THE PRESS AND POETRY OF MODERN PERSIA
Superstitious veneration of a Mullah

(From Mullah Niyaz a.Dhi, No. 36, Oct. 7, 1907, a Caucasian Turkish illustrated comic weekly, published at Tiflis)
THE PRESS AND POETRY OF MODERN PERSIA
PARTLY BASED ON THE MANUSCRIPT WORK OF MİRZÁ MUHAMMAD 'ALÍ KHÁN "TARBIYÁT" OF TABRÍZ

by
EDWARD G. BROWNE
M.A., M.B., F.B.A., F.R.C.P.
Sir Thomas Adams' Professor of Arabic and Fellow of Pembroke College in the University of Cambridge

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ERRATUM

On p. 294, l. 20, second half, read:—

وزیر محتشیر عنوان پرستید
THE TRANSLATOR’S PREFACE

THIS book treats of two different though kindred subjects, the Persian Press, more particularly Persian Journalism, and the political and patriotic poetry of Modern Persia; in other words, with two aspects of Persian literary activity in recent years, especially since the Proclamation of the Constitution in 1906. It falls, therefore, into two distinct parts, of the first of which I am the translator, and of the second the compiler. Of each of these two parts something must now be said.

Part I (pp. 1-166) contains as complete a list of Persian newspapers, with particulars, concerning each, as it has been possible to compile, preceded by a Preface and Introduction (pp. 1-6 and 7-26), and followed by a brief essay on some of the more important products of the Persian Press other than newspapers, especially such as conducted, directly or indirectly, to the “Awakening of Persia” (pp. 154-166). The whole of this portion is translated from a Persian treatise, at present unpublished, entitled, for reasons explained by the Author, Mirzá Muhammad ‘All Khán “Tarbiyat,” at p. 5 of his Preface, “A Page from the History of the products of the Persian Press”; and all that I have done besides translating it is to add a few explanatory foot-notes (the majority of which, however, are the Author’s) and to append to the description of each newspaper in smaller type some additional particulars concerning its size, price, etc., derived from the inspection of copies in my own possession, of which, thanks to the generosity of Mr. H.L. Rabino, whereof I shall shortly speak, I have a fairly extensive collection. It is important that the reader should bear in mind that these
paragraphs in smaller type are added by myself to the original articles, in order that he may not be puzzled by occasional discrepancies which appear between them and the paragraphs in larger type which precede them; for on the one hand I have not thought it right to modify (save in a few cases of evident inadvertence) the sense of the Author's statements, and on the other I have indicated, whenever reference to a copy of the paper in question was possible, the result of my own observations, inasmuch as the Author wrote in exile, for the most part from memory and scanty notes, and, as he has explained in his Preface (pp. 1-3), was unable to refer to the rich material which he had collected for the compilation of this work, and which is now, unhappily, lost beyond recall.

The Author's work, as he has explained in his Preface, was prior in conception, though subsequent in execution, to that of Mr H. L. Rabino, who was, until about two years ago, British Vice-Consul at Rasht in Persia, and is now at Saffi in Morocco. Mr Rabino, whom I have never had the pleasure of meeting, is one of those consular officers who take delight in devoting the time which they can spare from their official duties to the careful study of the language, history, literature, antiquities, customs and resources of the country in which they find themselves, and it is a matter of profound regret rather than of surprise that one so well acquainted with and so sympathetic to the Persians, and so well instructed in all that concerns them and their country, should have been removed thence to a distant and (I imagine) uncongenial post. At all events he made the best use of his time in Rasht, which has in many ways been fruitful of valuable results, especially in the domains of history, geography and geology, and not least in this hitherto almost unexplored field of Persian Journalism. In 1911 he published at Rasht what is, so far as I know, the first systematic treatise on this subject, a Persian pamphlet of 29 large pages (measuring 35 × 22½ centimetres), printed at the 'Urwatul-Wuthqa Press, of which the full title, both in Persian and English, and some description are given at pp. 2-3 of the Author's Preface and in the foot-notes thereto. In a short Preface of two pages he sketches the history of Persian Journalism from its beginnings (in or about 1848) down to
the time of writing (August 29, 1911). This Preface is followed (pp. 6-25) by a list of 243 papers, arranged alphabetically, published in Persian or in Persia1. Each page is divided into ten columns, of which the first contains the ordinal number of the paper in the list, the second the title of the paper, the third the place of publication, the fourth the intervals of publication (daily, weekly, fortnightly, monthly, etc.), the fifth the method of production (print, lithography, or “jelly-graphy”), the sixth the date of inception, the seventh the date of conclusion, the eighth the political tendency, the ninth the name of the proprietor or editor, and the tenth and last any additional observations. Of the papers enumerated Nos. 1–226 are Persian, Turkish or Arabic, Nos. 227–230 French, and Nos. 231–236 Armenian, while Nos. 237–243 are additional Persian papers omitted in their proper place. Blank spaces are left, numbered 244–269, for additional entries, while the last two pages (28–29) contain a list of errata.

A French translation of Mr Rabino’s Persian pamphlet by M. L. Buvat appeared in the Revue du Monde Musulman for 1913 (pp. 287–315). It was made, I believe, without Mr Rabino’s knowledge or concurrence, and, by reason of mistranslations and omissions, is regarded by him as not wholly satisfactory. I possess a copy of these pages with numerous annotations and corrections in Mr Rabino’s hand. One distinctive merit, however, it possesses, for foot-notes are added which give “les principales indications bibliographiques, les comptes rendus et les Traductions in extenso donnés par la Revue des journaux persans.”

In English, so far as I know, little has hitherto appeared on the Persian Press, except a small brochure of my own, originally delivered as a lecture to and afterwards published by the Persia Society under the title of the Persian Press and Persian Journalism2, which was practically a very brief résumé of this present work, and, like it, owes whatever value it possesses to

1 As in the present treatise, mention is made of all Persian newspapers, whether published in Persia or abroad, and of all papers, whether in Persian or in some other language (Armenian, Syriac, Turkish, French, etc.), published in Persia. This is what is meant in the title of this work by *Iroon* (i.e. published in the Persian Kingdom) and *Persi* (published in the Persian language).

2 The lecture was delivered on May 23, 1913, and was afterwards published for the Society by John Hogg, 13, Paternoster Row, London, at the price of one shilling. It contains 18 pages.
the work of Mr Rabino and Mirza Muhammad Ali Khan "Tarbiyat." The Times, which, in pursuance of the reactionary and obscurantist policy which generally characterizes its views on Eastern politics, made some disparaging remarks on the "mischievous and dangerous" character of "the free Press of Persia" and "other Oriental lands" in its issue of July 2, 1908, published a short article on the subject on October 29, 1909; while the Standard of November 15, 1909, contained a good and sympathetic account of Sayyid Hasan, the editor of the daily Tihir Habil-el-Matun, who had recently been imprisoned on the charge of speaking disrespectfully of the religion of Islam. Towards the end of May, 1910, the English daily press also contained some account of the protests evoked amongst Persian journalists by the suppression of the Sharq, and the violent scenes to which this high-handed measure gave rise in the National Assembly. The Times of June 28, 1910, again, contained some account of the printers' strike at Tihir. The Manchester Guardian of September 28, 1910, contained an article on "Persian newspapers and their work." Lastly, the almost complete suppression of the Press on December 26, 1911, two days after the forcible closure of the National Assembly, was chronicled in several English papers. A certain amount of information about Persian newspapers, together with several translations of articles from some of them, is also contained in my History of the Persian Revolution, published in October, 1910.

As one would expect, the fortunes of the Press in Persia follow very closely those of the Constitutional Movement. Before the granting of the Constitution by Muzaffar ud-Din Shah in August, 1906, but few newspapers were published in Persia, and these were politically of no account, and only valuable, when they had any value at all, from the literary

*The disparaging article appeared ten days after the new deposed Shah, Muhammad 'Ali, had succeeded, with the aid of Colonel Liakhoff and the other Russian officers in his service, in destroying the First National Assembly, and when his cause appeared to have triumphed. The second article, which, though far from sympathetic, at least takes the Persian Press more or less seriously and gives a few more or less accurate facts about it, was written shortly after the Nationalist triumph and the deposition of the ex-Shah. No one has ever accused Printing House Square of being "the home of lost causes,"*
The Cemetery of deceased Newspapers

(From the illustrated comic weekly *Azarbıyjan*, No. 6, March 30, 1907)
point of view, on account of the poems and critical articles which they occasionally contained. In the latter part of 1906 several important newspapers, printed with moveable types, began to appear, such as the Majlis (on November 25, 1906) and the Nida-yi-Watan a month later. During the following year (1907) many more appeared, and the number continued to increase until the Coup d’État of June 23, 1908, which marked the beginning of the period known to the Persians as "the Minor Despotism" or "Lesser Autocracy" (Istidâd-i-Šaghir), when the free Press was practically destroyed for the time being. As the Constitutional forces began to rally and make headway in Gîlân and Isfahân, the Press also began to revive in these localities, until, on the triumphant entry of the victorious Nationalists into Tihrân and the deposition of Muhammad ‘Ali in July, 1909, it speedily attained a luxuriance even greater than during the "First Constitutional Period," and (save for a brief period in August, 1910, after the fighting which attended the disarmament of the fidâ’ís in Tihrân, when for some days the Istiqlâl-Irân was the only paper appearing in the capital) continued in this flourishing condition until the forcible closure of the Second National Assembly and the violent aggressions of Russia during the last days of 1911. Since that time it has again been in abeyance: the only notable papers published in Tihrân since the beginning of 1912 are, so far as I know, the official or semi-official Aftâb ("Sun"), and the rather more independent Iran-i-Kumâni ("Present Persia")¹; while at Tabrîz, Rasht and Mashhâd Russian brutality has effectually extinguished not only the Press, but every other manifestation of Liberalism and national life. Two infamous reactionary and anti-patriotic papers, the Fikr ("Thought") and the Tawfîq ("Divine Favour"), were successively promoted and subsidized by the Russians in Tabrîz, but to describe them as worthless would be to pay them too high a compliment.

Of the Persian newspapers published outside Persia, which are naturally much more independent of political events in that

¹ The Barq ("Lightning") has since reappeared, No. 1 "of the Fifth Year" being dated October 17, 1913. Since November 27, 1913, it has changed its name to Ra’d ("Thunder").
country than those published within its borders, the most important have been or are the Akhtar ("Star"), printed at Constantinople (1875–1895); the Qainit (1889–1890) in London; the Habib'l-Matn (Calcutta) founded in 1893 and still continuing; the Thurayya (1898–9) and Parswarish (1900), printed in Cairo; the Hikmat and Chihra-numa, founded in Egypt in 1892–3 and 1904–5 respectively, and still continuing; and the Shams ("Sun") of Constantinople, founded in 1909 and still continuing.

During the greater part of the Constitutional Period I regularly received a certain number of the principal papers, such as the Majlis, Nidā-yi-Waṭan, Tamaddun, Şur-i-İsrāfīl, Musawat, Habib'l-Matn and Şabk-i-Ṣādiq during the First Constitutional Period; and the İrān-i-Naw, Barq, Sharq, Aṣr, Waqf, etc. during the Second. I also inherited a number of papers left by Shaykh Ḥasan of Tabriz, formerly teacher of Persian in this University, on his return to Persia. Yet my collection would have been very imperfect had it not been for the extraordinary generosity of Mr H. L. Rabino, who, on his transference from Rasht to Morocco, presented me with the whole of his extensive and valuable collection, which contained complete or almost complete sets of several papers, especially of those published in Rasht, such as the Nasim-i-Shimāl, Kinkāsh, Ṣadā-yi-Rasht, Ḍilān and Khayrul-Kalām, and some specimens at least of nearly all the papers mentioned in his pamphlet. Thanks to this act of generosity, I believe that I possess the most complete and extensive collection of Persian newspapers which exists outside Persia, and this has been of enormous help to me in the preparation of the present work.

One notable feature of the modern Persian Press is the large amount of excellent verse which is to be found in it, especially in the Rasht papers enumerated at the end of the preceding paragraph, in the Bahār of Mashhad, and in the Şur-i-İsrāfīl, İrān-i-Naw and other organs of the Ẓihrān Press. Much of this verse is "topical," referring to the stirring events of the recent Revolution and the principal dramatis personae; or patriotic, inciting the youth of Persia to deeds of heroism and self-sacrifice; or satirical. It is, in my opinion, of great interest
both from the historical and the literary points of view, and is often equally remarkable for its merit and its originality. As it has hitherto remained almost unnoticed in Europe, I have thought it desirable to include in this volume a selection of these recent patriotic and political poems, chosen more or less at random out of a great number contained in the bound volumes of newspapers in my possession, or supplied to me by some of my Persian friends and correspondents, to whom I here desire to tender my sincere thanks.

Part II of this book (pp. 167-308), which is devoted to these poems, is, therefore, an addition made by myself to the original book of which the translation constitutes Part I. Certain European students of Persian whose researches stop short at the period which, four hundred years ago, produced Jámi, the most celebrated of the later "classical" poets, and his contemporary Dawlatsháh, the most widely-read and one of the least trustworthy of their biographers, constantly assert, that there is no modern Persian poetry worth reading, a statement which I can only account for by supposing that they have not taken the trouble to look for it or read it, but which is nevertheless widely credited. In a lecture on the Literature of Persia which I delivered before the Persia Society on April 26, 1912¹, I spoke briefly of this modern poetry, and gave some specimens of it, and after the lecture several of those present expressed surprise at learning that there was any modern poetry to speak of. This determined me to devote some attention to the refutation of a pernicious error chiefly attributable to the rarity of intimate relations between the literary worlds of Europe and Asia, but fostered and encouraged to some extent by those who desire for political reasons to represent such Asiatic peoples as the Persians as entirely decadent and degenerate, whereas in fact they have during the last eight years shown a vitality which, under happier circumstances, had it been unimpeded by malignant external forces entirely beyond the control of the Persian people, would, I am firmly convinced, have ultimately effected the moral and material regeneration of the country.

Of this renewed vitality the modern Press and Poetry are a reflection and manifestation, and I venture to think that neither the originality nor the merit of the literary products of the Persian Revolution, whether in prose or verse, will be denied by any competent and unprejudiced observer. True literature is the mirror of contemporary thought and sentiment, and the alternating phases of hope and despair of the Persians during the last eight years (1905-1913) are well reflected in the ephemeral literature of that period. It is for this reason that I have, as far as possible, arranged the poetical selections which conclude this volume in chronological order, and have chosen specimens representative of all the principal types, ranging from the classical musammat, mustazad and mathnawi to the popular ballad (taṣnif) often abounding in slang and dialect.

At this point it may not be out of place to insert a few particulars concerning some half-dozen contemporary Persian poets, most of whom are represented in Part II of this book, which were supplied to me in January, 1913, by Mirzâ Husayn Kāzim-Zâda, to whose help the latter portion of this book owes much.

1. Bahār Malikuš-Shu'arā ("the King of Poets").

* He is a native of Mashhad, and is one of the attendants of the Shrine of the Imam Rīzā. He is about thirty-five years of age. During the latter period of the Constitution he founded the newspaper Bahār ("Spring") at Mashhad. In No. 18 of the Calcutta Habib’-Matīn of the present year was inserted a poem of his entitled "A critical offering to His Excellency Sir Edward Grey."

2. ‘Arif of Qazvīn.

* He is a man of dervish-like disposition, and often sings his poems to the accompaniment of music at public and patriotic meetings, where he is warmly applauded by all. On the occasion of a representation given in Tihrān a month before the heart-rending catastrophe of Tabriz by the Literary Circle of the Democratic Party under the title of the National Festival to commemorate the Victory of the supporters of the Constitution

1 This poem is No. 34 of the collection at the end of this volume, and will be found, with a verified translation, at pp. 253-257 infra.

* * * * *

2 i.e. about the end of November, 1911.
and the defeat of Muhammed ‘Ali, ‘Arif undertook the rôle of
minstrel, and, in a most charming and affecting manner, sung the
poem which he had composed for this occasion, and which begins
as follows:

'Last night a message reached me from the old Wine-seller:
'Drink wine, for a whole Nation has come to its senses!
'Despotism tore away from Persia a thousand veils:
'A thousand thanks that the Constitution has come to replace
these veils!'

"Most of ‘Arif’s poems, which consist of ghazals (odes), have
been printed, and are sung in public and private assemblies.
In consequence of a verse offensive to the Regent he was im-
prisoned with other Democrats early in 1913, but shortly
afterwards escaped to Isfahán.


"He is a young man about twenty-eight years of age, who
founded the newspaper Khawaristan ('the Eastern Land') in
Tihran during the first Period of the Constitution. During the
second Period he was Chief of Police, first at Samnán and after-
wards at Qum. He is at present studying in Paris.


"He is about forty years of age. During the Second Period
of the Constitution he founded the paper Nasim-I-Shind (‘Breeze of the North') at Rasht. After the tragic occurrences

To rear away veils" here means to expose the nakedness or defects, and "to
replace the veils" to restore self-respect.

I possess a printed pamphlet of 13 pp. containing six of these poems, arranged
for the use of singers. It is dated the 30th of Shawwal, A.H. 1329 (=Oct. 10, 1911),
and is described as "offered to the Literary Society in memory of the glorious Festival
of the Victor," i.e. the Nationalists who captured Tihran in July, 1909.

This is the verse in question:

See No. 354 (pp. 148-9 infra), from which it will be seen that this paper first
appeared on Sept. 10, 1907, nine months before the destruction of the First National
Assembly, and therefore during the First Period of the Constitution.
which took place there [in December, 1911, and January, 1912] he was compelled to leave that city, and his printing-press was destroyed [by the Russians]. The poems which he wrote criticizing the Mullás are much appreciated.

5. Púr-i-Dávwúd.

"He is a young man about twenty-five years of age. He studied French in Beyrout (Syria) and is now studying Law in Paris, where he has helped to found, and actively supports, the 'Literary and Scientific Society of the Persians in Paris.' He is especially skilful in the employment [in his poems] of old Persian words.

6. Ja'far-i-Khánmá'l.

"He learned French surreptitiously in Tabríz, his father, a fanatical and old-fashioned merchant, having forbidden him to study foreign languages, or to write poetry, for which he shewed a natural aptitude. Hence his poems are, as a rule, unsigned."

Some twenty poems accompanied these brief biographies, of which the best are included in Part II (pp. 260-299). Other notable contemporary poets, of whose work I have not been able to give specimens here, are Malik-i-Sásání, Shúrida and Badi'u'z-Zamán of Shíráz, Adíb of Níshápúr, Husámú'l-Islám Dánish, Ahmad Suhaylí of Tabríz (hanged by the Russians in January 1912), Husayn Khán Dánish, etc.

It seems natural at this point, for the sake of comparison, to say a few words about modern Arabic and Turkish patriotic poetry.

The best modern Arabic verse with which I am acquainted has been produced in Egypt. Of contemporary poets in that country Shawqí Bey and Háfíz Ibáhím are two of the most famous. The former is essentially a Court poet, who writes graceful but insincere verses in praise of the Khedive or in description of State Balls and other Court functions. Háfíz Ibáhím is a much more sincere and therefore effective poet, and his verses deal with a much wider range of subjects. Thus, to
take at random a few of the poems contained in the second part of his *Dțawîn* (published at Cairo in 1907) we find two in praise of the Japanese; another addressed to the Empress Eugenie; another appealing for greater recognition of the Arabic language; another in praise of Victor Hugo; another on the victims of a fire at Mit Ghamr; another on the dearness of food; a threnody (*maṛthīyâ*) on the late Muftî of Egypt, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abduh; another threnody on Mahmûd Samî Pasha al-Bârûdî; another addressed to the late King Edward the Seventh on the occasion of his Coronation, etc. The two finest of his poems, however, were called forth by the lamentable tragedy of Denshawi (or Deneshwây) in the summer of 1906, of which, both on account of the celebrity which it attained, and of the painful and humiliating reflections which it evokes, I shall say nothing more in this place¹. The first of these two poems (pp. 44–47 of the edition above mentioned) begins:

"أَبْنَى الْقَائِمُونَ بِالْأَمَرِ فَيَنَّا كَمْ نِيَتُهُمِّ وَأَعْلَدَا لاَ تَأْخَذُونَهُمْ مَعَ إِنِّي أَلْبَدَا"

The second (pp. 102–104), which is the finer of the two, is addressed to Lord Cromer on his return to Egypt in the autumn of the same year, and begins:

"قَمِّ الْدُوَابَةَ أَلَّا أَتِلَكَ حَدِيَّةُ أَهْلُ بَسَاتِنِكِ أَلْبَطُ رِيَّعُ لَهُ وَضَعُّ الْبَيْتُُ بَعْدَ الْمَجْهَدِ إِبْنَى أَلْبَدَا"

A line or two further on the poet finely says, addressing Lord Cromer:

"عَلَّيْنَا مَعْنِيُ الْحَيَاةِ فِيَنَا لَيْنَا، وَلَا الَّذِي تَعْقِبُ أَنْقِبُتْ مَنْ أَنْهَى وَأَيْنَا، هَذَا الَّذِي نَدُوُ إِلَيْهِ وَتَنْبُدُبُ"

"Thou didst teach us the meaning of Life, and why should we not aspire to it, and therefore shouldst thou be angry?"

"Art thou wrath with us because we have feelings [of patriotism]? It is even unto this that thou art wont to urge and incite us!"

¹ The circumstances of this affair are ruthlessly exposed by Mr Wilfrid Scawen Blunt in a little pamphlet published by T. Fisher Unwin in August, 1906, and entitled *Abuses of Justice under British Rule in Egypt*. See also Mr Bernard Shaw's *Preface for Politicians* (pp. xiv–liv: "the Denshawi Horror") prefixed to *John Bull's other Island* (London: Constable & Co., 1907).
This poem, which is written with equal power and restraint, undoubtedly expressed the deepest feelings of the Egyptian people, but it is to be feared that it was never read by him to whom it was addressed.

Another book of Arabic verse which created a great stir in Egypt, leading to the flight of the author to Constantinople, the prosecution and imprisonment of the Nationalist leaders, Muhammad Ferid Bey and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Shawish, and the confiscation of the book, was a collection of patriotic poems entitled *Watanifyati* ("My Patriotism"), by Shaykh 'Ali al-Gháyáti. Most of these poems are topical, referring to such events as Lord Cromer's departure from Egypt on May 6, 1907; the revival of the Press Law by Buṭrus Pasha on March 25, 1909; the assassination of Buṭrus Pasha by Ibráhím Efendi Násif al-Wardání on February 20, 1910; the execution of al-Wardání on June 28, 1910; Roosevelt's speech of March 29, 1910, at Cairo, and his Guildhall speech of May 31, 1910, both of which caused intense annoyance to the Egyptians, etc. Some of the earlier poems, composed in 1907, originally appeared in the paper *al-Mu'ayyad*, but most of the later ones were first published in the celebrated Nationalist organ *al-Liwá"* ("the Standard"). Proceedings were instituted against the poet and against Ferid Bey and Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Shawish (each of whom had contributed a preface to the little volume) on July 14, 1910. Ferid Bey was at the time in Europe, and the poet Shaykh 'Ali al-Gháyáti succeeded, as mentioned above, in escaping to Constantinople, so that Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Shawish was left for the moment to bear the brunt of the prosecution. He was sent for trial on July 26, and on August 6, 1910, was sentenced to three months' imprisonment, and Ferid Bey on his subsequent return to Egypt suffered a similar fate.

So effective was the suppression of this little book *Watanifyati* that it cost me an infinity of trouble to obtain even the loan of a

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1 I have recently learned that the poet al-Gháyáti has renounced his Nationalist opinions and reconciled himself to the Khedive, in whose honour he composed a panegyric on the occasion of his anniversary, January 8, 1912, and from whom he now receives a pension on which he lives at Geneva, shunned by his former comrades, who call him "the Egyptian Gapon."
copy, and its rarity and inaccessibility may therefore excuse me for briefly describing it. It comprises 129 pages of 18 x 13 centimetres, and contains: (1) the Author's Preface (pp. 2–3); (2) his dedication of the work to the dead Nationalist leader, Mustafa Kamil Pasha, and his living successors, Ferid Bey and Shaykh 'Abdul-'Aziz Shawish (pp. 4–5); (3) Ferid Bey's Preface (pp. 6–8) on "the influence of Poetry in the education of Nations:"; (4) Shaykh Shawish's Preface (pp. 9–11) on "Poetry and the Poet"; (5) an Introduction (pp. 12–32), apparently by the poet, dealing chiefly with the dearth of patriotic verse in Egypt at the time of writing, the history and influence of the Marseillaise, and a panegyric on the French Revolution. This concludes the preliminary prose portion of the book, which also contains signed portraits of the three collaborators. It is followed by the poems, forty-six in number (pp. 33–128), which are fully annotated to explain the circumstances under which each was written.

I have not at hand an account of the trial, but, so far as my recollection serves me, the prosecution was chiefly based on three poems (Nos. 15, 27 and 30), of which the first (published in the Liwa on August 19, 1909) was addressed to Dingra (the murderer of Sir Curzon Wylie) who had been executed two days previously; the second dealt with the assassination of the Coptic Premier Butrus Pasha, who was shot by al-Wardani on February 20, 1910; and the third (a short poem of four verses) described the condemnation to death of al-Wardani, who was executed on June 28, 1910. The Prefaces contributed by Ferid Bey and Shaykh Shawish contained nothing which would appear to justify a prosecution for sedition according to English ideas, but the writers seem to have been held responsible for the utterances of the poet whose work they thus in some measure endorsed, in spite of their contention that they had not read all the poems contained in the volume to which they placed themselves in the position of sponsors. In order to enable the reader to judge for himself how far the utterances of Ferid Bey and Shaykh Shawish merited such draconic reprisals, and also because their remarks are of interest in connection with the general development of patriotic poetry in the East (a quite recent though widely-spread
phenomenon), a complete translation of their two Prefaces is here given: Ferid Bey's Preface is as follows:


Poetry is one of the most active agents in awakening nations from their lethargy and in inspiring them with the spirit of vitality, even as it is one of the chief incentives to battle and inspirers of heroic endeavour and risking of life in war. Hence from ancient times we find such heroic poetry prevalent amongst the Arabs and other noble nations, such as the Romans, the Greeks, and so forth.

"No one will deny that the French song composed by the French officer, Rouget de l'Isle, and entitled 'the Marseillaise,' was one of the most potent causes of the victory of France over the kings of Europe, who had combined to extinguish the Spirit of Freedom on its first appearance.

"Hence some writers amongst us have written much on the necessity of composing patriotic elegies and songs, so that our children may learn them by heart and sing them in their leisure hours or recite them in their play-time, instead of the songs and verses which the street-children repeat, especially during the nights of Ramazán the Blessed. So likewise they have written on the necessity of changing the songs which are sung on festive occasions, all of which revolve round one point, to wit Love and the attribution to the Beloved of qualities 'which God hath not revealed anything to authorize'.

"One of the results of the autocratic government of an individual, equally in the West or in the East, is the destruction of heroic poetry, and the inducing of poets, by the means of gifts and favours, to compose insipid panegyrics and futile encomiums on kings, nobles and ministers; and to withdraw themselves from everything which can educate men's minds and implant in them the love of Liberty and Independence. So likewise another result of this despotism is the complete absence from the sermons delivered in places of worship of anything which might profit the hearer, since all of them revolve round the subject of withdrawal.

1 These words are a quotation from the Şirku'l-Naja', or "Chapter of the Star," in the Qur'ān (lili, 23)."
from the world, mingled with incitements to idleness and the patient expectation of daily bread without any effort or work.

"Hence those nations which have undergone political subjugation, becoming apprized of this fact, make the production of patriotic poems and heroic verses (in the classical language for the educated class and in the common language for peasants, artizans and others of the uneducated classes) one of the first of their principles; and this becomes one of the most potent factors in inspiring all classes with a spirit of patriotism. And I rejoice that this auspicious Risorgimento has permeated our country, and that most of the poets have left off composing panegyrics on nobles and governors, and have turned their attention to, and used their gifts for, the production of patriotic poetry, and the employment of it to describe the political circumstances which engage public attention. The present work, Wataniyyati, has appeared in the vanguard of this auspicious and righteous revival.

"My joy is increased by the fact that village poets have composed verses and songs about the Denshawi affair and what grew out of it; about the late Mustafa Kamil Pasha and his patriotic efforts; and about the Suez Canal question and the repudiation of its legality by the General Assembly; and that they have begun to sing them around their camp-fires and at their festivals to the accompaniment of their simple instruments of music. This, please God, is a movement full of promise, proving that the efforts of the patriotic party have borne fruit, and that their efforts have reached the depths of men's hearts in all classes of the people, promising a speedy deliverance, by God's permission, from the occupation and from the despotism of an individual.

"It therefore behoves the poets to abandon the habit of composing laudatory poems and panegyrics on the occasion of notable anniversaries and recognized festivals, and to employ their lofty and God-given talents for the service and education of the people, instead of devoting them to the service of the rich.

1 The deliberations of the General Assembly as to the proposed prolongation of the Suez Canal concession lasted from February 9 until April 9, 1910, when it was unanimously rejected by all the members of the Assembly with the exception of the Capt Marquis Bey Samayka.
and the flattery of nobles, or using them as a means to gain the favour of Ministers; seeing that the rulers pass away, while the Nation remains.

"Peace be upon him who heareth and remembereth, and who succeeds in serving his country and striving for it: 'Verily his striving shall be regarded, and God will reward him with an abundant recompense.'"

Here follows Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Aziz Shawish's Preface:

"Poetry and Poets.

Some poetasters are wont to imagine that poetry consists merely in metrical sentences in which due regard is paid to the proper rhyme. Hence you see them as bold as can be in composing qasidas (panegyrics) and in laying claim to poetic talent, relying herein on the ignorance of the majority as to the real nature of poetry, its essential qualities, and the conditions on which depend its correctness and perfection, and well aware of the rarity of persons of sufficient culture to discriminate between the bad and the good, or to comprehend the subtle differences which distinguish fruitful from barren verses. Especially is this the case at this time, when the faculty of properly wielding the Arabic language has grown weak, in consequence of the growth of foreign influences over the Arabs and the bad taste which accompanies this, so that the very construction of its phrases is in the utmost need of rectification.

If you wish to know what good poetry is, put away from yourself metrical feet and undue regard for rhyming letters and elaborate verbiage, and pay heed only to the effect which it leaves in your spirit. For indeed the best poetry is that which possesses your heart until you put it aside, even as the finest pictures are those which hold your vision until they are hidden from it. If, therefore, you would know the difference between natural and artificial poetry, if you perceive when you hear it that the ideas which it expresses are, as it were, spirits which whisper to you, while its words come forth almost

This quotation is also from the Siwarq - Najm (Qur'an, iii, 41-2). In the original text a facsimile of Ferid Bey's signature is subjoined.
spontaneously from your mouth, that is natural poetry; while if its motives enter your heart in diverse ways, and its exordium and arrangement do not harmonize when heard, that is artificial poetry, of the shallow outpourings of which none will drink the dregs save the ignorant poetaster or the hireling poet. For how can poetry be beautiful or sweet to hear when it issues forth from a heart unmoved and a soul unaffected? Or is poetry aught else than a mirror wherein are seen the effects of psychical influences controlling the spirit of the composer?

