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Berengian · AZERI AND PERSIAN WORKS

Sakina Berengian

**AZERI AND PERSIAN
LITERARY WORKS IN
TWENTIETH CENTURY
IRANIAN AZERBAIJAN**

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FOREWORD



Sakina Berengian

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twentieth-century American literature is being published in
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TRANSLITERATION

Consonants (Persian and Turkic languages)

Consonants (Persian and Turkic languages)

b	z	q
---	---	---

p zh k

	t	s	g
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100	1	1	1

s sh l

10

[illegible]

h t v

	kh	z	h
kh	100	100	100
z	100	100	100
h	100	100	100

d c y

100

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(zabar) _____ a _____ ā	113
(zir) _____ e _____ i	113
(Pish) _____ o _____ u	119

	front		back	
	<hr/>			
high	i		u	high
mid	e		o	mid
low	a		ā	low

Back vowels (u o ā) are all rounded.

Front vowels (i e a) are all unrounded.

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Vowels (Turkic)

	unrounded			rounded	
	low	mid	high	low	high
front	ä	e	i	ö	ü
back	a		ı	o	u



LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AN Azerb. NAADIAS - Akademii Nauk Azerbaydžanskoy SSR, Nižāmi Adina
Ādābiyat vā Dil Institutūnūn Āsārlāri, Baku
- AR - The Asiatic Review
- ARFISH - Anjoman-e Ravābeṭ-e Farhangi-ye Irān va Showravi, Tabriz
- Azerb. SSR YIAAZh - Azerbaijan Soviet Yazıçılārı İttifaqının Aylık
Ādābiyat Zhurnalı, Baku
- BEO - Bulletin d'études orientales
- BIIS - Bulletin of the Institute of Islamic Studies, Aligarh
- BSOAS - Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London
- CAR - Central Asian Review
- EI - Encyclopaedia of Islam
- FO - Folia Orientalia
- IA - Islām Ansiklopedisi
- IVV - Institut vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk SSSR
- Izv. Azerb. - Izvestiya Akademii Nauk Azerbaydžanskoy SSR, Seria
Obshestvennikh Nauk, Baku
- JA - Journal Asiatique
- JRCAS - Journal of the Royal Central Asiatic Society
- KS - Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta vostokovedeniya Akademii Nauk
SSSR
- MDAT - Majalleh-ye Dāneshkadeh-ye Adabiyāt-e Tehrān
- MEA - Middle Eastern Affairs
- MEJ - Middle Eastern Journal

MES - Middle Eastern Studies

MIO - Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung, Akademie der
Wissenschaften, Berlin

MW - The Muslim World

NAA - Narodi Azii i Afriki

NDAT - Nashriyeh-ye Dāneshkadeh-ye Adabiyāt-e Tabriz

NKNI - Nakhostin Kongreh-ye Nevisandegān-e Irān

OM - Oriente moderno

PhTF - Philologiae Turcicae Fundamenta

PV - Problemi vostokovedeniya

REI - Revue des études islamiques

RMM - Revue du monde musulman

ShM - Shā'irlār Mājlisi

TK - Türk Kültürü

TKA - Türk Kültürü Araştırmaları

TM - Türkiyat Mecmuası

TY - Türk Yurdu

INTRODUCTION

The literature discussed in this study is mainly that of Southern Azerbaijan, which is a province of Persia. Hence the terms Azerbaijani or Azerbaijan automatically refer to that region, unless otherwise stated. The Persian works produced by the literati of Azerbaijan, thus defined, do not differ, historically or in the present century, in their essential characteristics from the main body of Persian literature. Accordingly, for these works our delineation is to be considered primarily geographical, rather than qualitative. The Turkic works, however, are more difficult to classify, since historically they drew also on traditions common to other major Turkic literatures. In the twentieth century, moreover, they have been especially influenced by the modern literatures of Turkey and of Northern Azerbaijan.

Literary influences from Turkey and the Caucasus are significant not so much in themselves, but rather as channels for European influences. And as such, at least in certain periods, these influences are not confined to the Turkic works produced in Azerbaijan, or for that matter, the Persian literature of the province as well. But ultimately they reached the literature of the country as a whole.

Insofar as these Turkic influences entered the main stream of Persian literature, they were significant only up to the mid-1920's and were bound up with the political and ideological forces which



formed the basis of the Constitutional movement. Staying within the narrow circle of literature, one may mention, for example, that populism and "critical realism", with their corresponding popularization in language and style, owe a great deal to influences from the North, in the same way that the socialistic component of the Constitutional movement was inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1905. On the other hand, the coining of new words for European concepts, the innovations in verse forms, and the effect of European literary schools (for example, European-brand romanticism) -- in short, matters of a more aesthetic and intellectual nature -- came to a great extent through Turkey in the same way that Western political theory and the liberal parliamentary component of constitutionalism did.

Following the common practice of Persian literature, we have divided the literature of Azerbaijan in the present century into the following four periods:

The first is the Constitutional period (1906-1921) in which socio-political criticism, which had begun in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, culminated in the most powerful and aesthetic satire Persian literature has ever produced. With the appearance of social content in literature, the age-old formalism, in turn, gave way to a functional and popular language and to new media of expression, of which the most important were journalism and Western-oriented creative prose.

Whatever special characteristics apply to Azerbaijan derive mainly from the geographically advantageous position Azerbaijan enjoyed as a link between Europe and the rest of Iran. The linguistic affinity between Azerbaijan on the one hand and Turkey and the Caucasus on the other favored Azerbaijan's early absorption of Western influences. In the words of Ḥasan Taqī-Zādeh, "Through knowledge of Turki, there were intellectual ties which were closed to the other parts of Iran" ("The Background of the Constitutional Movement in Azerbaijan," MEJ, Autumn 1960, p. 456). These factors explain both the progressive nature of literary works produced by Turkic-speaking men from northwestern Iran and the flourishing of Turkic as a literary idiom. Azerbaijan retained this position until the second period, when Reżā Shāh began systematic and direct relations with Europe, thus allowing Western influences to radiate from the center rather than via intermediary countries.

The second is the Pahlavi period (1925 to World War II) whose major characteristics are a political literature and a noticeable slowing in the general modernization of literature which had characterized the first period. However, it does not seem justified to assign all the blame to Reżā Shāh as many literary critics, Persian and Western, do. If this period is to be considered one of "counter-revolution", it must be so in the sense of a resurgence and reassertion of the spirit of classical literature as well as in the sense of a reaction to the political freedom of the first period. The dynamism and optimism engendered by the new national experience — the

constitutional movement — had not gone deep enough in any respect to prevent a reversion to the scepticism and mysticism of the classical tradition. As far as the literature of Azerbaijan in particular is concerned, the national unification policy of Reżā Shāh resulted in the suppression of Turkic as a literary idiom, to be revitalized only after his fall during World War II.

The occupation of Azerbaijan by the Soviet army (August 1941) marks the beginning of the third period in the development of the literature of Azerbaijan. The literature produced in this period was exclusively in Turkic and in nature was a combination of the basic Persian literary conventions, Azeri folk and popular traditions, and elements of a nascent Soviet-sponsored "Socialist-realism". Following the practice prevalent in Iran, we shall designate this period by the name of the leader of the movement, Ja^Cfar Pishavari.

The fourth period, 1946 to the present, may perhaps be best described as that of attenuation of the opposing extremes of the Reżā Shāh and the Pishavari eras in their policies towards the use of Turkic as a literary idiom.

The Use of the Term "Azeri"

We have used the term Azeri in the same sense as modern Turcologists and linguists do, i.e., as synonymous with Southwestern Oghuz Turkic. The following brief explanation will clarify our usage as against the older and essentially different designation of the same term.

The oldest use of the term "Azeri" signifying a language occurs in the writings of Islamic historians, geographers, and travellers in the tenth to thirteenth centuries. During the nineteenth century, when Eastern linguistic studies began to interest Western scholars, this term was erroneously interpreted as indicating Southwestern Oghuz-Turkic or Azeri-Turkic. This more or less commonly accepted usage, although false, continues to our day, even though historical and linguistic studies of the present century have definitely determined that, by "Azeri", the early writers meant the post-Islamic, pre-Mongol Iranian language of Azerbaijan.

Southwestern Oghuz-Turkic or what we today call Azeri-Turkic was the language of those Turks who, in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, migrated into Azerbaijan and some other parts of Iran as well as the areas comprising today's Soviet Azerbaijan, Eastern Anatolia and parts of today's Iraq. Azeri-Turkic did not take its definite form as a literary idiom until after the Mongol invasion in the early thirteenth century, when various other Turkic tribes joined the already settled and assimilated Oghuz Turks; the fresh influx of Turkic elements in the area enabled Azeri-Turkic to replace the original "Azeri", or Medic, the older Iranian language of the area.

Note on Transliteration

For both Persian and Azeri consonants an identical transliteration scheme seemed adequate. For vowels, however, it was found necessary to follow two separate transcription systems based on modern phonologies of the two languages.

Works from Soviet Azerbaijan, whether they be in Arabic (until 1927), Latin (until 1940), or Cyrillic, have been transliterated in the same manner as works from Iranian Azerbaijan.

Turkish, whether Ottoman or modern, is subjected to the same transliteration as Azeri, except in bibliographical data where modern Turkish orthography is retained.

Conversion of Dates

For the Hejri lunar years the Western equivalents are also provided; but solar Hejri dates, which correspond to the modern usage in Iran, appear as in Persian publications. These can be converted into Western years (A.D.) by adding the number 621.

CHAPTER I

SURVEY OF THE CLASSICAL PERIOD

Classical Persian Literature

By classical Persian literature is meant a large body of literary works produced not only in the area corresponding to present-day Iran, but also in Inner Asia, Transcaucasia, parts of India, and, to a lesser extent, in certain other Muslim lands. The range of this literature extended from the middle of the ninth century A.D., when Iran (or to be more precise the eastern parts of the ^CAbbasid Caliphate) recovered from the impact of Arab domination, up to the middle of the nineteenth century, when the linguistic and ethnic components of this large cultural area were enabled to develop their own national literatures, now under Western influence.

Our introductory remarks on this literature will be concerned only with poetry, for not only was poetry the major medium of expression in this literature, but also because classical prose has had little, if any, bearing on twentieth-century Western-oriented prose.

Strict periodization or classification of the poetry that is observed in some other literature does not fully apply to classical Persian. The changes in the one-thousand-year course of classical Persian literature are, in fact, more apparent than real. This has

been attributed by various writers to the continuity of the Islamic ideology and its resultant social institutions; to the economic determinism of a feudal system that lasted until the dawn of the twentieth century¹; and finally to that "dictatorship of a finished classicism" that forbade any significant innovation on the part of the post-Hāfezian poets.²

The prevalent classification of classical literary schools into Central Asian, Transcaucasian, Persian, and Indian originated with Y.E. Bertel's whose primary emphasis seems to have been on ethnic and regional contributions.³ The corresponding nomenclature of Persian literary historians, i.e., "Khorāsāni, Āzerbāyjāni,⁴ ^cEraqi", and "Hendi", on the other hand, denotes more than anything else, a chronological differentiation. Whatever the comparative merits of these terminologies may be, the earliest phase of classical Persian literature took its name from the northeast region of the ninth-tenth-century ^cAbbāsīd Caliphate, Khorasan and Transoxiana. This region was the farthest from Baghdad, the center of Arabic-Islamic control, and gave rise, under the semi-independent early Iranian dynasties, to the earliest manifestations of Persian national sentiment, language and culture. In literature proper, this entailed a pre-Islamic Iranian orientation, especially as regards the revival of Iranian heroic tales and a conscious drive to resist further Arabic infiltration of the language. Other characteristics of this first period may perhaps be summed up under attributes to youth -- simplicity, spontaneity, and vigor.

The ^CErāqi or, in Bertel's' terminology, the Persian School is associated with southern and western Iran and designates a literary school in which the influence of Islam, and the Arabic language in particular, was stronger than that of the earlier Khorasani literature. To some literary historians the ^CErāqi school had already set in with the Saljuq⁵ rule which succeeded in revitalizing Islam by absorption, into itself, of the earlier Iranian dynasties. At any event, recognizable traits of a new phase in the development of Persian literature emerged after the Mongol invasion.

Although of earlier origin, it was in this period that mysticism supplanted the vigorous realism of the Khorasani school, and by permeating Persian poetry "formed" and "for a part deformed"⁶ the development of thought not only for Persians themselves, but also for many other Islamic peoples who, for centuries to come, drew on this poetry for inspiration. Taking mysticism for granted, however, a Persian considers the ^CErāqi period as that of maturity in his literature and, without necessarily associating it with geographical delimitations, understands by the ^CErāqi school a body of poetry that combines in itself a speculative content with a highly polished form. To the Khorasani school belong the great national epic and the lofty qasidehs of the tenth and eleventh centuries. To the ^CErāqi school, on the other hand, belong Sa^Cdi, Ḥāfeẓ, and Jalāl al-Din Rumi, the three giants of Persian lyrical poetry.

The term "Transcaucasian" in Bertel's' classification, and "Āzerbāijāni" in the Persian classification, refers to the poetry

by a cluster of poets associated mainly with the Caucasian Shirvānshāhs who, in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, enjoyed a relative independence from the Saljuqid empire. A few literary historians trace the origins of this style to Qaṭrān of Tabriz (ca. 1009-1072), whose diction is taken to represent certain characteristics of the pre-Mongol Iranian-Azeri.⁷

Represented by Khāqāni (1121-1199), Neẓāmi (1141-1209) and a few others, the Transcaucasian school differs from the Khorasanian principally in language. Poets writing in this school showed little inhibition in adopting more and more Arabic words and in utilizing compounds — nominal, verbal, and phrasal — that were alien to the eastern style.⁸ In terms of content, the Azerbaijani school bears witness to a close relation with the history and cultural life of the Caucasus in which religion is particularly prominent. Christian imagery and symbolism, quotations from the Bible and other expressions inspired by Christian sources occur so frequently in the works of Khāqāni and Neẓāmi in particular, that a comprehension of their works is almost impossible without a thorough knowledge of Christianity.⁹ Rypka offers relative freedom from mysticism as another feature of the Azerbaijani school.¹⁰ Finally one may point to Neẓāmi's achievement in strengthening the purely lyrical element in Persian epic as another regional contribution to the development of Persian literature.¹¹

Owing partly to the Ṣafavid indifference to both mysticism and court poetry, Persian literary activity gravitated, in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, to the Turkic-Indian Mughal

courts of India. With the better poets of this so-called Indian school, a conscious search for new imagery was perhaps the major positive feature. With lesser writers, however, poetry produced in this style may best be described as suffering from the effects of inbreeding. The degree to which this poetry alienated itself from anything close to genuine poetical inspiration may be illustrated by the typically significant detail mentioned by Aziz Ahmad: "In exile in India Persian poetry continued to occupy itself with Transoxonian and Persian flowers, the tulip and the rose". The champak or lotus, along with native Indian birds and beasts, never quite attained the status of valid poetical material.¹²

Respect for the past and the absence of anything genuinely new in the way of ideological and social stimuli intensified in this period certain features that are common, in varying degrees, to all periods of Persian poetry. Intellect (along the conventional lines of ethics, mysticism, and theology) continued to outweigh emotion and purer poetical thought. The over-refinement of expression, in its turn, served as compensation for repeating old subjects.

To these three periods one might add the period called in Persian Bāzgasht or Rastākhiz-e Adabi, which began about the middle of the nineteenth century. This period of renaissance is distinguished not so much by the opening up of new realms of thought, as by a return to the purer and simpler diction and to the comparatively more direct and austere means of expression which had characterized the poetry of the pre-Mongol era.¹³

In the preceding pages an attempt was made to introduce the various styles or schools of classical Persian poetry. Here follows an equally brief account of its metric structure and major verse forms. Arūz, the Arabic-Persian quantitative meter, is based, according to the native definition, on a distinction between vocalized and non-vocalized consonants. This corresponds roughly to the Western differentiation between long and short vowels, resulting in their turn in long and short syllables. The feet or fractions in an arūz bahr (a metric variety) are obtained through a specific patterning of these long and short syllables.

Among rules governing the permissibility of deviations from the established and most elaborate metric norms, the following two are especially important for our purpose, as will be seen: emāleh, the technical term for the lengthening of a syllable which is by nature short, in order to meet the demands of a given position in a meter (Turkic languages -- post-Islamic ones, at any rate¹⁴ -- are especially susceptible to emāleh as they do not have long vowels), and zihāf, the license to scan a long syllable as a short one.

The smallest unit of versification in Arabic-Persian poetry is the beyt, to which we shall hereafter refer as a verse or distich, each being composed of two misra's or hemistichs. The combination of the number of verses in a given poem, together with its rhyming pattern, constitutes its verse form. We shall describe the major verse forms only.

The qasideh, associated in Persian mainly with court poetry, is a long poem of at least fifteen (but sometimes reaching to as many as fifty or sixty) verses with a rhyming pattern: aa, ba, ca, ... etc. In the perspective of nine centuries of qasideh writing -- the genre lasted up to the dawn of the twentieth century -- this class of poetry is often associated with artificiality and exaggeration. However, one should not lose sight of the fact that the beginning portions of these "purpose" poems, i.e. the parts referred to as nasib, often embodied much genuine poetical beauty. In fact, the most splendid descriptions of nature ever found in classical poetry were in the mold of nasib rather than of self-sustained independent poems.

The ghazal, the most favored and prevalent of all Islamic verse forms, is also monorhymed like the qasideh, the difference lying only in the length, as by convention the ghazal was not to exceed fifteen verses. Originally ghazals sang of love, wine, and the spring, but with changing social and aesthetic norms various other topics evolved as equally legitimate for this form. In fact, much that appears incongruous to a non-native in this form may not seem so if one dissociates the ghazal from the Western concept of erotic and bacchic lyricism -- and for that matter from the realism of the earlier Persian lyrics -- and considers it, rather, as a symbolic form of expression whose archetypal themes and fundamental symbols are as much at home in poetry dealing with religion, mysticism, and even politics, as they are in love poetry.¹⁵

In the masnavi, or the double-rhymed form (aa, bb, cc, ... etc.), the only requirement as regards rhyming is the internal agreement of each distich. Owing to this technical facility, the masnavi has served -- since its adoption in the tenth century by the Persians -- as a suitable form for long epics, metrical romances, and the lengthy mystical and didactic poems that sometimes form complete books in themselves.

One may end this selective list of Islamic verse forms by defining the several varieties of tetrastichs. The rubā^ci is the best-known and the only one among these that is rendered into a quatrain or its equivalent in Western languages. The rubā^ci may be written only in one of the established series of meters (all derivatives of the hazaj) and in the aaba rhyming scheme, whereas the do-beyti, often adhering to the same rhyming scheme, may be written in any meter. As we shall see, the difference between the rubā^ci and various other tetrastichs of Turkic origin lies mainly in the meter.

Classical Azeri Literature

Although some fragments of a folkloric nature are attributed to earlier centuries, in its classical form Azeri literature began with the late thirteenth century, i.e., after the Mongol invasion of the area. Strongly influenced as it was from the outset by Persian literary conventions, Azeri literature drew also on traditions common to the large family of Turkic literatures. To introduce this native Turkic heritage, together with the adjustment it made to Arabic-

Persian conventions in its course of development, is the aim of the following few pages. This we hope to do by a brief introduction of several literary works that were produced in the early pre-Mongol phase of the Islamic-Turkic literatures, a phase in which native features were at their most salient, even though already substantially tinged with Arabic-Persian conventions.

Pre-Mongol Central-Asian literature is associated with the court of the Qarakhānid dynasty, the first national Muslim-Turkic dynasty, founded in the second half of the tenth century A.D. in eastern Turkestan and Kashgharia. With the defeat of the Sāmānids at their hands, the Qarakhānid rulers also extended their sovereignty over Transoxania, then the most important center of Islamic-Persian culture and literature.

To the Qarakhānid court belongs the Qutadghu Bilig, the earliest Islamic-Turkic work, produced on the model of Persian literature, especially that of Ferdowsi's Shāh-Nāme.¹⁶ Written in 1077 by Yusof Khaṣṣ Ḥājeb, the Qutadghu Bilig is in masnavi form and motaqāreb meter. It is not, however, an epic exalting pre-Islamic Turkic heroes but rather a didactic work similar in content to earlier works in Arabic and Persian. The major importance of the work lies in that it consolidated the literary Turkic of its era and originated a Turkic tradition of literature in the model of Arabic-Persian prosody, stylistics, and concepts of art.

From the Qarakhānid era also dates the Diwān Lughat at-Turk, written (c. 1072-73) by Maḥmud of Kashghar. A Turkic-Arabic

dictionary, the work is primarily of philological importance as it systematically records the knowledge then available on Turkic tribes, as well as on Turkic languages and dialects, its literary importance stemming mainly from the illustrative material it uses in defining words. This consists of verses (distichs) and quatrains in syllabic meter, found in greater variety and regularity of form here than in the pre-Islamic K k-T rk¹⁷ and Uyghur¹⁸ documents.

Other technical characteristics of these verses, and a subject matter that is intimately connected with a nomadic environment, have led Turcologists to the assumption that the verse quotations in the Diw n represent literary productions preceding the adoption of Islam by the Turks.¹⁹ Principally on the basis of evidence found in this work (an evidence strengthened by information taken from K k-T rk and Uyghur sources), the following four principles emerge as the basic features of native Turkic versification²⁰: stress meter, strophic organization, grammatical rhyme and initial alliteration.

In the pre-Islamic Turkic stress system, as in the Caruz, the smallest unit of versification is the distich. The grouping of distichs, however, follows as a rule a strophic pattern as seen, for example, in the Buddhist quatrains of the Uyghur period and in the quatrains in the Diw n. What lends further support to the supposition that strophic structure was native to Turkic versification is its persistence in Islamic poetry written in the Caruz. The Qutadghu Bilig, though written in the masnavi form and in the motaq reb meter, is interspersed throughout with quatrains. Atabat al-Haq 'eq,²¹ also

of the Qarakhānīd period, is composed entirely, except for the introductory part, of quatrains, even though it too is written in the motaqāreb meter.

The tendency towards strophic organization in Turkic verse may again be noted in the favor which the mosammat ghazal²² found among early Turkic ghazal writers and also in the fact that the tuyuq²³ and the goshuq,²⁴ to mention only the two most important Islamic Turkic verse forms, are in fact quatrains varying from the Persian rubā^ci in that they are written in aruz meters outside the range of meters reserved in Persian for the rubā^ci.

Grammatical rhymes — formed by the repetition of identical nominal, verbal, and other suffixes — as well as assonances and echo rhyme (defined here as a less developed counterpart to the Persian radif) are considered to be native to Turkic as they are all found, in varying degrees, in Turkic pre-Islamic verse. However, in the Diwān, where the old grammatical rhymes reach their highest development, one can also see rhymes that result from the repetition of only final consonants or vowels, i.e., of the type close to Arabic-Persian rhymes.²⁵

As regards rhyming systems another important feature in the development of Turkic versification is the relationship between rhyme as outlined above and the native initial alliteration. In the Uyghur quatrains, for example, where there are no "end rhymes" or regularity in the number of syllables to each verse, poetical unity arises from initial alliteration (the identity of one or two initial letters in

all verses of a given strophe) together with the strophic organization of the verses.²⁶ However, as evidenced by the examples in the Diwān and perhaps under the impact of the Arabic-Persian rhyme system, the center of gravity in Turkic verse seems to have gradually shifted from the beginning to the end of the verse.²⁷

The adaptation of the Turkic verse to the Caruz quantitative system was never attained with complete success. Until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Persian-Arabic lexical elements had not as yet reached their highest peak in Turkic languages, Turkic poetry showed an extraordinary amount of emāleh (the lengthening of Turkic vowels to meet the demand of the quantitative Caruz). Even the fourteenth — and fifteenth — century poets complained of their difficulties in adapting to the new metrical system. Reading Köprülü's citation of a certain Turkish poet's bitter complaint, one is reminded of Procrustes' bed: "This strange, hard and unmaleable language that adapts so poorly to Caruz molds".²⁸

Although in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this problem was largely overcome owing to the increasing percentage of both Persian-Arabic vocabulary and of poetical clichés, nevertheless the question of emāleh was never solved despite the skill of even the greatest poets in the Turkic idiom. As late as the sixteenth century and with a poet as capable as Fuzuli, to take an example from Azeri literature, the unnatural lengthening of the vowels very obviously mars the otherwise flowing beauty of some of his best poems. Even in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when the

various Muslim Turkic peoples broke away from the supranational Islamic literature to form their own, the protest against the realistic technical difficulties of Caruz was nothing other than a nationalistic aspiration to go back to the native stress prosody preserved all along in the popular literature.²⁹

Less tenacious than emāleh was the persistence of the syllabic stress pattern in Turkic poetry written in Caruz. Particularly studied in this respect is the eleven-syllable meter which, together with the seven- or eight-syllable meter, is most prevalent among the ancient examples. Citing the Qutadghu Bilig as the earliest case of a poor adjustment, Bombaci attributes the obvious flaw in the majority of verses in this work to a clash between the ancient tendency in Turkic hendecasyllabic meter toward a 7 + 4 stress pattern and that of Caruzmotaqāreb toward a 6 + 5.³⁰ An analogous tendency appears also in the early Anatolian or Saljuq poetry (thirteenth to fourteenth centuries) with which the origins of Ottoman literature are strongly bound. This so-called Saljuq poetry, a body of mystical-lyrical works, was written under Jalāl al-Din Rumi's influence, its first specimens being the Turkic verses of the Rabāb-Nāme by Rumi's son, Solṭān Walad (1226-1312). As Ganje'i points out, from a metrical viewpoint Saljuq poetry represents a double personality problem.³¹ In other words, in the bulk of this poetry, written as a rule in ramal (another Caruz hendecasyllabic meter) after the example of Rumi's Masnavi, the quantitative meter comes out only by means of an extravagant usage of emāleh. If one disregards emāleh, most of these verses may also be

read in the native stress meter.³²

The traces of the syllabic stress pattern disappeared in formal literature after the initial period of adjustment, but resulted, insofar as Islamic popular poetry is concerned, in the change or modification of the stress pattern in some of the most favored syllabic meters. Whereas the ancient remains of the eleven-syllable meter show a definite tendency toward a 7 + 4 stress pattern, the prevalence in Islamic times of 6 + 5 and 4 + 4 + 3, in Azeri and Ottoman folk poetry especially, must be viewed as influenced by the moqtaqāreb and the ramal meters respectively.³³

moqtaqāreb: fa^culun/fa^culun/fa^culun/fa^cul 3+3/3+2 6+5

ramal: fā^cilātun/fā^cilātun/fā^cilun 4+4+3

Although it is difficult to ascertain their exact application, Köprülü's remarks may serve us as a definition of the historical problems of caruz influence on stress meter: in adapting to the caruz prosodical system, Köprülü maintains, early Turkic poets favored those meters which had an affinity with stress meter (i.e., meters that were formed by the repetition of equal feet and those that corresponded in the number of syllables to the traditionally most prevalent stress meters). There was, furthermore, a marked preference on the part of early poets for tetrastich strophe, a verse form that corresponded to the fundamental formal unity of the ancient Turkic versification. What is more, Köprülü goes on to say, in their predilection for the traditional four-verse strophe, earlier Turkic poets transformed into quatrains those caruz meters that lent themselves to division into a

balancing number of feet. This and a simultaneous manipulation of the rhyme yielded, according to Köprülü, the new ^caruz meters he cites as particular to Azeri, Chaghatay, or Ottoman.³⁴

The foregoing discussion on early Islamic Turkic versification was based, for the most part, on literary sources from the Qarakhānid period which ended with the Mongol invasion of Central Asia.

Among post-Mongol literatures Kipchak and Chaghatay form the successive stages of Central Asiatic Turkic and refer to literatures produced, respectively, in the Mongol kingdom of the Golden Horde and in the territories of Timur's successors, i.e., Transoxiana and India. Differentiated from these linguistically was Oghuz-Turkoman literature, or, to borrow from modern terminology, that of the Middle-Eastern Turks. Turkic culture in this area owed its strengthening and revitalization to the arrival, with the Mongols, of new Turkic elements and to the ultimate absorption of the Mongol element by the Turkic.³⁵

From Oghuz-Turkoman derives Azeri (Southwest Oghuz), a literary idiom that from the fourteenth century on produced a highly developed literature not only in what is presently Azerbaijan and among other Turks of Iran, but also in the Southern Caucasus, Eastern Anatolia, and parts of Iraq. Sheykh ^cEzz ed-Din Esfarā'ini of late thirteenth-century Anatolia, Fuzuli of sixteenth-century Iraq, and Shāh Esmā^cil of sixteenth-century Azerbaijan all wrote in Azeri-Turkic, an idiom distinguished from the two other major Turkic idioms of the period, Chaghatay and Ottoman, mainly by its linguistic peculiarities.

It is important to note that up to the sixteenth century, the use of any of these literary idioms was not necessarily confined to the geographical area associated with it, nor was the audience of a given literary work restricted to the area in which it was produced. On the contrary, a literary work in any of these languages belonged to the greater part of the Turkic world, and the important writers from each group influenced and inspired the writers of the other two. One can mention, for example, the influence of Navā'i, the Chaghatay poet and writer (1441-1501), on Azeri and Ottoman literature, and the lasting influences of Nasimi (d. 1404) and Fuzuli (d. 1556), two Azeri poets, on the development of Ottoman literature.³⁶

The first decisive divergence, however, appeared between Azeri literature, on the one hand, and Ottoman and Chaghatay literature on the other, in the sixteenth century, when Shi'ism became the official religion of Azerbaijan along with the rest of Iran.³⁷ In the course of the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries, owing partly to this religious-ideological schism and partly to the strong and ever-increasing influence of Persian literature on Azeri, the realm of Azeri literature became restricted to the area comprising present-day Northern and Southern Azerbaijan, and thus Azeri literature took on a local identity.

It was again the influence of the Persian language and literature on the language and literature of historical Azerbaijan (Southern Azerbaijan) which brought about a further delimitation in the already much-narrowed realm of Azerbaijani literature. In nineteenth-century

philological works, we first come across the expression "Northern Azeri"³⁸ applied to the Turkic language of the Southern Caucasus, precisely the area comprising Arrān and Shirvān. This linguistic differentiation, in which the Turkic dialect of the eastern Caucasus paralleled that of Azerbaijan proper, did not assume its political connotation until the year 1918 when the newly founded Turkic republic in the eastern Caucasus officially adopted the name "Azerbaijan".

We have seen that Azeri-Turkic as a literary medium did not take its definite shape until after the Mongol invasion in the thirteenth century. The social, political, and cultural forces born of the Mongol invasion also marked the end of the first period in the development of Persian literature, that robust and vital period which had produced the great national epic. By the end of the thirteenth century Persian literature was already in the introverted period of lyrics and mystical-philosophical poetry. Azeri literature, following the example of the Persian, assumed the same general character. And indeed the bulk of Azeri literature produced from the beginning of the fourteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century can be placed within these two categories.³⁹

The identification of Azeri literature with Shi^cism began centuries earlier than the Şafavid period in which Shi^cism was established as the official religion of Iran. The earliest manifestation of Shi^cite sentiments was in the works of Nasimi (14th century), the first important figure not only of the Azeri, but also of the Turkic world as a whole. Nasimi expounded the tenets of the



Shi^Cite-Ḥorufi sect in lyrics which are famous for their religious-mystical passion. Ḥabibi, the leading poet of the fifteenth century, was also a devout Shi^Cite and Ḥorufi. Khaṭā'i (poetical surname of Shāh Esmā'il, founder of the Ṣafavid dynasty) wrote his famous poems in praise of Shi^Cism, not only as a poet but also in his roles of statesman and religious leader. Shāh Ṭahmāsp (1525-1576), the second Ṣafavid ruler and a zealous Shi^Cite and patron of the arts, played an important role in the creation of a special literary category dedicated to the glorification of Shi^Cism. Presented with a qasideh in his praise, Shāh Ṭahmāsp is supposed to have said that⁴⁰

Poetry written in praise of kings and princes was sure to consist largely of lies and exaggerations Since it was impossible to exaggerate the virtues of the Prophet and the Imams, the poet could safely exert his talents to the full, and in addition would have the satisfaction of looking for a heavenly instead of an earthly reward.

The Shi^Cite orientation of Azeri literature persisted well beyond the Ṣafavid period and as a matter of fact well into our own era, but with the difference that in earlier centuries it had a more mystical-philosophical orientation and embraced a wider range of content from the various Shi^Cite sects and Ṣufi orders. But as the realm of Azeri literature narrowed down to the Caucasus and Azerbaijan, the scope of religious poetry in turn contracted to the mere eulogy of ^CAli and his family and to the sufferings and martyrdom of the third Shi^Cite Imām.

Besides the historical reasons we have mentioned, the basically devotional character of Azeri literature may be explained by the

deeper appeal this type of poetry was capable of exerting upon a large portion of the population. Whereas non-religious topics were expressed in either Persian or Azeri, religious sentiments were almost always in Azeri.

The purer lyric tradition in Azeri literature -- that is, the one in which the lyrical element predominates over the mystical-religious element -- also dates from the Şafavid period. To the first century of the Şafavid rule belongs Fuḡuli of Baghdad (ca. 1495-1556), the greatest figure of classical Turkic literatures as a whole.

Fuḡuli might justly be considered as both the Ferdowsi and Hāfeẓ of Azeri literature, for it was in his hands that the Azeri language was brought to maturity and it was in his works that Azeri classical poetry attained its ultimate refinement. For centuries thereafter Fuḡuli's influence on the poets of Azerbaijan was surpassed only by those of Sa^cdi and Hāfeẓ.

It is important to mention that both the religious and lyric traditions in the development of Azeri literature drew considerable inspiration from the Azeri folk tradition in which Turkic elements prevailed over Persian ones. M.F. Köprülü demonstrates how this loyalty of Azeri literature to its basically Turkic traditions formed historically one of the main distinguishing factors between Azeri literature on the one hand and the Ottoman and Chaghatay literatures on the other. In his words, "Chaghatay and Ottoman poets, faced with the prevalence and prestige of Persian literary conventions, looked down with disdain on their own literary heritage -- the meter and

verse forms which were associated with Āshiq [folk musician-poet] poetry."⁴¹

Shāh Esmāʿīl Şafavi, who wrote under the pen-name Khaṭāʾi, promoted to an appreciable degree the popular orientation in Azeri poetry. In contrast to Fuzuli's Persian-Arabic diction, Khaṭāʾi's famous qoshmeh quatrains are written in syllabic meter and in living popular language. It was also during the Şafavid period that the famous Azeri folk romances — Shāh Esmāʿīl, Āşli-Kāram, Āshiq Ghārib, Koroghli, which are all considered bridges between local dialects and the classical language — were created and in time penetrated into Ottoman, Uzbek, and Persian literatures.⁴² The fact that some of these lyrical and epic romances are in prose may be regarded as another distinctive feature of Azeri compared to Ottoman and Chaghatay literatures.⁴³

Whether the persistence of tribal life and of semi-independent khanates in historical Azerbaijan may satisfactorily explain the persistence of folk inspiration even in the formal literature is beyond the purpose of this study; the fact itself is amply demonstrated by the extensive list of Azeri poets who wrote in stress meter and popular verse forms from Şafavid times up to the twentieth century.⁴⁴

The folk orientation of Azeri literature is not confined to form, but is reflected also in its freedom, vigor, and simplicity, which might be characterized as a positive attitude towards people and life.⁴⁵ Azeri literature thus differs from Persian literature, which

is predominantly court-oriented. To this orientation towards people belongs that robust sense of humor which accounts for an extensive body of facetiae in Azeri literature and which characterizes the works of many poets from Azerbaijan even in the present century. Alluding to the prevalence of both facetiae and religious lamentations in Azeri literature, Mehmet-Emin Resulzade wrote: "A Persian Azeri poet either weeps and makes his readers weep to the point of blindness, or he laughs and makes his readers laugh to the point where their sides are split".⁴⁶

In closing, I could hardly do better than to quote from Alessio Bombaci, from whose valuable introductory notes in Philologiae Turcicae I have freely drawn throughout this chapter. In discussing the Westernization of literature among the various Turkic peoples, he accords to the Turks of Caucasian Azerbaijan what he calls "pride of place from the chronological point of view." Having given due credit to the cultural and literary lessons the Azeris learned from Russia (following their annexation by that power), he points to the importance of the Azeri heritage itself in the following words: "The Azeri literature, already before Western influence, had known a certain variety, spontaneity, and immediacy of inspiration and expression, thanks to the beneficial influence of its oral literature".⁴⁷

Literature of Iranian Azerbaijan from the Mid-Nineteenth Century to the Constitutional Era

Reflecting the broader framework of social and political changes in the country, the second half of the nineteenth century was a period of transition from the classical to modern literature. In fact, functionalism in expression and realistic social awareness in content -- traits identified with twentieth-century modernism -- were already apparent in literary works written before the Constitutional era.

From among poets and writers who wrote on the eve of the twentieth century we have chosen for discussion here Moḥammad-Bāqer Khalkhālī, a poet, and Zeyn al-^cĀbedin of Marāgheh and ^cAbd ar-Raḥīm Ṭāliboff of Tabriz, innovators of imaginative prose in Persian literature.

Moḥammad-Bāqer Khalkhālī (d. ca. 1892)⁴⁸ is famous primarily for his narrative in verse entitled Sa^clabiyeh (The Book of the Fox), where the adventures of a fox and a wolf and their struggle for survival are made into a forceful medium for social criticism. The work is more modern for late nineteenth-century Iran than the title suggests or than has been recognized so far. Khalkhālī's attacks on religion and other social customs and beliefs, and even on traditional poetry, are strongly realistic and only thinly veiled by the age-old use of animal allegory. His criticism of the traditional ghazal becomes striking when he applies the most sublime imagery of classical poetry to the fox's mate.⁴⁹ Tenets of mysticism are parodied when the

fox, posing as an ascetic, goes through a most esoteric exposition of what are known in Şufi literature as "stations" and "states" in the progress of the mystic wayfarer towards ultimate reality.⁵⁰ There are passages in the narrative where vivid characterization and precise analysis of his characters' emotions remind one in effectiveness of the characterization identified with Western short story techniques.⁵¹ His portrayal of a dervish's tricks of the trade has all the elements of a short story by the contemporary Persian writer Şādeq Chubak ("Charāgh-e Ākhar-e Sayyid").⁵² If he had written just a few decades later Khalkhālī would have been able to form his material in a mold different from the classical poetry which he so harshly criticized.

In genre, the Sa^Clabiyeh is not a folk tale. However, Khalkhālī's free drawing on oral and popular literature and the use of a refreshing natural imagery does in fact form the aesthetic value of the work, whereas his erudition in Persian and Arabic and his skillful manipulation of just about all the techniques of traditional poetics have, for the modern reader, a mere incidental value -- though one illuminated by contrast.

