,³³² and Ashrafzādeh³³³ formed a league in Paris in extension of the Persian Committee of London to publicize the atrocity and misconduct of Russo-British intrusion in Persia, through publication of the bilingual (French-Persian) newsletter of *Iranshahr* in Paris. Qazvini and Hossein Kāzemzādeh Iranshahr (1884-1962) contributed to this particular mission by translating those letters for the French journals.³³⁴ With the outbreak of the war and the French-Russian alliance when the chief-editor of the same journal in France had asked Qazvini to support Russia in its war against Germany he furiously declined the request by reminding the ex-friend of the Russians' atrocity in Iran.³³⁵ It was under such a condition that Ahmad Shah reached the legal age for official coronation in the summer of 1914, just eight days before the outbreak of First World War.

³³¹ Kāzemzādeh Iranshahr started publishing *Iranshahr* during June 1922-February 1927 after *Kāve* stopped publishing. It was the second Persian journal in Berlin and followed ideological premises of *Kāve*.

³³² Ebrāhīm Purdāvud, the textual scholar of Avestan texts (in medieval Persian: Pahlavi) and another member of the Berlin Iranian committee of nationalists.

³³³ An Iranian nationalist who was killed in war against the Russian occupiers. See *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 5-7. Qazvini in this letter of 7 Oct. 1915 writes about his extreme grief on hearing the news and desperately wants Taqizādeh to update him.

³³⁴ See *Nāme-hā-ye Tehran: Shāmel-e 154 Nāme az Rejāl-e Tehran be Sayyed Hasan Taqizādeh [Letters of Tehran: Including 154 Letters from Elite of Tehran to S. H. Taqizādeh]* (Ed.) Iraj Afshār, Tehran: Farzān, 1379/2000, pp 4-8; *Letters from Tabriz*, pp 108-12 & 138 & 156-57 & 14; *Nāme-hā-ye Paris: Az Mohammad Qazvini be Sayyed Hasan Taqizādeh [Letters of Paris: From M. Qazvini to S. H. Taqizādeh]*. (Ed.) Iraj Afshār. Rpt. of 1353/1974. Rev. Edition. Tehran: Nashr-e Qatre, 1384/2005, p 2. Kāzem Kāzemzādeh Iranshahr. *Āsā r va Ahvāl-e Kāzemzādeh Iranshahr*. Tehran: Iqbāl, 1363/1984-1985, p 108.

³³⁵ *Revue de monde Musulman*, Hasan Taqizādeh, "Khetabe" in '*Allāme Mohammad Qazvini*, pp 9-11.

Qazvini's editorial accomplishment reached its apex in the project of *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā* of Joveyni (*History of the World Conqueror*).³³⁶ By 1906, Browne had been in the process of writing the second volume of *A Literary History of Persia* covering the 11th-13th century.³³⁷ With limited access to reliable historiographies of the era he proposed that Gibb Memorial launch the critical edition of *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā* of Joveyni, a Persian historiography by Atā Malek Juveyni (623-681/1226-1283) that covers the first half of the thirteen century on Mongols's penetration in the Iranian world, the collapse of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate (656/1258), and the fall of the Ismai'ite site in Alamut by Hulagu Khan. The events are recorded by the author who was the secretary of the Mongol khans and had eye-witnessed almost every event recorded in the book. Upon a request from Edward Browne and Gibb Memorial Trust in 1906 Qazvini left London for Paris where Bibliothèque Nationale de France had several manuscripts of the text including the earliest extant manuscript. He prepared the first edition to be published by 1912, followed by the second edition in 1915, both being based on the same manuscript of 8th December, 1290, and some six variants, supplemented by extensive annotations, and footnoted critical apparatus. The completion of the third volume encountered over two decades of delay. During these years Qazvini was simultaneously engaged in other projects and activities. First, he ghost-authored an elaborate critical introduction under the cover of "publisher" on the Bābi's history of *Ketāb-e Noqtatul-Kāf* which carried the

³³⁶ John Andrew Boyle (Trans.) *The History of the World-Conqueror*, Cambridge, Mass: Harvard

³³⁷ See, Edward G. Browne, "Note on the Contents of the Ta'rikh-i-Jahan-Gusha [Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā]: Or History of the World-Conqueror, Changiz Khan, by 'Ata Malik Juwayni [Joveyni]", *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. (Jan. 1904):(27-43), p 29. Web. 18 June 2012. < <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25208602>>.

name of Browne as the editor.³³⁸ He also translated a manuscript (Add. 16819, library of British Museum) of the 15th century Sufi treatise, *Lawa'ih* by Nur al-Din ‘Abdol Rahmān Jāmi (1414-1492) into French for E.A. Whinfield. This French translation was used by Whinfield for his English translation from Flash VII to the end of *Lawa'ih*.³³⁹

On the eve of First World War the situation had worsened in Iran. Intrusions of imperialist powers and the inadequacy of the young king undid the king’s effort to eliminate ill-consequences of his father’s autocracy. Due to the devastating economic and social conditions and the lack of a strong central power, the second national assembly (inaugurated in 1910) was not effective. Every part of Iran (Persia) was run by a local ruler with his own troops. On the European side, a new alliance was formed among France, Britain and Russia against Germany. The immediate consequence of such an alliance to Qazvini and his anti-Russian nationalist friends was the imposition of restrictions on their activities. The activity of these Iranians was even more unwelcomed by the French authorities for their pro-German positions. Iranian nationalists found in Germany a natural ally against the intrusions of Russia-Britain in the country. The German government also sought ways to strengthen their communication with the Persian world against her adversaries. Thus in 1914, German agents approached Taqizādeh, then being in New York, and invited him to Berlin in order to form a committee of Iranian patriots and launch a Persian journal with funding support from the German government. *Kāve* was born under this condition to propagate for the German’s achievements in war, which was something Iranian nationalists desired. With the

³³⁸ See Qazvini, “vafāt-e ostād Browne ingilisi” in *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 2, p 313; also “moqaddame-ye nāsher-e ketāb”, *Ketāb-e Noqtatul-Kāf: Being the Earliest History of the Ba[ā]bis 1850-1852*, Hāji Mirzā Jāni of Kāshān. (Ed.) Edward Browne. London: Luzac, 1910. (3-77).

³³⁹ See E. H. Whinfield. “Preface”. *Lawa'ih: A Treatise on Sufism by Nur al-Din Abdu'l [‘Abdol] Rahmān Jāmi* (d. 1492), London: *The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1914. (vii-xviii).

outbreak of the war, although Persia had announced neutrality, the situation became even more adverse. The consequences of war were lasting and irremediable. Disintegration caused communal conflicts which drove the country into complete chaos for a few years even after the end of the war.³⁴⁰

Iranians who gathered under the umbrella of Taqizādeh's Nationalist Committee of Iran (*komite-ye melliun-e Iran*) in Berlin were mainly concerned about territorial and cultural integrity of the country. They were aware that without an authoritative and powerful central government no integrity is possible. Security of oil resources in the south of Persia (discovered in 1908) and the international situation after the war made a similar necessity urgent upon the British.

Kāve and the Nationalist Committee of Iran took up a twofold responsibility. Convergence of *military* and *literary* commitment to the country's unification and integrity features the activities of the literati of this period which is best represented in the twofold roles many of them including members of this committee as literary-veteran figures played during and after the war.³⁴¹ The editorial soul of *Kāve*—Taqizādeh—envisioned the mission of the journal, particularly in post war issues (New Series, 1920-1922), as a cultural architect by dedicating himself to the constitution of the nation's cultural infrastructure during the most disastrous period in the contemporary history of Iran.³⁴² While the first issue of the first year (January 1916) opens with an editorial note where the writer regrets that *chakāchāk-e shamshir* (clack of swords) and “*ghorresh-e*

³⁴⁰ On the social condition of the Qājār Iran see Ervand Abrahamian, *Iran Between Two Revolutions*, Princeton, NJ: 1982, chapter 1, pp 9-49.

³⁴¹ Ashrafzādeh was killed in the Western Iran. Jamālzādeh and Purdāvud were involved in these battles. Taqizādeh himself attended Socialist conference in Sweden in the summer of 1917 to read his paper in defense of the “Iranian nation”.

³⁴² This role was time and again accentuated in Qazvini's letters. For example, see letter of November 23rd, 1923. *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 95-96.

tup” (brat of artillery) had taken the place of *velvele-ye notq-hā va khatā-be hā* (humming of speech and sermons) and *sarir-e qalam-e donyā-ye motemadden* (scratching pen of the civilized world), the first issue of the post war series (January 1920) opens with concerns about the cultural identity of Iranians in the modern world. Adoption of *farangi* (European) conduct in everything except “language” was the key to this revivification, according to Taqizādeh: “Iran must be *farangi ma’āb* (Europeanized) from outside [and] inside, in the body and in the soul”.³⁴³ Qazvini explicitly advocated Taqizādeh in this provocative position, not because he favored his friend, but because, as he maintained, he wanted to “stand up” for his own “belief” (*aqide*).³⁴⁴

In the construction of this modern identity, Persian language and Iran’s literary heritage formed the main theme of *Kāve*. In fact, promotion and restoration of the Persian literary past gained a nationalist political significance.³⁴⁵ Thus, as the Qājār monarch neared deposition, and in the eve of Rezā Khan’s rise to the political scene of Iran in February 1921 which is the landmark of the modernization era *Kāve* took a leading role in offering a definition of the modern Iranian identity. From the subjects that were celebrated with a nationalist undertone one could see that this model was a symbiosis of pre-Islamic Iran and early Perso-Islamic literary heritage revisited through the consciousness of the modern era. Essays on the Persian language, script, prose style and medieval Persian poetry of the 11th-13th century formed the main body of the journal. Essays such as “*monāzere-ye ruz o shab* (Dialogue between Day and Night)³⁴⁶, compare-

³⁴³ *Kāve*, 2:1 (Jan. 1920): (2).

³⁴⁴ See *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 19-20.

³⁴⁵ Qazvini, [autobiography], *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, p 19.

³⁴⁶ *Kāve*. 2:6 (June 1920): (3-4).

contrast of “good” and “bad” prose samples,³⁴⁷ and the four periods of Persian language are some examples. In this essay, the first period is referred to as the era of simple Persian, and the fourth period—the contemporary—as the era of *fesād va eghteshāsh va bi enāni* (corruption and confusion and wilderness).³⁴⁸ Qazvini also published his essay on the first Persian poem after Islam in the August issue of 1919.

Ferdwosi’s *Shahnāme* had a particular place in this discursive sphere of national fervor.

Other journals that were published in Berlin—most notably, *Iranshahr*, 1922-1926--more or less maintained a similar mode of discourse. In fact, just as Europe was involved in war and struggled with the ill-consequences of war to its geopolitical identity, and Iran suffered from tribal fragmentation. Taqizādeh and his cohorts focused on the Persian language and its literary heritage as a strong amalgamation to hold intact the mosaic of Iran, culturally and geopolitically. Allocation of space to the introduction of Orientalist works on the history and literature of Iran pursued the same agenda. In doing so, the anonymous author drew distinction between the colonial and scholarly Orientalism³⁴⁹ just as Qazvini time and again distinguished between genuine Orientalist scholars and the unqualified *charlatans*.³⁵⁰

In accordance with *Kāve*’s nationalist agenda Taqizādeh took advantage of the presence of Iranian intellectuals in Berlin to arrange a weekly literary gathering at *Kāve*’s office (known as Wednesday meetings) where particular attention was given to issues of

³⁴⁷ *Kāve*. 2:3 (21 March 1920): (4-5). Qazvini responded to this column in a letter by applauding Taqizādeh who had “found the essence of the subject” (*band-e matlab*) because, according to him nothing is better for *khar fahm kardan* (simplifying to the understanding of dynkeys) than the “system of ‘comparison’”. See, *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 26-27.

³⁴⁸ *Kāve*. 2:7 (17 July 1920):(5-8). Qazvini later commented on the first two periods by proposing that there is a transitory period in between the two when works such as *Chahār Maqāle* belongs to. See *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 25-26.

³⁴⁹ See *Kāve*. 1:25 (15 Feb. 1918): (12-14).

³⁵⁰ See *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 102-108.

Persian language and literature. Qazvini presided over these gatherings and he himself apparently read a paper on the shortcomings of Persian script.³⁵¹ Mohammad ‘Ali Jamālzādeh (1892?-1997), who was at the time the co-editor of *Kāve*, read his phenomenal short story, “Farsi Shekar Ast” (Persian is Sugar) about the challenges that the language was experiencing by the Arabic and European exuberant penetration imposed on the language by the clerics on the one hand, and the educated young generation on the other hand.³⁵² It is an emblematic coincidence that this short story in the first collection of the modern Persian short story was published in the same year Rezā Khan emerged as Sardār Sepah (Commander in-Chief) in the political scene of Iran. Taqizādeh later became an advocate of Sardār Sepah’s reforms, although as a deputy in the fifth national assembly he opposed to the nomination of him as the king of Iran.

During the years spanning between 1919-1921 “Persia” was targeted to a new semi-colonial behavior by Britain. The 1917 Bolshevik revolution in Russia and the dissolution of Persia’s commitments to Russia by the Soviet Russia in 1919 brought about a favorable opportunity for the British to be the only power in Iran. Hence they used the lack of a central government to expand their control over resources of the country, in particular oil, by exploiter treaties that they would get signed through bribery of the officials. The treaty of August 1919 with the Prime Minister, Hasan Vosuq al-Dowle (1868-1950) is a scandalous case in point which caused the disintegration of Vosuq al-Dowle’s cabinet in July 1920. Vosuq al-Dowle’s term of office coincided with another important event. In January 1920 Paris Talk Peace brought delegations from thirty two countries to Paris to negotiate the resolution of several treaties in one year

³⁵¹ Mohammad Qazvini, *Yāddāsh-t-hā-ye Qazvini*. Vol. 10, (3-21): (3).

³⁵² *Kāve* (January 11th, 1921): (8-11).

whereby the geopolitical map of Europe was drastically changed as the result of the disintegration of Austria-Hungarian Empire, and the rise of new European countries on the basis of ethnicity and language. As the minister of foreign affairs, Mohammad ‘Ali Foroughi represented Persia in this event.

The moderate cabinet of Moshir al-Dowle, despite the pressure from Britain conditioned the fulfillment of the treaty to the approval of the *majles* (national assembly), which officially denounced the treaty in June 1921. By 1921, the British lessened their enforcement of the treaty and supported the rise of Rezā Khan Mirpanj, later Rezā Shah Pahlavi (March 15th, 1878-July 26th, 1944), perhaps, as a solution to the fragmentation of the land. Rezā Khan was a general of Cossak Brigade,³⁵³ a man of little education from the Northern Province of Guilān. He had the situation under check, so by the time the British had approached him for taking an action Rezā Khan must have been already determined to deal with the post-war chaotic situation.

The coup d’etat of February 21st, 1921 by the Brigader Rezā Khan (1878-1944) and the Anglophile journalist, Sayyed Ziyā’ Tabātabā’i opened a new phase in the political life of Iran. His rise to power was so far by the approval of Ahmad Shah, who ended up appointing him as the prime minister in October 1923, while Rezā Khan could still retain the position of war minister. Writing around the same time to Taqizādeh, Qazvini warned him against returning to “Iran” under “the present condition of Iran”

³⁵³ This was the only system of military unit in Persia. Its foundation was another project in the series of reformations that Nāser al-Din Shah launched as the result of his European travels, in 1878. The commanders, until 1917, were Russians and Swedish but the body was formed of Iranian soldiers. Cossak Brigade laid the ground for the systematic Iranian military, an objective that since early 19th century the reformist prince, Abbās Mirzā had worked for. They played a significant role in the shut down of the national assembly in 1908, and in the rise of Rezā Khan by the coup d’etat of 1921, who had raised to the rank of general by then. For more information on the history of its formation see, Muriel Atkin, “Cossak Brigade”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol. VI, Fasc. 3, pp 329-333. Print. Web. 12 June 2012. <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/cossack-brigade>>.

(*fazā-ye gheyr ghābel-e tannafoos*) that would be “suffocating” to a person of “moderate” mind such as him.³⁵⁴ The significance of this brief allusion to the “suffocating” condition of Iran unfolds as we learn that it was written on November 28th, 1923 just one month after Rezā Khan (Sardār Sepah) had officially took complete power by sending Ahmad Shah into exile to Europe on 26th October of the same year! By December 1925, Ahmad Shah was deposed and Rezā Shah could gain the support of the majority in the national assembly to be named the king of Iran. During the transitional years spanning between 1920 and 1925, Rezā Khan had reestablished the integrity of the land, and also, had laid the ground for his later iron-fisted autocracy.

The era of Rezā Shah (1925-1941) is designated with the country’s stepping in the path of Westernization, secularization of administrative and judicial system, state-nationalism, the revival of pre-Islamic Iranian history, and of course, severe political constraints. Rezā Shah’s reign is sometimes divided into two periods by historians. In the first period (1925-1938) he had intelligent and educated figures enhance his ideals of modernization and secularization. His coming to the throne as a powerful sovereign was an event most welcomed even by representative Iranian intelligentsia.³⁵⁵ Several literati and cultural figures such as Forughī and Taqizādeh contributed to the establishment of Rezā Shah’s sovereignty in the earlier period. ‘Abdol Hossein Teymurtāsh (1883-1933) was another one of these European educated administrators of the cultural and institutional reform era of 1926-1935. Modernization party (*hezb-e tajaddod*) that he and another cohort founded represented ideals of nationalism and modernization.³⁵⁶

³⁵⁴ See *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 95-96.

³⁵⁵ Gavin Hambly. Web. 17 June 2012. <DOI:10.1017/CHOL9780521200950.007>, p 221.

³⁵⁶ In this discussion I sometimes use modernization and Westernization or Europeanization as interchangeable terms. I am aware of disagreements on the simplistic conflation of these terms by

The second period of Rezā Shah's rulership which is marked with "iron fist" policy against land owners, clergies and intellectuals led to the murder and persecution of several figures among his advocates including Teymurtāsh by conspiracy or by direct order. Confiscation of lands to his own estate, excessive support of the military force at the expense of other sectors, severe autocracy, and increasing corruption worked against his agenda for the promoting decency and discipline in Iran.

Qazvini's main focus during 1920 and 1937; that is, the time lapse between Vosuq al-Dowle's cabinet and the accomplishment of a series of cultural innovations by Rezā Shah', fell on scholarly work. Although Qazvini did not engage in critical editing when he was in Berlin, he contributed to *Kāve*, helped Taqi Arāni in the editing of *Vajh-e Din* by the Isma'ilite poet and philosopher, Nāser Khosrow (1004-1088) and put together a collection of his research notes and observations.³⁵⁷ After returning to Paris he immediately resumed the project of *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā*. But the completion of the edition faced further delays due to the vicissitudes of post-war conditions in France before he was eventually able to finish the work in 1937, some eleven years after the death of its main initiator, Browne.³⁵⁸ With this volume Qazvini's collaboration with Gibb Memorial also reached its closure.

In addition to *Tārikh-e Jahāngoshā*, during this second stay in Paris he published several scholarly and critical essays which he published in Iranian and French Persian journals, including one of the most important discoveries in *Shahnāme* scholarship; i. e.,

historians of the contemporary Iran. But, since these terms were conceived of as interchangeable by those who lived them, and given that I am not in a position to make a theoretical argument, these terms are employed as they were understood by their consumers.

³⁵⁷ *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 70-71; T. Arāni, "moqaddame" in *Vajh-e Din*, Nāser Khosrow. Berlin: Kāviyāni Publication, n.d. p d.

³⁵⁸ *Nāma hā-ye Paris* pp. 25-27.

the recension of the prose introduction in the old manuscripts of Ferdowsi's *Shahnāme*, which he restored as a monograph in critical edition.³⁵⁹ By the mid-1930s revivification agenda of the past along with the modernization of socio-cultural institutes gained momentum: in 1934 the University of Tehran was officially opened, and the unveiling of women was dictated. In 1935 the first Academy of Persian (*Farhangestan*) was inaugurated under the presidency of Mohammad 'Ali Forughī; the millennium of Ferdowsi was celebrated as an international congress, and special homage was paid to Sa'di's by the construction of a mausoleum for him, and , the name of the country was officially changed from Persia to its original name of Iran. Thus, a second phase of ambivalence that had hit Iranian society in the post-Constitution era at a socio-cultural level came to a final resolution by dictated modernization of Rezā Shah that was an enforced "dynamic leap".³⁶⁰ It was by the same token that the new government got interested in the collection and archiving of the Persian written heritage and thus, Qazvini's scholarly work came to the attention of the authorities. Upon the inauguration of *Farhangestān* (Persian Academy) of whose board he was a member, and upon the opening of the chair

³⁵⁹ Some of the works completed in this second stay in Paris include a few biographical treatises on several early Moslem theologians, poets, and prose writers including Sa'di, 'Abol Fotuh Rāzi, Soleymān Manteqi bibliographical-critical essays on *Nafsat al-Sodur* and several others. Aside from published works, he collected a large number of research notes, diaries, and journals under the general title of "Mas'el-e Pārisiyeh" (Parisian Questions) that amount to four manuscript notebooks . 'Abbās Eqbāl-Āshtiyāni, *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, pp 3-4; Gilbert Lazard, *La Langue des Plus Anciens Monuments de la Prose Persane*, Paris : Klincksieck, 1963, p 36.

³⁶⁰ For the history of early twentieth century Iran see Nikki Keddie and Mehrdād Amānat. Web. <DOI:10.1017/CHOL9780521200950.006>. 17 June 2012. For the history of Rezā Shah era see Gavin R. G. Hambly. Web. < DOI:10.1017/CHOL9780521200950.007 >. 17 June 2012. Also see Hamdullāh Rāmhormoz and Gholām Rezā Vatandust, Sardār Sepah va Forupāshi-ye Dudmān-e Qājār: 1925-1941. Shiraz: Enteshārāt-e Navid, 1383, pp 43-44 & 91-94. On Cultural agenda of Rezā Shah's nationalism see Mas'ud Behnud, Az Sayyed Ziyā' tā Bakhtiyār: Dowlat-hā-ye Iran az Esfand-e 1299 tā Bahman-e 1357 [From Sayyed Ziyā' tā Bakhtiyār: Iranian Administrations from March 1921 to March 1979]. 4th Imprint. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Jāvidān, 1369/1990, pp 11 & 129-130 & 149.

of Persian literature at the University of Tehran, Qazvini was named an honorary professor, which he declined for personal (moral) reasons.³⁶¹

It is almost unanimously admitted among historians and observers of Iranian case that what brought Rezā Shah's reign to close by the British was mainly caused by his pro-German position during Second World War, and his refusal of the British control over German's presence in the economy of Iran. And last but not least, it was provoked by the endorsement of another treaty between Soviet Russia and Britain, a case that always worked against Iran's stability and independence. On the eve of Second World War, Rezā Shah extended his relationship with Germany to counterbalance the hegemony of imperial powers in Iran. Hitler's Aryan theory particularly was compelling to his nationalization agenda. Even his decision to change the name of the country from Persia to Iran (the land of the Aryan) (1935) is sometimes viewed as an effect from the currency of Aryan theory.

Two years after Qazvini's return to Iran, upon the enforcement of the allies Rezā Shah abdicated and was exiled to Mauritius to leave the throne to his son, Mohammad Rezā (Sept. 16th, 1941). Mohammad 'Ali Forughī, the last Prime Minister of the shah played a significant role in convincing Rezā Shah to resign, and technically was the first Prime Minister under the new shah. Mohammad Rezā era until 1953 is known for less political suppression and advancement in secularization.

Young Mohammad Rezā Shah, more or less, continued his father's agenda in the restoration of the Iranian national identity. In doing so, he relied on the European oriented literati. The appointment of academic figures, which mostly happened to be close associates of Qazvini, to cultural and intellectual key positions, and his direct financial

³⁶¹ 'Ali Akbar Siyāsi, "dar mātam-e 'allāme-ye faqīd Qazvini", *Allāme Mohammad Qazvini*, p 7.

support of Qazvini are some cases in point. Qazvini's critical editions in Iran during the last decade of his life were informed by the atmosphere of Mohammad Rezā Shah's early years of sultanate. Except for *Divān* of Hafez that comes from the Rezā Shah's era (in collaboration with Doctor Qāsem Ghani) the rest of his works were the product of Mohammad Rezā Shah's era and include the Arabic book of *Shadd ul-Izār fi Hatt il-Awzār an Zawwār al-Mazār* (Mazārāt-e Shiraz) [*Mausoleums of Shiraz*] by Mu'in al-Din Qāsem Jonayd-e Shirazi (1949), *'Atabat al-Kataba* (Atābak Montajeb al-Molk Joveyni), *Mojmal al-Tawārikh* (Fasih Khāfi), *Haft Iqlim* (Amin Ahmad Rāzi), and annotated *Tārikh-e Kermān* for publication all in collaboration with 'A. Eqbāl-Āshtiyāni.³⁶²

Section 3- Oriental Scholarship

Modern Persian textual criticism by Mohammad Qazvini was shaped in the British setting of Orientalist scholarship of the 19th-20th century. Orientalism was born out of early contacts between European colonizers and the textual heritage of the eastern cultures. Therefore, the scholarly method and techniques used in the restoration of Arabic and Persian texts were drawn upon current mode of textual criticism in Europe that was introduced by humanists of the 15th and 16th century, but was mobilized in the 18^h- 20th centuries by the abundance of the raw material; i.e., manuscripts of the Islamic textual cultures in Arabic, Persian and Turkish--which Gibb Trustee usually refer to as Moslem texts--that poured into Europe since the beginning of the European's sojourn in the East for commerce or on diplomatic errands. Western colonial expansion as of the fifteenth century, which developed in various modes, brought hundreds of manuscripts to England,

³⁶² See *'Allāme Mohammad Qazvini*, p. 45; Q. Ghani, 1378/1999, p 105; *Nāme-hā ye Tehran*, p. 473; S. M. Dabirsiyāqi, p. 26. Also see 'Abbās Eqbāl-Āshtiyāni, "moqaddame" in *Shadd ul-Izār fi Hatt il-Awzār-i an Zawwār al-Mazār*. (Ed. & Annotation) Mohammad Qazvini and 'Abbās Eqbāl-Āshtiyāni. Rpt. of 1328/1949. Tehran: Navid, 1366/1987.

France, Leningrad, Berlin and other European countries. The migration primarily happened through Turkey in the northwest and India in the southeast of Iran, both of which have been major centers of the production as well as dissemination of Perso-Islamic written heritage.³⁶³ According to a recent report by Iraj Afshār, Turkey and India have been the main paths for the transmission of manuscripts of the Moslem cultures to European libraries.

Europeans began their colonial and commercial presence in the central Asia, India, and Middle East by the 15th-16th centuries. The establishment of the British East Indian Company as of the beginning of 18th century was motivated by commercial intentions. After the defeat of the last Moghul rulers of Bengal by the company (1764) Bengal came under the governance of the British, which lasted for one hundred years of consolidation (1857). The British had their footholds in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta. Now getting involved in more autonomous power, the company inaugurated its own schools for the education of the British officers. Along with the commercial, military, and political activities the officers of the company enhanced a professional field of studies focusing on languages and cultures of India.

Another consequence of the colonial hegemony of the East India Company occurred to the educational domain. The company needed officials who knew languages and the cultures of India. This resulted in the inauguration of College Fort William in Calcutta by 1800 following the establishment of Calcutta *Madresse* in 1781. Thus, the company initiated an intellectual circle that focused on the study of textual cultures in

³⁶³ Iraj Afshār, *Bayāz-e Safar*, pp 235 & 241; also see Abid Rezā Bedar, “The Preservation of Islamic Manuscripts in India” in *The Conservation and Preservation of Islamic Manuscripts: Proceedings of the Third Conference of Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation*, Yusuf Ibish and Geroge N. Atiyeh, London: The Foundation of Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage, 1996 (15-19), p 15.

Persian as the lingua franca of India for quite a long time had by then a significant place in the curriculum of the college. By establishment of its own printing house the college published its textbooks out of the manuscripts imported into the college from Indian repositories or from Persia. The college soon turned into the repository of rare manuscripts.³⁶⁴ Following 1834, when teaching of Persian was stopped by the Anglicist who won the argument for the consolidation of the British hegemony through Europeanization and Christianization of the people, College of Fort William officially was shut down by 1854. According to one visitor all the manuscripts had disappeared, just as the building was left desolate.³⁶⁵

Concerning the migration of Persian manuscripts to European libraries one should also consider the role of travelers. Europeans began visiting Iranian territories since the early 16th century. The sojourn in the country was not always for diplomatic purposes. Motivated by the interest in eastern languages and cultures at home, many of these travelers were after old manuscripts. Therefore, Persian manuscripts became one of the things that the travelers would take home. As an example, Macfie alludes to John Greaves, a mathematician and astronomer, who knew Arabic and Persian, and collected a number of manuscripts in the course of his travel in the Near East.³⁶⁶

Rich repositories of India enhanced development of the Indic study by the Anglo-Welsh philologist, William Jones (1746-1794) in the late 18th century. Foundation of the Royal Asiatic Society of Calcutta by William Jones in 1784 provided a tribune for Orientalist scholars to read their research about Eastern written legacy. This society expanded in some other colonial parts of India and began its activity in London by 1824.

³⁶⁴ A. L. Macfie, *Orientalism*. London: Longman, 2002, p 52.

³⁶⁵ A. L. Macfie, p 56.

³⁶⁶ A. L. Macfie, p 29.

The journal of the society played an important role in the currency of oriental studies in India and then in England.³⁶⁷ William Jones read what is known as the first paper in comparative linguistics as Indo-European language in 1786 in this society and got it published in 1788.³⁶⁸ A little more than one hundred years later Edward Browne published the first English translation of *Chahār Maqāle* in the same journal. The main parts of the journal during 19th to early 20th century contained research reports on Persian and Arabic manuscripts; a fact which reflects the booming of the Oriental studies in the 19th and 20th centuries.