"Abdu'l-Malik once said to Artāt ibn Suhayya, 'How is it now with thy poetry?' 'By Allāh,' he replied, 'O Commander of the Faithful, I neither rejoice, nor am angry, nor desire, nor fear; and poetry is not produced save as the result of one of these four emotions.'

That is not poetry which results from the poet's contemplation of fantastic forms which transcend realities, or from his pursuing the path of exaggeration in praise and blame. Poetry is naught else than the depicting of the images which circulate in the mind; and just as the most skilful painter is not he who combines incompatible elements or who pourtrays on his canvas something which does not correspond with any existing eternal reality, but rather he who turns his attention to something which does exist and pourtrays it with so fine a shading that it seems to him who gazes on it as though he were looking at its subject as something endowed with external existence, so likewise the most skilful poet is he who attains to true conceptions and judgments and sets them forth to the hearer in sentences which captivate his intelligence and impel him to act in conformity with their requirements.

All that the poet has to do, therefore, after he has fully endowed his poetry with its due measure of sincerity and discriminating insight, is to clothe it in well-conceived sentences

The writer's meaning is, I think, that the artificial poetry of the panegyrics which he is denouncing is generally a mere display of rhetorical figures not bound together by any strong underlying motive, so that such emotions as it evokes are disconected and incoherent.

'Abdu'l-Malik, the fifth Umayyad Caliph, reigned A.D. 685-705 (A.H. 68-86). Artāt was one of the most eminent poets who belong exclusively to the Umayyad period.
and emphasize the harmony of the ideas one with another. For the composition of poetry is only like setting words to music and adapting them to song; and just as melody is not pleasing to the ear except when its component parts harmonize, so also poetry, when its sentences do not harmonize and its ideas do not accord, is a mere deafening of the ears and a grief to the spirit of man.

"If anyone would see a specimen of poetry which combines grace of words with wealth of ideas, and strength of structure with sincerity of diction, let him read a little of this book Wataniyyati; and let him who will enquire of its effects from these growing energies, and these ardent souls, and these loyal resolutions, for they are of its planting and of the fairest of its fruits."

As regards the poems of Shaykh 'Ali al-Gháyáti, while it is impossible to ignore their spirit and vigour, or to deny that many of them contain only legitimate though sometimes caustic criticisms of men and measures obnoxious to the author's political creed, several of them are quite indefensible, especially the poem on Dingra, which, in spite of certain qualifications made by the author in his notes, does undoubtedly convey the impression that he condoned to a certain extent the terrible and tragic crime with which this man's name is associated. It may be questioned whether any murder in recent times has produced results so evil and so far reaching. The assassin had no grudge, personal or political, against his victim Sir Curzon Wylie, who, indeed, was known as a friend and benefactor of Indian students of a kind greatly needed and too rarely found in this country in the present day. This fact greatly increased the indignation aroused by a crime which seemed almost insane in its purposelessness, and this indignation manifested itself, illogically enough, in a widespread and indiscriminating alienation of sympathy from the whole body of Indian students, most of them hard-working, peaceable, intelligent and deserving men, who visit this country, and even tended to increase that unhappy antipathy which has grown up in recent years between the West and the East. The more one loves the East, appreciates its virtues, and sympathizes
with its aspirations, the more must one deplore this unhappy event, and desire that it should be buried in oblivion rather than enshrined in verse.

How far, in English law, the writer of a preface is held responsible for the contents of the book to which it is prefixed is another question; but neither of these prefaces, especially that of Shaykh Shawish, would appear to the unprejudiced reader to contain in itself any matter so seditious or objectionable as to deserve so harsh a punishment as was meted out to its author. There is moreover a certain irony in the general attitude assumed by the most powerful "Liberal" Government of modern England towards freedom of speech and freedom of the Press in its Eastern dependencies which constantly recalls to my mind the following anecdote concerning the above-mentioned Umayyad Caliph 'Abdu'il-Malik related in that delightful history of the Caliphate the Kitābu'l-Fakhri:

"'Abdu'il-Malik before he succeeded to the Caliphate, was one of the pietists of al-Madina, so that he was nicknamed 'the Mosque Dove,' because of his indefatigable reading of the Scripture. But when his father died, and he was acclaimed Caliph, he closed the Sacred Volume and said, 'This is a separation between me and thee!'"

When I read or recall this passage there rises before my mind's eye the form of a veteran "Liberal" statesman on the eve of the "Seven fat years" reading, marking, learning, and inwardly digesting John Stuart Mill's Liberty. To him enter his enthusiastic followers and admirers to announce the triumph of "Liberalism" and his elevation to the rank of Secretary of State and Cabinet Minister; whereupon he lays aside the treatise on Liberty, saying, as 'Abdu'il-Malik said more than twelve hundred years ago, "This is a separation between me and thee!"

1 There are three editions of this book (composed in the thirteenth century of our era), that of Ahlwards (Gotha, 1860), that of Derenburg (Paris, 1895), and the cheap but excellent Egyptian reprint (A. H. 1317). The anecdote here quoted occurs on p. 110 of the latter. A French translation of the text by Émile Amar has recently been published by Larose of Paris.

2 This is a quotation from the Sūratu'l-Kahf (Qur'an, xviii. 77).

3 Not only in Egypt but also in India the Press Law is now (November, 1913) excessively stringent. A pamphlet entitled "Come over into Macedonia and help us,"
It would be out of place here to speak at length of the contents of *Wataniyatt*, though most of the forty-six poems which it contains are interesting both on account of their intrinsic merit and because of their connection with recent political events. I will only mention two excellent ones (Nos. 33 and 34, pp. 108-112) addressed to Mr Roosevelt in remonstrance against the speeches he delivered at the Egyptian University in Cairo on Monday, March 29, 1910, and at the Guildhall in London on May 31 of the same year. I subjoin a score of verses from the first, which is at once the more spirited and the more graceful.

appealing for help for the Turkish victims of the Balkan Crusaders, and published by Mohammed 'Ali, the editor of the *Indian Comrade*, was confiscated; and the same fate has, I understand, overtaken my pamphlet entitled "The Reign of Terror in Turkey," describing the cruelties perpetrated by the Russians at the beginning of 1912 in that unhappy city. The law is so stringent that it can, apparently, be employed to suppress historical statements of facts, even if unaccompanied by unfavourable comments and criticisms, as appears from the following paragraph from the *Delhi Comrade* of November 13, 1912: "Again, there is the question of the liberty of the Press, which has of late been rising in the scale of public notice. The Press Act of 1910 has given a rude check to the progress of what is known in the West as the Fourth Estate, and has almost choked the mouth of the Indian Journalist, who gaups at the freedom of writing which is practically enjoyed by the Anglo-Indian section of the Press in spite of the dreaded Act. The worst features of the Act have been signally brought to light by the judgment on the application of Mr Mohammed 'Ali, by a Special Bench of the Calcutta High Court, against an order of the Bengal Government declaring, under Section 12 of the said Act, a perfectly harmless pamphlet entitled *Come over into Macedonia and help to forfeit to His Majesty*. In the course of the judgment we have seen how the learned Judges have exposed the absurdity of Section 4, which condemns the printing and publishing of any newspaper, book or other document containing any words, signs or visible representations which are likely or may have a tendency, directly or indirectly, whether by reference, suggestion, allusion, metaphor, implication or otherwise (the italics are ours) to bring into hatred or contempt any class or section of His Majesty's subjects in British India."
(Translation)

"By thy life, thou art not a magnanimous man, if the magnanimous man is reckoned amongst the noble!

The noble ones of mankind are the most truthful in their speech, and the furthest removed from the falsehoods of meaner men. What ails thee that thou didst not stand up by the Nile save to cause us to listen to vain words?

I perceive that thou regardest [other] countries with a different eye from that wherewith thou didst regard thine own country a year ago!

As though we were inferior to thy people in lofty qualities, and inferior to thee in the [use of] the pen and the sword!

Gently, O champion of history! For we hold a position which waxes with the days.

We combine [preeminence in] this world and in the Faith, and have been lords of creation since the days of Shem!"
Who are ye, what time the nations boast of glory high enthroned on the pinnacles of the pyramids?

We had what we have of ancient glory when you were not there amongst mankind.

If you will, ask history concerning us, for verily we illuminated it when you were still in darkness.

I see thee ignorant, and would that I knew whether thou seest war or peace!

Thou breathest forth and sendest calumny amongst us, shooting at us with arrows which miss the mark.

Hath the nature of the wild beasts passed over into thee, until thou frownest when thou art in a place where thou shouldst smile?

Thou didst make a speech, and they gave thee a title without [the having] any knowledge, and it was [a case of] 'a bow drawn at a venture.'

By thy life, verily Cook hath a better claim than thee to the title of 'Honorary Doctor'!

We see men calling him a liar, but we do not see him relating what he says on the authority of a hostile faction.

But we see thee casting up against us what is reported by ignoble persons.

Both men were fabricators of falsehood, but I consider Roosevelt the more deserving of blame.

Henceforth do not cast reproach on us, nor on the greatest of the objects at which we aim.

Enough for thee is one verse of the daughters of song which the Nile hands down from that Master of Words:

"Thou didst speak, and thou wast not an orator, but rather a burden which was added to our other great calamities!""

1 i.e. the wild beasts which Mr Roosevelt went to Africa to hunt, and by the slaughter of which he earned the sobriquet of "the Butcher of Africa" (famius kripyu).

2 i.e. the American Cook, who claimed to have reached the North Pole, and was at first received with great honour, but afterwards became the laughing-stock of all.

3 i.e. even if he told lies, they were not inspired by malice, nor did he injure his fellow-men.

4 The last verse is a quotation or "insertion" (zowmain) from one of Shawb's poems.
Lord Cromer's work, *Modern Egypt*, called forth some angry verses, and although the poet exaggerates when, in a footnote on p. 36, he describes this book as "crammed with vituperation and calumny of Egypt and the Egyptians and Islám and the Muslims," it undoubtedly contains statements and expressions which are unnecessarily wounding to Egyptian and Muslim sentiment, and in some cases quite unjustifiable. One specimen of each kind may be given. In vol. ii, pp. 228-9, Lord Cromer says: "It should never be forgotten that Islám cannot be reformed; that is to say, reformed Islám is Islám no longer; it is something else; we cannot as yet tell what it will eventually be"; and he quotes the opinion of Sir William Muir in support of this view, which I believe to be incorrect, and which, thus baldly phrased, is certainly calculated to wound Muslim sentiment. This point, however, is susceptible of argument and discussion; but it is otherwise when Lord Cromer speaks (vol. i. p. 324) of "some illiterate Egyptian of the type of Árâbi or Mahmúd Sámi." Árâbi Pasha, a simple soldier, had no pretensions to literary culture, though he was far from illiterate in his own language; but Mahmúd Sámi Pasha was not only a great bibliophile but one of the most notable poets of modern Egypt, some of whose verses are included in every anthology of modern Arabic poetry. No doubt Lord Cromer spoke in perfect good faith, being obsessed by the idea "that there was only one true civilization in the world, and that was the civilization of Europe"; but the very fact that he did not even know, after spending nearly a quarter of a century in Egypt, that so famous a man as Mahmúd Sámi Pasha was a great poet amongst his own people shews better than anything else can do how far removed he was from any real sympathy with or interest in the higher manifestations of the intellectual life of that people concerning whose material circumstances he writes with such unquestioned authority.

*Watanîyyât* is undoubtedly a remarkable book, deserving a
fuller notice than can here be accorded it. If, on the one hand, it contained, as already admitted, certain things which had better have remained unwritten and unpublished, it also contained genuine poetry inspired by a fervent though indiscreet patriotism—poetry of the kind so well described by Shaykh Shawish as "that which possesses your heart until you put it aside," and the ideas embodied in which "are, as it were, spirits which whisper to you, while its words come forth almost spontaneously from the mouth"; or which, in the words of a much older Oriental critic, the twelfth century Persian poet Nizami-i-'Aruzi of Samarqand, "by acting on the imagination excites the faculties of anger and desire in such a way that by its suggestion men's temperaments become affected with exultation or depression, whereby it conduces to the accomplishment of great deeds in the order of the world!"

Patriotic poetry, as we understand it, hardly existed in the Muhammadan East until the most recent times. The nearest approach to it is to be found in such old Arabic poets as the Mutallaga of Amr b. Kulthüm, who, writing in the "Days of Ignorance" or "Barbarism" (Ayamul-Jahiliyyat) before the advent of the Prophet Muhammad, boasted of the prowess of his tribe in words which, mutatis mutandis, might, as my old friend the late Sayyid 'Ali Bilgrami used to say, have been written by Rudyard Kipling about the English, as where he says (to quote one verse only):

\[\text{"We have filled the earth until it hath become too narrow for us, And the sea likewise we have filled with our ships."} \]

In Persia some four centuries later (early eleventh century of the Christian era) the great Firdawsi displays in the "Epic of the Kings" or Shâh-nâma something of the same spirit of pride in his nation and race and that love of heroic deeds and high achievements which the Arabs call Hamâsa. Such poetry in

See my translation of the Chahâr Maqâla ("Four Discourses") of this poet, published by the J. R. A. S. (pp. 42-43 of the tirage à part), and the text of the same, published in the Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xi, p. 16.
ancient times is, however, so far as my studies go, always of the triumphant, victorious and imperialistic type; while of the more subtle and moving patriotic verse of the conquered and helpless nation (that verse wherein Ireland stands supreme!), which can only strive to maintain its spiritual life under the more or less galling yoke of the foreign invader, and must sustain its sense of nationhood by memories of a glorious past and hopes of a happier future, there is hardly a trace in Persian or Arabic until this present century.

In this connection I may with advantage insert a translation of the Preface prefixed by Mírzá Áqá Khán of Kirmán, one of the first "Martyrs of the Constitution," to his Sádár-náma, a poem written in imitation of the Sháh-náma, of which the suppressed portions have been lately rendered accessible in the Introductory volume of the Náẓímú'l-İslám's "History of the Persian Awakening" (pp. 242–4):

"Having regard to the fact that I have made use in the compilation of this brief history of ancient monuments, old writings, and the substantial discoveries of contemporary historians, I have concluded the book also with an epic ending, after the fashion and method of the poets of Europe. Possibly some of the accomplished scholars and fortune-favoured men of letters of Persia may make me the object of attack on account of this, and may say, ¹ What sort of versification is this, and what kind of poetical composition, wherein, setting thyself in opposition to all the poets of Persia, thou hast come out from the circle of good manners and good sense, which it behoves all good tail-wagging trencher-lickers to observe, and, abandoning the straight and safe high-road of flattery and servility, takest upon thyself to speak words of so true and serious an import? "Travel the road as previous travellers have travelled."

"To this I answer, trees must be known by their fruits, and

¹ I need hardly allude to the once proscribed but now justly admired "Spirit of the Nation"; but I should like to call attention to Alice Milligan's Her Lays, a most charming little volume of verses which should be more widely known. Amongst the plays of the Irish players, Mr W. B. Yeats's Cathleen ni Houlihan seems to me the most beautiful and delicate expression of Irish Nationalist sentiment.

² Concerning Mírzá Áqá Khán and his Sádár-náma, see my Persian Revolution, pp. 93–96 and 469–470.
deeds must be judged by their results. No one disputes the effectiveness or originality of the old poets and orators of Persia, nor does anyone contest the brilliancy and grace of their verses, while the insolent charm inherent in the poetry of many of the moderns is a matter on which all are agreed. But he must consider what sort of effect has hitherto been produced by the writings of our poets and men of letters, what kind of fruit has been borne by the tree which they have planted in the garden of song, and what results have been given by the seed which they have sown.

"The result of their exaggerations and hyperboles has been to concentrate falsehood in the simple natures of the people.

"The result of their praise and flattery has been to stimulate kings and ministers to the commission of all manner of vile and foolish actions.

"The result of their metaphysics and mysticism has been nothing but a crop of brutish idleness and sloth, and the production of religious mendicants and beggars.

"The result of their odes to roses and nightingales has been nothing but the corruption of our young men's morals, and the impelling of them towards smooth cheeks and red wine.

"The result of their satires and facetiae has been nothing but the diffusion of vice and immorality and the promotion of sinful and reprehensible practices.

"If we examine the history of the poets of Islam and the patrons whom they flattered we shall say:

"It was the poems and panegyrics of Abū Nuwās and others like him which plunged the 'Abbāsid Caliphs into the folly of wine-drinking, mid-day slumbers, and other mischiefs.

"It was the qasīdas of 'Unṣuri, Rūdagī, Farrukhī and others like them which destroyed and undermined the Royal Houses of Sāmān and Ghazna.

"It was the 'Divine Metaphysics' and Mysticism of 'Irāqi and Maghribī and such as they which begot all these thriftless mendicants and worthless idlers.

"It was the flatteries of Anwarī, Zahir [-i-Fāryābī], Rashīd [-i-Watwāt] and Kamāl [-i-Iṣfahānī] which produced such tyrannical, worthless and arrogant Kings.
"It was the erotic verses of Sa'di, Humám, and such as they which utterly corrupted the morals of the youth of Persia.

"It was the satires and *facetiae* of Súzaní, Saná'i (sic!) and others which gave such currency to immorality and sin.

"It was the detestable obscurities of Kháqání and such as he which involved Mírzá Mahdí Khán [the historian of Nádir Sháh], and the Sáhib ['Alá’u’d-Dín ‘Aţá Malik-i-Juwayní, the historian of the Mongols], and 'the Court Panegyrist' *Warefa-i-Hafrat* in their senseless inanities of verbiage.

"It was the long-winded rodomontades of Şabá, the hair-splittings of Shiháb, and the Kuláh-julis and ‘All-qulis of Qa‘ání which have to-day entirely obliterated love of virtue and hatred of vice from the natures of the Persian nobles, plunging them into extraordinary vices and vilenesses: even as God Most High says: *Qur’án, xxvi, 224*. "As for the poets, the erring follow them."

"The poets of Europe have composed and do compose every variety of these poems, but they have brought poetry and the poetic art under so sound a scheme of arrangement, and have made their verses so conformable to the laws of Logic that they have no other effect than to illuminate men's ideas, dispel vain legends, endow their minds with insight, admonish the careless, educate the foolish, castigate the ignorant, incite men's souls to virtuous deeds, reprove and turn aside their hearts from vicious actions, admonish them and inspire them with zeal, patriotism and devotion to their people. This is the true meaning of 'Verily in poetry there is somewhat of wisdom.'

"Yes, the proper effect of poetry is the stirring of men's hearts, the moving of their compassion, and the quickening of their understandings and thoughts; but it must impel them to virtues, piety and moderation, not to vile, evil and mean deeds, and the like. Of the Persian poets the only one whom European men of letters praise is that same Firdawsi of Tús, the verses of whose *Sháh-náma*, although in some places they are not free from hyperbole, do nevertheless, in some degree inspire in the hearts of Persians patriotism, love of their race, energy and courage; while here and there they also strive to reform their characters.
I trust that the result of my own worthless verses may also shortly become evident and apparent in the world of humanity, and may hereafter be, alike to the eloquent and effective writer, a model and exemplar leading them to imitate the poets of Europe, so that they may realize that such poetry as does not convey some moral or lead to some philosophical conclusion is merely of the nature of empty phrases and idle tales and vapoourings."

The views here advanced by Mirzá Áqá Khán are, of course, a monstrous exaggeration of the real facts, and I have only quoted them to illustrate the development amongst Persians also of a demand for patriotic poetry and for a note of greater sincerity and higher purpose in verse. His disparagement of the great classical poets is, in my opinion, ill-considered and unjustifiable: the noble mysticism of Jalálu'd-Dín Rúmi, the tender passion of Háfiz, and the practical wisdom of Sa'dí will never be superseded so long as the Persian language is spoken and studied. But this passion for the Fatherland is a new thing in Asia, or at any rate in Western and Central Asia, and it is perhaps natural and inevitable that its votaries should be impatient of the centuries of poetical talent devoted to other, and, in their eyes, less worthy objects.

Curiously enough it was the Ottoman Turks, a people far less original and talented than either the Persians or the Arabs, who, so far as the Near East is concerned, introduced the hitherto unknown ideas of "the Fatherland" (Watan), "the Nation" or "People" (Millat), and "Liberty" (Hurreyyat), and who succeeded in giving to these old words this new and potent significance. The origin of that movement, half literary and half political, associated with the "New Turks" (Yeni Türkler), or, as they are absurdly called, in phraseology which they themselves have now unfortunately accepted, "Young Turks," has been well sketched by my friend the late Mr. E. J. W. Gibb in the fifth volume of his monumental History of Ottoman Poetry, and is elaborated in much fuller detail in a supplement to that work compiled by the learned and ingenious Dr. Rizá Tevfíq, formerly Deputy for
Adrianople in the Turkish Parliament, which I am now translating into English and hope to publish before long. The pioneers of this movement, as is well known, were Shinâs Efendi (died in 1871), Ziya Pasha (died in 1880), and Kemâl Bey (died in 1888), who was the greatest of the three. All these drew their ideas, both political and literary, from France, and the period of their greatest activity may be placed between 1863, when Kemâl, then only twenty-three years of age, joined forces with Shinâs, and 1873, when he published his great patriotic play *Wâtan, yahid Silistria* ("Silistria, or the Fatherland") of which the production at the theatre at Gedik Pasha caused so extraordinary an ebullition of feeling. These three eminent writers represent what Gibb calls the "Period of Preparation" (1859-1879) of Modern Turkish Poetry, the succeeding period, inaugurated in 1879 by the publication of 'Abdull-Haq Hâmid Bey's *Sahrat* ("the Country"), being what he terms the "Period of Achievement." Apart from his merits as a poet and dramatist, to Kemâl Bey undoubtedly belongs the credit of giving to the three old Arabic words mentioned above the new meanings of "Fatherland," "People" and "Freedom," not only in Turkey, but throughout the Muhammadan East. In classical Arabic *watan* means merely the place of birth or domicile; *millat* a religious community; and *hurriyyat* the state of a free man or one nobly born as opposed to that of a slave or plebeian; and Kemâl's great and enduring achievement was that he succeeded in giving to these words, not only in literary circles but in the mouths of the people, and not only in Turkey but in Persia and the Arabic-speaking lands as well, the full and exact significance of Patrie, People or Nation, and Liberté; so that the humblest patriots who died on the Russian gallows at Tabriz in January 1912 cried with their last breath "Yashasun Watan" or "Zinda hâd Watan" in the full sense of "Vive la Patrie!"

Turkish patriotic poetry, as has been already suggested, is rather of the "Rule Britannia" than of the "God save Ireland" type, and contemplates death on the field of battle as the alternative to a glorious victory, rather than death on the gallows.
as the alternative to the renunciation of National aspirations.

Of recent Turkish patriotic poetry a very interesting example
is afforded by a little book entitled *Turkja Shı'r-ler* (“Turkish
poems”) by Emin Bey, published in A.H. 1316 (A.D. 1898–9),
the proceeds of the sale of which were assigned to the relief of
the widows and orphans of Turkish soldiers killed in the war
with the Greeks. This book, beautifully printed and illustrated,
was produced at the celebrated printing-press of the late Ebu'z-
Ziya Tevfıq Bey, is prefaced by laudatory letters from Rıjāl-
zāde Ekrem Bey, ‘Abdü'l-Ḥaqq Hamid Bey, Dr Rıza Tevfıq
Bey, and other eminent contemporary Turkish poets and thinkers,
and is remarkable for the extraordinarily Turkish quality of its
vocabulary, from which every endeavour has been made to banish
the Arabic and Persian elements prevalent in the older Turkish
literary idiom. The author may be most briefly described as
a Turkish Rudyard Kipling, and his poems as *Barrack Room
Ballads* of the Imperial Ottoman Army. They bear such titles
as “A Voice from Anatolia: or, Going to the War”; “Crossing
the Greek frontier”; “After planting the Flag on Triňha
(Tirhala) Castle”; “the Martyr; or the Heart of ‘Osmān”;
“the Orphan Child; or Ahmed's Anxiety”; “O, Fatherhood! or,
Zeynab’s Prayer,” and the like. The illustrations are of Turkish
privates, filled with the rage of battle, flushed with victory, or
charging with the bayonet; and the volume concludes with a
martial song, set to music, of which the opening words are as
follows:

بن بر ترگ ره این ترک جنگر اولودر
سینده اوژون آلشینه طومودر
انسان اولان وطنئنل قبولودر
دربک اولادی اوده طوماران-آه کیدرمرا

“I am a Turk; my religion, my race are high;
My breast, my soul, are filled with fire!
Whosoever is a man is the servant of his Country!
The sons of the Turk stay not at home: O! I go!”

In spite of the poet's desire to employ, as far as possible, a purely Turkish
vocabulary, this one verse contains five Arabic and two Persian words.
Amongst the many bizarre developments of the most modern Turkish schools of poetry, including the "Coming Dawn" (Fejr-i-Atî) and "New Literature" (Edebiyyat-i-jedidé), with their "Symbolists," "Parnassians," "Pre-Raphaelites," and imitators of Mallarmé, Verlaine and the like, one known as the "New Tûrânîan" (Yeni Tûrân), which has a magazine called Turk Yurdu ("the Turkish Folk" or "Hearth") as its special organ and counts Muhammed Emin, the poet just mentioned, amongst its chief supporters, merits a few words in this place, not so much on account of its literary as of its political peculiarities. This "New Tûrânîan" school, of course, affects in its writings an excessively Turkish style, and endeavours as far as possible to eliminate the Arabic and Persian elements from its vocabulary, but, not content with this natural, and, to a certain extent, laudable desire to nationalize the language, it displays the most violent hatred of Arabic and Persian influences in all their forms, and even of the Arabs and Persians, especially the latter. It demands a federation of all the Turkish, Tartar, Mongolian and other allied peoples (including even the Bulgarians!) with a view to the ultimate creation of a new "Empire of Chingiz Khán." So far, indeed, does it go in its admiration for even the most barbarous forms of "Tûrânîanism" that it idolizes the bloodthirsty Tamerlane (Timur-i-Lang, or "Limping Timur"), the scourge of Asia in the fifteenth century, and blames the Ottoman Sultan Bâyezid "the Thunderbolt" (Yîldûrûm Bâyazîd) as a "rebellious vassal" who vainly strove to check the victorious advance of his Tûrânîan overlord, whose advent he should rather have hailed with joy as the incarnate all-conquering martial spirit of the Tartar or Tûrânîan race. This insane vandalism of the "New Tûrânîan School" in Turkey may best be likened to the literary and artistic vagaries of Marinetti and the Italian Futurists.

Here I will conclude this brief review of certain aspects (not, in my opinion, devoid of significance and interest) of the literary activities which have accompanied the strange political movements witnessed in recent years in the Near and Middle East, of which the Persian manifestations are not the least interesting or the least significant. To Mr H. L. Kabinç and Mirzâ Muhammad
'Ali Khan I have already expressed the measure of my indebtedness, and it only remains for me to thank Sir Albert Houtum Schindler, Mirza Muhammad of Qazwin, Dr Ahmad Khan, Mirza Kazim-zada, and other friends for help in correcting the proofs and solving doubtful points arising out of the text, as well as for aiding me to obtain some of the portraits which illustrate these pages. Of the other illustrations a few have already appeared in my Persian Revolution, but the majority are new, and represent cartoons, caricatures or title-pages of some of the more interesting newspapers mentioned in this book. The illustrated comic paper Mullâ Naṣrâd-Dîn, being written in Turkish and published at Tiflis, is not included in the Alphabetical List of Newspapers, but its influence in Persia was so great, and the artistic merit of its cartoons is so considerable, that I have included six typical specimens of the latter in these pages.

EDWARD G. BROWNE,

Feb. 7, 1914
PART I

List of Persian Newspapers, arranged in Alphabetical Order.

Compiled by Mirzá Muhammad ‘Ali Khán "Tarbiyat,"
and translated into English

by

EDWARD G. BROWNE.
AUTHOR'S PREFACE

For the last fourteen years, during which first the Tarbiyat Library and then the office of the magazine entitled Ganjina-i-Funun ("the Treasury of Arts") have served as centres of distribution and interchange for most of the Persian, Arabic and Turkish papers published in Persia, and have maintained epistolary and other relations with the chief educational centres, it has been my hobby to collect specimen copies of Persian newspapers, and I have exerted myself to make this collection as complete as possible.

In the year A.H. 1317 (= A.D. 1899-1900) the Arabic magazine al-Hilal, published in Cairo, then in its ninth year, printed an account of the history and enumerated the results of the new civilization in Persia, especially the printing-presses, newspapers and colleges. Most of the information contained in this article was derived from Mirzâ Mahdi Khân, the editor of the Persian periodical Hikmat ("Wisdom"), also resident in Cairo. Delighted as I was at the publication of such information, partial though it was, I found it to be very defective, not only in relation to the facts, but even to such particulars as I myself had acquired. From that time onwards, accordingly, I resolved to publish a tabular summary of Persian periodicals, and devoted myself with still greater assiduity to acquiring the necessary information on this subject, and to completing my collection of newspapers. The political Revolution in Persia, however, left me no leisure for such work; and finally all the documents, books, and files of newspapers, magazines and papers which I possess were left in

1 The Tarbiyat Library lasted from A.H. 1316 to 1326 (= A.D. 1898-1908). The Ganjina-i-Funun was founded in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902).
2 The article in question appeared in February, 1906 (al-Hilal, vol. ix, pp. 257-263). The account of the Press, which is very short, is on pp. 264-265.
Tabriz and Tihran, where they are at present beyond my reach, else I should have been able to make this little pamphlet fuller and more complete.

At the beginning of this year (A.H. 1330 = January, 1912) I learned through some of my friends of the publication at Rasht of a treatise identical in aim with that which I had in view, entitled *A table of the newspapers of Persia, and of newspapers in the Persian language published outside Persia*, compiled in Persian by the learned and accomplished Mr H. L. Rabino, British Vice-Consul at Rasht*. Although I was thus anticipated in the execution of a design which I had long cherished, and for the fulfilment of which I had long sought opportunity, I was nevertheless greatly delighted at the appearance of so valuable a work, and felt myself deeply indebted to the respected author, to whom I at once wrote asking for a copy. This he was kind enough to send me, together with a letter informing me that copies had become scarce.