To judge by information given by Moḥammad-^CAli Tarbiyat, the Sa^Clabiyeh appears to have gone through repeated printings at the time Tarbiyat's Dāneshmandān-e Āzerbāyjān first came out: 1314/1935.⁵³ Mehmet-Sadik Eren of Turkey and Feyzullah Qasım-Zadā of Baku report having examined an edition put out by Ebrāhīm Tavakkoli-Khalkhālī in 1319/1940⁵⁴ (in this edition the Sa^Clabiyeh formed a part of the poet's collected works). The four printings seen by the present writer

all seem to date from the years following World War II: the Tabriz printing by Ketābforushi-ye Ḥaqiqat is dated 1327/1948; the two editions put out by Mo'assesseh-ye Aflāṭun of Tehran, as well as the one used in this study (Tabriz, Mo'assesseh-ye ^CElmi), do not have dates, though these too must date from post-war years. The two Persian translations of the work, both entitled Rubāh-Nāmeḥ, are by Mahin-Dokht Dārā'i (Tehran, 1955) and Qobād Ṭufāni Khalkhālī (Tabriz, 1960).

Pioneers of Modern Creative Prose

Imaginative prose, in the Western sense, owes its beginning to two men from Azerbaijan who wrote around the turn of the century. The fact that both these men, ^CAbd ar-Raḥīm Ṭāliboff of Tabriz and Zeyn al-^CĀbedin Marāgheh, had lived for many years outside Iran, in Russia and Turkey, must have been partly responsible for this major innovation.

Zeyn al-^CĀbedin Marāghe'i (1837?-1910) left Azerbaijan in his early youth and, after having lived for a time in Yalta, settled in Istanbul where, while engaged in business, he participated in the common political and intellectual activities of those Persians resident in Turkey. The articles he contributed to the paper Akhtar (a Persian paper published during the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Istanbul) and to Shams (another Persian paper published in 1909 in the same city) are important for their pertinent socio-political criticism and their facile and effective style. Even today they seem well worth a separate publication.⁵⁵ However, Ḥāji Zeyn al-

ʿĀbedin's fame rests principally on his Siyāhat-Nāmeḥ-ye Ebrāhim Beg (The Travels of Ebrāhim Beg), in three volumes.

The book was never published in Iran, but repeatedly in Istanbul, Egypt, and India. The long-standing controversy⁵⁶ as to the publication dates of the various volumes and editions seems to have been resolved.⁵⁷ According to the English edition of Rypka's History of Iranian Literature, the book was first published in 1888 in Istanbul; the second edition was printed in Calcutta in 1890, others in 1905-06 in Bombay and in 1910 again in Calcutta. The three volumes are of vastly unequal merit, principally in ways of expression, but also in their general literary and intellectual caliber. This, combined with the fact that the first two volumes appeared anonymously, has given rise, since the author's own time, to serious doubts as to the identity of authorship of all three volumes.

The first volume, the one translated into German (1903) and Russian (as recently as 1963),⁵⁸ ranks as by far the best. Written in the form of a travel-book, it gives a clever and daring criticism of many phases of life in Iran, especially of its political situation during the later years of Nāṣer ed-Din Shāh's rule. In fact, in this one volume can be found a catalog of most of the issues with which the satire of the early twentieth century dealt.

The second volume is important mainly in regard to its technique and its treatment of the subject matter; in it the travelogue satire of the first volume changes to an imaginative treatment approaching that of the novel in the modern sense. The hero, in love with his

homeland, dies of a broken heart -- that is, from grief over the unfortunate conditions in Iran. In his criticism of the traditional ghazal in the first volume, this was in fact an alternate course of action Marāghe'i advised to "the desperately amorous" (p. 27).

The third volume is a kind of Persian Divine Comedy, recounting the author's dream of a Persian hell and a Persian paradise and ends with a collection of essays and fragments on topics of interest of the day.

To give a feeling of the excellent satire of the first volume, we cite here some of Marāghe'i's criticism in the field of literature. The following satire on the qasideh is one of the many passages in which he muses on the fate of a country where ability to write verses and a good handwriting were among the highest qualifications for social and political status⁵⁹:

Some supply the king with a Me^cra^j (the ascension of the Prophet to the heavens); others revive Cyrus and Darius, putting guns on their ancient shoulders and making them bodyguards for the king; others assign the king the just-mindedness of Anushiravān and the piety of Abāzar and Salmān. Some of these shameless poets compare the hunting of a bear by the king to the valorous exploits of ^cAli. Others prefer to write in prose, comparing the king's trip to Europe to that of Alexander the Great setting out to conquer the world, and describing the king's meeting with the queen of England as if it were the encounter of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba.⁶⁰

The following passage, ridiculing the traditional ghazal, is a good sample of the commercial interests of the writer as well as an indication of the impending change in the scope of poetic concerns:

Today the market for snake-like locks or waistlines as thin as hair is sluggish; the bow of the eyebrow is broken, thus making the doe (the beloved's eye) safe from harm; in place of the black mole at the corner of the beloved's mouth, you poets must sing of coal. ... Now it is time for the whistle of the locomotive, not the song of the nightingale. ... The tale of the candle and the moth has grown stale -- encourage your fellow-citizens to build factories for candle-making. Give over talk of the sweet-lipped ones to the desperately amorous types -- instead, compose a song on red beets, the source of sugar. ... If you need to die for a beloved, die for the homeland.⁶¹

^CAbd ar-Rahim Tāliboff of Tabrizz (1835?-1909) spent the greater part of his life in the Caucasus where he combined trade with extensive writing on scientific, political, and literary subjects.⁶² Dwelling on Tāliboff's scientific writings, Bozorg Alavi regards the author's various brochures on physics, chemistry, astronomy, and cosmography as partly translated from Russian and partly drawn from Turkish sources.⁶³

In a different category by itself, and perhaps more useful for the Iran of the day than the above-mentioned translations and compilations, is Tāliboff's voluminous general introduction to modern science, Safineh-ye Tālebi or Ketab-e Ahmad (Istanbul, 1896). The Book of Ahmad is written in the form of a dialogue between a father and his little son, and though most probably intended as a textbook, "it served", in the words of Malkom Khan, "the needs of both children and adults as an introduction to European sciences".⁶⁴

Of historical importance in the development of imaginative prose was Tāliboff's Masālek al-Mohsenin (The Paths of the Righteous).

Published in Cairo in 1905, the book seems inspired by the Travels of Ebrāhīm Beg without attaining its freshness and spontaneity.

Whereas Zeyn al-^CĀbedin's work has a definite autobiographical element in it, the work of Ṭāliboff is an allegorical account of an imaginary scientific mission to the Alborz Mountains. In Masālek al-Mohsenin the discussion of the members of the expedition (most of them educated in Europe) and the experience encountered through the journey are used as a rather contrived vehicle for comparing the backward conditions of life in Iran with those in Europe. All too often, minor incidents in the story are used to introduce abstract discussions of broad principles such as the theory and practice of European politics, the concepts and application of law, the interpretation of modern European concepts in the light of Islam, etc.

It is a matter of general accord that in their simplicity and forcefulness the works of both Marāghe'i and Ṭāliboff were important landmarks in the development of modern Persian prose.⁶⁵ It is also acknowledged that the writings of both men are more than just mildly tinged with Turkic.⁶⁶ What is not generally recognized, however, is the fact that the borrowings from Turkic were not merely a result of the authors' long residence abroad; nor were they alone in the need to deal with the influx of new concepts. We shall see that this practice was continued well into the early nineteen-twenties when political changes in Iran, Turkey, and the Caucasus brought to an end an era of free and mutually beneficial interchanges.

We shall return to this question in the sections dealing with influences from Turkey and the Caucasus. To round up our discussion here it seems useful to quote from a Western observer who has dwelt on contributions to Persian literature by Marāghe'i and Ṭāliboff, especially in their capacity as intermediaries between Iran and its Turkic neighbors. Contrasting this with the effects of an "unassimilated profusion" of Western values in more recent Persian writings, Alessandro Bausani wrote⁶⁷:

... These [Persian writers] have perhaps made a grave mistake in detaching themselves ... from that current of moral and political renovation that was represented, among others, by Mollā Zeyn al-^CĀbedin and Mirzā ^CAbd ar-Raḥim Ṭāliboff -- men who enjoyed a fecund and direct contact with the modern Russian and Turkish cultures. Later writers, in contrast, seem to have taken pleasure in a strange admixture of sceptical existentialism and pessimism and of Achaemenian pseudo-patriotism and in turning their backs more and more on cultural cooperation with their neighboring Muslim peoples

Amin Banāni echoed these thought when he wrote that one of the most salient characteristics of the ultra-nationalist ideology which prevailed during the Reżā Shāh period was "an unhealthy, disdainful air of superiority over neighboring countries".⁶⁸

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. Zarre, A., "Ocherk literaturi Irana", as cited by J. Rypka in History of Iranian Literature (Dordrecht, 1968), 118-119.
2. Arberry, A.J., "Modern Persian Poetry", Life and Letters, 63 (Oct.-Dec. 1949), 233.
3. Bertel's, Y.E., "Die persische Literatur in Mittelasien", trans. from Russian by I. Engelke, Mitteilungen des Inst. für Orientforschung, 3 (1955), 185.
4. Among those Persian writers who recognize "Azerbaijani" as a major school with particular characteristics are: Shafaq, R., Tārikh-e Adabiyāt (Tehran, 1936), 212 ff.; Šafā, Z., Tārikh-e Adabiyāt dar Irān (Tehran, 1957), II, 342 ff.; Shahriyār, M.H., introduction to his Divān, IV, 6; Foruzānfar, B., Sokhan va Sokhanvarān, II, part 1, 134.
5. Bahār, M.T., Sabk-shenāsi yā Tahavvol-e Nasr-e Fārsi (Tehran, 1958), II, 359.
6. Rypka, op. cit., 82.
7. Šafā, op. cit., 423; Rypka, op. cit., 201.
8. Shafaq, Tārikh-e Adabiyāt, 219-220, 253.
9. Ibid., 221; Rypka, op. cit., 202.
10. Ibid., 201.
11. Ethé, H., "Neupersische Literatur", Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, II, 241-243.
12. Ahmad, A., Studies in Islamic Culture in the Indian Environment (Oxford, 1964), 232.
13. Sa^Cid Nafisi offers a novel approach to the classification of the classical poetry. He distinguishes the various periods by labels used for various European schools of art: he calls the Khorāsāni period "realist", the ^CErāqi "naturalist and symbolist", the Indian "impressionist". During the fourth period, according to Sa^Cid Nafisi, all these schools occur simultaneously and finally there is a reversion to realism in the twentieth century. See Shāhkarhā-ye Nasr-e Mo^Cāser (Tehran, 1951), I, 37 ff.

14. On the relations of the ^Caruz metrics to the vestiges of pre-Islamic long vowels, see Bombaci, A., "The Turkic Literatures", Philologiae Turcicae, II, p. XLV.
15. On the political ghazal see Bahār, M.T., "Baḥs-e Enteḡādi va Adabi va Ejtemā'ī", Armaghān, 27 (May 1936), 186 ff.; Rypka, op. cit., 266-269.
16. A. Caferoglu sees in the Qutadghu Bilig the influences of Rudaki and Shahid of Balkh, as well as Ferdowsi; see "La littérature turque de l'époque des Karakhanides", Philologiae Turcicae, II, 268; while confirming that the parts of greater stylistic importance in the Qutadghu Bilig are definitely influenced by Ferdowsi, Bombaci maintains that, as an allegorical poem in which dialogues take place among personifications of abstract ideas, the Qutadghu Bilig has no close parallel with earlier periods in either Arabic or Persian, "The Turkic Literatures", Philologiae, II, p. XLI.
17. Kōk-Türk inscriptions, the most ancient Turkic literary documents, date back to the Kōk-Türk Empire of Mongolia (sixth to eighth centuries), and contain elements of historical narrative, political oratory, and epic narration.
18. Pertaining to the Uyghur kingdoms of the Tarīm Basin (ninth to twelfth centuries), Uyghur literature is mainly of a religious character consisting, for the most part, of translations into Turkic from Manichaeism, Buddhism, and Nestorian origins.
19. Bombaci, Philologiae, II, pp. IV, XX-XXI.
20. Kowalski, T., Etude sur la forme de la poésie des peuples turcs (Krakau, 1922), I, 157-158; Gandjei, T., "Überblick über den vor- und frühislamischen türkischen Versbau", Der Islam, 33 (1957), 155-156.
21. ^CAtabat al-Haḡa'eq is another early Turkic-Islamic work; see Caferoglu, op. cit., 270-272.
22. In a mosammat or strophic ghazal each hemistich is divided metrically into two equal parts, each distich thus forming a quatrain.
23. The tuyuq, considered the ^Caruz equivalent of the syllabic mani, is written in fā'ilātun, fā'ilātun, fā'ilun, a variant of the ramal.



24. The qoshuq was originally written in $\text{fā}^{\text{C}}\text{ilātun}$, $\text{fā}^{\text{C}}\text{ilun}$ /
 $\text{fā}^{\text{C}}\text{ilātun}$, $\text{fā}^{\text{C}}\text{ilun}$. Each verse was divided into two equal parts
and the quatrain thus formed had the rhyming scheme aaba. For a
fuller description of the tuyuq and the qoshuq and other Turkic
verse forms, see Köprülü, F., "La métrique C Aruz dans la poésie
Turque", Philologiae Turcicae, II, 257 ff., where he cites
Navā'i's Mizān al-Owzān and Babur's treatise on prosody as basic
sources for verse forms peculiar to Chaghatay and Azeri, while
he himself provides a list of verse forms that are peculiar to
Ottoman.
25. Kowalski, op. cit., 160; Bombaci, Philologiae, II, p. XXII.
26. Gandjeï, op. cit., 144-145.
27. Kowalski, op. cit., 160; Bombaci, op. cit., p. XXII.
28. Köprülü, Philologiae Turcicae, II, 254.
29. İlaydin, H., Türk edebiyatında nazım (Istanbul, 1966), 58, 63,
85-87; Nour, R., "La Rime Turque", Rev. de Turcologie, 5 (1935),
59-64; idem., "Türk Aruzu Acem Aruzu Değil, Milli Türk Aruzudur",
Rev. Turc., 8 (1938), 32-34.
30. Bombaci, Philologiae, II, p. XXVI.
31. Gandjeï, op. cit., 153.
32. Ibid., 151.
33. Ibid., 151.
34. Köprülü, "La métrique C Aruz ...", Philologiae, II, 256.
35. For details see Barthold, W., Zwölf Vorlesungen über die
Geschichte der Türken Mittelasiens, (French adaptation) Histoire
des Turcs d'Asie Centrale (Paris, 1945), 87 ff.
36. For a fuller account of mutual influences of various Turkic
languages and literatures, see Arat, R., "Die
Entwicklungsperioden der türkischen Schriftsprache", Akten des
24. Int. Kongr., 411 ff.; Bombaci, Philologiae, II, pp. XX-XXI;
Khandān, J., " C Ali-Shir Navā'i va Āzerbāyjān Adabiyati", Shafaq,
No. 1 (Jan. 1946), 28-32.
37. In the course of the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries,
Chaghatay studies seem to have attracted Azeris more than Ottoman
studies did, even though the latter were linguistically of closer

- affinity to Azeri. Köprülü introduces ("Azerî", İslâm Ansiklopedisi, fasc. 12, 136 ff.) not only comparative Azeri-Ottoman-Chaghtay grammars and lexicons written by Azeris, but also philological and historical works written by them in Chaghatay. As late as the second half of the nineteenth century Fath-^CAli of Qazvin dedicated to Nāşer ed-Din Shāh Qājār his Chaghtay-Persian dictionary, Behjat al-Loghāt or Loghat-e Atrākiyeh (Köprülü, *ibid.*, 141). Zanbil, a work by Farhād Mirzā Mo^Ctamed ed-Dowleh (lithographed in 1318/1900), has preserved the text of an edict in Chaghatay issued by Fath-^CAli Shah Qājār and written by Mirzā Rāzi Tabrizi, appointing Mirzā Shafi^C of Mazandaran as grand vizier, Zanbil, 281.
38. Köprülü, "Azerî", 119, citing Mirzā Kazim Beg Därbāndli, Obshchya grammatika turetsko-tatarskogo yazyka, 1848.
39. Epic expression in Azeri literature is confined to works of a popular and folk nature. The earliest among these was the famous Dādā Qorqut, see Introduction to E. Rossi, Il Kitab-i Dede Qorqut; de Planhol, X., "La signification géographique du livre de Dede Korkut", Journal Asiatique, 254 (1966), 225-244; and the series of epic-lyrical romances written in the Şafavid period, p. 20 in the present study.
40. Iskander Beg Turkman, Tārikh-e Ālam-ārā-ye Ābbāsi, cited by E.G. Browne in History of Persian Lit. in Modern Times (Cambridge, 1924), 172-173.
41. Köprülü, "Azerî", 144. A serious attempt at reviving syllabic meter among Turkish poets did not come about until after 1911 when young poets, under Ziya Gökalp's populist and nationalist ideals, began to attack the ^Caruz and advocated writing in syllabic; see also İlaydın, *op. cit.*, 28-29.
42. Chodzko, A., Specimen of the Popular Poetry of Persia (London, 1842), treats Koroghli as a Persian folk romance.
43. Köprülü, "Azerî", 126.
44. Caferoğlu, A., "Die aserbeidschanische Literatur", Philologiae Turcicae, II, 645-647; Köprülü, "Azerî", 126-127, 143-144.
45. For the so-called democratic leaning of Azeri literature, see Vāzirov, V., "Un coup d'oeil sur la littérature de l'Azerbaidjan", trans. from Azeri by L. Bouvat in Rev. du monde

- musulman, L (1922), 101-120.
46. Rezulzade, M.E., "İran Türkleri", Türk Yurdu, II (1328/1910), Art. 5, 672.
 47. Bombaci, Philologiae, II, p. LXX.
 48. For biographical data on Khalkhālī see Ehren, M.S. (San'an, A.), İran Türkleri (Istanbul, 1942), 36 ff.; Qasim-Zādeh, F., "Mirzā Moḥammad-Bāqer Khalkhālī", Āzerbāyjan (printed in Arabic script in Baku), II (Sept. 1946), 35-37.
 49. Khalkhālī, M.B., Sa^Clabiyeh (Tabriz, 195-), 20.
 50. Ibid., 27, 33-34.
 51. See descriptions of the cock's terror, the fox's hunger pangs, the wolf's feelings of loneliness: 34, 14, 71.
 52. Included in his collected short stories entitled Ruz-e Avval-e Qabr (Tehran, 1965).
 53. Tarbiyat, M. ^CA., Dāneshmandān-e Āzerbāyjan (Tehran, 1935), 62.
 54. See note 48 above.
 55. Afshār, I., Nasr-e Fārsi-ye Mo^Caser (Tehran, 1951), 26.
 56. On the significance of the Siyahat-Nāmeḥ for the Iran of the early twentieth century and the initial controversy over its authorship, see Kasravi, A., Tārkiḥ-e Mashruteḥ-ye Irān, 6th ed. (Tehran, 1965), I, 45-46.
 57. Kubīckovā, V., "Persian Literature of the 20th Century", in History of Iranian Lit. by Rypka and others, 369.
 58. Ibid., 378.
 59. Siyahat-Nāmeḥ, I, 60.
 60. Ibid., 88-89.
 61. Ibid., 124-125.
 62. For further biographical data see Nafisi, op. cit., 85 ff.
 63. Alavi, B., Geschichte und Entwicklung der Modernen Persischen Literatur (Berlin, 1964), 76-77.
 64. Safineh-ye Tālebi va Ketāb-e Ahmād (Istanbul, 1896), 217.
 65. On the prose of the Siyahat-Nāmeḥ Browne wrote: "I know of no better reading-book for the student who wishes to obtain a good

- knowledge of the current speech" Literary Hist. (Cambridge, 1924), IV, 467.
66. Kamshad, H., Modern Persian Prose Literature (Cambridge, 1966), 20; Afshār, op. cit., 26.
67. Pagliaro, A. and Bausani, A., Storia della letteratura Persiana (Milano, 1960), 875. Bausani's comment falls short of doing justice to the achievements of Persian literature beginning with World War II.
68. Banani, A., The Modernization of Iran (Stanford, 1961), 109.

CHAPTER II

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERISTICS OF PERSIAN LITERATURE IN THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD (1906-1925)

As we have just seen, social and political conditions were first reflected in prose works such as those of Ṭāliboff and Zeyn-al-^CĀbedin of Marāgheh. Prose, as a new genre, was understandably not bound by the tradition of centuries as poetry was. With negligible exceptions, the poets, still oriented towards the court and the elite, moved in their abstract world of traditional poetry, "unruffled", as has been remarked, "by wars, invasions, and revolts".¹

The Press and Poetry

With the promulgation of the Constitution in 1906, the political, intellectual, and literary transformation of Iran -- in the making since the middle of the nineteenth century -- bore fruit in two closely related phenomena in Persian letters: the appearance and overwhelming growth of journalism² on the one hand, and the flourishing of patriotic sentiments as well as socio-political satire in poetry, on the other.

Topical poetry became so prevalent in the first quarter of the twentieth century that it overshadowed any other form of literary expression. This topical poetry was written both by the participants in the constitutional movement and by the professional poets, who were

now swept along by the strong wave of patriotism and general interest in public life. In fact, most talented poets chose to act as journalists, and the pages of the newspapers provided the natural place for the publication of these topical poems. In the words of Reżā-Zādeh Shafaq, "The newspapers became versified chronicles of the history of the Constitutional Period",³ and, in the words of Ehsan Yarshater, only "The sincerity and artistic integrity of a group of gifted poets, trained in the school of Persian classics, saved the writings from falling into the category of versified political pamphleteering".⁴

Granting the exaggerations and naiveté of the then current preoccupation with politics, one may say that in ideas and ideologies, twentieth-century Iran has not witnessed a richer period. The concepts of Pan-Islamism, socialism, and nationalism,⁵ mutually contradictory as they were, all found zealous and sincere expression in the poetry of this period. Pan-Islamism, designed to present a united front to Western imperialism, had been growing since the second half of the nineteenth century; socialism, sparked by the Russian Revolution of 1905, gained articulate supporters in poetry after the Revolution of 1917; and nationalism was an integral component of the intellectual and political ideas which had been reaching Iran from Western Europe. The final predominance of Persian nationalism to the exclusion of the other two ideals, sealed by Reżā Shāh in the 1920's, marked the end of this era of significant changes.



Apart from its political goals, the poetry of the Constitutional Period offered a most striking contrast to traditional poetry in that it treated not only social and cultural questions of general concern, such as education, the emancipation of women and the labor problem, but also questions of what one might call a technical nature, e.g., propagation of new scientific inventions, agriculture, economics, means of transportation, health, hygiene, etc.⁶

In spirit, the literature of the Constitutional Period is the most dynamic and optimistic of modern Persian literature. The genuine enthusiasm for what had been accomplished, combined with high hopes for the future, created a body of spontaneous and vital poetry. The socio-political satire especially, inspired to a great extent by the paper Mollā Nāser ed-Dīn and the poems of Mirzā ^cAli Akbar Šāber, (pp. 56-66), created a sweeping and exuberant literary genre never surpassed.

Whereas poetry in the earlier centuries had concerned itself with the court and the cultured elite, it now reached, by means of newspapers, a much wider audience. The poets' interest in the people, in turn, involved the simplification of poetic diction even to the level of colloquialism and slang. As Machalski has stated,⁷ ordinary language thus finally appropriated its rights of citizenship. Stress on humor and the adoption of popular and folk verse forms were yet other means to reach the common man.⁸

The changes in modes of expression were not of a magnitude commensurate with those in subject matter. The ghazal and the qasideh

forms still persisted, with the difference that they were now put to the service of new topics. The ghazal form especially was ingeniously extended to express patriotic sentiments and a wide variety of social and political issues. It is true that the use of the ghazal form for politics was not the creation of the twentieth century,⁹ but the widespread and uninhibited application of its imagery and phraseology to politics is certainly typical of the present century.

Concepts such as parliamentarianism, constitutional monarchy or a republican form of government, nation, justice, freedom, a ministerial cabinet, administrative corruption — these were all expressed in terms of the beloved's hair and lips, the lovers' union, their separation, rivalry in love, conventional metaphors of the moth and the flame, the rose and the nightingale, etc.¹⁰ In the political treatments of this period, vatan (the motherland), especially, assumed the form of the "beloved" with all the attributes of flesh and blood. In the following poem by Jo^cjez the motherland is portrayed as a beloved with languid eyes, skin as delicate as flower petals and lips as tight as rosebuds ... and of course the poet will not consent to have her carried off by a foreigner¹¹:

چون سور قلب سنی د ید ه سنی جان سنی سومیم من نیجه ای سرو خرامان سنی
گل بدن زلف سمن غنچه د هن شیرین لب اومه سین ایگلمسین نیلسین انسان سنی
ورموم مفت سنی ای وطن اغیار الینه

However, ^CAref of Qazvin is the most noted among the poets of the period for the treatment of political topics with traditional ghazal imagery. In the poem entitled "Cliquishness and Benightedness",¹² he uses one of the well-known images of classical poetry to criticize the adoption of Western political devices by native professional politicians. The gist of the verse is as follows: if, in times past, a comb could barely penetrate the locks of the beloved, because of lovers' hearts entangled in it, nowadays this is infinitely more difficult since the hearts are engaged in forming cliques that pass for parties -- playing the game of politics. In the poem "Del-e Kārgar" ("The Heart of the Laborer")¹³ he likens the misery inflicted upon the laborer by the capitalist to the cruelty of the beloved towards the lover. And in "Jomhuri-ye ^CEshq va Saltanat-e Hōsn", the poet, having witnessed the violability of the divine right of kings, is all too anxious to stand up for the republic of love rather than the monarchy of beauty.¹⁴

Similar to the readaptation of the ghazal was that of religious poetry in Azerbaijan. Many poems written on social and political issues employed the rhymes, rhythms, and even the refrains (the exact words) of favorite religious elegies, no doubt to profit by their immediate appeal.¹⁵

In considering the external structure of poetry in this period, one might mention as a characteristic feature the unusual flourishing of a wide variety of strophic poems in contrast to the monolithic structure of the most important verse forms of classical poetry.

In the classical forms -- whether the double-rhyme masnawi or the monorhyme varieties of the qasideh, ghazal, and qet^Ceh -- one or several topics were set to verse without any formal transitions. Although the many varieties of strophic poetry, such as mosammat, tarikib-band, tarji^C-band, and the varieties without the linking couplet such as morabba^C, mokhammas, etc., have their origins in classical poetry, nevertheless the marked thriving of these in the poetry of the Constitutional Period might have been due to the mood and needs of the new era. The trend from the lengthy solid structure of the traditional forms to the new fashion of writing in stanzas reminds one of the device of paragraphing, with its organizational and aesthetic aims. Furthermore, in the prevalence of writing in stanzas the general rapprochement of formal and folk poetry, especially the example offered by popular song patterns, must have played an important role.¹⁶

In addition to strophic poems, the mostazād was another form widely used, especially in the early Constitutional Period. (The mostazād is formed by attaching to each hemistich of a verse a short line or a few words consisting of a foot or more of the meter. These complementary lines may be omitted in reading without impairment of the meaning of the poem, but if read they heighten the total effect.) By becoming one of the most popular verse forms of the period, the mostazād attuned the public taste to the acceptance of verses of different lengths, in itself a significant step in the direction of the modernization of verse.

Besides strophic poems and the mostazād, one may mention another form popular in this period which also carried an authentic classical Persian pedigree: the bahr-e taviḥ, in which a perpetual-motion-like quality is created by the repetition, ad infinitum, of only two caruz feet or measures. This in turn makes it possible to dispense with regular rhyming and also to draw out the "poem" to lengths that are appropriate to, and feasible in, prose only. The gain in popularity of this form may be considered as another step in the general rapprochement of prose and verse (some writers have attributed this trend to the results of prose translations of European poetry).¹⁷

While the mostazād, the bahr-e taviḥ, and the various kinds of strophic poems were only modifications and improvements on traditional forms, the changes in rhyme schemes were brought about by influences from the West. The essence of these changes might perhaps be described as a departure from the principles of symmetry which had been characteristic of the traditional patterns. Although true free patterning -- where the total effect of the whole composition would be sought without regard to the balance of parts -- was only achieved much later, the efforts of this period are notable as the beginning of new trends.

Dehkhodā of Qazvin in his famous elegy is generally considered the first poet to introduce a European rhyme scheme. The poem,¹⁸ whose possible source of inspiration is described elsewhere in this study (p. 75), is strophic in organization and exhibits a rhyming pattern widely divergent from the classical (in each stanza, the first, third,

fifth, and seventh hemistichs rhyme in one way, while the second, fourth, sixth, and eighth rhyme in another; and the refrains of all the strophes rhyme in the same way as the opening hemistich of the poem).

Iraj Mirzā of Tabriz, the most brilliant figure of poetry in many respects, was conservative in regard to verse forms. He ridiculed the innovations of the period in his long poem derisively entitled Enqelāb-e Adabi (The Literary Revolution)¹⁹:

میکنم قافیه هارا پس و پیش تا شوم نابغه روره خویش

I play around with the order of rhymes
In order to become the genius of my times.

Nevertheless, it is in his *divan* that we find the pattern closest to the modern *do-beytis* (stanzas composed of two distichs). The poem,²⁰ whose opening stanzas are quoted below, is notable for more than simply its innovation in form. However, we cite it here merely to demonstrate the rhyme pattern: ababd; deded (c being the fifth or linking line).

صبحدم کاین طایر چرخ آشیان آفتابی گردد از بالای کوه
تافته رخ بال کوبان پر زنان از پر و بالش چمن گیرد شکوه
نغمه خوان مرغ سحر بر شاخسار
بنی آن پروانه خوش خط و خال جسته بیرون از غلاف پیرهن
با پروالی پر از زرین نقط سرزند یک یک بگلهای چمن
بوسد اینرا غیب و آنرا عذار

By eliminating the linking line in the above pattern, Ja^Cfar Khamne'i probably created the consecutive two-liners that are much favored in poetry today.²¹

In addition to the adoption of European rhyme schemes, there appeared other minor changes in the classical patterns such as the forming of rhyme words according to tonal values (assonance) independently of word construction.²² The composition, in this period, of poems with uneven numbers of verses in their stanzas may be considered evidence of a departure from the symmetry of the general two-hemistich pattern of classical prosody and a growing trend toward taking the verse (hemistich) rather than the couplet (distich) as the unit of poetic composition. The then prevalent designations solasi (triplet), khomasi (quintuplet), and sobā^Ci (septet) present the modern counterparts of the classical mosallas, mokhammas, and so forth.²³

However, the foundation of classical poetry, i.e., caruz or quantitative meter, remained unchanged. Perhaps under the influence of Turkish writers one or two poets tried their hands at stress meter, but they met with ridicule.²⁴

Most Persian critics tend to minimize the significance of these innovations, reasoning that most of the forms predominant in this period already existed in classical poetry. Others discredit them as adulterations of the classical forms. However, it is not difficult to see that attempts at exploring the possibilities of the old forms, the spirit of experimentation, and the dynamism which brought all these

about were of prime importance in relaxing the rigidity of old canons and in paving the way for the achievements of the later periods. And clearly the dynamism was provided by the example of the West.

Features Peculiar to Azerbaijan

One can safely say that among the literary innovators of the first quarter of the century, the Turkic-speaking peoples from Northwest Iran deserve most of the credit. The introduction of drama into Persian literature was the contribution of Fath-^CAli Ākhond-Zādeh (pp. 50-56), originally from Iranian Azerbaijan. As we have seen, the credit for introducing the Western genre of imaginative prose goes to two Azerbaijani men, Ṭāliboff and Zeyn al-^CĀbedin Marāghe'i, who wrote around the turn of the century (p. 24). ^CAli-Akbar Dehkhodā of Qazvin, largely indebted to Jalil Māmmāt-Qulī-Zadā and ^CAli Akbar-Ṣāber of the paper Mollā Nāser ed-Din (p. 56), is still unsurpassed in modern literature as a social and political satirist. To Iraj Mirzā of Tabriz (p. 86) goes the credit for breaking the spell of stilted formal poetical diction. He won the battle with "the dictatorship of 'correct' vocabulary and composition" by the sheer force of his poetical gifts, brilliant wit, and sober intellect. It is a matter of general accord that the first period of Persian literature did not have any greater men than Iraj and Dehkhodā.

Even outside the strict field of literature, the causes of Persian philology and history in the present century have been well served by Turkic-speaking men who were for the most part the product

of the first period. It was Ḥasan Taqī-Zādeh, Moḥammad Qazvini, and Aḥmad Kasravi who introduced literary criticism and modern historiography, as well as research and scholarship in the Western sense, into Iran. These men wrote in Persian and identified themselves strictly with Persian nationality, history, and literature. Nothing in their works or in their activities as public figures indicates an allegiance to any cause other than the Persian. Although Mehmet-Emin Resulzade emphasizes the importance of the influences deriving from the Caucasus and Turkey when he writes "the forces which called forth the enlightenment and liberal movements in Iran originated from two centers: Istanbul and Baku," nevertheless he feels it necessary to acknowledge: "Let it not be understood that the Azerbaijani fighters, Azerbaijani deputies, and Azerbaijani political groupings were active in the name of Turkism in the Constitutional Movement. The Turks of Iran were making all these sacrifices in the name of Iranlilik (Persianism) and in the name of the common vaṭan (motherland)".²⁵

On the other hand, however, one must mention the fact that the Constitutional Period was indeed a productive era for the development of the Turkic language and literature. It is true that the Azeri idiom did not produce an *Iraj* or a *Dehkhodā*, but it did produce many capable poets who wrote exclusively in Turkic and still more who wrote in both languages.

Apart from poetical works that rested on a long and established tradition, Turkic was now being used in the modern task of public persuasion and education. Of especially great importance in this

respect were the Tabrizi papers Azerbayjan, which was bilingual, and Ana Dili, Vatan Dili, Kheyr-andish, Ay Molla ^CAmu, and Sohbat, which were in Turkic. Faryad and Farvardin, which were bilingual and published in Urumiyya, also figured prominently.²⁶ The significance of these papers becomes clear when we realize that no newspaper in Turkic was published during the succeeding period, that of the reign of Reza Shāh Pahlavi.

The idea of conducting elementary education in Turkic and writing textbooks in the local language dates back to the last decade of the nineteenth century. Khamseh-ye Adabiyeh, a literary textbook in five parts, was written by Mirza Şadiq Āsādullah-oghli in 1311/1893.²⁷ However, the first pedagogically modern Azeri reader is by Mirza Hasan Roshdiyeh (1850-1943),²⁸ the nationally famous educator, who introduced phonetic teaching of the alphabet to Iran.²⁹ Roshdiyeh had lived for many years in Istanbul, Cairo, and Beirut. The word "Rushdiya", by which he came to be known and which was the name of the school he opened in Tabriz, was the generic name given to secondary schools in Turkey under the Educational Reform Council in 1845 during the Tanzimat period. Roshdiyeh's Turkic reader, Vatan Dili³⁰ (The Mother Tongue), was published in 1905 in Tabriz and took its illustrative material from Azeri literature and folklore.

Some of the other independent compilations of Azeri folk material made during the early decades of the present century were: Vatan Dili Turki Masallār (1333/1914) by ^CAli-Qoli Vā^Ceż of Dehkhārqn; Jame^Cat al-Tamsil (1334/1915) by Moḥammad-Raḥim Noḡrat al-Molk Mākh'i; Türki

Māsāllār (1351/1932) by Ḥasan Ṭuṭi of Ahar; Amsāl va Hekam dar Lahje-ye Turki-ye Āzerbāyjāni by Moḥammad-^CAli Modarres Khīyābāni (cited as his Reyhānat al-Adab, V, p. 7).³¹

Judging solely from their manifestations in literature, journalism, and education, one can see clearly that intensified interest and activity in Azeri were among the results of the same liberal and democratic ideas that brought forth the Constitutional Movement itself. However, this early salutary trend seems to have been completely reversed in the years immediately following World War One, as a result, partially, of the Turkish pan-Turkist and pan-Islamic propaganda in Azerbaijan.³² Whereas ^CAli Mo^Cjez makes a point of writing in Turkic because, as he termed it, "the people of Azerbaijan are Turks", (p. 92) ^CĀref of Qazvin enjoins the morning breeze to pass by Tabriz and tell its inhabitants that the sanctuary of Zarathustra is not the proper place for the language of Chingiz.³³ Taqi Arāni of Tabriz, the earliest Communist intellectual leader in Iran, wrote "... It is a disgrace for an Azerbaijani to be taken for a Turk To deprive an Azerbaijani of the honor of being Persian is a flagrant injustice (ḡolm-e faḥesh) Well-meaning individuals must strive to eradicate Turkic from Azerbaijan and to replace it by Persian The Ministry of Education must assign there teachers from the Persian-speaking parts of Iran. Books, newspapers, and pamphlets must be distributed gratis or with reduced rates in Azerbaijan If obligatory primary education is as yet unfeasible for Iran as a whole, it must be implemented in Azerbaijan at any cost, this being

imperative not only in the interest of education itself, but also for political reasons"³⁴

Literary Influence from the Caucasus

Arāni's and similar utterances by his contemporaries are understandable only in the light of the burgeoning Persian nationalism of the period. In any other respect, it would be totally unrealistic to deprecate the positive contributions made by both the Turks and the Caucasians to the cause of modernism in Iran. During the Constitutional movement, in particular, the Caucasian social-democrats and volunteer fighters played a highly significant role in Iranian national life, not only as catalysts but also as actual participants in the revolution.³⁵ Many Caucasian writers and journalists, similarly, devoted full or partial works to the political and social events then happening in Iran.³⁶ We shall deal with the two most important among these — Jalil Mammāt-Qolī-Zādeh and ^CAli-Akbar Ṣāber — later in this chapter. To do justice to the topic, however, it is necessary to trace the beneficial impact of the North on Mirzā Faṭḥ-^CAli Ākhond-Zādeh (1812-1878), perhaps the first among early Muslim social thinkers to advocate European thought and practices in essentially secular terms, in contrast to those who tried, often unsuccessfully, to adapt Western thought and practices to Islamic institutions.

Fath-^c Ali Ākhond-Zādeh and His Contributions to Modernism in Iran

As revealed in his autobiography, Ākhond-Zādeh was of Persian ancestry (Works, III, 417),³⁷ and was born in Khāmneh, near Tabriz. Brought up in the Caucasus, he produced his copious works in Tiflis where he worked as the oriental translator-interpreter for the Russian government.

Ākhond-Zādeh was the first original playwright not only in Turkic but in the whole Islamic East. He himself wrote the following remarks in the copies he dedicated to three eminent Persian public figures, including ^cAli-Qoli Mirzā, the then Minister of Education, on the occasion of the publication of the first edition of his collected comedies (Tamsilāt, Tiflis, 1859): "This type of composition, which is all mirth on the surface but embodies serious educational aims, was unknown to the Islamic world before I introduced it" (Works, III, 103).