While India provided a rich treasure of Perso-Arabic, Pahlavi and Indic manuscripts, interest in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish had established itself as academic subjects in England. The study of Arabic had begun over a century earlier at Oxford (1640), and at Cambridge (1660)³⁶⁹. The creation of these chairs was initially meant to help a better understanding of Bible through Hebrew and Syriac sources,³⁷⁰ but in the course of time it laid the ground for Oriental studies inside the country. Collection of manuscripts became a parallel academic activity in these universities. For example, at Oxford, Archbishop Laud who created the chair of Arabic was also a collector of manuscripts.³⁷¹

England was not alone in hosting Persian and Arabic and other oriental manuscripts. In France, the chair of Oriental studies (Ecole de Langues Orientales Vivantes) in Paris followed shortly by the chair of Persian at the College de France by

³⁶⁷ This is one of the major journals in the field of oriental scholarship which was published by the Royal Asiatic Society in 1834 and continues publishing to date. Web. 17 July 2012. <<http://journals.cambridge.org/action/displayJournal?jid=JRA>>).

³⁶⁸ For a detailed study of the initiation of Orientalist study in India see Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, pp 1-53.

³⁶⁹ Macfie, pp 25-26.

³⁷⁰ Macfie, p 26.

³⁷¹ Macfie, p 25.

Silvestre De Saucy (1758-1838), and the chair of Sanskrit in 1814 by one of his students. If De Saucy was the founder of Oriental studies in France, the collection of oriental manuscripts came through other paths and had started much earlier. As Macfie reports, the printing of Arabic texts had been made possible at the royal printing house since the reign of Louis XIII (1610-43). The study of Arabic, Hebrew and Syriac was also possible by the same time at the College de France. “In 1718,” writes Macfie, “librarian to the King of France, had invited French missionaries, then active in the East, to collect manuscripts for an oriental library he hoped to set up.”³⁷²

In other directions, France also, through its foothold in India could have access to oriental manuscripts, not only by being physically present in India on commercial missions but also as travelers. Germany benefited from De Stacy’s activity and was involved in oriental studies when in the turn of the eighteenth century a number of German scholars who had studied in Paris under De Saucy came home. Friedrich Schlegel who is associated with the rise of Romanticism in Germany owes his reputation to his work on Sanskrit manuscripts of the Bibliothèque National de France. Russia and the Netherlands similarly created chairs of oriental studies earlier. Many of the Persian manuscripts from Central Asia fell into the Asiatic Museum and the Imperial Library as the result of the Russian campaign in those territories.³⁷³ Thanks to advanced print technology in the 19th century, access to Moslem manuscripts turned into a field of book production and the establishment of Arabic fonts in Brill printing house of the Netherlands.

³⁷² Macfie, p 32.

³⁷³ Macfie, p 41.

At the same time, revolution in the method of enquiry opened a new venue to textual scholarship in Europe. Since the 17th century, rational and logical deductive method took an upper hand in the scholarly research, and lead to the 19th century empiricism and positivism. The impact of this method of research on textual criticism became more and more imperative in the continent. By the 19th century, scientific method of research in natural sciences, meaning a method based on sense experience, empirical observation and logic, and—supposedly—-independent of the researcher’s opinion or speculation, was extended to other fields of research. This method gained momentum in textual criticism by the mid-19th century through genealogical recension the formulation of which is associated with the name of the German philologist, Karl Lachmann (1793-1851). In practice, it is based on a model of familial relationship among manuscripts through genetic features. Historical philology informed this approach. Oriental scholars adopted this scienticism which William Jones defined in these terms: “since I have habituated myself to form opinions of men and things from *evidence*, which is the only solid basis of *civil*, as *experiment* is of *natural*, knowledge; and since I have maturely considered the question which I mean to discuss, you will not, I am persuaded suspect my testimony, or think that I go too far, when I assure you, that I will assert nothing positively, which I am not abot to satisfactorily demonstrate.”³⁷⁴ British setting of Orientalist scholarship in the turn of the century was inspired by influences and remnants from all these geopolitical and historical sources.

Conclusion

Qazvini was the outcome of his time. But he was also the mirror of his time, and a contributor to the cultural history of his time. His biography also exemplifies intellectual

³⁷⁴ Quoted in Tavakoli-Targhi, pp 29-30.

and moral development of an influential group of Iranian cultural and political figures who were born in the latter part of the 19th century and came of age in the early half of the 20th century. Most of them, typically emerged from traditional education background, and acquired modern education at their adolescence. As a result, they reveal a unique symbiosis of two cultures. I would argue that it is this symbiotic aspect of their characters that gave each of them an epoch-making power in the field of their work. Qazvini, like Biruni, Avicenna, Khayyām and other characters that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi depicts in *Chahār Maqāle* owes his scholarly talent to a logical understanding of the modern and the tradition and the reconciliation between them.

As this study shows, during the closing decades of the 19th century and early decades of the 20th century Iran experienced an ambivalent situation struggling with the tradition and adoption of modern institutional, technological and legislative models from the West. Not only this ambivalence but also the idea of Iraniananness and the concern for retaining Iranian cultural heritage find ramification in Qazvini’s works and critical decisions. It is obvious that what Qazvini did in the libraries were in continuum with the aspirations of his time which he acknowledged through his work as a true nationalist-liberalist Iranian, and in response to them. His endeavor in the preservation and restoration of the evidence of the nation’s cultural identity seems to have been a mechanism in response to the homeland’s decadence.

Qazvini’s pioneering work in Persian textual scholarship was also in continuum with what happened in other domains of Persian literature. At the same time when Qazvini was working on *Chahār Maqāle* and other texts Persian poetry had taken new steps in form and language. The poetic tradition known as constitution poetry, according

to Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, was going through the same ambivalence in terms of language and form that one could see in socio-political arenas of Iranian life.³⁷⁵ By the late 19th century the tradition of storytelling was experiencing a transitory moment when the traditional narrative forms yielded to the modern techniques of storytelling.³⁷⁶ The first modern Persian short story came of age by 1921 as a modern form of storytelling.³⁷⁷ Less than two decades later (1937) the modern Persian novel reached apex.³⁷⁸ Putting these pieces together I conclude that Qazvini's work, although apparently different, belongs to the same trend of cultural sensibility that enhanced the transformation of Persian literature and social life. They all passed through a stage of ambivalence during the turn of the century and earlier years of the new millennium before taking the final leap, just as it took one hundred years of struggle before modernization at a social level took an upper hand in the arena of Iranian social life. Nevertheless, in all these leaps the new overcame the tradition, but the tradition was not entirely removed. On the contrary, the case of Persian culture and Iranian socio-political character reveals a model of transformation, or dynamic leap that is based on the cohabitation of the new and traditional. This model of transformation may better be understood in terms of a dialogic transaction that enhances hybridity.

³⁷⁵ See Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, "Introduction" and Chapter Two, *Recasting Persian Poetry*.

³⁷⁶ See Christophe Baläy, *La genèse du roman persan moderne [The Genesis of Modern Persian Novel]*, Tehran: Institut français de recherche en Iran, 1998.

³⁷⁷ Mohammad 'Ali Jamälzādeh, *Yeki Bud Yeki Nabud (Once Upon a Time)*, and Tehran: Kānun-e Ma'refāt, n.d. First published in 1921.

³⁷⁸ Sādeq Hedāyat's *Buf-e Kur (The Blind Owl)*, first published in Bombay, 1937.

Chapter 4- Reading *Chahār Maqāle* Anew: Two Critical Arguments

This chapter is dedicated to close readings of *Chāhar Maqāle* within the continuum of the horizontal axis of our theoretical framework. Therefore, in response to the frozen reading of *Chahār Maqāle*, I will propose two readings of the text by applying some of the post-modernist theoretical tools. In doing so, I try to explicate some of the potentials that are left dormant due to the imposition of a “canonical” reading on the text to date. The first section examines one of the most controversial issues in the current debates of literary and textual criticism; i.e., intentionality, or intended purposefulness in regard to *Chahār Maqāle*. In the second section I will apply critical discourse analysis to the reading of this treatise to unearth textualized nuances embedded therein and explicate some aspects of its historicity in terms of cultural memory.

Section 1- A Labyrinth of Intentions: Deconstructing the Teleology of *Chahār Maqāle*

Chahār Maqāle is explicitly driven by an authorial intention. It opens with the author’s pronounced intentions through a set of purposes he devises for the composition. Accordingly, in its entirety the treatise seeks the education of the prince in the art of governance. At this level the text is a teleological construct. But this is precisely where the playfulness of the text begins. For centuries the glare/luminescence of the stated purpose or purposes has blocked many readers from seeing beyond the author’s stated or illustrated purposes: a book of counsel, an artifact of excellent style, a masterpiece of good prose, a literary criticism, a repository of historical information: these or similar labels have conventionally described *Chahār Maqāle* to date. We have based our understanding of what it does, how it does it, and why it does it on stated purpose(s).

What we do not know, however, is that stated purposes may disguise or temper the author's unstated and even sub-conscious intentions, even more so, that it impedes our understanding of intentions that emerge as the text is proceeding. To use a phrase from Immanuel Kant, what a whole text embodies is "*the form of purposiveness* ", a provocative phrase that does not coincide with narrowly stated intentions, since it pertains not to the parts but to what we may compare to a self-organizing whole.³⁷⁹

Confinement in such appellations has stopped us from "digging"³⁸⁰ its endless generative potentials to experience the "joyance" of plunging into "mis-en-abym" of multiple universes and intentions, or to explore emerging purposes as we pass through the labyrinthine structure of the text, one leading to the other. This chapter offers *only one* (rather than *the only one*) such exploration of *Chahār Maqāle*. Deconstructionist reading is used as a tool to help us unearth some of the textual dynamics that emerge out of intentions beyond the author's stated ones. I depart from intentionality in Michael Hancher's definition.

But, what do I mean by intentionality? Although the textual condition of *Chahār Maqāle* did not allow for the restoration of the text by author's intention, the reading applied to it draws from the idea that stated purposes are the final end of the author. To proceed in this discussion I choose Michael Hancher's taxonomy of intention as a terminological tool because it represents, more or less, a mode of reading that until recently dominated modern textual criticism in the Anglo-American school, and is still the standard principle in Persian scholarship.

³⁷⁹ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of the Power of Judgment* (Trans.) Paul Guyer and Allen Wood. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp 105-106; 247-248.

³⁸⁰ Allusion is made to Seamus Heaney's poem, "digging" where the poet's pen is likened to the farmer's spade as it unearths potatoes.

In his—by now—classic definition Hancher distinguishes three kinds of intentions³⁸¹. Pondering the mechanism of authorial intention he proposes *programmatic* intention as the initial decision for composing a certain kind of writing, for example, writing a persuasive argument about the significance of intelligence in statesmanship in this case. This intention remains dormant until the author activates it by setting out in the actual writing. Examination reveals a number of continuously emerging purposes, rather than a single one, that are involved in *Chahār Maqāle*. What the author writes embodies his *active* intention, which applies to the overt or covert authorial intentions in the composition of *Chahār Maqāle*. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi takes upon himself to “make mention in this book of those favors ordained and vouchsafed by God Almighty to this King of kingly parentage” so that “he may betake himself to the expression of his thanks for tem.”³⁸²

The programmatic intention, introduces us to the second set of intentions for taking the trouble and writing this book.³⁸³ It is informed by an idea similar to what he suggests the prince should do before God: to do a service to express his gratitude. He must show his thankfulness for being privileged by the opportunity given to him as a servant. But then, he needs to explain what is special about his book. For one thing, it is neither solely a guide to practical conduct, nor specifically religious or political in character.

³⁸¹ Michael Hancher, “Three Kinds of Intention”, *MLN* 87 (Dec. 1972): (827-851)

³⁸² *Chahār-Maqāle*, Browne, p 2.

³⁸³ I am borrowing “programmatic intention” from Michael Hancher. Discussing arrays of authorial intention Hancher designates three stages. The intention of doing or accomplishing something he calls programmatic, that is distinct from the accomplishment itself –active intention- and what he wants to achieve by that accomplishment –final intention. See “Three Kinds of Intention”.

Secondly, he aims at enhancement and unpacking of the *true* meaning of kingship and the *true* purpose of governance. The statement, therefore, not only formulates his intended theme but also functions as a demarcation to make it stand out from existing books of counsel due to its noble intentions. Here, the intention is oriented toward its operation on the reader, that is, what the composition wants to *do* through the actual act of writing, say, the treatise, to the reader—the prince. With a teleological conception Hancher names it *final intention*. In *Chahār Maqāle*, consciousness of the audience, whose conviction/persuasion is essential to the communication, is embedded in the author’s commitment to support his proposition with “decisive proof and trenchant arguments”.³⁸⁴ This statement informs an intended communication mode that governs his relation with the audience.

Then to what end? A further intention emerges: “to set forth therein what kingship truly is, who is truly king, whence is derived this honorable office, to whom truly appertaineth this favour, and in what manner such an one should shew his gratitude for, and after what fashion accept, this privilege”. The final intention by the chain of preceding steps is to run the kingdom in a way “so that he may become second to the Lord of the sons of men, and third to the Creator of the Universe.”³⁸⁵ By doing so, he wants to fathom the purpose of governance and the placement of the king at the apex of the familiar hierarchical system through an analogy with the system of creation. The author does all these as a loyal and sincere subject to serve his master by presentation of a treatise. The driving energy of the treatise is intelligence and its end is to motivate reasoning, contemplation, and observation, rather than dictation of a set of doctrinal rules.

³⁸⁴ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 3.

³⁸⁵ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 3 .

In the short epilogue he repeats: “My purpose in composing this treatise and inditing this discourse is not to flaunt my merits or recall my services, but rather to guide the beginner, and also to glorify my master”.³⁸⁶ These statements introduce two authorial intentions, one following the other: first he wants “to guide and glorify”. That purpose establishes the second intention: to equip it with “decisive proofs and trenchant arguments”,³⁸⁷ but they are to be exemplary, providing not doctrines or rules, but guidance and method. This brings us to a third intention, pertaining to his over-arching theme: the *true* meaning of kingship, kingship, and the king’s responsibility. If that third intention is to guide the king to good action, it must be as supple and flexible. No static rule book could do that, and for this reason, we have an intricate and subtle treatise that *exemplifies* a kind of reasoning that a ruler might follow and *enact*. Reasoning, so considered, is not mechanical, but it is creative: it leads the reader—here, both the king and anyone else reading this treatise—to grasp principles that emerge from the exact composition of the text itself. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi justifies his intention to show “the *true* meaning of kingship... so that he may become second to the Lord of the sons of men and third to the Creator of the Universe.”³⁸⁸ Thus, a sequential chain of intentions unfolds in the prologue as the text develops through the cosmological and theosophical argument with which it starts, and continues so as to reveal the intention that shapes the creation of human beings.

My problem with Hancher’s argument is that he limits potentials of the text to the fulfillment of a determined *final intention*. I will try to show the limits of such an understanding of intention by deconstructing rhetorical framing of *Chahār Maqāle* in

³⁸⁶ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 98.

³⁸⁷ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 3.

³⁸⁸ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 3.

order to place the question of “final intention” in a larger context. I argue that, firstly, there is no final intention determined by the author: the effect of the text does not originate from the author’s intention only but it also emerges from the text; second, even if authorial intention could have controlled the text, it would not have necessarily been monolithic; and thirdly, it would not be only one intention. Moreover, authorial intentions operate at a variety of explicit and implicit levels, part of which even evades an author’s determined control: while the author may outspokenly state his purpose at one level, he enhances other intentions that are suggested or implied in rhetorical strategies that he employs. Hence, we need to talk about multiple purposes or intentions and multiple universes with surprising revelations.

The first anecdote offers an example. In order to substantiate his conceptual argument about creation the author brings in an anecdote experienced by Abu Rezā ibn ‘Abdol-Salām of Neishābur, which may well apply to our discussion about intentionality. The anecdote is striking in part because it is unexpected, and it shows nature not to be altogether predictable: the order that is, in the Greek term *cosmos*, is not the order of a simple mechanism, but a world that unfolds in a “successive continuity” ascending toward perfection:

We were traveling towards Tamghāj,³⁸⁹ and in our caravan were several thousand camels. One day, when we were marching in the mid-day heat, we saw on a sand-hill a woman, bare-headed and quite naked, extremely

³⁸⁹ Qazvini wrote a lengthy explanation on the location on the margin of his own printed copy. The copy is in the Qazvini’s archive at the Faculty of Humanities, Tehran University. After an extensive argument based on the evidences from several historical sources such as *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri & Jāme’ol Tavārikh* and *Albuldān* wherein he concludes that Tamghāj was generally used for China but it was actually the Northern capital of the Khatā rulers of China which is called Peking today. [Ref to the facsimile, supplement 1. Also to Mohammad Mo’in, “ta’liqāt”, *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 11-17.

beautiful in form, with a figure like a cypress, a face like the moon, and long hair, standing and looking at us. Although we spoke to her, she made no reply; and when we approached her, she fled, running so swiftly in her flight that probably no horse could have overtaken her. Our muleteers, who were Turks, said that this was wild man, such as they call *nasnās*.³⁹⁰

Just as such a wonder of creation startles the author; the un-programmed directions in the advancement of the text might also startle the reader.

Following the preface, the author guides the prince in the observation of the systemic interdependence of the celestial and terrestrial worlds on the one hand and of the chain of beings in the hierarchal system of the world on the other hand. In the prologue, rarely examined critically, we are introduced to another chain of intentions. Structurally speaking, *Chahār Maqāle* presents a discursive universe encompassing two other universes; i.e., the cosmic and the political, that it creates, each toward a relevant teleological purpose. The end of the creation of material world is *human* being, the most respected in the hierarchy of material creatures, and the one who stands between the limits of the material world and the infinitude of conceptual worlds:

So, when in the course of long ages and by the lapse of time, equilibrium became more delicately adjusted and the turn came of the interspace which is between the elements and the heavens, man came into being, bringing with him all that existed in the mineral, vegetable and animal kingdoms and adding thereunto the capacity for abstract concepts. So by

³⁹⁰ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 9.

reason of intelligence he became king over all animals, and brought all things under his control.³⁹¹

While human being is featured as the final purpose of the universe, it is given the privilege, by intelligence, to devise a purpose for the universes he creates, and from there begins the infinitude of the realm of creativity. The state is one such purposeful universe: “Hence a king needs round about him, as men on whose counsel, judgment and deliberations depend the loosing and binding of the world, and the well-being and ill-being of the servants of God Almighty”.³⁹² But this universe is created through the text. Therefore, the conclusion in the argument of the prologue is also our gateway to the history of the people, represented in the chapters through “ten pleasing anecdotes of the choicest connected with that subject and rarest appropriate to that topic of what have befallen persons of the class”. Why? Creation of the textual universe introduces another final intention set by the author: “in order that it may become plainly known to the King that the Secretarial Office is not a trivial matter; that the Poetic Calling is no mean occupation; that Astrology [astronomy] is a necessary Science; and that medicine is an indispensable Art”. And still another intention is to convince the prince that “the wise King cannot do without these four persons”.³⁹³

Thus, the closure of the prologue lets us transfer from the history of the universe to the history of the people cast in the illustrative anecdotes of the four chapters. As a consequence, the macrocosm, the history and the text each offers one type of example for the creation of the fourth universe—the virtuous intelligent state. The principles of this

³⁹¹ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 9-10.

³⁹² *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 11.

³⁹³ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 12 .

intelligent state are shaped as the text unfolds. So, in a way the text and the state—the cultural and the political—are born concurrently. Therefore, creation of the political universe in this ideal governance is in peace with the creation of this cultural universe, the text. Or if you will, one is even the reflecting mirror of the other, each built upon a sequence of purposes.

Achievement of each purpose needs appropriate tools. Instruction as a purpose of the treatise is achieved through appropriate mentorship. For that matter, the author employs observation (in the prologue) and illustration (by anecdotes in the chapters). By guiding the prince to observe the operation of the divine intelligence in the creation of the universe, and purposefulness of the creation, the author sets an example for our exploration, albeit the subject of this exploration is the universe and not a text. The creation of the universe is an example to make the prince contemplate the purpose of governance through observation of the divine intelligence. At the same time it is a process of practicing creative and critical thinking: not to learn *what* to think, but *how* to think. What the author-mentor intends to foreground for the prince-student is the operation of divine intelligence in the establishment and perpetuation of order and equilibrium in the universe. He accentuates the divine intelligence in order to show him that the commitment put on him is twice a privilege: not only as a human being does he possess the supreme rank in the great chain of beings, but in the human society also God has selected him for his potential wisdom which should enable him to benefit from that intelligence most efficiently.

While every stage of the prologue develops according to one intention, the entire reasoning made in the prologue reveals a two-fold final intention. The first emerges from

the logic of the thematic development: a universe that is a purposeful order, not a result of chance, while the kingdom is also a purposeful system that results not by nature alone, but through creative intervention and guidance. Being a system, the order of the kingdom depends on the king's intelligence, but not on him alone. He will need the guidance and advice of the accomplished secretaries, poets, astrologers, and physicians. The exigency of these four practitioners is rationalized in these terms as the conclusion he draws from the argument in the prologue:

Now of the servants essential to kings are the Secretary, the Poet, the Astrologer and the Physician, with whom he can in no wise dispense. For the maintenance of the administration is by the Secretary; the perpetuation of immortal renown by the Poet; the ordering of affairs by the Astrologer; and the health of the body by the Physician.³⁹⁴

Respectively, the second set of intentions emerges from the logic of textualization as a purposeful construe. It is not a set of “do” and “don't” instructions to be dictated and mechanically followed, as a “canon of Philosophy” might conventionally imply. Rather, the structural logic of the text provides an experience to the reader and the prince alike, like the exploration of a labyrinthine structure, to develop the reasoning intelligence, the training of which is the intention that the author states for the composition: “to guide the beginner.” The insertion of the *nasnās* anecdote in the prologue, as well as the ten examples from historical sources in each discourse, or what we may call each chapter, attends to this instructive intention: “and thereafter ten pleasing anecdotes, of the choicest connected with that subject and the rarest appropriate to that topic, of what has befallen

³⁹⁴ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 12.

persons of the class under discussion, will be adduced, in order that it may become plainly known to the King...”³⁹⁵

The theme of “canons of Philosophy” as an epistemological tool to fulfill the instructional purpose not only permeates various aspects of the content in *Chahār Maqāle* but it also resonates through the purposeful architectonic of the text. Conventional designation of the book by its fourfold topics has created a view even in contemporary times as if the book were a combination of four independent and unrelated chapters. Even in our time, some versions of the text include one or two chapters rather than, for example, an abridged version of the entire text. While this feature could be interpreted as its strength, it distracts attention from the integrative merits of *Chahār Maqāle*. Close reading debunks such a designation. Whether they are on poets, secretaries, astrologers, physicians, or even on the manner of governance, different sections of *Chahār Maqāle* are formally and structurally connected together in a sophisticated way because the intellect at the discursive and thematic level controls arrangement of the material. For that matter *Chahār Maqāle* stands out for two formal and structural features: it is both symmetrical and limitless.

Interplay of form and content serves an intended symmetrical arrangement of material in the text in various ways. An analogy with the bi-partite architecture of Persian traditional mansions helps us to understand this symmetry. These houses had a multi-spatial structure. The port would open into a long corridor leading to a relatively small courtyard with a waiting area. This was called *biruni* (exterior courtyard). The *biruni* was reflected in a parallel but larger courtyard, called *andaruni* (interior courtyard). This interior courtyard was surrounded by several chambers being hovered over by a reception

³⁹⁵ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 12.

hall on the second floor. In this paradoxically closed and open complex structure every room would accommodate the smallest unit of the household, a couple, or a single person. But the yard was the scene of the communal life. The life in each room had semi-independence, just as every anecdote does in *Chahār Maqāle*. A room was both a part of the house and an independent unit. By the same token, the interior courtyard corresponds to the main body of chapters, and the exterior yard, to the prologue, while the port and corridor correspond to the prefaces.

The important point in this analogy is the function of these spaces. They regulate the visitor's access to the interior space. Just as the arrival of the visitor passes through several layers the arrival at the anecdotes also passes through several sections: the preface, the prologue, the introduction of each chapter, and finally, the anecdote. These spaces provide a particular context for the reader. They regulate the reader's view to see the significance of each anecdote in the light of the context established for the anecdote, just as spaces between the door and the private inner house provides the newcomer sufficient time to adjust oneself for an intended, yet inexperienced encounter.

By the same token then, exploration of this structural construct serves the pedagogical intention which the philosopher-mentor wants to fulfill through establishing the very possibility of such observation. The prince, like the reader, not only listens/reads about virtues of reasoning but also develops sophisticated thinking as the text unfolds to him. So, like exploration of the Persian bi-partite mansion in our example, the author-philosopher-mentor guides the prince as well as the reader through twists and turns of the text.

The network of thematic and structural relations absorbs the pursuer into an exploration of the labyrinthine architectonic: from preface to the prologue to illustrative chapters and finally to every single anecdote. A parallel hierarchy emerges wherein the prologue at once lays out (gives a model for) the structure and content of the chapters, and overarches the four pillars of the chapters. The significance of the prologue and the critical introductory passages comes to fore as the prince reads illustrative examples about the intelligent historical practitioners. The prince does not only read/hear about the virtue of logic, reasoning and intelligence, but he also goes through an intellectual experience as he advances in the observation, reasoning, and surprising findings. Thus, the text and the education of the prince develop concurrently.

Aside from intended structure, a second type of interplay between content and form emerges from internal architectonic of the content. In the prologue the author introduces himself, his patron, his intention, subject matter, and method in a well arranged order beginning with the cause (author). Contrary to the philosophical mode of the discourse in the prologue, chapters are furnished with illustration. Each chapter is a series of anecdotes which exemplify the practice of one skill. So, here we have a hierarchical system wherein the philosophical prologue overarches the illustrative part of the book, and introductions of chapters similarly overarch illustrative anecdotes. By analogy, for their association with four professions the four chapters function as the four upholding pillars of a building, say, the state. As if by arrangement he suggested that experts in these fields function as pillars in the physique of the state where all function efficiently by the intelligence of one *mono-archy*.

Thematic arrangement also follows according to a purposeful successive and continuous hierarchy. Each part contains a main topic which is divided into sub categories: the opening section is comprised of a preface, and the prologue; the preface opens by the name of God, prayer to God and the prophets. Then comes the House of Shansabāni whose present prince he serves. The acknowledgment is followed by an introduction of his methodology, his pronounced intention, and himself. Parallel to this section stands the cosmological argument. Here, the author addresses himself to the description of the universe as a hierarchical system wherein human beings take the highest place in the chain of creation, kings stand the highest among men; they are lower than the Prophet but equal to religious leaders (*imam*) in the civilized society.

The chapters form a parallel hierarchy wherein each chapter is dedicated to the discussion and examples of one profession. Although each of the four chapters carries an equal scale and number of anecdotes (except for the last one),³⁹⁶ their arrangement implies a sense of preference inasmuch as the logos precedes the skill of practical sciences, and even in logos the primary place is given to the secretarial art, to suggest the preference of scribes/secretaries to the other three professions, with an implied authorial self-congratulatory intention. The focus is precisely on the function of the secretary to shape what is communicated—and that is at least as important as the creation of content. It is, in that sense, a very shrewd gesture that does not privilege the seemingly autonomous individual, but the mediator—the one who understands the message and its purpose, and therefore can pass it on with all the subtlety that it requires. By the same token, each chapter forms a further hierarchical system: a theoretical introduction on the topic arches ten (or twelve) anecdotes as illustrations of the theory. Finally, the epilogue

³⁹⁶ For a discussion on the textual problem of the number of anecdotes see chapter 2.

thematically recaptures the opening paragraph of the prologue. In this hierarchy anecdotes stand at the bottom rank in the ladder, and epilogue is the bottom limit.

The structure is continuously unfolding, adding a dimension to it which emerges from consecutive and cumulative intentions contributing to its becoming. It reveals, firstly, to be the consequence of more than one authorial intention. Then, intentions emerge in a consecutive order: one intention follows another in the construction of the universe, be it the cosmos, the kingdom, or the text. The analogy I established earlier among the three universes allows for looking into the author/text relationship in terms of a paradigm on par with God/universe, and king/state relationships. The creativity of God is, in fact, registered by bringing order out of chaos. But, whereas the establishment of order per se is the purpose of the creation, its final shape, as the case of human moral and intellectual infinitude shows, is not predetermined: it is a developing process rather than a finished product. This conception of creativity is delineated in the cosmological structure that he develops through Section II:

Now you must know that this world, which lies in the hollow of the Heaven of the Moon and within the circle of this first Sphere, is called ‘the World of Growth and Decay’... In the middle of the earth is an imaginary point, from which all straight lines drawn to the Heaven of the Moon are equal, and when we speak of ‘down’ we mean this point or what lies nearest to it; and when we speak of ‘up,’ we mean the remotest heaven, or what lies nearest to it, this being a heaven above the Zodiacal

Heaven, having naught beyond it, for with it the material world terminates, or comes to an end.³⁹⁷

The logic of this cosmological argument is based on the reflection of the celestial on the terrestrial as well as the bestial. Thus, he establishes a parallel structure wherein the above is reflected in the below, the celestial in the terrestrial, God in human beings, the infinite in finitude.