Having perused the above-mentioned treatise, which constitutes, indeed, one of the greatest services yet rendered by any foreigner to the literary history of Persia, and is a veritable treasury of information, arousing our admiration and amazement as to how all these particulars could be collected in one corner of Persia, I hesitated at first as to the publication of the data which I had myself collected and which I had with me in the form of scattered notes and memoranda. Indeed I almost decided to abandon my original intention; but after a little consideration, and a comparison of the facts collected on either side, I resolved not to neglect or cast aside this information, of part of which I have personal cognizance, but at least to publish

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*Unhappily they are now for ever beyond human reach, for, as I recently learned from the author, who is now at Constantinople, these and all other papers were destroyed by his family when the Russians entered Tabriz in December, 1911, and inaugurated a Reign of Terror under which no one suspected of sympathy with liberal ideas was safe.

*The Persian title of this admirable pamphlet is as follows:

صویرت جواید ایران و جوایدی مدرک خارج ایران بیزان فارسی طبع شده است

It was printed at the *Urmatu'l-Wahid Press* at Rasht in A.H. 1329 (=A.D. 1911), and comprises 30 pp. of 14" x 8". A brief "Foreword" is contributed by Muhammad Riza son of Isma'il of Rasht. Mr Rabino has now been transferred to Morocco.
it in some way, even in the form of disjointed notes, that perchance it may be of some little use to subsequent students who may be eager to collect details as to the preliminary signs of the Persian awakening, which will be my sufficient reward.

In comparing my own memoranda with the contents of the above-mentioned treatise, I discovered certain divergences and differences in the way of defect and excess on both sides. Chief amongst these differences were the names of 29 newspapers overlooked by me and of nearly a hundred overlooked by Mr. Rabino, the remainder being included in both lists. And although it was not necessary that I should include in this compendium those with which I was unacquainted before I had read the above-mentioned treatise, yet, with a view to the completeness and comprehensiveness of this table of Persian newspapers, I supplemented my omissions and shortcomings from Mr. Rabino's treatise, confident in the permission and approval of the respected author, whose sole object was the dissemination of the actual facts, but indicating in each case under the name of the newspaper in question the source of my information by means of the abbreviation "S. J. I." (سترگیدی), standing for ستارگان جوان ایران ""Sūrat-i-Jordid-i-Irán"" ("List of Persian Newspapers"), which is the title of Mr. Rabino's pamphlet. Yet withal the rule maintains that "the superiority is to the pioneer, and the first in order are the first in merit."

As has been already explained, the greater part of the material collected by me was left in Persia amongst my other papers, and though I hope in another edition to complete, revise and supplement the particulars here set forth, yet for the moment I publish this abstract so that at least some small basis for further researches may be available.

I further deem it necessary to mention here several points in connection with the subjoined text, which points are as follows:

First, what is meant by the "date of publication of newspapers," so far as it is mentioned in this treatise, is the date of their foundation and inception.

Secondly, since a division of periods is historically necessary in the recent history of Persia to indicate the successive revolutions and the sequence of momentous and continual changes and great
public events whereby it is characterized, and since a special title and fixed designation is required for each cycle and period, and for each one of the great historical events which may be reckoned as stages and landmarks, and which serve as the starting-points of yet other events wherewith they are correlated and by which they must be judged, and since such division of periods and appropriate nomenclature has not hitherto been established, therefore many names and expressions occur in the course of these pages which need to be explained to anyone who has not carefully followed the successive events of recent years in Persia. Thus the term "Period of Autocracy" (Dawr-i-Istibdād) is applied to the period preceding the proclamation of the Constitution (14th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1324 = August 5, 1906); the "Reactionary Triumph" (Wağ'ā-i-Irtiṣā'tiya), "Coup d'État" (Zarba-i-Ḥukūmat), or "Bombardment of the Majlis" (Ṭūḥāndūṣ-i-Majlis: 23rd of Jumāda i, A.H. 1326 = June 23, 1908) to the destruction of the First National Assembly by command of Muhammad 'Ali Shāh and at the hands of Colonel Liakhoff; and the "Minor Autocracy" (Istibdād-i-Ṣughir), or, "Cycle of General Revolution" (Dawr-i-Inqilāb-i-Ūmūnī), or "Great Revolution" (Inqilāb-i-Kabīr), or "Revolution of Tabriz" (Inqilāb-i-Tabrīz) to the period extending from the above-mentioned Bombardment to the second proclamation of the Constitution by Muhammad 'Ali Shāh after the intervention of the Russian and British Governments, which synchronized with the fall of Tabriz and the entry into it of the Russian troops, and the formation of the Cabinet of Sa'du'd-Dawla (Rabi' ii, A.H. 1327 = April–May, 1909). The conquest of Ṭīhrān and deposition of Muhammad 'Ali Mīrzā (28th of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1327 = July 17, 1909) is termed "the Restoration of the Second Constitution" (Ṣāda-i-Mashrūṭiyat-i-thānī). Other important events are the "Revolution of Gilān" (Rasht) on Muharram 16, A.H. 1327 (= Feb. 7, 1909); the "Revolution of Isfahān" (Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1326 (= beginning of January, 1909); the last Russian Ultimatums; the sanguinary acts of aggression perpetrated by the Russians in Tabriz, Rasht and Anzali; the dissolution of the Second Majlis (beginning of Muharram, A.H. 1330 = December 21, 22, etc., 1911); the Bombardment of Mashhad (11th of
Rabi' ii, A.H. 1330 = March 30, 1912), et caetera. Thus the "first period of the Constitution" is the term applied to the period of freedom preceding the Bombardment of the First Majlis, and the "second period of the Constitution" to that succeeding the capture of Tihrán.

**Thirdly**, the list of newspapers mentioned in this treatise is not confined to those published in Persian, but includes, besides the Persian newspapers published throughout the world, all newspapers published in Persia in whatever language (French, Armenian, Syriac, Turkish, etc.).

**Fourthly**, in the accounts given of the different newspapers, various details and notes, apparently foreign to the subject, have sometimes been included, which, though not directly connected with the account of the publication of the journal in question, have not been withheld because they may perhaps be of use for the history of the Persian Revolution, and because such information, including biographical particulars concerning their respective editors and their adventures, might otherwise be lost.

**Fifthly**, since, in addition to the account of the newspapers and magazines which fills the greater part of this compendium, something has been said of the general history of printing in Persia, and of the more useful books which had some effect on the progress, revival and awakening of that country, therefore I have entitled my treatise not "A List of Persian Newspapers," but "A Page from the History of the products of the Persian Press."

**Sixthly**, since, in spite of my endeavours to include in the following index as far as possible all newspapers published in Persian, and all newspapers published in Persia in some language other than Persian, it is probable that some may have escaped my notice (since many of them endured but a little while, like the Sitára-i-Sahari, or "Morning Star," which came into being and disappeared in Tabriz in A.H. 1325 = A.D. 1907-8, and were soon completely forgotten). I hope that should any of my readers know of any Persian newspaper omitted from this list, or detect any error in its contents, or be acquainted with any fresh materials or particulars concerning any one of them, or the biographies of their editors, publishers or staff, or the names of
their editors (where they are omitted), or the dates and intervals of their publication, and other like matters of every kind which have been omitted from my List, he will communicate such information to me as a service to knowledge and history, and to preserve such memorials of the Nation's life from destruction and loss. The same request applies in a still greater degree to the list of titles of useful books contained in the concluding portion of this treatise, since, so far as I know, this sample is the first small foundation in this subject.

Before concluding my remarks I must discharge the debt of gratitude and thanksgiving incumbent on me to......my friend Edward Browne,.....Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Cambridge, to whom all Persians and those who use the Persian language, the whole community of Islâm, and all lovers of Justice throughout the world owe a deep debt of gratitude, both on account of his fruitful services in rendering accessible to the public and reviving the memory of the works, literatures and histories of the Muhammadan nations, especially the Persians, and of his great and continued efforts, inspired by a love of Justice, in defending, both by speech and writing, in England particularly and in Europe generally, the rights of the down-trodden peoples of Islâm against their cruel oppressors. In addition to all the claims which he has on the Persians generally and on me in particular, it is he who has encouraged and enabled me to publish these pages. With prayers for the endurance of his help and that the world of Islâm may long continue to profit by his services, I conclude this Preface.

MUHAMMAD 'ALİ "TARBIYAT."

CONSTANTINOPLE,
{15th of Jumâda ii, A.H. 1339}
{June 1, 1912.
INTRODUCTION

(1)

The date of the introduction of the printing-press into Persia nearly a century ago, during the reign of Fath-'Ali Shāh Qājār and when `Abbās Mīrzā Na`ību-Saltana was Crown Prince, was about A.H. 1232 (A.D. 1816-17). It was introduced into Tabriz by the efforts of the above-mentioned Na`ību-Saltana, while about the same time another printing-press was established at Tihrān under the supervision of Mīrzā `Abdu'l-Wahhāb Muṭtamadu'd-Dawla. In the latter were printed such books as the Holy Qur'ān, the Jalā'ullāh 'Uyūn, the Haydūl-Qulūb, Practical Treatises on Jurisprudence, etc., each known as the "edition of Muṭtamadu'd-Dawla."

Among the first books printed in Persia were the Ma'āthir-i-Saltānī "Royal Monuments" of Abdu'r-Razzāq Beg Dunbulā, a history of the reign of Fath-'Ali Shāh dedicated to the Na`ību-Saltana and printed at Tabriz in A.H. 1241 (=A.D. 1825-6), and a Treatise on Inoculation for Small-pox (Risāla-i-Ābīla-kūbī), also printed at Tabriz. Neither from my own personal investigations nor from the perusal of Persian books can I find any indication of the existence of printing-presses in Persia prior to this date. And although I have seen it stated in some foreign scientific magazine that printing was first introduced into Persia in the year A.D. 1784 (=A.H. 1198-9) at Būshīr, I have met with no trustworthy evidence in support of this assertion.

After this, according to the statement transmitted by certain persons, the Na`ību-Saltana, about A.H. 1240 (=A.D. 1824-5), sent one Mīrzā Ja'far of Tabriz to Moscow to learn the art of lithography and to bring to Tabriz the necessary apparatus, which

1 Throughout these pages "printed" means printed with moveable types, lithographed books and papers being explicitly described as such. The word chūp in Persian includes both, the former being called chūp-i-sarbi ("lead-printed") and the latter chūp-i-rangi ("stone-printed").
he accordingly introduced and employed there. The well-known Mashhadí Asad Āqá "Báṣma-čeh" ("the Printer") of Tabrız (whose father and elder brother were amongst the founders of and partners in the first lithographic press, and who is still living and whose old press is still at work in Tabrız), also relates that Mîrzâ Sâlih of Shîrâz, the Wazîr of Tîhrân, sent at great expense one Mîrzâ Asadullâh, of the province of Fârs, to St. Petersburg to learn the art of printing, and that on his return thence he founded at Tabrız, with the assistance of the late Āqá Rîzâ, father of the above-mentioned Mashhadí Asad Āqá, a lithographic press, the first book lithographed at which was the Holy Qur’ân in the hand-writing of Mîrzâ Husayn the famous calligraphist. Five years later, at the Shâh’s command, this press and its appurtenances were transferred to Tîhrân, where the first book printed was the Dîwán of Nishâti Khân the poet. As Tabrız was the first Persian town into which the press was introduced, it became known by its Turkish name of Bâṣma-khâna. After Tabrız and Tîhrân it was introduced to the following towns of Persia in chronological order: Shîrâz, Isfahân, Mashhad, Anzalî, Rasht, Ardâbîl, Hamadân, Khuy, Yazd, Qazvîn, Kirmânshâh, Kirmân, Garrûs and Kâshân. In the remaining towns and villages of Persia the art of printing neither is nor ever has been practised, save at Urmiya, where it was introduced at an earlier date than in most of the towns above-mentioned.

Amongst the older lithographed books are a good many military, mathematical and astronomical works printed at Tîhrân, such as the Khülûṣa ("Compendium") of Mîrzâ Ja’far Khân, the Jâm-i-Jâm ("Goblet of Jamshid") printed in A.H. 1272 (= A.D.

1 The word chêb, now most commonly used in Persia for printing, is connected by the author with the word chêw (of Mongolian or Chinese origin) applied to the paper money introduced for a short and disastrous period into Persia by the Mongol ruler Gay-Khâtî (A.D. 1291–3). The author’s note on this will be found in the Appendix.

2 Various Christian missions began to arrive at Urmiya in Azerbâyjân nearly eighty years ago: first the English and American Protestant missionaries, then the French Catholics, and latterly missionaries of the Russian Orthodox Church, all of whom, for the better diffusion of their respective doctrines, founded numerous religious institutions, such as colleges, hospitals, and printing-presses in the district, where there exist some 30,000 Chaldaeans or Syrian Nestorian Christians. The Americans in particular have for long possessed an important printing-press for the publication of English, Syriac and Persian works.
1855–6), etc., and some works of history and literature printed at Tabriz, such as the Histories of Peter the Great, published in A.H. 1263 (= A.D. 1846), Charles the Twelfth (A.H. 1263 = A.D. 1847) and Alexander the Great, all three of which were translated by order of 'Abbás Mirzá Na'dhīb's-Saltāna; the geography entitled Jahan-namā ("the World-shower"), compiled by Mirzá Rafī'ī; the Burhān-i-Jamī' ("Compendious Proof," a Persian dictionary explained in Persian, compacted from the older Burhān-i-Qāṭī, or "Decisive Proof"), compiled by Mirzá 'Abdu'l-Karīm b. Muhammad Mahdi of Tabriz, lithographed in A.H. 1260 (= A.D. 1844); the Kulliyāt, or Complete Works, of Sa'dī in A.H. 1264 (= A.D. 1848); the Shāhnāma, or Book of Kings, of Firdawsi in A.H. 1275 (= A.D. 1858–9); the Dīwān of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw in A.H. 1280 (= A.D. 1863–4), the three books last mentioned being all in the hand-writing of the celebrated calligraphist 'Askar Khān Urdūbādī; and the Dīwān of Anwārī in A.H. 1266 (= A.D. 1849–50). Another class of old lithographs which are not devoid of importance consists of Persian almanacs and calendars in cypher published in various towns, such as the cypher almanac of Muhammad Taqī Aharī, "printed in A.H. 1261 (= A.D. 1845) under the supervision of Mirzá Rizā at the Press of Mullā Najaf 'Alī at Tabriz"; the cypher almanac of Mirzá Báqir of Māzandarān, lithographed in A.H. 1265 (= A.D. 1848–9); the cypher almanac of Mirzá Asadullāh of Māzandarān in A.H. 1266 (= A.D. 1849–50), et caetera. One of the strangest things connected with the history of the art of printing in Persia from the time of its first introduction until the present day is that notwithstanding the chronological priority of the introduction of typography into Persia, it entirely went out of fashion in a short while, and that for a long time (more than fifty years) the presses of Persia confined themselves exclusively to lithography, until typography again became current and popular after the enthronement of Muzaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh (A.D. 1896–1907).

The earliest newspapers in Persia, before the foundation of the newspapers of the present period which resemble those of other countries and kingdoms, consisted of brief news-sheets confined to the personal doings of the King. The writers of these were known as Wāqī'ī-nigār ("chroniclers of events"), a
post which now no longer exists, although its style and title has not yet disappeared. The foundation of the first newspaper of the present form and arrangement took place in the third year of the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh (who came to the throne in A.D. 1848) by the command and at the direction of Mirzā Taqī Khān Amīr-Niẓām. The first Persian newspaper which circulated in Tihrān in the above-mentioned year was entitled Rūzmāna-i-Waqiyye-i-Ittisāqiyya ("Diary of Casual Events"), and was a weekly publication. In size it resembled the usual smaller newspapers, like the daily Hablu'l-Maṭān of Tihrān, and generally comprised four, but sometimes eight pages. The writer possesses a collection extending from No. 7 to No. 444, the former number being dated Friday the 17th of Jumāda i, A.H. 1267, corresponding with the last day of the Year of the Pig (= March 20, 1851), and the latter Thursday, the 17th of Şafar, A.H. 1276 (= Sept. 15, 1859). This was the first Persian lithographed newspaper published in Tihrān. In the year A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1860–1),

1 It was a weekly newspaper, and was published pretty regularly on Thursdays. The author of the Montazam-i-Nāṣiri states that the first number appeared in the month of Rahi'ii, A.H. 1267 (= February, 1851). After No. 436 the paper appeared irregularly, until, about No. 480, it changed its title (while keeping the serial numbers) to the Rūzmāna-i-Dawlat-i-Alliyā-i-Firdūs next mentioned in the text, and became an illustrated paper.

2 From the recorded fact that in A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1860–1) "the publication of newspapers was conferred on Mirzā Abīl-Ḥasan Khān Naqīshbāshī" (i.e. "Chief Artist") it may be deduced that at that date and even before it there existed another official paper or papers besides the Rūzmāna-i-Waqiyye-i-Ittisāqiyya and the Rūzmāna-i-Dawlat-i-Alliyā-i-Firdūs, though as to the nature and titles of these I have been unable to ascertain anything definite. H. E. the Ptīḍāda's-Saltāna writes: "the above-mentioned Mirzā Abīl-Ḥasan Khān Šānī'u'l-Mulkh was not really a newspaper-editor but an artist, who was chiefly engaged in making designs of "the Lion and the Sun," and in drawing portraits of State notables. He was connected with the paper from its inception until the control of the Press passed to the late Ptīḍāda's-Saltāna, and, being an artist and connected with the Press, he started several illustrated papers, single numbers of which I possess." In another place he writes: "from the first the newspapers were associated with the Ministry of Sciences, until, in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1870–1), while the Ptīḍāda's-Saltāna was Minister of Sciences, several newspapers were printed at the Dārul-Funūn. These Government papers never had a regular editor who signed his name to articles, but, while their publication continued, the editors were continually changed. Several were always chosen to write these papers, the choice of persons depending on the caprice of the Minister." H. E. the Zāhī'u'l-Mulkh writes: "the late Mirzā Ḥasan Khān Šānī'u'l-Mulkh, called Naqīshbāshī, was at one time connected with the editing of the Government newspapers, and contributed illustrations to some of them. This was before the late Ptīḍāda's-Saltāna
when the superintendence of the Government Press and the printing of newspapers was conferred upon Mirzâ Abül-Hasan Khân Naqqâsh-bâshi-i-Ghifârî, entitled Şântîl-Mulk, the Rûznâmâ-i-Dawlat-i-'Alîyya-i-İrân ("Gazette of the Sublime State of Persia"), which was an illustrated continuation of that previously mentioned, was published with portraits of the leading men and notables of the Empire, and is accounted the first illustrated Persian newspaper. Afterwards, as it would appear, the name and title of this same newspaper was changed to Rûznâmâ-i-Dawlatî ("State Gazette"). The writer has seen No. 622 of this paper, which is dated the 7th of Jumâda ii, A.H. 1285 (= Sept. 25, 1868), and is described as "printed in the workshops of the undertook editorial duties." It must also be noted that the title of "Ministry of Sciences" came into use long after the introduction of the newspaper. From a consideration of the dates of No. 444 (the last in the author's possession), No. 456 (the last preserved in the British Museum), and No. 474 (the last in the possession of Zâdîl-Mulk) of the Rûznâmâ-i-Wâqâyî-i-İlîfiqîyya, which dates are respectively Safar 17, A.H. 1276 (= Sept. 15, 1859), Jumâda i, 19, A.H. 1276 (= Dec. 14, 1859), and Rabî'i, 18, A.H. 1277 (= Nov. 3, 1860), and from Rabino's statements that No. 471 of this paper was dated Muharram 28, A.H. 1277 (= Aug. 16, 1860), that No. 482 was entitled Rûznâmâ-i-Dawlat-i-'Alîyya-i-İrân and was illustrated, and that in A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1860-1) "the superintendent of the State Press and the publication of newspapers was conferred on the Naqqâsh-bâshi-Ghifârî, and the Rûznâmâ-i-Dawlatî became an illustrated paper" (what is intended by this last being the above-mentioned Rûznâmâ-i-Dawlat-i-'Alîyya-i-İrân), it results that the Rûznâmâ-i-Wâqâyî-i-İlîfiqîyya appeared pretty regularly every Thursday until No. 456, after which it was published irregularly and often delayed; and that about No. 480, under the régime of the Şântîl-Mulk it changed its name and form, and appeared under the title of Rûznâmâ-i-Dawlat-i-'Alîyya-i-İrân, while preserving a serial enumeration continuous with its predecessor, of which it was in part a continuation. No. 465 of the latter paper being dated, according to Rabino, Jumâda ii, 17, A.H. 1281 (= Nov. 17, 1864), and still preserving the same name. Perhaps it was still the same paper which afterwards became entitled Rûznâmâ-i-Dawlatî, which, according to the official Year-books (Šîh-nâmâ), together with the Rûznâmâ-i-İlîf, was placed under the charge of 'Alîqâlî Mirzâ Pîridîi-i-Saltana. Of this I have seen a copy of No. 622, bearing this very title, dated Jumâda ii, 7, A.H. 1285 (= Sept. 25, A.D. 1868). In the early days of the Ministry of Mirzâ Muhammad Husayn Khân Şîfâkîlî, in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2), when the control of the Government newspapers passed out of the hands of the Minister of Sciences, and the Press Department (afterwards elevated into a Ministry) was founded and conferred on Muhammad Hasan Khân Şântîd-dawla (afterwards Şîmâddî-i-Saltana), it again changed its name, and was entitled Rûznâmâ-i-İrân. In A.H. 1321 (= A.D. 1903-4), when the Ministry of the Press was conferred on Mullâ Muhammad Nâdîm-i-Saltûn, its name was once more changed to Rûznâmâ-i-İrân-i-Saltûlî ("the Royal Gazette of Persia"). Finally, a year and a half later, the Ministry of the Press was again conferred on Muhammad Bâqir Khân Şîmâddî-i-Saltana.
State Printing-press in the auspicious College of the Dārul-Funūn. Even so in later days this same newspaper continued to be published, from A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871-2) until the period of the Constitution, i.e. A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906), under the name of Irān ("Persia"), and again, in even later times (i.e. in A.H. 1329 = A.D. 1911) it was revived under the name of Rūznāma-i-Rasmi-yi-Dawlat-i-Irān ("the Official Gazette of the Persian Empire"), and used to report the deliberations of the National Consultative Assembly of Persia. The production of the first newspaper in Persia synchronizes with the foundation of the Dārul-Funūn, or École Polytechnique, of Tihrān, the establishment of the Post to Azarbāyjān and Fārs, and the institution of passports for Persian subjects travelling abroad.

In the year A.H. 1283 (= A.D. 1866-7) another newspaper, entitled Rūznāma-i-Millāt ("the National Gazette"), so-called to distinguish it from the Rūznāma-i-Dawlat, was published in Tihrān.

After Tihrān, the priority of which in the possession of newspapers is incontestable, the first and foremost of Persian towns in respect to the publication of newspapers is Shīrāz, where the newspaper Fārs was published in A.H. 1289 (= A.D. 1872-3), and after it come Isfahān and Tabrīz, which were the respective capitals of Nāšir ud-Dīn Shāh's two eldest sons, rivals of long standing, Sultan Mas'ūd Mirzā Zillu's-Sultān and the Crown Prince [afterwards Shāh] Muzaffarud-Dīn Mirzā. Thus in the year A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879), at the instigation of the Zillu's-Sultān and under the care and editorship of Mirzā Taql Khān of Kāshān, was founded the Farhang ("Culture") at Isfahān.

1 A full statement of the establishment of passports and the regulations affecting them is inserted in No. 10 of the Rūznāma-i-Waqyāt-i-Ittifsāyiyya.

2 In the Rūznāma-i-Waqyāt-i-Ittifsāyiyya of A.H. 1375 (= A.D. 1858-9) there occur allusions to a paper printed in Tabrīz, which would suggest that this city had the priority over Shīrāz.

3 Mirzā Taql Khān was conspicuous amongst the older generation of those who were learned in the new arts and European sciences, and was in his day a profound and accomplished scholar, especially devoted to the astronomical and natural sciences, on which he composed many treatises, which, having regard to the time when they were written, contain a mass of valuable information. His style and method of explanation are especially plain and simple. Of these works only two, so far as I am aware, the Hadīth-i-Tahāyīyya ("Gardens of Nature") on Natural Science and Astronomy, and the Turbiyāt-i-Afšāt ("Education of Children"), have been
and in the same year the newspaper entitled *Tabriz* at Tabriz. Both of these papers continued to be published and to circulate for a considerable time, and I have seen numbers of the *Tabriz* up to the third year of issue.

The first daily Persian newspaper was the *Khubāsāt-ul-Hawardith* ("Summary of Events"), printed and published in Tihtrán in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9), a small quarto sheet, printed with type on one side, and containing foreign telegraphic news, derived from the telegraphic summaries of current events transmitted from Europe to India by Reuter's Agency, under the title of "Public News," by the Indo-European Telegraph for publication in the Indian and other newspapers, of which a copy was furnished to the British Legation in Tihtrán and to the Shāh.

After the proclamation of the Constitution four daily newspapers began to appear under the names of the Majlis, *Nidā-yi-Wațan*, *Hablul-Matiin* and *Şuhb-i-Şādiq*, some of which at first appeared once a week, until by degrees they developed into daily papers. Of these the *Majils* ("Assembly") was the first to publish the deliberations of the National Assembly. It was founded by Mīrzā Muhammad Sādiq-i-Tabātabā'ī (son of Sayyid Muhammad-i-Tabātabā'ī, the Mujtahid, one of the chief founders and supporters of the Persian Constitution) on the 8th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1324 (= Nov. 21, 1906). Again, after the deposition of Muhammad 'Ali Mīrzā, several new daily papers appeared, printed. In order fully to set forth the Author's position in the learned and social world, it may not be out of place to quote verbatim the long list of his titles and qualifications as given by himself on the title-page of the above-mentioned *Hadīt-i-Majlis*. This is as follows—"General Mīrzā Taqlī Khān of Kāshān, possessor of the Order and Red Ribbon of the Second Degree of the rank of Colonel; the Gold Medal of the Military College; the Order of St. Anne of the Second Class, and the Order of St. Stanislas of the Second Degree, both conferred by the Imperial Russian Government; editor and chief writer of the former newspaper *Fīroz* and the present newspaper *Farhang*; President of the Medical Society and Member of the Council of Notables (Section of Public Utility) of Isfahān; Honorary President of the Académie d'Ethnographie de Bordeaux (Gironde); Honorary President of the Académie Byzantine of Constantinople; Corresponding Member of the Society of Oriental Arts and Scientific Treatises of St. Barthélémy; Honorary Member of the Surgical, Medical and Pharmaceutical Societies, etc." Exactly the same list of titles is found on the first page, that is the wrapper, of the *Hadīt-i-Majlis*, printed in the *Farhang* Press at Isfahān, A.H. 1306 (= A.D. 1888-9).
amongst these being the Irán-i-Naw ("New Persia"), of the large folio size usual in foreign newspapers, which, in form and style, it resembled. Its first number was published on Saturday, the 7th of Sha'bán, A.H. 1327 (= August 24, 1909).

The appearance of scientific periodicals in Persia in the Persian language began with the publication of the Ráznáma-i-Ilmíyya-i-Dawlat-i-Aliyya-i-Irán ("Scientific Gazette of the Sublime State of Persia"), which from A.H. 1280 (= A.D. 1863-4) was published for the administration of the Darúl-Funún (or École Polytechnique of Tihrrán) under the superintendence of 'Ali-quli Mírzá Fízáda's-Saltana. Another newspaper entitled Ráznáma-i-Ilmí ("the Scientific Gazette") was in circulation in A.H. 1293 (= A.D. 1876).¹

The first scientific magazine (jung)² published in Persia was the periodical entitled Ganjína-i-Funún ("Treasury of Arts"), founded in Tabríz in the year A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3). The first number of it is dated the first of Dhu'l-Qa'da in that year (= Jan. 30, 1903), and it was published with the utmost regularity for a whole year. It was carried on by four friends of learning and culture in Tabríz, one of whom was the present writer, and

¹ As regards the foundation of the Ráznáma-i-Ilmíyya-i-Dawlat-i-Aliyya-i-Irán, Mr. Rabino ascribes it to Mírzá Muhammad Hmáyn Khán Míshíra'd-Dawla, better known as Sípákhalír-i-Azám. This is very improbable, since he returned to Persia and was made Sípákhalír (Commander-in-Chief) in A.H. 1287 (= A.D. 1870-1) while Náshríd-Din Sháh was visiting the Holy Thresholds (i.e. Karbalá and Najaf), and although, by permission, he paid a brief visit to Tihrrán from Constantinople in the very year wherein this paper first appeared, i.e. A.H. 1286 (= A.D. 1863-4), was made a Member of the Council of the Empire, and remained for some months in Tihrrán ere he returned to Constantinople, at that time he did not bear the title of Sípákhalír, which was held by Mírzá Muhammad Khán Qájár. It is therefore possible that the paper ascribed to Mírzá Husayn Khán was the Ráznáma-i-Ilmí, which began to be published during the time when he was actually Sípákhalír, or else the Ráznáma-i-Náhmí ("Military Gazette"), both of which papers are mentioned in this compendium. Perhaps the founder of the Ráznáma-i-Ilmíyya-i-Dawlat-i-Aliyya-i-Irán was the Fízáda's-Saltana himself, under whose management it continued until the end.

² The title of "Review" (dawr) is applied in Europe to papers which contain lengthy scientific, literary, political or historical articles rather than news of current events, which are generally provided with a cover, and which are not published daily, but at regular intervals of time, in the form and size of a tract or of the sheets of a book. In contemporary Arabic they are called Majallá an in Turkey Mejmú'a, but in my opinion the best name for them in Persian is Jung or Safína, by which titles we have designated them, for in old books the same kind of records and note-books were called Jung, just as Farída is the name of another kind of note-book.
the three others Sayyid Hasan Taqi-zada, Member of the First and Second National Assemblies; Mirza Sayyid Husayn Khán, editor of the newspapers *Hadid, 'Addlat, Sukhat* and *Khabar*; Mirza Yusuf Khán *Itisam-i-Doftar*, originally of Áshtiyán, who here made use of the signature “Y. Y.”, and who afterwards became *Itisamul-Mulk*, editor of the magazine *Bahár* (“Spring”), and Member of the Second National Assembly; and it soon achieved popularity. Although some papers of a scientific character, as has been already mentioned, existed before it, such as those enumerated above, and the *Miftah-uz-Zafar* (“Key of Victory”), printed at Calcutta and owned by the *Hablul-Matin* office, yet these in form and size were like newspapers, newsheets and journals, and were not arranged like what are known in the terminology of Europe as reviews and magazines. After this scientific magazine, the periodicals known as *Falahat-i-Muzaffari* (scientific), *Majmu`a-i-Akhláq* (ethical), *Darwatu'l-Haqq* (religious), *Bahár* (literary), and *Aftab* (literary and scientific) are each worthy of esteem and praise in their respective spheres, on which account their appearance is recorded in the List of newspapers and magazines contained in this brief history.