In 1291/1874 Mirzā Ja^cfar of Qaraja-Dāgh translated Ākhond-Zādeh's plays into Persian. Referred to, in Iran, simply as the Persian plays of Ākhond-Zādeh, these renderings are considered among the earliest examples of wholesale modernization of Persian prose.³⁸

Many scholars have written of Ākhond-Zādeh's direct influence on Mirzā Malkom Khān (1833-1908), the famous writer and public figure, who until recently was considered the founder of drama in Persian.³⁹ In 1956, however, two Soviet Azeri scholars published suggestive evidence, indicating that the three plays thus far attributed to Mirzā

Malkom Khān were instead to be attributed to Mirzā Āghā of Tabriz,⁴⁰ who had submitted his first dramatic compositions for Ākhond-Zādeh's evaluation -- as we learn from Ākhond-Zādeh's article, "Mirza Aghanin piyeslāri hāqqındā kritika" ("Criticism of Mirzā Āghā's plays") (Works, II, 356-373), and from the letters exchanged on the subject between the two men. Further supplementary evidence was published in 1965 by another Soviet Azeri writer, Abul' Faḡl Ḥüseyni.⁴¹ It appears that the Azerbaijan SSR Academy of Sciences has endorsed Ḥüseyni's judgment and that the publication of these plays, together with their Persian originals, is envisaged by the Academy.⁴²

Among Ākhond-Zādeh's critical works, The Letters of Kamāl ed-Dowleh were the most popular in Iran. These are letters addressed by a fictitious Indian prince, Kamāl ed-Dowleh, to his Persian friend Jamāl ed-Dowleh, followed by the latter's replies. They deal with the social and political conditions in nineteenth-century Iran as compared with those prevalent in the West. Kamāl ed-Dowleh is visiting Iran after having lived for many years in Europe and America, and finds in "religion and fanaticism ... the fundamental obstacles in the way of acquiring 'civilization'", by which, like other Muslim social reformers of the period, he means Western culture. Jamāl ed-Dowleh's reply, on the other hand, represents the traditional outlook, refuting his friend's views primarily in the name of the sanctity and infallibility of Islam.

However, Ākhond-Zādeh is not always consistent in his anti-religious bias. As an instance, Kamāl ed-Dowleh's first letter begins

with an unrestrained glorification of pre-Islamic Iran, including Zoroastrianism, and the vilification, on the other hand, of anything that bears an "Arab" or "Islamic" stamp. It is blamed on the Arabs, for instance, that Persians, late as they were in introducing print into the country, still preferred lithography to typography as preserving the "art of calligraphy". He blames Islam again if this exclusive and, by necessity, limited printing concerned itself solely with religious do's and don'ts, and with poetry preoccupied with rhyming, flattery, and exaggerations (Works, II, 22-23).

It is a matter of general accord that Ākhond-Zādeh's writings helped form in Iran the ideals of both nationalism and secularism and influenced the writings of most important early Persian writers, men like Ṭāliboff, Yusof Mostashār ed-Dowleh and Malkom Khān.⁴³ This influence is striking in both form and substance in the works of Mirzā Āqā Khān of Kermān (1853-1896). The similarity is such, in fact, that for years Ākhond-Zādeh's Letters of Kamāl ed-Dowleh were taken as being from the pen of Mirzā Āqā of Kermān (it is known that Ākhond-Zādeh completed his work in 1280/1863, when Kermāni was only ten years old). The error, first committed by Moḥammad Bahādor in 1924⁴⁴ and repeated by Browne,⁴⁵ was corrected by a Soviet Azeri scholar, Ḥeydār Ḥuseynov, on the basis, among other evidence, of Ākhond-Zādeh's autograph of the work and of letters of his about it in the "Akhundov" manuscript collection at the Baku Neẓāmi Institute.⁴⁶ This was later confirmed by the Persian historian Feridum Ādamiyat, who explained the error as due to the fact that the title "Three Letters" was given to

Kermāni's work by later writers -- this despite the fact that Kermāni's work comprises only one letter.⁴⁷

Both Ākhond-Azdeh's and Kermāni's works begin by defining twenty identical French words that are concerned, for the most part, with political concepts. This is followed, in both authors, by a nostalgic recollection of the greatness of pre-Islamic Iran, then by a description of Iran's contemporary adverse conditions. It is true that Kermāni introduces many new ideas, particularly in the main body of his work, but it is his elaboration of Ākhond-Zādeh's ideas which is really important. According to Ādamiyat, Kermāni's work is further distinguished from Ākhond-Zādeh's in that it shows a more "revolutionary" concern with the author's own homeland and that it is written in better Persian.⁴⁸

Soviet scholars have dwelt on Ākhond-Zādeh's influence on other famous works by the Persian writer.⁴⁹ At this point, however, it seems more useful to point briefly to other major contributions by Ākhond-Zādeh to the Iran of the nineteenth century, particularly to his role in introducing Western criteria of journalism and historiography. Related to the first is Ākhond-Zādeh's famous article "Kritikā be Monshi-ye Ruznāmeḥ-ye Irān", a long and witty criticism of a Persian newspaper, Ruznāmeḥ-ye Mellatī, dated 1283/1866. Ākhond-Zādeh analyzes first the content of the single issue that had come to his notice in Tiflis; more than half of the issue is taken up by an account of the biography of a nineteenth-century poet, Soroush (1813-1869), including a long account of his genealogy, and by two of his poems, a qasideh

and a ghazal. Ākhond-Zādeh then proceeds to more general remarks criticizing the formalistic artifice in the works of Soroush and another nineteenth-century poet, Qā'āni (1808-1854): "The content which does not have originality and innovation absolutely cannot evoke pleasure or joy, especially in poetry. On the contrary, such a work is as revolting and disgusting as a treatise on ablution belonging to the pen of any latter-day mojtaḥed" (Works, II, 338). In the last part of the article, Ākhond-Zādeh dwells on the five basic attributes of a newspaper for the people. C.M. Aliev, pointing to the popularity of this article with reform-minded men in late nineteenth-century Iran, compares passages of Ākhond-Zādeh's article side by side with those on the same topic from the writings of Mirzā Moḥammad Khān Majd al-Molk (1807-1881), a prominent progressive Iranian statesman of the time. In fact, not only the content but also much of the expression of the latter is a repetition of the last part of Ākhond-Zādeh's article.⁵⁰

"Resāleh-ye Irād" (Works, II, 374-392) is the letter Ākhond-Zādeh sent for publication to Ruznāmeḥ-ye Tehrān in criticism of Rowzat os-Safā-ye Nāseriyeḥ (a three-volume sequel to Mir-Khwānd's history) by Persian historian Reżā Qolī Khān Hedāyat (1800-1871). The passages cited from the latter's work are intended to show that in Hedāyat's writings an effort is made, no less than by the fifteenth-century historian, to achieve an "aesthetic effect" at the cost of a clear presentation of historical facts. A most witty imaginary dialogue between Ākhond-Zādeh and Hedāyat is initiated when the latter

introduces, by the mere link of "li mu'allifihi" (by an unknown writer), lines of poetry that have no connection with the historical narration and again where he admits, after some pressure on the part of Ākhond-Zādeh, that he had no particular idea in mind when he used certain redundant words and phrases, and had wanted only to achieve rhymed prose. Ākhond-Zādeh ends the article by describing a practice prevalent in Europe, kritikā, as the license by which anybody can criticize another's writings, provided this is done with courtesy and honor and with the aim of improving "poetry, prose, composition, and authorship" (Works, II, 390).

Ākhond-Zādeh was again the first in the Muslim world in his efforts at reforming the alphabet.⁵¹ We learn from his autobiography that he was aware, at least in the later stages of his activity, of the desirability of the drastic changeover to the Latin alphabet, but "owing to his fear of ruhānis" (religious leaders) his efforts took the direction of modifying the Arabic alphabet (Works, III, 421-422).

We can learn of Ākhond-Zādeh's dedication to the cause of alphabet reform and his ultimate bitter disappointment from his autobiography and the letters he wrote to Mirzā Malkom Khān and Mirzā Yusof Khān Mostashār ed-Dowleh (Works, III). In 1863 he presented his proposed alphabet to the Ottoman Scientific Society. Discouraged by lack of Ottoman support, he later sent a modified version of the alphabet to ^cAli-Qoli Mirzā, then the minister of education in Iran. Equally disappointed by the Persian government's indifference and sensing his own approaching death, he entrusted the completion of his

mission to Mirzā Malkom Khān in the closing lines of a satirical poem⁵² he wrote on Mirzā Ḥoseyn Khān (the Iranian ambassador at the Ottoman court, who was believed to have incited the ruling classes of Turkey against Ākhond-Zādeh, declaring him an enemy of Islam).

بسی شکوه کردم سخن شد دراز گذشتم نخواهم ترا دید باز
سیردم بجهد تو این کار را سرانجام این رنج و تیمار را

I have complained much; long has been the outpouring of my grievance.

About to depart, with no hope of seeing you again,

It is to your zeal that I entrust

The destiny of my struggles and pains.

As far as form is concerned, Ferdowsi's inspiration is all too obvious in these lines. The full poem reveals a similar affinity, in content as well, with Ferdowsi's satire on Solṭān Maḥmud. With all his modern preoccupations, Ākhond-Zādeh was not immune to the appeal of Persian classical poetry, to the Shāh-Nāmeḥ of Ferdowsi, at any rate. As a modern "Iranian revivalist" and as a "Persian nationalist", Ākhond-Zādeh also seems to have drawn much inspiration from Ferdowsi, as is evident from his frequent quoting of the passages from the Persian epic.

The Paper Mollā Nāser ed-Din and Modern Persian Satire

Mollā Nāser ed-Din, the best-known satirical journal in the whole Middle East, was founded in April 1906 in Tiflis by Jalil Māmmāt-Qolī-Zādeh and such high-caliber poets as ^CAli-Akbar Šāber and ^CAli Naẓmi, the playwright Haqverdieff, and the writer Māmmāt-Sa^Cid Ordubādi. In

its initial stage, especially, Mollā Nāser ed-Din enjoyed unprecedented repute throughout the Muslim world and was read, Bennigsen says, not only in the Muslim-inhabited lands within Russia, but also in Iran, Turkey, Egypt, Syria, and even in North Africa and India.⁵³

Following the death of ^cAli-Akbar Šāber, its best and foremost contributor (1911), the paper was considerably reduced in stature. Despite other adverse changes in fortune, it continued publication until 1931 when, in Baku, its name was changed to Allahsız (The Atheist).⁵⁴ In June, 1920, Jalil Mämmät-Qoli-Zādeh, the initial editor of the paper, came to Tabriz, apparently with the idea of settling in Iranian Azerbaijan and resuming the publication of his paper there. (This was during the Khiyābāni Movement [p. 72] in Azerbaijan and after the sovietization of the independent republics of the Southern Caucasus.) In any case, on February 6, 1921, the first issue of Mollā Nāser ed-Din, Tabriz edition, came out in both Persian and Turkic. But after having published only eight issues of the paper (the last on May 4, 1921), Jalil Mämmät-Qoli-Zādeh left for Baku for reasons which have been interpreted differently by groups of varying interests.⁵⁵

The earliest impact of Mollā Nāser ed-Din on Persian letters was reflected in the Iranian journals of the Constitutional Period. The satirical column of the foremost Tehran paper, Sur-e Esrafil (founded in May, 1907) was, in the words of Browne, "wholly indebted to and inspired by Mollā Nāser ed-Din".⁵⁶ ^cAli-Akbar Dehkhodā of Qazvin, the writer of this famous "Charand-Parand" column, wrote not only the

earliest artistic satire in modern Iran, but also the best even to our day.⁵⁷ The column is written in both prose and poetry and contains only one poem in Turkic: an open letter in verse addressed to Jalil Mammāt-Qolī-Zādeh.⁵⁸

Analyzing the historical importance of Mollā Nāser ed-Din in general and Šāber in particular in progressive social thought as well as in literature in Iran, Kasravi considers Šāber's poems and those written in the same spirit in Iran as the only genuine and vital writings in the decades prior to World War II.⁵⁹ Granting a degree of exaggeration, Kasravi's assertion is, nonetheless, significant once we recall his notably unsympathetic attitude towards Persian poetry, classical and modern alike.

Another Azerbaijani, the contemporary poet Shahriyār, describes Šāber's impact in the following words: "The style of the modernists became more and more marked during the early years of the Constitutional Period, especially in works of a social and economic nature, mainly as a result of influences from the writers and poets clustered around the Caucasian journal, Mollā Nāser ed-Din, and especially from its poet of genius, the late Šāber of Shirvān".⁶⁰

We have proffered the above quotations from two Iranian Azeris in the belief that these men, owing to language affinity, may be considered the best judges of the origins of the new and imported elements in the satire of the early twentieth century. As for the following discussion on the comparative stylistic features of Mollā Nāser ed-Din and Sur-e Esrafil, it must be noted that our aim here

is not so much to trace each new trait to one paper or the other, as it is to give an idea of their greatly similar artistic devices and to give an idea of the type of socio-political issues with which the satire of the period was concerned.

The characteristic approach of Mollā Nāser ed-Din and Sur-e Esrafil (to take the former's best representative counterpart in Iran), was not to criticize directly: on the contrary, both Jalil Māmmāt-Qoli-Zādeh and Dehkhodā begin their story-telling, as it were, by a description of some insignificant subject which seems remote from what the authors' real intentions prove to be. Only after this seemingly irrelevant preparation, do the authors proceed to strike out, "at times wounding to death their exposed victims". Another characteristic feature of Mollā Nāser ed-Din and many Persian comic-satirical papers of the period was the technique of writing articles in the form of letters to, and replies from, the editor, or in the form of dialogues between a learned man and a common man, or most often in the form of ingenuous outpourings of an urban imbecile, a village idiot, or a bazaar-roaming dervish.⁶¹

Mollā Nāser ed-Din and many of the Persian papers of the Constitutional Period make use of a wide variety of folk material, such as anecdotes, proverbs, riddles, popular songs and lullabies⁶²; they attack by means of analogy, ironical comparisons, and by the portrayal of lively little scenes utilizing the prevalent customs and superstitions; they give distorted satirical definitions of words; and they invent grotesque stories, news features, and the advertisements

in order to drive home their points all the more forcefully. The use of classical poetry to satirical effect especially is said to have originated with the writings of Ṣāber in the paper Mollā Nāser ed-Din.⁶³

To illustrate these general remarks, we cite here two poems, one by Ṣāber and the other by Ashraf of Gilān. Next to the works of Dehkhodā, those of Ashraf of Gilān, the editor of Nasim-e Shomāl, would perhaps offer the best example of the extent to which Ṣāber influenced the poets and journalists of the revolutionary period.

The opening section of Ṣāber's poem⁶⁴ is put into the mouth of a mollā who stigmatizes as a "bābi" (a follower of Babism, on which until recently anything new and progressive was blamed in Iran) the man who has been seen buying a newspaper.

What is new? (Your health.) Well, come on now, more or less! (Well, it seems that Ḥajī Aḥmad has been seen buying newspapers lately.) What? you can't be in your right senses; did you see it with your own two eyes? (They only say so.) Oh God! who remains [faithful] to me in this land? If this be true, this accursed one too is a cheat and a swindler; he too then has gone astray; he too then has turned into a Bābi.

The following are two stanzas⁶⁵ by Ashraf of Gilān:

Oh, Kablā Bāqer! (Yes Sir.) What is new? (Nothing Sir.) Then what is all this tumult? The hubbub of his Excellency's water-pipe?

(Eh ... Ḥājī Balāl has recently arrived from Aleppo. He has been babbling about a constitutional party, or some such thing.)

This faithless dog too is a cheat, then!

Haste, brother Muslims, catch him, this accursed one too has

turned into a Bābi!

....

What presents has that rogue brought back from Moscow and Tiflis?

(Alas, dear sir, two bushels of bother!)

What has he to say? What does he intend to bless this wretched dunghill with?

(Oh, learning, schools, reading halls, and all that.)

This faithless dog, too, is a swindler, then.

Let him not undress in the baths. No doubt he, too, has turned into a Bābi.

Perhaps with the exception of the Pahlavi period when little social criticism was allowed, Mollā Nāser ed-Din's influence continued well past World War Two. In their joint article, "Şāber and Contemporary Persian Satirical Poetry,"⁶⁶ Shamida and Hajieva, two Soviet Azeri scholars, present a documented study showing Şāber's influence on Iraj Mirzā (p. 86), Mo^Cjez (p. 90), and Shahriyār (p. 127), as well as on several satirical reviews of the twenties and thirties. Mehdi Mojtehedī⁶⁷ talks of the persistence of "Saberian" techniques in the most popular comic paper, Bābā Shamāl, published during World War Two in Tehran. Kh. M. Hajiev⁶⁸ devoted an article to Şāber's still strong influence on the poems that Moḥammad-^CAli Afrāshteh of Gilān (1908-1959) contributed to various magazines and newspapers during the war and, beginning with 1951, to his own review of popular literature that included writings in many local languages and dialects, such as Gilaki, Kurdi, Azeri, Armenian, and others.

Even today in Azerbaijan one hears from older people how they awaited the arrival of the issues of Mollā Nāser ed-Din, how these went from hand to hand, and how the poems of Şāber, especially, were

recited in gatherings and were widely imitated by anyone who wished to try his hand at it. The biting satire of Şāber's poems, directed primarily against the autocracy and the Shi^cite clergy, induced the clergy in Tabriz to denounce the paper as an owrāq-e mozelleh (corrupting or faith-shaking paper) and as contrary to Islam. The ^cUlamā of Najaf were quick to endorse the denunciation. In 1906, Moḥammad-^cAli Mirzā, the future shah, who was then still the governor of Azerbaijan, prohibited the paper's entry into Iran. Only upon the order of Parliament, to which the people of Tabriz appealed, was the ban lifted.⁶⁹

Among Tabriz papers, which generally showed the great influence of Mollā Nāser ed-Din, the most important was the bilingual Āzerbāyjan, which started publication in early 1907, under the editorship of ^cAli-Qoli Şafaroff. In its very first issue, the editor acknowledges an indebtedness to Mollā Nāser ed-Din⁷⁰ as his source of inspiration by printing on the cover the familiar image of Mollā Nāser ed-Din in the act of giving friendly counsel to the local Tabriz mollā, who on his part stands in front of him in an attentive pose with a thumb at his temple, signifying receptiveness.

In Āzerbāyjan also, most of the articles are written in the form of dialogues between the editor and the reader; whereas, in the case of Mollā Nāser ed-Din, the readers address the editor as "Āy Mollā" or "Mollā ^cAmu", in Āzerbāyjan the editor is addressed "Janāb-e Ḥājji Bābā" or "Āy Ḥājji Bābā".

The poems that appeared in the paper Azerbāyjān were written under the direct influence of Mirzā ^cAli-Akbar Ṣāber, and were mostly anonymous. This, coupled with the fact that they were the product of change and, in their topical nature, were identified and associated with journalism, may explain why they have not found their way into the collected works of Azeri poets. The only effort at identifying these unclaimed poems seems to have been made by Soviet Azeris and Azeris resident in Turkey.⁷¹ Some of the poems are attributed by them to Reḡā Ṣarrāf (p. 97), ^cAli Mo^cjez (p. 90), ^cAbd al-Ḥoseyn Khāzen (p. 102), and to the above-mentioned ^cAli-Qoli Ṣafaroff.

Political events and other news of interest were argued over in the form of poetical dialogues between the two papers, with Mollā Nāser ed-Din admittedly enjoying the superior position. For instance, when the despotic grand vizier, Amin os-Solṭān (also known as the Atābak), noted for his hard-headed animosity towards Constitutionalism, returned from Europe to resume his position, and the Majles did not take decisive measures against this, Mollā Nāser ed-Din published an angry satire by Ṣāber in which he reproached the Tabriz Anjoman (Provincial Council) for its inactivity and criticized the slow progress of the people of Tabriz in their struggle against autocracy. The poem began with the following verse: "Tell me, my child what ever happened of your boastful talk?"⁷²

هه ده گوروم نه اولدی بسمای بالام از علارین

After the grand vizier had been assassinated by a young member of the Tabriz Social-Democrat Party, Āzerbāyjān answered Mollā Nāser ed-Din with a poem containing the following refrain: "You see, Mollā ^cAmu, events are taking shape according to our desire".⁷³

هه گور و سن بیرینده دیر بیر به بیر آت عامیزی

The answering poem goes on to describe the accomplishments of the Tabriz Anjoman, adding that if nothing else had been achieved, the killing of the grand vizier by a simple mojāhed (fighter for freedom) of the Tabriz Anjoman would have justified all its claims. Şāber answered this with a poem in lullaby form, of which we translate the pertinent lines⁷⁴:

You did kill Atābak, I don't deny it at all, but there
are many more like him still lurking about.
Or perhaps I don't get the point as I should.
Don't try to deceive me, my child, go to sleep, my child.

Āzerbāyjān, like Mollā Nāser ed-Din, was a magazine illustrated in color. Its caricatures, revived during the Pishavari Period, are remembered even today. In the dialogue captions to many cartoons, the lines spoken by a peasant are in Turkic, whereas the lines spoken by the landowner, the tax collector, etc., are in Persian. (This appears to be an early confounding of socialistic aims with ethnic issues, since Azerbaijan has not known a preponderance of non-local landowners, at least in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.)

The following captions ridicule the custom obligating the peasant to treat his landowner to meals suitable to a rich and discriminating

palate, and to offer him presents in the form of farm produce, in addition to gifts of money on the occasion of national festivities:

آی آمان آی آمان آقا قربانون اولوم واللّه بوکند ده قند یاپیلماز
ای فضول من نگفته بودم که بی شربت شام نمیتوانم بخورم
این چه عیران بازی است

The peasant: "Pity! pity!" [exclaims the peasant who is being beaten at the order of the khān.] "May I be your sacrifice, Aqā. I swear to God that no sugar can be found in this village."

The landowner: "You brazen impudent one! Haven't I already told you that I cannot dine without sharbat? Now what is this fooling around with Ceyran?"⁷⁵

آی خان واللّه گمانمیز بولارا گلیب انشا الله بیر قیرخ تومن ده
نقداً بندە لیک اولاجاق

ای فلان فلان شده من بتو نگفته بودم که دفعه دیگر بدون سوقات
بیا ییبد چوب خواهید خورد

The peasant: "Oh khān, God is our⁷⁶ witness! These [he is pointing to a couple of chickens and some eggs and other things he has brought as presents to the landowner] are the only things which we could lay our hands on. Inshallah we will fulfill our duty as your slave by offering also forty tumāns in cash."

The landowner: "You so-and-so, didn't I tell you that you would be received with sticks if you came without a proper present?"⁷⁷

For considerations of space we have to forego a discussion of Mollā Nāser ed-Din's obvious influence on other Turkic and Persian

papers published in Azerbaijan between 1907 and 1909. We shall see a strong -- though not always spontaneous -- revitalization of the Mollā Nāser ed-Din tradition in the poetry and journalism of the World War Two period.

Linguistic and Literary Influences from Turkish

Although the influences of the Turkish language and literary trends had been growing since the middle of the nineteenth century,⁷⁸ the second decade of the twentieth century is of special significance. After the dissolution of Parliament in 1911 as a result of Russian intervention, and especially during World War I, when Iran was subjected to large-scale Russian and British incursions, Istanbul and Berlin served Persian nationalists as centers of political protest and activity. This exodus of Persian political leaders who, more often than not, were literary figures as well, is referred to as Mohājerāt ("The Emigrations") in the history of the period.⁷⁹ These men did not return to Iran until the early 1920's, when once more the country gained political stability. The papers Kāveh and Irān-Shahr, as well as the lesser-known Farangestān, were Berlin publications of the post-war years.

Turkey's record as a host to Persian journalism goes further back, namely to 1875 when Moḥammad Ṭāher of Tabriz established in Istanbul the paper Akhtar, the earliest Persian newspaper in the modern sense ever published in or outside the country. Other Persian papers published in Istanbul during the Constitutional Period, such

as Shams (published in 1909 with the collaboration of the famous Zeyn al-^CĀbedin of Marāgheh) and Sorush (founded in 1908 with contributors such as Aḥmad Āghāyef and Yaḥyā Dowlat-Ābādi), do not, of course, rank in importance with later emigré publications in Germany; nevertheless, if properly studied, they will throw much light not only on Turko-Persian relations, but also on the intellectual and literary trends of the Constitutional Period.

Between 1908, when Parliament was temporarily dissolved by Moḥammad-^CAli Shāh, and the end of World War I, many major poets of the time, to name only ^CĀref, ^CEshqi, Dowlat-Ābādi, and Lāhuti, were among these politically active members of the intelligentsia who sought exile in Turkey. There they wrote the earliest Persian poems in the Western manner and tried their hands at newer literary genres.⁸⁰ It is not, therefore, surprising that neologisms in the Persian language and modern trends in the literature were termed, towards the beginning of the 1920's, Fārsi va adabiyāt-e Khān-e Vāledeh ("The Persian and the literature of the Khān-e Vāledeh", which was the name of a saray in Istanbul where Persian nationals traded).

The expression was first used by Ḥasan Taqi-Zādeh in the series of articles he wrote in Kāveh⁸¹ (published in Berlin), and was taken up by other Turkic-speaking writers, such as Moḥammad Qazvini,⁸² Kaẓem-Zādeh Irān-Shahr and Reẓā-Zādeh Shafaq. In all cases the expression "Khān-e Vāledeh Persian" (which may be translated as "Turkish-influenced Persian") is opposed to Fārsi-ye Fasīḥ (high-class Persian); and the Khān-e Vāledeh literature is described as contrary

to the true spirit of Persian literature.

Among non-Azeri Iranians who wrote in emphatic terms on the subject was Moḥammad-^cAli Jamāl-Zādeh, the famous short-story writer from Eṣfahān: "What has adulterated Persian," he wrote, "is not the European words alone but especially the translation into Persian of Turkish words and expressions The Ottoman Turks, owing to their lack of a literary language, adopt Arabic, Persian, and French words and subject them to the strangest of manipulations without the least regard to their lexical and morphological properties Most of our journalists, who do not know French, take these as their source of grace and bounty And as the modern Turkish words, be they of Persian or Arabic origin, are more or less understandable to us, our journalists do not see any point in translating them and thus freely avail themselves of not only such faked Turkish words, but also of Turkish syntax and phraseology"⁸³ Jamāl-Zādeh used the same theme in his famous short story "Fārsi Shakar Ast" ("Persian is sweet") in which the speech of a Persian, who is returning from Turkey, is parodied for being as incomprehensible to poor Ramazān (an authentic, unspoiled, common Persian) as the speech of the other two characters, a mollā merciless in his use of Arabic words and phrases and a young man newly-arrived from France.

Taqi-Zādeh enters the discussion in his usual scholarly manner. He traces the linguistic origins of both the Iranian and Turkic languages, traces the source of the Fārsi-ye Fasiḥ to the treasury of Persian classics (down to the fifth century A.H.), and the source of

the then current language of press and poetry to the Iranian nationals resident in Turkey. Expressions such as "strange delirious language", "the metamorphosed bird language of the parliamentary age" ("manteq oṭ-ṭeyr-e maskh-shodeh-ye ʿahd-e pārlemāni"), and "the language of Sivas and Brusa imitated by Baku and Ganja",⁸⁴ are used in Taqi-Zādeh's article for more or less literal translations from the Turkish. To illustrate his point, Taqi-Zādeh provides a list of words and expressions of two different categories: first, those Persian or Arabic in origin which have undergone much too free a manipulation in Turkish; second, new words which have been created through literal translations of the French by Turks. It is important to note that with most of these words and expressions, once termed the language of "jinns", a Persian feels completely at home today. In the following selected examples the words in parentheses are suggested by the author of the article as purer and more accurate equivalents of Turkish-influenced terms.⁸⁵

First group:

مد هس (وحشتناك) عرض اندام (ظهور) لفوگرديد (بهم خورد)
 اشقيا (دزدان) متجاسرين (متفردين) خاطرات (يادداشتها)
 زمامداران امور (اولياي دولت) وضعيت (اوضاع) موقعيت (موقع)
 صميانه (صاف و بي غرض) انتحار (خودكشي) حريجه دار معنيدار
 سرمقاله قهرمانان تجدّد ادبي ...

Second group:

ذهنيت (mentalité) لايموت (immortel) اقناع (satisfaire)

حال حاضر (moment présent) مكتب سعدى (école de ...)
تقدير (admiration) عكس العمل (réaction)

It is equally interesting to note that the introduction into Persian of punctuation and the use of abbreviations (in initials of personal names especially) are described by Taqi-Zādeh as the results of indiscriminately imitating the novel practices of the Turks. It must be noted, however, that Taqi-Zādeh's objection is mainly directed to the excessive and often incorrect imitation of these practices.⁸⁶

Another article by Taqi-Zādeh in the periodical Kāveh is entitled derisively "Taraqqi-ye Zabān-e Fārsi" ("The Progress of the Persian Language"). In this article two columns of poetry, entitled respectively Persian poetry and Khān-e Vāledeh poetry, are compared. According to the author, the first column "shows that the spirit of poetry is still alive in Iran", whereas the second column "is a sample of the disintegration of Persian letters, a testimony to the malady of the national temper and the insensibility of the literary palate in Iran".⁸⁷

The writers of the two poems in the second column are not identified. One of these poems, entitled "Ā'ineh-ye Del" ("The Mirroring Heart"), is taken from a booklet of collected poems by a Persian, published in Istanbul in 1330/1914. Artistically the poem is not a good one, although not so poor as to deserve the irony with which it is treated. However, in the employment of European techniques — and this is the important factor from the viewpoint of literary modernism in Iran — the poem is as iconoclastic as any Persian poetic

work has been even to our day. And it demonstrates that the beginnings of modern Persian poetry go further back than is generally supposed.

The verse rather than the couplet has been chosen as the unit of composition; and the verses are of unequal length, sometimes a full-length verse being juxtaposed to a word or two in the following one. What is more, in an attempt to do away with the traditional rhyme and rhythm, the poet has turned out a curious admixture of prose and poetry, and a special effort is made to produce striking sound effects by the choice and juxtaposition of sonorous and rare words of which a high percentage are Arabic words used in Turkish. As far as the content goes, the poem is a eulogy to, or rather a lamentation for, Iran -- the word itself appearing here and there in a surrealist manner, engulfed, as it were, by an expressionistic depiction of anxiety, darkness, and despair. The poem is a long one, and to cite only parts of it would fail to present its total effect, which has an original, strong, and disturbing impact.

The other poem, "Ey Javān-e Irāni" ("O Persian Youth"), described merely as being "quoted from one of the well-known newspapers issued in one of the important provinces of Iran", turns out to be written by Mirzā Taqi-khān Raf^Cat in Tajaddod of Tabriz.⁸⁸ Both this poem and the qasideh with which it is contrasted were written on the occasion of the Now-Ruz of 1336 H.Q. (1917). In its formal structure Raf^Cat's poem shares many new features with the other Khān-e Vāledeh poem described above. As far as its mood and content are concerned, Raf^Cat's poem is characterized by a timely and sincere appeal (though

not to the exclusion of poetical effectiveness) to the youth of the country "to aim for the future, as the past is past". Its refreshing dynamism is especially striking when we compare it with the comfortable and time-honored imagery of the "Qaṣideh-ye Bahāriyeh" ("Qaṣideh of Spring").

Mirzā Taqī Khān Raf^Cat and Literary Modernism

Mirzā Taqī Khān Raf^Cat, Taqī-Zādeh's primary target of attack, was the chief associate of Moḥammad-^CAli Khiyābāni, the leader of the Khiyābāni Movement in Azerbaijan.⁸⁹ Both Khiyābāni and Raf^Cat were among the early and most radical proponents of literary modernization in Iran.⁹⁰ Criticizing Moḥammad-Taqī Bahār's literary policy -- we do not want to act before the law of evolution orders us to do so -- Khiyābāni wrote: "We too believe in the role of evolution which takes place without the interference or even the consciousness of men at large, but we also believe in the importance of taking advantage of this natural process and of having it speeded up and channeled by men endowed with alertness and the power of invention"⁹¹

The daily paper Tajaddod⁹² and the two literary reviews of the period, Āzādi-Setān and Adab, were all written in Persian, and contain prose and poetry that were among the most progressive in the country. Derisively referred to in their own times as representing "tajaddod-e adabi" (literary innovation), these writings have remained neglected in nearly all appraisals so far made of modern Persian literature.

Mirzā Taqī-Khān Raf^Cat represented the cultural and intellectual aspects of the Khīyābānī Movement as a literary critic, a journalist, a teacher and a poet. To judge by his writings in Tajaddod and Āzādi-Setān, he was well-versed not only in Persian, but also in Turkish, Arabic, and French. With this he combined a keen analytical mind and, for his time, a good grasp of Western social, political, and cultural theory and practice. His articles on literary criticism, in particular, were daring for his time and contain many striking insights.⁹³ It is true that Raf^Cat's prose is uncommonly permeated with Turkish, and therefore hardly offers easy reading matter today, but his poetical works contain little by way of unfamiliar words and expressions and surely belong among the best in early modern Persian verse. The following poem was written in 1920.⁹⁴

ای برف

طفد بیچاره که در بستریخ بسته برف

چند شب تا به سحر همسر سرما شده بود ،

مرد و آسود روانش سوی فیفای خلود

پرگشاد از پی یک طیر سبک سیر و شگرف .

اوچه بود آه یکی کود ک بیکس چه ژرف

ای چه ژرف سفالت چه بی قمر و حدود

که نه خالی شوی از طعمه نه پر با یم جود .

کود کک ، چیزک پژمرده و نیلی شنگرف

اینک افتاده زمین در بریخها بهیوج .

آخ نشکست چرا موج غضب کشتی نوح

تا نعی زاد بشر را به چنین روزی سر.

برف ای برف سمن رنگ زمستان تو بهار

باش از بهر حنوطش کفنی سیمین تار

یا بنا کن تو برا و مقبرهای از مرمر.

Mirzā Taqī Khān Raf^cat, it must be noted, was not the only literary protagonist of the Khīyābānī period. The periodicals of the time have preserved many noteworthy original poems and translations (from Turkish as well as European languages) by such writers as Ja^cfar Khāmne'i, Ebrāhim Nassāj-Kho'i, Yaḥyā Mirzā Dānesh (the present Yaḥyā Āryān-Pur), Naqī Barzgar and many others. A citation of the full texts would be necessary to show that some of these poems were indeed among the most effective examples of romantic poetry ever written in Iran.

Owing to the strength of the Persian classics, European romanticism never did thrive in Iran as it had earlier in Turkey. Except for the works produced in Azerbaijan during the Khīyābānī years and for a few others outside this category, romantic expression in Iran degenerated, as soon as it was introduced, into a schoolboyish sentimental poetry. Parviz Khānlari presents Dehkhodā of Qazvin and Ra^cdi of Tabriz as the two early and successful representatives of romanticism, although he does not call this European literary school by its proper name.⁹⁵ It is, however, clear that Khānlari means and discusses romanticism when he writes: "One of the basic differences between the old poetry and some of the new lies in the fact that the traditional poetry did not concern itself with expressing feelings and

emotions in their proper detail, subtlety and particularity Owing to its general quality, the old ghazal made it impossible for one to tell one poet's particular mental make-up and aesthetic sensitivities from those of another⁹⁶ "It was only beginning with the Constitutional Period", Khānlari wrote in another context, "that poets found the courage to speak of their personal and subjective feelings"⁹⁷ The example par excellence Khānlari gives for such welcome individual poetical expression is the elegy Dehkhodā (1879-1955) wrote on Mirzā Jahāngir of Shiraz. We know now that the poem, "Yād Ār Zeh Sham^c-e Mordeh Yād Ār"⁹⁸ was modeled on Alfred de Musset's poem, "Rappelle-toi", and that, in all probability, the inspiration came through the earlier poem by the same name from the pen of the Turkish poet Racaizade Ekrem (1847-1914).⁹⁹ This is suggested by the fact that the caruz meter and the rhyming scheme in both the Persian and Turkish variations are identical, and also by the popularity that the Turkish version enjoyed outside Turkey.¹⁰⁰ In any event, the pride Persian literature has taken for the last sixty years in Dehkhodā's elegy seems more than justified in that neither the French original nor the Turkish variation, "Yad Et", have the powerful and exquisite quality of Dehkhodā's poem.¹⁰¹

On the effects of Turkish literature in Azerbaijan, Reżā-Zādeh Shafaq wrote in the early 1920's: "The protection of Azerbaijan must be both physical and spiritual The central government of Iran must revive Persian culture, thought, spirit, and language in all recesses of Azerbaijan If any negligence is permitted in the



accomplishment of this task, we shall not be able to block the encroachments of 'Turkigari' [a pejorative designation for Turkism]. And we will find that modern Turkish literature, exquisite poetry and fiction, as well as factual and expository literature produced in the last fifty years in Turkey will fill the atmosphere of Azerbaijan, and at that point it will already be too late".¹⁰²

Shafaq's cry of alarm was not justified: the early years of the twentieth century saw Turkey renounce her pan-Islamic and pan-Turkic dreams, and the threat to Azerbaijan which they entailed; Reżā Shāh, on the other hand, sealed the future course of Persian nationalism and Westernization that resulted in the establishment of systematic and direct relations with the West. Beginning with the poets of the Reżā Shāh Period, inspiration from Turkish was reduced to a few poets who wrote in Persian and nevertheless despaired of national recognition.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1. Ishaque, M., Modern Persian Poetry (Calcutta, 1943), 122.
2. Browne, E.G., The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia (Cambridge, 1914), 13-26; Rypka, op. cit., 365-368.
3. Shafaq, R., "Patriotic Poetry in Modern Iran", MEJ, 6 (1952), 240.
4. Yarshater, E., "Persian Letters in the Last Fifty Years," MEA, 11 (1960), 299.
5. For Pan-Islamism in Persian poetry see Ishaque, op. cit., chapter on "Themes of the Constitutional Period"; also Munibar, R., Post-Revolution Persian Verse (Aligarh, 1955), 129 ff.; for the significance of socialistic themes in Persian literature, see Alavi, op. cit., 97-111; Rypka, op. cit., 377, 387-388; Shaki, M., "An Introduction to Modern Persian Literature", Charisteria Orientalia (Praha, 1956), 302-315; for the role of nationalism in the literature of the pre-World War II period, see pp. 28, 49, 111 in the present study.
6. This "technological" poetry and the reaction that crystalized against it by the end of the second decade of the present century is especially dwelt upon by ^CA. A. Hekmat in his report to the first congress of Persian writers, Nakhostin Kongreh-ye Nevisandegān-e Irān (Tehran, 1946), 38 ff.
7. Machalski, F., La littérature de l'Iran contemporain (Warszawa, 1965), I, 151.
8. Kliyashtorina, V.B., "Folkloric Genres and Persian Democratic Poetry in the Revolutionary Years 1905-1911" (in Russian), Kratkiye Soobshcheniya, no. 22 (1956), 56-65.
9. On the political ghazal before the twentieth century see Bahār, M.T., "Bahs-e Enteqādi va Adabi va Ejtema^Ci", 186 ff.; Rypka, op. cit., 266-269.
10. Khānlari, P.N., "She^Cr-e Fārsi dar Adabiyāt-e Mo^Cāşer", Piyām-e No, II (Mehar, 1324), 30-32.
11. Mo^Cjez, ^CA., Kolliyāt-e Divān (Tehran ?, 195-), II, 54.