There is still another way to look at the formal, structural and thematic coherence of *Chahār Maqāle* that acts in consistency with the theme of intentionality. The secretary, or the man of the pen, is the master of rhetoric. He is the one who employs language by *intended* objectives to “magnify” matters or “minimize” them through “orderly arrangement of the subject matter”. The secretary is the most important pillar of the arch of governance. Introduction of the king’s counsels brings the prologue to a conclusion developed organically from the author’s reasoning, not from the imposition of determined “do” and “do not” instructions. Just as the secretary can create a rhetorical situation in order to “magnify” and “minimize” matters within the universe of statesmanship, the author himself also creates a rhetorical situation in the prologue that promotes an *intention*: it accentuates the significance of intellect and reasoning in the establishment of order in any universe, be it the cosmos, the state, or the composition. But what kind of intention is this? Is it predetermined, or is it evolutionary and developing? Is it mechanical or is it creative? Are they one and the same?

Limits of a Hancherian teleological conception stem from the fact that for the static understanding of intention in his definition, as in almost all other definitions by textual critics, it does not accommodate the generative capacity of intentionality. At least,

³⁹⁷ *Chahār Maqāla*, Browne, pp 4-5.

in *Chahār Maqāle* one comes upon more than one final intention, since it stretches out historically *forward*, to future readers and circumstances that cannot be fully specified in advance, but nevertheless resonate in the unfolding structure of the actual reception of the text, by readers who recognize its generative principles. Besides, not all these *final* intentions are entirely in control of the author, and last but not least, the dynamic nature of intentionality dismisses the notion of finality. Arrangement is a case in point.

Depiction and arrangement of anecdotes conveys a certain sense of tension in chapters three and four. Anecdotes of every chapter are composed of two groups. One group is dedicated to practitioners of the genuine science of astronomy and medication. In chapter three, this group of anecdotes is concerned with the practice of Al-Kindi, Khayyām, Biruni and Mowsili who excelled in scientific astrology. They are presented as a measurement for the selection of astronomers. In chapter four, this group of anecdotes is drawn from the practice of Avicenna, Zakariyyā Rāzi, Adib Esmā'il, Galen, Bokhtishu' and Almajusi al'Ahwāzi³⁹⁸ as true practitioners of medication. But each chapter also contains anecdotes about the practice of false astrology and the narrow-mindedness of the Orthodox Moslem *faqih*s against "canons of Philosophy". In chapter three these anecdotes are about the counterfeit of astronomy. What emerges with subtlety is the emphasis on arbitrariness and unreliability of prognostication by such pseudo-astrologers. The fact that orthodox Moslems would denounce astronomy by charging it with sooth-saying must have motivated the author to safeguard the realm of science from such accusations and fraud by these examples.

³⁹⁸ 'Ali b. al-'Abbās Majusi al-Ahwāzi (d. 389/994), the author or *Kāmi[e]l al-Si[e]nā'a* in medicine, and the physician of Azad al-Dowle of Daylamid in Shiraz. (See Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, p 110; Mohammad Mo'in, "ta'liqāt", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 390-92.

The animosity of Moslem authorities against the science of astrology is most explicitly accentuated in the first anecdote of chapter three where al-Kindi's life fell to a threat by an orthodox Moslem. Acting upon arbitrary prognostication and insincere faith in the name of astrology is delineated in the anecdote of Biruni's attendant and the fortune teller (anecdote 3), the story of the *kāhen* of Ghazni (anecdote 9), and the pseudo-astronomer female in his own household (anecdote 4). Perhaps, it was due to the pain he felt by seeing how such frauds had outnumbered and marginalized the genuine scientists that Nezāmi 'Aruzi fell in tears on the grave of 'Omar Khayyām (anecdote 7).

A similar tension runs through anecdotes in chapter four. The main concern here is the accusation of this science as heretical by orthodox Moslems. Adib Esmā'il's treatment of the butcher of Herat who was hit by stroke provided an alleged reason for a famous sheikh al-Islam, Khāwje 'Abdollāh Ansāri, to provoke people against him (anecdote 8) to burn his books, and Adib's message to him, "one must learn knowledge, and not burn books." (anecdote 9)³⁹⁹ What is particularly accentuated about the merits of medication by Zakariyyā Rāzi, Avicenna, Adib Esmā'il and the author of *Kāmil al-Sinā'a* (anecdote 6)⁴⁰⁰ is their diagnostic method. His insightful knowledge of the interdependence of soul and body enabled Avicenna to seek the source of body illness in the psychosis of the patient, the essence of present sciences of the psychosomatic. Understanding of the neurological system also enabled Zakariyyā Rāzi to cure the Samanid king of a nervous pinch by giving him a shock of fear (anecdote 4). Bokhtishu'

³⁹⁹ Sa'id Nafissi maintains that the character in this anecdote, according to historical sources, is not Adib Esmā'il. See, Mohammad Mo'in, "ta'liqāt", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 454-55.

⁴⁰⁰ 'Ali b. al-'Abbās Majusi al-Ahwāzi (d. 389/994), the author or *Kāmi[e]l al-Si[e]nā'a* in medicine, and the physician of Azad al-Dowle of Daylamid in Shiraz. (See Qazvini, "havāshi", *Chahār Maqāle*, p 110; Mohammad Mo'in, "ta'liqāt", *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 390-92.

took advantage of Ma'mun's trust to God and tried the most risky treatment to cure his relative of an otherwise deadly illness (anecdote 2). He quotes Avicenna's account of how a physician could cure the slave-girl of her nervous pinch by acting upon her extreme shame for being uncovered (anecdote 3). All these anecdotes underscore the measurements for the selection of meritorious physicians. Does this antithetical arrangement not convey the author's response to a tension that must have bothered him? And then, can it be that he intends to caution the prince against being poisoned by such counsels? So, here we encounter other intentions emerging out of the thematic structure.

The case of autobiographical anecdotes is even more illustrative. It is true that by evidence of detailed and accurate critical introductions on each chapter Nezāmi 'Aruzi already registered himself as a connoisseur of arts and sciences that he recommends for an ideal body of counsels. But to illustrate the point he also includes a few anecdotes about himself in chapters two, three and four, and by keeping silent about himself in chapter one, making the entire book an example of his compositional competence. It seems that he did not have much concern about making the prince trust his art of poetry either. As we learn from the last anecdote in *Chahār Maqāle*, everybody knew him as a poet. Therefore, it must have been in the field of astrology and medication that he needed to provide convincing examples. This concern reveals itself in the placement of an anecdote about his practice of astrological prognostication and another about his medical competence at the end of respective chapters. Of course, the anecdote on his art of poetry also is the last one in chapter two. But what makes his autobiographical anecdotes in these two chapters significant results from their placement. Moreover, it is clear that the autobiographical anecdotes are presented in the service of making judgments concerning

professional practice: it is important that he understands the arts sufficiently to be able to discern genuine expertise from fraudulent or coincidental results.

As I noted earlier, anecdotes in these chapters are antithetical in nature. In each case the negative effect of accusation or counterfeit is nullified by a supportive tone for genuine practitioners. Thus, by bringing this contrast to resolution through an account of his own practice, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi drives the prince to two conclusions: first, to dismiss such negative views on science; second, to see the value of the author’s knowledge. Hence, we arrive at a level of intentionality that is implicit and operates suggestively through rhetorical, formal and structural strategies.

Conclusion

Although in the post-modern approach to textual criticism we have unleashed the text from the rigid grip of the author’s intention, this notion keeps interfering with our reading in one way or another. The fact that for the past hundred years, our reading of *Chahār Maqāle* keeps repeating Qazvini’s and Browne’s historical philological reading indicates that it provided us with a supposedly explicit purpose, and this shapes our comfort zone. It gives us convenient reading and accessible “meaning”.

As this study reveals, *Chahār Maqāle* is a sophisticated text created by an intelligent consciousness. It provides a space for an equally sophisticated intellectual experience. Yet, it does not yield to the control of the author’s pronounced or deliberate intentions as a prior *limit* on meaning. Its creative dynamism constantly undoes intentional confinement placed on its universe by the author so that we need to look towards horizons beyond authorial intentions for intelligent understanding of what the text communicates to us. But what does the insight from this study tells us about those

other intentions? This is precisely where the playfulness of the text and the sphere of forthcoming horizons, not the author or the stated map, take us, and will never come to a final end.

Section 2- Unearthing Converged-Submerged Voices in *Chahār Maqāle*

While modern scholarship of *Chahār Maqāle* over the past hundred years has been governed by Qazvini's historical reading of the text, interest in its literary, linguistic and even generic dimensions also have gained some voice in more recent times. It is of interest, ironically, that looking in a literary way beyond the historical zone can become a way to see history more clearly. Just as an example for a future enquiry one may point to the temporal scope that Nezāmi 'Aruzi covers not only in the entire book, but also sometimes even in a single anecdote. Let us look at two examples.

Assuming an autonomous authorial voice Nezāmi 'Aruzi opens the story of Sultan Mahmud's letter to the Qarākhānid ruler of Samarqand in these words, "In former times it was customary with the kings and tyrants of the world, such as the Pishdādi, Kayāni, and Sasanian monarchs and the Caliphs, to vaunt themselves and compete with one another in justice and accomplishments, and with every ambassador whom they dispatched they used to send wise sayings, riddles, and enigmatical questions".⁴⁰¹ In this short passage Nezāmi 'Aruzi takes a long trip in time from the pre-Islamic era (Iranian mythological and historical past=Kayāni and Pishdādi) and the early Islamic era –the earlier four Caliphs⁴⁰²—in the 7th century to Sultan Mahmud (11th century) whom he

⁴⁰¹ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 25-26.

⁴⁰² Immediate four successors of the Prophet were known as the Guiding Caliphs- 'Omar, Abubakr, 'Othman, and 'Ali- (13-40 /634-660) The second were the Omayyad clan (41-132/661-750. E.) who ruled the early Islamic empire from Aleppo. Third, it was the 'Abbāsīd caliphs (132-656/ 750-1258 who ruled from Baghdad (founded in 142/762. And finally, one should include the Fatimid caliphate of Egypt and Morocco in during the 9th-11th century. It should be noted that as a general title, "Caliph" is associated with

praises for keeping with the custom of the bygone: “This practice was maintained until the time of Mahmud b. Sabuktegin Yamin al-Dowle (may God have mercy upon him!)”, and all the way to the contemporary Saljuqs (11th-12th century). Three temporal domains are woven together and are situated in this anecdote to end up by the author’s nostalgia for the “bygone”, and of course, to his displeasure with the contemporary ruling house in the mainland: “But when the Saljuqs succeeded him, they being nomads, ignorant of the conduct of affairs and the high achievements of kings, most of these royal customs became obsolete in their time, and many essentials of dominion fell into disuse. One of these was the Ministry of Posts, from which one can judge of the remainder.”⁴⁰³

In another instance, what he attributes to the poets for their power in “immortalization” of names is, in fact, a mirror image of what he himself performs by creating a new historical event through reiteration of various historical moments:

For when the king receives that command which none can escape, no traces will remain of his army, his treasure, and his store; but his name will endure forever by reason of the poet’s verse, as Sharif-i-Mujallidi of Gurgān says: *From all the treasure hoarded by the Houses/Of Sāsān and of Sāmān, in our days/Nothing survives except the song of Bārbod/Nothing is left save Rudaki’s sweet lays.*⁴⁰⁴

Obviously two sets of temporal planes are present in this anecdote: the narrative time (Sasan and Saman) and the real time of the narration. In fact, temporal dynamics of *Chahār Maqāle* offers a case that is explicable by Bakhtin’s time dynamics in the novel,

four distinct governments in the history of the Islamic governance, but here it specifically refers to the Prophet’s circle known as the Guiding Caliphs.

⁴⁰³ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 26-27.

⁴⁰⁴ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 29.

yet it shows that such a temporal dynamics is not confined to novels. In Bakhtin's definition, "before us are two events—the event that is narrated in the work and the event of narration itself (we ourselves participate in the latter, as listeners or readers); these events take place in different times (which are marked by different durations as well) and in different places, but at the same time these two events are indissolubly united in a single but complex event".⁴⁰⁵ Qazvini dedicated enormous work to the explication of both of these temporal planes in *Chahār Maqāle*. At a textual level he dedicated himself to the restoration of the original (authorial or a 15th century exemplar) in terms of the language trying to recapture the narrative time. In the copious annotations he did extraordinary enquiry to construct the temporal plane included by the text (historical information). In the previous section both of these events were addressed in terms of the four interrelated universes—the universe, the history, and the state—that unfold within and through the text as the fourth universe. In this section, from a dialogic mode of thinking proposed by Bakhtin I try to take a look at nuances or voices textualized in the spaces between these temporal planes, within "the event that is narrated in the work"—*Chahār Maqāle*—as a part of its discursive identity, and by the same token, as a part of its historicity. It is only through in-depth probing of this kind that the dynamic essence of historicity in *Chahār Maqāle* lends itself to exposure. These nuances are discernible through various modes including inter-textuality, echo of other voices, referential and unacknowledged allusions, and they accumulate to a *textual intention* that operates beyond the control of an autonomous author. Explication of these nuances is another way to access the discursive sphere it has been the *continuum* of and the *rejoinder* to.

⁴⁰⁵ M. M. Bakhtin, "Form of Time and Chronotope in the Novel" in *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (Ed.) Michael Holquist (Trans.) Caryl Emerson & Michael Holquist. Austin: The University of Texas Press, 1981 (41-258), p 255.

But before proceeding a reminder of my particular rendition of “text” seems imperative. For that matter I apply text in, more or less, a sense similar to “utterance” in Bakhtin’s terminology which refers to the “vermiform” language in the novel. Bakhtin defines utterance in terms of “movement of the theme through different languages and speech types, its dispersion into the rivulets and droplets of social heteroglossia, its dialogization”.⁴⁰⁶ Though Bakhtin devised this model for novels, the central idea in his definition is of much broader application, because an “utterance,” by such a definition, is neither static nor monolithic. The dynamism of utterance, in fact, stems from constant appropriation of other voices. One’s language –and text, by extension—he confirms, “becomes ‘one’s own’ only when the speaker populates it with his own intention, his own accent, when he appropriates the word, adapting it to his own semantic and expressive intention.”⁴⁰⁷ Hence, just as “The living utterance, . . . , cannot fail to brush up against thousands of living dialogic threads, woven by socio-ideological consciousness around the given object of an utterance” a text cannot, by any means, be taken as a finish whose elements are entirely regulated by an authorial deliberate intention. Yet neither does this mean that ‘anything goes’—since the reader starts from a response to the life of the utterance, not merely from decoding the ‘dead letter.’ The significance of the text, then, grows in keeping with its generative specificity. Scrupulous attention to the letter is exactly what keeps it alive, but it is not the source of its dynamicity.

Inter-textual features of *Chahār Maqāle*: One strategy that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi employs to enhance “canons of Philosophy” is the insertion and integration of other texts in his work. This inter-textual aspect of *Chahār Maqāle* has received little attention from

⁴⁰⁶ M. M. Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel”, p 263.

⁴⁰⁷ M. M. Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel”, p 293.

critics. The prologue is particularly a case in point. Mohammad Taqi Bahār has examined the prologue for its stylistic features. He maintains that the style in the prologue is distinctive in the register and in the frequency of Arabic vocabulary from the prose style employed in the chapters. Mohammad Mo'in, the editor of the second edition of *Chahār Maqāle* in two footnotes on the notion of existence alluded to Avicenna's *Dānesh Nāme-ye 'Alā'i* just in passing. Other than these lexical and stylistic notes the prologue has not been given due attention, let alone being studied for its inter-textuality. An examination of the philosophical tenets of the prologue reveals the voice of Iranian philosophers. Avicenna is the most audible voice among such inter-textual instances.⁴⁰⁸ It is not a coincidence that he is a prominent figure in the fourth chapter of the book as well.

Nezāmi 'Aruzi obviously draws concepts of Necessary Existent, Contingent Existent, causal nexus of the hierarchal cosmos, and what A.O. Lovejoy calls "the principle of plenitude" from Avicenna. Concerning the theme of existence, for example, he quotes the first part of *Al-Risālat al-'Arshiya* almost verbatim. Discussing the existence of God, Avicenna says:

Know that an existent (*mowjud*) either has a cause (*asbāb*) to exist or it does not. If it has a cause, we call it contingent (*mumkin*), whether or not it is prior to existence (*wujud*) if we posit it in the mind (*fe'l-e zehn*) or in a state of existence,... This existent is either contingent or necessary; if necessary, then the very thing we seek is proven. And if it is contingent, it does not enter into existence unless a cause tips the scales in favor of its

⁴⁰⁸ C. N. Seddon, "Notes on Certain Words in the *Chahār Maqāle*", *The Journal of Royal Asiatic Society*, GB & Ireland (July 1933):(687-690). Web. 15 May 2012. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25194843>>. Also quoted in Mohammad Mo'in, "ta'liqāt-e *Chahār Maqāle* ", pp 7-9.

existence over its non-existence ... Now if its cause is also a contingent, then the contingents are linked one to another in a chain and their [there] is absolutely nothing existent, because this existent which we posited does not enter into existence so long as an infinite series of contingent existents precedes it endlessly. But this is absurd; therefore, the contingents end in a Necessary Existent.⁴⁰⁹

Here is what we read in the prologue of *Chahār Maqāle*:

And on profound reflection [it appeareth that] this causal nexus reacheth upwards to a Cause which deriveth not its being from another, but existeth necessarily in itself; which is the Creator of all, from Whom all derive their existence and subsistence.⁴¹⁰

On the source of the prophet's knowledge this passage comes from the prologue in *Chahār Maqāle*:

Now the peculiar virtues of the Prophet are three:—first, that, without instruction, he knows all knowledge; secondly, that he gives information concerning yesterday and to-morrow otherwise than by analogical reasoning; and thirdly, that he hath such psychical power that from whatever body he will he taketh the form and produceth another form, which thing none can do save such are conformmed to the Angelic World.⁴¹¹

This prophetic vision echoes Avicenna's discourse on God's attribution:

⁴⁰⁹ Anthony K. Tuft (Trans.) *Al-Risāla al- 'Arshiya* of Ibn Sinā. MA thesis. University of Washington, 1972 (42 pages), pp 11-12.

⁴¹⁰ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 4.

⁴¹¹ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 10.

His [God's] speech is the overflow of sciences from Him onto the slate of the heart of the prophet by means of the engraving pen, which is called 'the active intellect' or 'the highest angel' (*al-malak al-muqarrab*)... The prophet receives the knowledge of the unseen from the Truth, by means of the angel... This is revelation (*al-wahy*) because it is the injecting of something into the prophet, without respect to time. He conceives in his pure soul the form of the thing injected, and the thing injected, like the image formed in a clear mirror,... We see things by means of external faculties; the prophet sees things by means of internal faculties.⁴¹²

In discussing the wake of early living elements Nezāmi 'Aruzi seems to have incorporated an earlier "compendium of medieval scientific beliefs". He himself alludes to "Āsār-e 'Ulvi" in the beginning of section three where he enumerates natural elements and the transformation of natural phenomenon: "When the influences of these stars had acted upon peripheries of these elements and had been reflected back from that imaginary [central] point, there were produced from the midst of the earth and water, by the aid of the wind and the fire, the products of the inorganic world, such as mountains, mines, clouds, snow, rain, ... explained in its proper place... and for the explanation and amplification of which there is no room in this brief manual."⁴¹³ The author's reference is, according to C. N. Seddon, to a treatise by Khāwje Hakim Abu Hātam Mozaffar b. Ismail Isfizāri. Nezāmi 'Aruzi had cited the list either from the original treatise or

⁴¹² Anthony K. Tuft, pp 26-27.

⁴¹³ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 5. Browne does not translate the reference that the author alludes to and suffices to "explained in its proper place" but in the Persian text he has "chenān ke dar Āsār-e 'Ulvi in rā sharhi be maqām khod dādeh ast" (just as in Āsār--e 'Ulvi it is explained in its proper place).

through *Noz-hat-Nāme-ye 'Alā'i* by a “Sahmu’ d-din bin Abi’l Khayr⁴¹⁴ upon the original treatise, which was composed half a century before *Chahār Maqāle*. In either case, the list given, as Seddon has observed, is closely drawn upon this compendium.⁴¹⁵

Whereas Avicenna has an explicit inter-textual presence in the prologue, though unacknowledged, and Isfirāzi is an acknowledged quote, Farabi’s presence makes itself known in the political theory that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi proposes in the final part of the prologue. It should be noted here that the idea of king-philosopher, so central to *Chahār Maqāle*, resonates with Farabi’s theory of politics, which itself echoes Plato’s model in the *Republic*. According to Farabi “kingship” is an art or craft, which in the context of his argument, means a skill a person with natural virtue acquires through cultivation.⁴¹⁶ The ruler’s virtue in Farabi’s definition is measured by his knowledge of theory and the skill to apply that knowledge (art): “The king is king by means of the kingly craft, the art of governing cities, and the ability to use the kingly craft at any moment whatsoever as a rulership over a city...”⁴¹⁷

While these philosophers form an explicit inter-textual presence in *Chahār Maqāle*, *Qur’an*, hadith, and literary works are also other important sources for its inter-textuality . It is notable, however, that quotations of Scripture are used for their rhetorical effect and towards rhetorical and aesthetic purposes. Take, for example, the anecdote wherein the interpolation of an irrelevant sentence—we are out of flour—occurs in an official letter that the caliph’s secretary composed. (See Figure 5, image 1). The anecdote

⁴¹⁴ Apparently the correct name is Shahmardān. See Mohammad Mo’in, “ta’liqāt bar *Chahār Maqāle*”, pp 6-9.

⁴¹⁵ See C. N. Seddon, Web. <<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25194843>>. 15 May 2012.

⁴¹⁶ Abu-Nasr Mohammad Alfarabi *Alfarabi-The Political Writings: Selected Aphorisms and Other Texts*. (Trans.) Charles E. Butterworth. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001, pp 17 & 77.

⁴¹⁷ *Alfarabi-The Political Writings*, p 28.

offers an example for textual ‘contamination’ with excellent value in its own right, but it also offers an example of inter-textuality in *Chahār Maqāle*. Here, the secretary wrote a letter on behalf of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph of Baghdad to the rival Fātimīd caliph of Egypt.⁴¹⁸ So, the effect of such an unintended interpolation could be of serious political consequences. Now, the caliph notices the flaw, and upon hearing the reason for such a mistake (intrusion of the maid to inform the secretary they ran out of flour) he describes the incoherence of the eloquent beginning with the irrelevant ending in terms of two successive chapters of *Qur’an*: “the beginning of this letter surpasses and excels the latter part by as much as the *sura*, *Say, He is God, the One* excels the *sura*, *The hands of Abu Lahab shall perish*”.⁴¹⁹ The rhetorical effect of this statement becomes evident when we note that the order of these two *suras* (112 & 111) is opposite to the order of the strong and poor sections of the letter. As these examples reveal part of the intellectual energy of the text is created through adaptation of texts that are written either by human intelligence or come by way of divine intelligence. But where does such a heavy reliance on inter-textuality take us? One venue the question opens is an enquiry about history of ideas in the medieval Perso-Islamic world. The entire information Nezāmi ‘Arūzi derived from scanty references scattered in biographical compendia. But given his emphasis on the virtue of philosophy, one could ask if the emphasis should not be read as a “rejoinder”, that is, a defendant’s answer to the replication of hard times for philosophers.⁴²⁰

⁴¹⁸ Fātimīd were a Shi’ite Imsā’ili dynasty who emerged in Egypt during the 10th to the early 12th (909-1160) in a vast territory of the Arab world and challenged the power of the Sunni ‘Abbāsīd caliphate of Baghdad. (On Fatimid see, Hamid Haji (Trans.) *Founding the Fātimīd State: The Rise of an Early Islamic Empire* (Qāzi al-Nu’mān, *Ifītāh al-Da’wa*), New York: I. B. Tauris & Co. Ltd., 2006.

⁴¹⁹ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p19.

⁴²⁰ In law, visit <www.dictionary/reference.com>.

Discursive atmosphere: Even in its mise-en-scene (to borrow from cinematic terminology) of topical arrangement, *Chahār Maqāle* is presented as a philosophical colloquium—Plato’s Academy, or intellectual seminars held at the presence of the ‘Abbāsīd caliph Ma’mun, for example—wherein paragons of four major fields of practical sciences and logos from different times and spaces are invited by the author/president to share their experiences. On one side, there is the ensemble of secretaries, sitting in elegant pose. Sāhib b. ‘Ebād, Eskāfī, and Abdollāh Kātīb are sitting with their cohorts in a competition for excellent composition. On the other side are the poets engaged in an improvisation competition. Among them are forefathers of Persian poetry, Rudagi, Ferdowsi, ‘Onsori, Mu’izzi and even Azraqi. The panel of astronomy is set by philosopher-scientists of the past and present. Al-Kindi, Khayyām, Biruni and a few others, with pensive complexion are bending over a chart on the third side. And finally, here are the masters of medicine, Avicenna, Zakaryā Rāzi, and Bokhtishu’ on the fourth side of the hall. The author presides over the colloquium, roaming the hall to give a hearing to each group. The prince has a view of the entire symposium from the balcony of the second floor and listens to them. Members of each group take their turn to speak. The author assigned the keynote speech to Avicenna, Farabi and other philosophers. In this philosophical conference we see neither a cleric nor a commander. Listening to the flow of discussions in the colloquium one can identify the echo of the ancient wisdom in several aspects of this textual space. Here are some examples.

Logic- reflection of Aristotelian logic governs all the aspects of form and content in *Chahār Maqāle*. Not only is there a systematic—a coherent and consistent—relationship established among the four sciences but there is also a hierarchical order that

governs the arrangement of topics: metaphysical philosophy is presented in the prologue, whereas practical philosophy is delayed to the second. Moreover, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi acknowledges the instrumental role of logic and classification in the acquisition of knowledge. He pronounces this in the preface of chapter four: “This quality [of discernment] is that which we have indicated under the name of acumen. And unless the physician knows Logic, and understands the meaning of genus and species, he cannot discriminate between that which appertains to the category, that which is peculiar to the individual, and that which is accidental, and so will not recognize the cause [of the disease].”⁴²¹ Then, he applies logic to diagnose diseases through a chain of diachronic categorization of genus and species which, through a series of consecutive steps, guides the physician from general to specific and explicit resonance of Avicenna.⁴²² This logic is again hierarchical and consistent with hierarchical logic in the metaphysical discussion of the prologue. The same logic governs his theory of politics whereby the supreme position in the chain of being is given to prophets and philosophers.

Metaphysical order: metaphysics forms the topic of the prologue. Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus are particularly audible in the prologue albeit often mediated through Perso-Islamic philosophers. Classification of creation as a “successively and continuously” interconnected system of “causal nexus” is ostensibly informed by Aristotelian logic inasmuch as every class contains sub-classes, just as genres and species do in the diagnosis of diseases. In addition, designation of God as the very cause of the system of creation—independent of any cause (The Necessarily Existent) – echoes

⁴²¹ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 76.

⁴²² See I[E]bn Sinā’s (Avicenna) *al-Shifā’* in Rosenthal, 1975, pp 78-81.

Aristotle's doctrine of First Mover in the pagan system of creation.⁴²³ From that emerges the principle of hierarchical order in the universe which underlies the argument of the prologue. This hierarchy is on par with the great chain of being in the medieval Christian metaphysics.⁴²⁴ Hence, the observation made by Arthur Lovejoy and Fritz Caspari about the pattern in Christian metaphysics applies to the presence of this order in Nezāmi 'Aruzi's work as well.

According to Lovejoy the pattern drew from Plato's principle of plenitude and was developed into a clear system by the addition of Aristotle's notion of "the unilinear gradation" to the Platonic notions of "fullness" and "qualitative continuity": "so [I] sometimes took the degree of development reached by the offspring at birth; there resulted, he conceives, eleven general grades, with man at the top and the zoophytes at the bottom."⁴²⁵ The ultimate point in this hierarchy, or *ens perfectissimum*; i.e., or in the rank which belongs to the highest possible kind of creatures is what all creatures sought through "every possible" grade.⁴²⁶

Pedagogical thrust: Nezāmi 'Aruzi speaks in the voice of a mentor-philosopher to the prince. As a service to his master he commits himself to exposing (*bāz namāyad*) the meaning of true kingship by the canons of philosophy equipped "with decisive

⁴²³ See Frantz Rosenthal, 1975, p 148.

⁴²⁴ I have dwelled on the circulation of hierarchical order from the ancient to the medieval ages in the Christian and Moslem ideology from a comparative perspective in a paper presented to American Comparative Literature Association (ACLA) in 2009.

⁴²⁵ Arthur O Lovejoy, *The Great Chain of Being: A Study of the History of an Idea*. Harvard University Press, 1936, p 58. Also see Caspari, Fritz. *Humanism and the Social Order in Tudor England*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. 1954. pp 114-115, in John M. Major, *Sir Thomas Elyot and Renaissance Humanism*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1964, p188.

⁴²⁶ Arthur Lovejoy, p 59. "ens perfectissimum—or, in somewhat more orthodox version, to the highest possible kind of creature, between which and the Absolute Being the disparity was assumed to be infinite—every one of them differing from that immediately above and that immediately below it by the 'least possible' degree of difference."

proofs and trenchant arguments”.⁴²⁷ Through the creation of a mentor-philosopher’s ethos Nezāmi ‘Aruzi reminds us of the relationship between Aristotle and Alexander with the Ghurid prince. He addresses the prince’s uncle, ‘Alā al-Din as “Pride of Kings and Emperors, successors of these days, Protector of mankind...”⁴²⁸ in an obvious reflection on emperors. His method of mentorship is based on theory and practice. Therefore, as an instructor he does not lecture the prince. Rather, the prince is walked through different stages of intellectual experiences. In the prologue, he walks the prince through an observatory to watch the logic of creation in the celestial world. Then he tours him through an auditorium of terrestrial and bestial creatures. And finally, he takes him to the observation of human history. In a drastic shift from the *Qur’anic* narrative of creation, the history of creation in *Chahār Maqāle* is entirely narrated according to the scientific logic of the material world. Rather than Adam of Paradise, he speaks of human beings as the product of a material evolution. But therein is infused in human being emanation of heavenly intelligence to grant him a metaphysical dimension as well; what makes him in the words of Hamlet to stand in the threshold of the angelic and the beast.⁴²⁹ This human being is measured in terms of his intellectual evolution rather than absolute succumbing to *allāh*, and in his evolution he departs from *nasnās* rather than from the angelic world of heaven. Hence, the application of reason turns into a precursor in the human society.