The first satirical, comic, or derisive Persian paper was the *Tuhl*, published at Bushire in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1), founded and edited by *'Abdu'l-Hamid Khán Matinu's-Saltana*, who was subsequently a Member of the Second National Assembly. After this came the *Azarbáiyján*, published by *Alí-quli Khán*, known as *Safaroff*, formerly editor of the *Ittiyyaj* (“Need”), at Tabriz in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8), and printed with moveable types and coloured pictures and caricatures.1

1 The editor of this paper published in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9) another paper entitled *Ittiyyaj*, which, after the publication of seven numbers, was suppressed by order of *Hassan* *'Alí Khán* *Garrús Amír-Níyám* (agent and governor of *Azarbáiyján* during the time when Muhammad *'Alí Mirzá* was Crown Prince) on account of an article in which he had criticized in a ridiculous manner the need of the Persian people in every branch of life of foreign goods, such as tea-pots and the like. In addition to this, the above-mentioned editor was submitted to the degrading punishment of the bastinado; but after a little while he changed the name of his newspaper to *Zohd* (“Progress”) and began to publish it again, but it did not last long, and only a few numbers were issued. Wonderful to state, the above-mentioned *'Alí-quli Khán*, after the suspension of his newspaper, accepted a most detestable service, and became
During the Constitutional Period satirical and comic papers became numerous and varied. Such were the Kashkál, Taubih, Hasharátul-Arg, Buhlül, Shaydá, Shaykh Chughundar, etc. Of these the first, third and fourth were elegantly got up, pleasing and worthy of perusal. Of this class the satirical portion of the Šur-i-Isráfil (“Trumpet-call of Isráfil”), which appeared under the heading Charand-Parand (“Charivari”), held the first place in this category, and may usefully be mentioned here, for the paper entitled Mullá Našru’d-Dín, which began to be published at Tiflis in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7) in the Ázarbáijání Turkish dialect, under the editorship of Mírzá Jalíd Muḥammad-qulí-záda of Nakhjuwán, a man well acquainted with Persian customs, and which was one of the best and most entertaining papers of this sort, and, indeed, unrivalled in the Oriental world, inasmuch as it used to discuss Persian matters also, had a very important historical influence in those parts of Persia bordering on the Caucasus and even in Tihrán itself, and the Charand-Parand column in the Šur-i-Isráfil was wholly indebted to and inspired by it in its form and style, the writer, Mírzá ‘Ali Akbar Khán of Qazwin, known as "Dakhaw” or "Dih-Khudi,” being acquainted with the Azarbáijání dialect.

The appearance of illustrated newspapers in Persia dates from the year A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1859-1), when, as has been already mentioned, the official Gazette became illustrated under the editorship of the Naqqash-báshi. The illustrations of the illustrated papers Sharaf and Sharafat deserve mention on account of the excellence of the drawing and beauty of the typography, and the Ázarbáijání and Hasharátul-Arg (“Reptiles of the Earth”) on account of their polychromatic printing.

The first paper published in Persia in a foreign language was the French paper La Patric (Watán), of which one single number was issued on the 5th of February, 1876 (= A.H. 1293).
“How shall I deal with the turbaned locusts?”
(From Mullah Nasruddin, No. 19, May 25, 1907)
The editor of this paper, Baron Louis de Norman, a Belgian, was brought to Tihrán in 1875 by Násiru’d-Dín Sháh, but the insinuation of freedom perceptible in the first number proved displeasing to that monarch, and the paper was therefore suspended and its editor dismissed. After this the Echo de Perse (Sadá-yi-Trán) was published for some time, under the editorship of a Frenchman, Dr Morel. It lasted from March 21, 1885 (= A.H. 1302) to February 15, 18881.

Amongst other noteworthy newspapers one which is worthy of mention and not devoid of importance was a woman’s paper entitled Dánish ("Knowledge") founded in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) by the wife of Mirzá Ḥusayn Khán Kakhál ("the Oculist").

The freedom of the Press for papers published in Persia did not exist until the end of the reign of Násiru’d-Dín Sháh, but outside Persia several papers were in circulation each of which strove for a while to awaken and arouse men’s thoughts. Their editors had to endure all kinds of losses and troubles. Some of these papers were from time to time prohibited from entering Persia, yet notwithstanding this they continued to be sent enclosed in books or envelopes. The Akhtar ("Star") was the first Persian newspaper printed outside Persia. Its founder and editor was Aqá Muhammad Táhir of Tabríz, who is still living, and who inaugurated it at Constantinople in A.H. 1292 (= A.D. 1875) at the instigation of Mirzá Najaf-qulí Khán, one of the officials of the Persian Government in that city, and author of the book entitled Misānul-Mawāzin ("the Measure of Measures"). It was published for more than twenty years, and was ultimately suspended in A.H. 1313 (= A.D. 1895–6) by the Ottoman Government. This newspaper attained such importance in Persia that the term Akhtar came to be applied to the purveyors of newspapers, and that news of current events was discussed in assemblies and meetings on its authority. The light of civilization shone from its pages on the people’s hearts, and the taste for reading newspapers was derived from it. Wonderful to relate, this newspaper

1 The above-mentioned Dr Morel subsequently passed his life in the service of the Government at Tihrán and in teaching in the Colleges, and finally died on his way home to France, at the age of about 35, in 1910.
in course of time acquired such fame in the Caucasus, Persia, Turkistán, India, Iráq (Mesopotamia), etc., that in some districts of the Caucasus the common people, who regard the reading of newspapers as improper and culpable, were wont to call those of better quality who habitually read them Akhtar-maz-hab ("Sectaries of the "Star""), regarding "Akhtar" as the designation of a sect.

The Akhtar was always in each period of its existence the lamp of all assemblies of cultivated men and the centre round which rallied the most accomplished and enlightened of the Persian exiles, and was maintained by the literary co-operation of patriotic scholars. Thus amongst others who worked on this paper were the late Mírzá Aqá Khán of Kirmán, author of many works; and Shaykh Ahmad-i-Rúhi, also of Kirmán, two of the earlier martyrs of the cause of Freedom; Mírzá Mahdí of Tabríz (now editor of the Hikmat—"Wisdom"—at Cairo); Mírzá ‘Ali Muhammad Khán of Káshán, editor of the Thurayyá ("Pleiades") and Parwarish ("Education"); and Hájji Mírzá Mahdí of Tabríz, who was subsequently the principal writer and acting editor of the paper until it came to an end.

After the Akhtar, Prince Mírzá Malikom Khán Náṣiru’d-Dawla, son of Mírzá Ya’qub Khán, an Armenian of Julfa of Isfahán, who had lately been dismissed from the office of Persian envoy at the Court of St James's, founded and put in circulation a newspaper called the Qámn ("Law") in London in A.H. 1307 (= A.D. 1890). It was written by himself, and produced an important revolution in men's opinions, while its simple style of writing and peculiar form made people eager and desirous to read it. Several new terms, such as Qámn ("Law"), Taqsimát ("Reforms"), Uṣul-i-Idára ("Principles of Administration"), etc.,

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1 Some account of these two talented and unfortunate men will be found on pp. 93-95 of my Persian Revolution, 1905-1909. They were both put to death at Tabríz, together with Mírzá Hasan Khán Khaíní’l-Mulk, on July 17, 1896.
2 His title is Zá’inu’d-Dawla, and he has written in Arabic a history and refutation of the false entitled Miftáh-i-Abád ("the Key of the Gate of Gates").
3 "Jullá of Isfahán" is so called to distinguish it from Jullá on the Araxes, on the Russo-Persian frontier.
4 See pp. 35-42 of my Persian Revolution of 1905-1909. The first number of the Qámn was published on Feb. 20, 1890, and it continued to appear about once a month until No. 41.
Prince Malkom Khan Nasimudd-Dawla

Born at Isfahan in A.H. 1249 (A.D. 1833-4), died at Rome in A.H. 1326 (A.D. 1908)
passed from this newspaper into the current Persian language, and came into general use. By reason of the incomparable style and expression of Mirzá Malkom Khán in Persian, this became the best newspaper in the Persian language, and, by reason of its effects, has an important historical position in the Persian awakening. In short, the writings of Mirzá Malkom Khán have, generally speaking, a great twofold historical importance in the political and literary revolution of the latest Persian Renaissance. Politically they were one of the chief supports of the promoters of the Revolution and the renovation of Persia, and the founders of the movement of the Risorgimento; while from the literary point of view they were the sole originator of a peculiar style at once easy and agreeable.

After these two newspapers, the Habbi‘l-Matin ("Firm Cord") began to be printed in Calcutta in A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1893–4), and the Hikmat ("Wisdom") in Cairo in A.H. 1310 (= A.D. 1892–3). Both of these papers still continue to be published.

Some of the older publications, tracts and books and more especially certain newspapers, apart from other aspects, possess also a special historical importance deserving of closer investigation, because of their influence in bringing about the Persian Revolution and their connection with this matter. For in examining the causes and means which produced the prodromata of this Revolution it will be established that these publications also were an important agent, and hold a conspicuous place amongst numerous other influences.

It is evident that we must seek the causes and antecedents of the great historical Revolution of A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) and the succeeding period in conditions which preceded it, and those who have investigated this matter have detected and discovered the germs of the embryo which was born at that date in a period twenty years earlier. Now as regards this class of revolutionary agencies and influences, that is to say publications designed to awaken the people and stir their thoughts, one may say that the earliest go back to a period antecedent to the Revolution by at
least thirty years. In this category we include in particular those publications which contained criticisms, mild or vituperative, of the principles of administration; complaints of the current methods of government; and a revolt against the prevalent soul-destroying autocracy. Of these the first place, alike by reason of their influence, eloquence and lofty attitude, and in virtue of their chronological priority, belongs to the tracts of Prince Malkom Khán, which were first circulated in Tíhrán in manuscript copies amongst Court circles and the notables of the kingdom, and afterwards passed from hand to hand throughout the whole of Persia; but of these numerous treatises, which may perhaps exceed thirty in number (most of which the writer has seen) only a few, such as the Uṣūl-i-Maz-hab-i-Dīvānīyān ("Principles of Conduct of Officials"), Hubbūl-Watān mina'l-Imān ("Patriotism is a part of Faith"), and his Introduction to the Gulistán of Sa'dí printed with the new types invented by him and advocating the necessity of a reform in the alphabet, etc., were printed in Europe and published.

After the writings of Prince Malkom Khán; the newspaper Akhṭar ("Star"); the writings of the late Mírzá Yúsuf Khán Mustasháruḍ-Dawla of Tabríz, martyred in Qazwín; and the

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1. Were it not beyond the scope of this treatise, which deals only with printed publications, we should like to glance at some of the manuscript tracts and writings of the earlier Persian reformers which circulated amongst the people, and inspired the older progressives, since these also were in their way not devoid of historical importance. Of such were the Epistles of Kámiluḍ-Dawla; the critical observations on the Kamáluṭ-tawāṣṣ of Mírzá Vášt-Ali Akhandoff of Tífís, author of several Turkish plays translated into Persian; other little-known tracts of Prince Malkom Khán; certain tracts in manuscript by Mírzá Aqá Khán, such as the Saf Khiḍaqa ("A hundred Addresses"), Rásiwán, etc.; the Siyáḥat-náma ("Book of Travels") of Fárrúkh Kháñ Aminuḍ-Dawla; Mahbúb and Háshím, a pleasant treatise, written in the form of a comedy by Mírzá 'Abdu'l-Husayn Kháñ Mu'allífí uḍ-Dawla, and the like, which considerations of space prevent us from discussing more fully.

2. Prince Malkom Kháñ composed numerous treatises concerning the reform of the alphabet, such as the Mahdá-i-Tarāqqí ("Source of Progress") and the Shaykh u Ṭawír, which were never printed, and also, in order to familiarize men with the alphabet which he had invented, he printed several books in that alphabet, such as the above-mentioned Gulíšás, the "Sayings of 'Ali," the "Writings of Humanity" (Kháníqáḥ-ı-Adamíyát), etc. After the inauguration of the Constitution a collection of these manuscript writings was printed at Tíhrán, but it is very badly edited and contains many errors.
A typical Shub-nāma, or "Nocturnal Letter," "jelly-graphed" in purple ink, in November, 1906
paper Qānūn ("Law"), mention must be made of certain "jelly-graph" publications which first became known at Tabriz, under the name of Shāb-nāma ("Night-books"), and which were issued by 'All-qulf Khán, editor of the Ihtiyāj, and some others, and the Talqīn-nāma-i-Irān issued in Tabriz during the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh, in the form of the admonition addressed to the dying (talqīn), of which a garbled copy was subsequently published in the paper Irshād at Baku during the period of Liberty, and which begins thus:

"O servant of God, and son of the servant of God, hear and understand! When there come to thee the proximate envoys from the Russians, the English and the House of Othman (i.e. the Ottoman Turks), and ask thee concerning thy colleges, thine army, thy roads, thine arts, thy commerce and thy sciences...fear not, be not grieved, and say in answer to them..." etc. There was also another "jelly-graphed" newspaper printed at Constantinople under the name Shah-seven ("King-lover," the name of a well-known group of tribes in N.W. Persia), under the title of which was written, "one number is published every forty years," and which used to criticize the old methods and principles of administration in a very entertaining and laughable manner. There were also the secret "jelly-graphed" newspaper-like publications produced in Tihran under the names Lisān'uł-Ghayb ("Tongue of the Unseen") and Ghayrat ("Zeal"), etc., and the Rūznāma-i-Ghaybh, written in Isfahan and printed in St Petersburgh. This last was ascribed to the late Malikuł-Mutakallimin (one of the most eminent victims of the Coup d'Etat of June 23, 1908) and was chiefly

1 These publications were issued during the years A.H. 1319-20 (= A.D. 1901-2) on the part of a secret committee consisting of Mirzā Muḥammad 'Ali Khán, who died a martyr to the cause, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Ali "Māhad," Hāji Mirzā Ḥasan "Shushdiyya," Shaykh Yahyā of Kāshān, etc. They consisted chiefly of attacks on the Aminu's-Salṭan (or Aḥsab-i-ʿAẓam) and his administration, and exposures of the way in which he was selling the country to the Russians. In one of the later numbers there appeared a fragment of poetry, after the manner of, and containing quotations from, an ode of Ḥāfiz, which is worthy of notice. Considerations of space do not permit us to quote it here in its entirety, but we give one verse which forecasts in a manner almost prophetic the end of this Minister (who was assassinated by 'Abdīs Aqā on August 31, 1907, the day on which the Anglo-Russian Convention was signed):

"O man of base appetites, why will thou drain the dregs of the Russians' cup?
For this dark cup in the end kills the guest."
directed against the tyrannies of the Zilhâ’s-Sultân. Mention must also be made amongst others of the Hamam-i-jinniyân ("Genies’ Bath"), which was "jelly-graphed" in Tihrân during the last days of the autocracy. Since we shall consider briefly in the Conclusion of this treatise the printed books and treatises which, from the earliest times until the present day, whether by peaceful methods of progress and evolution, like scientific books or political pamphlets moderate in tone, or in a revolutionary manner, by attacks on the Government and other classes, had an effect in awakening the people’s minds, therefore we shall here only mention and indicate those publications which were directly and obviously connected with the last risorgimento and the course of that freedom-loving revival and revolution, especially such as explicitly blamed and criticized the prevalent methods of government.

In this category the books of Hájji Mirzâ ‘Abdu’r-Rahim Tâliboff of Tabriz, and especially the Kitâb-i-Ahmad, or Safîna-i-Tâlibî, in two volumes, had a specially great effect which cannot be denied. So also the Sipáhat-nâma ("Book of Travels") of Ibrâhim Beg, especially by reason of its approximate coincidence in time with the outburst of the matter of disaffection, and its suitability to the occasion as regards the general disgust and aversion of the people of Persia to the ruinous and scandalous procedures which characterized the reign of Mu’azzaffaru’d-Dín Shâh, had a great effect and won a wide popularity. We must also mention amongst the books which had an effect in bringing about the National Awakening the translation into Persian by Mirzâ Habib of Isfahân and Shaykh Ahmad Rûhî of Kirmân of Sir John Morier’s Hájji Bâb’d; the Memoirs of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, which were translated and added as a supplement to the Year-book, or Sâl-nâma, of A.H. 1313 (= A.D. 1895–6), and which, on their publication, aroused the extreme anger of Nâsiru’d-Dín Shâh, who caused all copies of them to be confiscated and destroyed; the stories of Alexandre Dumas translated into Persian; and a few other books translated and published during the later days of Mu’azzaffaru’d-Dín Shâh. But the most important factors in the Revolutionary movement, as voicing the public complaints and dissatisfaction and the disgust of the people
at the principles on which the administration was conducted, were undoubtedly the newspapers, amongst which (leaving aside the Akhtar, which was relatively mild) the Qânûn holds the first place. After it the greatest influence on public opinion was exerted by the newspapers Thurayya and Parwarish, written by Mirzá 'Ali Muhammad Khán-i-Shiaybání of Káshán, which produced results much wider and more conclusive than even the Qânûn, and in the years A.H. 1316-18 (= A.D. 1898-1901) effected a great intellectual revolution amongst young Persians, stirring up public opinion and filling the creatures of the Court with consternation. The coincidence of the publication of these newspapers with the Anglo-Boer War is also an important point. At this date the Hablül-Matiün and the Hikmat held the next place to the Thurayya, and exercised a considerable influence. Besides these Persian newspapers, four papers written in Caucasian Turkish, the Sharq-i-Rús ("Eastern Russia") and Mullá Nasrú'd-Dín, published at Tífís, and the Irshád ("Direction") and Hayát ("Life") published at Bákú, were not without effect on the more enlightened classes in Ázarbáyján.

During the period of the Constitution the awakening of thought increased both in speed and extent, and the newspapers had a great influence and an important share in the renovation of public opinion, especially the reports of the debates in the Majlis (National Assembly), which were published in the newspaper entitled Majlis and other organs of the Press. The Šur-i-Iráfil and Irán-i-Naw also did good work in enlarging men's minds, and the Sharáfat, al-Jamáil, and the Chanta-i-Pábaráhna, etc., in awakening the common people.

In a general survey of the newspapers and magazines, and a critical estimate of their respective values, we must state it as our opinion that, in point of literary style and expression the best of the older ones (that is, of those antecedent to the Revolution of A.H. 1324 = A.D. 1906) were the Qânûn of Mirzá Malkom Khán, and the Thurayya and Parwarish of Mirzá 'Ali Muhammad Khán, and among the later ones (that is, those subsequent to the Revolution) the Šur-i-Iráfil, Tamaddun, daily Hablül-Matiün of Tibrán, Irán-i-Naw, and Tiyárí. The boldest in their language were the Ráhúl-Qudús, Músúdát, Jihád-i-Akhtar, Naw-Báhár, Sharq, Barq, Šur-i-Iráfil and Šuhbat, while amongst these the moral courage of the Šur-i-Iráfil
in criticizing the spiritual authorities, and the *Subḥat* in condemning prevailing customs are specially noteworthy.

The most amusing of the comic or satirical papers was the *Charand-parand* column of the *Ṣūr-ʾī-ʾIsrāʾīl*, the *Zisht u Zībā* ("Foul and Fair") of the *Nāqūr*, the literary column of the *Sharq* and *Naṣīm-ʾī-Shimāl*, and the newspapers *ʿĀzar-bāyjūn*, *Hashārūṭl-ʾArq*, *Kashkūl* and *Bukhāl*.

The simplest of the Persian newspapers in style were the *Qāvān* of Malkom Khán, *al-Jamāl*, the *Sharāfāt*, the *Hikāyāt-i-Jān-gudāz*, and the *Chanta-i-Pā-барahmā*, the last of which was specially important in another way by reason of its diffusion of liberal ideas amongst the villagers and common people, and its success in awakening their minds by means of language easily understood by them.

The most firmly established and prosperous of the Persian newspapers, with the exception of the *Mufarrīḥūl-Qulāb*, were the *Akhītar* and the *Ḥablūl-Mattīn* of Calcutta, whose great services in later times cannot be compared with those rendered by any other paper.

Amongst the illustrated newspapers the finest in point of illustration were the *Sharāfāt* and *Sharaf*, and after them the *Adab* and the *ʿĀzar-bāyjūn*.

The *Tarbiyat*, *Adab* and *Bāhār* must be reckoned first amongst the Persian literary papers.

Of all these newspapers only three openly championed the cause of autocracy, namely the *Uyyānās*, *Āy Mūllā ʿAmā* and the *Fikr* ("Thought"), while the broadsides published by Shaykh Fāṭlūllāh and his followers at Shāh ʿAbdūl-ʿAzīm, where they had assembled and taken sanctuary in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), against the National Assembly, if these be reckoned as newspapers, were the most important of the reactionary organs, and have a special significance in the history of the Persian Revolution.

There exist also amongst these newspapers two which, unlike the others, though written in Persian had no particular concern with Persia nor any special reference to its affairs, namely, the *Ṣirājūl-Akhbār* ("Lamp of News") published at Kābul in Afgānīstān, and *Bukhārā-yi-Sharīf* ("Bukhārā the Holy"), published at New Bukhārā in Turkistān, besides some of the Persian newspapers published in India, etc.
Before the Constitution the circulation of newspapers in Persia and the number of those who read them were very restricted. Those which enjoyed the largest circulation at that time were perhaps the *Thurayyá, Hablu'l-Matin* and *Naṣirī*, of which the last had a circulation of something over a thousand.

During the Constitutional Period the circulation of the newspapers went up, each of them enjoying a circulation of from two to three thousand copies. Thus the *Musawwīt* had a circulation of 3000, the *Sūr-i-Isrā'īl* from 5000 to 5500; the *Majlis* gradually rose from 7000 to 10,000, the *Anjuman* in Tabriz 5000. During the Second Period of the Constitution (July 1909—latter part of 1911), when the daily newspapers increased in size, their circulation diminished. Thus the *Istiglāl-i-Irān* ("Independence of Persia") had a circulation of from 800 to 1000 copies, and the *Irān-i-Naw* ("New Persia"), which enjoyed the largest circulation, from 2000 to 2500, very rarely reaching 3000. This diminution in the number of readers is chiefly to be ascribed to the general increase of poverty resulting from the disturbances, in consequence of which it often happened that several readers combined to buy and share one copy.

One point worthy of mention is that in the latter days of the period of Autocracy the wealthy and well-known Hājjī Zaynu'l-'Abidīn Taqīoff of Bākū, an eminent philanthropist, subscribed yearly for nearly 500 copies of the Calcutta *Hablu'l-Matin*, paying the subscription himself, and arranging that they should be sent gratuitously to the Shi'ite doctors of theology and students residing at Karbalā, Najaf and others of the Holy Shrines, regularly and directly from the chief office. This great service rendered by him to the enlightenment of the *ulamā* and their political awakening greatly conducd to the circulation of newspapers in spiritual circles and societies.

The older Persian newspapers, and broadly speaking the greater part of the newspapers in general, were published in the *nastālīq* writing, and the publication of newspapers in the *naskh* writing is to be reckoned a step forward in the perfecting of them. As is well known, the number of lithographed papers exceeded that of papers printed with moveable types, of which latter the *Akbar* was the first.

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1 During the Constitutional period "jelly-graphed" publications of various forms and shapes were countless and beyond computation, but in this treatise we have only
Until the foundation of the Irán-i-Naw in A.H. 1327 (≈ A.D. 1909) the format of the Persian newspapers has generally, with the exception of the Sayyid al-Akhbār, printed in India, and the Persian Supplement of the Irshād of Baku, been small; generally of the size of the smaller sheets of Russian paper used in Persia, more rarely somewhat larger. The Irán-i-Naw was the first of the large-sized Persian newspapers, resembling in every way in its arrangement the newspapers of Europe. After it the Sharq, Borq, Istiqlal-i-Irán, Wajt, Majlis, Surāsh, and finally the Aftāb came out in the same format.

Amongst recent years that wherein the circulation of newspapers reached its maximum was A.H. 1325 (≈ A.D. 1907), during which 84 newspapers were founded. Next comes the year A.H. 1328 (≈ A.D. 1910), when 36 newspapers were in circulation; then the year A.H. 1329 (≈ A.D. 1911) with 33 newspapers, and the years A.H. 1326 (≈ A.D. 1908) and 1327 (1909), each with 31 newspapers. The city in Persia where the greatest number of newspapers was published was Tihran (148 newspapers), and next to it Tabriz (51), Rasht (25), Isfahān (20), and Mashhad (10).

It is worth calling attention to one small point deserving of notice, and that is that the official political parties, such as the Democrats, Union and Progress, Moderates, etc., only came into being in the Second Period of the Constitution, and were generally recognized only after the opening of the Second Majlis (Nov. 15, 1909). It is, therefore, not correct to ascribe to any one of the above-mentioned parties any newspaper antecedent to that date. During the First Period of the Constitution the only organized party was that of the Social Democrats (Ijtima'iyūn-i-'Ammiyūn), whose organ was the Majahid, published at Tabriz.

After these brief general observations follows the detailed List or Catalogue, arranged in alphabetical order, of all the papers of every sort and in every language, whether Persian or otherwise, published in Persia, and in addition the Persian papers published abroad, which have come under the writer’s notice.
The late Aminu's Sultan meditating the sale of the province of Azarbaijan
(From the illustrated comic weekly Azerbaycan, No. 4, March 16, 1907)
LIST OF NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN PERSIA OR IN PERSIAN, ARRANGED IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER

(1)

Ádamiyyat (Humanity).

A weekly newspaper printed in Ţiharán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mirzá 'Abdu'l-Muţţalib of Yazd, who, from the beginning of the Constitution, was an object of suspicion to the Constitutionalists and was in league with the Reactionaries. After the Reaction of the 23rd of Jumáda i, A.H. 1326 (= June 23, 1908), he was one of the Members of that unrighteous tribunal of the Bâgh-i-Shâh which interrogated, tormented and slew the Liberals. After the restoration of the Constitution and the conquest of Ţiharán (July, 1909) he was arrested and imprisoned for a year with other political offenders.

According to Rabino, No. 12, the third number of this paper was dated 28 Jumáda ii, A.H. 1325 (= August 8, 1907), and the eleventh number Ramaţán 13 (October 20) of the same year. I possess Nos. 3, 8 and 11. Bi-weekly; 4—8 pp.; 14" or 13" × 7" or 7½"; 15 qirsh yearly in Ţiharán, 18 in provinces, 12 francs abroad.

(2)

Ázarbáyján.

A weekly comic newspaper printed in Tabriz with coloured caricatures in the beginning of A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of 'Ali-qulî Khán, known as Safaroff, also editor of the Ihtiyâj ("Need") and the Iqbal ("Progress"). This newspaper was published in Persian and Ázarî Turkish. In politics it was thoroughly Liberal and Constitutional.

According to Rabino, No. 13, the first number was published on Muharram 2, A.H. 1325 (= Feb. 15, 1907); but my copy of No. 1, which bears on the outer sheet the dates "1324-1906," is dated on p. 2 Muharram 6, 1325, so that Mr Rabino's "2" appears to be an error for "6." Weekly; 8 pp.; 14 shâhî each number, or four râhâb a year in Tabriz; 13½" × 7½". I possess Nos. 1-32, with some omissions.

1 See p. 13 and note ad 9cal., supra.
Árāwōd (Morning, Armenian).

A weekly newspaper printed in Tabriz in the Armenian language and serving as the organ of the Armenian Dāshnak-sūtiyūn. It was founded in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), and continued until the Russian massacre in Tabriz in Mukarram, 1330 (= Jan. 1912). This paper, by reason of its Liberal opinions, had a considerable influence in the Caucasus, and its entry into Russia was consequently prohibited; and subsequently it gave rise to complaint on the part of the Russians, who continually exerted themselves to secure its suppression. It was well known both on account of the important telegraphic news which it obtained from Tihrān and from abroad, and also in consequence of its polemics with the Persian newspaper Shafāq ("Dawn"), also printed at Tabriz.

See Rabino, No. 137. According to him No. 119 of this paper, which I have never seen, bore the date October 18, 1911.

Ázād (Free).

A newspaper published in India at Delhi in A.D. 1885 (= A.H. 1302–3), known to us only through the Sayyidu-l-Akhbār (published at Haydarābād in the Deccan), in consequence of a literary duel which took place between these two papers.

Ázād (Free).

A weekly newspaper published at Calcutta (India) by lithography, early in A.H. 1317 (= A.D. 1899), under the editorship of Mīrzā Sayyid Hasan of Kāshān (brother of Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Mu'ayyidu'l-Islām, better known as the editor of the Habīl-Mattā of Calcutta), subsequently editor of the daily Habīl-Mattā of Tihrān. The above-mentioned Mīrzā Sayyid Hasan, in consequence of his being the agent in Tihrān for the Calcutta Habīl-Mattā during the second Ministry of the Aminu's-Sultān (or Atābak-i-A'zam), and the attacks made by it on this Minister after the Russian loans (of 1900 and 1902) and his suppression of the newspapers Parwarish, Hikmat and Habīl-Mattā, was
exposed to the vengeance of this powerful minister, and, after remaining for some time in prison and chains, was banished, and went by way of Egypt to his brother at Calcutta. During his stay there he started the newspapers Miftahu’ez-Zafar ("Key of Victory") and Azad ("Free").

See Tadhkira, No. 15. According to him it began publication on the 8th of Rabi’ Al-Aswad Al-Ulī (August 15, 1899). I possess No. 1. The yearly subscription was 10 rupees for India, Burmah, and the Persian Gulf; 15 rupees for Persia and Afghanistan, 25 francs for China, Japan, Russia and Europe; and 5 mejdiyyes for Turkey, Turkish Arabia and Egypt. It is very well lithographed, the written page measuring 12" x 7", and each number containing 8 pp.

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz and containing portraits of notable patriots of older and more recent times, founded towards the end of A.H. 1324 (= beginning of A.D. 1907) under the control of the Kitāb-khāna-i-Tarbiyāt ("Tarbiyat" Library) and the immediate editorship of Mirzā Rizá Khan "Tarbiyat," brother of the writer, and manager of the above-mentioned Library, and Mirzā Mahmūd Khan Ashraf-záda. The "Tarbiyat" Library, founded in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898–9) by the present writer and two or three friends, has a specially great importance in the history of the awakening of Azarbāyjān, and played a considerable part in the last Revolution. The above-mentioned Library, which in the beginning was the first specimen of a bookshop on modern lines in Azarbāyjān, but in a very small and humble way, continued day by day, by persistent efforts and endeavours, to increase its scope and prestige, importing useful books in every language from every part of the world, and circulating and making them known in Tabriz, so that it eventually became the best, most important and most comprehensive of all bookshops without exception throughout the whole of Persia, publishing every year a printed catalogue in the European fashion. In addition to this it became one of the centres of Liberal political action in Azarbāyjān, until during the Reaction (23 Jumādā i, A.H. 1326 = June 23, 1908) it was looted and burned by the Reactionaries and the scoundrels who followed
Rahim Khan of Qarah-dagh. In politics this paper was thoroughly Liberal and Constitutional.