12. ^CĀref, A., Kolliyāt-e Divān (Tehran, 1948), 231.
13. Ibid., 246.
14. Ibid., 232.
15. Kasravi, op. cit., I, 536.
16. Kliyashtorina, op. cit., 56-65.
17. M. Shaki, op. cit., 310.
18. For the text and translation, as well as the earliest appraisal of the poem, see Browne, Press and Poetry, 201-204.
19. Iraj Mirzā, Divān, IV, 6.
20. On the development of the "do-beyti" see Kiyā, T., "Taḥavvol-e Šuri-ye She^Cr-e Fārsi", Andisheh va Honar, no. 4, 1341 (1962), 258.
21. The poem "Zemestān" ("Winter"), which appeared in Dāneshkadeh, Feb. 20, 1919, 559-561, is notable for more than simply its innovation in form. It is generally considered the earliest description of nature in the European manner in Persian poetry.
22. See the introduction written by ^CEshqi to his poem "No-Ruz-Nāmeḥ", Divān, 13; ^CEshqi is also noted for employing varying numbers of measures of a given meter in a single poem and also for the liberal mixing of rhyme schemes of different classical verse forms in a single poem. See Machalski, F., "Le modernisme dans l'oeuvre poetique de Moḥammad-Rezā ^CEshqi", Folia Orientalia, I (1959), 62-86.
23. Ishaque, op. cit., 102-103, 112.
24. See Dastgerdi, V., "Moqayeseh-ye Āsar-e Sho^Carā-ye Bozorg ba Enqelābiyyun-e Konuni", Armaghān, IV, nos. 11-12, 585-586.
25. Rezulzade, op. cit., 651.
26. Browne, Press and Poetry, discusses these papers in alphabetical order.
27. See ^CAbbāsi, M., "Azerbaijanda Mātḥu^C at Tārikhindān", Āzerbāyjān (printed in Baku in Arabic script), no. 3 (March, 1946), 30-32.
28. For the life and contribution of Roshdiyeh to the cause of education in Iran, see Kermāni, N., Tārikh-e Bidāri-ye Irānīān, second ed. (Tehran, 1953), 362-364; Qazvini, M., article 5 in

- "Vafayāt-e Mo^cāserin" series, Yadegār, III (1947), 12-13.
29. See Dowlāt-Ābādi, Y., Tārikh-e Mo^cāser, III (Tehran, 1955), 185 ff.
30. Roshdiyeh, H., Vātān Dili: Mübtādi shagirdlārā alti aydan qabakh yazib okumaq ögrādān, sowti üzārā ta^clim olunan bir kitabdir (Tabriz, 1905). In order to show that the advocacy of primary education in Turkic and the writing of textbooks in it were not unprecedented, the authorities of the Pishavari period reproduced part of Roshdiyeh's reader in one of the textbooks written during the 1945-46 regime; see Ādābi Qirā'āt Kitābī: Altınii İbtida'i Klas Üchün (Tabriz, 1945-46).
31. Fuller information on these compilations may be found in introductions to Mojtehedī, ^cA.A., Amsāl va Hekam dar Lahjeḥ-ye Mohalli-ye Āzerbāyjān (Tabriz, 1955), and Jāvid, S., Nomunehā-ye Fōklor-e Āzerbāyjān (Tehran, 1965).
32. Among the earliest and most interesting writings on the topic is R. Shafaq's small booklet written in Istanbul Turkish: Tabrizi, R.S., Türk Mütāfākkirinīn Nāẓār-i İntibahinā, Berlin, 1924. The Turkish text together with its Persian translation appeared also in Farangestān (Berlin), I (Jan. 1924), 1-6, 117-122; equally important is an article by T. Arāni, "Āzerbāyjān yā yek Mas'aleḥ-ye Ḥayāti va Mamāti-ye Iran", Farangestān, I (1924), 247-254.
33. ^cĀref, Divān, 368. ^cĀref, of course, errs in calling Turkish "the language of Chingiz".
34. Arāni, op. cit., 251 ff.
35. On the influence of Turkey and the Caucasus in political ideas, journalism and the general enlightenment of Iran on the eve of the Constitutional Movement, see Taqi-Zādeh, Ḥ., Tahiyeh-ye Moqaddemat-e Mashrutīyat dar Āzerbāyjān (Tabriz, 1959?) (the English translation by Nikki Keddie, "The Background of the Constitutional Movement in Azerbaijan", appears in MEJ, Autumn 1960, 456-465); Resulzade, op. cit., nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, pp. 428-432, 551-556, 648-656, 670-678, 755-760; Amir-Khizi, E., Qiyām-e Āzerbāyjān va Sattār Khān (Tabriz, 1960), 199 ff., 308 ff.; Kermāni, op. cit., 105-113; Behzād, T., Qiyām-e Āzerbāyjān dar Enqelāb-e Mashrutīyat (Tehran, 1955), 130 ff.

36. One may mention for example: Mämmät-Qoli-Zādeh, J., Iranda Hürriyät (Tiflis, 1906); Haqverdiyev, Āghā Mohammad Shah Qajār (Baku, 1907); Ordubadi, M.S., Dumanlı Tabriz (Baku, 1908?).
37. By Works is meant: M.F. Ākhond-Zādeh, Āsārlāri, 3 vols. (A.N. Azerb. SSR, 1958-1962). Ākhond-Zādeh's autobiography appears in vol. III, 417-423. Izvestiya (A.N. Azerb. SSR, Soc. Sc. series), no. 10 (1962), a special number in honour of Ākhond-Zādeh's sesquicentennial, offers a wealth of information on many aspects of his life and works.
38. Kamshad, op. cit., 28.
39. Browne, Literary Hist., IV, 463.
40. Ibrahimov, A.A., and Mämmät-Zādeh, H., "Mirza Malkumkhana ^{CA}id Həساب edilən Piyeslərin Āşl Mu'allifi Həqqində", A.N. Azerb. SSR, Ādəbiyat və Dil İnstitutunun Āsārlāri, 9 (1956), 161-169.
41. Hüseyni, A., "Once More About the Author of the Earliest Persian Plays", (in Russian), Narody Azii i Afriki, no. 6 (1965), 142-148.
42. An appraisal of this evidence in English may be found in Evans, H., "An Enquiry into the Authorship of Three Persian Plays Attributed to Malkom Khān", Central Asiatic Rev., XV, 1 (1967), 21-25.
43. Ādamiyat, F., Andishehā-ye Mirzā Āqā Khān Kermāni, 197, 252-253, 263; Farman Farmayan, H., "The Forces of Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Iran", in Beginnings of Modernization in the Middle East, edited by W.R. Polk and R.L. Chambers (Chicago, 1968), 140-142; Nikki Keddie, "Religion and Irreligion in Early Iranian Nationalism", Comparative Studies in Society and History, no. 4 (1962), 275; Mämmät-Zādeh, H., "M.F. Akhundov və Ondoqqaunji ^{CA}āşir Iran Ma^{CA}arifchilāri", Izvestiya (AN Azerb. SSR, Soc. Sc. series), no. 10 (1962), 25-34.
44. Introduction (p. 12) to Kermāni's Haftād va Do Mellat (Berlin, 1343/1924).
45. N. Keddie explains the circumstances that may have led Browne to this error: op. cit., note to page 275.
46. Agakhi, A.M., "On the Influence of M.F. Akhundov on the Progressive Social Thought in Iran" (in Russian), Izvestiya (AN Azerb. SSR, Soc. Sc. series), no. 10 (1962), 79.

47. Ādamiyat, F., "Se Maktub-e Mirzā Fath-^cAli", Yaghma, nos. 7-8 (Meh-r-Ābān 1345), 363.
48. Ibid., 425-428.
49. Discussed in detail by Agakhi, A.M., op. cit., 79-84.
50. Aliyev, S.M., "On the Question of Akhundov's Influence on Nineteenth-Century Social Thought in Iran" (in Russian), Narody Azii i Afriki, no. 4 (1963), 120-124. The passage quoted from Majd al-Molk appears in Resāleh-ye Majdiyeh (ed. Nafisi, Tehran, 1321), 46-47.
51. See Algar, H., "Malkun Khān Ākhundzāda and Proposed Reform of the Arabic Alphabet", Middle Eastern Studies, no. 2, 5 (May 1969), 116-130. Having spoken of the controversy which arose when the idea of alphabet reform originated, Algar concludes that "Ākhundzāda's project [was] impressive as the most serious and elaborate of the proposals for reform (p. 117). Looking back, as Algar does, one is indeed tempted to view the enthusiasm of these early reformers as somewhat simplistic, since they conceived of alphabet reform as a cure-all for the entire range of ills then besetting the Muslim world. However, to judge by the success of the alphabet change in Turkey and the Caucasus, the problem appears in a different light and not exactly resolved even today.
52. The full poem is quoted in Ākhond-Zādeh, L'Avare, tr. A. Bricteux, 3.
53. Bennigsen, A., La presse et le mouvement national chez les musulmans de Russie avant 1920 (Paris, 1964), 128.
54. Ibid., 127.
55. Māmmātlu, G., "Mulla Naşreddin Täbrizdā", Āzerbāyjan (printed in Baku in Arabic script), August 1946, 32-33; Tūrkekul, M., "Azerbaycan mizah edebiyatına bir bakış", Türk Kültürü, no. 9 (1963), 37; Bennigsen, op. cit., 125.
56. Browne, Press and Poetry, 116.
57. Khānlari, P.N., "Naşr-e Fārsi dar Dowreh-ye Akhir", Nakhostin Kongreh-ye Nevisandegān, 156, 170.
58. Sur-e Esrāfil, Feb. 23, 1908.
59. Kasravi, op. cit., 194-195; also Dar Pirāmun-e Adabiyāt, 3rd ed. (Tehran, n.d.), 38, 49, 52.

60. Shahriyār, op. cit., IV, 5; studies on Mollā Nāser ed-Din's influence by Russian and Soviet Azeri writers are too numerous to be listed here. We shall make specific references to some in the course of this study.
61. Kasravi, Tārikh-e Mashruteh, 573.
62. Kliyashtorina, op. cit., 56-65.
63. Shāmidā, Ā.I. and Hājiyeva, K.M., "Şāber va Mo^cāser Satirik Iran Poeziyasi", Izvestiya (A.N. Azerb. SSR, Soc. Sc. series), no. 5 (1962), 74-75.
64. Şāber, ^cA. A., Hop-Hop Nāmeḥ (Tabriz, 1320/1941), 140.
65. Gilāni, A., Golchini az Ketāb-e Bāgh-e Behesht, 14.
66. Shāmidā and Hājiyeva, op. cit., 61-75.
67. Mojtahedi, M., Rejāl-e Āzerbāyjān dar ^cAsr-e Mashrutiyyat (Tehran, 1948), 132.
68. Hājiyeva, K.M., "İranda Şabirin Davamchilarından M. Afrāshta Yarıdijilighinin ilk Dövrü Hāqqında", Izvestiya (A.N. Azerb. SSR, Soc. Sc. ser.), No. 5 (1962), 133-141.
69. Kasravi, Tārikh-e Mashruteh, 191; it is well-known that the Persian court repeatedly requested the Tsarist government to censure Mollā Nāser ed-Din; ^cA. Mir-Ahmadov cites, to this effect, documents preserved in Georgian state archives: "Mulla Nasreddin Zhurnalının Yayılması və Tā'siri Hāqqında", Izvestiya (A.N. Azerb. SSR, Soc. Sc. ser.), no. 1 (1958), 69.
70. On the influences of Mollā Nāser ed-Din on Āzerbāyjān see the heading, "Mollā Nāser ed-Din va Āzerbāyjān", Kasravi, Tārikh-e Mashruteh, 271-272; Bouvat, L., "La presse Musulmane", Revue du monde musulman, II (1907), no. 5, 65 ff.; Khandān, J., "Azerbaijan Mājalləsi Hāqqında", Shafaq (Tabriz), no. 4, 1946.
71. Eren, M.S., "İranda Türk Şairler", Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi, II (1933), 386-388; Khandān, J., "Ondoqquz və Yirminji Aşırlarda Tābrizdə Ādābiyat", Āzerbāyjān, no. 182 (April 25, 1946); Yurtsever, A.V., "Şābir'in Azerbaycan edebiyatındaki yeri", no. VI of the Azerbaycan Kültür Derneği Yayınları, Ankara, 1951.
72. Şāber, Hop-Hop-Nāmeḥ, 42.

73. Āzerbāyjān, no. 16, 1907.
74. Šāber, Hop-Hop-Nāmeḥ, 42.
75. Āzerbāyjān, no. 5, 1907. In those days Ceyran (yoghurt diluted with water) was the common beverage with moderately elaborate meals. Only special occasions called for sharbat (sugar water, sometimes flavored with fruits or spices).
76. The personal pronoun "we" is used in Iran to denote humble status, as is the case here, as well as dignitary status.
77. Āzerbāyjān, no. 7 (1907).
78. Available sources point to Turkey's contribution to all Islamic lands concerning neologisms for concepts of nationalism, constitutionalism, and popular sovereignty. It was Turks who first used the terms "Waṭan", "Millat", and "Ḥurriyat" in their modern Western sense: B. Lewis, The Emergence of Modern Turkey (London, 1961), 328 ff. H. Taqi-Zādeh believes that the word "Mashrūṭeh" (Constitution) was coined by the Turks from the French word "charte", Tārikh-e Avā'el-e Enqelāb va Mashrūṭiyat-e Irān (Tehran, 1959), 18. On the contribution of Turkey to the formation of early Persian scientific terminology and vocabulary connected with other modern concepts, the works of Ṭāliboff and Zeyn al-Ābedin Marāghe'i offer the most representative examples.
79. Concerning these political refugees see: Bahār, M.T., Tārikh-e Ahzāb-e Siyāsi (Tehran, 1942), 17-18; Browne, Press and Poetry, tr. by M. Abbāsi, I, 341; Dowlat-Ābadi, op. cit., III, 27, 92, 108; Behzād, op. cit., 357-363.
80. An account of the new features these poets introduced into Persian literature, together with reflexions of Pan-Islamism in Persian literature of the period, may be seen in Munibar, op. cit., 42, 52, 66, 129.
81. The series consists of three articles: "Taraqqi-ye Zabān-e Fārsi dar yek Qarn", Kāveh, no. 3 (March 31, 1920), 3-5; "Taraqqi-ye Zabān-e Fārsi: She^Cr va Adabiyāt-e Khān-e Vāledeh", Kāveh, nos. 4-5 (May 21, 1920), 3-4; "Ma'khaz-e Fārsi-ye Faṣiḥ va Fārsi-ye Khān-e Vāledeh", Kāveh (Dec. 13, 1920), 3-5.
82. Qazvini, M., "Enteqād-e Adabi", Irān-Shahr (Berlin), no. 8 (1925), 468 ff.

83. Jamāl-Zādeh, M. ^CA., "So'al-e Adabi", Farangestān (Berlin), I, nos. 7-8 (Nov.-Dec. 1924), 341-350.
84. The reference is to the Turkish-influenced "Fuyūzatchilar" literary movement among the Caucasian Turks of the period.
85. The full list appears in "Ma'khaz-e Fārsi-ye Faṣiḥ", 4-5.
86. Ibid., 5.
87. "She'r-e Fārsi va Adabiyāt-e Khān-e Vāledeh", 4.
88. Tajaddod, I, no. 56 (Dec. 8, 1917).
89. On the Khiyābāni Movement see Lenczowski, G., Russia and the West in Iran (Ithaca, 1949), 60-65; Mostowfi, ^CA., Sharh-e Zendegāni-ye Man (Tehran, 1945), III, 174-179; Cottam, R., Nationalism in Iran (Pittsburgh, 1964), 122-124; Kasravi, A., Tārikh-e Hijdah Sāleh-ye Āzerbāyjān, 3rd ed. (Tehran, 1961), 862-900. For the life and political sympathies of Mirzā Taqi-Khān Raf'at see: Mojtehedī, M., op. cit., 73-77; Kasravi, A., Zendegāni-ye Man, 2nd ed. (Tehran, 1946), 86-87.
90. The following passage is quoted from Khiyābāni's public lecture no. 17 as it appears in ^CA. Āzeri, Qiyām-e Sheykh Moḥammad Khiyābāni (Tehran, 1951), 422. "Down with the gloomy literature, poetry and music. So far a great deal of our national vitality has been paralyzed by the morbid effects of despair, fatalism, indifference, and inactivity From now on we must prepare ourselves for the battle of life with hope, smiles, and a better morale -- not with moans of incompetence".
91. Bahār's article, "Enteqādāt dar Aṭraf-e Marām-e Mā", appears in Dāneshkadeh, June 22, 1918, 116 ff.; Khiyābāni's article, "Mas'aleh-ye Tajaddod dar Adabiyāt", appears in Tajaddod, II (May 23, 1918). The passage from Khiyābāni is a paraphrase rather than a quotation.
92. Tajaddod was published from March 1916 to August 1920.
93. A series of articles on criticism of Sa'di is entitled "Yek ^COgyān-e Adabi", Tajaddod, nos. 69, 70, 73, 76 (Jan.-Feb. 1918); for literary criticism a series of articles under the heading "Tajaddod dar Adabiyāt" written by Khiyābāni himself is also important: Tajaddod, Oct. 22, Nov. 17, Dec. 11, 24, 1919; Jan. 14, Feb. 11, 25; Mar. 4, 1920.

94. Āzādi-setān, July 6, 1920, p. 10.
95. Khānlari, "She^Cr-e Fārsi dar Adabiyāt-e Mo^Cāṣer", 30-32.
96. Khānlari, Kongreh-ye Nevisandegān, 47.
97. Khānlari, "She^Cr-Fārsi ...", 30-32.
98. The poem appears with its translation in Browne, The Press and Poetry, 201-204.
99. For the text of the poem see: Īnal, Ī., Son Asır Türk Şairleri, 281.
100. Mirzā ^CAli-Akbar Şāber, the famous satirical poet of the paper Mollā Nāser ed-Din, wrote more than one take-off on the poem: "^CAqilānā Yad Et: Maḥmud Akram Beḡin 'Yad Et' ^CUnvanli bir She^Cr-inā Nāḡirā", Hop-Hop-Nāmeḥ, 111-113.
101. Mo^Cin, M., "Dehkhodā", Introduction to Loghat-Nāmeḥ, 391.
102. The quotation is taken from the introduction R. Shafaq wrote to a poem by ^CAref of Qazvin in Divān-e ^CAref (Tehran, 1327), 372.

CHAPTER III

MAJOR POETS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL PERIOD

In this chapter we propose to treat the major poets of the first part of the period. Among these, Iraj Mirzā and Mirzā ^CAli Mo^Cjez, who best represented the spirit of change, are given relatively full treatment. On the other hand there are poets who remained on the whole faithful to the classical tradition, but who nevertheless deserve attention owing to the quality and quantity of their works. In this category, Reżā Şarrāf and Moḥammad Hidaĵi are discussed. Among these four major poets, Iraj, the most important one, wrote only in Persian; Mirzā ^CAli Mo^Cjez and Reżā Şarrāf wrote only in Turkic; Moḥammad Hidaĵi wrote both in Persian and in Turkic.

Iraj Mirzā (1874-1925)

Possibly the most brilliant figure of Persian poetry, not only of the Constitutional Period but of the twentieth century in general, is Iraj Mirzā of Tabriz.

A great-grandson of Faṭḥ ^CAli Shāh, the Qājār ruler, Iraj was born in 1874 in Tabriz. He is said to have mastered French and Russian at a very young age in addition to receiving the conventional education in Persian and Arabic literature and poetics. At nineteen he became poet-laureate at the court of Możaffar ed-Din Mirzā, then crown prince and governor of Azerbaijan. After holding several

positions at court, from about 1905 until the end of his life, in 1925, he worked in the civil service in Tehran and other parts of Iran.¹

Probably the most important contribution by Iraj to Persian poetry is the simplification of poetic diction. The origin of this tendency, which may be said to represent a reaction against the formal and stilted language of the classicists, has come to be identified with his name. However, his free utilization of the popular idiom, blended in his case with an extraordinary ease and fluency of style, sets his work apart from the inconsistent and at times vulgar diction which became the prevalent fashion in the hands of less competent imitators. As Yarshater observes, "Iraj is to be remembered as one who succeeded, not in bringing the language of classicists down to earth, but in elevating the popular language of the classicists".² Probably this is the same quality to which Arberry refers when he remarks that Iraj was "the last of the classicists and the first of the modern poets".³

In the realm of ideas he is equally modern, exposing by his delightful wit and satire the many social ills of the period. However, his work shows few direct reflections of the political events of the Constitutional era. Some observers maintain that because of his blood ties with the Qājār rulers, "the pathos of the events remained alien to him".⁴ There may be some justice in this assertion, yet a more likely explanation seems to be that a man with his intellectual accomplishments, critical sense, and above all sense of humor would

find the emotional and over-enthusiastic political partisanship of many poets of the period rather naive — especially when, as he aptly observes, so much of this political literature fell short of the barest aesthetic requirements.⁵

غزل سازی و آن هم در سیاست	کنی با شعر بد عرض کیاست
تو شاعر نیستی تصنیف سازی	تو آهوشی مکن جانناگری
چو بازو بزک رون زن پیر	شود شعر تو خوش با روز تحریر
و گر نه کار شعر ت بود مشکل	بداد تور سیده ای دل ای دل

These lines are quoted from the poem ^CAref-Nāmeḥ (The Book of ^CAref), a venomous satire on ^CAref of Qazvin who was noted for the political character of his work.

This work, a poem of 700 verses, contains an equally famous section by the name of "Ḥejāb-Nāmeḥ" ("The Book of the Veil") in which Iraj satirizes quite bluntly, but also picturesquely and delightfully, the hypocrisy of a Muslim woman who pathetically insists on keeping her face veiled while her morals go unattended.

Another beautiful part of this long poem is a moving and yet humorous description of his own addiction to drinking⁶:

چه باید کرد مخلص می پرستم	من امشب ای برادر مست مستم
عرق اندر مسامتم دیده	چو آن نوکوزه های آب دیده
مرا جامد میندازید آیم	من ایرج نیستم دیگر شرابم

Tonight, Oh brother, I am dead drunk,
What can I do, I was born a wine worshipper,
Like those fresh earthen pots immersed in water,
Alcohol has permeated all my pores.
I am no longer Iraj; I am alcohol.
Do not take me for solid matter; I am merely liquid.

Had Iraj written nothing else but this inspired mixture of satire, burlesque, insight, and, strangely enough, genuine pathos, he would still have enjoyed the fame and popularity he does.

Among the modern issues of the day, Iraj was much interested in the status of women. In addition to the above-mentioned "Ḥejāb-Nāmeḥ", he wrote that simple, graceful poem entitled "Mādar" ("Mother") which Browne chose as the epigraph to the fourth volume of his Literary History of Persia. In Iraj's treatment of other modern issues, such as the prevailing social mores, the question of worker versus employer, the hypocrisy of religious leaders, the ignorance and religious fanaticism of the masses, his attitude is one in which he combines reason with humor.

Among his lyrical works the poem "Manuchehr va Zohreh", an adaptation of Shakespeare's "Venus and Adonis", is generally considered the beginning of a new trend in the treatment of love in modern Persian poetry. This poem is, in fact, the first frank description of love as a unique human experience, although it does not lack a certain graciousness associated with the classical ghazal.

To close our discussion, it is important to note that although the originality of Iraj can hardly be over-emphasized in the context of twentieth-century Persian poetry, he seems no longer unique once

we compare him with other Azerbaijani writers of the period. The specific qualities that made him great, i.e., his clear-sighted and realistic outlook on life, his approach to poetry that was free from the clutter of mannerism, and finally his solid sense of humor were in fact general traits shared by many Azeri poets of the period. Iraj not only drew on the thriving intellectual atmosphere of the Azerbaijan of the turn of the century, but also owed specific debts to some of his native predecessors and contemporaries. Ā.I. Shāmidā and K.M. Ḥajiyeva point out⁷ several poems by Iraj in which inspiration from Šāber (pp. 56-66) is easily detected. Shahriyār of Tabriz talks in turn of strong influences from a lesser known local poet: "La^cli⁸ might justly be considered the literary guide and teacher of Iraj Mirzā; reading La^cli's *Divān*, one detects the source of the specific taste and intellectual temper as well as the tricks of the trade of Iraj Mirzā. What is more, the simple poetical diction which Iraj contributed to modern Persian literature owes a partial debt to the example of this man".⁹

Mirzā ^cAli Mo^cjez (1873-1935)

Senior by one year to Iraj Mirzā was Mirzā ^cAli Mo^cjez, the most important poet of the Turkic idiom in the Constitutional Period. He may rightly be considered the Turkic counterpart of Iraj in Persian, with the difference perhaps that whereas Iraj supported the new developments of the period in moderation, Mo^cjez was quite radical. Something of a socialist and writing only in Turkic, he did not live

to see the publication of his Divān. However, a few of his poems appeared under various pseudonyms in the Tabriz edition of the paper Mollā Nāser ed-Din.¹⁰

The collected works of Mo^Cjez were first published in two volumes (volume one by Vātān Yolunda press, the second by Matba^Ce-ye Sa^Cadat, both in Tabriz, 1945) during the Pishavari Period. Mo^Cjez himself was hailed by Soviet critics, as well as the local "democrats", as a "revolutionary satirist". It was also in this period that his old home in Shabostar, a small town to the northeast of Tabriz, was repaired and made into an "Azeri cultural monument". In addition to repeated publications in Tabriz and Tehran since 1945, his works have been published twice since in Baku, in 1948 and 1954.¹¹

A brief account of the life of Mo^Cjez will throw light on the particular character of his works. He was born in 1873 in Shabostar. Although his grandfather had been the governor of his native town — an indication that the family at one time had been of comfortable means — his father was an impoverished merchant. This poverty left deep and widespread traces in the works of Mo^Cjez and explains in part, at least, his pronounced socialistic sympathies. At the age of sixteen he went to Istanbul to join his brothers in a small business which consisted of selling books and stationery. His thirty-year stay in Istanbul, as well as shorter ones in the Caucasus, partially explains his preference for writing in Turkic.

In his autobiography written in 1931 he rather apologetically explained why he wrote in Turkic rather than in Persian: "Upon my

return to Azerbaijan, I witnessed the deplorable situation in my homeland, and I realized I could fight it only with my verses. I made a point, furthermore, of writing in my mother tongue ... since I realized that for the most part the people of Azerbaijan were Turks. ... Besides, I wanted my poems to be understood by women as well as men¹²

Mo^Cjez's poetical diction, too, was considerably influenced by his long stay in Istanbul. His poems contain not only an extensive number of Turkish words, but also many grammatical peculiarities of the Istanbul idiom, such as the use of a varying set of case and verbal endings, the use of the interrogative particle "mi, mi", and the narrative perfect suffixes "miş", "miş", etc. But considering the overall framework of his poems, few poets have used the local colloquial language so effectively. Although his erudition in the Persian language and literature is indirectly manifested, he nevertheless relies heavily on the Azerbaijani local and popular tradition. Not only does he use Azerbaijani proverbs and expressions most effectively, but fragments of his poems have gained the status of popular quotations.

As he himself mentions in his autobiography, Mo^Cjez found support and inspiration from Şāber: "I must enlighten my people like Şāber".¹³ Thus he belongs to the same school of humor and satire as many other poets in Azerbaijan during the early decades of the present century. Mo^Cjez is the only modern Azeri poet fully adopted by the Soviet Azeris. He is given ample space in the literary histories written in

the post-war period, along with Şāber, Jalil Māmmāt-Qoli-Zādeh, and Hāqverdiyev -- in short, those poets and writers of the pre-1917 years classified as "critical realists". Such studies on Mo^Cjez usually elaborate on his indebtedness to Şāber. Y. Hājiyev, for example, asserts that in the poems where Mo^Cjez adopts the subject matter of Şāber, he demonstrates his originality by developing these themes on a more profound level and by giving the humor of Şāber a deeper social and political significance.¹⁴ A. Mir-Ähmädoſſ dwells especially on the humor of Mo^Cjez, stating that among the Azeri poets of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries only certain poems of Sayyed ^CAzim Shirvāni approach those of Mo^Cjez in effectiveness.¹⁵ Mehdi Mojtehedī of Tabriz maintains that in regard to technique and artistic achievement the poems of Mo^Cjez at times excel those of his literary master, Şāber.¹⁶

Nevertheless it is obvious that the works of Mo^Cjez do not have the evenness of Şāber's. In some poems it is evident that putting the message across was more important to Mo^Cjez than was correct observance of rhyme, rhythm, or even choice of words; besides, Mo^Cjez does not have the breadth of outlook and concern that Şāber has. Some of the political issues in his work that the Soviet critics try to magnify are merely allusions, certainly not formulated convictions. On the other hand, no other poet of the period has ridiculed religious fanaticism as effectively as he has done. To the education of women and to the question of literacy in general he devoted most of his creative energy, not merely following the fashion of the period, but also plunging into the intimate lives of his people and throwing into

striking relief the prevalent superstitions and injustices. The contrasting extremities of wealth and poverty, and especially the exploitation of peasants by landowners are among the most frequently recurring themes of his works. As was not uncommon among the poets of the period, he hailed the Russian Revolution of 1917 and wrote many poems exalting Lenin. Nevertheless one wonders whether he was as good a socialist as the Soviet writers try to make him. In his volatile poetical temperament he was not even immune to Shi^cism against which, however, he vehemently fought. The happy days to come for the peasant, the worker, and the poor, in the event of the appearance of a Lenin in Iran, are depicted as similar, at least in some poems, to the utopian bliss promised to the believer upon the coming of the twelfth Imam.¹⁷

Mo^cjez used the stress meter¹⁸ in comparatively few poems. The bulk of his work is in Caruz: the masnavi and what has come to be known as the extended ghazal. This second form, especially favored by Mo^cjez, served him on the one hand as a parody of the traditional authority of the ghazal and on the other as a convenient means for the humorous portrayal of prevailing conditions. He begins a ghazal in the very solemn and formal manner of the classical tradition with appropriately erudite language. To enhance the effect he sometimes chooses the meter and rhyme of a well-known classical poem which, by its familiar and, at the same time, revered ring, produces in the reader the anticipation of an imposing and grandiose work. Sometimes in the second verse, at other times after a few couplets, he switches

to a seemingly banal theme of everyday life, which is nonetheless the real concern of the poem. With the change of scene the language also changes from the lofty to the mundane and colloquial. The contrast produced by this technique gives a heightened impact to whatever point he wants to draw to the attention of the reader.

دایانما ساقی اماند یوگتیر شراب اولورم توقف ایلمه بی کفش و بی جوراب اولورم
چیخیب نالی سوکولوب آلتی لا خلابید ابانی ووروب ایاغیمه مین یاره پشنه خواب اولورم

The poem¹⁹ which begins with the preceding two lines is humorously fashioned after the formal ghazal of Nātavan of Qarabāgh (19th century):

واریمدی سینه ده درد وغم نهان اولورم فدا اولوم سنه گل ایله امتحان اولورم

The poem "O Tay, bu Tay"²⁰ ("This Shore, That Shore"; i.e., the two sides of the Aras River) opens with a description of nature very much in the pattern of classical poems, utilizing appropriate vocabulary and imagery,

خوش اولار سنیزین دیارین گل و لاله و هزاری او هزار و لاله زارین نفماتی بی نهایت

but very soon drifts into a lively description of the "joyless" life in the poet's home town as compared with the life he had earlier experienced in the big cities of the Caucasus. The poem then focuses on the pompous self-importance of the ignorant and greedy clergyman, the illiteracy of women, the oppression of the peasant by the

landowner, etc.

In the poem entitled "Olsun Gäräk"²¹ ("It Must Be Thus", or "Things Should Always Remain As They Are") Mo^Cjez begins with a typical description of a wine-drinking and merry-making gathering invoking the translucence of wine, the wail of the lyre. But soon he is diverted, as it were, by his real concerns. Many topics, serious and otherwise, are subtly interwoven into the poem, of which the economic conditions of his day are the main strand.

In the poem beginning with the following lines,²² his parody of the classical concepts of love and beauty take a charmingly new turn:

مریض عشقه ای دلبر طبیب مهربان ایستر
علیل درد هجرانم گونول آرام جان ایستر
بویون سرو خرامان تک چکلمیش سمت افلاک
اوتور بیور بوسه لطف ایله آیاقتا نرد بان ایستر

In the few more serious love poems that Mo^Cjez has written, his expression and imagery are robust and evocative, and completely alien to the mood of classical poetry. In the poem "Ey Yār"²³ ("O! My Beloved"), two suitors of a young maiden are contrasted in the most direct, yet poetical manner. The old and ugly -- but rich -- suitor is concerned with a young shepherd "with a body of steel and heart of gold", one who derives his vitality from "work and sunshine". This poem in itself creates a parallel in many respects to Iraj's "Zohreh va Manuchehr", considered an epoch-making phenomenon in the treatment

of love in modern Persian poetry.

Rezā Šarrāf (d. 1907)

Another important poet of the Constitutional Period who wrote almost entirely in Turkic was Rezā Šarrāf. His Divān was first lithographed in Tabriz in 1315/1897.²⁴ Moḥammad-^cAli Tarbiyat²⁵ of Tabriz and Sadik Šan'an of Turkey²⁶ report having examined another edition lithographed in Tabriz in 1344/1925. The only edition available to the present writer is the latest one, published in Tehran by Bozorjmehr Mošāfavi in 1959, which was reprinted in 1961. This edition runs to 128 pages, of which only one contains a ghazal written in Persian.

Some Azerbaijanis refer to Šarrāf as the Sa^cdi of their province. Mehdi Mojtehedī, a man of considerable literary taste, talks of Šarrāf as being among the best ghazal writers in all Islamic literature.²⁷ The following ghazal²⁸ shows Šarrāf's mastery combined with a certain playfulness in exploiting the resources of both Azeri and Persian and in creating an imaginative and artistic unity that still commands admiration even though the classical material used in its shaping has long lost its appeal:

من آختار دیم آراشدیم بهر نگار نازنین تاپدیم
گلون ایمانه لامذهبلر آخر تازه دین تاپدیم
خیال زلفی چین چین دستمد سته تل بتل گزدیم
دل دیوانه پابند اینمگه حبل المتین تاپدیم
لب لعلنده بی شک لذت آب بقا بولدوم
سر کوینده مطلق نکهت خلد برین تاپدیم

حد یث خنکته پیچیده اولدوم خط به خط باخدیم
 خنک سیز هر سر کوینده آیات مبین تاپدیم
 جوان عمرم تو کندی بیر جوان اوسته بحمد الله
 ایتیردیم بی بها خر مهره بیر درّ ثمین تاپدیم
 رخ آکنده بیر دنیا عجایب سیر لر قیلدیم
 خنک و خالنده بیر عالم نگارستان جین تاپدیم
 بو محنت خانه ده اولدوم ویریلدیم چوخ مشقطن
 لب معجز نماسی بیر مسیحا آفرین تاپدیم
 دیدیم یاره هلاک ناز و وام رحم ایله ناز ایتمه
 دیدی به به حله ناز ایتمگین ایندی چمین تاپدیم
 المده هر نه نقدیم واریدی صرافه تاپشیردیم
 اونی الحق امانت ساخلا ما خدا چوخ امین تاپدیم

Şarrāf's religious poems constitute the bulk of his work. The difference in diction between these and his ghazals is very striking. Written with the common man in mind, the language of these poems becomes comparatively purer and the expression far more immediate. Narrow and limited as the Karbala event and the personages involved in it might seem, still the poet finds in them diversified possibilities for exploring a wide range of human emotions.

Probably because Şarrāf died only a year after the promulgation of the Constitution his patriotic and political poems are fewer in number than his lyrical and religious ones. In these Şarrāf closely imitated Şāber. For example, the poem entitled "Bir Chātin Khahish"²⁹ ("A Difficult Request"), which opens with the line

O Nations of Islam, awake, the morning has come

is an obvious variation both in content and style on similar poems by Ṣāber. However such poems are both few in number and mild in tone, even for the time, and do not warrant, it seems to this writer, labelling him a "socially conscious revolutionary poet", as did literary critics during the Pishavari Period and also some Soviet writers.³⁰ The message of these poems never goes beyond the stock imagery of the period: appeals in the name of the Islamic community to shake off the lethargy of the centuries, to see the material prosperity Westerners have attained, and to recapture the greatness the Eastern nations had once enjoyed, etc.

Mohammed Hidayi (d. 1935)

Mohammad Hidayi belongs to yet another category of poets of the Constitutional Period. Born in Hiday, a village about sixty kilometres from Zanjān, and educated in Najaf, he taught theology first in Qazvin, and later in Tehran.³¹

His collected works, published twice³² in Tabriz, are composed of two main parts. The first part, called Danēsh-Nāmeḥ, is in Persian, and consists of a masnavi written in close imitation of the Shāh-Nāmeḥ of Ferdowsi both in meter and in the particular diction and style which have come to be identified with it. In content, however, it includes poems on Islamic philosophy and theology as well as didactic and mystical poems. To judge from the content, the Danēsh-Nāmeḥ may have been inspired by a work of the same name by Avicenna, the famous

philosopher and medical theoretician. In the poem, which deals with qovve-ye Cāgeleh va qovve-ye Cāmeleh³³ (the rational [i.e., theoretical] and practical faculties), Hidaĵi elaborates on Avicenna's psychological discussion of behavior, while in the poem "Dar chegunagi-ye peydāyesh-e jahān nazd-e Mashshā'iyun",³⁴ he expressly mentions that he is citing Avicenna.

The second part of the divān, composed of ghazals, is mainly in Turkic and exhibits certain peculiarities of the Zanĵān dialect.

Hidaĵi followed the tradition of Persian classical poetry both in form and content. Although he lived until 1935, the seclusive nature of his personality and profession prevented intrusions from the twentieth-century world, in ideas as well as literary trends. Whereas in his Danēsh-Nāmeḥ he expressly imitates Ferdowsi, in his ghazals the influence of Sa^cdi and especially that of Ḥāfeẓ are all too apparent. These influences range from the adoption of the themes and imagery of Sa^cdi and Ḥāfeẓ to almost verbatim translations of some of these two poets' verses.

In the following examples³⁵ the first do beyti is by Ḥāfeẓ and the second by Hidaĵi.



عیب‌رندان مکن ای زاهد پاکیزه سرشت که گناه دگران بر تو نخواهند نوشت
دانشما زاهد اگر سوز ایشیتد یم سنه نه من اوز خدامه گناه ایتد یم ایتد یم سنه نه

موجود رستی عهد از جهان سست بنیاد که این عجزه عروس هزار داماد است
دنیا به اویم ظاهرینه باخما بوقاری آلداتغا سنی اوزونی ایلیم بزرک

الا یا آیه‌ها الباقی ادرکاسا وناولها که عشق آسان نمود اول ولی افتاد مشکها
بقول خواجه همه خائفند از انجام بعکس من همه اندیشه دارم از انجام

In writing strophic poems in the classical style (*tarkib-band*, *tarji^C-band*) as well as in writing *molamma^C* (bilingual poems) Hidaĵi seems to have drawn his inspiration from Sa^Cdi. In the poem "Tazmin", which opens with the line³⁶

ای نگار عزیز یوخ ضرری گر کنم بر سر وفات سری
he works in an entire *ghazal* of Sa^Cdi, opening with the following line:

گر کنم بر سر وفات سری سهل باشد زیان مختصری

In the bilingual poem entitled "Mosammat"³⁷ he similarly treats another *ghazal* by Sa^Cdi:

هر وانه نمی شکید از دور ورقصد کند بسوز دشنور

These are only a few examples of the not too successful imitations of Sa^Cdi and Hāfeẓ by Moḥammad Hidaĵi. One may detect many passages from the works of Ferdowsi, Neẓāmi, and even comparatively later poets such as Qā'āni of the nineteenth century, and Abu al-Qāsem Nabāti, an Azerbaijani poet of the same era.