⁴²⁷ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 3.

⁴²⁸ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 1.

⁴²⁹ “Here are the lines:

What a piece of work is a man! how noble in reason!
 how infinite in faculty! in form and moving how
 express and admirable! in action how like an angel!
 in apprehension how like a god! the beauty of the
 world! the paragon of animals! And yet, to me,
 what is this quintessence of dust? man delights not
 me: no, nor woman neither, though by your smiling
 you seem to say so.” *Hamlet*, II, ii, lines 269-74. See *Hamlet*. (Eds.) Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor.
 Printed in Croatia: The Arden Shakespeare, 2006, p 257.

By the time the author reaches the conclusion of his philosophical proposal, the prince is intellectually prepared to appreciate the virtue of intellect and the significance of men of logos and science in the establishment of an ideal state.

The thrust of Aristotelian logic in *Chahār Maqāle* reveals itself in two ways here. Firstly, the mentor-philosopher constitutes the prologue as a demonstrative premise to enhance the prince's conviction to the significance of intelligence in the universe, and by analogy, to convince him of its imperative necessity to governance. It is not a coincidence that the term "demonstration" in the Persian philosophical terminology translates as *borhān*, or a method of reasoning based on definite evidence. Secondly, by providing a situation whereby the prince (pupil) appreciates the indispensability of logicians and scientists in the system of the ideal state. Thus, the *true* meaning of governance and kingship is born out of the logical development of the demonstrative premise in a deductive mode of argument.

The second stage in the teaching process, the illustrative part, on the other hand, develops through an inductive mode of reasoning: here, the canons/principles of each science precede illustrative anecdotes to use them as evidence to the implementation of those principles. Hence, demonstration (*borhān*) is replaced by illustration (*tarsim*). By its discursive force *Chahār Maqāle* makes it possible for reasoning to *happen* in the course of reading, which reflects the Aristotelian rendition of logical argument.

Ethics of governance: the very purpose of the instruction in *Chahār Maqāle*, the exposure of true king, brings Plato's ideal model of governance in the *Republic* to mind. In their cosmological structure and political theory also one can easily trace the idea of philosopher-king of Plato, the logic of continuous gradation of Aristotle, and the Neo-

Platonic idea of plentitude in the emanation of divine intelligence. Therefore, by “canons of Philosophy” Nezāmi ‘Aruzi offers a model of the “virtuous” state wherein the king is a philosopher. The reader should note that the word Nezāmi ‘Aruzi has used for what in English we call philosophy, is “*hekmat*” which denotes knowledge of the truth of objects through intellection. For Moslem philosophers *hekmat* includes both practical and metaphysical aspects. Practical *hekmat* concerns the knowledge that is within the human’s perceptual experience and contributes to man’s well-being in this world. Political instruction is a case in point. Knowledge of theoretical *hekmat* , on the other hand, attends to intellectual and metaphysical domain, and contributes to man’s spiritual and metaphysical happiness. From this perspective, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi interweaves both realms inasmuch as in the prologue he discusses theoretical *hekmat*, to draw a conclusion that fosters the validity of principles he suggests for the practical application of *hekmat*. The gist of his argument in the first part attends to the vicinity of the king to both sources of intelligence—the prophet, or divinity, and the philosophy, or human—in the hierarchical gradation of the universe, provided that he attains and applies “canons of Philosophy”.

Standing at the edge between material and metaphysical universes the human being, for his talented faculties, is the summit of material creation, but for his unique faculty of intelligence which provides him the *will*, or tool for perfection, he stands also at the threshold of a metaphysical universe: it is a universe of ideas stretching to limitless extreme of another universe whose end stretches as far as man’s intellectual power can go. Now, the intellect is a given potential whose inertia is activated by learning, and by learning, a prince who is privileged with the tools of learning—as the author reminds

him—can use the bequeathed privilege for acquisition of his true legitimacy. True legitimacy in this ideal state, derives from intelligent and benevolent governance which would seat him in immediate contact with the human and the divine intellect through philosophers and the Prophet. Thus, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi suggests that a legitimate king does not run the state by his autonomous reason but he relies on the wisdom of the philosophers, that is to say, by those who stand above him in the ladder of creation.

The king’s subordinate rank to philosophers in the hierarchy of creation challenges his authority in the real world. As a consequence, notwithstanding that in the real world the king stands above his counsels, it is the body of philosophers—secretaries, poets, astronomers, and physicians, in his rendition of the term—who possess true sovereignty. Why? Plato had answered this question some ten centuries before Nezāmi ‘Aruzi: because that is the rule of true justice. It is the governance of intelligence that brings about true prosperity to the republic of people, because it will also elevate people through providing them with tools for moral and intellectual development. Affinity between the two philosophical views is so close that one may conveniently retranslate Browne’s English concept of *true* for Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s thesis statement (*va andar ou bāz namāyad: to unveil in his vision*) and replace it with Platonic term of the “ideal”.

A still further effect of Hellenistic wisdom draws from the value of practical philosophy. In the introductions to chapters three and four Nezāmi ‘Aruzi lists the Greek scientists as one group of sources in the curriculum of astronomy and medicine. Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy (*Almagest*) appear in his introductory list of these two chapters. In chapter four, he apparently dedicates one anecdote (11) to Galen’s practice of medicine in

Alexandria.⁴³⁰ Aside from that, the Aristotelian view of poetry and rhetoric as logos reverberates in his definition of these two skills: “the function of the Scribe and the Poet being branches of the Science of Logic”.⁴³¹

In his critical theory and rendition of rhetoric and poetry, or logos as he designates them, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi resonates other concepts proposed by Aristotle, and also those put forward by ancient Romans; i.e., Longinus and Horace. An Aristotelian view of rhetoric is traceable in the textual construction of *Chahār Maqāle*, both in its persuasive impetus and in its presentation. He develops his argument through a chain of preliminary intentions that leads to the efficiency of rhetoric in the Aristotelian sense of the word. According to Aristotle, persuasion is the ultimate aim in any deliberative rhetoric, and persuasion takes its force from the promise of happiness that is the main objective of any rhetoric. One way of effective persuasion is achieved is through the construction of the speaker’s ethos. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi achieves this end by constructing ethos of an instructor who speaks to the king out of benevolence with no personal interest. To enhance the effect of impartiality he minimizes his presence. As a consequence, the implicit intention of securing the prince’s patronage is foiled in the explicitly stated intention of the happiness of the “king” and the “kingdom”:

To reinforce this impersonal effect the author extends it to the “king” by reminding him of the obligations put on a king in exchange of the gifts

⁴³⁰ The inclusion of this anecdote in the anecdotes of the book is questioned by Mohammad Farzān. See “nazari dar tas-hi-he *Chahār Maqāle*” [A Glance at the Emendation of *Chahār Maqāle*]. Part 1. *Yaghmā* 5:5 (Shahrivar 1331): (200-205), p 201, reprinted in M. Mo’in, ‘ta’liqāt” on *Chahār Maqāle*, pp 18-19.

⁴³¹ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 12.

given to him because “God says, ‘*Verily if ye be thankful, We will give unto you increase*’⁴³².”

Once he begins the chapter the author has established a credible ethos to qualify him for extending authority to the prince as a mentor-philosopher.

Now, his definition of secretarial art as the “*senā’at*” (craft) of “comprising reasoned modes of address”, and “communication”, and “teaching the forms of address employed amongst men”, or different modes of rhetoric, “and displaying, in every case, orderly arrangement” in one way or another, again reflects Aristotelian principles of rhetoric.⁴³³ The quality of the secretarial art draws from reasoning and well-ordered arrangement. In fact, secretarial art was already defined as *logos*. Reason lies at its heart, and persuasive use of language is its tool: a secretary is to persuasively “magnify” and “minimize” matters. He plays a central part among a king’s counsels because he communicates the king’s words to the world. Hence, the consciousness of the addressee’s position is essential to the secretarial function.

A second subject of the *logos*, according to Nezāmi ‘Aruzi, is poetry which he casts in chapter two. In consistency with the communicative nature of *logos*, the poet also functions as a media/transmitter in another domain. Here, he communicates both to the contemporary and to the forthcoming generations an image of the king that he constructs in language. Therefore, the topic covers different features and requirements needed to duly fulfill the intention ascribed to this function through the “craft” (*senā’at*) of poetry. An even proportion of imagination and thought, talent and learning is a key to the poetry in this definition. A poet “must be of tender temperament, profound in thought, sound in

⁴³² *Qur’an*, xiv, 7.

⁴³³ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 22-23.

genius, clear of vision, quick of insight”. But he must also be “well versed in diverse sciences, and quick to extract what is best from his environment.” These views attend to a pragmatic conception of poetry, a notion which echoes Roman Horace (1st century B.C.).

According to Horace, a poem must be “constructed” in such a way that it can “achieve certain effects on the audience (effects such as aesthetic pleasure, instruction, or kinds of emotion), and tends to judge the value of the work according to its success in achieving that aim.”⁴³⁴ Its effects on the audience were measured by utility of the literary works; a pivotal principle in the philosophical views of the ancient Greek and Romans. Plato banished poets from his ideal republic. In discussing tragedy Aristotle privileges poetry over history on the ground of its role in setting examples of good moral conduct. The Roman Horace (b. 65 B.C.) recaptures the Greek philosophers and embarks upon the twin necessity of pleasure and instruction in poetry: “Poets aim at giving either profit or delight, or at combining the giving of pleasure with some useful precepts for life.”⁴³⁵ For Horace utility of literature has pedagogical implications. To achieve this end Longinus (1st or 3rd century A. D.), another Greek philosopher, proposes sublimity, a reflection of a noble soul, as a criterion. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s conception of poetry in many aspects resonates with these ancient voices.

Poetry is also discussed by its effect on the recipient.⁴³⁶ Its imaginative intent operates on the emotion inasmuch as it provokes action. With an echo of Longinus,

⁴³⁴ Abrams, M.H. *A Glossary of Literary Terms*, Fort Worth: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich College Publishers, c1993, p 41.

⁴³⁵ Horace, “On the Art of Poetry” in *Classical Literary Criticism*. (Trans.) T.S. Dorsch, New York: Penguin Books, 1970.

⁴³⁶ In the discussion of diction and thought Aristotle addresses the emotional effect of poetry in terms of rhetoric: “Under thought is included every effect which has to be produced by speech, the subdivisions being-proof and refutation; the excitation of the feelings, such as pity, fear, anger, and the like; the suggestion of importance or its opposite.” See “Aristotle-Poetics” in *Critical Theory Since Plato* (Ed.) Hazard Abrams. New York: Harcourt, 1971 (47-66), p 59.

Nezāmi ‘Aruzi describes the power of poetry as an effect that “can make a little thing appear great and a great thing small.”⁴³⁷ By acting on the imagination” it can control the pathos (excite the faculties of anger and concupiscence”.⁴³⁸ By reference to the case of “an ass-herd” who was moved by a couple of lines so vehemently that he could achieve the governance of Khorasan, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi accentuates this discursive power of poetry. The lines, being one of the earliest Persian poems, had driven the man into action by these words “If lordship lies within the lion’s jaws (*mehtari gar be kām-e shir dar ast*), Go risk it, and from those dread portals seize (*show khatar kon ze kām-e shir bejuj*)/ Such straight-confronting death as men desire, Or riches, greatness, rank and lasting ease(*yā bozorgi-o ‘ezz-o ne’mat-o jāh/yā cho mordānt marg-e ru-yā ruy*).”⁴³⁹ In other words, the poetry as discourse *does* something to the man. By Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s definition, the utility of poetry serves the propaganda machine of kings: “The names of the monarchs of the age and the princes of the time are perpetuated by the admirable verse and widely-current poems of this guild”.⁴⁴⁰

As such, the poets also need to possess certain practical education to make best use of their natural gift. Hence, Nezāmi ‘Aruzi, in the spirit of Aristotle and Longinus stresses inquisitive aspect of poetry and suggests that immortality of poems results from persistent training through memorization, practice, contemplation and learning.⁴⁴¹ Again, Aristotle did not attribute poetry to divine inspiration. In *Poetics* he describes poetry in terms of learning from masters, and bases his critical comments on the works of the

⁴³⁷ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 27.

⁴³⁸ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, pp 42-43.

⁴³⁹ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 43.

⁴⁴⁰ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 45.

⁴⁴¹ Longinus, “On the Sublime” in *Critical Theory Since Plato* (Ed.) Hazard Abrams, New York: Harcourt, 1971 (76-104). Longinus recommends, “imitation and emulation of previous great poets and writers” for reaching sublimity in poetry (p 85), and Horace defines “sublimity” as, “the echo of a great soul” (p 81).

predecessors. Nezāmi ‘Aruzi prescribes a practical process of learning of the craft as well. Through memorizing 20,000 couplets (*beyt*) by masters of the past, and 10,000 couplets by contemporaries in his prime “the fashion and varieties of verse may become ingrained in his nature, and the defects of beauties of poetry may be inscribed on the tablet of his understanding.”⁴⁴² By the same token, he suggests that poetry is a matter of details, so any poet needs to closely look into the works by masters to see how they “have acquitted themselves in the strait passes and delicate places of song”, and finally acquire “the science of Prosody” to gain mastery of improvisation as the practical perfect skill.

Conditions that are set for poets are similarly oriented toward pragmatic intentions. Age and personality are of particular significance in this agenda. Accordingly, nothing is “found worse than an old poet, nor any money more ill spent than what is given to such”⁴⁴³, and he must “be of pleasing conversation in social gatherings, of cheerful countenance on festive occasions”.⁴⁴⁴ The end of a good poem is to register “immortal fame”. This final end comes through sublimity of the poet’s work, for if a poem, he asks rhetorically, cannot outlive the poet’s time, “how can it confer immortality on another?”⁴⁴⁵

The very inclusion of poetry in *Chahār Maqāle* offers further evidence to Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s secular source of inspiration. Poets are not approved by *Qur’an*.⁴⁴⁶ It was actually the legacy of paganism (*jāhili*) among Arabs. In Iranian courts also it was recited with musical instruments. The poets would sing their lyrics by playing a musical

⁴⁴² *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 32.

⁴⁴³ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 32. This is a great point to be used in the discussion of the poet’s age when he wrote this book. Obviously he would not say something against himself if he had passed his middle years.

⁴⁴⁴ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 31.

⁴⁴⁵ *Chahār Maqāle*, Browne, p 31.

⁴⁴⁶ In *sura* 69 verses 40-43, the *Qur’an* is very clearly distanced from being the words of the poets.

instrument in the court. The anecdote of Rudagi in chapter two is evidence of this function. Poetry in these cultures is associated with the kingly wine drinking sessions and is a legitimate magic (*sahr-e halāl*).⁴⁴⁷ So, it had marked the art with exuberant and excessive cheerfulness which would keep man from spiritual perfection.

Chahār Maqāle draws upon wisdom and worldviews of the ancient Greece and its remnants in Alexandrian and Roman philosophes. Based on Ibn-Khaldun, Frantz Rosenthal believes that the Moslem educational system, particularly with regards to teacher-pupil relationship and to scholarly quality basically was viewed “in the light of Aristotelian logic”.⁴⁴⁸ Now the main question remains as through what channels the ancient Greek philosophy reached Nezāmi ‘Aruzi. Such an enquiry engages us with a study of temporality and historicity that I proposed earlier. One possible answer is that Islamic philosophers, particularly Farabi and Avicenna as I discussed in the previous section, through inter-textual and allusive connections are primary mediators in this respect, which also lead us to the second group of nuances in *Chahār Maqāle*.

Talking about Farabi and Avicenna is to talk about a philosophical school known as *ma’shshā’i*, or Peripatetic school, also known as prophetic, that synthesized Aristotelian metaphysics with Alexandrian Neo-Platonism and then “integrated these into the Islamic worldviews.”⁴⁴⁹ Investigation of the Islamic philosophy indicates that it reflects upon Iranian, Greek, Neo-Platonist, Qu’ranic wisdom as well as on *hadith*. At the core of this philosophical school lies “intellection”, that is, revelation through channels beyond reason and senses. *Mashshā’i* school was dominant in Persia between the 9th-11th

⁴⁴⁷ Suggested by Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak.

⁴⁴⁸ Rosenthal, 1975, p 53.

⁴⁴⁹ S. H. Nasr, “Introduction” in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia* (Eds.) S. H. Nasr & Mehdi Aminrazavi, Vol.1. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999 (85-87), p 85.

centuries when it gained momentum by Avicenna. By the 12th century, during Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s life-time this school was attacked by theologians such as Mohammad Ghazzāli (the author of the aforementioned books of counsel, *Nasihāt al-Moluk* and *Kimiyā-ye Sa’ādat*) and others, and was already waning. Hence, we may think about Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s accentuation of this philosophical trend as a rejoinder to the suppression of philosophy.

As for the question posed, obviously it was through Moslem philosophers that Nezāmi ‘Aruzi, like many thinkers of the medieval ages must have primarily reached out to the aspects of Greek intellectual heritage. One could agree with Rosenthal’s view to some extent that Islamic philosophy is inherently a hybrid science.⁴⁵⁰ Due to the animosity of Islamic theologians against philosophy on the matter of intelligence (divine versus human) Rosenthal believes that there would be no such thing as Islamic philosophy were it not for the Moslems’ contact with Greek texts through translation.⁴⁵¹

Moslems appropriated logic from the Greek heritage and used it as a tool for knowledge acquisition. Among Moslems, “systemic classification of the sciences” into Arabic and foreign (Greek) was a fundamental demarcation. Mathematics, natural sciences, metaphysics, ethics and politics were among this latter group.⁴⁵² Our clue in saying this lies in the inter-textual co-option with Avicenna and the echo of Farabi’s political theory in *Chahār Maqāle*, which as I discussed earlier reflect ancient wisdom. Although the first Moslem who introduced a system of Islamic philosophy (*falsafe-*

⁴⁵⁰ The Iranian scholar, Rezā Dāvāri argues against hybridity and defines Farabi’s philosophy in terms which may be described as appropriation, or naturalization through dialogue. For this argument see Rezā Dāvāri Ardakāni, *Farabi: Mo’asses-e Falsafe-ye Islami [Farabi: the Founder of Islamic Philosophy]*. Tehran: Mo’assesse-ye Motāle’āt va Tahqīqāt-e Farhangi. 1362/1983.

⁴⁵¹ See Rosenthal, 1975, pp 52-53.

⁴⁵² See Rosenthal, 1975, p 52.

hekmat), Ya'qub Is-hāq al-Kindi (9th century) was not Iranian, the school was developed by Persians or by members belonging to the Persianate zone of Islamic civilization.⁴⁵³

A while after al-Kindi the center of Islamic philosophy was moved from Baghdad to Khorasan in Persia with Persian students of al-Kindi. Mu'tazilite *kalām* (theology) had already initiated ratiocination of the religion. The school of al-Kindi's philosophy which drew mainly upon *Qur'an* was accomplished by Farabi, known as the second Aristotle. Farabi like his follower Avicenna brought the Greek philosophy into dialogue with Islamic theology and systematized Islamic philosophy.⁴⁵⁴ Fazlur Rahman shows that it was Farabi who in drawing upon Plato, Aristotle and Neo-Platonism introduced the model of causal nexus to Islamic metaphysics:

Al-Farabi's writings give us a full-scale picture of the basic world view of Muslim philosophy. At the apex of his scheme of reality stands God, who is both the One of Plotinus and the First Cause of Aristotle. From him proceeds the first intelligence, which is also the archangel. The first intelligence has a dual nature and gives rise to two further beings: the highest sphere on the physical side and the second intelligence on the spiritual side. This process of emanation continues until we reach the tenth sphere and the last intelligence, identified as the angel of revelation, Gabriel, on the one hand, and as the sphere of the moon on the other. The entire process of the world below the moon is an interaction between the materials emanating from the sphere of the moon and the spiritual

⁴⁵³ See Sayyed Hossein Nasr, "Prologomenon" in *An Anthology of Philosophy in Persia*, Vol. 1, p xxiv. Also see Rezā Davari Ardakani, "Introduction to First Edition", p 42.

⁴⁵⁴ Fazlur Rahman, "Islamic Philosophy" in *Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Ed.) Donald M. Borchert Vol. 4, 2nd ed. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2006 (754-760), p757. 16 July 2012. Web. <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/dispatchBasicSearch.do?prodId=GVRL&userGroupName=wash_main>.

influence generated by the tenth intelligence, called the Active Intellect.

This interaction generates the world process, and its culminating product is man, with his fully organized body and rational soul.⁴⁵⁵

The influence of the moon on the world, the role of intellect and intelligence and the notion of man's "rational soul" resonate in the cosmological section of the prologue whereby the earth is defined in terms of its relation to the Moon. But whereas Farabi attributes the mediating place between the physical and the spiritual to angel Gabriel, in Nezāmi 'Aruzi's adoption it is associated with the Prophet.

Farabi's voice has even a more clear resonance when it comes to the theory of society and politics:

Farabi likened the ruler to the head in the human organism and, like Plato, developed the idea of a hierarchy in which each stratum receives orders from above and issues commands to those below. Just as at the top there is a ruler who is not ruled, so at the bottom there are those who are ruled but do not rule. It is a fully authoritarian view of government, and some scholars have suggested that al-Farabi was influenced by Shi'ite doctrine. The fact that al-Farabi was at the court of the Shi'ite ruler is supposed to lend some support to this view. We do not have sufficient historical evidence for such a judgment, but it should be noted that the ultimate ruler

⁴⁵⁵ Fazlur Rahman, "Islamic Philosophy", pp 755-756.

Web. July 16 2012.

<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/dispatchBasicSearch.do?prodId=GVRL&userGroupName=wash_main>.

of the Farabian state does resemble the Shi'ite imam, the repository of divine wisdom.⁴⁵⁶

Equation of kings to *imam* in Nezāmi 'Aruzi's argument is a secularization gesture of what the author of the cited section attributes to "Shi'ite doctrine" of *imāmat* in Farabi's theory. This can well apply to the case in discussion. We have no idea what Islamic school with which Nezāmi 'Aruzi was affiliated. Nor do we know what version of Islam was practiced by the Ghurid house, given limited resources.⁴⁵⁷ Therefore, the implication of such an insight may open a window to the religious tension between the Ghurid and their neighbors. If we accepted Fazlur Rahman's theory about Farabi's Shi'ite religion we should also agree that one reason for the highly philosophical (practical and rational) mode of *Chahār Maqāle* in comparison to the other books of counsel relates to the religious and ideological "environment of the Ghurid". This is an open question for enquiry.

Nezāmi 'Aruzi also maintains that the *true* happiness is one and the same with the provision of opportunities whereby man can activate the potential intelligence inspired in him by divinity. In a similar way, as Fazlur Rahman holds, Farabi seeks happiness in intellectual bliss: "for al-Farabi [Farabi] the philosopher and the prophet are identical. It is the philosopher-prophet who can formulate the practical principles and laws that will lead men to their final goal of philosophic bliss." An ideal society, then, is run by the philosopher-sovereign inasmuch as the ultimate goal of kingship is to bring happiness to

⁴⁵⁶ Fazlur Rahman, "Islamic Philosophy", p 756.

Web. <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/dispatchBasicSearch.do?prodId=GVRL&userGroupName=wash_main>. 16 July 2012.

⁴⁵⁷ The only known source from pre-modern era is *Tabaqāt-e Nāseri*. See, David Thomas.

the subjects. Now, the rational faculty is developed by the action of the active intelligence upon it, through which actual thought arises. Man's final end, therefore, is "to reach philosophic contemplation".⁴⁵⁸ Rahman's rephrasing of Farabi closely echoes Nezāmi 'Aruzi's words in the prologue on the interaction between the earth and the heaven:

The first intelligence has a dual nature and gives rise to two further beings: the highest sphere on the physical side and the second intelligence on the spiritual side. This process of emanation continues until we reach the tenth sphere and the last intelligence, identified as the angel of revelation, Gabriel, on the one hand, and as the sphere of the moon on the other. The entire process of the world below the moon is an interaction between the materials emanating from the sphere of the moon and the spiritual influence generated by the tenth intelligence, called the Active Intellect. This interaction generates the world process, and its culminating product is man, with his fully organized body and rational soul.⁴⁵⁹

Beside to the metaphysical aspect, the classification of human society which Nezāmi 'Aruzi presents in his prologue is based on this will for intellectual development,

⁴⁵⁸ Fazlur Rahman, "Islamic Philosophy", p 756. 16 July 2012. Web. <http://go.galegroup.com/ps/dispatchBasicSearch.do?prodId=GVRL&userGroupName=wash_main>. 16 July 2012.

⁴⁵⁹ Fazlur Rahman, "Islamic Philosophy", p 756. Web. 16 July 2012.

<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/dispatchBasicSearch.do?prodId=GVRL&userGroupName=wash_main>.

which complies with Farabi's distinction among societies. For Nezāmi 'Aruzi this state is possible in a society which is run by "canons of Philosophy" whereby the ultimate goal of man is to reach philosophical thinking. According to Rahman's reading, Farabi had already proposed this political theory:

The actual activation of man's rational power, however, demands certain practical virtues as well, and this makes it necessary for man to live in organized societies rather than in isolation. People who are ultimately responsible for organizing and directing human societies are those possessed of philosophical wisdom, for it is not possible to enunciate practical laws for humankind without having theoretical wisdom. Societies governed by such laws are 'good societies'; others are 'ignorant societies', 'misguided societies', or 'retarded societies'.⁴⁶⁰

Now, the ruler's virtue for Farabi is measured by his theoretical and practical knowledge: "The king is king by means of the kingly craft, the art of governing cities, and the ability to use the kingly craft at any moment whatsoever as a rulership over a city..."⁴⁶¹ That Nezāmi 'Aruzi separates the four skills in four offices rather than in one administrator may be another influence of Farabi's political theory, which itself resonates with the Platonic notion of the ideal republic: "Each one in the virtuous city ought to be assigned a single art to which he devotes himself and a single work he undertakes, either in the rank of servitude or in the rank of rulership, but not extending beyond it. For three

⁴⁶⁰ Fazlur Rahman, "Islamic Philosophy", p 756.

Web. 16 July 2012.

<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/dispatchBasicSearch.do?prodId=GVRL&userGroupName=wash_main>.

⁴⁶¹ *Alfarabi-The Political Writings*, p 28.

reasons, not one of them is to be left to pursue neither many works nor more than a single art.⁴⁶²

A question to ponder would be the source of Avicenna's voice in *Chahār Maqāle*. Following Farabi, Avicenna applied Aristotle's physical conception of creation to the idea of emanation in Neo-Platonism (Plotinus) to establish distinction between metaphysical and physical knowledge. Accordingly, while he does not surrender to the theologian scenario of creation and rejects the idea of God's temporal precedence, he contemplates God as the self-contained (*wājib al wujud*: Necessary Existent) source of emanation of the intelligence to all the creatures who are Contingent Existents.⁴⁶³ By the same token, Ptolemy's heliocentric cosmology is adopted for the explanation of the physical world. Ramification of these distinguished worlds as well as the worldview cast in their system offer a further clue about the source of the Avicenna's voice in the prologue of *Chahār Maqāle*.

Avicenna stretched the idea further by adoption of Aristotelian logic and physics to the *Qur'anic* narrative of creation. According to Avicenna, the world is created by the "cascading emanation of the Divine"; the celestial bodies affect the terrestrial bodies by the emanation of divine intellect. The terrestrial beings are situated in a hierarchical chain of being the apex of which belongs to man because of his intelligence. In a voice that echoes Avicenna, Nezāmi 'Arūzi conceives of prophets as the ones who gain their knowledge through heavenly inspiration, and for that matter, are distinct from the

⁴⁶² *Alfarabi-Political Writing*, p 42; see Plato, *Republic* II, 370.

⁴⁶³ See Fazlur Rahman, "Islamic Philosophy", p 757.

Web. 16 July 2012.

<http://go.galegroup.com/ps/disBasicSearch.do?prodId=GVRL&userGroupName=wash_main>.

philosopher's acquisitive knowledge. As this argument shows, textuality of *Chahār Maqāle* derives not only from letters but, as a discourse, from nuances of other voices the author was intellectually in conversation with.

Recollection of the pre-Islamic identity: There is yet another dimension to the inter-textuality of *Chahār Maqāle* which draws upon our understanding of text as a cultural entity. From this perspective, *Chahār Maqāle* communicates a sense of nostalgia that never surrendered to the hegemony of an alien Arab culture. Language is obviously one aspect of this resistance. But it is not the only one because the resistance permeated all conscious and sub-conscious levels of the people's response by continuation. Robert Hillenbrand pursues this continuum in the architectural aspect of Iranian culture. In answer to the question, "What happened to the Sassanian Hunt in Islamic Art?" he refers to the transformation of the architectural form of Zoroastrian four arches into Moslem mosques "simply by blocking off the opening nearest the qible".⁴⁶⁴ The affinity is so close that it drives Hillenbrand so far as to claim "Architecture is perhaps the only field in the visual arts where it is possible to piece together a reasonably connected story even though there are still many gaps."⁴⁶⁵

Hillenbrand is not alone in such an observation. In his study of the Zoroastrian temples, Klaus Schippmann also makes a similar point. He identifies the four-arch structure, or *char tāqi* as an architectural "novelty" from Sassanid era that stands out for its open perspective, and kept recurring: "the nucleus of the structure is no longer closed, each of its four walls opens into a wide bow-position, its dome being based upon freely

⁴⁶⁴ Robert Hillenbrand, "What Happened to the Sassanian Hunt in Islamic Art?" in *The Rise of Islam*. (Eds.) Vesta Sarkhosh Curtis and Sarah Stewart. London; New York: I. B. Tauris & Co., 2009, pp 84-101.