See Rabino, No. 14. I possess Nos. 2, 3 and 4. The first is dated 24 Diffa Hijja, A.H. 1324 (= Feb. 8, 1907). No. 2 contains a portrait of Mohammad 'Ali (at that time Shah), and No. 3 one of Sayyid Jamaluddin, the latter drawn by Sayyid 'Ali Asghar al-Husayni. Each number cost 3 shikhs in Tabriz, where the yearly subscription was 7 gams, and 15 in the provinces and abroad. The pages (four in number) measure 13" x 6½". The writing and lithography are good.

(7)

Azad (Free).


Not mentioned by Rabino, and no copy seen.

(8)

Azadi (Freedom).

A fortnightly newspaper published in Constantinople in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Hasan Najj of Khuy. Only one number was published, on Muharram 8 (= Jan. 30, 1909).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and no copy seen.

(9)

Azadi (Freedom).

A newspaper published at Teheran, mentioned without any particulars by Mr Rabino (No. 16), but otherwise unknown to the writer.

(10)

Azadi chi chiz-ast? (What is Freedom?)


See Rabino, No. 17. The second issue was dated the 15th of Rabi I, A.H. 1336 (= May 17, 1908).

(11)

Azdarar (The Advertiser, Armenian).

A weekly Armenian newspaper printed at Tabriz, mentioned without further particulars by Mr Rabino (No. 236), but otherwise unknown to the writer.
Astgh Arevelan (The Star of the East).


See Rabino, No. 331, which gives no further details.

Áfāq (The Horizons).

A newspaper published in Shīrāz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), mentioned (No. 24) by Mr Rabino, but otherwise unknown to the writer.

Áftāb (The Sun).

A scientific and literary magazine printed at Isfahān under the editorship of Mīrzā "Mahmūd Khān S." of Tihrān. This magazine, of which the first issue appeared on the 20th of Rabī' 1, A.H. 1329 (= March 21, 1911), was encouraged and inspired by Shaykh Muhammad Bāqir (son of Ḥājjī Shaykh Muhammad Taqī of Isfahān, better known as Āqā-yi-Najafī), one of the most enlightened theologians of the time. It is democratic in politics, and is still issued.

See Rabino, No. 25. I possess the first two numbers. No. 1 is bound in a red paper cover and contains 56 pp. of 6$\frac{1}{4}$"×3$\frac{3}{4}$". Price of each number 9 qdrā in Isfahān and 15 qdrā elsewhere. Yearly subscription 50 qdrās in Isfahān, 14 elsewhere in Persia, and 14 abroad.

Áftāb (The Sun).

A large-sized paper printed every other day at Tihrān in A.H. 1330 (= A.D. 1912) under the editorship of Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Husayn, son of 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb. This paper was established at the cost and with the support of the Government after the Coup d'État of Muharram 1, A.H. 1330 (= Dec. 22, 1911), and the suppression of all the free papers of Tihrān, and became the semi-official organ of the Government. It defends the conduct and actions of the Government, criticizes its opponents, and endeavours to win the approval of the Russian and English
Legations. Its more important leading articles are ascribed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs himself, *Wuthiqad-Dawla*. Its editor was formerly one of the correspondents of the *Irsh-i-Nafte*. In politics it is Moderate.

Not included in Rabino’s list, which was published before it came into existence.

(16)  

**Ágáhi (Information).**

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and no copy seen.

(17)  

**Ámūzgār (The Teacher).**


See Rabino, No. 31. I possess No. 3, dated 19 Rabî‘i, A.H. 1326, and April 21, 1908. Subscription, 4 *qadr* a year in Persia, 5 francs abroad. Page, 11½” x 6¼”.

(18)  

**Ámūzgār (The Teacher).**

A weekly newspaper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mírzá Muhammad Taqí of Shíráz.

See Rabino, No. 30, according to whom it was founded on the 7th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1329 (= June 5, 1911), and was Democratic in politics. I possess Nos. 1–24. Each comprises 4 pp. of 11” x 7”. Yearly subscription, 6 *qadr* in Rasht, 8 elsewhere in Persia, and 12 abroad.

(19)  

**Ana dill (The Mother Tongue).**

A newspaper published in Tabríz in the Ázarbáýjáni Turkí language as part of the paper *‘Adálat* ("Justice," q.v.) to which it formed a supplement and by the office of which it was published.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

(20)  

**Á’ína-i-Ghayb-numá (Mirror showing the Unseen).**

A fortnightly illustrated newspaper lithographed at Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Sáyyid
Abdu'r-Rahim of Káshán. It renewed publication in the second Constitutional Period in Rajab, A.H. 1329 (= July, 1911).

See Rabino, No. 42. I possess Nos. 7, 12, 20, 31 and 32-33, of the First Year; and No. 6 of the Second Year. The first is dated 22 Jamadi 1, A.H. 1325, and July 4, 1907. The yearly subscription was 25 qirás in Tíbríz, 30 in the provinces, and 17 francs abroad, and each number comprised 4 pp. of 17½ × 24½. The date of the last number in my possession is Rajab 26, A.H. 1329 = July 23, 1911. The illustrations, which are somewhat crude, include portraits of notable patriots and caricatures.

(21) 

Áy Mullá 'Amú!

A newspaper lithographed in Tábríz in the Azarbáiyjání Turkish language, in quarto size as I have heard, edited and written by Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad, director of the Baṣrat College, and editor of the newspapers Ukhudawat ("Fraternity"), Ittihád ("Union") and Islámiyya. According to another account, it was edited by Mírzá 'Hasan and the Sá'ídú's-Súltán. It was published in the year A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) by the Reactionaries and members of the Anjuman-i-Islámiyya of the Devecí (or Shuturban) quarter of Tábríz in order to excite the people against the Constitution.

See Rabino, No. 43.

(22) 

Iblágh (Conveyance).

A weekly lithographed paper published at Tábríz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Míshká Máhmu’d Iskandáni, writer of the paper Naşmiyya in Tábríz.

See Rabino, No. 1, according to whom the first and sixth issues (the only ones seen) bore no date. I possess No. 1, which comprises 4 pp. of 11½ × 6½, written in a fine bold naskh. Seven qirás a year in Tábríz, ten elsewhere in Persia.

(23) 

Ittihád (Union).

A lithographed newspaper published at Tábríz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mírzá 'Alí Muhammad the scribe of Tábríz, known as Baṣrat after the College of that name of which he was formerly director. Only a few numbers were published.
Ittiḥād (Union).

A fortnightly newspaper printed in Tihrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of the Mu’tamadu’l-Islām of Rasht.

See Rahimo, No. 3. I possess Nos. 2—20, of which the first is dated 2 Rabī‘ II, A.H. 1325 (= May 18, 1907). Contains as a rule 4 pp. of 11½ x 6½″. Yearly subscription, 15 ərdār in Tihrān, 20 in provinces, 3 rubles in Russia, 8 rupees in India.

Ittiḥād (Union).

A fortnightly newspaper printed at Tabrīz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the management of the Anjuman-i-Ittiḥād (“Society of Union”), which was one of the unofficial anjumans of the Constitutionals. Such anjumans were numerous in most towns of Persia during the First Period of the Constitution. They were first formed in Tihrān, whence they spread to other parts of the country. Of these unofficial provincial anjumans the above-mentioned Anjuman-i-Ittiḥād, founded by the present writer on his return from Tihrān towards the end of the year A.H. 1325 (= winter of 1907–8), was the first. Its organ, the Ittiḥād, was inaugurated at the beginning of Šafar, A.H. 1326 (= March, 1908). After the Minor Disturbance of Tabrīz (by which is meant the strife and struggle of the Reactionaries, collected in the Devechi quarter of the city, and the Constitutionals of the other quarters, in Dhu‘l-Hijja, 1325 = January, 1908) it strove to defend the latter and oppose the former, who on their side, aided by the Anjuman-i-İ-slāmiyya which they had founded, published in Azarbāyjānī Turkish the paper Ay Müllâ ‘Amīr (see No. 21 supra) in the Devechi quarter. In a supplement or feuilleton the Ittiḥād published a dramatic sketch written by Mīrzā Mālḵom Khán under the title of “Ashraf Khán, Governor of ‘Arabistān,” which portrayed in four Acts, in a most amazing and attractive manner, the governors of the old autocratic régime. This paper continued to be published until the beginning of the Great Revolution in Tabrīz. In politics it was Liberal or Radical, and Constitutional.

See Rahimo, No. 7. I possess Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7 and 8. It contains 4 pages of 11½ x 6½″. The yearly subscription was 12 ərdār in Tabrīz, 16 in other parts of Persia, and 20 abroad.
(26) **Ittiḥād (Union).**


See Rabino, No. 4. He states that only two or three numbers appeared.

(27) **Ittiḥādiyya-i-Sa‘ādat.**


Not mentioned by Rabino.

(28) **Ittifāq (Concord).**

A weekly newspaper published at Urmiya in Āzarbāyjān in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Hájjī Mīrzā Ibrāhīm of Tihrān.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

(29) **Ittifāq (Concord).**

A fortnightly newspaper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Ma‘ṣūm-zāda Shukūrī and H. Jamshīd-zāda. It was an organ of the “Union and Progress” Party.

See Rabino, No. 5, according to whom the first number was dated 16 Jumādā II, A.H. 1329 = June 14, 1911. I also possess one number (No. 1) of a weekly lithographed newspaper of this name, also published at Rasht, dated the 21st of Rabī’-I, A.H. 1327, and April 11, 1909, edited by Mir ‘Absul-Bāqī and ‘All Āqā Nāṣim, founders of the Ittifāq College. It contains rather a fine poem addressed to Muhammad ‘Allī, who was at that time still Shah.

(30) **Ittifāq-i-Kārgarān (Union of Workers).**

A newspaper published in Tihrān by the United Association of Printers, who, in consequence of the strike to which they had recourse in order to further their aims and obtain from their employers and the owners of the printing-presses their nine demands, brought it out during their strike in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1911).
1910). This strike and this newspaper have both a special historical importance, inasmuch as they were the first manifestations in Persia of a collectivist or socialistic movement; for although other strikes had taken place before this, yet these had not the form and character of European strikes. This newspaper did not run to more than four or five numbers. In politics it was Socialistic (Ijtima'i).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

Ihtiyāj (Need).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tabrīz in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898–9) under the editorship of 'Ali-quli Khán, known as Safaroff, some account of whom and his paper has been already given in the Introduction (p. 15 and note 1 ad calc., supra).

See Rabino, No. 6, according to whom only 7 numbers (the first dated Muharram 16, A.H. 1316 = June 6, 1898) were published. At the request of the Amir Nizám the name of the paper was then changed to Iqból ("Good Fortune"), under which title the eighth number appeared.

Ihyá (Revivification).

A weekly newspaper printed at Shíráz in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Hájjí Mírzá 'Abdul-Husayn.


Akhbár-i-Imráz (To-day's News).

A newspaper printed in Tíhrán in the month of Shawwl, A.H. 1329 (= Sept.–Oct. 1911). The editor's name appeared only as 'Ali at the bottom of the sheet.

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

Akhtar (Star):

A weekly newspaper printed at Constantinople. It began to be published in A.H. 1292 (= A.D. 1875) under the editorship of Áqá Muhammad Táhir of Tabrīz, who is still living.

See Rabino, No. 8. I possess a considerable collection of numbers belonging to
the fourteenth to the seventeenth years (May, 1888–Feb. 1891). The paper came to an end about 1895 or 1896. The yearly subscription was 5 mejidiyas in Turkey, 25 qurins in Persia, 75 francs in Europe, etc. Each issue, as a rule, comprised 8 pp. of 13\textquoteright\textquoteright × 8\textquoteright\textquoteright.

(Ukhuwwat) (Fraternity).

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Tabrīz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mirzā Ahmad, known as "Basirat," who was also editor of the Ittihad (see No. 23, supra).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

(Ukhuwwat) (Fraternity).

A weekly newspaper printed at Rasht (not Yazd, as stated in the original MS.) in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910).

See Rabino, No. 16, according to whom only 13 numbers were published, at irregular intervals, the first on the 8th of Sha‘bān, A.H. 1328 (= August 15, 1910), the last on the 24th of Jumādā II, A.H. 1330 (= June 27, 1911); the editor being first "Mu‘ayyid" and then "Mawlawī." I possess all thirteen numbers. Nos. 1 and 3 were entitled Ukhuwwat-i-Alī. The paper was chiefly ethical and literary, and contained a good deal of poetry. It consisted of pp. 4–6 of 13\textquoteright\textquoteright × 8\textquoteright\textquoteright. Yearly subscription, 10 qurins a year in Rasht, 15 elsewhere in Persia.

(Ukhuwwat) (Fraternity).

A weekly newspaper printed at Baghdad in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Muḥammad Taqī of Yazd.

In politics this paper was Liberal and Constitutional.

See Rabino, No. 9, according to whom the fifth issue was dated the 6th of Rabi‘ I, A.H. 1328 (= April 27, 1910). I possess No. 18, which is dated the 4th of Sha‘bān, A.H. 1330 (= August 11, 1910), and comprises 8 pp. of 91\textquoteright\textquoteright × 6\textquoteright\textquoteright. The yearly subscription was 50 piastres in Baghdad and 40 elsewhere in Turkey; 70 qurins in Persia; 5 roubles in Russia; 10 francs in Europe; and 6 rupees in India.

(Adab) (Culture).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in the ta‘liq writing in Tabrīz in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898–9). The owner and editor of this paper was Mirzā Sādiq Khán Adībūl-Mamālik, one of the
"Qd'îm-maqâmî" Sayyids, a descendant of Mirzâ Abu'l-Qásim of Farâhân, the celebrated Qd'îm-maqâmî, who was Prime Minister to Muhammad Shâh Qâjâr. This paper was illustrated with portraits of the celebrated sages and great men of the world, and contained some scientific articles written or translated by Mirzâ Najaf-qullî Khán-i-Qd'îm-maqâmî, the physician. After the publication of the seventeenth number it was suspended for some time, until the College known as Luqâmiyya was founded and opened under the direction of the Adîbu'l-Mamâlik, when it again appeared under the management and at the cost of the above-mentioned College. Only three or four numbers appeared, lithographed in nashâk handwriting and illustrated with portraits of the Qd'îm-maqâmî, Mirzâ Taqi Khán Amir-Nizâm, etc., when the editor resigned the direction of the College. He published one more number (the last) at Tabríz, and a little while after the second suspension of the paper set out for Mashhad. Some poetical fragments and qaṣâidas of the Adîbu'l-Mamâlik himself, who was one of the most eminent contemporary poets of Persia, were generally included in the paper. Of his many excellent poems only one—a threnody in fourteen stanzas—has been printed at Tabriz.

See Rabino's supplementary list, No. 137, where the date of first publication is given as the 18th of Shawâbân, A.H. 1317 (=Dec. 28, 1898), and it is stated that only three numbers were published. I have no copy of the Tabriz Adâb.

(39)

Adab (Culture).

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Mashhad in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1). Its editor was the same Adîbu'l-Mamâlik mentioned above, and it continued at Mashhad until A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3).

See Rabino, No. 17, according to whom this paper continued from the 4th of Ramâdân, A.H. 1318 (= Dec. 26, 1900) until the 28th of Shawâbân, A.H. 1320 (= Jan. 28, 1902). The Adîbu'l-Mamâlik's proper name was Mirzâ Šâdîq Khán of Farâhân. I possess Nos. 1 and 9. Each comprises 8 pp. of 17" x 8½" well lithographed in large, clear nashâk. Yearly subscription, 20 qirâmah in Mashhad, 15 elsewhere in Persia, 6 rubles in the Caucasus and Russia, 3 mejidîyyeş in Turkey, 10 rupees in India, and 15 francs in Europe.
Adab (Culture).

A weekly newspaper lithographed and subsequently printed in Tihrián in A.H. 1322 (= A.D. 1904-5), at first edited and written by the same Adbul'lamadik who founded the two papers of the same name (Adab) published at Tabriz and Mashhad respectively, and afterwards by Majdu'l-Islám of Kirmán, editor of the Nidá-yi-Watán, Kashkál and Muhkamanát (q.v.). The Adbul'Mamadik, who edited it at first, after a while transferred it to Majdu'l-Islám, and himself went to Bákú, where he edited the Persian supplement of Ahmed Bey Aghayeff's Turkish paper Irshád. After the issue of eleven numbers of this he returned to Tihrián in the [first] Constitutional Period, when so many anjumans (committees) were formed by the Constitutionalists, and founded a paper entitled 'Iráq-i-Ajam, which was the organ of the anjuman of that name.

See Rabino, No. 11, according to whom the third issue was dated the 8th of Safar, A.H. 1323 (= April 34, 1904), and the 80th issue the 14th of Rabí II, A.H. 1324 (= June 7, 1906). I possess Nos. 40, 100, and 188 (all lithographed). These comprise pp. 4-8 of 12½" x 8½" and generally contain a portrait on the first and a caricature on the last page. Yearly subscription, 24 guráns in Tihrián; 20 guráns to students in Tihrián and Mashhad; 30 guráns in other parts of Persia; 8 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus; 4 mejdilíyes in Turkey and Egypt; 15 rupees in India and China; and 20 francs in Europe and America. I also possess three of the printed numbers, No. 161 (fourth year) dated the 18th of Rajab, A.H. 1323 = Sept. 13, 1905; No. 184 (fifth year) dated the 2nd of Rabí II, A.H. 1324 = May 25, 1906; and No. 189, dated sixteen days later. These were printed at the Khurshid ("Sun") printing-press at Tihrián, but bear no editor's name. The subscription price is somewhat higher than the homonymous lithograph.

Irshád (Direction).

A half-page Persian supplement to the daily Turkish newspaper Irshád printed at Bákú in the year A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905-6), written by the above-mentioned Adbul'Mamadik under the editorship of Ahmed Bey Aghayeff of Qarabágh.

Urmiye Orthodoxyáitá.

A newspaper published at Urúmi (Urmiya) in the Chaldaean (Syriac) language for the promotion of the "Orthodox" faith.
Istiqlāl (Independence).

A newspaper printed at Tabriz, and appearing every alternate day, in the year A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mīrzā Āqā of Tabriz, known as Nāla-i-Millat ("Cry of the Nation"), because he edited another paper of this name, and was called after it, according to a custom prevalent in Persia. This newspaper was the result of the assembling under the protection of the Ottoman Consulate at Tabriz of the Constitutionalists and defenders of Tabriz, headed by Sattār Khān and Bāqir Khān, in consequence of the continued aggressions of the then newly arrived Russian troops in Jumāda i of that year (= May 21–June 20, 1909), when a committee was formed amongst the refugees consisting of certain men of education who used to take counsel as to the conduct of its affairs. Amongst its members were Sayyid Muhammad Rizá of Shiráz, editor of the Mūsāvāt ("Equality"), who was at that time in Tabriz, and Mīrzā Ahmad of Qazwin, both of whom were afterwards deputies for Tabriz in the [second] National Assembly. This newspaper continued to be published until A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910). In politics it was Liberal and Constitutional, not Democratic, as stated by Mr Rabino.

See Rabino, No. 18, according to whom the seventh issue was dated the 21nd of Rajab, A.H. 1327 (= Aug. 9, 1909), and the forty-seventh number the 5th of Rabī‘ ii, A.H. 1328 (= April 16, 1910). I possess Nos. 7, 39, 43–54. Each number comprised 4 pp. of 13⅞ x 8⅝". The yearly subscription was 16 piastres in Tabriz, 20 piastres elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad.

Istiqlāl-i-Īrān (Independence of Persia).

A large-sized daily newspaper printed in Tihrān in the month of Jumāda i, A.H. 1328 (= May–June, 1910). It was the organ of the party of Union and Progress, and was at first edited by Dr Husayn Khān Kahlāl ("the Oculist"), then by Sayyid Muhammad Khān Muhandis-i-Humāyūn, and lastly by Dr Abu‘l-Hasan Khan of Tabriz. It continued publication until the month of Shawbān, A.H. 1329 (August, 1911).

See Rabino, No. 19. I possess Nos. 8, 13, 19, 39, 40, 73, 86, 88, 99, 183, 191, 208, 213–216, and 234. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 30⅞ x 14⅝". The yearly subscription was 50 piastres in Tihrān, 52 in the provinces, and 75 abroad.
Al-Islám.

A monthly religious paper lithographed at Isfahán in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902–3), and more generally known as Gustagáy-i-Șafá-Khána-i-Isfahán ("Talk of the House of Purity of Isfahán"). Its editor was Sayyid Muhammad ʿAli entitled Dáʾí’l-Islám ("the Propagandist of Islám") of Isfahán, who also edited another paper called Darwatul-Islám ("the Preaching of Islám"), published at Bombay.

See Rahimo, No. 20. I do not possess the paper.

Islámiyya.

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tabríz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906–7), edited by Mirzá Abu'l-Qásim Ziyá'u'l-Ulamá of Tabríz, son of the Shamsul-Ulamá. He belonged to one of the great families of learned men in Tabríz, was one of the first Constitutionalists of that city, and was amongst those who assembled in the British Consulate on the 29th of Rajab, A.H. 1324 (= Sept. 19, 1906) to demand the proclamation of the Constitution and the signature of the Crown Prince (or Wallāh-ahd, i.e. Muḥammad ʿAlí Mirzá). He had studied with success the old and new learning, knew French and Russian, and was one of the truest patriots and Constitutionalists, and an intimate friend of the writer. The idea of founding this newspaper first arose during the days when we were together in the British Consulate and were discussing the publication of a newspaper. The late Ziyá'u'l-Ulamá during the whole six years of the Constitutional Period devoted himself entirely to the service of the Nation, was for a long time a member of the Council of Education (Anjuman-i-Maʿārif) of Tabríz, was Head of the department of Justice during the Revolution, and later Chief of the Court of Appeal. He also participated in person with great valour in the National struggles and wars with the Reactionaries. Unhappily during the last cruel catastrophe and slaughter of the Liberals in which the Russian aggressions in Tabríz culminated (in Muharram, A.H. 1330 = January, 1912) the Russians hanged him with seven
others on the day of the 'Ashura (Muharram 10, 1330 = Jan. 1, 1912) without any fault on his part.

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

 Islámiyya.

A weekly newspaper lithographed in small format in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (≈ A.D. 1906–7) under the editorship of Mírzá Ahmad "Basírat," editor of the newspapers Ukhurrwat ("Fraternity") and Ittiḥád ("Union").

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

 Ishráq (Da'tun).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tíhrán in A.H. 1326 (≈ A.D. 1908–9). Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

 Isfahán.

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahán in A.H. 1325 (≈ A.D. 1907–8).

See Rabino, No. 21.

 Isláh (Reform).

A newspaper mimeographed in Paris in the nasta'liq handwriting in the early part of A.H. 1326 (= early spring of A.D. 1908), edited by Dr Jalil Khán. Its contents consisted for the most part of translations of articles concerning Persia which had appeared in the European Press.

According to Rabino, No. 22, it appeared fortnightly. I possess Nos. 1, 2, 6 and 7. It was edited from No. 82, Boulevard St. Marcel, Paris, and comprised 4–8 pp. of \(11\frac{1}{2}\text{"} \times 8\frac{1}{2}\text{"} \).
(51)  

**Islāh (Reform).**

A weekly newspaper lithographed in the *naskh* handwriting in Bombay in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909).

Not mentioned by Rabino. I possess Nos. 31 of the second and 1, 6 and 8 of the third year of issue, the first dated the 3rd of Muharram, A.H. 1329 (= Jan. 4, 1911). Each issue contains as a rule 8 pp. of 9½" × 8½". The editor was Muhammad Riz̄ of Bushire. Yearly subscription, 10 *yars* in Persia, 2 rupees in India, and 6½ rupees elsewhere.

(52)  

**Islāh (Reform).**

A weekly newspaper printed in Khūy in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of 'Alī Husayn-Zāda. The first number was dated the 29th of Sha'ban of that year (= August 25, 1911).

Not mentioned by Rabino.

(52)  

**Ittīlā' (Information).**

A fortnightly paper first printed and afterwards lithographed in Ɔhirân in A.H. 1295 (= A.D. 1878). This was the semi-official organ of the Persian Government, twin-brother to the official *Iran* ("Persia"), and issued under the control of the Ministry of the Press and the supervision of Muhammad Ḩasan Ḥāfiz Khan *Ptīmādū's-Saltāna*, son of Ḥājji 'Alī Khān Ḥājibū'ud-Dawla of the Muqaddam family of Marāgha, and afterwards of his nephew Muhammad Bāqir Khān *Ptīmādū's-Saltāna*. It continued publication until A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8). This paper, on account of its connection with the Government, was devoid of useful political articles or such as might awaken thought, and was therefore always the object of severe criticism on the part of Persian Liberals and men of letters. Its only importance lay in the fact that it sometimes contained the textual agreements connected with certain State concessions and the like. This paper and its companion-paper the *Iran* were for some time the only papers published within Persian territory; yet notwithstanding this they enjoyed no popularity, but were only forced
upon Government employés, land-owners and officers of the State, from whose salaries the subscription was deducted.

See Rahim, No. 23, I possess Nos. 15-19 of the 29th year (Nov. 29, 1906-April 11, 1907). Each issue comprises 4 pp. of 14½" × 8½". The yearly subscription was 18 grivnas in Tihrah, 30 grivnas elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 40 piastres in Turkey, and 7 rupees in India and China.

(54)

Ištīlā'īt-i-Muhimmā (Important Information).

A daily paper printed in Tihrah in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Hasan al-Ḥusayni and Rizā son of Ahmad of Nūr (in Māzandarān).

Not mentioned by Rahim.

(55)

Ištīlā'īt-i-Rūzānā (Daily Information).

See pp. 63-64 infra, under No. 106, Tamaddun ("Civilization").

(56)

Aflātūn (Plato).

A paper printed in Rasht with coloured illustrations, of which one number only was published on the 26th of Rajab, A.H. 1328 (= August 3, 1910).


(57)

Iqbal (Progress).

A weekly paper lithographed in Tābrīz in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898-9) under the editorship of ‘Alf-qa‘ī Khān, known as Safaroff, who was also editor of the newspapers Ihtiyāj and Azarbāyjān (q.v.).

See Rahim, No. 47, who says that the first issue of the paper under this new name was the eighth of the older Ihtiyāj which it replaced, and that it was dated the 39th of Rajb ‘ī, A.H. 1316 (= August 17, 1898).

(58)

Uqyānūs (The Ocean).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrah in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Sayyid Farajū’llāh of Kāshān, the former
editor of the Thūrāyya in Egypt and Tihrān. The real founder, owner and writer of the paper was Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm of Qarājadāgh, known as Hakim-i-Ilāhī ("the Philosopher"). This is the only Persian newspaper which openly defended the autocratic methods of the ex-Shāh and his creatures and championed the cause of the Reaction, and which accordingly continued after the Reactionary Coup d'État of the 23rd of Jumāda i, A.H. 1326 (= June 23, 1908). After the capture of Tihrān by the Constitutionalists (July, 1909), its editor Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm was arrested and imprisoned for a year amongst other political offenders.

See Rabino, No. 28.

Ekbātān (Ecbatana).

A paper published in Hamadān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8), of which the writer has never seen a copy. It succeeded the 'Adl-i-Muzaffar (q.v.), was under the same management, and continued publication until recently.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

Echo de Perse.


See Rabino, No. 218, and p. 17 supra.

Ulfat (Friendship).

A weekly paper printed in Hamadān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Mīrzā Sayyid Muhammad Hamadānī.

See Rabino, No. 29. I possess No. 6, dated the 26th of Rabī’ i, A.H. 1325 (= May 9, 1907). It contains 4 pp. of 11⅔ x 7⅔. The yearly subscription was 10 grīn in Hamadān and 15 elsewhere in Persia.

Ummid (Hope).

An illustrated weekly newspaper lithographed at Tabrīz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906–7). This was one of the first papers to appear after the granting of the Constitution, and was founded by five
or six students of the Luqmânîyya College. It continued publication for about 8 months.

See Rabino, No. 32. I possess Nos. 7 and 14, the former dated the 28th of Shawwâl, A.H. 1324 (= December 13, 1906). It contains 4 pp. of 13" × 7 3/4".

(63)

**Ummid-i-Taraqqi (Hope of Progress).**

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911), giving particulars as to the receipts and expenses of certain theatrical performances.

See Rabino, No. 33. No. 1, which I possess, is dated 29 Jumâda I, A.H. 1329 (= May 28, 1911) and comprises 6 pp. of 13 3/4" × 6 3/4". Price of each number, 1 shâhî.

(64)

**Anjuman (the Assembly or Club).**

A paper first lithographed and later printed in Tabrîz from two to four times a week, in the early part of A.H. 1325 (= Feb.-March, A.D. 1907). See under **Râzûma-i-Millî**.

See Rabino, No. 34. I possess a good many numbers, both of the lithographed and printed issues. The former begin with No. 44 of the First Year, dated the 4th of Muharram, A.H. 1325 (= Feb. 7, 1907), and end with No. 3 of the Third Year, dated the 3th of Sha'âbân, A.H. 1326 (= Sept. 3, 1908), and each contains 4 pp. of 13" × 6 3/4", written in a large, clear mashâ. The yearly subscription was 10 grâmes (for 100 issues) in Tabrîz; 15 grâmes elsewhere in Persiâ; 4 rubles in Russia; 15 grâmes in Europe and Turkey. Of the printed issues the first is No. 1 of the Second Year, dated the 4th of Safar, A.H. 1326 (= March 8, 1908), and the last No. 31 of the same year, dated the 12th of Jumâda I, A.H. 1326 (= June 12, 1908). The pages (4) measure 13" × 6 3/4", and the yearly subscription differed little from that of the lithographed issues. There seems to have been some confusion and overlapping in the printed and lithographed issues.

(65)

**Anjuman-i-Asnâf (the Trade's Guild).**

A weekly newspaper printed in Tîhrân in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Sayyid Muştafa of Tîhrân, under the management of the Trade's Guild.

See Rabino, No. 35, according to whom the third issue was dated the 8th of Ramaḍân, A.H. 1325 (= Oct. 15, 1907). The issue next or next but one to this appeared under the title **Râmûdîd** ("Morning"), 9 th. I possess a copy of No. 3, which comprises 4 pp. of 14 3/4" × 8 3/4". Yearly subscription, 10 grâmes in Tîhrân, 5 francs abroad.
Anjuman-i-Iṣfahān.

A weekly paper lithographed in Isfahān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Sayyid Sirāj ud-Dīn. This paper was the official organ of the Provincial Council, or Anjuman, of Isfahān, whose deliberations it used to publish.

See Rahibo, No. 36. I possess a good many numbers, ranging in dates from the 13th of Rahl`ī, A.H. 1325 (= May 31, 1907), which is No. 31 of the First Year, to No. 38 of the Fourth Year, which is dated the 7th of Rahl`ī, A.H. 1329 (= April 7, 1911). Each number contains 8 pp. of 12½" x 8½". The earlier ones are in nastaʿlīq, the later ones in naskh, with some lines in nastaʿlīq at the foot. Yearly subscription, 18  qādrās in Isfahān, 30 elsewhere in Persia, 72 abroad.