Hidaji's Turkic poems are on the whole of a more individual character than his poems written in Persian. The poems containing popular wisdom and humor, in which the poet gives free rein to a colorful colloquial Turkic, in particular add a light touch to the erudite formality of his collected works. To this category belong the moving poems he writes when he reminisces about his childhood in his native village or when, despite all his conscious effort to remain the detached theologian, he cannot resist contemplating the long life of poverty and loneliness which isolation in a seminary cell has imposed on him. One cannot help feeling that these might be the poems which have been mistaken by some of his biographers³⁸ for mystical poems, as was often the case with many poets of the earlier centuries.

Our discussion so far has been concerned with those major poets of the period whose works have been collected. Ja^Cfar Khāme'i of Tabriz, who wrote in Persian but whose output was very limited, is generally considered a pioneer in breaking with the traditional prosody, and in writing the earliest Western-oriented lyrics, particularly nature poetry.³⁹ As some of these features have been discussed in the preceding chapter (p. 44), we need to add here only that apart from the revolutionary Tabriz newspapers and the Tehran journals of the nineteen-twenties, the Tabriz periodicals of the Khiyābāni years have also preserved several works by this highly original poet (p. 74).

As regards poets of the Turkic idiom, one equally important, but not adequately studied, is ^CAbd al-Hoseyn Khāzen of Tabriz

(1873-1917). To him are attributed some of the topical poems in the style of Şāber which appeared in the paper Āzerbāyjān between 1907 and 1909. Other scattered poems by Khāzen include those cited by Ja^cfar Khandān⁴⁰ of Soviet Azerbaijan and Shahriyār of Tabriz. Commenting on the unusual popularity of Khāzen's topical poems in the Constitutional years, Shahriyār described him as an "astonishing literary personality" and one equally outstanding in following the classical tradition: "... Had he been trained and encouraged", Shahriyār writes, "he could have been a Hāfeẓ in his own right".⁴¹

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1. For a more detailed biography of Iraj see Maḥjub, M.J., Tahqiq dar Ahvāl va Āsar va Afkār va Ash^Cār-e Iraj Mirzā (Tehran, 1963), I-LI; on Iraj see Ḥā'iri, K., Afkār va Āsar- e Iraj, 217-237.
2. Yarshater, op. cit., 301.
3. Arberry, op. cit., 235.
4. Kubickova, op. cit., 384.
5. Iraj, Divān, Bk. II, 48.
6. Ibid., 32.
7. Ä.I. Shāmidā, Kh.M. Ḥajiyeva, op. cit., 69 ff.
8. Mirza ^CAli La^Cli (1839-1907), a bilingual poet from Tabriz, is famous in Azerbaijan for his brilliant wit and his simple and effective poetical diction. However, there is little by way of modernism in the form or content of his work. His ghazals, qasidehs, and his facetiae are written in Persian; his religious poems and fewer ghazals are in Turkic. For an appraisal of La^Cli's works and his detailed biography see: Introduction by M. ^CA. Şafvat in La^Cli, Divān, 4th ed., Tabriz, 1943.
9. Shahriyār, op. cit., III, 8.
10. A N Azerb. SSR, Azerb. Ādābiyati Tārikhi, II, 740.
11. Ibid., 738.
12. Introduction written by G. Māmmātlu to the Divān of Mo^Cjez (Tabriz, 1945) as cited by A N Azerb. SSR, op. cit., 738.
13. Ibid., 739.
14. Ḥajiyev, Y., 20-inji Āsr Azerbaidjan Ādābiyati Tārikhi (Baku, 1955), 298.
15. A N Azerb. SSR, op. cit., II, 761.
16. Mojtehedi, M., op. cit., 148.
17. See the poem entitled "Vaşiyat-nāmeḥ-ye Mo^Cjez", Divān, I, 250-251.

18. The syllabic poems of Mo^Cjez are collected in a separate section (Divān, I, 58 ff.) entitled "Qizlar və Xanimlar Üchün". It is difficult to ascertain whether the title belonged to the original manuscript or was added by the editors.
19. Divān, I, 251.
20. Ibid., I, 93-95.
21. Ibid., I, 153.
22. Ibid., 7.
23. Ibid., II, 92.
24. ^CAbbāsi, op. cit., 32.
25. Tarbiyat, op. cit., 230.
26. San'an, S., "İranda Türk Şairleri", Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi, 2 (1933), 386-388.
27. Mojtehedî, M., op. cit., 108.
28. Şarrāf, Divān, 109.
29. Āzerbāyjan, no. 2, 1907.
30. A N Azerb. SSR, Azerb. Ādābiyatı Tārikhi, II, 535; ^CAbbasi, op. cit., 30-32.
31. For a more detailed biography of the poet and his theological works, see Khiyābani, M. ^CA. Reyhānat al-Adab, IV, 328-329.
32. According to the introduction written by J. Motāḡavi to the second edition of the poet's Divān (1958), the first edition had appeared in 1941.
33. Hidaġi, M., Dānesh-Nāmeġ va Divān-e Hidaġi, 3rd. ed. (Tabriz, 1958), 109.
34. Ibid., 135.
35. The examples from Hidaġi are quoted from Dānesh-Nāmeġ va Divān-e Hidaġi, respectively pp. 229, 232, 172.
36. Ibid., 238.
37. Ibid., 253.
38. Khiyābani, Reyhānat al-Adab, IV, 328-329.

39. Kubičková, op. cit., 376; Machalski, La Littérature de l'Iran contemporain, I, 120-133. For a representative collection of Khāmne'i's works see Hashtrudi, M., Montakhabāt-e Āsār (Tehran, 1963), 173-175.
40. Khandān, "On doqquzunji vā Yirminji Āşirlärdä Tabrizdä Ādäbiyat".
41. Shahriyār, op. cit., IV, 7-8.

CHAPTER IV

LITERATURE UNDER REZĀ SHĀH (1921-1941)

Reactions against literary innovations of the Constitutional Period, which crystallized during the reign of Rezā Shāh, were already forming after World War I. The vital and enthusiastic activity of the first decade of the century as well as the quiescence of the second were both past, and as Persian affairs were once more on the way to stabilization, the indomitable spirit of classical literature began to reassert itself. The earliest manifestation of this was the formation of Western-style literary societies and literary journals — both unprecedented in the history of Persian literature.¹

The Anjoman-e Adabi-ye Dāneshkadeh (Dāneshkadeh Literary Society) was founded in 1918 in Tehran by Moḥammad-Taqi Bahār and published the literary journal Dāneshkadeh. The Anjoman-e Adabi-ye Irān (Iran Literary Society) was established in 1920. One of its founding fathers, Vaḥid Dastjerdi, began the publication of Armaghān in the same year.

To express new ideas in old forms, and that in moderation, would perhaps be the essence of the many articles Bahār wrote in explaining and defending the goals of the society he led.²

The program of the Iran Literary Society stated: "The guarantee of the eternity and pride of Iran — the Iran of Ferdowsi, Neẓāmi, Sa^cdi, Ḥāfeẓ, and Khayyām — in the community of nations ... is to

strive for a literature with the dignity of old age and the freshness of youth without the ponderousness of senility and the flippancy of childhood"³

The contradictions in such a statement may perhaps be explained as a sign of the intrinsic power of the classical poetry and as a symbol of the need for self-identification for an emerging modern nation, not as a sign of conservatism per se. In fact, the case for tradition versus innovation found its most eloquent defender in the person of Ḥasan Taqi-Zādeh, perhaps the most radically progressive, scholarly, and enlightened man of his times. In the first issue of the journal Kāveh, published in Berlin in 1920, he said: "Outwardly and inwardly, in body and in spirit, Persia must become Frankish-mannered or Europeanized".⁴ In the same article he enumerated "a sedulous attention to the preservation of the Persian language and literature, and the development and strengthening thereof"⁵ as one of the major aims of the journal Kāveh. In the same journal he stated: "Whoever picks up a pen to write ... must have read our prose classics ... and must have sufficient knowledge of the accumulated wealth of the poetry of the past centuries, which indeed forms the most important pillar of our language and literature. The Iran of today is alive thanks to the works of our great poets of the past".⁶

We have already referred to the articles in which Taqi-Zādeh was contrasting "Persian poetry" to "Khān-e Vāledeh literature" (Turkish-influenced literature). What was perhaps not clear at the time is the fact that "Turkish-influenced literature" was the channel for European

literature and was inevitably part of the "adoption and promotion, without condition or reservation, of European civilization, absolute submission to Europe, and the assimilation of the culture, customs, practices, institutions, science, industry, and the whole outlook of Europe"⁷

The political conditions of the reign of Reẓā Shāh directly and indirectly accelerated the change of directions in literary views and practices. The first notable change occurred in the character of the press. The spontaneous and enthusiastic participation of the poets and writers in the events of the day, which had characterized the press and consequently the literature of the first period, was definitely at an end. No free criticism was expected from the poets; what was demanded from them was unqualified agreement, support, and praise.⁸ From among the political and ideological themes prevalent in the earlier period, the only one in which the poet could now indulge to his heart's content was praise of pre-Islamic Iran, even to the extent of glorifying the Zoroastrian faith.

The emergence of literary conservatism, together with the political requirements of Reẓā Shāh's reign, gave rise to yet another peculiarity in the literature of the period. As opposition to free expression tightened, the earlier Western-oriented dynamism and productive experimentations receded in favor of literary and philological scholarship.⁹ If the Constitutional Period had turned the court-poet into the poet-journalist, the would-be poet-littérateur of the nineteen-twenties and -thirties found it easier and safer to turn



to the study of the classics. Despite his exaggerations, Kasravi is not without reason in considering this excessive preoccupation with classical literature as an outcome of the failure of genuine parliamentary government in Iran:

... They had no other alternative but to increase their efforts at promoting Persian poetry and literature ... to distract people's attention by making some poets, others poetry-lovers ...; by creating a new field in order to absorb the mental energy of youth and to justify all this by saying: surely we shall not be able to equal others [Westerners] in national power and prestige; there is only one way open to us: to gain their respect by propagating our ancient literature and civilization.¹⁰

Features Particular to Azerbaijan

As far as the literature of Azerbaijan in particular is concerned, the contrast between the two periods is still more striking. The press and poetry of Azerbaijan during the first quarter of the century had been among the most progressive in the country owing to the productive atmosphere of political and intellectual activity and to the mingling of cultures. In contrast, poets from Azerbaijan who came of age during the Pahlavi period move along conservative lines, even with regard to form. The sense of classical poetry, especially in what is known as the Khorasani School, is strong among the capable poets of Azerbaijan in the second period. Gholām^c Ali Ra^cdi, Kažem Rajavi, and ^cAli Ašghar Ḥariri provide the best examples of this tendency. Moḥammad-Ḥoseyn Shahriyār is the only one among major Azerbaijani poets who, while remaining faithful to the

classics, has tried his hand at newer verse forms, and even his output is negligible, compared to that of the modernist circles of Tehran and the achievements of men such as Nimā Yoshij, Feridun Tavallali, not to mention those who are the product of the post-World War II period.

With regard to prose, although the earliest works in the century were written by Azerbaijanis, e.g., Ṭaliboff and Ḥāji Zeyn al-^CĀbedin Marāghe'i, no prose work of importance has been produced by any Azerbaijani since the early years of the Constitutional Period. Whereas modern Persian literature as a whole has been more successful in prose than in poetry, for Azerbaijanis the essence of literature remains poetry even to our day — that is, of course, with the exception of the works produced during the Pishavari Period which on the whole fall into the category of command performances.

Another distinct feature of the second period is the discouragement of Turkic as a literary medium. Reḡā Shāh launched a far-reaching minority absorption policy implemented by administrative, ideological, and educational devices. We have already referred to the necessary corollary of this program, namely the glorification of pre-Islamic Iran and the vilification of the Turks and Arabs, who were alleged to have interrupted the steady and forward-moving enrichment of Persian culture.¹¹ Even academic circles did not prove immune to the following falsifications: there were no people of Turkic origin in Iran¹²; Azerbaijanis were the legitimate heirs to the old Medes; and the change of language to Turkic in Azerbaijan was a legacy of the Mongol invasion!

Among the administrative measures Reżā Shāh had recourse to in his national unification program was the introduction of a new system of administrative divisions in the country. In the words of A.K.S. Lambton, "the division of Persia for administrative purposes into ostāns, instead of provinces known by their traditional names, was, no doubt, a device to efface the memory of the historic provinces with their persistent traditions of diversity and autonomy".¹³ In this new division the name "Azerbaijan" was officially dropped and the province was divided into eastern and western sections, named respectively the third and fourth ostāns, with separate civil and military administrations.

The suppression of Turkic for literary use resulted in a staggering amount of religious poetry produced in this language, since, except for ordinary conversation at home, the only function left for Turkic was for various religious purposes. According to many Azerbaijani men of letters, these religious poems helped the Azeri literary idiom survive the Pahlavi Period.

In addition to the direct restrictive measures of Reżā Shāh, the psychological aspect of his policy proved highly significant. It is true that, already before Reżā Shāh, there were Azerbaijanis who vehemently wrote and worked against the spread of the Azeri language and literature (pp. 48, 75-76). But under Reżā Shāh the sense of linguistic duality became even more pronounced. A young Azerbaijani poet who received his education in Tehran and who, furthermore, sought recognition throughout Iran would consciously or otherwise refrain

from writing in Turkic. What is more, he would justify his preference for Persian by stating that Azeri was not fit for literary expression. The present writer had occasion to ask a famous contemporary poet, who wrote only in Persian, whether he had ever written anything in Turkic. Disposing of the centuries-long heritage of Azeri literature (to say nothing of its accomplishments in recent times), he said: "Should one have at his disposal a machine gun and a kitchen knife, which do you suppose he would use for self-defence?"

Major Poets from Azerbaijan

As we have stated earlier, Azerbaijani poets who came of age in this period wrote mostly in Persian. In regard to form, moreover, they were classic-oriented rather than innovators. Among poets in this category the most important are Parvin E^Ctešāmi, Gholām-^CAli Ra^Cdi, Kažem Rajavi, and ^CAli-Ašghar Ĥariri. Moḥammad-Ḥoseyn Shahriyār has written in both Persian and Turkic, but in the latter only after World War II. His work in general is characterized by a relatively higher degree of modernism of form and his poetry by a deeper emotionalism than is to be found in the writings of his contemporaries.

Parvin E^Ctešāmi (1906-1941)

Daughter of the poet, journalist, and capable translator Yusof E^Ctešām al-Molk, Parvin was born in Tabriz in 1906, although from childhood on she spent all her life in Tehran. From her father she received a classical education, especially in Persian and Arabic



literature and poetics, and was graduated from the American Girls College in Tehran.

Her earlier poems appeared in the journal Bahār which was edited by her father. Her collected works were first published still during her lifetime, in 1314 (1935). A few months after her death in 1941 and again in 1944 a second and third edition came out. As Sa^cid Nafisi remarks, "This shows that the literary public can absorb a repeated printing of her works every three years. Let us remember", he goes on to say, "that among our contemporary poets and even our classical masters hardly anyone has enjoyed such a reception".¹⁴

Parvin's Divān contains three different types of poems which represent the different stages of her creative development and the different degrees of influence classical poetry had on her. The first part of her Divān consists of qasidehs in which, according to Malek ash-Sho^carā Bahār and Sa^cid Nafisi, she wrote under the influence of Naṣer Khosrow, a writer of the eleventh century. In her masnavis, she drew inspiration from ^cAṭṭār, Mowlavi, and Nežami. In her moqatta^cat, however, although she was influenced to some degree by Anvari and Sanā'i, her original poetical personality is better manifested.¹⁵ It is mainly in these last that she utilizes the technique of dialogue and debate with which she is identified in modern Persian poetry.

When Parvin's collected works were published for the first time in 1935, Malek ash-Sho^carā Bahār, one of the leading poets and literary critics of modern Iran, wrote an introduction to it unreserved in its praise for the quality of her work.

This enthusiasm for her work has been shared ever since by all Persian anthologists and literary critics.¹⁶ Her success seems to rest primarily on expression rather than on ideas. She was no doubt a capable follower of the neo-classicist trend which developed in the mid-nineteenth century and was adhered to by many eminent poets until World War II. The purity of language and refinement of style she inherited from the classical poets, together with the modern trends of clarity and simplicity, produced an attractive style, indeed.

Furthermore, when one considers the political, social, and psychological atmosphere of the years in which such works were created, the success of the neo-classicists generally and that of Parvin especially is understandable. Parvin's poems must have been welcome as a refreshing change from the invasion of poetry by the political partisanship and at times the not too subtle satire of the earlier period, as well as from "the frivolous moral attitude of some of the literati"¹⁷ and the popularization of language by some poets and writers who overstepped the limits of moderation and taste, and defied literary convention.

Many admire Parvin, on the other hand, because of the "humaneness" of her works, in the sense that she protested against social injustice and took sides with the poor, the deprived, and the downtrodden. But as one reads these poems today, one cannot but feel that they impart at their best the same stylized abstract quality that classical treatments of the same themes do. More often a merely sentimental and pathetic atmosphere pervades such poems. Especially

because of its lack of variety, the Divān of Parvin gives the impression of a weird display of beggars, orphans, old, destitute widows, stray dogs, and the like. What is certain is that these poems bear no resemblance to the works of communist poets, contrary to what some observe.¹⁸ They lack even those qualities of social-consciousness and directness that is to be found in the works of such men as Bahār, ^CEshqi, ^CĀref, etc., who were definitely influenced by socialism.

However, exception must be made of a few effective poems of that type, among which "The Tears of an Orphan"¹⁹ is the most praised. In view of the tremendous popularity this poem enjoys in Iran, a free translation of it is given here.

A king chanced to pass along a road;
A clamor of excitement ran through the crowd.
Seeking a vantage place to better view the Shah,
Some climbed upon the humble roofs of the neighboring dwellings.

A little orphaned child asked in bewilderment,
"What is that dazzling thing on the crown of the king?"
Someone in the crowd answered thus: "How do we know what it is?"

"This much is obvious, it is very rare and precious stuff."

A hunch-backed old woman hobbled up saying,
"I have lived long enough to know what it is.

"Those are crystallized tears rolled down from your eyes and mine.

"He beguiled us by his shepherd's attire.

"He is a wolf aware of our wretched hapless lot.

"A pious man who accumulates estates and villages is none but a bandit,

"A king who embezzles from his subjects is none but a pauper".

Parvin, of what avail would your truthful words be?
Where is the man who would not shun the truth?

Beyond poems with social themes, Parvin wrote on philosophical topics and on concepts of Şufism -- the fickleness of life and fate, scepticism about the power of reason and human effort, a call to renounce material possessions and worldly prestige, unconditional resignation to fate, etc. Although oriented to some extent towards contemporary life, such poems nevertheless strike the modern reader as rather tedious, with their didactic and moralizing attitude.

What is even more striking about Parvin's poems is the lack of any direct personal content. Nothing in her work bears the stamp of her intimate feelings, joys, sorrows, aspirations, and frustrations. Perhaps the pathetic strophic poem she wrote about the sudden disappearance of her cat forms an exception.²⁰ Bahār posed the following question in the introduction of her *Divān*: "What has she to say on the subject of love, the true relish of poetry? She was too pure and too lofty", he answered, "to deign to concern herself with earthly love, but true love was the very basis of her works, that love which is bound up in eternal truths, in intellect and spirituality".²¹ One cannot help comparing Parvin in this respect with the poetess Foruq Farrokh-Zād (d. 1967), who combined a genuine poetical gift with the most daring and direct freedom of subject.²² Parvin's poems are always written in such a controlled frame of mind that Bahār was led to remark: "The joys and adversities of life have never created conflicting feelings within her, and have never led her to abandon the control of her special style and manner of expression".²³ This very control, evenness and, one might say, obsessive repetitiveness,

however, afford, upon greater familiarization with Parvin's work, a considerable psychological insight into her mind. One may detect a desire for freedom, including freedom of artistic expression, in her favorite image of herself. "The Wish to Fly" reflects one of the recurrent themes in her poems. Here is one of her many descriptions of a little bird, with which she always seemed to identify herself.

"Ārezu-ve Parvāz" ("The Wish to Fly")²⁴

A baby pigeon, in her wish to fly,
ventured to exercise her wings.
She flew from the little branch to a larger one.
Having passed a little hill, she landed on the banks of a
little stream.
The short distance seemed so far to her that the world grew
dark before her eyes.
She became numb with fright.
Exhausted and bewildered, she would at times cast
apprehensive glances on all sides.
Then out of anguish she would hide her head under her
trembling wings.
She neither had the daring to accept what fate had in store
for her
Nor did she have the strength to return to the nest.
She neither knew by what name to call these new experiences
Nor did she know the way back to the nest.
By now the sweet dreams of a nest with water and grain and
peaceful slumber loomed high in her vision.
She collapsed at last and gave out a cry of desperation.

So far the description is vivid and beautiful in Persian. But then the mother pigeon chances to fly by and begins to blame her for overestimating her capacities, for being conceited, for neglecting the advice of her elders, and for overlooking the dangers of life and the snares of the hunter and the fox.

One has the feeling that the method of dialogue and debate with which Parvin is identified reflects the conflict of past and present, characteristic of the transitional period in which she lived. Unfortunately the traditional always wins over the spontaneous.

Gholām-^CAli Ra^Cdi

Ra^Cdi was born in 1909 in Tabriz. He is a graduate of Tehran University Law School, and holds a doctorate in literature from France. Before his stay in France he first taught Persian literature in Tabriz and then held high administrative positions with the Ministry of Education in Tehran. After his return, while still a high official of the Ministry of Education, he taught comparative literature in the Faculty of Letters of Tehran University. From the establishment of UNESCO until recently, he was associated with that organization as the head of the Persian delegation.²⁵

Ra^Cdi first turned to poetry during the years he was teaching literature in Tabriz. The acclaim these early poems received in Tehran circles, and from the leading poets and critics of the time, was partly responsible for Ra^Cdi's rapid advancement in the Ministry of Education. For today's reader, however, these early poems seem fully oriented towards the Persian classics at the cost, perhaps, of expressing the poet's own individuality. The poem "Mosammaṭ dar Towṣif-e Bahār" ("Stanzas Describing the Spring"), for example, opens with the following strophe:

تا خود به بهار اندر نور و زبر آمد ایام دل افسردگی و سوز بر آمد
از خاک گل و سوسن و سنبل بدر آمد بر پیکر مرغان چمن بال و پر آمد
آن گاه دگر بود و زمان دگر آمد بگذشت ز سر بهمن و آمد بهر آزار

From this point of departure, Ra^Cdi has come a long way. He owes his place of distinction in modern Persian literature precisely to the harmonious synthesis he achieved, in his later poems, between the best in tradition and the new Western traits. The poem "Kār-gar va Kār-farmā"²⁶ ("The Worker and the Employer"), for example, is admired by the tradition-minded for its formal accomplishment. For others it is equally valuable, not merely for the modern topic it treats, but for the poet's feelings, which have an intensity unexpected from his classical discipline.

The poem "Negāh"²⁷ ("The Glance"), a description of the poet's response to the emotional and inspirational appeal of a deaf-mute brother, is another famous poem remarkable in its application of conventional language and form to a theme which was uncommon in Persian poetry of the day.

Ra^Cdi's poems are better represented in translation than any of the other modern poets'. The poem "Jām-e Zendegi"²⁸ ("The Cup of Life"), translated by Arberry, is drawn from the poet's classical repertoire. However this quatrain, capably translated by G.M. Wickens,²⁹ seems, to the writer, timeless and universal in its appeal.

Shackled to our past and our own age
To thought-in-pawn and earlier utterances
More worthy than any of prisoner's title,
Let us assume the name of "freethinkers".

One wonders if, had the quatrain been written by a Westerner, G.M. Wickens would still see in it an instance of a mystic's scepticism about the power of reason, rather than some other, specifically Western "determinism" -- socio-economic, cultural, or psychological.

Kāzem Rajavi

Kāzem Rajavi was born in 1912 in Dilmaqān, the principal city of the region of Salmās (the present Shāh-Pur). He completed his high school education in Tabriz and received degrees in literature, philosophy, and education from Tehran University. As it is not uncommon among the poets of modern Iran, he has been affiliated in his career with the Ministry of Education in both teaching and administrative positions. A prolific writer since his early youth, Rajavi is the author of a staggering number of works in mathematics, history, geography, and education, as well as of biographies of Islamic philosophers and poems.³⁰

Rajavi is best known in Iran as a poet. Apart from the numerous poems he has contributed to periodicals in Tabriz and Tehran, he has published several important volumes of poetry. Nāmeḥ-ye Piruzi, published first in Tabriz in 1310/1931, is a translation in verse of Żafar-Nāmeḥ, a book of counsel and advice attributed to Avicenna. A collection of Rajavi's poems on social topics appeared in 1943 under

the title Ruzgār-e Khunin. This was followed in 1949 by his Armaghān-e Āzerbāyjān, a collection of patriotic poems condemning the political developments in Azerbaijan during 1945-46. The most recent compilation of Rajavi's poems appeared in 1965 under the title Bādeh-ye Kohan. From the title page and the introduction to the work we learn that Rajavi is to be known henceforth by the pen name Izad.³¹

Rajavi is a versatile poet who is especially successful in poems in which he follows the language and style of the classics. His poem "Qaṣīdeh dar Vaṣf-e Bahār"³² ("In Praise of the Spring"), for example, reminds one of the poems of Manuchehri in the tenth century in regard to the accented rhythm, the caesuras falling regularly in mid-hemistich, and the vocalized rhyme words. The festive mood of this poem, combined as it is with the free use of sonorous rare words, exemplifies the almost authentic atmosphere of the poems of

Manuchehri, perhaps the best painter of nature in classical poetry.

از کو هساران حویها غلتید اندر کویها وز شاخساران بویها پیچید تا فر سنگها
هر نرگس گوهر نشان در مرغزار و بوستان چون احتری چشمک زنان در بزم هفتور نگها
روی چمن چون آسمان لکها در آن جون اختران
و آن راه باریک اندر آن چون راه پالا هنگها
ریزد هوا سیعابها بر جهره تالابها هر دم بروی آبها پیدا شود آژنگها
اندر لب مرد آبها روئیده بسربلابها پیچیده بر سخلاتها چون زمردین پاهنگها
باد بهار برا ببین کز یکدم نرم این چنین در آسمانها وزمین انگیخته نیرنگها

We may cite here the translation of another fine classically-oriented poem by Rajavi, "Dar Nekuhash-e Zendegi" ("In Reproach of Life"). This poem appeared first in the literary journal Armaghān³³

as an entry in a contest the journal had sponsored. The theme of the poem, like its expression, is in the purest classical tradition. G.M. Wickens, whose translation we quote here, describes the poem as a "peculiar survival cum laude"³⁴ in modern Persian poetry of the classical techniques of puns, word plays, and allusions.

Life is only trial and pain,
Comfort and joy are but fancies;
What they call comfort and joy
Is merely the soothing of grief and pain.
Alas! Save the draught of hurt and trouble,
There is nothing left in this black bowl;
And if with heart's eye you look therein,
This bowl holds only the colocynth of death.
Death is gradual, its name "life",
The distinction of the two only in name.
From such a goblet, lees-ful, no one
In the world is content or sweet-palated.

Rajavi is said to have written poems in both Azeri and Istanbul Turkish. Reference to these works may be found in the introduction to the above-mentioned Bādeh-ye Kohan and also in Sadaf, an anthology of contemporary poets by Dāriyush Šabur.³⁵ According to the latter source, Rajavi is preparing for publication two volumes of quatrains that include both Persian and Turkic.

^cAli Asghar Hariri

A medical doctor now living and practising in France, ^cAli Asghar Hariri was born in 1906 in Tabriz where he completed his pre-college education. After graduating from the Faculty of Law at Tehran University, he edited, for a time, the newspaper Ordibehesht in

Tabriz. Ḥariri's career also includes training in medicine in France and a few years of teaching in the medical faculty at Tehran University.

His poetically productive years were those during which he was affiliated with the Anjoman-e Adabi-ye Irān (The Iran Literary Society). He was especially influenced, as one may judge from his works, by Malek ash-Sho^carā Bahār, a poet of distinction in the school of neo-classicism. Khalkhālī, a contemporary anthologist, makes the following interesting remark about Ḥariri's works:

Dr. Ḥariri is a follower of the established rules and principles of Persian classical poetry. Even using heavy and quaint meters, he demonstrates that if a person is really a poet ... rhyme and rhythm are no restrictions on expression for him. Even in the artistic moulds of classical poetry, one can express the subtlest feelings and minutest thoughts.³⁶

This statement is apparently addressed to meet the challenge from the advocates of modernization of poetical forms. Anyone would agree that Ḥariri is a capable poet, and no Persian born into and trained in the tradition of Persian classics would be thoroughly immune to the beauties of early Persian classics even when imitated in the midst of the twentieth century. Nevertheless some of Ḥariri's poems, brilliant as they are, do not succeed in concealing the strained efforts of a modern man superimposing an outwardly archaic structure onto the outlook of one familiar with many modern fields of endeavor and exposed, no doubt, to Western literature. To clarify this, it is useful to analyze a qasideh by Ḥariri which, owing to the excellence

of its classical craftsmanship, is cited in most contemporary anthologies. The poem, beginning with the following line³⁷

رسید ماه سپند اراز پی بهمن به آذر اندرافکن سپند و عود بزن

is written in the same rhyme scheme and meter as the famous qasideh that Mas'ud Sa'd-e Salmān of the twelfth century dedicated to Rashidi, a fellow-poet of the same century.³⁸ The imitation is acknowledged by Ḥariri through many poetical allusions, including insertion of an actual verse from the twelfth-century poet.

The poem, entitled "Bahār", opens with the praise of spring (bahār) and ends with the praise of Bahār (the pen name of his literary master and guide), in accordance with the panegyric tradition. The middle part of the poem voices the pains of separation from his beloved in France, whom he persuades to join him in Iran by a description, full of classical imagery, of the impending spring: in a few days the rays of the sun will reach the dead earth and dissolve the shroud of the snow. Next month the wilderness will be a cause of envy for the garden of Eden. Leaves scattered by the spring breeze will look like the Angalyun (the holy book of Māni, the founder of Manichaeism and a master painter). The earth will reveal the treasures of trees and flowers as on Resurrection Day the earth will throw up the hidden treasures of Qārūn (Korah, the biblical figure renowned for his extreme wealth). Manizheh and Bizhan, two love figures from the Shāh-Nāme, are recalled as metaphors for the beloved and the poet himself. The poems of Bahār are likened in their perfection of design to the necklace of the Pleiades. This sort of classical imagery is

mixed in the poem with very modern concepts: he complains that because of legal obstacles he is prevented from joining his beloved in France and that since it is an age when women enjoy equal rights, why can she not join him in Iran? However, the description of the airplane she is to take reminds one of the loghaz (riddle) device used in classical literature to describe an object, or a strained effort on the part of the poet to project himself back to a time when such an object could exist only in the imagination. The vehicle is clad with iron and steel (!) as a warrior with armor; it goes on the air as a ship on water; it is as speedy as a flash of the imagination; it roars like the thunder at which the heavens tremble; it shoots up as stone from a catapult or as a polo ball hit by a dexterous hand; it splits the air as a needle passing through a silken cloth; etc.

A mere glance at the poem will enable one to see that this anachronistic description of the airplane and the archaic imagery are necessitated by the rhyme, and it is precisely in the rhyme words that he uses terms such as

زقن شمن محجن فرغن دن راسن رین

the meaning of which would be unintelligible to a Persian who had not thoroughly mastered his classics.

The following verse serves as a recapitulation of the elements of the three composing parts:

بدیع باشد و شیرین تبسم ازلب تو چو از زمانه بهار و جواز بهار سخن

The smile on your lip is fresh and sweet,
As nature is in springtime and poetry in the hands of Bahār.

Hariri's poems are not as yet collected, but among those cited in contemporary anthologies and appearing in periodicals, the majority are in the classical style. "Marg-e Kennedy"³⁹ ("Kennedy's Death") is perhaps justified in its use of the classical elegiac formalism, but in the poem "Ḥajj-e Shā'ar"⁴⁰ the richness of style and vocabulary forms an astonishing contrast to the poet's genuinely intense feelings (the intensity of a childhood trauma relived) on the occasion of his brother's pilgrimage to Mecca. This brother, we are told, had not spared the least craft and fraud, legal or otherwise, to cheat his younger brother (the poet) of a share in the parental inheritance.

Mohammad-Hoseyn Shahriyār

As Iraj was the greatest, and in many ways the most typical poet of the Constitutional Period, so is Shahriyār of the Reẓā Shāh Period, with the difference, perhaps, that Shahriyār is a poet of personal feelings, whereas the works of Iraj are, in accordance with the spirit of his times, of extroverted, humorous, and intellectual temper.

Shahriyār was born in 1285/1906 in Tabriz. However, he spent his youth in the village of Khoshgenāb, to which he probably owes his love of nature and his masterly ability to describe it. After having received his high school training in Tabriz, he moved to Tehran where

he entered the Medical College at Tehran University. Towards the end of his training, he gave up the field of medicine and thenceforth made a career in the civil service. The first edition of his works, which was only a partial one, was published by the Khayyām Publishing House in Tehran in 1308/1929. In later years some favorite poems of Shahriyār, e.g., "Ṣadā-ye Khodā" ("The Voice of God"), "Qahramānān-e Stalingrad" ("The Heroes of Stalingrad"), and others, were published as separate brochures. But probably owing to Shahriyār's own strictness about the quality of his work, or the political conditions of the time, his full collected works did not appear until 1328 (1949), when the first two volumes of his works were published by his friend ^cAli Zahri.

The first volume contains his ghazals and quatrains, the second volume mainly his masnavis and qasidehs. By 1956 when the third volume came out, the two first volumes had run through two additional printings. The third volume, which is subtitled Maktab-e Shahriyār (The School of Shahriyār), contains his more modern poems, including his poems in free verse. The fourth volume, containing his miscellaneous poems, came out in 1957.⁴¹ To this volume Shahriyār himself wrote a concise but very instructive introduction in which he provides a highly subjective analysis or evaluation of the history of Persian poetry.

Shahriyār began his poetical career by writing ghazals mainly in the tradition of Ḥāfeẓ. The spirit of Ḥāfeẓ still reigns supreme in the minds and works of many Persian poets, but the example of the

creativity of Ḥāfeẓ inspired an exquisite passion in Shahriyār. He regarded the Divān of Ḥāfeẓ almost as a book of revelation which could not be surpassed but only imitated. He was a musical instrument, Shahriyār once wrote, merely sounding the immortal melodies of the old master-singer.⁴²

همره ساز و نوای خواجه کردم نای دل آنکه با سازش چه جای زهره میرقصد زحل

"While the world stands," he wrote in another poem, "and wherever the religion of love and true rapture of spirit prevail, the genius of Ḥāfeẓ will be there".⁴³

تا جهان باقی و آئین محبت باقی است
شعر حافظ همه جا ردّ زبان خواهد بود
هر کجا زمزمه عشق و همای شوقی است
بهواداری آن سر و روان خواهد بود

Apart from the ghazals dedicated to Ḥāfeẓ — "Bārgāh-e Ḥāfeẓ"⁴⁴ ("The Shrine of Ḥāfeẓ"), "Maktab-e Ḥāfeẓ"⁴⁵ ("The School of Ḥāfeẓ"), "Khetāb be Ḥāfeẓ"⁴⁶ ("An Address to Ḥāfeẓ"), subtitled "Hemmat ey Pir, Ḥāfeẓ-e Jāvidān"⁴⁷ ("The Immortal Ḥāfeẓ") — which are variations on themes by Ḥāfeẓ, many ghazals equally reminiscent of Ḥāfeẓ bear titles borrowed from the phraseology of Ḥāfeẓ, such a "Bahār-e Towbe-Shekan" ("The Spring Which Causes One to Break His Vows of Abstinence"), "In-hameh nist" ("It is not Worth so Much Ado"), "Yusof dar Kolbe-ye Ahzān" ("Joseph in the Abode of Sorrows"), and so forth.

In the following lines the symbolism and almost the exact words of Ḥāfeẓ are liberally woven into the texture of the poem.⁴⁸

بسر سبز توای سرو خزان دیده من که چه ها دیدم از این مزرعه چرخ کبود
خرمن سبز تو بر چید و دلم خوشه نجید بهره عشق نه بیناد که این کشته درود
حاصل مزرع وصل تو بدان دیررسی زود بر چیده شدت خرمن زیبایی زود

Mazra^c-e charkh-e kabud (the fields seeded by the azure), "kharman (harvest), bahreh and hāsel" (both meaning "produce" or "product"), khusheh (ear of grain), keshtan and dorudan (respectively meaning "to sow" and "to reap"), dir-rasi (employed in two meanings: "late ripening" and "difficulty of attainment") -- these symbols of cultivation⁴⁹ which were employed by Ḥāfeẓ in the poem opening with

مزرع چرخ فلک دیدم و داس مه نو یادم از کشته خویش آمد و هنگام درو

are now applied to a new subject, the beauty and desirability of the beloved in the heyday of her youth. This Shahriyār opposes to the withering of love in the autumn of life, which he expresses, among other metaphors, by sarv-e khazān-dideh (autumn-seared cypress).

In many other poems the echo of Ḥāfeẓ is heard when Shahriyār uses the same rhymes and rhythms, or an inserted verse or two of Ḥāfeẓ. This is particularly true in the closing lines, where a ghazal writer traditionally distills the essence of a poem by addressing himself with his pen name, as if he were signing the finished work. This conventional practice is turned by Shahriyār into an occasion for

for expressing his indebtedness to Ḥāfeẓ, implying pride in sharing, as it were, the authorship of a poem with the great poet.⁵⁰

شهریاریم و گدای در آن خواجه که گفت خوشتر از فکر می و جام چه خواهد بودن

The mystical element in Shahriyār's poems can be only partly explained by his fascination for Ḥāfeẓ. His own tendency to melancholy and despair, and the social and idealistic insecurity of the age in which he lived were all responsible for his attempts to seek refuge in mysticism. This mood, or similar ones of escapism, are not confined to Shahriyār. As E. Yarshater observes,⁵¹ it pervades in varying shades and degrees most of modern Persian literature produced between the two World Wars, and contrasts with the hope and enthusiasm which characterized the literature of the Revolutionary years. The formal adoption of certain traits of Western culture failed — on the deeper levels — to provide a stronghold of social and idealistic values and led to the frustration of the high aspirations of the middle-class intellectuals.

Shahriyār wrote very few topical poems. Nor did his unbounded imagination lend itself easily to didactic utterances. He is mainly a poet of love and of nature who paints, as it were, in the subtle shades he sees in his own despondent soul.

As far as form is concerned he wrote mainly strophic poems after his early ghazals and masnavis. Worthy of attention in this category are his poems entitled "Symphony of a Mountain"⁵² and "The Symphony of the Sea",⁵³ quite modern in conception as their titles indicate.

They are divided into movements, each designed to represent a different mood. However, although he always depicts nature most vividly and movingly, all the "movements" strangely resound with the same undertone of a profound and all-enveloping sadness, with no contrast of invigorating effects. The poems "Afsāne-ye shab"⁵⁴ ("The Tale of the Night"), "Ḥazyān-e del"⁵⁵ ("The Delirium of a Heart") and the two poems dedicated to Nimā Yoshij are in this category. In conception and treatment they are modern and original. Still the rather lengthy reveries — part poetical, part religious, part mystical — somewhat weaken the effectiveness of the poems as a whole. Reading these poems, one misses the succinctness of his ghazals, for the ghazal convention forces the poet to compress the most unbridled imagination in a prescribed number of verses. The volume entitled The School of Shahriyār would certainly have gained had the poet been more selective.⁵⁶

But even these poems seem to belong to a necessary stage in Shahriyār's development. The poem "Ey Vāy Mādaram", written as an elegy to his mother, and the poem "Mumuyā'i" ("A Mummy" — meaning the poet himself in his alienation from his times) are indeed successful applications of free verse. The genuineness of inspiration and intensity of emotion in these poems seem to have led the poet to an effortless abandonment of traditional rhyme, rhythm, imagery, and rhetorical devices.