⁴⁶⁵ Robert Hillenbrand, p 85.

standing columns at the corners.”⁴⁶⁶ I have earlier discussed Nezāmi ‘Aruzi’s accentuation of four in the formal and mental architectonic of *Chahār Maqāle*. The insight from such studies helps us to identify another form of inter-textuality in *Chahār Maqāle* that contributes to the continuum of the nation’s collective memory by referring to the past architectural forms. This return to the past is by no means regressive. It does not deny the present in melancholic nostalgia. On the contrary, by continuous reminder the recollection of the past connects the people with the sources of their identity so that they can better control the present. Hence, I find Hugh Kennedy’s observation of the early Islamic era quite true that “This adherence to Iranian values was seldom directly connected to attempts to preserve and revive the old Zoroastrian state religion and such attempts as were made were entirely unsuccessful.”⁴⁶⁷ The survival of Iranianness, as he rightly puts it, “was the result of the continuation of self-consciously Iranian elite many of whose members were committed to the maintenance of Iranian traditions.”⁴⁶⁸ And Nezāmi ‘Aruzi does manifest this commitment—consciously and subconsciously—by refreshing the memories of the immediate past, and through them, reconnecting to the earlier, pre-Islamic past. In fact, he moved along the same path that two centuries earlier some of his predecessors such as the Iranian Arabist, Ibn Moqaffa’ (d. 756) and other Shu’ubi adherents had opened to pave the way for the birth of the Iranians’ literary identity and could fulfill such an aim by the 11th century.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁶ Klaus Shippmann, “The Development of Fire Temple”. Presented to the 5th International Congress on Iranian Art and Archeology, Tehran, 1972. CAIS. Web. 19 July 2012. <http://www.cais-soas.com/CAIS/Religions/iranian/Zarathushtrian/fire_temple.htm>.

⁴⁶⁷ Hugh Kennedy, “Survival of Iranianness” in *The Rise of Islam*, p 14.

⁴⁶⁸ Hugh Kennedy, “Survival of Iranianness”, p 13.

⁴⁶⁹ Shu’ubiyyeh, literally meaning diversity, was a resisting cultural movement by non-Arab Moslems that flourished in the 8th century against the racist hegemony of Arabs. The adherents of the movement used the teachings of Qur’an on the equality of all Moslems regardless of their language, or nationality to stand

Conclusion

Evidently, textual identity of *Chahār Maqāle*, like any text, springs from layers that go far beyond the linguistic or informative function given to it. It carries nuances that are integrated in various aspects of the text to remind Iranians of their distinct identity and awaken them to their power in resisting against the subversive hegemony of the alien conquerors. The resistance inspires all the verbal and non-verbal aspects of the text alike. *Chahār Maqāle* offers a space to let all these nuances gain voice and agency. It also functions as a potential energy against the nation's amnesia by yielding to and substantively enabling constant making and remaking.

Textual and linguistic excavation done on *Chahār Maqāle* does not come anywhere close to exhausting all the past that it posits in its material and conceptual integrity. Mohammad Taqi Bahār revealed consciousness of this issue when he argued that the style of the text matches with the style of an earlier stage in Persian prose, but he did not go much beyond other—typically—traditional critics. This linear understanding of temporality in *Chahār Maqāle* has distracted us from a number of important questions about the text. One may ask a number of questions about the mode of interaction among temporal/historical levels: for example, what temporal planes are embedded in *Chahār Maqāle*? How are they integrated? What does such a mode of integration tell us about Nezāmi 'Aruzi's ideological and intellectual tenets, and about the Iranian world in the medieval ages?

against discrimination that the Arab conquerors, particularly during the Ummayyids played against non-Arabs. For this, see D. B. Macdonald, "Shu'ubiya". *Encyclopedia of Islam*. 1st edition (1913-1936). *Brill Online References*. Web. 19 July 2012. Also, Homā'i, Jalāl al-Din. *Shu'ubiyya* (Ed.) Manuchehr Qodsi, Isfahan: Enteshārāt-e Ketābforushi-ye Sā'eb, 1363/1984. Print.

Developed out of the legitimate appropriation as such I would argue that a text, like an utterance, “arises out of this dialogue as a *continuation* of it and as a *rejoinder* [my italics] to it—it does not approach the object from the sidelines.”⁴⁷⁰ What, in the first place, makes establishment of this dialogic interaction between the Bakhtinian notion of utterance and my object of study even more feasible/plausible comes out of the identification of utterance as discourse in his definition: “any concrete discourse (utterance)... is entangled, shot through with shared thoughts, points of view, alien value judgments and accents”.⁴⁷¹ And therefore, the suitability of my designation also derives from discursive force of the text under study which reflects in its very title, *The Four Discourses (Chahār Maqāle)*. Explication of these strata of voices leads us also to an understanding of intentionality that still waits for a more inclusive formulation of textuality in current debates. I propose that access to *textual intention* (as I call it) will help us enlarge our vision of the ideological and social context of the Iranian world during early centuries of its Islamic history that are also textualized in *Chahār Maqāle*.

⁴⁷⁰ M. M. Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel”, pp 276-277.

⁴⁷¹ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, “Discourse in the Novel”, p 276

Chapter 5- Qazvini, *Chahār Maqāle* and Nationalist Discourse in the 19th-20th Century: Rethinking Cultural Identity

In what follows, Qazvini's work will be situated within the intellectual discursive sphere of national identity of the 19th-20th century in Iran and Western Europe. I would argue that the Qazvini-Browne-Gibb Memorial reincarnation of Persian prose literature of the 12th -13th centuries was, in fact, historically a well-situated *rejoinder* to a want in the expressive domain of the nation at the advent of transformation. It was also a *rejoinder* to the extremist ideology of the purist movement, just as it reacted against the new wave of contamination through the influence of alien grammar on the current Persian of newspapers. In fact, his views on standard Persian and his obsession with accuracy on historical matters reflect the prevailing sensibility in multiple respects. It is in consideration of such circumstances that Qazvini's meticulous commitment to the critical reconstruction of *Chahār Maqāle* takes significance to larger arenas than textual criticism.

In the scholarship of 20th century Iran much attention has been given to the discourse of modernity,⁴⁷² the discourse of nationalism,⁴⁷³ to Iranian intellectuals of the 19th -20th century,⁴⁷⁴ to literary criticism,⁴⁷⁵ to socio-political-economic conditions,⁴⁷⁶ and

⁴⁷² See for example, 'Ali Mirsepāsi, *Intellectual Discourse and the Politics of Modernization: Negotiating Modernity in Iran*. UK: University of Cambridge Press, 2000. Also Abbās Milāni, *Lost Wisdom: Rethinking Modernity in Iran*, Washington D. C.: Mage Publishers, 2004. From a similar view to Mirsepāsi, Milāni challenges the Eurocentric definition of modernity and argues that Iranians experienced modernity as early as the medieval ages. Also, Jamshid Behnām who studies modernization from a historical perspective. Jamshid Behnām, "dar bāre-ye tajaddod-e Iran" [About Iranian Modernity]. *Iran-Nāme* 8:3 (1369/1990): (347-374); and Djamshid (Jamshid) Behnām, "La role de la communauté iranienne d'Istanbul dans le processus de modernisation de l'Iran", *Les Iraniens d'Istanbul* (Eds.) Thierry Zarcone and Fariba Zarinebaf-Shahr, Paris and Tehran: n.p., 1993.

⁴⁷³ Afshin Ma'rashi; or 'Ali Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the 20th Century*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998, chapter 2. In chapter three the author discusses the impact of politics on literature.

⁴⁷⁴ Merzhād Borujerdi, *Iranian Intellectuals and the West*, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1996. The author approaches Iranian intellectuals from a post-colonial perspective within the self-other paradigm. 'Ali Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the 20th Century*, Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1998. The

to other issues related to the discourse of identity.⁴⁷⁷ In literary studies, significant attempts have been made to explicate formal and thematic changes in Persian fiction, poetry and, less systematically, in textual scholarship along certain continuum axes.⁴⁷⁸ Yet, most of these attempts suffer from symptoms of compartmentalization because they only sporadically engage in dialogue with each other upon events that took place in other arenas (disciplines) so that they could reflect on them through an interdisciplinary consciousness and in continuum in one and the same discursive sphere.⁴⁷⁹ As a result, certain aspects in the narrative of the 19th-20th century Iran remain obliterated because such topics, including for example, Qazvini's textual criticism appears not to have much say in arenas outside its disciplinary haven. Accordingly, by jumping from the pre-Constitution and Constitution era to the publication of Berlin-based journals such as *Kāve* and *Iranshahr*, the significance of Qazvini's achievement in the cultural transition of the modern history of Iran, if not totally excluded, is largely marginalized. Hence, I focus on Mohammad Qazvini's scholarly work within and in relation to this continuum by posing two questions: why did Qazvini view critical editing as a nationalist service? And then, why did he conceive of the language of this 12th century treatise as a template of "good Persian" style for any "modern Iranian" in the 20th century?

author approaches the topic from a historical point of view. Farzin Vahdat, *God and Juggernaut: Iran's Intellectual Encounter with Modernity*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2002.

⁴⁷⁵ Iraj Pārsinejād, 2003.

⁴⁷⁶ Ervan Abrahamian; Nikki Keddie.

⁴⁷⁷ For example, see Ehsān Yārshāter's article on the Iranians' identity critics, "hoviyat-e Irani dar gostare-ye tārikh [Iranian Identity in Historical Perspective], in *Iran-Nāme*, 12:3 (Summer 1373/1994), Web. 4 Aug. 2010. <www.fis-iran.org>

⁴⁷⁸ Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, Christophe Balāy just to name a few.

⁴⁷⁹ An exception to this compartmentization tendency is discernible in Mohammad Tavakoli-Targhi's *Refashioning Iran*. Tavakoli-Targhi gives considerable space to the discussion of literary movements and language in Iran and India on the reconstruction of the modern Iranian identity. However, even in his book while allusions are made to the role of *Kāve* (1916-1922) and *farhangestān* (1935) Qazvini is entirely absent. (See chapters 5 and 6).

Enquiry about these questions calls for focusing on the intellectual character of the 19th-20th century within our theoretical frame, in relation to discursive sphere of the Iranian national consciousness (the entire circle in the diagram).⁴⁸⁰ Here, we have a considerable number of intellectual conversants across seven decades between 1860s and 1930s along the historical axis of the 19th-20th century (the green axis on the diagram) who share a common concern, albeit of different kinds. The focal concern is how to re-configure the collective identity of the modern Iranian. I call it re-configuration because, as we have seen, nationalist consciousness has a long history in Iranian culture. On this theoretical axis, one may place writings of the Caucasus-based critic, Fath-‘Ali Ākhundzādeh (1812-1878) at the lower end, and a series of activities that were launched in the 1930s on the uppermost. From those who fall along this timeline, in addition to aforementioned Ākhundzādeh, I have selected the Qājār prince, Jalāl al-Din Mirzā (b. 1827), a graduate of Dār al-Funun and a protégée of the Zoroastrian purist movement, and Mirzā Āqā Khan Kermāni (1853-1896), a self-exiled critic who wrote from Istanbul. These individuals represent an influential mode—if not the only one—within the discourse of national identity that locate the origin of genuine *Iranianness* in the pre-Islamic era by distancing, and often dissociating the *Self* (Persia) from the *Other* (Arab).⁴⁸¹ Somewhere in the middle, we will have less accommodated people like Qazvini whose understanding of Iranian identity promoted ideological premises that, within less than a decade were voiced in *Kāve* and *Iranshahr* by his like-minded

⁴⁸⁰ Nationalist consciousness, as a reaction to the defeats before the Russian military was pronounced among Iranian elite and *‘ulama* (albeit with different understanding) as early as the beginning of the 19th century. By the same token, as Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi demonstrates attempts for “recycling” Persian and inauguration of a different historiography had their nascent forerunners in the later 18th and early 19th century.

⁴⁸¹ This approaches the current from this post-colonial view.

associates and with his own collaboration. Qazvini's occupation with the restoration of *Chahār Maqāle* and other works was concurrent with the Constitutional Revolution (1905-1911) and a burgeoning flow of revolutionary poetry. As we move further a hybrid mode of identity takes over that draws upon a combination of pre-Islamic, Islamic and new European elements, and inspire the cultural engineering of the 1930s.

As of the early 19th century, Western Europe had a significant impact on the cultural and intellectual trends of the Iranian elite and thinkers inside and outside the country. One of the most important impacts regarded re-conceptualization of nationhood and identity. Conversants in this discursive sphere, although not always identical in their source of inspiration, shared a conscious interest in the significance of language, history and literary heritage to the establishment of national integrity. Following the Constitutional Revolution, nation in the dominant public sphere was entitled an agency equal to that of the state. This modern nation, according to the new generation, was to use rational epistemology and scientific methodology in order to revive its heirloom of history and language from the amnesia that had befallen the nation over the centuries following Arab conquest and Mongol invasion.

It is true that language, along with literature and history, turned into a critical component of national identity among Iranian intellectuals as of the mid-19th century.⁴⁸² It is also true that these intellectuals were inspired by modern European trends of thoughts. Yet, we must bear in mind that revivalist attention to language, literature and history as elements in the nation's integrity has a long history in the Iranians' resistance to military or cultural invasions by alien forces. Hence, the idea itself was not an import

⁴⁸² See for example, Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, "naqd-e adabi dar Iran-e mo'āser: farziye-hā, fazā-hā, farāvarde-hā" [Literary Criticism in Cotemporary Iran: Hypotheses, Cotexts, Consequences], *Iran-Nāme*, 12: 1(Winter 1372/1993): (3-34).

from Europe, nor was it a recent consciousness awakened through contact with European paradigm of nation-state. Observation made on *Chahār Maqāle* in the first chapter confirmed what scholars of Persian studies including Shāhrokh Meskub and ‘Abdol Hossein Zarrinkub have noted about the role that Persian language along with other factors such as collective memory of pre-Islamic Iran played in the preservation of Iranians’ distinct identity during early centuries of Islamization.⁴⁸³ Gherardo Gnoli demonstrates that even in the Achaemenes’ inscriptions from as early as the 7th century B.C., they identified themselves as “Persian” in distinction from “arayn” which connoted religious and cultural commonality.⁴⁸⁴ Re-incarnation of the pre-Islamic memory and history played a similar role in this agenda. A literary renaissance by Iranian writers, poets and administrators was initiated as a part of cultural movements such as *shu’ubiyya* (literally, diverse people) as early as the 9th century which was motivated by a deep resistance against the hegemony of the alien language, and in some cases, against Arab religion, and gained momentum in the 10th-13th century.⁴⁸⁵ The birth of the New Persian literature as early as of the late 9th century and the production of a plethora of epic writings during the 10th century in the Samanid era are apt cases in point. Although according to Elton Daniel, due to fragmentation of the land Persian historiography did not have a distinct existence in the earlier centuries of Islamization, production of a number of annals and historical accounts were initiated from the mid-10th century with the

⁴⁸³ See ‘Abdol Hossein Zarrinkub, *Tārikh-e Mardom-e Iran*; and *Deu Qarn Sokut [Two Centuries of Silence]*. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Sokhan, 1378/1999.

⁴⁸⁴ See Gherardo Gnoli, *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on its Origin*. Roma: Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1989, pp 20-27 and 175-76. In this study Gnoli argues that Iran as a political name was first used by Sassanid in the 1st century A.D. In the ancient times “āryā” bore cultural and religious significance where “Persia” functioned in terms of a political attribution. The gist of the argument is to show the context against which the Sassanid used this name in political sense.

⁴⁸⁵ See Jalāl al-Din Homā’i, *Shu’ubiyya* (Ed.) Manuchehr Qodsi, Isfahan: Enteshārāt-e Ketābforushi-ye Sā’eb, 1363/1984.

formation of local dynasties. By the 11th century, a number of historiographies such as *Tārikh-e Bayhaqi* (1077), *Tārikh-e Mas'udi* (d. 956), *Fars-Nāme* (1116), and *Tārikh-e Gardizi* (11th ca.) came into being about contemporary rulers and dynasts. Local historiographies such as *Tārikh-e Systān* (1062) and *Tārikh-e Tabarestān* (1210) are even designated with a pronounced consciousness of territorial affiliation to them.

On the other hand, the pre-Islamic history was recaptured through translation into Arabic as an important source of reference for the early Moslem rulers. The Iranian convert, Ruzbeh b. Abdollāh Ibn Moqaffa' (d. 757) was a key figure in the translation of Pahlavi textual culture into Arabic during the early 'Abbāsīd era. He translated a historical book from the Sassanid era (*khodāy nāmag*), and another about Anushirvān (*ketāb al-tāj*) into Arabic, which although mostly lost, are preserved in partials through quotation in other historiographies.⁴⁸⁶ In fact, some scholars have traced the early origin of *Chāhar Maqāle* even to pre-Islamic *khodāy-nāmag*.⁴⁸⁷ However, nowhere better is this consciousness about the preservation of the nation's distinct past present than in Ferdowsi's epic poem where he, self-consciously, committed himself to the revival of the Iranians' mythical-historical identity through an eloquent and powerful language:

“*ajam*⁴⁸⁸ *zendeḥ kardam bedin Parsi*” (I reincarnated *ajam* by this Persian), he said.⁴⁸⁹ It

⁴⁸⁶ See Elton L. Daniel, “Historiography iii. Early Islamic Period” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Web. 30 June 2012 <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/historiography-iii>>.

⁴⁸⁷ For example Marta Simidchieva, 1995.

⁴⁸⁸ *Ajam* is used as an equivalent for the Persian speaking people here. Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak maintains that “in the first 600 years of Islamic civilization, this word referred to all those Muslims [Moslems] under Arab rule whose mother tongue was not Arabic, who belonged to various ethnic groups, and who were, historically speaking, most often speakers of the Persian language.” Re: “Two Questions: *ajam*”. Message to the author. 29 July 2012. E-mail.

⁴⁸⁹ In an interview on the book Meskub maintains that Persian language, though an important factor in national identity, experiences is not the sole amalgamating factor in this respect, but co-exists with other factors such as common historical memory. That is why the multi-ethnic condition of Iran and the multi-linguistic combination do not contradict the unity of this national identity. What I conclude from this position is the relativity of the conception of “national identity”. See Shāhrokh Meskub, *Iranian Nationality and the Persian Language 900-1900: The Roles of Court, Religion, and Sufism in Persian*

seems that in the absence of a powerful national tradition of historiography in the early centuries of the Islamic era, due to the “political structure of Persia” that was “a loose confederation of semi-independent kingdoms over which the sultan exercised nominal authority”;⁴⁹⁰ the duty of preserving the nation’s past memory fell upon literature.

History of the Iranian nationalist self-consciousness in the Islamic era may be partially traced through the etymology of concepts such as “homeland”, “residence”, and “birthplace” denoted by Persian *mihan* and Arabic *vatan*. From lexicographer Dehkhodā we learn that the earliest application of the word *mihan* in the broader sense of “homeland” dates from Ferdowsi’s epic poem (11th century). The Arabic word, *vatan* seems to have had a more limited meaning and was mostly used for one’s town or place of birth. *Vatan* also appears in Persian poetry since the 11th century. Following the Mongol invasion and the wake of Sufi literature as of the 13th century, *vatan* acquired an esoteric meaning as the man’s spiritual-original abode. Unification of the land in the 16th century under the Safavid revived the nationalist unity, albeit through religion. So, the nationalist meaning of *vatan* and *mihan* for Iran is a more recent development.

The word *vatan* as a “geobody” according to Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, was a 19th century development when the sense of attachment, “...as home made possible the metaphoric depiction of Iran as the national home and as a site for the cultivation of nationalist sentiments and ‘heart-attachments’ (*dilbastigi*).” He argues that, “In a unique way this usage of *vatan* was endowed with a subjectivity, identity and agency. This was made possible by the inter-textual linking of Iran with the ‘originary home’ (*vatan-i asli*)

Prose Writing (Trans.) Michael C. Hillmann. (Ed.) John R. Perry. Washington D. C.: Mage Publishers, 1992, pp 17-18. Also, *Hoviyyat-e Irani va Zabān-e Farsi*. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Āyene, 1373/1994.

⁴⁹⁰ Lambton quoted in Elton L. Daniel, “Historiography iii. Early Islamic Period”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Web. 30 June 2012. < <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/historiography-iii> >.

of the human soul and subjectivity, a ‘geosophical’ conception of non-territorial character that was prevalent among classical Islamic philosophers and mystics.”⁴⁹¹ Tavakoli-Targhi attributes this extended concept to the influence of a discourse of modernity that was the result of “the global emergence of nation-states and the international demarcation of national boundaries.”⁴⁹² High frequency of this metaphoric depiction of *vatan* in the nationalist poetry of the Constitutional era became a categorical designation for these poems as *ash’ār-e vatani*. It is this twofold conception that is embedded in Qazvini’s reference to “beloved homeland” (*vatan-e ‘aziz*) as he dedicated himself to the restoration of *Chahār Maqāle* and other Persian texts in the middle of the revolution in Iran.

Associated with homeland are the concepts of state (*dowlat*) and people (*mellat*) which also gained a new significance by the closing years of the 19th century in relation to state. In the literature of the pre-modern era,⁴⁹³ for example in *Chahār Maqāle*, people are typically no more than *ra’yat* (subject) or *bande* (slave). The government is embodied in a *pādeshah* (king) or *malik* (ruler). He is a master (*khodāvand*) who is only responsible before God and his teachings in the holy book. The word *dowlat* in such contexts is equivalent to fortune, luck and prosperity. In *Chahār Maqāle*, the Ghurid king is referred to as *qovvat-e bāzu-ye dowlat* (strength of the arm of fortune).⁴⁹⁴ By this conception collectivity derives from the combination of government and land.⁴⁹⁵

On the other hand, the word *mellat* in literature also denoted religion, or sect. The 13th-century poet, Sa’di for example, criticizes ill-conduct of a Moslem in these terms:

⁴⁹¹ See Tavakoli-Targhi, p 115.

⁴⁹² See Tavakoli-Targhi, p 114. Also, on different modes of Iranians’ discourse of modernity also see Farzin Vahdat, “Introduction: Ch.1-The Nature of Modernity”, pp 1-23.

⁴⁹³ Here, modern is used both in a chronological and in an intellectual sense.

⁴⁹⁴ For etymology and examples in Persian literature see *Loghatnāme-ye Dehkhodā*. 21 June 2012. <<http://www.loghatnaameh.org>>.

⁴⁹⁵ Afshin Marashi, , p 54.

jowri ke to mikoni be Islam dar mellat-e kāfari nadidam (the malice you do to Islam I have not seen [done] by heathens). Nāder Entekhābi observes that in the “traditional Islamic culture” *mellat* denoted followers of religions, for example, *mellat-e yahud* (the Jewish), *mellat-e nasārā* (the Christian). According to him, in the later 19th century, two more layers were added to the word. From his examples it becomes evident that both layers have a territorial implication in common that was added to the word. In phrases such as “*mellat-e Guilān*” (people of Guilān), the attachment is to smaller geographical regions or provinces, whereas in the “French” sense of the word, or in its use after Renaissance, nation implies attachment to a geopolitical territory denoting one’s homeland, or country. Although the modern concept was introduced in the intellectual parlance of the late 19th century Iranians, it gained currency by the early 20th century and in the discourse of the Constitutional Revolution.⁴⁹⁶ Thus by then, ‘nation’ was loaded with the imported legislative concept of citizenship in relation to accountable statesmanship (*dowlat*).

Conceptual conflation seems to have first attracted the attention of the 19th-century pioneering critic, Fath-‘Ali Ākhundzādeh (1812-1878). (See below). But, even he was not consistent in his use of *mellat* which he now uses as followers of Islam (*mellat-e Islam*)⁴⁹⁷, then as people from a territory (*ahl-e Iran*)⁴⁹⁸, but often in the modern sense of an equal entity vis-à-vis the state.⁴⁹⁹ Yet, in Iran even in the political parlance of the Constitutional era the word was still understood differently by different people. In his

⁴⁹⁶ See Nāder Entekhābi, “nāsiōnālism va tajaddod dar farhang-e siyāsi-ye ba’d az mashrutiyat” [Nationalism and Modernity in the Post-Constitution Political Culture], in *Iran-Name*.11:2. Bethesta. (1372/1993):(185-208), p 190.

⁴⁹⁷ “Maktubāt”, (ed.) Bahram Chubine in *Maktubāt by: Mirzā Fath- ‘Ali Ākhundzādeh*, prefaced and edited by Bahram Chubine, Germany: Alborz Verlag, 2006, p 304.

⁴⁹⁸ *Maktubāt*, p 305.

⁴⁹⁹ *Maktubāt*, pp 326 & 327.

study of the factions in the first national assembly, Māshāllāh Ājudāni demonstrates how the conflict between secular and religious leaders on codification partly originated from the ambivalent implications of concepts such as *mellat* that meant one thing (*ommat*) in the parlance of the religious authorities, and something else in the parlance of the secular deputies (nation).⁵⁰⁰ Communal collectivity in the Islamic terminology is shaped around religious affiliation that is associated with *ommat* (Moslem community).

Around the same time when such conceptual confusions were emerging in Iran, in the introduction of *Chahār Maqāle* Qazvini referred to *Iranians* as people from the geopolitical territory he knew as Iran. Also, he was quite clear about the multiple layers of attributions that are embedded in the concept of “national”. Hence he employed two affiliated words, *melli* and *vatani* to talk about relics of the past with geopolitical association of the word in terms of “national honor of Iran” (*eftekhār-e melli-e Iran*), and with religio-cultural and emotive associations of the word in terms of “guarantee of our national language” (*zāmen-e baqā-ye zabān-e vatani-ye mā*). Two conclusions may be drawn from this argument. First, most of the key concepts in the nationalist parlance of the Constitutional era already existed in the Persian language, but they gained new meanings and functions as a result of encounters with the European modern legislative, intellectual and political culture, albeit even then with some ambivalence.⁵⁰¹ Clarity of modern concepts of these words came about in a gradual process. Second, Qazvini employed these words with their modern implications several years before they gained currency by *Kāve* and *Iranshahr*.

⁵⁰⁰ For this judicious and enlightening discussion see M. Ājudāni, Part I- Chapters 8, 9, 10 (165-207).

⁵⁰¹ See Afshin Mar’ashi, pp 76-77.

In a similar way, language and literature as the carrier of the nation's collective identity gained a nationalist significance in Ferdowsi's epic poem *Shahnāme*. Fragmentation of the land in the pre-Mongol era in fact moved the location of national identity from the actual land to a virtual cultural site, i.e., to Persian language and literature. But little cultural resistance of similar conscious caliber seem to have happened in Iranian literary discourse during centuries between Mongol invasion and the 19th century, perhaps partly because the Il-Khānid successors of Mongols were themselves lovers of Persian literature and contributed to the aesthetic aspects of the Persian textual culture. Under the Shi'ite state of the Safavid dynasty the cohesive role of Persian language and literature was predominantly taken over by religion. In fact, Persian prose and poetry went through a deteriorating condition continued well through the 19th century. Although some attempts were made to retain the power of literary language (the poetic movement of *bāzgasht-e adabi*, or Return Movement in the 18th century,⁵⁰² and prose simplification movement during the 19th century) within the country, they did not make any claim on the ground of "nationalist" (*melli-vatani*) integrity, although such efforts had a significant impact on its development. Nationalist feeling then had been focused either on cultural or on religious feelings until the 19th century. Territorial nationalism is argued to have been pretty recent. Gnoli goes on to claim that territorial nationalism was not present in the idea of Iran even until the 19th century.⁵⁰³ It was in the literature of the latter part of this century; particularly but not solely, by authors who

⁵⁰² See Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, pp 27-33.

⁵⁰³ See Gherardo Gnoli, p 180.

wrote from outside the country that nationalist self-consciousness based on a territorial concept gained voice and currency in the literary parlance of the pre-Constitutional era.⁵⁰⁴

But then, how and when did language, literature and history regain their earlier significance in the nationalist discourse of Iranian? Notwithstanding the historical background as indicated above, the connection of the history of language with the history of nation as features of national identity suggested by modern Iranian intellectuals was predominantly an influence from Orientalist studies during the later 19th century through Indian connections, just as sensibility about modernization was triggered by the encounter with Europe earlier in the century.

In the European context, ‘nation’ as a people with common collective features and some sort of territorial affiliation dates back to the medieval ages when the medieval universities in Europe would draw distinction among students of “foreign” attachments in term of “nation”. Hence, “*Natio* in ordinary speech”, states Elie Kedourie, “originally meant a group of men belonging together by similarity of birth, larger than a family, but smaller than a clan or a people”.⁵⁰⁵ Likewise, it seems that the connection between ‘nation’ and ‘language’ was already in place even in medieval Europe. Thus, in missionaries, distinction was drawn by the language where “the *nation de France* referred to *speakers* [my italics] of Romance languages including Italians and Spaniards; the *nation de Picardie* referred to the Dutch”⁵⁰⁶ and so on. Benedict Anderson traces the cohesive significance of language and literature through the Austro-Hungary example as an element in the construction of an “imagined” sense of community by the emperor,

⁵⁰⁴ See Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, 1995.

⁵⁰⁵ Elie Kedourie, *Nationalism* (4th expanded edition). UK Oxford & USA Cambridge: Blackwell Publishers, 1993, p 5.