Anjuman-i-Ukhuwwat (Society of Brotherhood).

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Shīrāz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908–9).

Not in Rahibo, and not seen.

Anjuman-i-Baladiyya (The Municipal Council).

A paper published in Isfahān on the 5th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (= Nov. 11, 1907), which continued publication for five months.

See Rahibo, No. 238, on whose authority it is inserted.

Anjuman-i-Millī-i-Wilāyati-i-Gīlān (The National Provincial Council of Gīlān).

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Dabīr-i-Mamālīk. Four numbers of this paper were to be published weekly, but apparently only four numbers were published altogether.

See Rahibo, No. 37. I possess four numbers (1–4), the first dated the 22nd of Rajab, A.H. 1325 (= August 31, 1907), and the last the 22nd of Shahrīār (September 30) of the same year. Each consists of 4 pp. of 11½" x 7". Yearly subscription (100 issues), 30 qaādrās in Rasht and Gīlān, 45 qaādrās in other parts of Persia, 9 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus.
Anjuman-i-Wilayati-i-Yazd
(The Provincial Council of Yazd).

A weekly paper published in Yazd in the early part of A.H. 1328 (= Jan.–Feb. 1910) under the editorship of Mirzâ Muhammad Şâdiq of Qum.

See Rahîno, No. 38, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 5th of Muharram, A.H. 1328 (= Jan. 17, 1910). I possess Nos. 2 and 4. The former consists of 8 pp. of small size, 8" × 5"½; the latter of 4 pp. of 12½" × 6¾". Yearly subscription, 12 ghâns in Yazd, 14 elsewhere in Persia.

Indépendance Perse.

A French weekly newspaper printed in Tihrân in A.D. 1910 (= A.H. 1328) under the editorship of Dr. Husayn Khân Kâhhâl ("the Oculist") in connection with the Istiglal-i-İrân (No. 44. supra).

See Rahîno, No. 238, according to whom only three numbers were issued, the first on June 4 and the third on June 17, 1910.

Insâniyyat (Humanity).

A paper published in Tihrân in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8). It appears to have been the organ of the Anjuman of the same name, which consisted chiefly of natives of Ašhtiyân and Tafrish, and was under the presidency of the Mustawfîl-Mamâlik.

Not in Rahîno, and not seen.

Anşar (Helpers).

A paper of small format lithographed in naskh handwriting at Isfahân in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8). The second number appeared under the title of Ganjina-i-Anşar ("Treasury of the Helpers").

Not in Rahîno, and not seen.

Insâf (Equity).

A paper printed in Tihrân in A.H. 1326* (= A.D. 1908–9) under the editorship of Hájji Sayyid Isma'il, called Sultânîl-Maddâhin ("the King of Eulogists") of Kirmânsâh.

See Rahîno, No. 39, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 16th of Rabî'i, A.H.
A paper published during the march to Khurasan at the time of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Shāh's second journey to Mashhad in A.H. 1300 (= A.D. 1882–3), written in the course of the journey at the different halting places on the road, and circulated amongst the members of the Royal Suite, commonly called “the Royal Camp.” The first number was printed at Damāwand on Sha'bān 11 (A.H. 1300 = June 17, 1883), and the last at Tihrān when the Shāh reached the capital on his return on Dhu'l-Hijja 12 of that year (= Oct. 14, 1883). In all twelve numbers were published. The editor was Muhammad Hasan Khān P'timādū's-Saltāna, aided by his secretary Mirzā Muhammad Husayn Zakā'ull-Mulk, editor of the newspaper Tarbiyat, and the writer was the calligraphist Mirzā Muḥammad Rīzā of Kalhur.

Omitted by Rahimi, but mentioned in the Kitāb al-Ma'dīr wa'l-Āthār (“Book of Institutions and Monuments”) amongst the newspapers published during the reign of Nāsiru'd-Dīn Shāh. The details concerning it given above were obtained by the author from H.E. Zakā'ull-Mulk.

A newspaper lithographed, and subsequently printed, in Tihrān, at first every alternate day and afterwards once a fortnight, in A.H. 1288 (= A.D. 1871–2). It was at first edited by Muhammad Hasan Khān P'timādū's-Saltāna, Minister of Publications, and afterwards by Muhammad Bāqir Khān P'timādū's-Saltāna, also Minister of Publications, until the beginning of the Constitutional Epoch. Some brief account of its history has been given at the beginning of this treatise. Its first number was dated Sunday, Muharram 11 of the above-mentioned year (A.H. 1288 = April 2, 1871), and the paper at first appeared regularly thrice a week. At the beginning of the first number was an announcement, signed by Muhammad Hasan, referring to the suspension of the Rāznāmas entitled respectively Dawlāt,
Millati and 'Ilmi, and their replacement by this paper, which would publish three numbers a week instead of the single weekly number published by each of them. In the department of the British Museum Library assigned to Periodical Publications are preserved (under the class-mark 757. I. 11) Nos. 1-10, 90-92 and 94-125 of this paper, which I have examined.

This paper was an official Government organ, containing Court news, Imperial Rescripts (farmāns), appointments and dismissals, the assignment of posts and titles, and especially such personal doings of the Shāh as levées, hunting-expeditions, religious mourning (in the month of Muharram), excursions, and the like, as well as other State functions. Its business was to praise the Royal performances and the doings of the Courtiers, and to enlarge on the security of the country and the progress of the Government; so that this paper, more than all others, was the object of criticism on the part of Persian Liberals and Persian newspapers published abroad. In its early days it contained a scientific part, which treated of the modern sciences, while at the foot of the page appeared in instalments a translation by Muhammad Hasan of Jules Verne's Les Anglais au Polé Nord: Aventures du Captaine Hatteras.

The ʻIttimādūs-Saltana writes: "The newspaper Irān (Persia) was first published in the year A.H. 1288 (= 1871-2) when the superintendence of the Printing-press was entrusted to my uncle, the old ʻIttimādūs-Saltana, and Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khān Sipahsālār was Prime Minister."

Zakāţ-ul-Mulk writes: "In the beginning of A.H. 1288 (March-April, 1871) the newspapers generally were placed under the charge of Muhammad Ḥasan Khān, Page in waiting (pishkhīdmat), who subsequently received the title of Šanṭu'd-Dawla, and finally that of ʻIttimādūs-Saltana. He converted the three Rūznāmas entitled Dawlāt, ʻIlmi and Millāt (which had hitherto been published under the management of the Ministry of Sciences and the Dārūl-Funūn College, and the supervision of the ʻIttiṣādūs-Saltana) into one newspaper entitled Irān, which originally appeared three times a week, but gradually ceased to appear so regularly. This paper was first written by a certain Mīrzā Šāh Khān of Nā'īn; afterwards, until about the
year A.H. 1300 (= A.D. 1882–3), by my late father; and after that by Mirzá 'Ali Muḥammad Khán, who lately received the title 'Mujiru'l-Dawla'.

See Rahno, No. 40. I possess one number (No. 934) of the lithographed issue, dated the 15th of Dhu'ul-Hijja, a.H. 1372, and the 7th of May, 1893. It is written in a fine bold mehdi and consists of 4 pp. of 16" x 10". Yearly subscription in Tehran, 32 gr.1 1/2, abroad 38 1/2 gr. Of the printed issue I possess Nos. 10, 17, 18, 22, 23, 24, 25 and 26 of the 59th year of publication, ranging from July 26, 1906, to Feb. 7, 1907. These numbers consist of 4 pp. of 13 3/4" x 8 1/2". The subscription price remained nearly the same, with equivalents added for Europe, Turkey and Russia. No. 22, dated Jan. 10, 1906, appeared in mourning, and contains the announcement of Mirzâ Muhammad-d-Din Shâh's death, and the Nâşiru'l-mâna, or Constitution, of the newly-established National Assembly in 57 articles, dated the 14th of Dhu'ul-Qu'da, a.H. 1374 (= December 30, 1906).

[Írân-i-Sultání (Royal Persia).

See below under Râznâma-i-Irán-i-Sultání, which is the correct title of the paper in question.]

1 The founder and editor of this paper was the late Muhammad Hasan Khán Pí timâd-u-salâhâna, son of Hâjî 'Ali Khán Háji-b-d-Dawla, of the Mughal family of Maragha, and founder of the newspaper Íthlât (y.j.); which on his death was made over to his nephew Muhammad Bâqî Khán, the present Pí timâd-u-salâhâna, who for a long while held the post of Minister of Publications. Its chief writer was Mirzá Muhammad Husayn of Isfahán, poetically named Furâghâl, and entitled Zâhî'ull-Mulk, father of the present Zâhî'ull-Mulk.

Since certain doubtful and difficult points arose in connection with the earlier official and scientific newspapers published by the Persian Government, after the completion of the original draft of this treatise, and while it was still in the hands of the translator, I wrote a letter to H.E. the Pí timâd-u-salâhâna, another to H.E. Zâhî'ull-Mulk (Mirzá Muhammad 'Ali Khán, President of the Second National Assembly), and a third to Mirzá Kízâ-qi Khán, Principal of the Dárú-l-Funun, these three persons being the present successors of those who were concerned with the earliest newspapers published in Persia, and the leaders in all scientific and educational matters, and addressed to them certain enquiries. The Pí timâd-u-salâhâna was kind enough to send me, besides solutions of some of my difficulties, three or four copies of some of the rarer newspapers, both old and new. From Zâhî'ull-Mulk also, on the eve of publication, I received a still fuller reply, written after much careful investigation. To both these eminent men I owe a deep debt of gratitude. I regret that this reply has been delayed from Mirzá Kízâ-qi Khán, who might have given fuller information on certain points specially connected with his administration. From the communications above mentioned such quotations and corrections as the progress of this work showed have been made, these emendations being in all cases duly acknowledged. In some cases also, even when no important addition was made by them to the information already collected and recorded, I have quoted their observations, merely in order still further to support and confirm matters recorded on other authority, such as those included in this article.
Iran-i-Naw (New Persia).

A daily full-sized paper printed in Tihran in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), of which the first number was published on Sha'bân 7th of that year (= Aug. 24, 1909). The proprietor and (nominal) editor was Sayyid Muhammad Shabistari of Azarbâjân, known as Abu'z-Ziyâ, formerly editor of al-Ḥadîd and the Mujâhid. The real and actual editor, as well as the principal writer, was, however, Muhammad Amin Rasûl-zâda of Bakû, while the editor, who also financed the paper, was Basîl the Armenian of Tihran. This paper was the greatest, most important and best known of all the Persian newspapers, and the first to appear in the large size usual in Europe. It began to appear regularly during the Second Constitutional Period, after the conquest of Tihran (July, 1909), introduced into Persia the journalistic methods of Europe, and became a model for other papers. Some of its leading articles were from the pen of Amir Hájibî or Ghulâm Rizâ, a Georgian who pretended to be a Muslim, who used to write in French, from which language they were translated into Persian. Some of the lighter facetious articles, signed Nîsh ("Sting") were from the pen of Rasûl-zâda. The Iran-i-Naw had the most extraordinary adventures in defending its Liberal policy, and during the period of its publication was frequently the object of vehement attacks on the part of the journals which opposed it, so that most of its time was spent in polemics, and it became both the agent and victim of important political events. Amongst these was the publication of one of the allegorical stories of the well-known Russian writer I. A. Kriloff about the Concert of the Animals, and how they interchanged places when they noticed its disorderly character; for it used occasionally to insert in one of its issues one of Kriloff's allegories which had some bearing on current events in the country. So it published this allegory of the Concert at the time when the Sipahdâr's Cabinet was continually tendering its resignation, or when an interchange of portfolios took place amongst the Ministers composing it. This caused a great commotion amongst the supporters of the Government, which resulted
first in the temporary suppression of the paper, and afterwards in the resignation of the Ministers. Since the *Irān-i-Naw* was in opposition, that is to say was the partisan and organ of the minority (i.e. the Democrats), it was always liable to repression or suppression, and was the constant object of the anger, vengeance and recriminations of the supporters of the Government. It continued publication, supported by the above-mentioned Basil the Armenian, until the month of Jumādā ii, A.H. 1328 (= June–July, 1910), when it finally suspended publication in consequence of financial embarrassments. Some months later, however, it resumed publication on the 21st of Shawwāl of the same year (= Oct. 26, 1910) as the official organ of the Democratic Party, by whom it was managed and financed, under the editorship of Sayyid Mahdī, the son of Sayyid Jamāl al-ʿAfcha. This time it was even more exposed than before to the attacks of its opponents, the Government, and their organs in the press, and finally Rasūl-zāda, its chief writer, was exiled from Tihrān at the instance of the Russian Legation in the latter part of Jumādā i [A.H. 1329] (= end of May, 1911). After his departure the paper still continued to be published by the Party until it was suppressed by the Government on the 22nd of Shaʿbān, A.H. 1329 (= Aug. 18, 1911). It reappeared on the 18th of Dhuʾl-Ḥijjā (= Dec. 21, 1911), but was again suppressed ten days later, the last issue being No. 121 of the Third Year. It then reappeared under the name of *Irān-i-Nawin*, and was again suppressed after the publication of a single number. Once more it appeared under the name of *Rahbar-i-Irān-i-Naw* ("the Guide of New Persia"), but was again suppressed after the publication of two numbers. The *Irān-i-Naw*’s special importance lay in its publication of the Russian aggressions, its fiery denunciation of them, and its exposure of foreign intrigues, for which reason it was the object of special enmity on the part of the Russians.

See Rabino, No. 41. I possess a fairly extensive collection of numbers of this paper, viz. Nos. 1–230 (with a few lacunae) of the First Year, extending from August 24, 1909, to June 14, 1910; Nos. 41–121 of the Second Year, extending from December 8, 1910, to March 21, 1911; and Nos. 1–110 of the Third Year, extending from March 26 to August 16, 1911. Each issue comprised 8 pp. of 20½” x 12¾”. The yearly subscription was 50 *qurūn* in Tihrān, 35 *qurūn* in the provinces, and 75 *qurūn* abroad.
Írán-i-Nawín (Newest Persia).

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). The first and only number was dated the 29th of Dhu'l-Hijja of that year (= Dec. 21, 1911). It took the place of the Írán-i-Nawí (see immediately above). Editor, Sayyid Mahdí of Afcha.

*Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

Bámdád (Morning).

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8), edited by Ghulám 'Alí Kháñ Qájár on behalf of the United Guilds' Society (Anjuman-i-Ittihádiyya-i-Āṣnáf). Most of the leading articles were written by Hájjí Mírzá Yahyá of Dawlatábád.

See Rabino, No. 44. No. 20 of this paper is dated the 10th of Rábi‘i, A.H. 1316 (= May 14, 1908). It comprises 4 pp. of 14½" × 8". Yearly subscription, 10 fráms in Tihrán, 5 francs abroad. See p. 46 supra, No. 65.

Bukhárá-yí-Sharíf (Bukhárá the Holy).

A large-sized daily paper printed in New Bukhárá (Turkistán) in A.H. 1330 (= A.D. 1912), the first number being dated the 4th of Rábi‘i of that year (= March 23, 1912). The proprietor of this paper is K. L. Livine, the editor Mír Háydar son of Khwája Qásim Murídloff, and the chief writer M. T. Jaláí Yúsuf-záda, a Caucasian by origin.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Barq (Lightning).

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in Shawwál, A.H. 1328 (= October, 1910). The proprietor and editor was Sayyid Ziyá’-ud-Dín son of Sayyid 'Alí Yazdí, also editor of the Nídá-yi-Islám and the Sharg. On the suspension of the last-named paper, this
was published in its place. (See under Sharg.) In politics the paper was revolutionary.

See Rabino, No. 42, according to whom about 30 numbers were published, I possess Nos. 3–6 and 8, the first dated Oct. 20, the last Nov. 23, 1910. Each number comprises 4 pp., the last being in French, of 20\(\times\)14\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\text{cm.}\). Yearly subscription, 45 grivnas in Tihkân, 50 in the provinces, 65 abroad.

(82)

Barg-i-Sabz (The Green Leaf).

A fortnightly paper lithographed in Ardabil (ázarbâyjân) in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Áqâ Mir Ahmad.

See Rabino, No. 46. I possess Nos. 4, 7, 9, 10 and 12, the first dated the 27th of Rabî'ii, A.H. 1326 (= May 29, 1908). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11\(\times\)8\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\text{cm.}\), lithographed in a fine, large naskh. Yearly subscription, 10 grivnas in Ardabil, 15 elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia, 40 piastres in Turkey, 10 francs in Europe.

(83)

Bishârat (Good Tidings).

A paper printed in Mashhad (Khurâsân) in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906–7) under the editorship of Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali, which continued publication for more than two years.

See Rabino, No. 47, according to whom it was a weekly. No. 4 was dated the 20th of Dhu'l-Qa'dâ, A.H. 1324 (= Feb. 4, 1907), and publication appears to have ended in A.H. 1326 (1908). I possess Nos. 4, 13, 14, 18, 22. Each number contains 4 pp. of 13\(\times\)6\(\frac{1}{2}\)\(\text{cm.}\). Yearly subscription, in Mashhad 12 grivnas, elsewhere in Persia 15 grivnas, Russia and Turkistân 4 roubles, India and China 24 grivnas, Afghanistân 25 grivnas, Turkey and Egypt 20 grivnas.

(84)

Başirat (Insight).


Not in Rabino, nor do I possess a copy.

(85)

Baladu'l-Amin (The Secure Land).

A weekly paper lithographed in Mashhad early in A.H. 1328 (= Jan.–Feb. 1910) under the editorship of Mîrzâ Muhammad Sâdiq.

See Rabino, No. 48. I possess Nos. 2, 6, 13, 15, 17. No. 2 is dated the 28th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1328 (= Feb. 9, 1910). According to Rabino the paper was
published for the Baladiyya or Municipal Council of Mashhad, and ceased publication on the 14th of Jumâda II, A.H. 1328 (= July 3, 1910). Each number consists of 4 pp. of 13\(\frac{3}{4}\)" x 7\(\frac{1}{2}\)" and is lithographed in a large, clear mastâh. Yearly subscription, 15 grâmes in Mashhad, 12 grâmes elsewhere in Persia, 15 grâmes abroad.

(86)

Baladiyya (Municipality).


See Rabino, No. 49, according to whom it appeared irregularly, under various editors. I possess Nos. 7, 10, 16, 21, 43, 46, 47. No. 7 is dated the 3rd of Rahbî I, A.H. 1325 (= May 16, 1907), and comprises 4 pp. of 11\(\frac{3}{4}\)" x 6\(\frac{3}{4}\)". Yearly subscription, 18 grâmes in Tihrân, 25 grâmes elsewhere in Persia, 5 rubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 9 rupees in India, 3 mejidîyyâs in Turkey and Egypt, and 31 francs in Europe.

(87)

Baladiyya (Municipality).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tabrîz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Ahmad Mîrzâ, which published the deliberations of that Municipality, under whose management it was produced.

Not in Rabino, nor do I possess a copy.

(88)

Baladiyya-i-İsfahân (The Municipality of Isfahan).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahân in the latter part of A.H. 1325 (= January, 1908).

See Rabino, No. 50, who describes it as bi-weekly, and states that it was first published on the 4th of Dhu’l-Hijja, A.H. 1325 (= Jan. 8, 1908). This is in fact the date borne by No. 1, which I possess. It comprises 4 pp. of 12\(\frac{1}{2}\)" x 7\(\frac{1}{2}\)", and is lithographed in a large, clear mastâh. Yearly subscription, 25 grâmes in Isfahân, 30 grâmes elsewhere in Persia, and 32 grâmes abroad.

(89)

Bu Qalamûn (The Chameleon, or Turkey).

A small-sized paper printed in Tabrîz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mîrzâ Mahmûd Ghâni-zâda of Salmâs, who was also editor of the Anjuman, Faryâd and Shafag.

See Rabino, No. 51, according to whom the second issue was dated the 24th of Rajab, A.H. 1327 (= August 14, 1909). I do not possess a copy.
England surreptitiously by guile and Russia openly by force combine to expel Mr W. Morgan Shuster from Persia and prevent his financial reforms

From No. 34 of the Bahlol, Dec. 22, 1911
Buhlûl.

A weekly illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrân in the early part of A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship first of Shaykh 'Ali 'Irâqi, and afterwards of Asadu'llâh Khân called “Pârsî.” This paper defended the methods of the Democratic Party and attacked and criticized the antagonistic parties and the Government, just as in like manner the paper Tandsh (q.v.) supported the Moderates (Filâddiyyûn), and finally the paper Shaykh Chughundur (q.v.) was similarly connected with the Party of Union and Progress and defended them.

See Rabînî, No. 52. I possess Nos. 6, 10, 13, 20 and 24. The first is dated the 11th of Jumâdâ i, a.h. 1319 (= May 25, 1911). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 15½ x 6½", the first and last pages being occupied by illustrations. Each number, 100 dinars (¼ qiran).

Bidâri (Wakefulness).

A paper lithographed in Tihrân every other day in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Fathu'll-Mamûdîk.

See Rabînî, No. 53, according to whom it began on the 33rd of Jumâdâ ii, a.h. 1325 (= August 3, 1907). I possess Nos. 1 and 3. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 13½ x 7", and is lithographed in bâllûj. Yearly subscription, 30 qirans.

Pây-i-Takht (The Capital).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihrân in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911).

Not mentioned by Rabînî, and not seen.

Parwâna (The Moth).

A paper printed in Isfahân in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Hasan Mû'min-zâda. Forty numbers a year were published, the first on the 7th of Shawwâl, A.H. 1328 (= Oct. 12, 1910).

See Rabînî, No. 55, who adds that in politics the paper was Democratic. I possess Nos. 8, 10, 18 and 21, the first dated the 10th of Thulûl-Hijja, a.h. 1328 (= Dec. 11, 1910). Each number comprises 8 pp. of 13½ x 6½". Yearly subscription 1½ qiran in Isfahân.
Parwarish (Education).

A weekly newspaper printed in Cairo (Egypt) in the early part of A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1), the first number dated the 10th of Safar of that year (= June 9, 1900). The owner, editor and writer was Mirza 'Ali Muhammad Khan of Kashan, the brother of [Mirza 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khan] Wahidul-Mulk, who was a Member of the Second Majlis. This was one of the best Persian newspapers, and as regards influence amongst the young Persians held the first place, both exciting the emotions and compelling the affections of the Persian public. In style and tone, moreover, it had a peculiar quality of beauty. It took the place of the Thurayya ("Pleiades") after the dissolution of the partnership which previously existed between Mirza 'Ali Muhammad Khan and Sayyid Farajullah of Kashan. The fiery utterances and sweet eloquence of this paper had an extraordinary effect on public opinion, and in truth effected an intellectual revolution. Some of its special articles, such as "the Daughter of Hajji Felt-maker" (Dukhtar-i-Hajji Namad-mal), "Fancy's Dream" (Khwab-i-Khayal), "A Topic of Conversation" (Maqala-i-Musahaba), "Arguing in a circle" (Dawr-un Tasalsul), and "the Court of Judgement, or, before the Judge of Conscience" (Majlis-i-Mubahama, ya Mahzar-i-Qazi-yi-Wijdan) may be taken as literary models in the Persian language. After the Qadin, it was the freest in its language of all the Persian papers during the period of Autocracy; and by reason of the vehemence of its utterances, and its violent attacks on the methods of administration of the Government of Persia, particularly its criticisms on the unpatriotic actions and policy of the Aminu's-Sultân, it became an object of hatred to the Court and of affection to the people. In consequence of an article comparing the merits of the Aminu'd-Dawla and Aminu's-Sultân which was published in No. 23 of the paper, it was prohibited from entering Persia, but it still continued publication until the 33rd number, and by secret channels continued to find entrance into Persia. In the last number appeared a famous article, entitled "Lament for the Broken Pen: 'for what crime was it slain?" (Zart bar shikastagi-yi-qalam: 'bi-ayyi dhanib quqilat?).
which had a special importance. After the suppression of the paper, Mírzá 'Alí Muḥammad Kháñ was for some time ill with consumption, of which he finally died in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3) at Halwán near Cairo. See also under Thurrâyát.

See Rabino, No. 55. I possess Nos. 11-19 of this paper. Each number comprises 16 pp. of 9½" × 6¼". Yearly subscription, 40 qdrm. in Persia, 10 roubles in the Caucasus, 4 mejadáliyé in Turkey, 75 francs in Europe, and 12 rupees in India and China. Of the articles specially mentioned above, Dávar u Tísa'il occurs in No. 19 and deals with the exactions practised by the Persian Consuls on the Persian pilgrims to Mecca; and the Majlis-i-Muḥákama occurs in No. 18.

(95)

Pulis-i-Írán (The Police of Persia).

A daily newspaper printed in Tíhrán in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), edited by Sayyid Jawád of Tábríz and owned by Murtáza-ull Í Khán Muḥayyidu'l-Mamálik the Qájár. This was one of the papers connected with the party who were in the majority, and defended the policy of the Government, that is of the “Moderates” (J'tídáliyyán).

See Rabino, No. 56. I possess a good many numbers, the first being No. 1, dated the 4th of Dám-i-Qaḍa, A.H. 1327 (= November 18, 1909), and the last No. 480, dated the 20th of Muḥarrám, A.H. 1329 (= Jan. 31, 1911). The size of the paper was originally 14½" × 11¼", but it was afterwards enlarged to 18¾" × 12¼". Yearly subscription, 35 qdrm. in Tíhrán, 50 qdrm. elsewhere in Persia, 10 roubles in Russia, 25 francs in Europe, and £7¼ in Turkey; but the price was subsequently raised.

(96)

Payámbar-i-Bákhtár (The Prophet of the West).

A small-sized magazine published in Washington (U.S.A.) once every 19 days by the Bahá'ís of America for the propagation of the Bahá'í religion. Its name was afterwards changed to the “Star of the West” (Najm-i-Bákhtár).

See Rabino, No. 57. I possess the “Star of the West,” Vol. ii, Nos. 1-4, 7-8, and 14-16, the first dated March 21, 1911, the last Dec. 31 of the same year. The magazine is bilingual, the greater part (about two-thirds) being printed in English, and the remainder lithographed in Persian. In connection with the same “Persian-American Educational Society” was published in October, 1911, the first number of another monthly magazine (entirely in English) entitled the “Illustrated Monthly Bulletin of the Persian-American Educational Society,” of which I possess Nos. 1, 2 and 8, the last dated May-June, 1912.
Paykár (Strife).

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mírzá Haydar 'Ali Kamáli. It was the organ of the then recently formed party of the Ijtima'iyyán-i-Ittikádíyyán.

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

Táza Bahár (Early Spring).

A weekly paper printed in Mashhad in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of the Poet Laureate (Maliku'sh-Shu'árd), or "M. Bahár," which replaced the Naw Bahár (q.v.) on its suppression. In politics it was Democrat.

Not in Rabino. I possess No. 3, dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1329 (= December, 14, 1911). It comprises 4 pp. of 16" x 10½". Yearly subscription, 25 qdrís in Mashhad, 30 qdrís elsewhere in Persia, and 6 rupees abroad.

Tabríz.

A weekly paper published in Tabríz in A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879) under the editorship of a certain Kamáli. No. 3, which I possess, is dated Thursday, Muharram 25, A.H. 1297 (= Jan. 8, 1880), corresponding with the Year of the Hare. Numbers belonging to the third year of publication have been seen. Mention has been made of it in the Introduction. (See p. 13, supra.)

Not in Rabino.

Tabríz.

A paper printed three times a week in Tabríz towards the end of A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Mírzá Isma'íl Yakání, and subsequently of Mírzá Husayn Tabíz-záda, known as "Kamál," formerly editor of the paper Kamál ("Perfection"). The publisher of this paper was Karbaláí Husayn, known as Físhángchi ("the Cartridge-seller"), a Member of the Tabríz Provincial Council. This paper was suppressed with all the other papers published in Tabríz at the time of the Russian aggression of Muharram, A.H. 1330 (= Christmas, 1911), and its
editor was arrested. The politics of the paper were Conservative and Moderate Constitutional.

See Rahine, No. 28. I possess Nos. 72 and 85, the former dated the 23rd of Jumāda II, A.H. 1329 (= June 21, 1911), and the latter the 7th of Shawwāl (August 4) of the same year. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12½" × 9¼". Yearly subscription, in Tahirin, 13 peshis, elsewhere in Persia 15 peshis, abroad 14 peshis.

(101)

Tadayyun (Religiousness).

A weekly religious paper printed in Tahrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mullā Šādiq, entitled Fakhru'll-İslām ("the Pride of Islām"), originally a Chaldean or Syrian Christian of Urmiya, who was converted to Islām (Fadīdū'll-İslām).

See Rahine, No. 19. I possess No. 11 of the first year, dated the 1st of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 9, 1907), and No. 2 of the third year, dated the 10th of Rajab, A.H. 1327 (= August 3, 1909). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12½" × 6¾". Yearly subscription, 15 peshis in Tahrān, 16 peshis elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 7 rupees in India.

(102)

Tarbiyāt (Education).

A weekly paper lithographed in very fine nastālīq in Tahrān in A.H. 1314 (= A.D. 1896-7). Its owner, editor and chief writer was Mīrzā Muhammad Ḥusayn of Isfahān, entitled Zākā'ū'll-Mulk and poetically surnamed Fūrūght, author of numerous works on history and literature, father of the present Mīrzā Muhammad 'Ali Khān Zākā'ū'll-Mulk, who was a member of the Second National Assembly. This paper had a special literary importance in regard to its style, composition, and quality of eloquence, for the late Zākā'ū'll-Mulk, who was in his time one of the first men of letters and poets of Persia, used frequently to publish his poems in it, for which reason amongst others it held a high and distinguished place amongst the papers of the period of Autocracy, and enjoyed a considerable influence, though its practice of flattering and praising contemporary notables detracted from its literary value. Its celebrity was chiefly due to its controversy with the paper Thurayyād ("Pleiades," q.v.) about the Persian Calendar of Ḥājji Najmūd-Dawla. In consequence of the well-founded criticisms levelled by Mīrzā 'Ali Muhammad Khān of Kāshān
appearance in Tihrān the Tamaddun stood aside from the strife of the other conflicting parties, and described itself as the partisan of the policy of fundamental reforms (Radical). During its first publication the Tamaddun published eighty numbers a year, but afterwards appeared once a week. During the latter part of A.H. 1329 (=A.D. 1911) it became a daily, and was published in small quarto form under the title of Ittīhād-i-Tamaddun ("Daily information of the Tamaddun"). This paper epitomized in a very pleasing form the weekly happenings and news of Persia and foreign countries, and in this respect it occupied a unique position amongst Persian newspapers.