Shahriyār began writing in Turkic in the years following World War II. It was through these works that he truly fascinated his Turkic

audience, both in and outside Iran, with a wholly new aspect of his creativity (pp. 196-203).

1. A. Zarrin-Koobi, "The Role of the Poet in the Formation of the Modern Persian Poetic Tradition," in: *Journal of Persian Literature*, 1980, 1, 1-11.
2. Bahar, M., "Entstehung der 'Mahn-e-Ma' (Dönem-i Ma' (Jah), 1918, 115-124; Bahar, "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
3. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
4. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
5. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
6. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
7. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
8. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
9. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
10. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
11. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
12. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
13. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
14. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
15. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
16. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
17. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
18. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
19. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
20. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
21. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
22. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
23. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
24. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.
25. Bahar, M., "Le rôle du poète dans l'histoire de la poésie persane," *Revue de l'Asie Mineure*, 1918, 1, 1-11.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1. ^CA. Zarrin-kub sees in the formation of these societies an extension of political partisanship; see his Naqd-e Adabi (Tehran, 1959), 513.
2. Bahār, M., "Enteqādāt dar Aṭrāf-e Marām-e Mā", Dāneshkadeh, (June 22, 1918), 115-124; Bahār, "Ta'ṣir-e Moḥit dar Adabiyāt", ibid. (Aug. 24, 1918), 169-178; Bahār, "Dastur-e Adabi", ibid. (Jan. 21, 1919), 456-458.
3. Armaghān, no. 6, 1 (1920), 48. The literary policy of the journal Bahār, published by Yusof E^Cteṣāmi of Tabriz in 1941, was the major exception to the literary conservatism of the period. During its short life, Bahār probably introduced more European poetry and short stories, and published more essays on European literature, than did all other early literary journals combined. It is well known that some of the successful poetical pieces by Iraj Mirzā and by E^Cteṣāmi's own daughter, Parvin E^Cteṣāmi, were based on translations of European poetry which appeared for the first time in the pages of this journal. The impact these translations had on the development of Persian prose and poetry, especially on their ideational content, is discussed by, among others, P.N. Khānlari, M. ^CA. Eslāmi, and M. Shaki. The editorial E^Cteṣāmi himself wrote in the defense of his policy, "Is it not proper for a Persian to learn from Shakespeare, Hugo, Schiller, Byron, and others?" is especially instructive: Y. E^Cteṣām a-Molk, "Bahār Migozarad Mehr-e Kasīrā Dar-yāb", Bahār, no. 12, 2 (1341/1922), 706-709; Khānlari, "Naṣr-e Fārsi dar Dowreh-ye Akhir", 138-139; Eslāmi, "Ta'ṣir-e Orupā dar Tajaddod-e Adabi-ye Irān", Yaghma, 7 (Autumn 1343/1964), 3-10; Shaki, op. cit., 310.
4. Taqi-Zādeh, "Dowreh-ye Jadid", Kāveh (Jan. 22, 1920), 2.
5. Ibid., 2.
6. Taqi-Zādeh, "Ma'khaz-e Fārsi-ye Faṣiḥ va Fārsi-ye Khān-e Vāledeh", Kāveh (Dec. 13, 1920), 3.
7. Taqi-Zādeh, "Dowreh-ye Jadid", op. cit., 2.
8. The effects of censorship on the literature and press of the Reṣā Shāh period are best described by Khānlari in "Naṣr-e Fārsi dar Dowreh-ye Akhir", 141ff.

9. Ibid., 141.
10. Kasravi, Dar Pirāmun-e Adabiyāt, 18-19.
11. The topic is given a brilliant exposition by Ḥ. Taqi-Zādeh in Akhz-e Tamaddon-e Khāreji; Āzādi, Vatan, Mellat, Tasāhol (Tehran, 1960), 35-40.
12. Ibid., 42.
13. Lambton, A.K.S., "Persia", JRCAS, 31 (January 1944), 15.
14. Nafisi, S., "Parvin E^Ctešāmi", Piyām-e Now, I (Shahrivar, 1323), 98.
15. Ibid., 100-101; introduction written by M. Bahār to the first edition of Parvin E^Ctešāmi, Divān, fourth ed., pp. z-t.
16. ^CA.A. Dehkhodā and M. ^CA. Khiyābāni, e.g., have reproduced parts of Bahār's comments verbatim: Dehkhodā, "Parvin", Loghat-Nāmeḥ, 291-293; Khiyābāni, "E^Ctešāmi", Reyhānat al-Adab, I, 88-90.
17. Bausani, A., "Europe and Iran in Contemporary Persian Literature", East and West Quarterly (new series), 2 (March 1960), 7.
18. M. Shaki categorizes Parvin's work as "genuine Persian proletarian literature" along with those of Lāhuti and Farrokhi Yazdi: op. cit., p. 303.
19. The theme, style, and rhyme of this poem have been taken from a qet^Ceh by Anvari: Moqatta^Cat, Ghazaliyāt va Robā^Ciyāt (vol. II of Divan) (Tehran, 1961), p.
20. Parvin, Divān, 62.
21. Introduction written to the first edition of Parvin's Divān.
22. Tikku, G., "Furugh-i Farrukhzād: A new direction in Persian poetry", Stud. Islamica, 26 (1967), 149-173.
23. Introduction written by M. Bahār to the first edition of Parvin's Divān.
24. Parvin, Divān, 48.
25. Ra^Cdi's early poems are best represented by M. Ishaque [M. Iṣḥāq] in Sokhanvarān-e Irān dar ^CAsr-e Ḥazer, I, 106-112.
26. The poem first appeared in Armaghan, 13 (March-April 1932), 54-57.

27. The poem has been partially translated into French: Yāsami, R., "La poésie iranienne contemporaine", L'âme de l'Iran, 217; the full translation of the poem into English may be found in Arberry, op. cit., 249-252.
28. A Persian Symposium, ed. H.D.G. Law (Proceedings of the Iran Society No. 3), 1947-1948, 10-11.
29. Wickens, G.M., "Poetry in Modern Persia", The Islamic Near East (University of Toronto Quarterly supplements, 1960), 273-274.
30. For fuller data on the life and works of the poet, see Šabur, D., Sadaf: Tazkereh-ye Sokhanvarān-e Ruz (Tehran, 1965), 300-302.
31. Rajavi, K., Bādeh-ye Kohan, I (Tehran, 1965).
32. Majalleh-ye Musiqi, no. 3 (Khordād 1320), 29.
33. Armaghān, 12 (April 1931), 68-69.
34. Wickens, op. cit., 274-275.
35. Šabur, op. cit., 302.
36. Khalkhālī, ḤA., Tazkereh-ye Shoḥarā-ye Moḥaser-e Irān (Tehran, 1954), 124.
37. Ibid., 125.
38. Masʿud Saʿd Salmān, Divān, ed. Rashid Yāsami, 421.
39. "Marg-e Kennedy", Yaghma, 17 (Ābān 1343), 372.
40. "Ḥajj-e Shāḥer", Yaghma, 18 (Farvardin 1344), 7.
41. The edition used in this study is: Shahriyār, Divān, 4 vols. (Tehran, 1956-1957).
42. Shahriyār, Divān, I, 114.
43. Ibid., 36.
44. Ibid., IV, 119.
45. Ibid., I, 95.
46. Ibid., IV, 131.
47. Ibid., I, 36.
48. Ibid., II, 82.
49. It is interesting to note that the "symbolism of cultivation" used by Ḥāfeẓ was discovered independently by Shahriyār and G.M.

Wickens. Whereas this points, in all likelihood, to a case of an unconscious cultural assimilation on Shahriyār's part, with Wickens it is a highly learned intellectual abstraction: see his article, "The Persian Conception of Artistic Unity in Poetry and Its Implications in Other Fields", BSOAS, Part 2, 14 (1952), 239-243.

50. Shahriyār, Divān, I, 119.

51. Yarshater, op. cit., 304.

52. Shahriyār, Divān,

53. Ibid.,

54. Ibid.,

55. Ibid.,

56. Šabur, op. cit., 469.

CHAPTER V

LITERATURE DURING THE PISHAVARI PERIOD AND THE YEARS OF THE RUSSIAN OCCUPATION (1941-1946)

The entry of the Allied Forces into Iran and the fall of Reza Shāh (August 1941) marks the beginning of the fourth period in the development of twentieth century Azeri letters. After the occupation of Azerbaijan by the Soviet army the foundations for the so-called autonomous government of 1945-1946 were gradually laid by the local communist party. During those years the policy of official sponsorship of letters which was to be one of the landmarks of the Pishavari Period also took shape.

The literature produced from 1941 to 1946 was exclusively in Turkic and its most characteristic feature was an emphasis on Azeri nationalism. Indeed, so pronounced was this tendency that strict adherence to the Fuzuli tradition was declared to be essential to the development of Azeri literature in the mid-twentieth century. According to Rıza Quliyev, a Soviet Azeri writer resident at the time in Tabriz, the foremost aim of the Tabriz Society of Poets and Writers was: to study and to learn the classics of Azeri literature in a systematic and intensive manner; to adopt Fuzuli's writings as the basis and model for future works of art; to begin each session of the Society by reading a few ghazals by Fuzuli and by analyzing the difficult passages in them before the members proceeded to read their

own works and submit them to the criticism of the society.¹

This orientation towards the past was professedly designed to strengthen "love of homeland", "historical awareness", and "national consciousness and pride" on the part of the Azerbaijanis. However, the results were not always positive. Saṭṭār Khān and Moḥammad Khiyābāni, the two twentieth-century leaders, for example, meant a great deal to all Azerbaijanis. However, most people were left cold by the glorification of the might and splendor of the ancient Medes and by the glorification of Bābak,² Javān-Shir,³ and Koroghli,⁴ especially when the ties of these historical figures with Lenin and Stalin were not made clear and when Zarathustra, "Azerbaijanin äşil oghli" (the noble and worthy son of Azerbaijan), appeared in the same poem with the giant, black oil towers of Baku and the feats and exploits of the Red Army.⁵

The following lines are unconservative verses from a verse letter addressed to Stalin written in the name of the Tabriz Poets' Association.⁶

آذربایلی بیک پاک آریمیز پاک قانیمیز وار کور اوغلی جوانشیر کیمی مین اصلانیمیز وار
ایندی گل آچیپ بابکی ایلیخانی روغان یورد ساینده سنین سایه لنین بو قوجا مان یورد

We are Azeris pure in name and pure in blood,
Our land has brought forth lion-hearted men such as Koroghli
and Javān-Shir.
Blossoming now is the land of Bābak and the Ilkhān,
Prospering in thy shadow is this great ancient land.

Soviet Political and Artistic Policies Applied to Literature

The methods of Soviet intervention in the literature of the period were various. Shortly after the entry of the Soviet army into Azerbaijan, a newspaper by the name of Vätän Yolunda was published in Tabriz. Supposedly meant for the Red Army in Tabriz, this paper was in Turkic since, as the official explanation ran, the majority of Soviet troops stationed in Azerbaijan were Northern Azerbaijanis. While this paper became the model, politically, for a host of papers to be published during the following years in Tabriz, it also indicated to future poets and writers what topics they should treat in literature and how these should be treated. It must be pointed out in passing that there was little distinction made between topics to be covered by daily newspapers (such as the organ of the local Communist Party or the journal of the Azerbaijan National Assembly) and by literary reviews. Politics and art were so intermingled that the same political articles and the same poems, short stories, and articles on literary history and criticism appeared again and again in all the various periodicals of the time.

To serve objectives similar to those of Vätän Yolunda, another periodical by the name of Äzerbāyjan was published in Baku beginning in August 1945. Though it was published in Arabic script obviously for consumption in Tabriz and in other towns of Azerbaijan, nevertheless not a single issue of this monthly review ever printed the place of its publication. Since some of the articles and features in the review

were of such a nature as to seem of interest to both Azerbaijanis, especially since the Southern Azerbaijani poets and writers also contributed to it, nevertheless the full-page colored pictures of Lenin and Stalin, the pictures and biographies of Soviet heroes (army generals, Stakhanovite farmers, industrial producers, etc.) left no doubt in any one as to the place of its publication.

The Soviet Azeri writers, poets, and literary critics employed numerous techniques to guide Southern Azerbaijanis in producing works with "social content capable of portraying the people's life in a realistic manner". An enormous interest in the fate of "our Southern brethren" developed among the Soviet Azeri writers and poets.⁷ Some of these poets stayed in Tabriz for part or for the full duration of the war. Şamād Vurgun, Süleyman Rüstäm, M. Rähim, and Osman Sarivelli were among the poets whose poems on the independence of Azerbaijan and its historical ties with the Northern Azeris could be read again and again in the pages of Tabriz papers and journals.⁸

No consistent literary standard was applied to the works of these poets as a whole. Although at home the Soviet critics condemned the ghazal as "müjərrəd romantika" (abstract romanticism), incapable of "conveying a vivid and concrete description of wartime issues",⁹ the same critics encouraged the use of the ghazal form in poems written by the same poets on and for Southern Azerbaijan. "It was not accidental", wrote a Soviet critic, "that while in Tabriz the poet Süleyman Rüstäm resorted to the genre of the ghazal. This was because the ghazal has ever been popular in Southern Azerbaijan as a native

genre It was easier to influence people by means of the ghazal, which is part of their classical tradition. That is why Süleyman Rüstäm, along with his pure love poems, wrote ghazals which expressed profound social and revolutionary ideas".¹⁰

Another method of guiding Azerbaijani poets and writers was the convenient means of literary criticism -- usually in the form of articles in periodicals or in the form of introductions to the published works of the poets. The critics who wrote these often left alone those poets who refrained from following the prevalent Soviet literary criteria either out of patriotism or genuine artistic integrity. Apparently it was still considered advantageous to have around a capable poet admired by the native readers even though he "followed an individual style of his own or indulged in the creation of abstract and imaginative tableaux".¹¹

More often criticism assumed the positive form of patting on the back, as it were, the so-called "up-to-date peoples' poets". Ja^cfar Khandān, a Soviet Azeri poet residing in Tabriz, wrote the following account as part of an introduction to the collected works of Yahyā Sheydā, a poet from Tabriz.

By studying modern literature and by comprehending the vital issues of the day, this young poet has learned in a very short time how to keep up artistically with the material progress of his homeland. He began his creative career by writing ghazals, as is the practice with many poets of Southern Azerbaijan. Thus in his poems love for the homeland occupies a prominent place. But he was not content with that. By dedicating his talent to the cause of victory over Hitlerism, he has created valuable anti-fascist poems. He

has, furthermore, expressed infinite love for the Red Army, the world's savior from the dangers of fascism, and for Comrade Stalin, the commanding genius of that army.

Enraptured by the friendship between the people of Iran and those of Soviet Russia, he has devoted all the creative power he commands to the cause of strengthening that friendship further. He has written interesting poems on the historical past as well as contemporary life and the accomplishments of the Soviet people. Included in this volume are, for example, poems on the great October Revolution, on Stalin, the founder of that revolution, and on the Constitution of the Soviet Union¹²

The coordinator of the various cultural and literary activities of Soviet Russia in Azerbaijan was the Iranian-Soviet Society for Cultural Relations, a branch of the Soviet V.O.K.S. Founded in the fall of 1943, the Tabriz branch of the Society established libraries and bookstores for Soviet publications, and organized lectures, concerts, shows, and art exhibitions. It also provided travel scholarships for Azeri artists, journalists, and men of letters, and regularly brought Soviet professors and academicians of high calibre to Tabriz.

In August 1945 the Society began publishing a monthly literary journal by the name of Shafaq, of which eleven issues in all came out. Written mainly by local writers, poets, and literary critics, it also included works by Soviet Azeri writers and academicians. This was the most important literary journal of the period. Among its contributions were a collection of Azeri folklore and the publication of biographies as well as selected works from Azeri classical poets, even though at least equal space was devoted to discussions on Russian literature.

Many Turkic works of earlier periods were published for the first time by the Society, which acquired the manuscripts from the rich library of Moḥammad Nakhjevāni of Tabriz. In order to give an idea of the productivity of the literary committee of the Society, we quote from Shafaq the list of books and pamphlets put out during 1945 alone (excluding political works).¹³

1. A booklet on Šā'eb of Tabriz, by Moḥammad Nakhjevāni. It included seventeen Turkic ghazals unknown and unpublished to that date.¹⁴

2. The collected works of ʿAli Moʿjez based on the manuscript owned by Moḥammad Nakhjevāni and edited by Gholām Mämmätlu; published for the first time.

3. A collection of poems by Moḥammad-ʿAli Šafvat, a contemporary poet.

4. Selected works in Turkic by Heyran Khanim Donboli, a poetess of nineteenth-century Southern Azerbaijan.¹⁵

5. Naghmeh, collected poems in both Persian and Turkic, by Taqi Milāni, a contemporary poet.

6. The translation into Persian of Jalil Mämmät-Qoli-Zādeh's play, Usta Zeynal, by Taqi Milāni.

7. A biography of Jalil Mämmät-Qoli-Zādeh in Persian and Turkic (author not mentioned).

8. Collected impressions of Azerbaijani visitors to Soviet Azerbaijan, in Persian and Turkic.

9. Bakhtiyār-Nāmeḥ in Turkiç edited by Gholām Mämmätlu.¹⁶

10. The biography of Moḥammad Zakariyā ar-Razi.

11. Translations into Persian and Turkic of Krylov's fables.

Although, as the list shows, the Society in Tabriz sponsored primarily the publication of the past and contemporary writers of Azerbaijan itself, it also made available to Azeri readers the works of Northern Azeri writers. These were printed in the Arabic script in Baku, in a series called Khāriji dillärdä ädäbiyat nāshriyātī (literary publications in foreign languages). The present writer has examined only seven titles from publications in this category. In all of them the imprint reads as follows: Baku-Moskva, Āzār Nāshr, 1945 (or 1946). As the introductions to the works emphasize, most of them are by poets and other writers "reared during the Soviet rule of Azerbaijan". Included in the series are such works as: Vāfa, collected poems by Räsul Rıza; Odli qılınj, collected short stories by Hüseyin Mehdi; collected ghazals by ^CAli Vāhid; a war novel by Wanda Wasilewska, Goğ Qurshaghı, translated into Baku Azeri.

Language of the Letters

Before discussing poetry and prose during the Pishavari period, it is essential to consider the language which poetry, prose, and journalism employed, for along with content, the question of language formed the most characteristic issue in the lettres of this period.

"The Language of Our Newspaper" was an article in the very first issue of the daily paper Azerbayjān by Ja^cfar Pishavari, the leader of the Communist Party and the head of the government. He wrote:

We have absorbed our mother tongue with our mothers' milk and have taken it with the exhilarating air of our land. Those who are insulting it and endeavour to show it as an imposed and artificial language are our true enemies. Many perfidious foreign elements have tried for centuries to prevent the flourishing of this beautiful language. In spite of this, our language has survived in a strong and persistent manner. Azeri is not a deymi¹⁷ language. It has a strong, solid base, the people. It boasts not only of tales, proverbs, and poems which depend on the people at large for authorship, but also the works of poets and writers of distinction in the course of its history. Our duty today is to develop it further and bring it up to date and to unearth its beauties, subtleties, and strength cleansed from the dust of neglect and refurbished. We must return it to our people well cared for and pure.

Azeri is so resourceful a language that if we eliminated its Persian and Arabic components, it would still be capable of expressing the subtlest and minutest thoughts and feelings. But we do not propose to carry this out in a sudden manner, since our prime aim today is to convey to people the truth in the most simple and direct manner. Thus we do not deny the necessity of utilizing, if only temporarily, the Persian and Arabic elements which have been naturalized by our language. But we strongly oppose the usage of unfamiliar and superfluous foreign words which can only coarsen the writing. We profess our firmest faith in the capability of our poets and writers to carry out this weighty task with love and loyalty and to revitalize the power and beauty of the Azeri language.¹⁸

As theory, this sound reasonable. But as the movement progressed it proved quite different in practice. The purification and revitalization of the language amounted to making it identical with

Baku Turkic, including the Russian element in it. This had to be accomplished, not by the "loyal and loving good judgment of the writers", but by the editorial work of resident Soviet writers, journalists, and poets. Precaution was taken to prune the foreign elements in a bolder and more systematic fashion from prose than from poetry. With poetry the long-established sensitivities and taste of the people had to be considered. Furthermore, although all varieties of letters were encouraged, it was specifically prose -- journalism, novels, short stories -- which was intended to bring about the modernization of literature in respect to both language and content. For a combination of these reasons, the language of prose underwent a more drastic change than that of poetry.

A few more points need to be mentioned in this connection. The works of those poets who had had the experience of writing in Persian or Turkic before this period proved less amenable to language reform than the works of those usually termed "poets and writers reared by the Association of Poets and Writers". Furthermore, writings which aimed at the realistic reproduction of the authentic flavor of speech by a person of the older generation or by the uneducated were left relatively free from vocabulary and grammatical changes. The style of the opponents of the regime -- whether in a play, dialogue, novel, or newspaper article -- also was kept intact. "Mürtäje^c in dili" (the language of the reactionary) was even exaggerated in its "archaism" for the purpose of ridicule. In contrast, any writing claiming literary achievement and sophistication was basically written in the

Baku language.

In purifying the language, more hostility was shown to the Persian element than to the Arabic. Reẓā Āzeri wrote in Āzerbāyjan: "It is to the benefit of our freedom to at least bring back into usage the words removed by the language reform of Reẓā Shāh".¹⁹ These, as everyone knows, were words of Arabic origin. That this policy was officially carried into effect can be seen by the lists of approved words published by the High Commission of the Ministry of Education.²⁰

Although the professed aim in modifying the language was to facilitate communication, the practical result was that even the reading of newspapers was not made as easy as was claimed. The authorities were ready enough to counter remarks such as "This is not our language", or "There are no such words or expressions in the Tabriz language", with high-sounding but empty arguments appealing to the mystique of the "mother tongue". Occasionally, however, there were valid articles showing that these foreign-sounding words were native to Azeri-Turkic, but that they had been replaced by Persian, mainly in Tabriz. Ḥabib Sāher was one of the writers who, in a series of articles,²¹ tried to demonstrate that these very foreign-sounding words and expressions were still in usage in villages, among the tribes, in nursery rhymes, in folk songs and tales, and in isolated form in the proverbs and expressions prevalent among the people of Tabriz itself.

What was difficult to explain, and was thus completely ignored, was the gradual intrusion of Russian words into this language which

was supposed to be purified of foreign elements. This consisted mainly of replacing the French forms of certain European words (which may or may not have been in common usage before the regime) by Russian ones, i.e., forma, tematika, dramaturgiya, aktiv, plan, parad, agenta, kultura, redaksia, seksiya, stansiya, etc., and to a lesser extent of the introduction of Russian words, such as povest' (short story), obraz (image, character), gastrol (guest performance, artistic tour), gazeta (newspaper), zavod (factory), etc.

Themes and Imagery in the Poetry

The poetry of this period can best be described as a mixture of many ingredients. The traditional imagery and rhetorical devices of Persian literature were interwoven with the local popular and folk strain and finally with the thoroughly new element of Soviet-brand social-realism.

The Persian element was an essential part of the mental make-up and literary training of poets of the older generation. However, as the Communist sponsorship of letters progressed, it gradually receded, giving way to folk and popular forms of expression.

The folk and popular element was probably the most natural, spontaneous, and aesthetically effective element in that curiously heterogeneous literature. And although encouraged for political reasons, this stress on the "national element" or the "folk element" would no doubt have had a salutary effect on Azeri literature, if it had not been for the unavoidable exaggerations it entailed.

The poetry produced in this period was, as a whole, "topical". Those poets of genuine and individual character, who wrote on subjects other than the political issues of the day, were isolated cases which did not change the overall picture of the poetry of this period.²²

By far the most permanent and predominant themes in the poetry of this period were "love of the homeland", "the mother tongue", and the historical and cultural past of Azerbaijan. The following are a random few among the wide variety of titles: "Shanlı Vətən"²³ ("The Glorious Homeland"), "Vətən Sevgisi"²⁴ ("Love of the Homeland"), "Şərəfli Azərbaycan"²⁵ ("Noble, Illustrious Azerbaijan"), "Ana Toprağım"²⁶ ("My Mother Earth"), "Həmişəlik Yasha Azərbaycan"²⁷ ("Live for Ever, Azerbaijan"), "Dilim Var, Yolum Var"²⁸ ("I Have My Own Tongue and My Own Way").

Next in frequency came exaltation of "democracy" and the local "Democratic Party".²⁹ Moreover, as political events unfolded, each important issue presented an occasion for hosts of poems to commemorate them. These ranged, as the titles of poems indicate, from "Azərbaycan Milli Dövlətinin iʿlamiyyəsi"³⁰ ("The Proclamation of the National Government of Azerbaijan"), to "Milli Məjlisin açılışı"³¹ ("The First Convening of the National Assembly"), to "Yashasın fəda'ilərimiz",³² or "Jəvən ordumuz",³³ or "Qizil-bash orduya",³⁴ poems written on the occasion of the official formation of a National Army. Relatively minor issues such as "Azərbaycan milli orkestrinin açılışı münasibətilə" ("On the Occasion of the Establishment of a National Orchestra"), "Danışır Tabriz" ("On the Occasion of the Debut

of Radio Tabriz"), "Devlät Tiyatrosunun açılışı münäsibätilä"³⁵ ("On the Occasion of the Government-Sponsored Theater in Tabriz") and many others gave rise periodically to outpourings of such topical poems.

In addition to these local events, Soviet holidays or the political and military events related to Soviet Russia during the War provided additional occasions for a deluge of topical poems: "Mübāräk Oktiyabr"³⁶ ("Blessed and Auspicious October"), "Oktiyabr nāghmäsi"³⁷ ("The October Song"), "Qızıl orduya ithāf"³⁸ ("Dedicating to the Red Army"), "Mayın biri" ("First of May"), etc. Needless to say, "Kremlin",³⁹ "Salute to Leningrad",⁴⁰ "The Red Moskva",⁴¹ and praises of Lenin or Stalin were among the usual subjects of such poems.⁴²

It seems impossible to describe the imagery in the poetry of this period more aptly than with the phrase originated by A.J. Arberry: "The Revolution of the Rose".⁴³ Indeed, very seldom did the poetry of the period omit some reference to the "Immortal Rose" and other related stock in trade of classical poetry.

The Azerbaijani, loving his homeland, was likened to the nightingale separated by winter from his sweetheart, the rose, which in turn symbolized either the homeland or the mother tongue. Having regained his voice now, the nightingale rejoiced in singing sweet songs of freedom and joy in the garden of the homeland, where no autumn gust would ever wither its freshness.⁴⁴

یانسا گر هجر اود ونا بلبل افسرده جو من
 او چمن گور سه یقین د ور گلهدك جانہ گینه
 پوزا گر فوج خزان ظلمیلہ کاشانہ سنی
 شبہہ سیز دیر او بهار اولسا تو خور لانه گینه

The freedom of the homeland after a long period of foreign domination was expressed through the metaphor of the arrival of a long-awaited dawn promising a radiant never-ending day⁴⁵:

یور د و ما گون د و غدی آجیلدی سحر قارنلیق گیجه دن قالمادی اثر
 گونشین شوقیلہ د پیل آجیدی وطن غنچه لندی گل لر بزند ی چمن

Other variations, equally derived from nature, were the calm and serenity after a storm or a persistent, creeping fog which enveloped everything and sapped all energy and sensitivity.⁴⁶

چکیلدی د ومانلار وطن داغیندان ساجیلدی گل چیچک حیات باغیندان
 بلبل لر سسلنیر گل بو داغیندان بایقوشون وای سسی صحبتی گیتی

In a similar context much was made of the delights of a springtide after the ravages of winter. This last image, built on the tradition of the *bahāriyeh* (poems written in the praise of spring) in classical literature, proved especially easy to elaborate upon.

The word *āzer*, contained in the name Azerbaijan, which was popularly and correctly etymologized as meaning fire, gave rise to an infinite variety of expressions such as *Otlar vātāni* ("The Land of Fires"), *Otli yurdum* ("My Fiery Homeland"), hence indicating the

inherent tendency of the Azerbaijani to warm the friend but incinerate the enemy.⁴⁷ The analogy between the homeland on the one hand and the mother or the beloved on the other, much drawn upon in early twentieth-century literature, reached fantastic heights, especially in the works of poets of the older generation with training in the Persian classics. The lover of the homeland became a desperate Sheykh Şan^{c-}an⁴⁸:

قویمو شام جان نقدینی بیر ماه تابان عشقینه
پایه عشقیم جاتیپ دیر شیخ صنعان عشقینه
عاشقم آذر بجان آدلی سویلی دلبره
دینیم ایمانیم بودور اولم بوا ایمان عشقینه

Yearning for the revolution turned the modern poet into Majnun, another love figure in classical literature.⁴⁹

ایله یوب مجنون منی والله هو ای انقلاب
قویمارام دشمن مقدس یوردومو ایتسین خراب

The Azerbaijani National Assembly delivered people from captivity as divine grace had Joseph of Kan^{c-}an.⁵⁰

مثال یوسف کنعان قوتاردی خلقی زنداندان
بو ملی مجلسه خلقیم بوگوندن حکمدار اولدی

An analogy was drawn between an Azerbaijani, proud of his self-realization, and the tenth century mystic-martyr Manşur al-Ḥallāj, who said Ana al-Haqq⁵¹ (I am the Ultimate Reality, i.e., God).

ایندی او جالیپ عرشه انا الحق صداسی
دنیا یه سالیب لرزه بو معنالی نداسی

Influence from Persian classical literature was not confined to the realm of themes and imagery. Many poems of Ḥāfeẓ and Saʿdī served as examples, with regard to rhyme, rhythm, and subject matters, for the treatment of current political issues. The poem "Aghlama" by Yaḥya Sheydā is modeled after the famous ghazal of Ḥāfeẓ beginning

کلبه احزان شود روزی گلستان غم منور

Insofar as the subject matter is concerned, both poems entreat the reader to persevere and to be patient in the hope of better days to come, except that the radif (double rhyme) gham ma-khor (do not despair) in the poem by Ḥāfeẓ is changed to āghlāmā (do not weep) by the modern poet.⁵²

بلبل شیدا کیی ای دل سن هرآن آغلاما مسکون آخراولار طرفه گلستان آغلاما
یرده قالماز مظلومون آهی بونوسن حتم بیل لاله تک گرچه اولو بدور باغری آلقان آغلاما

The subject matter, the imagery, and again the double rhyme of the poem "Qızıl Ordunun Yola Salınması Ḥāqqında" by Helāl Nāḡeri remind one of the famous ghazal by Saʿdī beginning

ای ساربان آهسته روکارام جانم میروند آن دل که باخود داشت با دستانم میروند

with the difference that whereas Sa^cdi was lamenting the departure of the beloved, our modern poet found himself disconsolate at the Soviet Army leaving Azerbaijan.⁵³

امان هرایه گلین یار مهربان گیدیری اید بیدی قلبیمی بیر لخته قان گیدیری

The "Traditional Poets"

The best sources for the poetry (and the prose, for that matter) of the Pishavari Period are contemporary literary journals and newspapers. The only anthology of selected works of the period was compiled by Gholām Mämmätlu of Soviet Azerbaijan, then residing in Tabriz.⁵⁴ Apart from the fact that Soviet political and literary policies were applied to the choice of poems, any factory worker who versified the glories of the regime was included along with poets of established talent and reputation.

The anthology gives selected works of, as well as brief biographical data about, seventy-four poets. These are termed either "traditional poets" (i.e., those who wrote poetry before the regime) or poets "reared by the Poets' Association". Although not expressed in this explicit manner, the classification used by Mämmätlu seems convenient for the purpose of our discussion.

Distinction between "traditional poets" and those of the Movement was not, no need to emphasize, in the realm of subject matter. Very few poets, and then only very rarely, wrote on matters unrelated to the social and political questions of the day. Following the tradition meant merely using language which contained a higher percentage of Persian words and a means of expression which still rested on the base of classical Persian imagery and rhetorical devices. These features were tolerated at the beginning since they supplied the necessary substance on which to build a "revolutionary literature". Furthermore the training and the experience of the "traditional poets" had to serve as a model for the new poets who appeared in public view overnight. But as the Movement progressed, the literary critics began to ridicule traditional expression and aesthetics and to advocate a more popular or "national" orientation in literature: the criticism was not always as mild as the following verses of Āzaroghli, perhaps the most talented and accomplished poet of the period, might indicate.⁵⁵

To write qasidehs and ghazals and to seek inspiration from the muses, angels and nymphs; to write poems to exalt endless voids detached from the land and the people; to look for art in the skies; to worship the goddess of beauty -- these are not the qualities of a true poet. The true poet is a father of the people, and his resources and support are the people.

From among the "traditional poets" we have chosen Mehdi E^Ctemād for a relatively full treatment, since he had enjoyed considerable fame and popularity in Azerbaijan before the regime as poet and educator. During the 1945-1946 period he presided over the Poets'

Association from its beginning and, in the words of Raḥim Valā'i, "He did not refuse to put his established fame at the service of the Movement".⁵⁶

Born in 1900 in Tabriz, Mehdi E'temād received a substantial education in the Persian and Arabic languages and literatures in addition to some training in Islamic theology and philosophy. He must have acquired a more than average familiarity with the works of modern Turkish writers, to judge from the quotations from the poems of Namik Kemal and Tefvik Fikret one finds in his works.⁵⁷

His erudition in Persian and Arabic literatures has left decided traces in his work as far as the imagery, rhetorical devices, and references to these literatures are concerned. However, he wrote exclusively in Turkic and his roots were primarily with the people and the popular culture of Azerbaijan. Because of interest in Azeri folk and popular lore and his intimate knowledge of the local customs and mores, his work mirrors perhaps more accurately than that of any other single poet Azeri communal life.

His works before the Pishavari Period are mainly interesting for these qualities and for the artful usage of colloquial Turkic. Social criticism in a deeper sense is only incidental in them, despite the fact that they received much attention during the government of 1945-1946 for their supposed social consciousness.

Notable among his earlier literary works were "Gālinlār Bāzāgi",⁵⁸ which portrays in much color and interesting detail the family life in Azerbaijan, and particularly the customs and ceremonies

observed in marriage. "Ketāb-e Samāvariyyeh", which in later editions came out with the title of "Monāẓereh-ye Adabi" ("Literary Dialogue"), consists of a debate between a tea addict and a samovar. The very idea of the debate, its diction and imagery, remind one of Fuzuli's famous masnavi, Bang va Bādeh. And finally, very humorous, picturesque, and instructive is his A'ineh-ye Akhlāq, a booklet of poems which portrays a boisterous and animated oriental bazaar on chahārshanbeh suri, the last Wednesday of the Persian year. He supplies, among other colorful details, the jargon and the tricks of the various tradesmen. The booklet is said to have been published twenty times in Tabriz.⁵⁹

During the government of 1945-1946 he was perhaps the most productive among the many poets of the period, and the most bitter and aggressive against the Central Government, the opponents of the Communist Party, the rich, the landowner, and all those who were lumped together under the epithet "mortajeh^C" (reactionary). These he abused without mercy. He exalted the various aspects of the new regime and Soviet Russia without reserve. To be sure, there was much that was genuine and sincere in his convictions and feelings, as shown by his past life and work, and his interest in Azerbaijani language and literature. But the balance of his work was more than flawed by his extreme militancy during the Movement.

E^Ctemād's poems offer one of the best examples of the incongruity which we have already noted as characteristic of the poets of the older generation. This did not prevent him, however, from being included in the ranks of "people's poets", an epithet reserved for

younger poets more consistent and "up-to-date" in their means of expression. The fact that he was the head of the Poets' Association shows that the traditional in his work was deemed amply offset by its political and ideological correctness.⁶⁰

Next in importance to Mehdi E^Ctemād were ^CAli Feṭrat (born 1890) and Ḥoseyn Şaḥḥāf (born 1906). ^CAli Feṭrat had published, before the regime, a long didactic masnavi by the name of Bum va Bolbol and a divān of traditional ghazals and qasidehs, both published in Tabriz in 1932 and 1937 respectively.⁶¹ His topical poems, written during the Movement, were published by the Soviet-Iranian Cultural Society under the title of Elim Āzer (My People, Azeris), in 1945.

Ḥoseyn Şaḥḥāf wrote mainly religious poems, facetiae, and didactic verses before the regime.⁶² His translations from Persian classics into Turkic during the Movement were perhaps his best contribution to the belles lettres of the Pishavari period.

E^Ctemād, Feṭrat, and Şaḥḥāf were among the founding fathers of the Poets' Association and served as teachers and guides, at least in technical matters of writing, for up-and-coming younger poets. In order to show the general character of their works, we have paraphrased below certain passages of a long poem entitled Āzerbāyjan,⁶³ written collectively in the name of the Poets' Association and dedicated, as the subtitle indicates, to the National Government of Azerbaijan. Conceived as a sort of poets' manifesto, the poem was obviously intended to serve as a model for the poets reared during the Movement. The poem is interesting as a typical and

comprehensive example of the subject matter to be encouraged in this period. In ninety lines, it is intended to present all-inclusively the Āzerbāyjān mubāriza tārikhi ("the history of the national strife of Azerbaijan"). Furthermore, since it was written by poets trained in the tradition of Persian poetry, it is a good example of the welding of classical Persian imagery to the issue of Azeri nationalism during the war years:

Oh, Sacred and glorious land of Azerbaijan, the cause of eternal pride for thy children. Thy soil is fragrant as musk and ambergris, thy gravel lustrous as pearls. Thou hast been the stronghold of jealous zeal from time immemorial and a lofty nest for eagle and royal falcon. I would not exchange thy blissful wine for the spring of Kowgar [a stream in paradise]. One day thou bore a noble son to the world, Zarathustra, who shone over all the world like the celestial sun Thy sons established the eternally glorious empire of Media. Should a hapless hunter intend to wound a lion of thy lofty mountains he would finally expire in the claws of our lions. There has been many a conqueror who has sought to seize Azerbaijan, and that for good reason. Thy land has always been coveted for its beauty and riches. Thou sawst how Atropat brought Alexander to his knees, the man in awe of whom the world trembled. Look at Javānshir, that lion-hearted warrior who dispersed the blood-thirsty army of the Arabs, then another son of thine, Bābak, who appeared like a dazzling sun from under the black clouds of foreign domination and waved the banner of earliest rebellion against them.

Then our poets, who are supposed to follow the line of social-realism, relapse into such antiquated descriptions of a battlefield as:

The dust rising from the hooves of the horses and the general commotion of the battle reduced the seven-storied

earth to six while increasing the seven layers of the firmament to eight. Many a sweet-singing poet, who discovered treasures with their pens and strung precious pearls in the kingdom of poetry, is resting in the embrace of thy sacred soil. Whom should I mention by way of example? a unique pearl such as Khāqāni or the lofty star such as Fuzuli. Thou leftst such a worthy souvenir as the Dede Korkut to posterity from thy beloved language. Listen to what babbling thy enemy has to resort to to explain the origin of thy indigenous tongue

Then the poem goes through the contribution to Azeri letters of Hasan-Oghli, Qāzi Burhāneddin, Nasimi, etc. Speedily turning the pages of history, our poets arrive at the sixteenth century:

The sons of Sheykh Şafi rose from thy fiery bosom and caused the very foundation of the Ottoman throne to tremble. Koroghli in the eighteenth century coped valiantly with the enemies of Azerbaijan, the Pashas from outside and Khans from within.