⁵⁰⁶ Elie Kedourie, p 5.

albeit out of “an unselfconscious effort” only to create unification among people of his land through German, even in cases where the language would not be spoken by the people of some parts of the country. According to Benedict Anderson’s observation “the European dynasts” encouraged a national language, not for a nationalist fervor, but because “The lexicographic revolution in Europe” had enhanced “the conviction that languages (in Europe at least) were, so to speak, the personal property of quite specific groups, imagined as communities” and therefore, “were entitled to their autonomous place in a fraternity of equals.”⁵⁰⁷

As a result of the American and French revolutions in the late 18th century, and the disintegration of the ancient empires into new countries during the 19th century, the term also gained arrays of geopolitical-emotive-cultural significance in European thought. With the emergence of the new nations, vernacular literatures became an instrument for the identification of national identity, and philology was employed to this service through textual criticism. Connection between philology and the birth of modern nationalism is so close that some have talked of a “philological model of nationalities” wherein nationalities are “defined in their languages and expressing themselves in their literature.”⁵⁰⁸ Ernest Renan’s (1823-1892) definition of nation as a “soul” and “mental principle” with “common possession of a rich heritage of memories” that brings solidarity to the community resonates with this mélange of geopolitical-emotive-cultural conception.⁵⁰⁹ Remnants of such developments reached the Indian setting through the

⁵⁰⁷ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (Rev. Ed.) London & New York: VERSO, 2006, p 84.

⁵⁰⁸ Joep Leerssen, “Introduction: Philology and the European Construction of National Literatures” in *Editing the Nation’s Memory: Textual Scholarship and Nation-Building in Nineteenth-Century Europe* New York: Rodopi, 2008. (13-27), p 13.

⁵⁰⁹ In Ruth Wodack et al. *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. 2nd edition (Trans.) Angelika Hirsch et al. UK: Edinburg UP, 2009, p 18.

Orientalist scholars. Orientalism and the Indo-European theory were born out of the dialogic or “reciprocal” interaction between the rich tradition of Vedan and middle Persian textual criticism with the new project of scientificism of eighteenth century Europe. Thus, by the 19th century the history of ‘nation’ was grafted to the history of language in philology through what is conceived of as historization of a language project.⁵¹⁰

By definition, philology is the study of literary texts and the establishment of their original authenticity; it used also to be historical comparative linguistics. Thomas Trautmann’s observation on the Dravidian case is helpful to drawing an explanation about ideological premises of philology in the romantic rendition of Iranian national identity in the writings of the 19th century Iranian intellectuals. For one thing, Trautmann demonstrates that the Anglo-Welsh philologist, William Jones (1746-1794) and other European Orientalists based their works on a textual tradition already active among Indian scholars; a point that Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi confirms to have happened in the case of Persian studies and views it as “appropriation” of “homeless texts” to the development of Orientalist scholarship.⁵¹¹ Secondly, he shows that Jones used language to draw his theory of comparative linguistics (Indo-European) through the application of a biblical theory of languages to the history of people (Mosaic Tree of Nations). In this study the language was not an end, but a tool for ethnological historical study through the application of the genealogical system that some Indian scholars such as Panini used for

⁵¹⁰ See Thomas Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras*. University of California Press, 2006, pp 15-17.

⁵¹¹ See Tavakoli-Targhi, chapter 5, in particular pp 86-95. He argues that what both “pillars” of the Oriental scholarship in Indian, the British William Jones and the French Anquitte Duperron in fact developed their works in the field of comparative linguistics (Jones) and Avestan scholarship by “appropriation” of these early textual and lexical achievements.

structural study of Sanskrit and Veda texts.⁵¹² Based on vocabularies, Jones mapped the genealogy of nations and languages and decided that European languages share the same ancestry; i.e., Sanskrit, with Persian and Indian languages. Thus, “The key idea [of this project was] that language mastery is the conduit to the inner lives of other nations”,⁵¹³ a conception that gave birth to New Orientalism, that is based on the study of the other from within.

Thirdly, Trautmann observes that through his comparative theory of languages Jones provided a ground for people like James Pichard (1786-1848) to biologize philology by tying it to the race,⁵¹⁴ and eventually, through a divorce between the two by the mid-19th century, to the emergence of Aryan or Indo-German theory and the theory of pure race.⁵¹⁵ And fourthly, Indo-European theory gave birth to the Romantic Movement. Trautmann demonstrates that Fredrick Schlegel (1772-1829) developed the ideology of Romanticism by appealing to a similar genealogical framework and suggesting that “Sanskrit is not the co-descendant of a lost ancestral language with Greek, Latin, Gothic, Celtic, and Persian, but is *itself* the ancestor and source of the other-European languages.” Thus, “Schlegel’s program [was] to reengineer the conception of ancient India as the pure source of a lost, primitive innocence and ancient wisdom—the India of Romanticism, an India that embodied the childhood of the human race”.⁵¹⁶ In other words, even the exoticism of Romantic ideology, so significant in the parlance of some 19th century Iranian intellectuals, is grounded in Indic studies. Thus, according to Trautmann, British

⁵¹² See Thomas Trautmann, *Languages and Nations: The Dravidian Proof in Colonial Madras*. University of California Press. 2006, pp 10-13.

⁵¹³ See Thomas Trautmann, p 220.

⁵¹⁴ *Researches into the History of the Mankind* (1836).

⁵¹⁵ See Thomas Trautmann, pp 220-225.

⁵¹⁶ See Thomas Trautmann, p 18.

India became the birth place of a model theory such as Indo-European language family that would use genealogical relation among languages to reach historical memory on the basis of the relation among nations, and to repair it (textual emendation) where it was defective. Arrays of all these currents are discernible in the discursive mode of the 19th century Iranian nationalism.

Every important revolution, observes Leroy Searle, has been preceded by a revolution in textual criticism.⁵¹⁷ One of the examples Searle alludes to is the Renaissance and its relevance to humanist endeavors in the works of philologists such as Joseph Scaliger (1540-1609).⁵¹⁸ This situation is equally true about the Constitution Revolution (1905-1911) in Iran. The wake of critical writings by Fath-‘Ali Ākhundzādeh and a group of Iranian intellectuals since 1860s, mostly residing outside the country, drew heavily upon a mix of philological and archeological insights by the Orientalists and textual criticism of the New Zoroastrian in India that, by the blessing power of print technology, poured into the country where some conscious attempts were already made for the simplification of language, secularization of historiography and reformation of poetic tradition.⁵¹⁹ Notwithstanding their individual idiosyncrasies these men shared an exclusive view of the dominant Islamic culture as the main cause of Iranians’ backwardness. Ferdowsi’s epic poem gained a universal acknowledgement within this

⁵¹⁷ Over a conversation, but see Leroy Searle, “Emerging Questions: Text and Theory in Contemporary Criticism,” in *Voice, Text, Hypertext: Emerging Practices in Textual Studies*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2004, pp 3-21, and “Textual Integrity, Textual Authority: The cultural importance of editorial ethics,” in *Texts of Power / The Power of the Text* (Ed.) Cezary Galewicz, Krakow: Homini, 2006, pp 15-34.

⁵¹⁸ See Anthony T. Grafton. It is interesting that Scaliger had expanded classical history to include Persia as well.

⁵¹⁹ See Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi, chapter 6; Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, *Recasting Persian Poetry*, chapter 1.

discursive sphere through a process of recycling that although reflected on its function in the 11th-12th centuries, assigned a new function to it.

The earliest vocation of nationalist impetus was voiced by Fath-‘Ali Ākhundzādeh (1812-1878), the pioneering Persian critic who wrote from Russian-annexed Caucasus. Akhudzādeh’s formative life was shaped by changes that occurred to the geopolitical situation of “Persia” as the consequence of two Irano-Russian wars. He was born in Nokha to a father from Khāmene in the south of present Iranian Āzarbāijān, and a mother from Nokha, from the northern Āzarbāijān, then still being a part of Iranian territory. After the separation of his parents, his guardianship fell under his mother’s uncle, a learned mullah who took the family to Nokha, and by 1925, to Ganja in Qarādāgh. As a result of the Torkamānchāi treaty in 1828 and the loss of Qarādāgh to Russia, Fath-‘Ali’s residence fell in the Russian territory. Until the age of twenty he received traditional Islamic education from his grand uncle. By the age of twenty two the family moved to Tbilis. Relocation in Tbilis set a new direction in Fath-‘Ali’s intellectual life. The city had grown into a cosmopolitan environment where artists, poets, intellectuals and politicians from all over Russia, Western Europe, Middle East and India had come together.⁵²⁰ It was in this environment that Ākhundzādeh’s intellectual life was shaped through his contact with the 18th and 19th century European trends of thought. Thus, his destiny was formed by the destiny of the homeland with enormous implications to his consciousness and his future. Yet, as an Iranian he kept his moral and emotional ties with the homeland although grew up in the cultural milieu of Russia.

⁵²⁰ On the life of Ākhundzādeh see Hamid Algar, *Mirza [Mirzā] Malkom Khan: A Study in the History of Iranian Modernism*. Berkeley: University of California Press. 1977, pp 78-81.

Ākhundzādeh's thoughts are strongly inspired by rationalist materialism and liberal trends of Enlightenment. He applied this materialist worldview not only to social criticism but also to his literary criticism. He was concerned with the cultural dimension of modernity and was the first Iranian thinker who would propose cultural progress as the path to modernity. Among his corpus of work his criticism of the Persian alphabet, in "alefbā-ye jaded", or New Alphabet (1857),⁵²¹ Persian literature ("resāle-ye irād", or Faultfinding Treatise, 1862),⁵²² and Persian historiography (in "Maktubāt-e Kamāl al-Dowle", 1864),⁵²³ and criticism ("qritikā")⁵²⁴ are of particular relevance here, all being replete with anti-Arab and polemical views against traditional Islam.

His literary criticism is informed by displeasure with Arabs and Arabic influence on the Persian language and culture. The embellished verbose prose style of the current historiography of his time is the subject of a dramatic monologue that he addresses to the Qājār author of a history book: "Rezāqoli Khan [Hedāyat], trust me, rhyme harms the prose language... This rule has remained from the Arab for us, and is current for some seven-eight hundred years but it is absolutely wrong." His criticism targets the often incoherent interjection in poems, of Arabic phrases and Qu'ranic verses in the course of the narrative to such an excessive extent that he helplessly asks the author: "For God's sake, what is the time for poetry now Rezāqoli Khan? Let me see how they conquered the castle."⁵²⁵ Following this opening the reader (Ākhundzādeh) focuses on the text and by close reading draws conclusions against the writer. He stresses clarity and precision are

⁵²¹ See Fath-'Ali Ākhundzādeh, "alefbā' jadid" [The New Alphabet]. 1274 h./1857. *Adabiyat-e Mashrute*, pp174-207; also see Hamid Algar, "Malkum Khan, Akhundzadeh [Ākhundzādeh] and the Proposed Reform of Arabic Alphabet", *Middle Eastern Studies*: 5. (1969): (116-30).

⁵²² "resāle-ye irād" in *Adabiyat-e Mashrute*, (149-161), p 161.

⁵²³ *Maktubāt*, pp 290 & 428.

⁵²⁴ See Iraj Pārsinejād, *Rowshangarān-I Irani va Naqd-i Adabi* [Iranian Intellectuals and Literary Criticism], Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Sokhan, 1360/1981, pp 343-362.

⁵²⁵ "resāle-ye irād" in *Adabiyat-e Mashrute*, p 150.

the main characteristic for communication. His criticism, as Pārsinejād rightly maintains, should be assessed in the light of the clarity and accessibility of language, rather than the Aristotelian concern of genre conflation.⁵²⁶

Social criticism is an important topic in Ākhundzādeh's approach to literature. In *qritikā* he targets the ethical and moral standpoint of a contemporary poet (Sorush) whom the editor of an Iranian newspaper had eulogized. Ākhundzādeh finds what, in his view, is a defective worldview the reflection of the poet's life history. Thus, he challenges the dissociation between the poet's morals (sincerity) and the effect of his poetry. He criticizes the editor for allocating space to the biography of a poet who is unfairly given *nom de plume* of Shams al-Sho'ara (literally, the sun of poets) whereas his words are void of knowledge and reason: "Had Sorush been a learned man or a distinguished poet, you would then have had a perfect right to say that the nation must know this person, for the nation would then have benefited from his thoughts and derived wisdom and knowledge from his sage verses. But Sorush's *qaside* indicates that he is a poet of the lowest rank."⁵²⁷ Literature, according to him, draws its vigor from its truthfulness: "Poesy consists of writing which contains an account of the conditions and character of a person or group *exactly as they are*, or is by way of a commentary on some question or a description of the state of the world of Nature, whose composition is perfect in effectiveness."⁵²⁸ Education, knowledge, and social consciousness are significant informative factors in the refinement of the poetry: "Study and training merely enhance the substance and contribute to the further refinement of the poetry." He attributes the aesthetic effectiveness of the poetry to being "close to nature, customs, and idiom" and to

⁵²⁶ Also see Iraj Pārsinejād, 1981, pp 289-290 and 302.

⁵²⁷ Iraj Pārsinejād, 1981, p 268.

⁵²⁸ See Iraj Pārsinejād, 2003, p 30.

the extent it “embodies good diction and themes.”⁵²⁹ That is why he admires Ferdowsi, Homer and Shakespeare.⁵³⁰ Similarly, the ultimate goal of “critical social realism” is to elevate the existential and cultural condition of the *nation (mellat)* and the *motherland*; it is informed by a patriotic empathy for the nation.

Although, as Faridun Ādamiyyat notes Ākhundzādeh does not explicitly write about language and literature as elements of nationalism he reveals a certain extent of this connectivity. In a letter to the editor of an Iranian newspaper, *Mellat-i Sani'e-ye Iran* [*Grand Nation of Iran*] on the depiction of a mosque as the logo for the newspaper of the nation, he suggests that “Persepolis” or a Safavid monument, rather than a mosque which stands for *ommat* represents Iranian as a nation.⁵³¹ By drawing a distinction between the secular term of nation, and the term used for Moslem community he shows consciousness of associations that accompany each term. Moreover, by suggesting the pre-Islamic and the Safavid monument for the modern concept of the Iranian nation, Ākhundzādeh reveals a modern understanding of nation as a unified cultural and territorial entity whose people share a common historical memory, as once Ernest Renan (1823-1892) defined it.⁵³² He also makes it explicit that his cultural reform would eventually involve language and literature as components of culture. In fact, his accentuation of criticism as a tool for social reformation already establishes the connection between literature and renovation of the social structure in the manner of “civilized” nations.

⁵²⁹ Iraj Pārsinejād, 1981, p 301.

⁵³⁰ See Pārsinejād, 2003, pp 32-33.

⁵³¹ “Qritikā” [“Criticism”] in *Adabiyat-e Mashrute*, (43-89), pp 43-45 .

⁵³² Ernest Renan is quoted to have defined nation from this cultural vantage point as a “soul” and “mental principle” with “common possession of a rich heritage of memories”, a principle that bring solidarity to the community. See Ruth Wodack et al. *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*, 2nd edition (Trans.) Angelika Hirsch et al. UK: Edinburg UP, 2009, p 18.

Ākhudzādeh's views of language even more directly targets the negative impact of Arabic influence on the communicative vigor of Persian. In a letter written by fictitious Prince Kamāl al-Dowle he rebukes a mullah Sādeq whose Arabic sermon with a strong accent of deep phonemes was lost to the audience of the mosque.⁵³³ He stresses the necessity of reform in Persian script to match the educational need of the “nation” for progress. To achieve this end he makes a practical proposal: “Consonants must be entirely written separately, and add characters for short vowels (*e'erāb*, and drop all dots and make [change the direction of] reading and writing [from] left to right, like the European alphabet.”⁵³⁴ To appease the rage of the clerics he appeals to a textual evidence and in *bayān-e tahqiq* [on Scholarship] argues that the current *naskh* script was invented after Islam and does not have any connection with religion to be deemed sacred; therefore, he asks, “how relevant would a religious and secular argument be if we, in consideration of the interest of our nation, changed the *naskh* that was invented by Ibn Muqla and is now current among all the Islamic folks?”⁵³⁵ Dissociation of Arabs and Islam permeates this statement already.

This tongue-in-cheek aversion against Arabic effect on the Persian language takes a cynical tone in his most polemical and anti-Semitic, anti-Islam piece of his writings, a fictitious correspondence between an Indian prince, and an Iranian prince. Upon his visit to Iran and the observation of its miserable condition Kamāl al-Dowle writes three letters to his peer, Jalāl al-Dowle. These letters are replete with regret, aversion and anger towards Arabs as the cause of the Iranians' wretchedness. By comparison-contrast of the condition of Iran before and after Islam the author makes the Indian prince lament the

⁵³³ See *Maktubāt*, p 328.

⁵³⁴ “Alefa” in *Adabiyat-e Mashrute*, p 190.

⁵³⁵ “Alefbā”, *Adabiyat-e Mashrute*, p 186.

lost dignity in extremely fiery terms. Perhaps nowhere one can see Ākhundzādeh's romantic nationalism better than in these lines: "Oh pity on you Iran, where is that grandeur? Where is that authority? Where is that happiness? Hungry and naked Arabs have impoverished you for one thousand and two hundred and eighty years. Your soil is in ruin and your people are ignorant and unaware of the world's civilization and are deprived of the provision of freedom and your king is a despot."⁵³⁶ On the contrary, the pre-Islamic land of the "*Foras*" (Perse) is delineated as the realm of culture, civilization, justice and morality.⁵³⁷

It is not an accident that Ākhundzādeh, writing from Tibilis in Caucasus, depicted a Persian prince from India to voice his most anti-Arab treatise. India had gained a new significance in the intellectual discourse of the 19th century. It has been the home of many Zoroastrian Parsis who migrated there during the centuries after Islam to escape from persecution. Kamāl al-Dowle looks at Iran as the lost original homeland, a feeling that had correspondence in reality, and made a significant effect on the romantic nationalist sentiments expressed by some of the intellectuals of the time, including Prince Jalāl al-Din Mirzā whom I will discuss shortly. By the 19th century the Indian influence had already made itself sensed in the cultural and intellectual sphere of Iran through two conduits. First, the influence came directly through contact between the Indian-based Zoroastrians and Iran as their original homeland. From Afshin Mar'ashi we learn that Manekji Limji Hataria, "an emissary from Zoroastrian community of Bombay" traveled to Iran by the mid-19th century "to strengthen the connection with Iranian Zoroastrian."⁵³⁸ His thirty year activity and sojourn in Iran and his connection with Iranian intellectuals of

⁵³⁶ *Maktubat*, p 294.

⁵³⁷ *Maktubāt*, p 291.

⁵³⁸ Afshin Mar'ashi, p 61.

the Nāseri era promoted interest in pre-Islamic history and led to the publication of new histories, that he authored or contributed to as an editor, or inspired to be written.⁵³⁹ Aside from connection with some influential elite in Iran including prince Jalāl al-Din Mirzā, Menakji also was in correspondence with Ākhundzādeh. Manjekji's return to the original motherland was the realization of a textual-linguistic return that had been initiated a few centuries earlier under the reign of Emperor Akbar (r. 1556-1605) in North India.

In order to enhance tolerance among the extremely heterogeneous community of north India Akbar had encouraged collaboration among diverse religious scholars. Given that Persian was lingua franca of the Indian court, among other things he commissioned the compilation of a complete Persian dictionary, *Farhang-e Jahāngiri* (1608) by Inju Shirazi (d. c. 1626). Since Parsi Zoroastrians were part of this cultural milieu the dictionary also allocated space to middle Persian and Avestan lexicons. Hence, a Zoroastrian priest, Dastur Anushirvān was invited from Kermān in Iran to collaborate with the author. This dictionary was one of the texts that set the ground for a lexical movement known as *dasātiri*.⁵⁴⁰

Dasātir was originally the name of a book that the Zoroastrian émigré, Āzar Kayvān (1533-1618) and a group of his disciples compiled at the turn of the 17th century. Āzar Kayvān left the intolerant milieu of Safavid Iran to reside in Patna of India in the 1570s. As a reaction to the Safavid religious suppression he and his disciples developed a philosophical New-Mazdean school in India that was known as Zoroastrian Ishraqi (illuminationist). The school was based on the teachings of sixteen pre-Islamic sages that,

⁵³⁹ See Afshin Mar'ashi, pp 61-64.

⁵⁴⁰ See Tavakoli-Targhi, chapter 5, in particular, pp 86-95.

according to Āzar Kayvān's claim, had been translated to Persian shortly before the Arab conquest.⁵⁴¹ Aside from its claims for lexical authenticity as pure Persian the historical account of the book also offered a different historiography than the current Islamic narrative⁵⁴² by relocation of the beginning of history to the pre-Islamic myths which was a drastic shift from the Perso-Islamic historiography. Thus, *Dasātir*, plural of *dastur* (Zoroastrian priest) became the source of inspiration for the purist movement of the later 18th-century. The book had employed Islamic terminology for the New-Mazdean philosophy. Obsolete lexicons of *Dasātir* found their way into another important Persian dictionary, *Borhān-e Qāte'*, and thence, to the Persian poetry in India and in Iran.⁵⁴³

Return to the purified language in an Indian setting, and the bureaucratic attempts by Iranian statesmen for the simplification of Persian prose came into dialogic interaction through the proliferation of print in India, and led to the formation of a *Parsinegāri* movement that would recycle ancient terms. "Purists", writes Tavakoli-Targhi, "viewed language as essential to national identity."⁵⁴⁴ This nationalist conception granted them a distinct character above mere literary figures. The view continued well through the 20th century in the position of scholars such as Ahmad Kasravi, and had impact on the Academy of Persian language (*farhangestān*) under the auspices of Mohammad 'Ali Forughī.⁵⁴⁵ At the heart of the movement lay a deep fervor for "the glorification of the pre-Islamic past". Glorification of the past embedded in "these language-based

⁵⁴¹ See Tavakoli-Targhi, pp 86-87.

⁵⁴² Dehkhodā refers to it as a fabrication by a mulla Firuz (Āzar Kayvan?) and brings its textual authenticity under serious question.

⁵⁴³ See Tavakoli-Targhi, p 106.

⁵⁴⁴ See Tavakoli-Targhi, p 108.

⁵⁴⁵ Also see Alimohammad Tarafdāri, "NATIONALISM, PURE-WRITING AND THE FORMATION OF THE ACADEMY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE IN THE FIRST PAHLAVI ERA". Web. 28 June 2012. <[http://www.sid.ir/en/ViewPaperprint.asp?ID=209480&varStr=4;TARAFDARI_ALIMOHAMMAD;GANJINE-YE ASNAD;SPRING 2010;20;1 \(77\);58;72](http://www.sid.ir/en/ViewPaperprint.asp?ID=209480&varStr=4;TARAFDARI_ALIMOHAMMAD;GANJINE-YE ASNAD;SPRING 2010;20;1 (77);58;72)>.

movements helped to dissociate Iran from Islam and to craft a distinct national identity and sodality.”⁵⁴⁶ Even though the *dasātiri* movement did not gain favor/support from a group of influential elite of the 20th century such as Dehkhodā and Purdāvud for its inauthenticity, “it signified a passion for semantic diversification and neologism in the nineteenth-century ‘invention of tradition.’”⁵⁴⁷

Publication of *Dasātir* enhanced controversy among the Parsi community upon textual issues. To correct such controversies the Zoroastrian priest (*mu’bad*) Bahrām b. Farhād composed *Shārestān* and *Dabestān-e Mazāheb*.⁵⁴⁸ These three books were inspiring to the revivalist sentiment of the 19th century intellectuals on the matter of Iranian national identity.⁵⁴⁹

An overview of the topics and attitudes presented in *Shārestān* should be illustrative here. The book was authored in the 17th century by Mu’bad Bahrām b. Farhād. It recounts the history of Iran from the mythical origin to the end of Sassanid kings in the first three books (*chaman*), leaving the fourth to a discussion of cosmology and other topics. The introduction draws heavily upon Moslem cosmology and often resonates with Islamic cosmological views such as the one presented in the prologue of *Chahār Maqāle*. But it also seems to have incorporated elements from Hindu, Sufi and Zoroastrian cosmology and philosophy.⁵⁵⁰ The gist of the narratives and debates in first *Shārestān* is to accentuate the superiority of *ajam* or Parsian to Arabs. On the topic of language the mythical king, Hushang (Hush) argues with reasoning to convince his conversant that

⁵⁴⁶ See Tavakoli-Targhi, p 96.

⁵⁴⁷ See Tavakoli-Targhi, p 106 . Also see “dasātir” in *Loghatnāme-ye Dehkhodā*. Web. <<http://loghatnaameh.org>>. “dasātir”.

⁵⁴⁸ See Tavakoli-Targhi, p 89.

⁵⁴⁹ See Tavakoli-Targhi, pp 77-78.

⁵⁵⁰ See Bahrām b. Farhād, *Shārestān: Kolliyāt-e Chahār Chaman* (Script) Mirzā ‘Ali Shirazi, Bombay: Matba’ Mozaffari, Sha’bān 1327/1279 S? (OR) Zil-Hajja 1328/Dec. 1910, pp 4-13. Lithograph in paper. Three different dates are given for the completion and publication for the book.

Persian is superior to Arabic.⁵⁵¹ By the same token, Iranians are privileged to to Arabs in wisdom. The motive for the composition, according to the author, was to make the ancestral history, not much known about, accessible to people so that they could learn about their origin.⁵⁵² Through the influence of these Indian sources as well as other attempts made by indigenous historiographers in Iran by the mid-19th century, both the conception and the scope of historiography had changed. Aside from the content, the language of historiography also went through significant simplification.

Another equally important source of inspiration for the intellectual discourse of nationalist identity in the 19th century was the impact of the Orientalist archeological and numismatic finds. Excavation of objects, monuments, and coinage of the pre-Islamic Iran by European Orientalists threw light on Iranian antiquity, and provided material for self-reflection among the intellectuals of the period: “Once the archaeological object was understood as a national relic,” writes Afshin Mar’ashi, “the visual experience of it reinforced the powerful metaphor of a cultural renaissance emerging organically from the soil of the nation.”⁵⁵³ Based on these relics and on decoded parchments a new mode of narrative was introduced to historiography that paid homage to the homeland’s pre-Islamic history. This historiography was based on demonstrable evidence, and romanticization of Iranian antiquity. The production of a plethora of printed editions of *Shahanāme* and the composition of epic poems in mimicry of *Shahnāme* during the 19th century are connected to such a movement.⁵⁵⁴

⁵⁵¹ See *Shārestān*, pp 63-66.

⁵⁵² See *Shārestān*, p 3.

⁵⁵³ Afshin Mar’ashi, p 60.

⁵⁵⁴ Afshin Mar’ashi, p 60.

It was at the crossroad of all these influences that pioneering intellectuals such as Jalāl al-Din Mirzā and Mirzā Āqā khan Kermāni committed themselves to the re-writing of the nation's history. In their views, history of the nation had to be written a-new to fill the breach between contemporary Iranians and the pre-Islamic identity. This task was initially accomplished by the Qājār prince, Jalāl-al Din Mirza (b.1827). Being one of the last children of Fath-‘Ali Shah (r.1797-1834), and a marginal prince, despite his short life, Jalāl al-Din Mirzā played a significant role in the revivalist movement of the time. He was educated in Dār al-Funun, where he could establish early contact with European sources. Jalāl al-Din Mirzā represents the more independent intellectual trend that although located inside the country had more association with the intellectual and cultural figures including Ākhundzādeh who wrote from outside Iran. His major work is a historiography of ancient Iran titled as *Nāme-ye Khosravān (Letter of Royals)*.

Nāme-ye Khosravān stands out from the conventional tradition of historiography in three respects. First, it made use of Orientalist findings including the picture of the ancient kings which he drew from discovered Sassanid coinage.⁵⁵⁵ Second, in a drastic move Jalāl al-Din Mirzā gave equal weight to the pre-Islamic myth-history. Third, with an ostensible influence from the purist movement he adopted an archaic phonetic and morphological feature as well as a simple structure that echoes the epic language of Ferdowsi in *Shahnāme*. Phonetic and graphic features are Persianized by using the archaic phoneme “p” instead of the Arabic “f” in reference to “Persia”, or the Persian character of *z* and *sin* instead of Arabic *th* for Kayumars: so he wrote “the story” (*dāstān*) of the “Pars kings in the Parsi language”. Pure Persian lexicons such as *pur*

⁵⁵⁵ See “dibacha” [preface], *Name-ye Khosravān: Nakhostin Nāme* (Script) Mirzā Hasan Khodā-Dād Tabrizi. Rpt. of 1297/1879 (Vienna). Tehran: Sāzmān-e Shāhanshāhi-ye Khadamāt-e Ejtemā’i, 1355/1977, p 6. Lithograph in paper.

(son), *nāme* (history), *tāzi* (Arabs), *anjām* (end), *pishe* (occupation), *yazdān* (God), and *khosravān* (kings/royals) replace their current equivalents that generally bear the touch of Arabic. Concern about communicative function of the language is equally accentuated: he tried to write in fluent and familiar language (*sokhanān-e ravān va be gush āshenā*).⁵⁵⁶ And finally, in a non-conventional gesture, history which used to address kings and men of letters is written for the “populace” (*mardomān*) and children (*kudakān*) as the audience.⁵⁵⁷ Education of the youth was one of the main concerns among pre-Constitution intellectuals. The book was meant to be a four-volume history of Iran from ancient times to the Qājār era, but was left incomplete by the author’s premature demise.⁵⁵⁸

The pre-Constitution discourse of national identity gains the most dynamic and modern tonality in Mirzā Āqā khan Kermāni’s (1854/55-1896) writings, which caused his tragic end at the age of forty three. Born in the southern region of Bardsir to a land-owning family of Zoroastrian ancestors and Sufi tendency, Kermāni studied traditional Islamic subjects and learned some English in his early life. In his early adolescence, upon a conflict with the ruler of Kermān he escaped to Isfahan. From Isfahan he went to Tehran and Mashhad and stayed there for a while. Eventually with his close friend, Ahmad Ruhi they went to Istanbul. Being sympathetic to Bābi faith⁵⁵⁹ they soon went to Cyprus to meet the Bābi leader (Sobh-e Azal) whose two daughters they married. But neither did the marriage nor his affiliation with the Bābi faith last long. Returning to

⁵⁵⁶ *Name-ye Khosravān: Nakhostin Nāme.*

⁵⁵⁷ *Nāme-ye Khosravān: Nakhostin Nāme.*

⁵⁵⁸ Afshin Mar’ashi, p 64.