See Rabino, No. 64. I possess a good many numbers of the First and Second Years of publication, of which the first is No. 1 of the First Year, dated the 17th of Dhu’l-Hijja, A.H. 1324 (=Feb. 1, 1907), and the last No. 14 of the Second Year, dated the 11th of Jumāda 1, A.H. 1326 (=June 11, 1908). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11½ x 6½". Yearly subscription, 24 sdras in Tihrān, 30 sdras elsewhere in Persia, 7 sdras in Russia and the Caucasus, and 14 rupees in India. A supplementary number dated the 1st of Ramādzan, A.H. 1326 (=Sept. 27, 1908), bears under the title the words "Nīla-i-Millāt" ("the Nation’s Lament"); and above this the verse from the Qurān: "Do not them, who were slain in the Way of God as dead, but rather as living, cared for by their Lord." Instead of the usual price stand the words: "a grain of activity," and readers in Persia are requested to pass the paper on to others. It contains a proclamation from the Mujāhidī of Kābulī against Muhammad ‘Alī Shāh and in favour of the Constitution, and was printed at the Hābbū’ī-Matīn Press at Calcutta.

(107)

Tamaddun (Civilisation).

A paper published in Bombay in A.H. 1327 (=A.D. 1909) by the above-mentioned Madabhīrīl-Mamdīk during his stay in India. Only one number appeared.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(108)

Tamaddun (Civilisation).

A paper published in Rasht in A.H. 1327 (=A.D. 1909), edited and written by the above-mentioned Madabhīrīl-Mamdīk, during his return from India to Tihrān. Only one number appeared, dated 29 Rabi’ ii, A.H. 1327 (May 19, 1909).

See Rabino, No. 64, according to whom the single Rasht issue was No. 2 of the Second Year. We have seen above that No. 14 of the Second Year was published
on June 11, 1908, 12 days before the Coup d’État, while the next (Rašīd) issue, No. 15, must have been published about 13 months later, in July, 1909, just before the capture of Tihrán by the Nationalists.

(109)

Taḥḥīḥ (Admonition).

A comic paper, partly lithographed and partly printed, published in Tihrán, and illustrated with coloured caricatures, in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), under the editorship of Muṣtaḍżid-al-Āthībā. After the restoration of the Constitution (in July, 1909) this paper was again published, and continued until these last times (end of 1911). In politics it belonged to the Moderate Party.

See Rabino, No. 65, according to whom No. 7 was dated the 14th of Jumādā II, A.H. 1325 (= July 25, 1907). I possess No. 1 of the Third Year, which, however, is undated. It comprises 4 pp. of 11¾" x 6⅞". Pp. 3 and 4 each contain a caricature (not coloured) and are lithographed; pp. 2 and 3 are printed.

(110)

Taḥdīḥ (Purification).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(111)

at-Tawaddud (Affection).

A paper published in Paris in A.D. 1891 (= A.H. 1308–9) under the editorship of Shaykh Abū Naẓzār (Nadhdhāra). This paper was published in four languages, Arabic, Persian, Turkish and French, and was illustrated. As it contained a Persian section it has been recorded amongst the Persian newspapers. Some of its Persian articles were written by Shaykh Muhammad Hasan of Sirjān (near Kirmān), entitled Shaykhūl-Mulk.

Not in Rabino, and not seen. Shaykh Abū Naḍḍān (a vulgar form of the name given above), one of the Egyptian political exiles in Paris, was better known as the editor of the Arabic comic lithographed paper called by the same name ("the Father of Spectacles") which he had assumed. His real name was James Sanna.
Tiyátr (The Théâtre).

A bi-weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (=A.D. 1908), edited and written by Mirzá Rizá Khán-i-Tabátabá'í of Ná'in, afterwards a member of the Second National Assembly. Its contents consisted of scenes cast in dramatic form referring to the conditions of administration under the Autocracy, and the methods of government adopted by princes and governors under the ancient régime. It may be reckoned one of the best newspapers in Persian.

See Rabiíno, No. 66, according to whom the paper first appeared on the 4th of Rabií'í, A.H. 1336 (=April 6, 1908). He adds that he had seen No. 1 of the Third Year, which bore no date. I possess Nos. 1-4, which contain each 4 pp. of 11" x 7". Yearly subscription, 12 grúns in Tihrán, 16 grúns elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 8 francs in Europe.

Thurayyá (The Pliédées).

A weekly newspaper printed in Cairo (Egypt) in A.H. 1316 (=A.D. 1898–9). The first number was dated the 14th of Jumáda i of that year (=Oct. 30, 1898), and it was at first edited by Mirzá 'Ali Muhammad Khán of Káshtán and afterwards by Sayyid Fárajulláh of Káshtán. So long as it was edited and written by the former it was much sought after and attained a great renown, so much so that during the Period of Autocracy no Persian newspaper was so much appreciated. It participated in most of those qualities which have been already mentioned in our eulogy of the Parwarish, than which it was even better known in consequence of the longer duration of its publication. One of its well-known articles was the "Topic of Conversation" (Maqâla-i-Musâhaba), and one of the most important episodes in its career was the prolonged controversy concerning Hájjí Najmu'd-Dawla's Calendar (see pp. 61–2, supra) which took place between it and the Tarbiyat newspaper. Another was its defence of the Tarbiyat College established in Tabríz by the present writer and others, and its continued attacks on Hájjí Sayyid Muhammad of Yazd, the notorious intriguer who had been instrumental in bringing about the closure of that College. The
violent attacks on this man published in Nos. 36 and 37 of the First Year of this paper led to his banishment from Tabriz. In the middle of the Second Year of its publication, Mirzá 'Alf Muhammad Khán handed over the paper to Sayyid Faraju'lláh, and himself founded the Parwarish (q.v.). Thereafter the Thurayyá entirely lost its former importance, and no longer retained its popularity. It continued to be published in Egypt under the editorship of Sayyid Faraju'lláh for some time, but was finally suspended, and the editor went to Tihrán and there resumed its publication.

See Rabino, No. 67. I possess an almost complete set of the paper comprising Nos. 1–51 of the First Year, the date of No. 1 being the 14th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1316 (=Oct. 30, 1898), and Nos. 1–36 of the Second Year, the date of the last number being the 20th of Jumáda i, A.H. 1318 (=Oct. 15, 1900). The first number of the Parwarish is dated the 10th of Şafar, A.H. 1318 (=June 8, 1900). Each number of the Thurayyá comprises from 16 to 18 pp. of 9½ x 5½". Yearly subscription, 36 qdras in Persia, 4 meijidiyés in Turkey, 16 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 75 francs in Europe, and 12 rupees in India.

(114)

Thurayyá (The Pleiades).

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1321 (=A.D. 1903–4) under the editorship of the above-mentioned Sayyid Faraju'lláh of Káshán.

See Rabino, No. 67, according to whom No. 31 of the Sixth Year (dating from the foundation of the paper at Cairo) was dated the 22nd of Rajab, A.H. 1321 (=Oct. 14, 1903).

(115)

Thurayyá (The Pleiades).

A paper published at Káshán in A.H. 1328 (=A.D. 1910) by the same Sayyid Faraju'lláh.

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

(116)

Járfhi-yi-Millat (The People's Herald).

A weekly paper lithographed in Tihrán towards the end of A.H. 1328 (=A.D. 1910), under the editorship of Aqá Sayyid Husayn, and illustrated with comic caricatures.

See Rabino, No. 68, according to whom No. 5 was dated the 4th of Muharram, A.H. 1329 (=Jan. 6, 1911). I possess Nos. 5–8. No. 6 is dated the 13th of 5–2.
Muharram, A.H. 1329, and has on the first page a portrait of M. Panoff, the celebrated Bulgarian revolutionary who was expelled from Tihran by the Russians and afterwards took part in the fighting near Astarabad. See my History of the Persian Revolution, pp. 214-228 and 418. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12½" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 8 qadr in Tihran, 10 qadr elsewhere in Persia; and 6 francs abroad.

(117)

Jarchi-yi-Watan (The Country's Herald).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(118)

Jam-i-Jam (The Goblet of Jamshid).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihran in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Hajji Sayyid Riża (the nephew of Hajji Sayyid Muhammad the banker), one of the registrars of the National Assembly, and illustrated with portraits of former kings of Persia.

See Rabino, No. 69, according to whom this paper first appeared on the 14th of Junáda II, A.H. 1330 (= July 25, 1907). I possess Nos. 1-10, 13-18, 20-23, 26-27. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12½" × 6½", and has on the first page a picture of one of the ancient Persian kings of the Kayân or Sâsâní dynasty, the first being Kayámárth and the last Bahram II. Yearly subscription, 15 qadr in Tihran, 12 qadr elsewhere in Persia; 3 rubles in Russia and the Caucasus; one mejdiyyé and a half in Turkey; and 7 francs in Europe.

(119)

Jam-i-Jamshid (The Goblet of Jamshid).

A weekly newspaper published at Bombay every Monday in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

This paper, together with some other Persian newspapers, is mentioned in Zenker's Bibliotheca Orientalis (Leipzig, 1846), under article No. 1831. According to this statement, the papers mentioned by name as published in India were earlier by at least five years than even the Rísháma-i-Wâqif-i-Ittifaqiyén, which was the earliest Persian newspaper, since they were in circulation in A.H. 1262, which was the date, according to the Muhammadan computation, of Zenker's work, and some of them may have been found years before that date. This paper is not mentioned by Rabino, nor have I seen it.
(120) Jām-i-Jahān-numā (The World-shewing Goblet).


(121) Jarida-i-Tijarat (The Mercantile Magazine).

A weekly paper lithographed in the *naskh* handwriting in Tihrān in A.H. 1297 (= A.D. 1880).

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

(122) Jarida-i-Kirmān (The Kirmān Magazine).

A paper lithographed in the *naskh* handwriting, and appearing once in every ten days, under the editorship of Mīrzā Ghulām-Husayn of Kirmān, in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). The first number was dated the 17th of Rabī' 1 (= March 18) of that year.

Not in Rahino. I possess No. 1, which comprises 8 pp. of 13.5" x 9.5". Yearly subscription, 20 qirāts in Kirmān, 24 qirāts elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad.

(123) Jarida-i-Milli (The National Magazine).

A bi-weekly paper lithographed at Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mīrzā 'Ali Akbar Khān. See *infra*, under *Kūnāna-i-Milli*.

See Rahino, No. 79. I possess Nos. 33-57, the first of which is dated the 4th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1324 (= Jan. 9, 1907), comprises 4 pp. of 12" x 6.5", and is lithographed in a large, clear *naskh*. The yearly subscription (100 copies) was 10 qirāts in Tabriz, 15 qirāts elsewhere in Persia, and 3½ rubles in Russia.

(124) al-Jamāl (Beauty).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mīrzā Muḥammad Husayn of Isfahān.
in which were published the homilies and harangues of the celebrated orator Sayyid Jamālū'd-Dīn of Isfahān, the Martyr.¹

See Rabino, No. 71. I possess Nos. 3, 10, 11, 14 and 17-26. The first is dated the 13th of Šafar, A.H. 1325 (= March 28, 1907), and the last the 15th of Shawwāl (= Nov. 21) of the same year. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11″ x 6½″. Yearly subscription, 8 gorms in Tihrān, 10 gorms elsewhere in Persia; 15 mejāliyyās in Turkey and Egypt; 2 rubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 6 francs in Europe and America.

(125)

Jamāliyya.

A weekly newspaper printed in Hamadān in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Hájjī Muhammad Ḥusayn and written by the Mu'ayyid-i-Huṣūr in connection with the arrest of the late Áqá Sayyid Jamālū'd-Dīn in Hamadān as a preliminary to his martyrdom in A.H. 1326 (June-July, 1908). It was founded to perpetuate his name.

See Rabino, No. 72. I have no copy of this paper.

(126)

Al-Janāb.

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Isfahān towards the end of A.H. 1324 (= Dec. 1906) under the editorship of Mr Sayyid 'Ali Janāb.

See Rabino, No. 73, who describes it as "printed," but it is in fact lithographed. I possess Nos. 1-11, of which the first is dated the 20th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1324 (= Dec. 9, 1906). Each number comprises 8 pp. of 13½″ x 7½″. Yearly subscription, 25 gorms in Isfahān. The first number is very badly lithographed in a very bad hand, but the subsequent numbers are much better.

(127)

Jangal-i-Mawla (The Lord’s Jungle).

A weekly comic paper published in Tihrān in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Husayn. The first number is dated the 20th of Rajab of that year (= July 17, 1911).

Not mentioned by Rabino, and not seen.

¹ For an account of his life and death, see my Persian Revolution, pp. 113, 116, 117, 137, 164, 165, 167, 199, 304 (with portrait) and 308. He was captured and put to death near Hamadān shortly after the Coup d’État of June 25, 1908.
Aqa Sayyid Jamalu'd-Din of Isfahan,
Killed at Hamadan in the summer of 1908.
Janūb (The South).

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrān in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of "Tangistānī," with Sayyid Ya’qūb-i-Shirāzī as the chief writer. This newspaper was the organ of the party called "Progressives" (Taraqqī-khwādhān), who championed the development of the Southern provinces of Persia, and was promoted and managed by a group of deputies representing the South in the Second National Assembly. Its most important contents consisted in criticisms of the Bakhtiyāris.

See Rabino, No. 74. I possess Nos. 3, 5, 10 and 11, of which the first is dated the 4th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1329 (= Jan. 6, 1911). Each number comprises 8 pp. of $14\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$". Yearly subscription, Tihrān, 18 یر, elsewhere in Persia, 20 یر, abroad, 22 یر.

Jihād-i-Akbar (The Greater Warfare).

A weekly paper lithographed in Isfahān early in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mīrzā ‘Alī Āqā of Khurāsān. The first number appeared on Muḥarram 6 of that year (= Feb. 19, 1907). It was one of the most violent newspapers, and its extreme boldness and fiery utterances were an especial cause of complaint to Muhammad ‘Alī Shāh. Endeavours were made from Tihrān to suppress it, but notwithstanding this it lasted for more than a year. Its policy was to promote liberal ideas and a thorough-going Constitutionalism.

See Rabino, No. 75, according to whom it continued publication from the 6th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1325 (= Feb. 19, 1907), until the 4th of Rabī‘-i, A.H. 1326 (= May 6, 1908). I do not possess a copy.

Jahān-ārā (The World-adorning).


See Rabino, No. 76, according to whom the paper first appeared on the 20th of Rajab, A.H. 1325 (= August 19, 1907). I do not possess a copy.
(131) Jūghāyi Lrāber (The Julfa Intelligencer).

An Armenian newspaper published in Julfa of Isfahān under the editorship of Bākīr Adwār Tāzāryāns, deputy agent of the Armenians.

See Rabino, No. 435. I do not possess a copy.

(132) Chāpuk (The Rapid).

A weekly newspaper published on Thursdays in Bombay in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

Mentioned by Zenker under article No. 1831, but not by Rabino, and not seen.

(133) Chanta-i-Pā-barahna (The Beggar's Wallet).

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Tihrān in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mīrzā Mahmūd Afshār the Druggist. This paper wrote in very simple and popular language about the advantages of Constitutionalism and the conditions of labourers and peasants, and had a good effect amongst the common people and villagers. It defended the policy of the Democrats.

See Rabino, No. 77. I possess a copy of No. 11, which is undated. It comprises 4 pp. of 13" × 7½". Yearly subscription, 2 ṣārāis in Tihrān. The writing is a large and clear but ungraceful rūṭiṣ. It contains a poetical section entitled ʿAbdārīyāt-i Bābā Ahmad.

(134) Chihra-numā (The Face-shower).

An illustrated paper printed in Alexandria, and published once every ten days, in A.H. 1322 (= A.D. 1904–5), under the editorship of Mīrzā ʿAbdu'l-Muhammad of Isfahān. After a while it became a weekly paper, and was transferred to Cairo.

See Rabino, No. 78, who only mentions the Cairo edition. I have no copy of any of the Alexandria issues.
(135)

Chihra-numá (*The Fazl-shower*).

A weekly illustrated newspaper printed in Cairo (Egypt), which still continues publication.

See Rabino, No. 78. I have a fairly complete set from the second to the ninth year (August 1906 until Dec. 1912). Each number comprises 16 pp. of 9½" × 6½". Yearly subscription in Egypt, 3 dollars; Persia, 30 pdr; Turkey, 4 mejidiyyés; England and India, 10 rupees; Turkistán and the Caucasus, 8 roubles; Europe and China, 20 francs.

(136)

Hablul-Matin (*The Firm Cord*).

A weekly newspaper published in Calcutta, originally lithographed and subsequently printed, in A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1893–4), which has continued to appear regularly down to the present time, edited and written by Sayyid Jalālu’d-Dīn of Kāshān, entitled *Mu’āryidul-Islām*. It is the oldest regular Persian newspaper which still survives, and holds an important position, especially amongst men of learning and in religious circles, in which it has a special weight and influence. Some portion of it is always devoted to religious matters, and it is the champion of Pan-Islamism. One of the most important events connected with its history was the continuation of its publication after the suppression by the *Aminu’s-Sultan* in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900–1) of the Persian newspapers published abroad, and the influence exerted by its efforts in bringing about his dismissal, especially by the publication in all countries of a photographic facsimile of the takfīr-nāma, or declaration of infidelity, of the *Aminu’s-Sultan* signed by the chief mujtahids (divines) of Najaf, which takfīr-nāma the Transcaspian Gazette (*Majmū’a-i-Mawḍī-yi-Bahr-i-Khazar*; see *infra*, sub loco) vainly endeavoured to discredit and prove fictitious. Mention must also be made of its fruitful efforts during the Reactionary Period known as "the Short Tyranny" (*Istibdād-i-Ṣaghīr*) to secure the renewal of the Constitution and to incite the *ulamā* to take action. The office of this newspaper, by reason of its old-established and steadily progressive character, produced many other publications and institutions, amongst which we may mention sundry useful
Persian books printed in and published by its Press, and also the foundation of the Persian newspapers *Miftah-uz-Zafar* ("Key of Victory") and *Azad* ("Freeman") and the *Mulk u Millat* ("Kingdom and Nation") in English, all in Calcutta; also the daily *Hablu'l-Matin* in Tihran; and numerous printing-presses established under its name in Tihran, Najaf, Isfahan, etc.

See Rabino, No. 80. I possess a fairly complete set for the last seven or eight years (July 1904—December 1911) and a few of the older numbers, including No. 9 of the Seventh Year, which is lithographed, and bears the date 28 Sha'ban, A.H. 1317 (=Jan. 1, 1900). I do not know when the paper began to be printed instead of lithographed, but by A.D. 1905 the change had been effected. The lithographed copies are of larger size, comprising 12 pp. of 15½" × 9½". The yearly subscription was then 10 rupees for India, 33 piastres for Persia and Afghanistan, 35 majidiyyes for Turkey and Egypt, 35 francs for Europe and China, and 40 rubles for Russia. The later printed numbers comprise 16 pp. of 12½" × 6½", and the subscription price is slightly higher.

(137)

*Hablu'l-Matin* (*The Firm Cord*).

A daily paper printed in Tihran in the early part of A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Sayyid Hasan of Kashan, brother of the *Mu'ayyid-ull-Islam*. Its publication was interrupted by the Reactionary *Coup d'État* and Bombardment of the *Majlis* (June 23, 1908), but after the restoration of the Constitution and the conquest of Tihran by the Nationalists it again issued several numbers. It was, however, suspended and its editor tried and condemned to two years imprisonment for printing an article *à propos* of the execution of Shaykh Fazlu'llah of Nür, which was considered to contain an attack on religion. This was the most important daily newspaper of the Constitutional Period, and in particular its political articles on Foreign Affairs, especially its criticisms on the Anglo-Russian Entente of A.D. 1907, were of a noteworthy character.

(138)

*Hablu'l-Matin* (*The Firm Cord*).

A daily paper printed at Rasht early in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mirza Sayyid Hasan of Kashan, editor

1 See my *Persian Revolution*, pp. 329–39 and 444–5. He was hanged on July 31, 1909.

2 Some of the most important of these articles, published in September, 1907, are translated on pp. 172–92 of my *Persian Revolution*. 
of the above-mentioned Tihran *Hazelt-Matin*, who was exiled after the *Coup d'Etat* of June 23, 1908, and withdrew to the Caucasus, until, after the successful revolution at Rasht in Muharram, A.H. 1327 (= Jan.-Feb., 1909), he hastened thither and resumed the publication of his paper, which was continued there for four months and a half.

See Rabino, No. 79, who conveniently brackets this and the above-mentioned paper, which are in fact identical in all save place of publication, while the Calcutta *Habul-Matin* differs by being a weekly, not a daily paper, and by being under different editorship. I possess an almost complete set of the Tihran and Rasht *Habul-Matin*. No. 1 is dated the 15th of Rabi' i, A.H. 1325 (= April 29, 1907), and the First Year ends with No. 774 (April 16, 1908). Of the Second Year I possess Nos. 1-51, the last dated June 18, 1908, only five days before the *Coup d'Etat* and Bombardment of the Majlis. The next number in my possession, dated March 18, 1909, belongs to the Rasht issue, and is entitled No. 56 of the Second Year, so that presumably four numbers appeared during the nine preceding months. It contains an article headed "the Time of Parting is ended," so that it may be the first number published at Rasht. No. 71 (April 2, 1909) is the last of the Second Year. Nos. 2-58 of the Third Year were published at Rasht, the latter bearing the date July 21, 1909. The next number (No. 1 of the Third Year of the revived Tihran issue) is dated July 25, 1909, and No. 5 of the same issue, dated July 29, 1909, is the last which I possess. The article which led to the suppression of the paper and the imprisonment of the editor probably appeared three or four days later. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 40 grams in Tihran, 45 elsewhere in Persia, 12 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 30 francs in other countries.

(139)

al-Ḥaddid (*Iron* or *The Keen One*).

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1315 (= A.D. 1897–8), founded and edited by Mírzá Sayyid Husayn Khán, editor of the newspapers *Ṣuhbat* ("Conversation"), *Addālat* ("Justice") and *Khabar* ("News"). After three numbers of this paper had been published, the Russian Consulate at Tabriz took the above-mentioned editor into its service in the Passport department, and this led to the suspension of the paper. After a while, however, in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905–6) the paper was revived under the editorship of Aqá Sayyid Muhammad of Shabistar, editor of the papers *Mujahid* ("Volunteer") and *Īrān-i-New* ("New Persia"), and continued to be published until the first general rising in Tabriz and the Proclamation of the Constitution, after which it changed its name to *Addālat* ("Justice"). Some
numbers of this paper were published under the title *Hadid* without the article.

See Rabino, No. 81, who describes it as "printed," not lithographed, and only mentions its second appearance in A.H. 1325-4. I possess a good many numbers of *al-Hadid*, extending from No. 2 of the Second Year, dated the 8th of Jumada I, A.H. 1324 (= June 30, 1906), to No. 49 of the same year, dated the 2nd of Jumada I, A.H. 1325 (= 1324 is erroneously printed on the paper) = June 13, 1907. The numbering of the *Adilat* seems to have been continuous with *al-Hadid*, for No. 13 of the former paper, Sha'bán 11, A.H. 1325 (printed "1324") = Sept. 19, 1907, begins with an announcement of the change of title. Each number comprises 8 pp. of 12" × 6¼". Yearly subscription, 17 qdrān in Tabriz, 20 qdrān elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia, and 10 francs in Europe.

(140)

**Hurriyyat (Liberty).**

Mentioned by Rabino (No. 82), on whose authority it is here inserted, without any particulars. It is not otherwise known to me.

(141)

**Harf-i-Haqq (Straight Talk).**

A weekly paper printed in Tabriz in the latter part of A.H. 1325 (= Winter of 1907-8) by the former administration of the newspaper *Adilat*, edited and written by Sayyid Nīmatullāh of Isfahān. In politics it was Conservative and moderate Constitutionalist.

See Rabino, No. 83, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 5th of Dhul-Hijja, A.H. 1325 (= Jan. 9, 1908). I possess a copy of this number, which comprises 4 pp. of 11½" × 6¼". Yearly subscription, 10 qdrān in Tabriz, 15 elsewhere in Persia, 20 abroad. The printing is particularly good.

(142)

**Hasharātul-Arūz (Reptiles of the Earth).**

A comic weekly paper printed in Tabriz with coloured lithographed caricatures in the early part of A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908). It was founded and published by Hájjí Mīrzā Aqā Billūrī, and edited by Mīrzā Aqā, known as Nāla-i-Millat ("The Nation's Lament"), and was one of the best produced comic papers. In the Second Constitutional Period (end of July, 1909) it again appeared, but, not more than one number had been published
The Myrmidons of the ex-Shah Muhammad 'Ali attend and report on a Constitutional Meeting

From No. 12 of the Ilkhānī, 375, June 8, 1908.
when it was suppressed by the Government. In politics this paper was Liberal and thorough-going Constitutionalist.

See Rabino, No. 84, according to whom the first number was published on the 14th of Safar, A.H. 1326 (= March 18, 1908). I possess several numbers of the earlier issue. Each contains 4 pp. of 13\" × 7\", of which pp. 1 and 4 chiefly consist of caricatures. Yearly subscription, 12 qurūds in Tabrīz, 16 qurūds elsewhere in Persia, and 10 francs abroad.

(143)

Hifṣū's-Sīhhat (The Preservation of Health).

A paper published in Tihrān, mentioned by Rabino (No. 85), but not otherwise known.

Dr Ahmad Khān says that it was founded about A.H. 1319 (A.D. 1901–2) in connection with the Council of Health established four or five years earlier.

(144)

Hāqā'īq (Verities).

A weekly illustrated magazine printed at Bākū in the early part of the year A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), edited and written by Mīrzā 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Uwaysī, Persian Vice-Consul at Bākū. Seven numbers were published.

See Rabino, No. 86, according to whom the first number was published on the 7th of Safar, A.H. 1325 (= March 23, 1907). I have no copy in my possession.

(145)

Hūqūq (Rights).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrān in the early part of the year A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Sulaymān Mīrzā, Yahyā Mīrzā, and Mīrzā Muḥammad of Khurāsān, editor of the paper Najdīt (“Deliverance”), all three of whom were members of the Second National Assembly. It was first founded by the two brothers Sulaymān Mīrzā and Yahyā Mīrzā, who subsequently included Mīrzā Muḥammad of Khurāsān in their partnership. In politics the paper was Liberal and thorough-going Constitutionalist, but not Democrat, as stated by Rabino.

See Rabino, No. 87, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 22nd of Rabī' I, A.H. 1326 (= April 4, 1908). I possess Nos. 4 and 5 of this paper. Each number comprises 8 pp. of 11\" × 6\". Yearly subscription, 12 qurūds in Tihrān, 17 qurūds elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad.
Haqíqat (The Truth).

Not in Rabño, and not seen.

Haqíqat (The Truth).

A weekly paper lithographed in Isfahán early in the year A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Hájjî Sayyid Ahmad.

See Rabño, No. 89, from whom the above particulars are taken. He adds that the second issue appeared on the 22nd of Muḥarram, A.H. 1325 (= March 7, 1907). I do not possess a copy.

Haqíqat (The Truth).

A "jelly-graphed" newspaper published at Rasht in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) on the part of the Executive of the Anjuman-i-Haqíqat.

See Rabño, No. 88, from whom the above particulars are taken. I do not possess a copy.

Hikáyat-i-Ján-gudáž-i-Waqáyi' az Yazd lla Shíráz
(The Soul-melting Tale of Events from Yazd to Shiráz).

A migratory newspaper lithographed in Shiráz and on the roads of Fārs in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). The following superscription stood at the top of the first page: "News-editor, Hájjî Fathu'lláh, poetically surnamed Maftún, son of the late Áqá 'Abdu'r-Rahim of Yazd, known as Najafi, resident in the province of 'Arabistán in Persia." This paper is deserving of attention on account of its originality.

Not in Rabño, and not seen.

Hikmat (Wisdom).

A weekly newspaper printed in Cairo in A.H. 1310 (= A.D. 1892–3) under the editorship of Mírzá Mahdí of Tabríz.
Zatimudd-Dawla and Ra'isu'l-Hukamā, which still appears in a somewhat irregular fashion, usually about three numbers a month being published. This paper also is one of the older papers which achieved a considerable celebrity in the earlier days, and especially promoted the use of pure Persian undiluted with Arabic. One of the most notable productions of this paper was the poem known as "The Lament of the Fatherland" (Faryād-i-Waṭan) in the metre known as Ṭawīl ("the Long").

See Rabino, No. 90. I possess a number of copies ranging from No. 246 (of the Seventh Year), dated Šafar 1, A.H. 1316 (= June 21, 1898), to No. 881 (of the Fifteenth Year) dated Šafar 1, A.H. 1325 (= March 15, 1907). The former is printed in a larger size than the succeeding numbers, and comprises 8 pp. of 14½" x 9". The later numbers (at any rate from the Eighth Year onwards) comprise 16 pp. of 9½" x 8". Yearly subscription, 40 grânes; Russia and the Caucasus, 10 roubles; India, 15 rupees; Egypt and Europe, £1 E.

Hayāt (Life).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Hayāt (Life).

A paper lithographed in Šhirāz in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910). It was published there by a fugitive Liberal patriot from India called "Šūfi," who was presently again compelled to seek safety in flight by the harshness of the British Consul, and the newspaper was thereupon suspended, after only eight numbers of it had appeared. The editor's full name was Šūfi Ānba바ršā, a native of Murādābād in the Deccan.

See Rabino, No. 91. I possess the number described by him (No. 2, dated the 11th of Jumāda-i, A.H. 1328 = May 21, 1910), but am not certain as to the identification with the paper described in the text, for though on the one hand there are evidences of Indian authorship (as in the form Angrez for Inglis, English), the editor's name appears as Muhammad Ḥusayn Kāshīm-i-Shāhīt ("Servant of the Holy Law"), and the place of publication as the Mayyad-i-Ṭîbādān, or "Gun Square," which suggests Ţihrān rather than Šhirāz. (I am informed by Dr Ahmad Khān, however, that mayyadā of the same name exist at Shīrāz and Mashhad, if not at Kāshān also.) In any case this paper comprises 4 pp. of 15½" x 6½" and is lithographed in a good tālīq hand. Yearly subscription, 10 tahāsun.
(153)
Kháwaristán (The Eastern Land).


See Rabino, No. 91. I possess Nos. 1 and 2, the first dated the 26th of Shawwal, A.H. 1327 (= November 4, 1909). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11″ × 6½″. Yearly subscription, 35 grúnd in Tihrán, 40 grúnd elsewhere in Persia, and 45 grúnd abroad.

(154)
Khabar (News).

A daily newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Mírzá Sayyid Husayn Khán, the former editor of the newspapers al-Hádíd, 'Adálat and Şubbat (q.v.).

See Rabino, No. 93, according to whom No. 5 was published on the 5th of Shawwal, A.H. 1328 (= Oct. 10, 1910). I do not possess a copy.