Finally they are in the nineteenth century:

When fortune played such a trick on Azerbaijan that its sacred body was cut into two and the river Araxes was as a sword between the two parts, Oh Mother Azerbaijan, rest assured that this is only a physical split whereas the heart and the soul of thy sons remain united. One part is now smiling at the world, and the other part is watching with brotherly envy. Southern Azerbaijan, inflicted with pain, humiliation, and poverty — this one sometimes looks at his brother endowed with the stature of a cypress and is happy for him, sometimes writhes with pain like a nightingale separated from the rose. Forty eyars ago this Azerbaijan bore heroes such as Saṭṭār Khān who elicited the admiration of a genius such as Lenin. Then it was the turn for Khiyābāni to shine for a time, only to die for love of his land. He died but paved the road to freedom. We were the Shāh [king] on the chess board; then Reẓā Shāh checkmated.

Finally our Democratic Party gathered under its banner the landlord, the merchant, the peasant and the worker and invited the whole nation to fulfill its sacred mission, declaring its demands: we want schools in our mother tongue; we want factories to be established; we want to eliminate the suppression of the worker by the reactionaries, and the peasant by the landowner. Oh Vatan! look at the achievements of thy blood brother up north. Every little village has turned into a prosperous city. There are no prisons there, nor are there cages. The axe of justice has uprooted the roots of tyranny. Baku has assumed the aspect of a forest with oil towers. The factories are constantly working. Simple workers have turned into prize-winning heroes; there are no signs of the bent plough; there are tractors, schools, hospitals, and homes kept by mothers. Northern Azerbaijan is witnessing the golden age of science and industry. Azeris always have had to fight for their freedom. Now it is our turn to fight!

Poets of the Movement

These, generally called "People's poets" or "poets reared by the Poets' Association", were the most numerous among the poets of the period. The first thing which strikes one about them is their extraordinary productivity. In addition to those who wrote enough to publish their collected works during the short span of a little over a year, others filled the pages of the literary magazines and newspapers of the period with ephemeral poetry. This over-production in itself is apt to cause the reader to doubt the quality of such works. Moreover, the panorama of pervasive clichés, the titles exalting Soviet Russia and at times even the insincere treatment of topics relating to Azerbaijan itself are likely to discourage an unpersistent reader from discovering the few real talents hidden in

the profusion of mediocre work.

Among such capable poets one might mention Balash Āzaroghli, ^cAli Tudeh of Ardabil and Moḥammad Biriya of Tabriz. Biriya was lynched by a mob when the Pishavari regime collapsed. But Āzaroghli and ^cAli Tudeh have since been living in Soviet Azerbaijan and seem to have attained a considerable stature in the Soviet literary scene, to judge by their unpublished works in literary journals and anthologies.⁶⁴

Āzaroghli was born in Ardabil in 1921.⁶⁵ He did not leave his native town until the Pishavari Period when he came to Tabriz to join the Poets' Association. He represented the Association in the first Literary Congress of Iran sponsored by the Tehran branch of the Soviet-Iranian Cultural Society in 1945. This shows the high esteem in which the local authorities held Āzaroghli as a poet of the Movement. But we learn from a speech by Pishavari that this choice was not altogether fortunate since, owing to his not knowing Persian well, he was not able "to present the literary revolution created during the regime as it deserved".⁶⁶ Failure "to make the Congress understand his interesting poems" would indeed indicate little knowledge of Persian on the part of Āzaroghli, and this seems unusual when we consider his poetical achievements during the regime.

Moḥammad Biriya, born in Tabriz in 1918,⁶⁷ had been a minor official in the Tabriz municipal administration. He became the Minister of Education during the regime. The opening of Tabriz University, the founding of new public schools, the replacement of Persian textbooks by Turkic ones in all the schools, early measures

for adult education, the establishment of public libraries, were all accomplished under his administration during the short span of a little over a year. He also won the contest for the poem which was to serve as text for the national anthem of Azerbaijan.

Biriyā's collected works came out periodically as brochures under the titles of Hujūm (Attack) and Üsyanlar (The Revolts). As these titles show, his poems in general were of an extremely militant nature. Nevertheless some critics consider him the best poet of the Movement. Ja^cfar Solṭān-al-Qorrā'i, a man of conservative literary taste and one, furthermore, definitely against the regime, says the following about Biriyā's works: "Some of his poems on the question of the autonomy of Azerbaijan were exciting and beautiful ... and fragments of his satire have become favorite quotations among the people of Tabriz".⁶⁸

^cAli Tudeh (born in Ardabil, 1925)⁶⁹ was different from Āzaroghli and Biriyā in that he had a thorough training and background in traditional literature. His ghazals dating from the years prior to the regime, although written in Turkic, attest to his training in the Persian classics as well as to his considerable poetical gifts. However, during the regime he adhered strictly to the literary policy of the time in both content and form.

Āzaroghli, Biriyā and Tudeh stand above the other poets of the movement primarily because of their genuine talent. It is true that a high percentage of words from the Baku dialect diminished their appeal to those who were familiar only with the Tabriz speech. But

reading these poets' works today, when they are no longer topical, and judging them merely from the viewpoint of their homogeneity and consistency within the framework of Turkic linguistics, one finds that they certainly have greater appeal than the works of the "traditional poets" with their hybrid diction.

Biriyā, Āzaroghli, and Tudeh wrote partly in syllabic meter and used simple, effective popular imagery. They gave, furthermore, moving and at times beautiful expression to the prevalent themes, such as "love of motherland", "love of mother tongue", and the "cultural and historical past of the Azeri people". For instance, the following poem by Tudeh entitled "And Ichirik"⁷⁰ ("We Swear") combines a stirring epic quality with a tender, unpretentious popular lyricism.

آند ایچیریکی عزیز وطن جلالینا توپراغینا خطائی نین مزارینا سطار خانین او جاغینا
نه قدرکه جانیمیزدا نفسیمیز قانیمیز وار دشمن ایاخ باسابیلمز قهرمانلاریاتاغینا
نه ثولو مدن نه قورخودان نه یانقیندان باکیمیز یوخ

دوگوشلر ده جوخ آتیلد یق آلورلرین قوجاغینا
چوخ ایگیتلر وطن د بیه شهید اولدی ایل یولوندا

ئوزقانیله یازدی آدین تاریخین آغ وار اغینا
بهار گورن گلشن لرین ساری تल्ली زمیلرین داها بیرده قسمت اولماز آقورتلارین تا پداغینا
سنبین سرین سولاریندان یادلار گلیب ایچه بیلمز

آصلانلارین گوزتچی دیوهر کولگلی بولاغینا

We swear by the splendor of the homeland and by its precious earth,

By the shrine of Khaṭā'i and by the hearth of Sattār Khān:

As long as we have breath in our lungs and blood in our veins,

The enemy will not dare to set foot in this haven of valiant

warriors.
 We fear not death, fire, nor fear itself,
 For we have often enough thrown ourselves into the embrace
 of consuming fires.
 Many a son of this land has died with the word Vätän upon
 his lips.
 Many a hero has inscribed his name with blood on the pages
 of history.
 Thy ever-green gardens and thy golden-haired wheat fields
 shall no longer fall to the lot of hungry wolves.
 No stranger shall again quench his thirst with thy cool
 waters.
 Thy lion-hearted children are loyal guards to thy shaded
 brooks.

Another good example is the poem by Biriya entitled "Vätän Güldi"⁷¹
 ("Thus Smiled the Homeland"), a graceful and moving paean of spring
 and No-ruz (the Persian New Year). The way in which the theme of
 Azerbaijan autonomy has been interwoven with the central theme, shows
 the poet's imaginative and sensitive handling of an otherwise
 stereotyped topic.

گنه نوروز عیان اولدی قرنغیل یاسمن گولدی .

گونش د یه یکچه هر لاله قیزاردی نسترن گولدی

بهارین خوش نسیمند بوگون رو حالندی سنبل لری

د ونوب بیر جنته بیوردوم آچیلدی جوریه جور گل لری

یاشیل چول لر صفالاندی چیچک گولدی چمن گولدی

داغا صحرايه باخد یقچا اورکدن ذوق آلیورارلیق

محیطین صاف فضا سیندا نه غم وار نه کدر آرتیق

بو شن د وری نصیب ایستدی بیزه دنیا ده آزاد لیق

ایلمیم ظلم و اسارتدن خلاص اولدی وطن گولدی

کماله چات یغیم گوندن نه لر گوردوم طبیعت ده

اونون اسراری غرق ایستدی منی دریای حیوت ده

باشیم داشدان داشا دگدی دوشوندوم که حقیقت ده

همیشه دامن حق دوتوپ حق بیول گیدن گولدی

دانش گول قلبدن سن ده عزیز بایرامد برای ملت

اوکسیر که اولوب دایم شهید راه حریت

جهاندا روحی شاد اولدی مزار ایجره یاتیمپ راحت

بیزه باخدی فرح لندی او آلقانلی کفن گولدی

Even with subjects unpalatable to most people, such as those related to foreign politics and ideologies, these poets were able to achieve a certain poetical impact, unlike many others in whose works elaborate and grandiloquent epithets failed to conceal their underlying insincerity.

The poem "Gälin, Dostlar Gälin"⁷² ("Come, Friends, Gather") was written by Āzaroghli when the Tudeh Party in Tabriz was supposed to

merge with its successor, the Democratic Party. The poet appeals to the landlord, the businessman, the tiller of the soil, the employer, the worker, the reluctant onlooker, the hesitant, the believer, the agnostic, to gather and help the cause of the homeland. The poem is not a great one; it would not survive translation and it would not have much appeal except in that special situation. But it certainly is powerful and capable of serving the purpose for which it was intended.

Āzaroghli wrote another poem of twenty-five pages about his impressions of a trip to Soviet Azerbaijan and around it wove related issues and feelings of the day. The poem, entitled "Baku sāfāri",⁷³ is written in an eleven-foot syllabic meter. It is both flowing and graceful, and contains several passages capable of stirring the most cool-headed reader.

The following poem, entitled "Kimdān Ogrāndin?"⁷⁴ ("Who Taught You This?") by the same poet, may serve as an example of the many effective lyrical poems written in the Azeri folk tradition during the Movement.

ای شاعرین هم وطن	گونول ایستر گوره سنی
لاله او ستونه لاله نی	تاخماغی کیعدن ئور گندین
اوزون آیدیر بویون چنار	شاعر سندن الهام اومار
قایی لاردان خمار خمار	باخماغی کیعدن ئور گندین
کیم ئور گندی سنه نازی	قالدیم حسنوه تامارزی
ای گونلو مون دان اولدوزی	آخماغی کیعدن ئور گندین
شاعر دییر قالما دی تاب	یاندی اورنک اولدی کباب
گونش اوزه قارا نقاب	سالماغی کیعدن ئور گندین

The Novel and the Short Story

With the exception of the works of Tālīboff and Zeyn al-^CĀbedin of Marāgheh, written at the turn of the century, the literature of Azerbaijan is characterized by a definite weakness in prose. While the Azerbaijanis cite important poets such as Iraj, Shahriyār, Mo^Cjez, and Šarrāf, they have produced no one in prose comparable to Šādeq Hedāyat and Bozorg ^CAlavi, nor even any novelists or short story writers to compare with less important Persian writers.

During 1945-1946, however, the situation seems to have changed, to judge from a quite sizable production of novels, short stories, and sketches, published first as feuilletons in the periodicals and some published later as separate works.

There is no need to emphasize that this sudden appearance of Western-type prose was not an act of spontaneous creativity, but rather the result of government sponsorship. Towards the beginning of the Movement the authorities seemed content with mere literary production in Turkic: if versifying now began to come more easily for Azerbaijanis, it was wiser not to weaken this by diverting literary activity to a less familiar channel. But as time went on, the stress on prose increased. The creation of the Poets' Association, the first

step in the direction of government sponsorship of belles lettres, took place quite early in the Movement, whereas the Writers' Association did not materialize until the Movement was already drawing to its end.⁷⁵

That poetry had the benefit of a long-established tradition seems the only explanation for the fact that there was a number of capable poets, even among those trained for "socialist-realistic" expression. But in prose, although the quantity compares favorably with poetry, the quality is poor as to indicate a complete absence of spontaneity. If one differentiates between genres of prose in regard to quality, the literary sketches and shorter stories are far more effective than the longer stories and novels. Here, too, one is tempted to conclude that these impressionistic prose pieces are closer to the temperament of people accustomed to poetry, and that in literary tableaux, especially, the requirements of planning, theme development, and the building up of an effective climax are not called for.

As far as artistic approach and development are concerned, one finds in the prose of this period a constant wavering between the realistic and the fantastic. On the one hand there are works which are merely simple chronicles of facts or matter-of-fact narrations of personal experiences, both kinds lacking an artistic and imaginative plot and the suspense of an effective climax. On the other hand there are works which display a strong propensity for the fantastic. The plot of such stories usually begins with a condemnation of the previous regime, portrayed as raging with political persecutions,

intrigues, atrocities, and corruption. The dénouement is usually reached when the formation of the Tudeh Party or the establishment of the new government in Azerbaijan intervenes in much the same way that the supernatural forces did in the old-fashioned tales in favor of justice and truth, and every crisis, whether individual or social, is miraculously overcome.

The content of the prose in this period is of the same topical nature as that of the poetry. One may make the distinction, perhaps, that in poetry topics of an epic nature, such as love of homeland or the mother tongue, formed the basic content, whereas in prose, following the principle that "the true picture of society is to be found in stories", the themes concerning peasants' and workers' lives are among the most frequent themes.

The following two novels seem to be the only ones which were re-published as independent works in this period: Anamın Dediklari⁷⁶ (Things My Mother Used to Say) by Fathī Khoshganābi, and Volqan (Volcano) by ^cAli-Qolī Kātebi. The title and the underlying conception of the first work seem to have been inspired by the famous drama Anamın Kitābi (My Mother's Book) by Jalīl Māmmāt-Qolī-Zādeh, although the work by Khoshganābi does not have a plot in the normal sense of the word. An illiterate, fanatically religious, and superstitious old woman is made into the symbol of the past, more specifically a representative of the supporters of the old regime. Having lived all her life in a small village, she finds herself in Tabriz when the new government is in power. With a curiosity and observation which do not

match her other attributes, she misses no detail of "history in the making". This work of two hundred pages consists of her impressions, opinions, and finally her comments on topics ranging from the garments and moral laxity of city women to the internal reforms and the foreign policy of the government, thus ironically bringing into relief the accomplishments of the new regime.

Were it not for this militant political orientation, the work would certainly have been a humorous and picturesque depiction of a certain character type. The language, utilizing local expressions and proverbs, would also have been one of the commendable aspects of the work, had it not been overcharged with folkisms for the same political reasons. The old lady seems unable to utter a straightforward sentence; the entire narrative gives the impression of a puzzle or an exercise the object of which is to utilize as many expressions and proverbs as possible.

The second work published independently is Volqān (Volcano) by ^cAli-Qoli Kātebi.⁷⁷ The revenge the young hero, Volqān, takes on an Indian soldier (taken as representative of the British forces in Iran) for an unspecified insult seems to be the main theme around which are woven other unrelated episodes without even a semblance of organic unity. First we are shown street scenes with poverty-stricken, half-naked children in the midst of winter, next we find ourselves in a factory where we gain a glimpse of the workers' wretched plight, and finally we read about secret workers' organizations feverishly active on the eve of the establishment of the new regime. As in most prose

works of the period, any effort on the part of the writer to ensure the dramatic effect of his plot produces just the opposite. Had his intention been to ridicule the cause, he could hardly have been less successful. The most grotesque episode in the story is the unfortunate lot of a sarmāyeh-dār (capitalist) driven to insanity by love of money. Without any preparation for this psychological crisis, the novel ends with the capitalist's lonely death in a mental institution.

From the extremely wide range of stories and sketches appearing as feuilletons in periodicals, "Hāyāt Ghuṣṣāsi"⁷⁸ ("The Cares of Life") by M. Armaghān is one of the best of its kind. It shows definite traces of western influence, coupled with sensitivity and technical skill on the part of the writer. The hero is a painter. As the story begins we see him walking in the streets and bazaars of Tabriz on a hot early afternoon with the hope of selling a painting. The painting depicts a young woman with deep blue eyes fixed on the remote horizon and expressing a profound, gripping sadness. Is it because of this haunting sadness that people are unable to appreciate it? Do they find themselves uneasy or unconsciously afraid even to look at it? Only two days earlier a rich merchant had expressed this sentiment in the following words: "It would be quite depressing to decorate your walls with such a painting". But is this the fault of the artist who has faithfully and skillfully recaptured the real life of real people around him? Is this not the true criterion of art? Or does the impoverished appearance of the painter have something to do with it?

The scenes are marked by keen observation and vivid description. In front of a big business firm a fat rug merchant is sipping tea. He pulls out his handkerchief and wipes the sweat off his red face. A young man with dark glasses sitting next to him takes the picture from the painter and, with an exaggerated ingratiating politeness, holds it in front of the rich man. After an attentive look from eyes deep-sunk in fat, his eyebrows knit together, the merchant says: "Can't you find something else to paint? We see plenty of such faces around every day" Only a woman in a horse-driven carriage pauses long enough to exclaim "What a beautiful picture!" But before the sentence can register on the mind of the painter, he hears the driver's whip crack on the back of the horses and the carriage is gone. Who was that woman? Her words sounded as consoling as the approving remarks of a kind mother. He returns home to find an otherworldly shadow settled on the face of his young, beautiful wife. She is dying of malnutrition and lack of medical care.

The description of the house and his encounter with his wife is very beautiful. In apology for returning home empty-handed, he explains: "My dear little ^CĀyisheh, I am only creating the people I see. The faces of the people I know do not wear a smile. From the faces of the people I know, the smile has departed as if for ever. I paint life. I am simply unable to draw a veil over its truth. And they, the rich ones, want only smiling happy faces".

This is one of the few truly artistic sketches the author has come across. If the sketch is quite transparent as far as the

ideological message behind it goes, it nevertheless has vivid characters and settings, a convincing integrity of plot and solution, and just the appropriate degree of detail.

In "Liyāqa" tli Tōhfā"⁷⁹ ("A Worthy Present") by Beglar Ḥā'ili, one of the most productive story writers in the periodicals of the time, a tenuous love story is made into an instrument for glorifying the local Democratic Party and the new regime. The hero, ^CĀref, is a young worker and a member of the Party. The heroine, Farideh, is a young girl from an old, established, and wealthy family in Tabriz. Her late father is portrayed as having been one of the followers of Saṭṭār Khān and as having supported the Constitutional Movement as both a political leader and a fighter. The villain of the story, a young army officer of the previous regime, pesters the beautiful young girl. When he finally attacks her -- under circumstances awkwardly and implausibly handled in the story -- ^CĀref saves her honor. This, coupled with the fact that ^CĀref is a militant member of the Party, creates in the heart of the heroine a fiery love for him, in spite of, or because of, the additional fact (emphasized in the story) that he is a poor, uneducated worker. But because of his personality and the strength of his convictions, ^CĀref rapidly becomes a Party boss and the head of the Police. The single imaginative episode of the story is the one in which the mother of the young girl presents the hero with a sword inherited from her great patriotic husband and cherished for years as her most precious possession. The present is made, not only because ^CĀref had saved the honor of her daughter, but

also because she realizes that this young man holds the same ideals and works towards the same goals as her husband in his days. It is from this episode that the story takes its name.

The political message of the story is all too evident, but even as such it would have been more effective had the writer not tried so tirelessly to hammer in all his political points. The hero seems ready to expound his ideological views at the least provocation, not in conversational terms but in a form very similar to political newspaper articles, marked by the same fervor, the same clichés and terminology. At one point, the reader has to listen, along with Farideh and her mother, to a thirty-seven-line speech delivered by the young Party member at the town square. At other times there are not even these seemingly real occasions for outpourings of political and ideological views. The hours spent by the lovers are always occupied by lengthy descriptions of the corruption and failures of the previous regime or by the elaborate expounding of the accomplishments of the present one.

The comment made on this story by Ganj-^cAli Šabāhi, the literary critic of the newspaper Azerbāyjan, well illustrates the literary policy followed during the regime:

The role of the leadership of the Party in bringing about the events of the 21st of Āzar [Dec. 12, 1945, when the National Assembly was inaugurated in Tabriz] and the real impact of the participation of the people themselves have not been treated as fully as they deserved to be The characters in the story are all positive ones (except for the officer of the reactionary period), but these obrazes

(types) do not adequately portray truly active and militant people. To portray positive types (such as the mothers of Farideh and Āref) in such passive roles is tantamount to belittling the active position of women in our movement and to veiling their self-sacrificing heroism. We would have liked to see Farideh not merely as a love-sick woman, dragging along behind Āref, but as a courageous and active partner who fights shoulder to shoulder with him. This would have been more real and realistic [sic] The author has not created a sufficiently wide range of negative obrazes and this deprives the story of an occasion for the portrayal of an intense conflict and its resulting clash and struggle. The officer of the old regime is the only negative obraz and he demonstrates no sign of mubārizlik (aggressiveness of cause). In my judgment this is an unforgivable shortcoming of the story.⁸⁰

Newspapers and Literary Reviews

The overwhelming number of periodicals published in Tabriz alone (not to mention those published in other towns) makes one wonder what aim this over-abundance was supposed to serve. No dissenting voice, no refreshing point of view ever appeared in these papers and reviews. What is more, little distinction was made between topics to be covered by daily official newspapers (such as the organ of the local Tudeh Party or the journal of the Azerbaijan National Assembly) and by literary reviews. Politics and literature were so intermingled that the same political articles and the same poems, short stories, and articles on literary history and criticism appeared again and again in all the various periodicals of the time.

For these reasons it seems unnecessary to give a detailed discussion of most of these papers; in most cases one needs only to

point out individual features. Nor is a mention of the expiration dates of these papers necessary, since they were all the same -- the collapse of the regime.

The earliest and one of the most important of the papers dating from before the establishment of the regime was the paper Āzerbāyjān (first series). It began publication on November 1, 1941, shortly after the entry of Allied forces into Iran. This paper, which set for itself no goal other than the "criticism of the Pahlavi regime", was published by the Azerbaijan Society, a convenient front to disguise the forces which were to launch the Communist government in 1945. Its editor was Mirzā ^cAli Shabostari, who later became the chairman of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan as well as the first editor of the second series of the same paper, which by this time was overtly the organ of the "Democratic Party".

The differences between this paper and the ones which appeared after the establishment of the regime are significant. Although primarily in Turkic, the earlier series of Āzerbāyjān still published occasional articles in Persian; most articles and poems of radical content were still published with pseudonyms; and finally the language was as yet the pure Tabriz idiom and the spelling and orthography of the words, Persian.

The influences of the paper Mollā Nāṣer ed-Din and of the paper Āzerbāyjān (the one published during 1906-1907) on this latter paper are striking. Many colorful pseudonyms such as Quldur, Qäländär, Hush-Suz, Bajadan Bakhan, etc., are the same as those in the papers of the

Constitutional Period. Some of the poems of ^cAli Akbar Şāber, which originally appeared in the paper Mollā Nāser ed-Din, were imitated here with insignificant variations. The poem entitled "Olsun, Nā Ishim Var" ("Let It Be So; See If I Care"), appearing in No. 20 of this paper, for example, is a close imitation of the poem by Şāber with the famous refrain Millät nejä tārāj olur, olsun, nā ishim var⁸¹ ("Let the nation be plundered; it is none of my concern"), except that whereas Şāber deplored the fate of the "nation", his imitator in the Pishavari Period bewails the lot of the poor and the hungry.

Many of the caricatures from Mollā Nāser ed-Din appear faithfully in this paper. No. 31 of this series, for example, reproduced both the drawing and the caption of the famous caricature by Jalil Mämmät-Qolī Zādeh in Mollā Nāser ed-Din. The caricature depicts a teacher in an old-fashioned classroom, brandishing in his hand an over-sized human tongue. The caption underneath puts the following words in the mouths of the children sitting in front of him:

Honestly, Mirzā (teacher), we have a tongue of our own.
Please let us learn that a little bit too". "No", answers the teacher, "that is no good; I must push this tongue down your throats".

Āzerbāyjan (second series) began publication on September 5, 1945, as the official organ of the "Demokrat Firqəsi". Initially the editor was, as in the first series, Mirzā ^cAli Shabostari. However, during its life of fifteen months the paper had many editors -- men such as Esmā^cil Shams, Faṭḥi Khoshganābi -- apart from long intervals when it was put out by the "editorial staff".

Those who were familiar with the distinctive style of Ja^cfar Pishavari, the head of both the "Democratic Party" and the Government, knew well that he reserved for himself the real supervision of the paper. In an article entitled "Azerbāyjān Muvaffāqiyyätlārimizin Āyināsīdir" ([the paper] "Azerbāyjān Is the Mirror of Our Success"), Pishavari wrote on the occasion of its first anniversary⁸²:

... If I were asked which task I valued the most among the many accomplished during my leadership of the Movement, I would single out without hesitation the articles I wrote for the paper Azerbāyjān. Azerbāyjān has been the most effective weapon in the struggle of our people; as the leader of the party I have profited from it more than anyone else. During the most difficult, fateful and crucial hours of our Movement ... I myself wrote the editorials of this paper. I even took it upon myself to supervise the final editing and the printing of the entire paper. I am proud of it and I admit that Azerbāyjān is my weakest and most sensitive spot. I have lovingly written its articles and lovingly read them. When I became premier, some considered it objectionable for me to write newspaper articles. Not being able to tear myself away from Azerbāyjān, I continue to write articles anonymously or under other people's names"

Azad Millät (The Free Nation) was the official paper of the National Assembly of Azerbaijan. It was published every other day from February 24 to December 9, 1946. Contrary to what the title might indicate the content of the paper was not confined to parliamentary debates or other official news. It shared, rather, the heterogeneous quality of all the periodicals of the time, and it may be considered as good a source for the literature of the period as journals and reviews claiming literary specialization. One interesting aspect of

this paper is a series of articles which appeared under the title "Azərbaycan Milli Tərikhi Səhəsində Bir Qadam" ("Contribution to the National History of Azerbaijan").⁸³ These articles, which deal with the detailed biographies of the parliament members, contain useful information about the activities of some of these men during the Constitutional Period and the Kheyabani Movement of 1920. They shed considerable light, furthermore, on the previous socialist activities and careers of other members of the National Assembly.

Şairlər Məjlisi was a monthly publication put out by the Association of Poets. It began publication in August 1945. To give an idea of the type of material covered by this journal, here are the contents of the second issue (September 1945): the national anthem of the Soviet Socialist Republic of Azerbaijan; a full-page picture of Neẓāmi of Ganja followed by a few of his lyrics translated from Persian by Jaʿfar Khandān and ʿAlī Vāḥed, both of Soviet Azerbaijan; poems by Şaʿeb and Qausi-Tabrizi in the column "Classical Poets of Tabriz"; an article on the historical development of the Azerbaijani language by Moḥammad ʿAbbāsi of Iranian Azerbaijan; a poem by Şamad Vurgun of Soviet Azerbaijan; poems by "contemporary poets of Southern Azerbaijan" in twelve pages; an illustrated article on the contemporary painters of Southern Azerbaijan, by K. Kāzēm-zādeh, etc.

Günəş (The Sun) a bimonthly journal, was the publication of the Yazıçılar Jəmʿiyəti (The Writers' Association). It began publication in July 1946 (quite late during the Movement), apparently in recognition of the fact that a more developed stage had been reached



in prose writing and that there was now a need for a writers' society independent of the poets' association.

Shafaq (The Dusk) was the monthly publication of the Tabriz branch of the Soviet-Iranian Cultural Society. It began publication in August 1945. We have already spoken in this chapter of the significance of this literary review, which is considered as having been the best of the period.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Qoliyev, R., "Tabrizin Şa^cirlär Mäjlisi", Şa^cirlär Mäjlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 385-393.
2. Bābak, a native of Medieval Arrān, was the chief of the Khorrami sect and led a revolt against the ^cAbbāsīd Caliph al-Mu^ctaşim in the ninth century.
3. Javān-Shir, also from Arrān, fought on the side of the last Sāssānid king, and through his bravery delayed the Arab conquest of the Iranian capital.
4. Kōroghli, born in northern Khorasan at the end of the sixteenth century, is the national hero of the Turkoman tribes in Iran, having been identified with the hero of the famous popular romance Kōroghli.
5. See the poem "Āzerbāyjān" written collectively in the name of the Poets' Association and published in Şa^cirlär Mäjlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 3-16; partial translation of the poem appears on pp. .
6. Quoted from Āzerbāyjān (published in Arabic script in Baku), II (Jan. 6, 1946), 16-17. This periodical review should not be confused with the daily paper of the same name that was published in Tabriz during the same years, 1945-1946.
7. Khalilov provides specific examples of the treatment of the question of Iranian Azerbaijan by various Soviet Azeri poets and writers during the war and of the importance of the question in wartime Soviet Azeri literature; see A.N. Azerb. SSR, Āzerbāyjān Ādābiyati Tārikhi, III, 240 ff.
8. According to R. Qoliyev, a Soviet Azeri writer himself, the following Soviet Azeri men of letters were resident in Tabriz during the war and contributed to the local periodicals: Ja^cfar Khandān, Ja^cfar Ja^cfarov, Ghilmān Musāyev, Hüseyn Sharifov, Anvar Māmmāt-Khānli, Gholām Māmmātlı, and others; see Qoliyev, "Tabrizin Şa^cirlär Mäjlisi", op. cit., 42-43.
9. Khalilov, Āzerbāyjān Ādābiyati Tārikhi, 245.
10. ^cAbbāsov, M., "Süleymān Rüstāmin Jānub Şe^crləri", Izvestiya (A.N. Azerb. SSR, Soc. Sc. series), no. 2 (1961), 69-78. As the



- title of the article shows, these poems are placed in a separate category: poems written in the South or for the South.
11. This remark was made by G. Mämmätlu of Soviet Azerbaijan about Ҳабиб Саһер; see his article, "Irān Āzerbāyjanının Mo^ḥāşer Şa^ḥīrləri", Şa^ḥīrlər Məjlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 410.
 12. Introduction written by J. Khandān to Y. Sheydā's collected poems, Otlar Vətəni, Tabriz, Vətən Yolunda Gazetəsi, 1946.
 13. "Mādāni Rābiṭā Jām^ḥiyātinin bir illik Fā^ḥāliyāti", Şafaq, no. 5 (Dec. 1945).
 14. According to M. Nakhjevāni, he had discovered these ghazals in the Khodā-Bakhsh library in Patna, India, in an early manuscript by Monshi-ye Eşfahāni dating possibly from the poet's lifetime.
 15. Ҳeyrān Khanım, Sechilmish Āsārləri, Tabriz, 1945.
 16. Bakhtiyār-Nāmeḥ, a book of tales written originally in Pahlavi and translated into Persian in the early Islamic era, had been translated into Turkic verse about the middle of the eighteenth century by Fada'i [of Shirvān?]. It was during the Pishavari period that it was edited and published for the first time by Gholām Mämmätlu from a manuscript copy preserved at the library of Moḥammad Nakhjevāni.
 17. "Deymi" as an adjective is basically applied to crops which depend for cultivation on rainfall rather than on regular and systematic irrigation.
 18. Pishavari, J., "Ruznāmāmizin Dili", Āzerbāyjan, no. 1 (Sept. 5, 1945).
 19. Āzari, R., "Nā Vāqtā Kimi?" ("Till When?"), Āzerbāyjan, no. 249 (July 14, 1946).
 20. "Showrā-yi ^Ḥāli-yi Mā^ḥarifdā Täşvib olunan Lughātlār", Āzerbāyjan, no. 96 (Jan. 9, 1946).
 21. Saḥer, Ҳ. "Öz Dilimiz", Āzerbāyjan, vol. 1, nos. 115-120. As far as is known to the present writer, no one has made an effort to prove the point by tracing the historical development of the Tabriz literary idiom. For this, one would not have to go very far back in time; a Tabriz newspaper published in Turkic around the turn of the century or a poem written in that era, contains a higher percentage of Turkic words than their equivalents around

the middle of the century.

22. Həbib Səhər was perhaps the only poet falling specifically into this category. It is partly for this reason that he will be discussed among the poets of the post-war period.
23. Poem by M.-A. Məhmudi, Şa^cirlər Məjlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 320.
24. Poem by Sa^cdi-Zamān, ibid., 326.
25. Poem by Y. Sheydā, Əzərbayjan, no. 17 (Mehr 9, 1945).
26. Poem by ^cA. H. Javān, ibid., no. 118 (Feb. 5, 1946).
27. Poem by N. Tabrizi, ibid., no. 12 (Mehr 3, 1945).
28. Poem by F. Nuri, ibid., no. 50 (Nov. 9, 1945).
29. See, e.g., the poem "Parla Demokrat Fırqəsi" by S. Yüzbandi, Əzərbayjan, no. 77 (Dec. 12, 1945); "Ey Şanlı Fırəq" by ^cA. Fətrət, ibid., no. 269 (Aug. 8, 1946); "Əzərbayjan Fırəqsinə Təbrik" by ^cA. H. Javān, ibid., no. 21 (Mehr 15, 1945).
30. Poem by Məhzun, Əzərbayjan, no. 79 (Dec. 14, 1945).
31. Poem by H. Şahhəf, Şa^cirlər Məjlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 195.
32. Poem by S. Amini, Əzərbayjan, no. 129 (Feb. 18, 1946).
33. Poem by M. Nik-Nām, ibid., no. 161 (Mar. 31, 1946).
34. Poem by ^cA. Fətrət, ibid., no. 160 (Mar. 29, 1946).
35. Poem by M. E^cteməd, ibid., no. 161 (Mar. 31, 1946).
36. Poem by ^cA. Fətrət, Şa^cirlər Məjlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 25.
37. Poem by M. Biriya, Əzərbayjan, no. 48 (Nov. 7, 1945).
38. Poem by Borchlu, ibid., no. 186 (Apr. 30, 1946).
39. Poem by ^cA. Şāberi, Şa^cirlər Məjlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 294.
40. Poem by M. Biriya, ibid., 48.
41. Poem by M. Biriya, ibid., 49.
42. Poems extolling the Red Army were voluminous enough to be collected in a special publication by the Soviet-Iranian Cultural



- Society; see Żāfār Nāghmālārī ("The Songs of Victory"), Tabriz, Soviyet Ittifaqılā Mādānī Rabiṭā Sakhlayan Iran Jām'iyātinin nashriyātī, 1945; for the special position Stalin occupied in the literature of the period, see J. Khandān, "Stalin Jānubi Āzerbāyjan Sheḥrindā", Shāḥirlār Mājlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 18-22.
43. The phrase was used by A.J. Arberry in an article dealing with a book of verses by Tehran Tudeh poets of the same period; see "Revolution of the Rose", Asiatic Review, 42 (Jan. 1946), 99-104.
 44. Poem entitled "Vāṭān" by M. Chavoshi, Qızıl Şahifālār (Tabriz, 1946), 74.
 45. Poem entitled "Achıldı Sāhār" by M. ^CAli-Akbar-Zādeh, Āzerbāyjan, no. 80 (Dec. 18, 1945).
 46. Poem entitled "Tāzeh Qānun" by Maḥzun, Āzerbāyjan, no. 96 (Jan. 9, 1946).
 47. From the poem entitled "Müstābidlārā" ("To the Reactionaries") by F. Nuri, Āzerbāyjan, Nov. 20, 1945.
 48. Quoted from the poem entitled "E^Ctemādın Māslākindā Öldü Vardı Döndü Yok", by M. E^Ctemād, Āzerbāyjan, Apr. 11, 1946.
 49. Poem entitled "Yaz Māni", by S. Amini, Āzerbāyjan, Apr. 16, 1946.
 50. Poem entitled "Majlis-i Milli", by Maḥzun, Āzerbāyjan, Dec. 14, 1945.
 51. Poem entitled "Sonmaz Qudrātimiz" ("Our Inextinguishable Might"), by M. E^Ctemād, Āzerbāyjan, Mar. 21, 1946.
 52. Āzerbāyjan, Nov. 21, 1945.
 53. Ibid., Apr. 30, 1946.
 54. This comprised the two issues of the journal, Shāḥirlār Mājlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945).
 55. Āzerbāyjan, Aug. 25, 1946.
 56. Prospectus written by R. Valā'i, a Party executive, for M. E^Ctemād's Şanlı Āzerbāyjan (Tabriz, 1945), 2.
 57. For example, his long poem "Qorkhulu Tehrān" ("Perilous Tehran"), which received much acclaim during the Movement, is modelled after the famous "Millet Şarkisi" ("The Song of a Nation") by Tevfik Fikret. Not only does E^Ctemād imitate Fikrāt's rhyme,

rhythm, and style, but he inserts several verses by the Turkish poet.

58. The work is inspired not only in name, but also in content by ^CAli-Akbar Şāber's poem "Analar Bāzāgi"; cf. Hop-Hop-Nāme, 188.
59. G. Māmmātlu, "İrān Āzerbāyjanının Mo^Cāşer Şā^Cirlāri", Şā^Cirlār Mājlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 405.
60. Most of the poems E^Ctemād wrote during the Pishavari period were published together with selections from some of his earlier works under the title of Şanlı Āzerbāyjan (Glorious Azerbaijan), Tabriz, 1946.
61. Fuller data about the poet may be found in G. Māmmātlu, "İrān Āzerbāyjanının Mo^Cāşer Şā^Cirlāri", op. cit., 404.
62. Ibid., 411-412.
63. Şā^Cirlār Mājlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 3-17.
64. Poems as well as articles on literary criticism by Azaroghli and Tudeh appear, for example, in Āzerbāyjan (Azerb. SSR YIAZh), nos. 2, 7, 8 (Feb., July, Aug. 1966) pp. 70-72, 63-67, 67-69; also in Hāyat Tārānālāri (an anthology of Azeri poetry), Baku, 1961. In an article entitled "Jānubi Āzerbāyjan Mo^Cāşer Yazıçılāri", Āzerbāyjan (Azerb. SSR YIAZh), no. 7 (July 1956), 104-119, J. Khandān appraises the literary achievements of at least fifteen other poets and writers from Iranian Azerbaijan who left for Soviet Azerbaijan at the end of the war.
65. For fuller data on the poet, see Şā^Cirlār Mājlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 407 ff.
66. "Mādāniyāt Evindā Iran Şā^Cirlār vā Yazıçılar Kongrāsının Hāqqındā Konferans", Āzerbāyjan, Aug. 27, 1946.
67. Şā^Cirlār Mājlisi, 405 ff.
68. Ja^Cfar Solţān al-Qorrā'i, al-Mahāfil. Unpublished anthology of Azerbaijani poets.
69. For fuller biographical data see Şā^Cirlār Mājlisi, 416.
70. Āzerbāyjan, Apr. 4, 1946.
71. Şafaq, no. 3 (Mar. 1946), 34.
72. Āzerbāyjan, vol. 3, no. 11.