⁵⁵⁹ One of the two branches in the Bābi faith, originally emerging as a religious movement 1844-1852 in Persia, and after the execution of their leader they went to exile, and were broken into two sects, one followed Bahā’ullāh, and the other followed Sobh-e Azal who resided in Cyprus and whose daughter Mirzā Āqā Khan Kermāni married.

Istanbul he contributed to the Persian newspaper, *Akhtar* and penned several books and treatises on various topics. He was a serious critic of the Qājār, Nāser al-Din Shah and the clerics as the main reasons for the backwardness, ignorance and moral ellipsis of Iranians.

In his literary, philosophical and historical writings in prose and poetry he committed himself to the enlightenment and encouragement of the “nation” to take action both at a social level and at a moral level. His nationalism is inspired by philosophy and philology, cast in a mode of historiography that relies on textual research and archeological finds. Among his works are a fictitious collection of letters in imitation of Ākhudzādeh’s *Maktubāt* called *Se Maktub* [*Three Letters*] between the same princes of Ākhudzādeh’s work, a collection of forty-four essays (*Sad Khatābe*, or *A Hundred Sermons*), a verse historiography (*Nāme-ye Bāstān*, Or *Letter of Antiquity*) in imitation of *Shahnāme*, and a historiography (*Ā’ine-ye Sekandari*, or *Alexander’s Mirror*). Upon Nāser al-Din Shah’s assassination in Iran (1896) the government accused Mirzā Āqā Khan, Ahmad Ruhi and another associate of provocative contribution to the event. Their arrest and return to Iran was requested from the Ottoman government. Immediately after their return to Tabriz they were beheaded by, then the crown prince, Mohammad ‘Ali Mirzā who directly supervised the execution in the courtyard of his residence.⁵⁶⁰

If Ākhundzādeh and Jalāl al-Din Mirzā are among the initiators of the modernist and archaist ideology, Mirzā Āqā Khan Kermāni is definitely the true voice of a systematic nation-state discourse, and the herald of the Constitution Revolution. His

⁵⁶⁰ For his complete biography and thoughtd see Faridun Ādamiyyat, *Andishe hā-ye Mirzā Āqā Khan Kermāni* [M. Ā. Khan Kermāni’s Ideas]. Rpt. n.d. Germany: Nawid Verlog, 1992. Also see Mangol Bayat, “Ā. Khan Kermāni”. Web.27 June 2012. <<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/aqa-khan-kermani-iranian-writer-and-intellectual-d-1896>>.

understanding of nationalism, although at some points romantic, is grounded in his cognizance of the current moral, political, social and cultural backwardness of Iranians. The norms of this nationalist tendency include anti-Semitism, archaism, and a revolutionary position, and its end is both political and moral. The means to reach this end for him included the revival of the forgotten origin, particularly the Zoroastrian legacy that “best accords with Iranian nature.” He does not hesitate to employ/adopt European modern scholarship and political philosophy. He is the first Iranian intellectual among the ones mentioned here who conceptualized “nation” in the clear sense of modern state-nation paradigm. Kermāni takes upon himself to recapture and re-construct the historical past of Iran. But unlike Mirzā Jalāl al-Din and his Indian predecessors who appended mythology to the historical identity of Iranians, Mirzā Āqā Khan based his history on the observable and researchable sources. Hence, *Ā'ine-ye Sekandari* (the mirror of Alexander--the Greek conqueror of the Achaemene civilization) is known as a pioneering philosophical and scholarly historiography written by an indigenous scholar.⁵⁶¹

After a critical introduction the book opens with the mythological dynasts of Ābādiyān and Kayāniyān but he does not assign historical validity to them. In the introduction, he closely applies scholarly method of explaining his methodology, sources, and his theoretical views. On the philosophy of history he draws a distinction between fiction and fact and develops the work on “solid bases”, which he lists as parchments, monuments, archeological finds, folklore, recorded histories including Ferdowsi’s *Shahnāme*, as well as etymology. The book is also a mirror to the “land of Dārā” (*mamlekat-e Dārā*). With an echo of Ferdowsi’s line, “*ajam zendeh kardam bedin Parsi*”

⁵⁶¹ See Faridun-e Ādamiyyat, *Andishe-hā-ye Mirzā Āqā Khan Kermāni*.

(I reincarnated *ajam* by this Persian) Mirzā Āqā Khan explains his intention in terms of “*ajam zendeh kardam bedin rāsti*” (I reincarnated *ajam* by this truth) thus equating the significance of history to language. From his introduction one can discern nuances of a European sense of philology. This philological approach extends to the lexical domain where he incorporates etymological finds or conjectures to draw conclusion from his main argument. Echoing a Heideggerian view on language as the prison-house of existence⁵⁶² Mirzā Āqā Khan conceives of the Persian language as the nation’s existential abode. Hence, he pursues his quest for the past through reflection on the etymology of words as a reasoning tool: “archaic words and terms that are well-known in stories and perhaps have adopted other forms, but [which] upon research and derivation some meanings are drawn from them to reason on the ancient history that will guide our minds to some historical events, just as will be done in the course of this book.”⁵⁶³ To illuminate his method of reasoning by etymology here are some examples from the introduction: “*histoire*” is derived from *ostevār* meaning firm-founded; *asātir* (myths) means obscure and dark; *dasātir* is the opposite of darkness, so it means bright; *Backteriens* (Orientals) means the worshipper of the fire and the sunshine, “hence they are known as *Aryens*”. The Aryan theory is explicitly delineated as the base of his approach to history.

Mirzā Āqā Khan is the true follower of the 19th century European philological movement and what Trautmann calls the project of combining the history of nation to the history of language project. Although he privileges history over literature, his care about language and etymology stems from a philological view whereby language is the cement

⁵⁶² "Language", included in *Martin Heidegger, Poetry, Language, Thought*. (Trans.) Albert Hofstadter New York: Harper & Row, 1971, p. 192. See also Fredric Jameson, *The Prison House of Language*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

⁵⁶³, Mirzā Āqā Khan Kermāni, *Ā'ine-ye Sekandari*, Vol. 1 (Ed.) Zeyn al-‘Ābedin Motarjem al-Molk). Tehran: n.p. 1906, p 34.

or adhesive element in the history of nation. That is why Ferdowsi gains a key significance in the continuum of Iranians' culture. He debunks Manekji's effort for purification of language and, at some point wishes he had collected the language of the people in Iran rather than trying to impose an obsolete language. In fact, the composition of this historiography seems to be a reaction to Jalāl al-Din Mirzā's archaization. For him the pure Persian is senseless, but of course, he does not shy from expressing his anti-Semitic sentiment through aversion to Arabic language. "History", he maintains, "is the credentials of nobility and the testimony of dignity and virtue, and the evidence of originality of every ethnic group."⁵⁶⁴ Therefore, the nation will recover from the befallen ellipsis by learning about its past.

Less than a decade after Mirzā Āqā Khan Kermāni's murder, the Constitutional Revolution actualized what he had pursued through his life: the soul of the nation enlivened to fight for the establishment of a new socio-political structure. The immediate contributor to this nationalist discourse at the time of revolution comes by way of Mohammad Qazvini's editorial scholarship as of 1904. As allusions were made earlier, participants in this discursive sphere were not only connected to the expatriate intellectuals. Inside the country also the movement had influential supports of cultural reform. The graduates of Dār al-Funun had an important role in bringing the polemical and radical position of the outsiders into hybrid reconciliation with the cultural milieu of the inside. As Ādamiyyat reports, the courtier cultural figure, E'temād al-Saltane had already noted the necessity of reformation in historiography and historical approach.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁴ *Ā'ine-ye Sekandari*, Vol. 1, p 13.

⁵⁶⁵ Ādamiyyat, *Andishe-hā ye Mirzā Āqā khan Kermāni*, p 154.

The inclusion of the pre-Islamic era had already been considered in the re-writing of Iranian history. In fact, what Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi views as the replacement of biblical paradigm with that of archaic model in the case of Persianate scholars of India, had gained currency in the writings of Iranian courtiers as well. We learn from Afshin Mar'ashi how Manekji contributed to this new wave of historiography. Rezāquoli Khan Hedāyat's history of the kings of Iranian-racial genealogy (*nejād*), *Nezhād Nāme-ye Pādeshāhān-e Iran Nezhād* [*Genealogy of Original Iranian Kings*], is a case in point.⁵⁶⁶ Currency of pre-Islamic names in the Qājār era among the elite and the courtiers is further evidence to the rising interest in this new direction in the language reform movement. Since the earlier decades of the 19th century simplification of Persian prose, albeit not radically anti-Arabic in impetus, had gained strong advocates among elite and courtiers including 'Abd al-Razzāq Dunbuli (1753-1826), Qā'em Maqām Farāhāni (1779-1835), Hasan 'Ali Khan Amir Nezām Garusi (1820-1899) to name only a few. Nāser al-Din Shah's travelogues in fact offer outstanding examples of simple prose.⁵⁶⁷ With the introduction of print and press in the mid-19th century to the cultural arena of Iranians, a great shift also occurred in the conceptualization of the audience because print inherently seeks access to a mass-audience.⁵⁶⁸

Aside from that, importation of new ideas into the country through Persian newspapers and publications from Caucasus, Istanbul, Calcutta, Cairo, Leyden, and

⁵⁶⁶ See Afshin Mar'ashi, pp 63-64.

⁵⁶⁷ See Afshin Mar'ashi, pp 61-62.

⁵⁶⁸ According to Mirzā Golpāyegāni, the first book was printed in Tehran in 1239/1823 (p 13). The first lithograph print was apparently imported to Iran ten years after the introduction of the first type-set print in 1240 (1824), and the 1st lithographed book, a *Qor'an*, came out in Tabriz in 1248 (1832). For the history of print and publication in Iran see Hossein Mirzā-ye Golpāyegāni. *Tārīkh-e Chāp va Chāpkhāne dar Iran 1050 H-1320 S* [*The History of Print and Printing-House in Iran 1640-1941*]. Tehran: Nashr-e Golshan. 1378/1999. Also see Ulrich Marzolph. *Narrative Illustration in Persian Lithographed Books*. Leiden [Leyden] & Boston: Brill, 2001, pp 1-21.

London facilitated a dialogic interaction between insiders and outsiders over the essential issues of culture, society and politics. Nowhere is the sensibility over language better illustrated than in ‘Abdol Rahim Tālebov’s (1834?-1910) *Masālik al-Muhsinin* [*Manners of the Virtuous*] where the narrator, a representative of the insiders’ moderate view, and an advocate of the purist Persian who happens to be the same Jalāl al-Din Mirzā, discuss the significance of language to the national identity. Whereas the purist character of the conversation is passionate about the urgency for the nation “to cleanse the language from alien elements”, and grants a religious weight to this action equal to *jihād*, the narrator responds by arguing that “Persian language has gained its present sweetness through its combination with Arabic vocabulary”, and takes “the use of the purification of the language [to] a nation” which is literate only by one tenth under serious question. This criticism is precisely repeated by Qazvini on the same matter. The reasoning brings the disagreement between the two conversants to a close: “Jalāl al-Din Mirzā was listening with wonder.”⁵⁶⁹ Mirzā Jalāl al-Din’s loss of the argument in fact allegorizes what happened in reality. Mirzā Āqā Khan’s dismissal of purist language foreshadowed the emergence of such an inclusive view.

Despite his philosophizing of and concession to moderate Persian, this current was in need of authentic examples in prose. For the writers of pre-Constitutional Revolution the references were typically the language of Ferdowsi and Sa’di, or *Dasātir* archaic Persian. Sa’di’s *Golestān* was a dominant model for the simplification movement among the Iranian elite. It is not an accident that Mirzā Āqā Khan’s first known work at the age of twenty five, when he was still in his hometown, by the title *Ketāb-e Rezvān*

⁵⁶⁹ ‘Abdol Rahim b. Sheikh Abu Tāleb Najjār Tabrizi [Tālebov], *Masālik al-Muhsinin* [*The Manners of the Virtue*]. (Ed.) Bāqer Mo’meni. Rpt. of 1323 H edition of Cairo. Tehran: Enteshārāt-e Shabgir 2536 [1357]/1978-79, p 278.

(the book of paradise, or garden: another resonance with the title of *Golestan*, literally garden) was a collection of witty anecdotes in prose and verse in imitation of *Golestān*; or that the grand vizier, Qā'em Maqām's epistolary *Monsha'āt*—are modeled after the example of *Golestān*. Notwithstanding the unrivalled influence of *Golestān* in the curriculum of Persian language in Iran and in the Persianate environment of British-India, its technical features, for example, rhyming prose could not function as a model to be used with the mass-audience in the press and print culture.

Historically speaking, *Chahār Maqāle* came from a period in the history of Persian prose that stands between its infancy at the threshold of being influenced by the technicality and floweriness of Arabic style, and the beginning of its declining power as of the 12th-13th century when craftsmanship and artistry overcame pregnancy of the content.⁵⁷⁰ We remember how much the rhetoric of *Qur'an* is stressed as a model to adopt, and how emphatically the author advises keeping equilibrium between words and meaning. Until later in the 19th century, the term literature was used in the sense of belle-letters denoting both fictive and historical writings.

By the same token, textual criticism for Qazvini was a tool to authenticate a text that could set a model for standard Persian at a moment when the nation was fighting to establish legislative standards for the political system. To better understand the model of this negotiation we need to take a look at Qazvini's comments on the Persian language in his corpus of articles, notes and letters. A few examples will suffice. For one thing, Qazvini demonstrates ambivalence in regard to Arabs that originates from a distinction between his displeasure with their harm to Iranians and his appreciation of their textual culture, and does not have anything to do with racial discrimination. In an explicit

⁵⁷⁰ See Mohammad Taqi Bahār, *Sabkshenāsi*, Vol .2, pp 297-318.

distance from Aryan theory, he differentiates between race and nationality. This theory was drawn upon Indo-European theory of languages in the late 19th early 20th century in the Western cultural arena whereby the original speakers of Indo-European languages are deemed to be Caucasian race. He does not define nationality in terms of race. On the contrary, nationality for him is a cultural characteristic and is tied to the language.⁵⁷¹

Location of ‘nation’ in language by Qazvini was not entirely an import from the 19th century nationalist movements in Europe. In the case of Qazvini, his view was grounded in the native culture.

As I have mentioned earlier, for Iranians, Persian has been a strong element of nationalist identity as of the early Islamic era. Hence, in the introduction to *Chahār Maqāle*, talking about the reason for the loss of the predecessors’ legacy (āsār-e aqdamīn) he levels Arabs as one among a list of invaders with Mongols, Turks, Ghuz in terms of “*omam-e vahshi-ye*” (uncultivated people) through the coordinating conjunction “and”. In the same introduction however, he responds to humiliating anti-Arab views by acknowledging their accuracy in textual tradition versus the inaccuracy and sloppiness of the Persian scribes: “*This* is the condition (*hāl*) of those in the preservation of their early heritage whom *we* call feeders on camel milk and lizard (*shir-e shotor khwār va susmār khwār*) and *that* [my italics] is our condition”.⁵⁷² He admires the reliability of the Arabs’ method of textual transmission. On the contrary, Persian transmission, according to his observation, is unreliable for various reasons to the extent of agreeing with Ahmad b. Nahvi as he had said, “if a book is copied three times and is not collated it will turn into a Persian book” and adds to Nahvi’s words, “that is, unintelligible (*gheyr-e maqrū*) and

⁵⁷¹ See “Maktub az Paris” in *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, pp 88-89. On another occasion he explicitly takes issue with the idea of pure race.

⁵⁷² See Qazvini, “moqaddame”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p kab.

obscure (*nā mafhum*) like Persian to the language of Arab”.⁵⁷³ Thus, he draws a distinction between Arab invaders and Arabic textual culture: it is only the former that is targeted for doing harm to Iran.

Qazvini conceives of language as “one of the important factors of nationality for any ethnicity (*qowm*)”. For him, like for Mirzā Āqā Khan, it is the “abode of the nation’s existence”.⁵⁷⁴ Once, he furiously cursed the editors of Persian newspapers (for “ruining the sweet sugary Persian language” (*zabān-e shirin-e shekarin-e Farsi*)) and wants God to “uproot” them for “uprooting this old cultivated literary language”.⁵⁷⁵ Hence, he “wonders how to get it that these writers concurrently yell out with emotive patriotism (*vatan-parasti*) and independence of Iran, and [at the same time] they deliberately and intentionally cut the root of the Iranian nationality!”⁵⁷⁶

In using “*vatan*” in this sense, Qazvini subscribes to the modern meaning of the word in the sense of motherland.⁵⁷⁷ From this perspective Qazvini’s definition of Iranian-ness is discernible in the way he conceives of the Persian language. In a letter from Paris to a journal Qazvini demonstrates as much displeasure with “messy Arabic” (*Arabi-ye āb nakeshide*) as with “fabricated *dasātiri* Persian” (*Farsi-ye sākhtegi-ye dasātiri*) and “foreign French or English or German”. Then he explains that he does not have “any particular animosity against French or German or English language (even on the contrary) nor a special intimacy (*khususiyat-e makhsus*) with Arabic and nor, God forbid (*al-ayāz al-billāh*), does he have hate against Ancient Persian”. He clarifies that

⁵⁷³ Qazvini, “moqaddame”, *Chahār Maqāle*, p *kā*.

⁵⁷⁴ “To reflect on language means--to reach the speaking of language in such a way that this speaking takes place as that which grants an abode for the being of mortals.” See “Language” in Martin Heidegger, *Poetry, Language, Thought*. (Trans.) Albert Hofstadter. New York: Harper & Row, 1971, p. 192.

⁵⁷⁵ See *Nameh-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, p 83.

⁵⁷⁶ Qazvini, *Dowre-he Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 1, p 86.

⁵⁷⁷ For the transformation of this word and its associations in the discourse of Iranian nationalist discourse see Tavakoli-Targhi, pp 113-134.

his main preference is for “current common Persian” (*Farsi-ye hāli-ye/ma’mulī*) and explains that what matters to him is the communicativeness of the language which excessive insistence on any one of these aspects will be to its disadvantage.⁵⁷⁸ His criticism targets some contemporary “modernists” who, “here and there, have tried to expel all Arabic words from the Persian language by the excuse of taking Arabic as foreign elements which have intervened in Persian by some enforced historical exigencies” without taking into account the strengthening contribution of Arabic to Persian. His anger derives from their playing by double standards: “but the same people do not avoid using European lexicons and expressions”. Such statements echo the advocate of the moderate language in the above quoted passage,⁵⁷⁹ which reflects on the fact that Qazvini’s approach to language was in assonance with the inclusive mode of the insiders, although like Tālebov he was seated outside the country.

Another criticism he makes regards lack of consideration among exclusive revivalists about the transformation of the adopted Arabic into the vocabulary treasure of Persian. He maintains that due to centuries of co-existence these words have become a part of the Persian vocabulary. His view of language is not irrelevant to another aspect of the purist ideology on the matter of race. Hence, he distances from the theory of pure race and maintains that there is no such thing among great nations of our time as a “pure race”, and states that “the condition of languages (*hāl-e alsane*) and lexicons in this matter is similar to the condition of nations”.⁵⁸⁰ In grafting the language and the nation he also explicitly subscribes to the dominant ideology of Orientalism. Therefore, when he personifies language in terms of nations to maintain “often, these originally Arabic

⁵⁷⁸ *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, pp 83-88.

⁵⁷⁹ “*Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 1, p 87.

⁵⁸⁰ *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye-e Qazvini*, Vol. 1, p 124.

vocabularies, now for the same aforementioned reasons; i.e., due to their long cohabitation with the Persian language, and high frequency of their usage, ..., as of centuries have gained Persian *citizenship* [my italics] and have been ‘Persianized’⁵⁸¹ Qazvini also implies something about his definition of Iranian identity. In other words, he candidly stresses that the alien elements have turned into the components of what, for the lack of a better word, I call the *geolinguistic* character of Persian.⁵⁸²

Given the close connection between language and nationality, his legitimation principles for the adoption of foreign elements in language will be enlightening in drawing his theory of Iranian national identity by analogy as inclusive both of Islamic and pre-Islamic elements. Therefore, his designation of Jamālzadeh’s satirical short story, “Persian is Sugar” as closely illustrative of his own “idea and manners” (*aqide va maslak*) is illuminating.⁵⁸³ In this short story, the narrator ridicules the extremist tendency equally in the Arabicized language of a cleric, and the Europeanized language of a “modern” educated man who has recently come back from Europe. To sharpen the conflict he positions a simple peasant from a northern province and these two characters together in a jail under detention. The peasant desperately tries to solicit why he is put in detention, first from the cleric and then from the man with ‘*farangi*’ outfit. But, every time his jaw drops wider and wider in hearing their language to the extent of showing a face like someone who is under spell of a jinni (*jenzade*) by the strangeness of their parlances.

⁵⁸¹ *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāley-e Qazvini*, Vol. 1, p 125; also on the same topic see *ibid*, pp 114-15.

⁵⁸² Also, see “*aqide-ye Qazvini raje’ be zaban-e Farsi (hashtado chahar sal-e pish)*” [Qazvini’s Idea about the Persian Language: Eighty Years Ago] in *Be Yād-e Mohammad Qazvini* (Compiled and Ed.) Iraj Afshār. Tehran: Mowqūfāt-e Dr. Afshār, 1368/1989, pp 1-4.

⁵⁸³ *Dowre-ye Kāmel-e Bist Maqāle-ye Qazvini*, Vol. 1, p 97.

Qazvini returns to this point more clearly in another note, “I mean, there is no problem that we see some new lexicons and terms, whether adopted from the Ottoman or new Arabic press (*jaride*), or actually [the import of] the exact European words proper, and also that we observe some flawed conceptions due to semantic or rhetoric [are used]..., no problem. But now we see that the imagery system and the expression of that imagery have been Anglicized or Frenchized from top to bottom despite the fact that they did not use foreign words or sentences.”⁵⁸⁴ He draws a distinction between lexical elements and the grammatical framework of the language. His problem is not so much with words but with the syntactic structure; i.e., the grammar of the language, because the structure is the identity of the language: “It seems that the problem is no longer the language, but the head [thought] is changed into the French or English head”.⁵⁸⁵

Based on such observations on his conception of standard Persian we may conclude that his ideal model of Iranian modern identity is dynamic, hybrid, and inclusive of the Islamic trend. His rage against inauthentic or fabricated Persian in fact projects his displeasure with “*farangi ma’ābi*” in the manners of some “modernist” Iranians who deny the Islamic element in the formation of Iranian identity, just as it does in the rigidity of the fanatic traditionalists who resist reform and renovation. In both cases, such an Iranian cannot enter into dialogic interaction with the new world. Reconciliation between traditional and modern, native and non-native, he demonstrates, is the source of dynamic generation. Subscription to hybridity not only permeates his stated views but also dictates his methodology of textual criticism. By the aforementioned analogy, one may conclude that for Qazvini the mode of hybridization is based on the valorization of the native

⁵⁸⁴ *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, p 85.

⁵⁸⁵ *Nāme-hā-ye Qazvini be Taqizādeh*, p 87.

culture along with receptiveness of the new features; hence, just as grammar is the main property of a language that must remain intact of non-native influences, the native character of the culture must remain intact from irrelevant import of other cultures. He achieves this end in two ways. Firstly, by virtue of his philological approach, Qazvini acknowledges the association of nationality and language. Thus, he subscribes to what Thomas Trautmann calls the “European project of history of nation and history of language”.⁵⁸⁶ Secondly, by grafting the nation’s history to the history of language his obsession in fixing historical errors in *Chahār Maqāle* serves his nationalist commitment. Thirdly, he conceives of Iranian modern identity as a dynamic one because it is open to negotiation with non-native elements, adoption and appropriation of them to the strength of its original identity. This is different from a *subscription* of the self to other; rather it is a *compromise* between self and the other, which is the intelligent and humane merit of dialogue.

It is often believed that the ideology of nationalist identity in this particular hybrid sense of the post-Constitution era was born out of Berlin-based *Kāve* and *Iranshahr* journals in the modern intellectual discourse. In such studies Qazvini’s contribution to the ideological premises of *Kāve* is often marginalized by highlighting Taqizādeh’s role.⁵⁸⁷ But, looking at his views on language, literary heritage and national identity, and by evidence of his obsession with historical authentication of *Chahār Maqāle* it becomes evident that Qazvini was a key figure in the gestation of the nationalization project of the

⁵⁸⁶ Thomas Trautmann, p 2.

⁵⁸⁷ For example, Jamshid Behnām, *Berlini-hā*; Afshin Mar’ashi, *Nationalizing Iran*; Gholām Rezā Vatandust, “Sayyi[e]d Ḥasan Taqī[i]zāda[e]h & Kaveh [Kāve]: modernism in post-constitutional Iran (1916-1921)”. Dissertation. University of Washington. Seattle. 1977. ‘Ali Gheissari, *Iranian Intellectuals in the 20th Century*, p 41; ‘Ali Mirsepāsi, p 54.

early decades of the 20th century. Perhaps more importantly, his influence is not compelled by ideology, but by the kind of historically informed and humanizing complexity that is the very life of textual scholarship.

We remember from previous chapters that Qazavini conceived of *Chahār Maqāle* as a model of ‘good’ Persian for any “modern” (*jadid*) Iranian writer. He also conceived of his work as “a service to beloved homeland”. Moreover, he was engaged in the restoration of *Chahār Maqāle* and other Persian texts during a time when Iranians stood up to claim citizen status through a constitution. As we saw, in the middle of his scholarly work Qazvini was also involved in the events that happened during and after the revolution. The significance of his vigorous interest in the restoration of *Chahār Maqāle*, viewed in the light of these circumstances, moves beyond the limit of textual criticism in the traditional sense of the word. It unfolds as a self-conscious contribution to the moral recovery of Iranians from cultural amnesia, or forgetfulness, in order to encounter a world that was, in every aspect, far beyond them. This concern, he thinks, gains voice by the publication of *Kāve*.

The main concern of Taqizādeh and those who wrote in *Kāve* including Mohammad Qazvini and Jamālzādeh was to pave the way for modernity. To achieve this end the *Kāve* circle took upon itself a reincarnation of the past dignity in order to cure the nation’s forgetfulness about their cultural past. This past for *Kāve*, and for its substitute, *Iranshahr*, was grounded in the early centuries of the Islamic era, not for its own sake, but as the carrier of and evidence to the pre-Islamic identity which is too remote from us. Therefore, in these texts such as *Shahnāme* or *Chahār Maqāle* and the like, they saw the remnants of a lost past. But the identity of this modern Iranian is also based on the

acquisition of the European idea of progress. In an often-quoted statement, Taqizādeh wrote that Iranians must be Europeanized from without and within in everything.⁵⁸⁸ But then he interjected to make an exception for language. What may seem paradoxical in this statement contains a logical truth: to gain voice in the discursive sphere of modernity the nation must adopt the civilization of Europe, but must appropriate it to its own culture, just as alien vocabularies should be domesticated to the syntactic framework of Persian. Here, Taqizādeh like Qazvini formulates the mode of negotiation with Europe in the age of international and translational relationship.

Iranshahr (1922-1926) recaptures this idea and develops it further by accentuation of “the soul of Iranian nationality” (*ruh-e melliyat-e Irani*).⁵⁸⁹ Kāzemzādeh criticizes Safavid dynasty for the enhancement of superstition and fanaticism, but he appreciates them for two services: for the integrity and unification of the land, and for the unification of the Iranian soul in the garb of religion.⁵⁹⁰ According to this line of reasoning, the soul of the Iranian nationality is born in the juncture of dialectic clash between the awareness about the present devastation of the nation against the memory of the Iranians’ past dignity, through adoption of the “useful knowledge” (*ma’lumat-e mofide*) of various technological and scientific progress of Europe and other important eastern countries in recent centuries.”⁵⁹¹

What Qazvini established through his work during tumultuous years of 1905-1911 in the corners of European libraries was a prelude to a series of cultural activities that were launched under the nationalization project of Rezā’s reign. The most significant of

⁵⁸⁸ *Kāve*. 2:1. (20 Jan. 1920), p 2.

⁵⁸⁹ See for example, *Iranshahr*. 10 (n.d.):(266-277).

⁵⁹⁰ See *Iranshahr*. 10 (n.d.):(273).

⁵⁹¹ *Iranshahr*, No. 2, pp 84-85.

these activities include the establishment of Academy of Persian language under the directorship of Mohammad ‘Ali Forughī to enhance standardization of the language (1935), the establishment of the University of Tehran (1934) and the inauguration of the doctoral program of Persian language and literature at the University of Tehran.(1937)⁵⁹² It is not an accident that his cohorts were engineers of this cultural nationalism: Forughī not only was the director of Ferdowsi’s millennium, coordinator of the celebration committee of Sa’di and Hafez, but he was also one of the two founding fathers of the Academy of the Persian language (*Farhangestān*).⁵⁹³ Qazvini was the honorary member on the board of both institutions. The official change of the name of the country in European languages from *Persia* to *Iran* in 1935 epitomized a long-awaited ideal of the reincarnation of the unified country in what Afshin Mar’ashi terms a series of “commemorial activities”, and had gained recognition a few decades earlier in the intellectual discourse of Iranian nationalists.