73. Şa^cirlär Mäjlisi, nos. 3-4 (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 79-104.
74. Āzerbāyjān, Sept. 17, 1946.
75. The journals of the Poets' Association and the Writers' Association began publication in August 1945 and July 1946 respectively.
76. According to a notice of publication in Āzerbāyjān, no. 179, Anamın Dediklari was published as a separate work in 1946; the author has seen it as a series of feuillets in the paper Āzerbāyjān beginning with no. 208 (May 26, 1946).
77. Kätebi, ^CA.-Q., Volqān, Tabriz, 1945.
78. Armaghān, M., "Ĥayat Ghuşşasi", Āzerbāyjān, nos. 55-57 (Nov. 15-18, 1945).
79. Ĥā'ili, B., "Liyāqätli Töhfä", Āzerbāyjān, nos. 233-257 (June 24-July 24, 1946).
80. Şabāhi, G.-^CA., "Liyāqätli bir Töhfä Ĥäqqindäki Mülāhizälärim", Āzerbāyjān, no. 271 (Aug. 11, 1946).
81. Şäber, Hop-Hop-Nāme, 12.
82. Pishavari, J., "Āzerbāyjān Muväffäqiyätlärimizin Āyinäsidir", Āzerbāyjān, no. 1 (September 6, 1946).
83. "Āzerbāyjān Milli Tārikhi Sāhasindä Bir Qādām", Azad Millät, no. 3 (Esfand 9, 1324), et passim.

CHAPTER VI

AZERI LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE AFTER 1946

Turkic linguistic and literary activity in the post-war years was resumed in Tehran rather than in Azerbaijan. By the early nineteen fifties most men active in letters during the Pishavari period had gradually made their way to Tehran, where there was less danger of identification with the cause of the Pishavari regime. What is more, the same early fifties corresponded to the rule of Premier Moṣaddeq, when relative relaxation towards the communists was the by-product of the government's general internal and foreign policy. This activity was especially concentrated in the years 1951-1953 and was carried out by organized bodies that called themselves by names such as "Āzərbayjān Dostlari Jāmcīyāti" (The Association of the Friends of Azerbaijan), or "Āzərbayjān Yazichilar Hey'āti" (The Association of Azerbaijani Writers), and a few similar ones.¹

Sayyed Ḥasan Qorashiyān, who had held an important position during the Pishavari period, began publishing in 1951 in Tehran a bimonthly literary periodical, Ādābi Āsārlār. The author has seen No. 1, dated Shahrivar, 1330 (August-September 1951). In spite of the fact that many poems appear under pseudonyms or initials, it is not difficult to identify their writers. These are often writers of the Pishavari Period. For example, there is a famous poem by Mehdi E^Ctemād entitled "A^Cjibā Dowran" ("Strange Times") reproduced in this issue

under the pseudonym "Kārgar Khādimi" ("Servant to the Workers' Cause"). There are other poems by ^CAshiq Huseyn Javān, ^CAli Feṭrat and Moḥammad Bāqer Nik-Nām which had originally appeared in the Tabriz periodicals of 1945-1946. There is also one short story signed by G. Ṣabāḥi, who most probably is Ganj-^CAli Ṣabāḥi, the literary critic of the paper Āzerbāyjān. Titles of the poems such as "Āzar Eli", "Gözāl Tabriz" ("Beautiful Tabriz"), "Jang va Ṣolḥ"² (War and Peace), "Birlāshin" ("Unite"), the latter a poem addressed to workers, confirm the supposition that this periodical was put out by the remnants of the Pishavari Regime.

As far as the author knows, no paper in Turkic has been published in Azerbaijan itself since 1946, but during the premiership of Moṣaddeq three bilingual papers were published in Tehran. These were a weekly by the name of Āzerbāyjān-e Ghayur (Zealous Azerbaijan) edited by Javād Karimi, another weekly by the name of Bashariyat (Humanity) edited by Sayyed Ḥasan Qorashiyān, and finally a paper by the name of Bashir-e Āyandeh (Harbinger of Good Tidings for the Future) under the editorship of Diyānat. These papers were attached to one or the other of the Friends of Azerbaijan Societies, and all were published in the years 1951-1953. None of these papers enjoyed a long life; rather, one served as a substitute for another when its predecessor was banned by the government.

Besides the literary periodical and the newspapers already mentioned, we have scattered publications from the Moṣaddeq Period also affiliated to the Āzerbāyjān Dostlari Jāmcīyāti or the Āzerbāyjān

Yazichilar Hey'āti. Among these one may mention the following:

Āzerbāyjān Tārānālāri (Azerbaijani Popular Poems) by Mehdi E^Ctemād, published in Tehran in 1330 by the paper Bashariyat. This is a compilation of popular poems and songs mostly created during the 1945-1946 regime. There was also a series of collections of Turkic proverbs, folk poems and folk tales which appeared irregularly under the title Atalar Sözlāri. Of this series we have seen only No. 1, published in Tehran by the Āzerbāyjān Dostlari Jām^Ciyāti (1951-1953).

The overt and intensive activity in Azeri letters, which was associated with the semi-political Azeri groupings in Tehran, came to an end with the fall of the Moşaddeq government, but the status of the Azeri language and literature never quite reverted to what it had been before the war. The Azeri classics and the works of the twentieth century enjoyed repeated publication, although in Azerbaijan itself there was no reference to works produced during the Pishavari period, and the new works produced in the province were completely free of political sentiments.

Whereas the literature of the Pishavari Period laid claim to the status of a self-sustained "national" literature with a social content and definite artistic aims, the greater bulk of the literature produced in the post-war period has receded to the level of folk and popular expression and thus falls into the category of the now-permissible designation mahalli (local). Even the works with legitimate claim to the status of "art" or "formal" literature hide themselves behind this label, in order not to meet with serious

discouragement. For similar reasons, most writers in Turkic prefer publishing under pseudonyms, and most Turkic works appear with Persian titles.

Owing partly to the results of the wartime experience, and also to the continued interest in both Turkish and Soviet-Azeri literary publications, there is a tendency for the local written Azeri to move away from its pre-war stagnant local quality. Even the works of those writers who are positively free from pro-Turkish or pro-Soviet sentiments are permeated with non-local vocabulary, syntax, and phraseology. This tendency to "formalization" or "standardization" on the part of the local Azeri is obvious both in the works of individual writers and in the published grammatical studies which aim at an acceptance of the trend by the public at large.

Studies in Language and Grammar

The earliest post-war Azeri grammar was written in Tehran by S.M. Jād (Salamollāh Jāvid). It is titled Āzerbāyjan Dilinā Mākhsus Sārf vā Nāhv,³ and is a booklet of about a hundred pages, containing selected grammatical problems, definitions of, and terminology for some literary concepts and techniques, and, finally, illustrative material from Azeri folk and classical literature. Except for a short introduction in Persian, the work is written in Turkic, a mixture of local and Baku Azeri. In another work, Āzerbāyjan Dil Bilgisindān Yazı Qā'idālari,⁴ the same author touches upon the orthographical problems of Azeri as written in the Arabic alphabet.

Dastur-e Zabān-e Konuni-ye Āzerbāyjān (A Grammar of the Present-day Language of Azerbaijan) by ^cAbd al-^cAli Kārang⁵ lays no claim to comprehensiveness, as the author himself acknowledges in the preface. What is more, the grammatical points raised in the work are not always basic to the structure of the language. A title such as "A Comparative Study on Selected Grammatical Points in the Azeri and Persian Languages" would perhaps have been more representative of the work's content. The text of Kārang's grammar is in Persian, although its extensive illustrative material is exclusively Azeri poetry. Thus the author has given us a tastefully selected anthology of Azeri classical and folk poetry, at the expense, however, of the work's original intent.

More recent than the two above-mentioned works, and by far more comprehensive and scholarly is Moḥammad-^cAli Farzāneh's Mabāni-ye Dastur-e Zabān-e Āzerbāyjān⁶ (The Fundamentals of the Grammar of the Language of Azerbaijan). Written in Persian, the work begins with a useful introductory chapter on Turkic languages as a whole. It then proceeds, in chapters two and three, to a discussion of the phonetics and morphology of Azeri. However, the "Azeri" discussed is not exactly the language of Iranian Azerbaijan. If the above-mentioned work by Kārang was based on Persian grammar, Farzāneh's treatment is much colored by his familiarity with both Turkish and Baku Azeri. Owing to influences from Persian — a development perpetuated by the inadequacy of the Arabic alphabet in vowel representation — vowel harmony is observed only partially and irregularly in Iranian Azeri. This is true

even in words where no foreign affixes interfere with the principle of vowel agreement. In Iranian Azeri, furthermore, reciprocal, necessitative, and reflexive verbs are not formed with the same regularity as they are in the majority of Turkic languages; nominal case endings and verbal suffixes do not always agree with those in Soviet Azeri, let alone with Istanbul Turkish.⁷

Considering these factors, one may conclude that Farzāneh's work achieves its merit not as a much needed study of the language of the province, but rather as the first linguistically oriented Turkic grammar published in Iran.

Studies in Folklore

We have already mentioned the folkloric studies which appeared in the early 1950's (p.). Among more recent works in the field the most comprehensive is Bayatilar,⁸ a large compilation of native Azeri folk quatrains, by the above-mentioned Moḥammad-^cAli Farzāneh. The compilation is distinguished from earlier such works in that it touches upon the historical development of this verse form and also in the author's effort at classifying the quatrains according to their subject matter. However, order used in the arrangement of the text is the traditional one, by rhyme words, common to Arabic-Persian poetical compilations.

The most extensive post-war compilation of Azeri sayings and proverbs is Amsāl va Ḥekam dar Lahijeh-ye Mahalli-ye Āzerbāyjān⁹ by ^cAli-Aṣghar Mojtehedī. Dealing primarily with Azeri proverbs and

sayings, the work also offers Persian and Istanbul-Turkish equivalents and variations. A published Ph.D. thesis from the Faculty of Letters, Tabriz University,¹⁰ on the other hand, aims at tracing all Azeri sayings and expressions to a common Iranian origin.

In other categories of folkloric material, mention should be made of Nomunehā-ye Folklor-e Āzerbāyjān (Specimen from Azeri Folklore) by Salāmollāh Jāvid (Tehran, Chāp-e Etteḥād, 1965); Türkjā Tāranālār (Azeri Folk Poems) in two volumes by Ḥoseyn Majid-Zāda (Tehran, Atropat Kitabevi, 1963); Afsāhehā-ye Āzerbāyjān (Azeri Tales) by Šamad Behrang and Behruz Dehqāni (Tabriz, Shams, 1964); and Matalhā va Christānhā (Azeri Witticism and Riddles) by the same two authors (Tabriz, Shams, 1966).

In creative prose, i.e., novels and short stories, post-war Azeri has little to offer beyond a few historical novels. Comparing favorably with the early Persian historical novels, these nevertheless fall into the category of semi-popular glorification of historical Azerbaijan. Out of the four such novels ^CAli Tabrizi is said to have written, Shāh Esmā^Cil, Vurgun Āzerbāyjān, Bābak, and Atropat, we have been able to examine only the first.

Shāh Esmā^Cil¹¹ is more modern and elaborate than the popular biographies, so numerous in Azerbaijan, of the founder of the Šafavid dynasty. The plot of the novel adheres more or less to the historical events, although in some instances the author gives free reign to his highly personal interpretations. The narrative is well-written in the popular idiom of Tabriz, except for the parts dealing with the

questions of nationality, language, and pseudo-Marxist ideology, where the prevalent clichés of the Pishavari regime are liberally used.

Heydār Babaya Sālam, Shahriyār's Major Turkic Work

As in earlier periods, the significant achievement in Azeri literature of the post-war years has been in poetry. Turkic language and literary traditions gained enough prestige during the war to attract the nationally renowned poet, Moḥammad-Hoseyn Shahriyār, to write in Turkic and in a form and spirit very different from his Persian works. Heydār Babaya Sālam, Shahriyār's first booklet of Turkic poems, was acclaimed by some Azeris as representing the height of his artistic career.¹² The work has had two translations into Persian¹³ and has been published both in Turkey¹⁴ and in Soviet Azerbaijan.¹⁵

Heydār Babaya Sālam (Homage to Heydār Baba) is inspired by a mountain by the same name in the proximity of the village where Shahriyār spent his childhood.¹⁶ The mountain, however, assumed its renown and fanciful connotations for Azerbaijanis only after the publication of the poem.

Homage to Heydār Baba is a syllabic poem of seventy-six strophes, each strophe being composed of five verses. The stress pattern in the eleven-syllable meter is on the whole 4 + 4 + 3, although in fewer cases the division of the metric feet follows a 5 + 6 pattern. As the poet himself says:

منیم ده او قیزلار یندا گوزوم وار عاشقلارین سازلار یندا سوزوم وار

"I have a tale to recount in the manner of the Ashiqs"¹⁷; the poem is written in the tradition of local poet-singers, whose memory Shahriyār kept from his early childhood and to whom he repeatedly alluded in his earlier Persian works.¹⁸

لرگی خنجری و شمشیری گا و جنگیدن و کشتی گیری
کرمی خواندن عاشق رستم با جفور و بالابان و جم خم

ناگهم عشق شبیخون آورد آتشب آن کوه مرا شاعر کرد
یکشب و اینهمه صرافى و سیر بروای عمر که یاد توبه خیر

Addressing the mountain sometimes as a playmate and at times as an immortal sentinel watching the days and seasons pass and man's destiny unfold, he reminisces about his childhood. He recaptures with an almost magical vivacity his childhood games and songs, and the social and religious customs of the early 1900's, especially ceremonies observed on the occasions of marriage, death, pilgrimage, and the Persian New Year.

A more effective technique in depicting pastoral scenes is undoubtedly one of the distinctions of this poem compared to his earlier Persian works. There are no signs of the interminable wandering and meditative quality of his earlier poems here. In fact it would seem impossible to render with more intensity, for example,

a landscape in a snowstorm characteristic of the "black winters" of this province. In a mere five-line stanza, Shahriyār transforms a scene of common occurrence into a vivid, almost visual depiction of the furious clash of natural elements.

However, there is much more beyond the mere effective and concise description of pastoral scenes and local customs and mores. Many Azerbaijanis agreed that the major charm of the poem lay in that the poem is written in colloquial Azeri,¹⁹ and that the local idioms and expressions give a far more vivid and spontaneous impact to the feelings and ideas already used by the poet. Because the poem was written in Turkic the very words seemed to be endowed with an onomatopoeitic quality. For instance, the opening stanza of the poem,

حیدر بابا ایلدیر ییملار شاخاند ا
 سلر سولار شاقیلدی ییب آخاند ا
 قیزلار اونا صف باغلی ییب باخاند ا
 سلام اولسون شوکتوزه ایلوزه
 منیده بیر آدم گلسمین د یلوزه

Heydār Baba, the times when the thunders roar,
 When torrents and rolling streams bellow forth,
 When the young of the village watch thee in marvel,
 Accept the tribute of my homage to thy splendor
 and that of they people
 And, pray, remember me too

quite apart from the technical effect produced by the interplay of repeated sibilants and velars, impresses a native reader with the same

mixture of awe and fear a child experiences in the face of natural forces.

After having written several volumes of poems in Persian, Shahriyār chose Turkic to express his childhood memories in a detailed and systematic manner, and in a form and spirit very different from his earlier works. Shahriyār had been educated in Tehran and had lived there for thirty-five years. His return to Tabriz, where he published his Turkic works, was another manifestation of the "emotional upheaval" of which he himself talks in the preface to the poem,²⁰ and according to his friends a return to Shi'ism after his pantheistic and mystical wanderings. Again according to his friends, from that time on he has rarely written anything but Shi'ite religious poems.

This attempted return to the security of his youth and all that characterized it are most movingly reflected throughout Heydār Baba Sālam. The most poignant passages are those in which the poet expresses his disillusionment with the fervent aspirations he seems to have entertained for a better society, one profiting from the example of the West:

تد نون اویدوخ یالان سوزونه

How deluded we were by the false promises of civilization.²¹

He talks nostalgically of the meaningfulness, solidarity, integrity, and strength he ascribes to the earlier generations, of which, he believes, the vitality of religious life was the mainspring.

In his outcries for a return to the past, he invariably blames fate and the fickleness of the human lot. This predisposition to oriental fatalism, although expressed in conventional phrases such as "tyranny of the Heavens", "the inexorable wheel of doom", etc., nevertheless possesses a modern dimension. The way he expresses "the corrosion of his hopes and expectations" seems to foreshadow the existential anguish and despair of recent years.

The effect of this poem was so phenomenal that many Azerbaijanis sought to explain the freshness of it in terms of influences from Western literature and carelessly used the terms "dadaism", "surrealism", "futurism", etc.²² Others believed that the charm of this poem is such that Shahriyār must forever be known as the writer of Heydār Baba.²³ Muharrem Ergin of Turkey considered the publication of the poem in Turkey as the most important literary event of the year (1964) and the poem, itself, as the best poetical work produced in any Turkic language in the years after World War II.²⁴ Ahmed Ateş, who published the Azeri text together with its Turkish "translation", described the work as not only a "beloved masterpiece for all the Turks of the world", but also a work of universal merit in its own genre.²⁵

In the view of the present writer the extraordinary success of the poem must be attributed to the fortunate combination of a fully-matured talent in Persian poetry with the long-neglected Azeri folk tradition. This becomes clear when we compare two strophes, one each, by Shahriyār and a virtually unknown folk poet, Tikmā-Dashli Khästā

Qasım,²⁶ whom, or whose poetry, Shahriyār must have heard in his childhood village. Both Shahriyār²⁷ and Khāstā Qasım have used the same eleven-syllable meter, the same rhyme scheme, and a subject matter which could not be more alike in expression.

خیدر بابا ایگیت امک ایتیرمز	عمر گچو افسوس بره بیتیرمز
نامرد اولان عمری باشا بیتیرمز	بزدله والله اونو تماریق سیز لری
قوج اکیترلر اوزون حددن اوتورمز	گور مسک حلال ایدون بیزلری
قاباخ تاغی ترشا ماما گتیرمز	مرد کیمسفلر حقین سعمین ایتیرمز
	بوز سویو تده هایوا اولماز نار اولماز

Ever since its publication Heydār Babaya Sālam has given rise to numerous imitations by Azeris in Azerbaijan and other parts of Iran. In fact, İkinji Heydār Babaya Sālam,²⁸ a sequel to Heydār Baba by Shahriyār himself, may be considered as a response to the Azeri public's cries of "encore". In any case, it hardly shares the first volume's intense and virtually boundless inspiration.

Poetry Inspired by Heydār Baba

"Heydār Baba Mäktäbi"²⁹ ("The School of Heydār Baba") is commonly used nowadays to describe the sizeable volume of poetry produced by Shahriyār's followers. They all use, as Shahriyār has, the eleven-syllable meter with a 4 + 4 + 3 stress pattern. Some draw for content on the communal lives of various localities, others capitalize on the

historical past of Azerbaijan as a whole: its heroes, national virtues, literary accomplishments, etc. A most successful work in this category is "Manžum Mäktub"³⁰ ("A Letter in Verse") by Həbib Səher. While extolling Heydər Baba as an aesthetic achievement, Səher amicably reproaches Shahriyār for the romantic approach of his poem. By revealing what this romanticized past meant, particularly in terms of the lives of the villagers, he questions Shahriyār's unreserved deference to tradition, the glorification of religion, and the assumed security of a semi-feudal and patriarchal society. Another excellent example is "Aziz Şähriyāra Sālam" ("Homage to the Beloved Shahriyār") by Hüseyn-Qoli Kätebi,³¹ who signs his Turkic works with the pseudonym Joshghun.

Kätebi began writing in Azeri during the war. The articles and poems he contributed to Shafaq (the leading literary journal of the period) still bear the marks of early experimentation with the language. His "Homage to the Beloved Shahriyār", on the other hand, well reflects the spontaneous attitude towards Azeri on the part of post-war writers and of their increased skill in using it. "Homage to the Beloved Shahriyār" is especially noteworthy for its intense lyricism and refreshingly new imagery.

Kätebi's poem was published with several other dedicative poems in a volume entitled Yadı az Heydər Baba ("Remembering Heydər Baba").³² A recent article by Osman Sertkaya of Turkey, "Heydar Baba'ya selâm siirinin Türkiye'deki akislari" ("Echoes in Turkey of the Poem 'Salute to Heydər Baba'") introduces poetry written under

Shahriyār's inspiration in Turkey and among the Turks of northern Iraq. The same article also offers a sizeable bibliography of works written on Heydār Baba by Turkish writers beginning with 1956 (Heydār Baba was first published in Tabriz in 1954).³³

B.Q. Sahand

Also based on Azeri folk poetry is an excellent adaptation by B.Q. Sahand (Bahlud Qārāchorli), of the ancient Azeri folk epic, Dādā Qorqut. Sazımın Sözü,³⁴ published in 1966 in Tabriz, forms the first volume of a projected verse adaptation. If one may judge by this first work, Sahand may prove one of the leading Azeri poets of the present century. He writes in elegant diction close to the Baku idiom and uses, in keeping with the spirit of the original epic, refreshingly natural and vigorous imagery. It is particularly in the prologues to the tales, where he distills, as it were, the essence of the ancient epic, that he best succeeds in raising to the level of true poetic deliberation the simple charm and popular wisdom of the original tales.

As regards form, Sahand's experimentations in the context of local works written in syllabic meter are daring. The eight-syllable strophic structure used in the body of the work departs from the traditional in that it is formed of strophes of an unequal number of verses and of verses of an unequal number of syllables. And as the caesuras fall regularly after the fourth syllable, the poet is enabled to alternate and, at times, mix the verses of four and eight



syllables, and thus achieve an asymmetrical effect which is unusual in local traditions of syllabic verse.

Habib Sāher

Sāher is a gifted poet of the older generation. However it is in this respect alone that he belongs with the poets of the nineteen forties. His Persian works were first published during the war, and it was then, too, that he began writing in Turkic. But Sāher's poetry in either languages is very different from the typical wartime production. He seems to have welcomed the Azerbaijan episode merely for the opportunity it afforded him to write in Turkic. In every other respect Sāher has remained a romantic and has managed to evade, by sheer force of talent perhaps, the strict literary policy of the war years.

Born in Tabriz in 1903, Sāher attended both high school and the French Catholic school in Tabriz. It was during these years that he learned French, Turkish, and Russian. He received his college education in Istanbul, where he lived for seven years and graduated from the Faculty of Geography, at Istanbul University. Since his return to Iran in 1934 he has worked for the Ministry of Education as a teacher of geography in various towns of Azerbaijan.³⁵

Sāher was a student of Mirzā Taqī-Khān Raf^cat, one of the first pioneers to introduce modern European literature to Iran (p. 72). However, Sāher's most productive years came after his return from Turkey, where he came under the influence — or, as he put it himself,

fascination — of modern Turkish writers such as Tevfik Fikret, Ahmet Haşim, Celâl Sahir, Yahya Kemal, etc.

Some of Sāher's translations of Turkish poets specify the name of the authors³⁶; others bear the notation "adaptations from Turkish literature".³⁷ A large number of translations from French poets and writers, fewer from Russian ones,³⁸ demonstrate his familiarity with European literature. He has capably translated dozens of poems by Baudelaire and Ronsard, and has adapted into verse episodes from the prose of Anatole France.³⁹

The following is a list of Sāher's collected Persian works: Afsāneh-ye Shab (1941), Sāyeh-hā (1942), Shaqāveq (1943), all published in Tabriz; Khusheh-hā (1955), and Asātir (1958), both published in Qazvin. The following two booklets are in Turkic: Lirik She^crlär⁴⁰ (the date and place of publication are not given, but there is evidence in the book indicating that it was published after 1955) and Kövshān (Tehran, Chāp-e Alborz, 1964). A volume of selected works including both Persian and Turkic appeared in 1964 (Tehran, Chāp-e Alborz).

As a lyrical poet writing in a Western romantic style, Sāher has no equal among the poets from Azerbaijan. Imagery from classical Persian literature is reduced in Sāher to the bare minimum imaginable for someone born and reared in that land. However, in spirit he has remained not merely a Persian, but an Oriental at large. What is especially remarkable about Sāher is the fact that his references to the common features of the culture and literature of Middle Eastern

countries are used not through force of habit, nor without full consciousness of their cultural and aesthetic significance. Rather, he uses these references and associations as someone who has gained perspective by being distant and who has rediscovered them after acquiring a thorough knowledge of other literatures.

In his adaptations of some of the tales from the Golestān,⁴¹ he has skillfully revived the particular genius of Sa^cdi. In the poems "Be Morgh-e Shabkhiz"⁴² and "Kharābāt"⁴³ he pays homage to the genius of Ḥāfeẓ, utilizing the terminology of mystic love and the conventional ghazal with a fresh approach and as someone who has unexpectedly rediscovered the beauties of these bygone worlds. Middle Eastern love figures such as Leyli and Majnun,⁴⁴ Yusof and Zoleykhā,⁴⁵ are recalled by Sāher in the reveries of a modern man, stirred as it were by contemplation of primitive and dream-inducing drawings in an old miniature. The fables of Kalileh va Demneh,⁴⁶ adapted into verse, conduct the reader through the world of wisdom and satire expressed in the language of animals so characteristic of Middle Eastern literature.

No doubt in this evocation of the past, especially of the ancient civilizations of Egypt, India, and China, as well as in the treatment of biblical stories and Greek mythology, he is inspired by similar literary movements in European literature during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Nevertheless he deserves credit for having given a refreshing variety to the panorama of modern Persian literature: except for Persian history itself and the Middle East -- in its

Islamic context primarily — modern Persian literature is not noted for drawing much poetical material from other lands and other ages.

A painter as well as a poet, Sāher depicts nature with a strong appeal to the senses of color and sound. Such poems range from purely imaginative descriptions of exotic lands and scenes to a series dedicated to the intimate landscape of his native Azerbaijan. The poems "Sāhānd Daḡhī"⁴⁷ ("Mount Sāhānd"), "Surkhab Daḡhlarī"⁴⁸ ("The Mountains of Surkhab"), "Dar Kanār-e Qızıl-Ozan"⁴⁹ ("On the Shores of the Qızıl-Ozan"), "Zānjan Yolunda"⁵⁰ ("On the Road to Zanjan"), and many others combine his skill in depicting local scenery with an intensity of emotion approaching "blood-and-soil mystique".

Sāher's love poems such as "Behesht-e Asāṭir"⁵¹ ("The Paradise of Myths"), "Ādam va Havvā"⁵² ("Adam and Eve"), "Havas-e Nakhostin"⁵³ ("First Passion"), and many others remind one of Baudelaire in their intense sensuality and taste for the exotic. The following poem may serve as an example of Sāher's treatment of love and nature, as well as of his fascination with ancient lands and civilizations. The poem entitled "Esgī Sevgilim"⁵⁴ ("My Beloved of Long Ago") was inspired, as he himself expresses it, by contemplation of a picture of a statue of an ancient Egyptian queen.

او مصرده قیزیلانمیش هیکلدیر	من نوزاسگی سوگیلمی تانیرام
ایندی بوگون اولوم بیلمز گوزلدیر	او وقتيله بیر انسان دک فانی کن
صحرا لردا یانان گونون نوری وار	اونون خمار ایری سیاه گوزونده
آنجا ق نیلین کناریندا گل آچار	او فسونکار نادر گوزل چیچکدیر
گوزل قاشدان نمونه وی بیر قاشدیر	اونون اگری کمان کیمی قاشلاری
قیزیل رنگلی آغیر قیمت بیرد اشدیر	اوصنعتین طلسملی لو خنده
بساط قوروب شامد انلاری یا خار میش	نچه مین ایل اول ماوی قصیده
پنجره یی آچار نیله با خار میش	ظالم شقی بیر فرعونو بکلر کن
قیزیل جامدا ایچمیش عشقین باده سین	بیلسم هانگی عاشق اونون الیندن
اوزا خلردان دویموش اونون شن سسین	بیلسم هانگی خوشبخت آیدین گجملر
یلهیک چالیب یا واش یا واش اوخشا ییب	بیلسم هانگی یوسف اونون ساچلارین
بیلسم دیملر او خولیا د یا شا ییب	بیلسم اونون خولیا لارین اسرارین
او قیزیلدان توکمه گوزل هیکلدیر	من نوزاسگی سوگیلمی تانیرام
شاه اثر دیر همه لطف ازلدیر	بیر اولد وزدور ابدیت ترکینده

In the words of Sāher himself, "What I wanted I could not find in my Persian poems until the freedom of expression in my mother tongue allowed me to write in Turkic and sometimes in the idiom and style of Turkish writers."⁵⁵ Indeed it is difficult to judge Sāher's

originality by his Persian works. Some of his Turkic poems which express the same thoughts and feelings as certain of his Persian works have a powerful quality due to their immediacy, naturalness of imagery, and genuine pathos, whereas the same themes sound rather ordinary in Persian. One may also mention the salutary effect of the Turkish language on his diction. Turkish words give a striking quality to Sāher's works owing to their rarity, perhaps. In fact Sāher is the only Azerbaijani poet of the twentieth century who has written in an elegant modern idiom as distinct from either the traditional poetical idiom (as in the works of Şarrāf and Hidaji) or the colloquial quality of most Turkic works written in this century.

In the poems Sāher wrote during 1945-1946 the diction is much modified in accord with the government's emphasis on the local language. In these poems, Sāher drew inspiration from the local folk literature. During those two years Sāher wrote many charming and effective mahnis and bayatis, and in many of his formal poems too he used syllabic meter where, as he says himself, his models were the works of Şamad Vurğun of Soviet Azerbaijan.

Sāher was the only poet of the Pishavari period who resisted the Communist literary dictates of the time. Even when he was persuaded to deal with socio-political issues, he never went beyond expressing his genuine love for his land, language, and culture. The poem "Qafqaz Yollarında"⁵⁶ ("On the Road to the Caucasus") is a typical example of Sāher's evasion of politics. Sāher was among the many poets invited to visit Soviet Azerbaijan. Upon their return almost all of these

poets expressed the impressions of their visits in lengthy poems, glorifying the material, cultural, and political progress of the Soviet Republic. Sāher's title and his few opening lines suggest a similar approach, but soon he withdraws within his own world and the poem becomes merely a poetical meditation stirred by scenes of nature.

Anyone acquainted with Sāher's works and familiar with the literary policy of the Pishavari years might have expected that the day would come when the government would demand a more militant social consciousness from Sāher. And indeed, towards the end of the regime, the literary critic of the newspaper Āzerbāyjān attacked him most severely in an article entitled "Āsarli Shā^cirimiz"⁵⁷ ("Our Mysterious Poet"):

Azeri literature is a literature nourishing a profound love and respect for the homeland. Furthermore pessimism is alien to it. Avoiding our present free life, Sāher throws himself into the bosom of nature. He writes poems without a message from which our youth cannot profit. We sense in his poems a feeling of avoiding life and standing apart from the people. The "delicate" soul of the poet seems discontent with today's bubbling, democratic and free life Living among people but incapable of finding a worthy companion, the poet reveals his heart to birds, meadows, oak trees, and what not Why does our mysterious poet want to fly like a pigeon away from his free land into the remote horizons? What is this nostalgia? ... Mr. Sāher is not an inexperienced newcomer to the world of letters. He knows all the principles of good art. True, he is most capable in depicting nature, but he should be equally capable in adopting a new direction for his creative talent Any literary work should be a source of inspiration for healthy thinking and the spirit of flight.

Certainly Sāher was not a militant socialist writer, but in fact he did much for the cause of the Turkic language and literature. In his series of articles entitled "Āzerbāyjānın təbi^ci gözəllikləri" ("The Natural Beauties of Azerbaijan"), "Āzerbāyjānın təbi^ci zənginlikləri" ("The Natural Riches of Azerbaijan") and similar works⁵⁸ he wrote primarily as a geographer. But these articles were at the same time poetically conceived, and written in such an effective language and so imbued with love of the land and people that they advanced the cause of the homeland more than the contribution of those who wrote more aggressively.

In a series of articles on the Azeri language entitled "Öz dilimiz"⁵⁹ ("Our Own Tongue"), Sāher showed that although certain Turkic words had been replaced in the Tabriz dialect by Persian equivalents, nevertheless these identical words (or at least their cognates) existed in isolated forms in Azeri proverbs and expressions, as well as in the idioms of other towns in Azerbaijan and among the tribes. Although the span of one and a half years could not possibly afford him enough time to deal thoroughly with this topic, the choice of this particular field showed his devotion to the cause of furthering the language and culture of Azerbaijan without the necessity of involving himself in foreign politics.

In the preceding pages an effort was made to introduce only the leading poets of the post-war years. There are many more poets by far who follow the traditional ghazal or its pseudo-modern romantic

version, and still others who apply the diction, style, and humor identified with ⁶⁰Ali-Akbar Šāber to a type of moral and social criticism which should, by now, seem unnecessary and obsolete. There is finally a third group which produces a staggering volume of nowheh (Shi'ite religious lamentations), for the innate disposition of Azeri letters to treat religious topics, concealed during the Pishavari period, has reemerged in full force.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

1. The names, The Association of Azerbaijanis, or the Association of the Friends of Azerbaijan, and a few others, had been used since the beginning of the war in both Tabriz and Tehran by groups of differing political sympathies. These designations served as convenient fronts for a wide range of nationalists, leftist liberals, and communists, as well as for groupings of entirely opposite affiliations, whose major aim was to counteract the activities of the former groups. It is sufficient to point out here that the works of more or less literary character produced during 1951-1953 in Tehran were put out by participants in the Pishavari government who were now active under various aliases.
2. Jam'iyat-e Tarafdārān-e Solh (Society for Advocation of Peace) was another group composed of pro-Soviet elements active during 1951-1953.
3. S.M. Jād [Salāmollāh Jāvid], Āzerbāyjān Dilinā Mākḥṣuṣ Şārf vā Nāhv [Tehran, 195-].
4. Idem., Āzerbāyjān Dil Bilgisindān Yazı Qā'idālāri [Tehran, 195-].
5. Kārang, ^CA., Dasṭur-e Zabān-e Konuni-ye Āzerbāyjān, Tabriz, Moḥammadi ^CElmiyeh, 1961.
6. Farzāneh, M. ^CA., Mabāni-ye Dasṭur-e Zabān-e Āzerbāyjān, Tabriz, Entesharāt-e Shams, 1965.
7. Ibid., 25, 87, 90, 95, 64 ff.
8. Farzāneh, M. ^CA., Bayatılar, Tabriz, Shams, 1965.
9. Mojtahedi, ^CA.A., op. cit.
10. Arzhangī, H., Ta'birāt va Estelāhāt va Amsāl-e Moshtarak-e Fārsi va Āzerbāyjāni, Tabriz, 1958.
11. Tabrizi, ^CA., Shāh Esmā'il, Tehran, Atropat Kitabevi [195-], in two volumes. An appraisal of this work may be seen in Şükriü Elçin, "Tebrizde bir Türk Halk Romancısı", Türk Kültürü, Dec. 1963, 70-72.
12. Introduction written by M. Rowshan-Zamir to Heydār Babaya Sālām, 2nd ed. (Tabriz, Haqiqat, 1953), 12.

13. One Persian translation was made by P. Jahān-Shāhi, a second by N. Hādi. Shahriyār selected forty strophes from the first, thirty-six from the second, and published them in his Divān, III, 137-159.
14. Ateş, A., Şehriyâr ve Haydar-Baba'ya Selâm, Ankara, Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü, 1964.
15. As far as is known to the present writer, the work has been published in Baku at least twice: first separately and later together with selected Persian works by the poet (translated into Azeri); see Āzaroghli, B., "Heydār Baba Şā^cirinin Töhfəsi", Āzerbāyjan (Azerb. SSR YIAAZh), Jan. 1967, 202-205.
16. Accounts of the poet's life and his earlier Persian works appear in Chapter IV, pp. 127-133.
17. Shahriyār, Heydār Babaya Sālām, 36.
18. Shahriyār, Divān, IV, 36, 38.
19. Rowshan-Zamir, op. cit., 7.
20. Introduction by the poet to Heydār Baba, 22.
21. Heydār Baba, 31.
22. Introduction by ^cA. Kārang to Heydār Baba, 19.
23. Rowshan-Zamir, op. cit., 12.
24. Ergin, M., "Şehriyâr'a Selâm", Türk Kültürü, no. 29, 3 (March 1965), 293.
25. Ateş, op. cit., 15.
26. The poem by Khāsta Qasim is cited from Sālman Mümtaz, El Şā^cirləri (vol. XII of Āzerbāyjan Ādābiyati series; Baku, Āzār Nāshr, 1927), 197.
27. Heydār Baba, 30.
28. This was published together with Heydār Babaya Sālām in a volume entitled Yādi az Heydār Baba, Tabriz, Chāp-e Tehran, 1964.
29. See Fathī, N., "Shahriyāra Tā^czim", ibid., 60.
30. Sāher, H., Lirik She^crlər, 98-107.
31. Joshghun, "^cAziz Shahriyāra Sālām", Yādi az Heydār Baba, 73-92.

32. See note 28 above. An appraisal of this volume may be found in M. Ergin, "Haydar Baba Şiirinin Yankıları", and "Azeri Şiirinin Yeni Örnekleri", both articles in Türk Kültürü, nos. 31, 32 (1965), respectively, 479 ff., 540 ff.
33. Sertkaya, O.F., "Heydar Baba'ya Selâm Şiirinin Türkiye'deki Akısları", Türk Kültürü, VII, 83 (Aug. 1969), 836-841.
34. Sahand, B.Q., Sazımın Sözü, Vol. I, Tabriz, Shams, 1345. An appraisal of the work may be seen in Elçin, Ş., "Bibliografya", Türk Kültürü (Oct. 1963), 60; also in Azaroghli, "Sazımın Sözü", Azerbayjan (Journal of Azerb. SSR Writers' Association), Jan. 1967, 206-208.
35. The poet's biographical data, facts about his works and other personal statements, which appear here and in the following pages, are cited from his letters to, and personal interviews with, the present writer.
36. Asatir, 51.
37. Ibid., 12.
38. Ibid., 51, 84-91.
39. Ibid., 23, 24, 35, 44, 78.
40. An appraisal of this work may be found in Elçin, Ş., "Kitaplar", Türk Kültürü (Oct. 1963), 60.
41. Asatir, 43, 46, 63.
42. Ibid., 69.
43. Ibid., 37.
44. Shaqaveq, 23.
45. Ibid., 21.
46. Ibid., 71, 77, 81.
47. Lirik She'rlär, 41.
48. Azerbayjan, no. 145, I (1946).
49. Shaqaveq, 25.
50. Azerbayjan, no. 44, II (1945).
51. Asatir, 19.

52. Ibid., 39.
53. Sayeh-hā, 53-54.
54. Lirik She^Crlār, 10-11.
55. See note 35 above.
56. Sāher, H., "Qafqaz Yollarında", Shā^Cirlār Mājlisi (Oct.-Nov. 1945), 173 ff.
57. Şabāhī, G.-^CA., "Äsrarlı Şhā^Cirimiz", Äzerbāyjan, no. 65, II (1945).
58. Äzerbāyjan, nos. 117, 150, 152, 166, 167, I (1946).
59. Ibid., nos. 115-120, I (1946).
60. The Caucasian poet, the chief contributor to the paper Mollā Nāser ed-Din, see pp. 56-57.

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