Conclusion

Even though the purist movement found strong exponents inside the country, it was an imported agenda. Inside the country, this thrust for national identity informed a relatively different discourse as of the late 19th century which was based on tradition and was inclusive of the Islamic heritage. In fact, this reformist view of the Iranian historical past finds its expression in the works of a generation of the Iranians who came from a religious background, but studied European languages and knowledge, and had academic education. Mohammad Qazvini, Hasan Taqizādeh, ‘Ali Akbar Dehkhodā, Kāzemzādeh

⁵⁹² Iraj Afshār, *Gowhar* 6.

⁵⁹³ The other being the minister of education, ‘Ali Asghar Hekmat. See, “The First Farhangestān“ in M. A. Jazāyeri, “Farhangestān”, *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. Web.13 July 2012.
<<http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/farhangestan>>.

Iranshahr, to name only a few, fall in this category. Their thrust is “integrative nationalism”, as Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi once put it.⁵⁹⁴ Accordingly then, the Iranian identity, which some of them called *ruh-e Irani* (Iranian soul) is accumulatively grown” in the different periods of the national history.⁵⁹⁵ Qazvini’s conception of his work in terms of “a service to the language of the homeland”, and a model for any *modern* Iranian needs to be read within this discursive context, and in dialogue with the 19th century conversants. Even the practical aspect of his work which, time and again, is designated as “scientific method” reflects his dialogic interaction as a well-informed scholar of Moslem tradition with the Western method of scholarship. Talking of Qazvini as a tradition-oriented scholar and yet as the pioneer of “modern” textual criticism may seem a bit paradoxical. But, the controversy turns to be a well-proportionate cohabitation of the native culture and the imported knowledge.

⁵⁹⁴ Over a conversation.

⁵⁹⁵ Mohamad Tavakoli-Targhi in a conversation in 2007, in Seattle.

Conclusion- *Chahār Maqāle* and the Continuum of Iranian Cultural Memory

Through the examination of *Chahār Maqāle* at the crossroad of two historical axes and the continuum of cultural sensibility the text emerges as the carrier of accumulated layers of the nation's collective memory, concerns and nostalgia. It incarnates remnants of a past as late as some time in the 7th century B.C., in the dynamic setting of the 9th-12th centuries (C.E.), and brings them all the way down to the 19th-20th century when the nation's identity once again encountered new waves of penetration. It could eventually reach us at this particular moment in the history of the country and the culture in their breathless resistance to new waves of suppression and subversion from within and without as they are pressed between the two blades of fundamentalism and globalization, a two-fold subversion both of human reason and of Iranian identity. *Chahār Maqāle* can definitely speak to these emerging concerns at this moment in the history of Iran and the globe more powerfully than ever. Hence, it is time we should awaken its dormant potentials to help us in our new and even harder battle, or more exactly, several battles.

Through a theoretical framework informed by post-modernist critical views particularly by Foucault's notion of discourse and Bakhtinian mode of dialogical thinking, I set out by proposing that critical editing of texts is not an innocent unmediated action confined within a self-contained orbit. From this initial observation I developed a number of other arguments within the domains of textual and literary criticism. I tried to unpack the cultural significance of the text and textual criticism to call attention to the necessity of breaking away from disciplinary confinement as one way for enhancement of

democratization and dialogism in the socio-political arenas. For being at the center of cultures, both as the receiver and the contributor, any development in the domain of textual and literary criticism will be promising to other arenas of socio-political life. Therefore, in what follows I begin by an overview of current debates in critical editing theory to help us see to what theoretical zone the premises of this study and the developed arguments belong to.

My hope is that this dissertation is primarily a tribute to a man whose faith and passion in genuine scholarly enquiry through whole-minded diligence and commitment made a difference to our conception and reception of classical Persian texts as the evidence of the nation's identity. My hope also is that the insight from this dissertation, by establishing a dialogue between recent developments in the Anglo-American and European textual scholarship and a textual tradition with an exceptionally rich history and culture, can add to the richness of this meta-discipline of humanities in the West. By the same token, I hope it is a due tribute (a welcoming greeting in fact) to initial attempts made by some broad-minded critics in the Persian speaking world who have already addressed the relationship between texts and cultures. Such an interdisciplinary consciousness is now turned into a norm in Mohammad Rezā Shafi'i Kadkani's literary criticism which has recently extended to reflections on textual scholarship.⁵⁹⁶ But we have a long way to go before acceptance and appreciation of such a shift in the cultural paradigm. And last but not least, my hope is that this dissertation could add a further dimension to literary criticism and to comparative literature as the host of textual

⁵⁹⁶ See Mohammad Rezā Shafi'i Kadkani, "naqsh-e ideologic noskhe badal-hā" [Ideological Significance of Variants] in *Nāme-ye Baharistān*:1-2. (Spring-Winter,1383/2004):(93-110), Tehran. Reviewed by Sima Daad in *Nāme-ye Baharistān*.1-2. (Winter 1385/2007):(381-384).

criticism by illuminating an unexplored domain of Persian studies within the dialogic universe of comparative studies.

From the perspective of theoretical debates, the findings from this study challenge the conventional-philological view that is still prevailing in Persian textual criticism and in many other cultures, and accords with what Fredson Bowers (1905-1991) put forward in his address to the Society of Textual Scholarship, almost thirty years ago (1985) in these words: “The aim of textual criticism is to make the fewest mistakes possible in presenting the authentic words of an author.”⁵⁹⁷ This conventional view raised the hot topic of intentionality as a guideline for the editor to make editorial decisions. Bowers and Tanselle stand for this line of reasoning. Classicists and Medievalists, who generally work with non-authorial manuscripts under a condition that is very similar in many cases, including *Chahār Maqāle*, to the condition prevailing in the Persian textual tradition, have questioned this view on practical grounds. In the absence of an authorial manuscript, these critics, in the philological spirit of Lachmann, locate authority in the oldest extant manuscript either following the reading of this manuscript, or aiming at the reconstruction of *the* ideal lost original (archetype, Ur-Text). Another group, in the spirit of Joseph Bediér (1868-1924), has located authority in the most reliable witness (best-text) to faithfully follow its reading. And a third group has succumbed to belle-lettrist, or to common sense for the reproduction of, at least, a near-authorial text.⁵⁹⁸ Qazvini’s edition falls somewhere within this general tendency that seeks the reconstruction of the original text.

⁵⁹⁷ Fredson Bowers, “Unfinished Business” in *Text*: 4 (1988):(1-11), p 1.

⁵⁹⁸ Close to Houseman’s “sound judgment” and Qazvini’s “*shamm-e fiqāhati*”.

On the other end of this polemical spectrum stand a new generation of critics who are informed by post-structuralist literary theory, and began questioning the control of a historical author over the text. Michel Foucault's notion of "authorial function", Jacques Derrida's notion of textual instability, Wolfgang Iser's theory of reader-response, Hans Robert Jauss's horizon of expectation, Stanley Fish's interpretive communities, Marxist social criticism, Roland Barthe's psychoanalytic and semiotic commentaries, and Mikhail Bakhtin's dialogism heavily contributed to a burgeoning current of theoretical arguments against the possibility of fixation, which penetrated into the closed world of textual criticism to debunk the myth of a retrievable original text. Particularly important to such a dynamic flow was the interdisciplinary connection that brought insight from literary criticism, and through it, from other disciplines to critical editing. In fact, David Greetham voiced the interdependence of "Textual and Literary Criticism" and advocated this opening as early as 1989.⁵⁹⁹ At stake in such arguments is the acknowledgement of "instability" of texts in body and mind. In their breathless persistence, these critics have pointed out that conscious intention for taming the text is constantly undone by factors from external and internal circumstances. The most notorious among these critics are Randall McLeod who has unpacked several cases of inconsistencies in the English incunabula of the later medieval literature,⁶⁰⁰ and Jerome McGann who called attention to the sociology of critical editing by the example of the 19th century Romantic poets.⁶⁰¹ From a similar stance, Joseph Grigely pronounced the "eventness of texts" to accentuate

⁵⁹⁹ See David C. Greetham, "Textual and Literary Criticism", *Studies in Bibliography*: Vol. 42 (1989) (1-24).

⁶⁰⁰ For example, see Randall McLerod, "Gerard Hopkins and the Shapes of His Sonnets" in *Voices Texts Hypertext: Emerging Practices in Textual Studies*. (Eds.) Raimonda Modiano et al. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003, pp177-297.

⁶⁰¹ See Jerome J. McGann, *A Critique of Modern Textual Criticism*. Rpt.of 1992. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1999.

that “there is no correct text, no final text, no original text, but only texts that are different, drifting in their like differences.”⁶⁰²

Textual instability/fluidity originates from various sources, in particular, from the character of texts as “cultural production”,⁶⁰³ and even as “enabling” sites of cultural “transactions”.⁶⁰⁴ “Enable” or “eventness” both are charged with an acknowledgment of the text’s agency in the construction of meaning. The result from my study of *Chahār Maqāle* is explicable within the spirit of post-modernist debates, yet in some aspects as indicated, leads to original insights that arise from cultural differences, and which hopefully push the limit of our understanding of text in relation to the author, editor and national memory further.

Qazvini is universally credited for the inauguration of a systematic method of critical editing—if not entirely unprecedented, but un-systematized—in Persian literary scholarship. The essence of this credit draws upon a perpetual credence to the reliability of the so-called “scientific method” of textual criticism that Qazvini devised by the employment of methods of inquiry that was as much inspired by early Moslem scholars as by modern Western scholars in technical aspects. Through influences of the philological scienticism in European textual scholarship, and in collaboration with Edward Browne under the auspices of Orientalist institutions, he reproduced a number of medieval Persian historiographies, belle-lettre works and biographical compendiums in critical editions that were published in the Gibb Memorial Series, mostly during 1905-

⁶⁰² See Joseph Grigely, “The Textual Event” in *Textuality: Art, Theory and Textual Criticism*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995. (89-119), p 119.

⁶⁰³ See Joseph Grigely, p 118.

⁶⁰⁴ Leroy F. Searle, “Texts and Theory in Contemporary Criticism” in *Voice Text Hypertext* (3-21), p 5.

1912. His editorial methodology, designated as scientific, established the template of Persian studies in the modern era. *Chahār Maqāle* was the second work within these series, although it was published by a year or two after two other books. This edition came out in clear text with a copious critical annotation on the historical “flaws” of the author. Notwithstanding a variorum edition that Mohammad Mo’in produced from this edition, one may admit that Qazvini’s text, directly or through Mo’in’s edition, has been the main source for translations and non-critical editions produced afterwards. The significant point is that, due to Qazvini’s unrivaled command of Persian and Arabic languages and literary culture, and for acknowledged reliability of this edition, no collation is known to have been done on Qazvini’s *Chahār Maqāle*, and the source material. The insight from my examination of this critical edition allows for arguing, although executed by a most accurate intention of fidelity to the author’s text, it is only an “accented” or “appropriated”⁶⁰⁵ version of *Chahār Maqāle*. This edition speaks to, and converses with limits,—both human and technological—that connects the demands of a specific sensibility in a particular historical moment, a connection that could not be made without the text, and serves specifically that historical moment. Central to this view is the connection between literary criticism and textual editing, in recognizing that what the text mediates is not fixed; neither is it relativistic: it is, instead, the medium of continuity itself that succeeding generations can and do recognize.

Qazvini-Browne-Gibb Memorial triplet was a historical lucky coincidence. It was a lucky historical moment because Qazvini, a well-versed man in the tradition of Moslem

⁶⁰⁵ I borrow “accented” from Hamid Naficy’s title, *An Accented Cinema: Exilic and Diasporic Filmmaking*. Princeton: Princeton UP, c2001; and “appropriation” from Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak’s description of critical editing in “Introduction: Iran’s Literature 1977-1997” in *Iranian Studies*: 30:3-4. (Summer/Fall 1997):(193-213), p 206.

scholarship, went to England and met Browne in the heyday of European interest in the Perso-Islamic literary heritage. His acquaintance with Browne also happened at a moment when Gibb Memorial Trust was born to promote the production and publication of critical editions of the Moslem written legacy. Browne's engagement with the literary scholarship of the early Perso-Islamic literary history was another aspect of this lucky coincidence. One must also add to these the correlation between availability of Perso-Islamic manuscripts (raw material) to Orientalist scholarship when scienticism had gained dominance in the Western textual criticism. Yet none of these coincidences would have come to fruition had it not been for two key conditions: first, the dormant potentials of *Chahār Maqāle* that originated from its textualized as well as rhetorical identity and could be reactivated once placed in the relevant sensibility of the nationalist discursive sphere. The initiation of the project, aside from such institutional and social factors was motivated by an existential condition when ideological impetus that enhanced the creation of the text came in tune with the vocations of a historical moment that was inspired by similar concerns; i.e., redefinition of the nation's collective identity to stand against the hegemony of non-Iranian (*anirāni*) elements in the cultural, moral, and political arenas of Iranian life in the era of internationalism.

To reconstruct this edition Qazvini applied philological genealogy. In doing so, however, he encountered a number of impeding challenges including lack of authorial manuscript, temporal and spatial gaps between the provenance of the original text and the oldest extant manuscript, between his residence in London or Paris, and the location of the oldest manuscript that was in Istanbul; the split printing job as well as concurrence of his scholarly occupation with the Constitutional Revolution in Iran. Nevertheless, in the

spirit of a faithful scholar he spent some five years to produce a version of *Chahār Maqāle* that was projected to stay entirely intact by internal or external impressions and be a true, yet bilaterally corrected edition. As a result of his hard work, *Chahār Maqāle* has reached generations of Persian speakers in a solidly and reliably accessible edition and has contributed to academic Persian studies for several decades.

Close examination of this edition, however, has revealed a number of meaningful and unexplored ambivalences that, although hardly ever undermine the reliability of Qazvini's sincere achievement; debunk the possibility of impartial editing. In fact, when viewed within the social history and in the sphere of the intellectual discourse of the 19th-20th century in Iran and Europe practical and conceptual departures from the original text turn out to be the manifestation of even more powerful sincerity. By echoing nuances of the ambivalence and instability, they reveal sub-conscious continuity with and response to the sensibility that prevailed Iran and Europe in those tumultuous decades of the early 20th century. Contrary to the editor's intention, they operated on every aspect of the edition so that the more Qazvini intended to stay faithful to Nezami Aruzi's work, the more his edition departed from the author's text to re-join it in places where Qazvini had but the slightest expectation.

The distance between these two versions become even wider when we deconstruct the teleological positionality of *Chahār Maqāle*. Situating within the cultural and political milieu of the 11th-12th century a deconstructive reading of the text indicates that due to linear understanding of temporality a number of important questions about the text and the sub-text have frustrated us so that we have not asked about temporal planes that are embedded within *Chahār Maqāle* itself, or their mode of integration, or the

meaning that is constructed by the mode of its textuality. Qazvini was right to assign *Chahār Maqāle* a national-cultural significance. He was also right in giving weight to the language and historical information. But by turning this historical understanding upside down, although we come to the same conclusion, the text is given an active role in the construction of meaning, and that makes a profound difference.

It seems that one reason for the reception of *Chahār Maqāle* over the centuries, particularly in the 20th century by Browne and Qazvini as a repository of historical information stems from the playfulness of *Chahār Maqāle*. Right from the beginning the author introduces the text in terms of what may be termed as a “manual” of practical philosophy on the art of statecraft. The problem of “manuals”, as Leroy Searle maintains, is their transparency: a manual does not call attention to itself because due to its overt intention a manual is “subsumed in the subject it treats”.⁶⁰⁶ By trusting the author’s stated intention Qazvini, like readers over the past centuries, falls into the trap that the author, intentionally or otherwise, has laid for the reader.

The overt authorial intention in *Chahār Maqāle* sets the clock for the emergence of a series of consecutive intentions and purposes ranging from stated ones to implicit and sub-conscious authorial ones, and finally, to textual intention. Talking about textual intention may sound jarring/perplexing, but it is another way of talking about Derrida’s image of “endless” play of language (*mis-en-abym*), or another designation to succumb to the death of the author. In another round of playfulness, the case of *Chahār Maqāle* does not even exclude the author: textual intention develops in continuation of the author’s intentions. Now, the question remains where the text acquires this powerful agency. This textual agency primarily draws from the language, and then from its being a witness to

⁶⁰⁶ Leroy Searle, *Voice Text Hypertext*, p 4.

the common cultural heritage of a people who, despite centuries of territorial losses, fragmentation, invasion, and suppression under alien monarchs have preserved their cultural unity to date. Here we come to another kind of historicity of the text, whereby we read history through the text in a different sense. . This is also a paradigm shift from Qazvini's conventional reading, application of literary theory to textual criticism brings to a new reading of *Chahār Maqāle*. Linguistic accuracy is essential to the authenticity of the reference text, but it is neither absolutely reliable nor sufficient to explain the dynamics that motivates such transmission. The dynamics reveals that by shifting our attention to the discursive force of the text.

The true existence of *Chahār Maqāle* unfolds as we break away from trusting the author's words at face value to begin appreciating the complexity of *Chahār Maqāle* as a "self-reflexive" text in Searle's words. And *Chahār Maqāle* is indeed such a one inasmuch as it "constitutes a subject [a universe of discourses] in the very act of speaking or writing about it [text, state, universe]."⁶⁰⁷ From this perspective, textual criticism is still an archeological act. But, now we uncover strands of cultural nuances integrated in the text; or unearth strata of voices that are enmeshed in the embodying words. This type of excavation aims at reaching the depth of its living existence. Thus, like similar cases in many cultures, *Chahār Maqāle* stands at the center of Iranian cultural memory. These remnants reveal the continuum of Iranians' collective memory of its identity all the way back to Zoroastrian and Greco-Alexandria time, to early Perso-Islamic era in *Chahār Maqāle*. And then, it connects the past with the present, through Qazvini's edition. These nuances are discernible in various aspects of the text, now self-consciously, now sub-consciously, and yet seamlessly, to the extent of debunking the myth of a controlled act

⁶⁰⁷ Leroy Searle, *Voice Text Hypertext* p 4.

of composition by an authorial monolithic intention, in favor of a dynamic living utterance. As far as the entirety of the text is concerned, for the lack of a better word, I appropriate the term “textualization” to designate this textual stratification as equivalence for Bakhtin’s use of utterance, a historically dialogized language. But what made this connection possible? The answer draws from understanding text as the site of the nation’s collective memory where generations of philosophers, poets, essayists, revivalists, originalists, purists, hybridists speak through this text to the concern of national identity in the continuum of several centuries.

This study was begun by *Chahār Maqāle*. Just as in any case for authenticity we go back to the “text itself”, let us look at *Chahār Maqāle* in retrospect, albeit with a different rendition of the “text itself” principle than that of the modernist view. First of all, *Chahār Maqāle* has revealed itself over the centuries, as the site of the collective memory of Persian speakers. But the insight from this study allows for pushing the limit of our understanding of text and textual criticism still further beyond the prevailing idea of “text itself”. The study also reveals the limit of intentionality not only in the modernist sense of it, but also in the post-modernist sense. Even a critic such as Jerome McGann for example views authorial intention only as one of the “collaborative” factors in the meaning construction. He talks about intentionality within the limit of what the text is intended to look like at a linguistic level. Sociology of text in McGann’s view does not go beyond the material and institutional environments of production and reception. The study of *Chahār Maqāle* revealed that firstly, intentionality is not always conscious or discernible from the text, and secondly intentionality is also partly located in the sub-text. Hence, it is time we thought about pushing limits further by devising editorial tools that

can accommodate insights from emerging literary and cultural experiences in critical editions, and for that matter, *Chahār Maqāle* has proposed new questions to think about.

Appendix 1

(p 13)

BILINGUAL SERIES

Selections from
CHAHÁR MAQÁLA

(the Four Discourses)

of

Nidhámí-I-`Arúdí-I- Samarqandí

Translated from the Persian by
Edward G. Browne

HERMES PUBLISHERS
In collaboration with
**The International Centre for
Dialogue among Civilisations**

Amrī'l-Mū'minīn (may God perpetuate his glory!), by whose high station the Kingly Office is magnified. May God (blessed and glorious is He!) continue to embellish it by his Beauty, and may the Divine Protection and Heavenly Grace be a buckler over the form and stature of both, and may the heart of my Lord and Benefactor Fakhru'd-Dawla wa'd-Dīn, Bahā'u'l-Islām wa'l-Muslimīn, King of the kings of the mountains, be rejoiced, not for a while but for ever, by the continuance of both!

أَمِيرَ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَدَامَ اللَّهُ جَلَالَهُ وَزَادَ فِي السَّعَادَةِ إِقْبَالَهٖ كِهٖ بِأَدشَاهِي رَا بِهٖ
مَكَانِ اَوْ مُفَاخِرَتِ اسْتِ وَ دَوْلَتِ رَا بِهٖ خِدْمَتِ اَوْ مُبَادِرَتِ. اِيَزِدْ تَبَارَكَ وَ
تَعَالَى دَوْلَتِ رَا بِهٖ جَمَالِ اَوْ آرَاسْتِهٖ دَارَادِ وَ مَلِكِ رَا بِهٖ كِبَالِ اَوْ پِيرَاسْتِهٖ، وَ
چَشْمِ خَدَاوَنْدَزَادِهٖ مَلِكِ مُؤَيَّدِ مَظْفَرِ مَنْصُورِ شَمْسِ الدَّوْلَةِ وَ الدِّينِ بِهٖ
حَسَنِ سِيرَتِ وَ سِرِيرَتِ اَوْ رُوشَنِ بَادِ، وَ حَفْظِ اِهْيِ وَ عِنَايَتِ بِأَدشَاهِي
بِرِ قَدْ حَشْمَتِ وَ قَامَتِ عَصْمَتِ هِرْ دُو جُوشَنِ بَادِ، وَ دَلِ خَدَاوَنْدِ وَ لِيَّ
الْاِنْعَامِ مَلِكِ مَعْظَمِ عَالِمِ عَادِلِ مُؤَيَّدِ مَظْفَرِ مَنْصُورِ فَخْرِ الدَّوْلَةِ وَ الدِّينِ بَهَاءِ
الْاِسْلَامِ وَ الْمُسْلِمِينَ مَلِكِ مُلُوكِ الْجِبَالِ بِنِقَاءِ هِرْ دُو شَادِمَانِهٖ نِهٖ مَدَقِي
بَلَكِهٖ جَاوَدَانِهٖ.

تَمَّ الْكِتَابُ

Appendix 2

(p 62)

1- Descriptive Bibliography- Mohammad Qazvini's Edition of

Chahār Maqāle

On the top appears the title of the book in three font sizes:

کتاب چهار مقاله

تألیف

احمد بن عمر بن علی النظامی العروزی السمرقندی

[*Ketāb-e Chahār Maqāle* composed by Ahmad b. 'Omar b. 'Ali al-Nezāmi al-
'Aruzi al-Samarqandi].

در حدود سنة 550 هجرى

[about the year 550 hijri/1156]

بسعى و اهتمام و تصحيح

این ضعیف

محمد بن عبدالوهاب قزوینى

(Executed and corrected by this humble: Mohammad b. 'Abdol Wahhāb Qazvini].

به انضمام مقدمه و حواشى وفهارس ثلاثه و جدول

اختلاف قراءات نسخ

[Appended with the introduction and annotations and triple indices and the critical apparatus of variant readings].The bottom section is given to the provenance of the publication:

درمطبعة بریل در لیدن از بلاد هلند بطبع رسيد

سنة 1327 هجرى مطابق سنة 1909 مسيحي

[Printed in the Brill print-house in Leyden of the Netherlands. Year 1327 *hijri*

corresponding to the Christian year of 1909].⁶⁰⁸

The biggest font size is given to the title, and the editor's name, the next biggest size is given to the description of the content and the print provenance, whereas the author's name is in the third biggest size, and the smallest is used for the single word "composed by".

The left side opens as follows:

E. J. W.
GIBB MEMORIAL
Volume XI
CHAHĀR MAQĀLA
BY
NIZĀMÍ-I-'ARÚDI-Í-SAMARQANDÍ
(PERSIAN TEXT)
EDITED BY
MIRZĀ MUHAMMAD

Here the biggest font size is given to the publisher and the title, whereas the editor is given a smaller font size. The side of the book in most versions also carries inscriptions

⁶⁰⁸ This descriptive bibliography is based on cover sheet of the 1910 edition with "the cheaper binding" of SOAS (mentioned above), number PM891. 5511 ARU. This copy is identical with a reprint of the 1910, executed by Eshrāqi, in Tehran, 1363/1984. However, in this copy the misprinted page 289 is corrected with hand to 259, whereas in the SOAS copy it is not changed. This item is not corrected in Qazvini's personal copy, either. There, he only has marked it with pen or pencil. Obviously, then the Eshrāqi reprint must be based on the impression of the extra 370 copies mentioned by Browne. My descriptions of the content pagination are based on the Eshrāqi reprint, but occasionally collated with the SOAS copy.

with the name of the book, and the date of publication on the bottom: 1910, which is different from the printing date given on the Persian jacket (1909).

کتاب

چهارمقالہ

تالیف

احمد رضا خان علی النظار علی المعروف فی التسمیة ہدی

درجہ دکترا سنہ ۵۰۰ ہجری

بسعی و اہتمام و تصحیح

ایضعیف

محمد بن عبد الوہاب بن زبیر بن

بانیضام مقدمہ و جواشی و فہارس ثلثہ وجدول

اختلاف قراءات نسخ

در مطبعہ بریل کراچی از بلاد ہالاند بطبع مسید

سنہ ۱۳۲۷ ہجری مطابو سنہ ۱۹۰۹

مسکینی

01.21.2010 13:53



An example of Sols hand, *Qur'an*, verses 1-3, *sura* of "nisā" by Mohaqqueq. Web.
http://fa.wikipedia.org/wiki/%D8%AE%D8%B7_%D8%AB%D9%84%D8%AB, 15 July 2012.

Appendix 3

(p 69)

*This Volume is one
of a Series
published by the Trustees of the
"E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL."*

*The Funds of this Memorial are derived from the Interest accruing
from a Sum of money given by the late MRS. GIBB of Glasgow, to
perpetuate the Memory of her beloved son*

ELIAS JOHN WILKINSON GIBB,

*and to promote those researches into the History, Literature, Philo-
sophy and Religion of the Turks, Persians and Arabs, to which, from
his Youth upwards, until his premature and deeply lamented Death
in his forty-fifth year on December 5, 1901, his life was devoted.*

تِلْكَ آثارنا تدلُّ علينا . فانظروا بعدنا إلى آثارِ

*"The worker pays his debt to Death;
His work lives on, nay, quickeneth."*

*The following memorial verse is contributed by 'Abdu'l-Haqq Hâmid
Bey of the Imperial Ottoman Embassy in London, one of the Founders
of the New School of Turkish Literature, and for many years an
intimate friend of the deceased.*

جمله بارانی وفاسیله ایدرکن تطیب
کندی عُمرنه وفا گورمدی اول ذاتِ ادیب
عج ایکن اولش ابدی اوج کاله واصل
نه اولوردی باشامش اولسه ابدی مستر گیب

OR. 2955
نسخه "ب" قزوین

دند
دار
ر
حاکم
رنا
اد
وکار
ه
که
د
سیجا
بار
تا
نخ
کیسا

کتاب جهان برهان

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

حمد و شکر پس بر آن پادشاهی را که عالم خود را در این برهان
کرد بی دروغی در وجود آورده و عالم کون و در این برهان عالم است
که در این دیار است و بامر و نهی او پادشاه و اولیا و کجا است و بیشتر
وقت لم ملوک و در این برهان خود و در بر سر کون که فضل
و خلفا بودند و شاه پادشاه وقت ملک عالم عادل مؤید
موجود است و در این برهان فیض الاسلام و مسلمین قائم کفر
و است که این فایز الزامه و امیرین جمله پشوش و عالم
الملوک و سلطانین فیض الانام محمد الامام محمد احمد و جمال
جلال الامه نظام العرب محمد اسم العالم محمد المعالی ملک
ابو حسن علی ابن محمد و نصره امیر المؤمنین که زندگان این حکام
در زیاد پیشتر از عالم نظام او با و نظام احوال زین ادم جهان بود
که امروز فضل پادشاهان وقت است باصل و نسب برای پدید

Lithograph - Tehran 1305

سفر و پانچہ کتاب

کتابنا مخلوق کلامنا آفریده میسر مایدین سخن
 لاریدیم که شکرنده کیمای انعام هم است فی بحیر
 این پادشاه بزرگ خداوند عظیم را می باید دانست که امر
 رسا بهره این کرده انعم و دایره این چرخ خضر
 مسح پادشاهی مرقه ترازین ملک نیست ازین
 هیچ بزرگی بزور دار تر نه مومبت جوانی حاصل است
 و نعمت سدرستی برقرار پدر و مادر زنده برادران
 موافق زمین و بسیار چگونه پوری چون خداوند ملک
 معظم مویده مطلقه مندر زخم الدوله و
 ایران ملک اسبجبال طال است
 ارتقاء که اعظم پادشاهان وقت است
 مختصر برای تدبیر و علم جسم و تنخ و بازو کوچ و غیر

تداوند
کتابخانه
موزه
و اسناد
جمهوری
ایران



۱۲

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- 1- Citation format is a modified version of MLA style.
- 2- Sources are selected based on their relations as research tools, primary archival material, secondary topics around major themes of the discussion including the author, the text, the editor, history of Iran, history of Europe, philosophy, literary theory and criticism, textual theory and criticism. This bibliography is selective.
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- 4- Dates given for the Web visit are only the last visit, for reassurance either of their active stability or their content.
- 5- All the citations are from typeset print sources unless stated otherwise.

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