(155)
Khurásán.

A weekly paper printed in Mashhad (Khurásán) in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909).

See Rabino, No. 94, according to whom this paper first appeared on the 25th of Safar, A.H. 1327 (= March 18, 1909). I possess several numbers ranging from No. 2 (dated the 3rd of Rahl'í, A.H. 1327 = March 15, 1909) to No. 14 (dated the 23rd of Rajab, A.H. 1327 = August 17, 1909). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 13″ × 6½″. Yearly subscription, 12 grúnd in Mashhad, 15 grúnd elsewhere in Persia, 18 grúnd abroad. Editor M. S. Husayn.

(156)
Khurram (Gay).

A fortnightly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Hájí Mír Husayn.

See Rabino, No. 95. I possess No. 1, which is dated the 29th of Rahl'í, A.H. 1325 (= May 12, 1907), and comprises 4 pp. of 11½″ × 6½″. Yearly subscription, 15 grúnd in Tihrán and neighbourhood, 24 grúnd elsewhere in Persia.

(157)
Khulásat'l-Hawádith (Summary of News).

A daily paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1316 (= A.D. 1898–9). This paper, which appeared as a single sheet or leaf, contained a summary of telegraphic news, was the first daily paper in
الغذاء المكتوب

روح نبات الأسرة: الكتب المذكورة، جعل نهاية

محققته تكمل عن جميع العادات والأداب.

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فون صاحب رواج بريجز لقطع。

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فوق بلاد وغزلة، ثم عودة إلى طرق

لقد، ولهذا، من الصعب.

باريس

إلى، مثلا، بجانب، ودعا القائمة، تطبيقات

وجاء، بجانب، مثلا، بجانب، القائمة، تطبيقات

ونسي، نسي، ودعا، القائمة، تطبيقات.

No. 874 of the Khulâtât-ul-Hamidith (Aug. 7, 1902),

the oldest printed daily paper in Persia
Persia, and lasted more than five years. It was founded by Muhammad Bāqir Khān Fitimid-Saltana at the time when he was made Minister of the Press.

See Rahino, No. 96, according to which it first appeared in Jumāda ii, A.H. 1316 (= Oct.–Nov., 1899), while the last issue seen (No. 1107) was dated the 18th of Rabī‘ ii, A.H. 1323 (= August 13, 1903). I possess Nos. 874 (Aug. 7, 1902) to 879. Each consists of one sheet (2 pp.) of 14" × 6½". Monthly subscription, 3 qirshas.

(Khilāfāt (Caliphate)).

A fortnightly paper printed in London in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Hájji Shaykh Hasan of Tabrīz. This newspaper was founded by the above-mentioned Shaykh Hasan in partnership and co-operation with a fugitive from Egypt [Najib Hindiya, a Syrian, brother of the well-known Cairo printer Amin Hindiya], and successive numbers appeared, some in Persian, some in Arabic, and some in Turkish. The Persian numbers, most of which were devoted to attacks on "Prince" Arfa‘u’d-Dawla, then Persian Ambassador at Constantinople, were written by the above-mentioned Shaykh Hasan.

See Rahino, No. 97, who gives the date of first appearance as the 9th of Jumāda i, A.H. 1324 (= July 1, 1906). I possess a good many copies of the Turkish, Arabic and Persian issues, for I was acquainted with both editors, and Shaykh Hasan was for some time (about 1907–9) Persian teacher at Cambridge. The oldest Turkish issue which I possess is No. 43 of the Second Year, dated April 3, 1901, and the oldest Arabic issue No. 163 of the Seventh Year, dated Nov. 1, 1906, so that the paper must have been started early in 1900. Of the Persian issue I possess Nos. 1–13, the first dated July 1, 1906, and the last Feb. 15, 1907. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 14½" × 8½". Yearly subscription, England, 8s.; Persia, 20 qirshas; Turkey and Egypt, 50 piastres; Russia, 4 roubles; Europe and China, 10 francs.

(Khurshid (The Sun)).

A newspaper published in Tihran under the management of the Principal of the Dār-ul-Funūn, or University.

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

(Khurshid (The Sun)).

A weekly paper printed and lithographed in Mashhad in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mīržā Muhammad
Şādiq Khán of Tabriz. Subsequently four numbers of this paper were published weekly. In politics it was Moderate, not Democrat, as stated by Rabino.

See Rabino, No. 98, who says that the paper was started in Muḥarram, a.h. 1325 (≈ Feb.–March, 1907), and was still appearing when he wrote in a.h. 1339 (≈ A.D. 1921). I possess a good many copies, of which the first is No. 1 (dated Muḥarram 21, 1325= March 6, 1907). This as well as No. 3 is lithographed in a large, clear naskh, but No. 10 (dated the 25th of Rabī‘ I, a.h. 1335= May 11, 1907) is printed. No. 104 (dated the 25th of Dhū‘ al-Ḥijja, a.h. 1325= Jan. 29, 1908) is the last number of the First Year which I possess. No. 139 (Second Year) is dated the 13th of Rajab, a.h. 1326 (≈ April 18, 1908). No. 2 of the Third Year (the next in my possession) is again lithographed in a poor ta'llī, hand, and is dated the 24th of Rajab, a.h. 1327 (≈ August 11, 1909). No. 33 of the same year is still lithographed, but once more in naskh. No. 36 of the Fourth Year, dated the 21st of Dhū‘ al-Ḥijja, a.h. 1328 (≈ Dec. 24, 1910), is again printed, while No. 68 of the same year, dated the 27th of Jumāda al-‘Awwal, a.h. 1329 (≈ June 25, 1911), is considerably enlarged in size, each page containing three instead of two columns. With this exception the pages (originally eight; later four) measure 12" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 32 grāns in Mashhad, 36 grāns elsewhere in Persia, 8 roubles in Türkistān and the Caucasus, and 70 francs abroad.

(161)

Khayál (Imagination).

Of this paper, not mentioned by Rabino or Mīrzā Muhammad ‘Alī Khán "Tarbiyat," I possess one copy (No. 1), undated, which was lithographed at Rasht. On page 1 is a coloured portrait of Sulṭān Ahmad Shāh (who succeeded his deceased father, Muhammad ‘Alī, on July 16, 1909), and on page 4 is a political cartoon. Yearly subscription, 12 grāns in Rasht, 17 grāns elsewhere in Persia, 20 grāns abroad. Size of page, 12" x 7½". Editor, Afṣāhu‘l-Mutakallimin.

(162)

Khayru‘l-Kalám (The Best of Discourses).

A paper published at Rasht, originally lithographed, afterwards printed, in a.h. 1325 (≈ A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Afṣāhu‘l-Mutakallimin. Of this paper 80 numbers a year were published, and in witty writing it was one of the most amusing of all the Persian newspapers. Its editor in a.h. 1325 (≈ A.D. 1907) incurred the displeasure of Amīr Khán Sardār, entitled Amīr-i-As‘am, then Governor of Gilān, who, from motives of revenge,
caused him to be severely bastinadoed. On regaining his freedom he fled to Tihrán, and there renewed the publication of his paper, of which, however, only six numbers were published in the course of two months, when it was again transferred to Rasht. During its later days (A.H. 1328-9 = A.D. 1910-11) the paper was Democrat in politics.

See Rabino, No. 99, who gives the 24th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1325 (= Aug. 4, 1907), as the date of the first issue at Rasht, where the paper was still continued in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) when he wrote. He adds that Nos. 13-19 of the First Year were published at Tihrán, and that it was issued at Tihrán from the 25th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1325, until the 23rd of Safar, A.H. 1326 (= Jan. 29, 1908, until March 27, 1908).

Khayru'l-Kalám (The Best of Discourses).

A paper printed in Tihrán towards the end of A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Afsahu'l-Mutakallimín. Only six numbers appeared in the course of six months at Tihrán, when it was again transferred to Rasht. Latterly the politics of the paper were Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 99. I possess a fairly complete set extending from No. 1 of the First Year (Aug. 4, 1907) to No. 5 of the Fourth Year (26th of Jumáda i, A.H. 1329 = May 25, 1911). The last two numbers only are lithographed, the rest printed. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12" × 7". Yearly subscription, Rasht, 15 qrúds; elsewhere in Persia, 30 qrúds; Russia, 6 roubles.

Khayr-andish (Well-meaning).

A paper lithographed in Tabríz which first appeared on the 2nd of Rabí'i, A.H. 1327 (= March 24, 1909), in the Turkish language. This statement is quoted from Rabino, but the writer has great doubts as to the existence of such a paper at that date, which corresponded with the later days of the siege of Tabríz, a time of great distress and severe want; nor have I been able to trace it by enquiries of the leading personages of that period.

See Rabino, No. 100. I possess No. 1 of this paper, from which it appears that the year of publication was A.H. 1326, not 1327, so that the date of its first publication was April 4, 1908, and the difficulty raised above is solved. My copy consists of a single sheet (2 pp.) only of 12" × 6½". Price, 1 sháhi in Tabríz, 1½ sháhí elsewhere.
Dárú'l-Ilm (Home of Learning—Shiráz).

A weekly paper lithographed in Shiráz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mîrzá 'Ináyatulláh I'timádú'l-Tawliya of Shiráz, known as "The Hand from the Unseen" (Dast-i-Ghayb).

See Kabino, No. 101. I possess Nos. 9, 12, 14, 16, of which the first is dated the 2nd of Shawwáli, A.H. 1327 (= Nov. 6, 1909). Each number comprises 8 pp., of 10" x 12 3/4". Yearly subscription, 17 gíra in Shiráz, 22 gíra elsewhere in Persia, 32 gíra in Europe and America, 5 mejdiyîs in Turkey and Egypt.

Dánish (Knowledge).

A fortnightly newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1299 (= A.D. 1881-2). Concerning it the I'timádú'l-Saltana writes: "The late Mukhbirú'd-Dawla founded this paper in the Dárú'l-Funún when he was Director of that College and Minister of the Press out of rivalry with the late I'timádú'l-Saltana." Zádú'l-Mulk writes: "The newspaper Dánish was printed in the Dárú'l-Funún, and was written by the late Mîrzá Kâzîm, Professor of Chemistry. The first number of it was published on Rajab 23, 1299 (= June 10, 1882), and the last on Safar 16, A.H. 1300 (= Dec. 27, 1882). Two numbers were published monthly, and in all fourteen numbers appeared."

Not in Kabino, and not seen.

Dánish (Knowledge).

A weekly paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1299, the first number being dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Ḥijja in that year (= Nov. 4, 1882).

Not mentioned by Kabino, and not seen.

Dánish (Knowledge).

A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of the wife of Dr. Husayn
Before and after the Honeymoon

(From Mullah Nasru'll-Din, Year iii, No. 5, Feb. 16, 1908)
Khán the Oculist (Kahlil). This is the only Persian newspaper written exclusively for women and discussing topics of special interest to women.

See Rabino, No. 102, according to whom No. 4 was issued on the 22nd of Shawwál, A.H. 1328 (= Oct. 27, 1910). I do not possess a copy.

Dabistán (The School).

A fortnightly paper lithographed in Tabriz in the earlier part of A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mirzá Rizá, Principal of the "Parwarish" College.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Dabíriyya.

A publication in the form of a newspaper produced at Rasht under the editorship of Dabíru'l-Mamálik, and containing poems and literary articles. Though not in the strict sense of the word a newspaper, but rather resembling a tract or irregular leaflets, yet, as it bore some resemblance to a newspaper, it is mentioned here amongst them.

See Rabino, No. 103. I possess two numbers, one dated only with the year (A.H. 1326), the other dated the 15th of Rabí' II of that year (= May 17, 1908). Each consists of a single sheet of $12'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$, printed on one side only, and each contains one single poem only.

Dastúr.

A newspaper printed at Rasht twice a week in Rajab, A.H. 1328 (= July, 1910), of which three numbers only were published.

See Rabino, No. 104, from whom the above particulars are derived. He describes it as a religious paper. I possess No. 2, dated the 18th of Rajab, A.H. 1328 (= July 28, 1910). It comprises 4 pp. of $14\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''$. Yearly subscription, 35 qirán in Rasht, 30 elsewhere in Persia. It describes itself as "a historical, political and ethical paper, supporting the independence of Persia."

Da'watu'l-Islám (The Preaching of Islam).

A fortnightly religious paper lithographed in Bombay in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906), under the editorship of Sayyid
Muhammad ‘All of Isfahán, called Dā‘ī’-Islám (“The Missionary of Islám”).

See Rabino, No. 105, who gives the date of the first and last issue as Ramażān 1, A.H. 1324 (= Oct. 19, 1906), and the 1st of Jumādá‘a ii, A.H. 1325 (= July 12, 1907). I possess Nos. 1–19 (with a few lacunae), of which Nos. 18 and following are printed, not lithographed. Each number contains 8 pp. of 9¾” x 6¼”. Yearly subscription, 3 rupees in India, 15 gráns in Persia, 1½ mejidiyyés in Turkey, 3 rubles in the Caucasus and Turkistán, and 7 francs in Europe, China and Egypt.

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Da’wat-ul-Ḥaq (The Preaching of the Truth).

A monthly religious magazine printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1321 (= A.D. 1903–4) under the editorship of Shaykh Muhammad ‘All of Dizfúl, known as Bahját, a Member of the Second National Assembly, and proprietor of the Mu’tárif Library and newspaper.

See Rabino, No. 106, according to whom this paper was first issued on the 1st of Sha‘bán, A.H. 1321 (= Oct. 23, 1903). Only 10 numbers appeared in the First Year. Not seen.

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Difā‘iyya (Defence).

A paper lithographed in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Afsah-Záda, of which only one number appeared.

See Rabino, No. 107, from whom this information is derived.

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Dīwān-i-‘Adālat (The Court of Justice).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

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Ráh-i-Khayál (Fancy’s Way).

A weekly paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Afsahu’l-Mutakallimín, the editor of the
Khayrul-Kalám, who founded it when the last-named paper was suspended. In politics it was Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 108, who gives the first of Shabán, A.H. 1329 (= July 28, 1911), as the date of inception. I have no copy.

Rađ (Thunder).

A weekly newspaper printed in Qazvin in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Sayyid 'Ali, written by Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Ali of Tihrán, known as Mubad, editor of the paper Madi (q.v.). Democrat in politics.

See Rabino, No. 109, who gives Rabii ii, A.H. 1329 (= April, 1911), as the date of inception. I possess Nos. 1, 2 and 4 (the first dated April 23, 1911). Each comprises 4 pp. of 12½” x 6¾”. Yearly subscription, 6 gulden in Qazvin and 8 gulden elsewhere in Persia.

Ruhul'Amin (The Trusty Spirit).


See Rabino, No. 110. I do not possess a copy of this paper.

Ruhul'Qudus (The Holy Spirit).

A paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of the Sultanul'Ulama of Khurásán. This paper achieved a special notoriety on account of its extraordinary boldness, and published in its thirteenth number a personal attack on Muhammad 'Ali Sháh and his anti-constitutional actions, threatening him with the fate of Louis XVI, King of France, and recalling the Great French Revolution. In consequence of this article it was suppressed, but after a while resumed publication. The editor of this newspaper was a man of extraordinary convictions and zeal, and took a personal share in the National efforts to defend the Constitution. Thus he participated vi et armis in the struggle between the Nationalists and the troops of Muhammad 'Ali Sháh on the occasion of the
Reactionary Coup d'État of June 23, 1908, and fought valorously in defence of the Majlis. Finally he was taken prisoner, was confined in chains in the Bâgh-i-Shâh, and ultimately suffered a martyr's death, and was thrown into a well. The politics of the paper were Revolutionary.

See Rahim, No. 111, according to whom the paper first appeared on the 25th of Jumâda ii, a.H. 1325 (=August 5, 1907), while No. 46 appeared on the 18th of Rabî' ii, a.H. 1326 (=May 20, 1908). I possess the celebrated No. 13 (published on Nov. 5, 1907) alluded to above, and the article in question will be found translated on pp. 156-161 of my Persian Revolution. The paper comprises 4 pp. of 14" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 qârine in Tîhrân, 17 qârine elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, and 10 francs in other foreign countries.

Rûznâma'i-Írân-i-Sulţâni
(The Royal Gazette of Persia).

An official fortnightly newspaper printed in Tîhrân in A.H. 1321 (=A.D. 1903-4) under the management of Mullâ Muhammad Nadim's-Sultân (formerly Nadîm-bâshi, or Chief Attendant at the Court), at that time Minister of Publications, and edited and written by Afzâlullâh-Mulk, "Deputy-Minister of Publications and Accountant of the Supreme Court." This paper was the original Írân (q.v.), thus renamed when it was placed in charge of the Nadim's-Sultân. Its first number was published early in the month of Muharram in that year (April, 1903). At the top of the title-page it bore the following inscription: "This Royal paper, which appears by special command and enjoys the particular regards of His Most Sacred and Imperial Majesty, is entirely free from all control or limitation, and whatever it writes is truly written" (!). Of its more pleasing contents one portion was devoted to literary matters. Amongst these was the "Nişâb of Abu'z-Zafar Sâdiq-i-Farahâni," an imitation of the well-known rhymed vocabulary of Abu Nasr-i-Farahî known as the Nişâb-i-Şibîyân, compiled by Mîrzâ Sâdiq Khân Adîbîl-Mamâlik, poetically named Amrî, editor of the newspaper Adâb. This rhymed glossary of old Persian words began to appear in No. 4 of the paper, and was continued in the succeeding numbers, one chakâma, or canto, being published in each. I possess the whole in manuscript, and here subjoin as a
specimen some verses from the beginning of the first chahāma, written in the metre called Khafif ("The Light").

This chahāma comprises more than forty couplets, and includes in its verses many unfamiliar and obsolete words to which it assigns definite scientific meanings.

The year A.H. 1321 (= A.D. 1903-4) in which the Rūznān-ī-Irān-ī-Sultānī first appeared under this title is described at the top of the page as the "fifty-sixth year of publication," and so is continued until it came to an end in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7), which is described as the "fifty-ninth year of publication." Now the first foundation of a Government newspaper in Persia was in A.H. 1267 (= A.D. 1850-1), before which date we are unaware of the existence of any newspaper; and this is confirmed by the following passage in the third volume of the Muntazam-ī-Nāsiri treating of the events of the year A.H. 1267: "It was also in this year that there was founded in this Empire of eternal duration, that is to say in the glorious metropolis thereof, a Government newspaper containing domestic and foreign news, commercial advertisements, etc." Now according to this computation, the year A.H. 1321 would be the fifty-fifth, not the fifty-sixth, of this foundation, and in order to solve this difficulty I wrote to H.E. the Ittimād-ī-Saltanah, who returned the following answer, which I give verbatim:
"The solution of this difficulty is as follows. During the period of the late lamented Ittimádu's-Saltana and the earlier period of my management of the paper, no allusion was ever made in the title of the newspaper to the year of its foundation. But when the management of the paper passed into the hands of the Nadimu's-Sultán, he changed the title of the old Irán to Rúznáma-i-Irán-i-Sultán, and added the words 'fifty-sixth year' at the top of the page. Afterwards when Mujiru'd-Dawla, the writer of the paper, withdrew for a while from it, and it was written by Afsálu'l-Mulk, at this juncture an error of two years crept into the computation. When I again accepted this service, I repeatedly called the attention of Mujiru'd-Dawla to this error, but he always replied, 'There is no need to reverse this act or revise this date, for it is now a thing of the past.' It is, however, certain that there was an error here."

As a specimen of the manner in which the contents of the newspapers of that period were edited, I here append a paragraph of a few lines occurring in No. 4 of this paper, dated Tuesday, Safar 21, A.H. 1321 (= May 19, 1903), under the heading of 'Court News,' which runs as follows.

"Praise be to God, the auspicious and fortunate person of His Most Sacred Majesty, the Shadow of God on this earth (may our lives be his sacrifice!), is in the extreme of health and happiness, and daily devotes attention to matters of importance conducive to the well-being of the community. On the ninth day of this month His Most Sacred Majesty, the Shadow of God, attended by the nobles of the Court and intimates of the Royal Threshold, set out for a stay of some days at the village of Kan, situated at a distance of two parasangs from Tíhrán, in order to divert and refresh the mind, and to practise horsemanship and marksmanship. There they alighted in Royal state, with all due pomp and circumstance, and signal splendour and glory, and abode in that village several days and nights. Every day until after noon His Majesty busied himself with the perusal of the reports received from the different Ministries and Governors, and with reading telegrams from the home provinces and remoter districts of Persia, while in the afternoon he employed his auspicious time in marksmanship and the chase."
On the morning of Wednesday the fifteenth he returned from Kan to the capital of Tihrân, which is the Abode of the supreme Sovereignty, in order to deal with various domestic and foreign affairs.

It is worth noting that this specimen of journalistic style belongs to the latter period of Mużaffaru'd-Din Shâh's reign, only a short time before the Constitution was proclaimed!

Not in Rabino. I possess No. 4 of this paper, dated Safar 21, A.H. 1321, and May 19, 1905. It comprises 8 pp. of 9" × 6½", and is very well printed in double columns.

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Rūznáma-i-Tabriz (The Tabriz Gazette).

A newspaper published in Tabriz in A.H. 1275 (= A.D. 1858–9) of which mention is made in the Rūsnáma-i-Waqdî-yî-Ittifaqîyya (see footnote on the article dealing with that paper). As the correct title of this newspaper is unknown to us, we have placed it under the above title, but it is very probable that it is that same Tabriz which was afterwards revived when Mużaffaru’d-Din was Crown Prince.

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Rūznáma-i-Ḥakimu’l-Mamálîk
(The Hakimu’l-Mamálîk’s Journal).

A paper printed in Tihrân under the editorship of Mirzá 'Ali Naqí the physician, son of Áqá Isma’îl, a Jew converted to Islam, entitled Ḥakimu’l-Mamálîk, chief page-in-waiting (Pštsh-khídmat-bâsh) of Nâṣiru’d-Dín Shâh. This man, having completed his studies in Europe, returned to Persia in A.H. 1278 (= A.D. 1861–2), received the title of Ḥakimu’l-Mamálîk during the Shâh’s journey to Khurásân in A.H. 1284 (= A.D. 1867–8), and was made Governor of Buriújîrîd in A.H. 1293 (= A.D. 1876). Nâṣiru’d-Dín Shâh was himself the writer of this newspaper, though he attributed it by way of a joke to the Ḥakimu’l-Mamálîk, under whose signature it was published. In all, three numbers were published, all written by Nâṣiru’d-Dín Shâh. Of these, one describes the emotions of a young man who comes forth

The proper name of this paper is not certainly known, and it has been inserted under this title only for the sake of introducing it to the reader.
from his house on a Spring morning to enjoy the Spring season; another the emotions of an old man who likewise tastes the Spring; and the third the Ascension to Heaven (māraj) of the Ḥakimūl-Mamālik, which led to his being denounced as an infidel and to the paper being discontinued. These three sheets are very amusing. (The last particulars are taken from a letter from H.E. the Iltimādūs-Saltana.)

As is well known, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh used to “chaff” the Ḥakimūl-Mamālik a great deal, especially on the journey to Khurāsān, when the Shāh himself composed, in the form of a panegyric, some verses satirizing him. As these verses are not lacking in wit, some of them are here given.

(183)  
Ruznāma-i-Dawlat-i-'Alīyya-i-Īrān  
(Journal of the Sublime State of Persia).  
A paper lithographed in Tihrān early in A.H. 1277 (July-Aug. 1860), and containing accounts of happenings in the
various provinces of Persia, and portraits of statesmen and persons of note, with narratives of their circumstances. Probability points to its having succeeded the *Waqqiyi'-i-Ittisâqiyya* ("Fortuitous Events"), which assumed this new name in about the 470th issue.

See *Gabino*, No. 112, according to whom No. 471 (i.e. the first number of the *Waqqiyi* which appeared under the new name) was dated the 28th of Muharram, A.H. 1377 (= Aug. 11, 1860), while No. 565 was dated the 17th of Jumâda il, A.H. 1381 (= Nov. 17, 1864).

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Rûznâma-i-Dawlati *(State Journal)*

A paper lithographed in Tihhrân, containing domestic, foreign and Court news. I have seen No. 622 of this paper, which is dated Thursday the 7th of Jumâda il, corresponding to the auspicious Year of the Leopard, A.H. 1285 (= Sept. 25, A.D. 1868). Above the title on the first page stand the Lion and the Sun, over which is written: "Printed in the Victorious Abode of the Caliphate" (*Dârul-Khilâfa, i.e. Tihhrân*) "in the Blessed College of the *Dârul-Funûn*, in the workshops of the State Printing-Press. Price of each copy, 14 shâhîs; yearly subscription, in addition to the *Rûznâma-i-Ilmi* ('Scientific Gazette') and the *Rûznâma-i-Millât* ('National Gazette'), 36 qrâns." This paper, according to the most probable conjecture, succeeded the previously-mentioned *Rûznâma-i-Dawlat-i-'Aliyya-i-Îrân* (No. 183 supra). A brief account of both of these papers has been given in the Introduction (pp. 10 et seqq.).

I possess No. 622, mentioned above. It comprises 5 pp. of 11½" x 6", bears a large Lion and Sun on the top of p. 1, and is lithographed in good style.

Not mentioned by Rabino.

(185)

Rûznâma-i-Rasmi-i-Dawlat-i-Îrán *(Official Gazette of the Persian Government)*

A daily paper printed in Tihhrân in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of the *Mu'ayyidul-Mamâlik*, editor of the *Pulis-i-Îrân* (q.v.). It used to publish full reports of the debates
of the Second National Assembly, and its publication is still continued.

See Rabino, No. 113, who says that three numbers a week were published, and that the date of inception was the 18th of Rabi‘i’ ii, A.H. 1329 (=April 18, 1911). I possess No. 1, which, in fact, is so dated. It comprises 50 pp. of 10½ x 7½ and is printed in three columns. Yearly subscription, 45 gildar in Tihrān, 55 elsewhere in Persia, 70 abroad.

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Rūznāma-i-Shaykh Fażlu’llāh
(Shaykh Fażlu’llāh’s Journal).

A paper lithographed at Shāh ‘Abdu'l-‘Azīm in A.H. 1325 (=A.D. 1907–8) on behalf of the Reactionaries (Shaykh Fazlu’llāh-i-Nūrī and his confederates) who had taken sanctuary in the above-mentioned shrine, and who remained there, at the instigation and by the encouragement of Muḥammad ‘Alī Mīrzā, the deposed Shāh, for nearly five months, endeavouring to subvert the Constitution. During this period they used to publish a paper for the propagation of their ideas amongst the common people, with the professed object of demanding the Shari‘at (or Religious Law of Islām, as opposed to any Qānūn, or Civil Law), and denouncing as a blasphemous innovation the Majlis and the Constitution. Of this paper some 19 numbers appear to have been published, mostly under the name and title of “Objects of those now in sanctuary in the Holy Shrine,” but sometimes under that of “Explanation of the pious objects of the Proof of Islām and the Muslims, and the other fugitives in sanctuary at the Holy Shrine,” or under the heading of the verse from the Qur’ān (viii, 48), “And obey God and His Apostle, and be not refractory, lest ye be discouraged, and your success depart from you; but persevere with patience, for God is with those who persevere.” Nearly all of the contents of these issues were quoted and refuted in the Hablul-Mattin.

For lack of certainty as to the correct title, this paper is placed under the descriptive title given above.

(187)

Rūznāma-i-Tīmī (The Scientific Gazette).

A newspaper published in Tihrān in A.H. 1293 (=A.D. 1876–7), concerning which Zakh‘ul-Mulk writes: “This paper was founded
by Muhammad Hasan Khan Santu'd-Dawla. In all, sixty-four numbers of it were published, the first dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1293 (= Jan. 8, 1877), and the last the 23rd of Jumâda ii, A.H. 1297 (= June 2, 1880).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(188)

Rûznáma-i-'Ilmiyya-i-Dawlat-i-Alliyya-i-Írán
(Scientific Gazette of the Sublime State of Persia).

A monthly newspaper lithographed in A.H. 1280 (= A.D. 1863-4) under the management of 'Ali-quli Mirzâ F'tizâd-din-Izâna, Minister of Sciences, of which the first number was published on Sha'bán 1 of the above year (= Jan. 11, 1864), and the last number on Shawwál 1, A.H. 1287 (= Dec. 25, 1870). In all, 53 numbers were published. This paper was sometimes spoken of by the abbreviated title of Rûznáma-i-'Ilm, and was published under the same management as the Rûznáma-i-Millatt and Rûznáma-i-Dawlat, the combined subscription for all three being 36 grâns. It was sometimes issued in three languages, Persian, Arabic and French, and sometimes only in the two last, as in the case of No. 52, which I possess, and which is dated "Tuesday the eleventh of Mihr-mâh in the auspicious year 792 of the Jalâli era," or in the concurrent Arabic portion, Rajab 1, A.H. 1287 (= Sept. 27, 1870). The contents of this number consist for the most part of investigations into the nature of a certain form of literary composition used by modern writers and entitled "prose-verse" (Shîr-i-manthâr), or, as the paper puts, "a kind of poetry which in truth one may consider as intermediate between verse and prose." On this subject it puts forward an explanation referring to the invention of this method by Abu'l-Alâ al-Ma'arrî (d. A.H. 449 = A.D. 1057-8); afterwards by Muzaffar b. Ibrâhîm, the blind Egyptian (d. A.H. 623 = A.D. 1226); and still later by Khwâja Mas'ûd, known as 'Ismat, of Bukhârâ; and gives some specimens of discourses and anecdotes in this kind of poetry. The Arabic is an exact translation of the Persian portion of the paper, which is indeed a useful and
admirable production. In this same number it refers to previous remarks on the same subject in the last issue of the Rūznāma-i-Millatī, where some mention is made of Sayyid ‘Alī Mihri of Jabal-'Āmil and of some of his verses of this sort; which indicates that both papers dealt with common topics.

The number of this paper alluded to above comprises one sheet of the size customary in Persia, folded into four pages, of which one is blank. On the top of the first page, under the title Rūznāma-i-Imiyya-i-Dawlāt-i-'Alīyya-i-Īrán, stand the words: "No. 52: yearly subscription, in conjunction with the Rūznāma-i-Dawlāt and the Rūznāma-i-Millatī, 36 qrāns. Printed in the Victorious Capital, in the auspicious Daru'll-Funūn College, in the Government Printing-press." There is also an illustration, which appears to represent the Shamsul-Imāra and the Maydān-i-Tūp-i-Marvārīd.

Rahino (No. 114) mentions No. 3 of this paper, dated the 26th of Bahman-mah in the year 1293 of the Jalāl era; and No. 4, dated the 9th of Farvardin-mah in the year 1296 of the same era. Although nominally the paper was published monthly, yet it is evident that it appeared at irregular intervals. The total number of issues and the dates of the first and last numbers are given on the authority of H.E. Zulqarīn-Mulk. I possess the above-mentioned No. 52, which comprises 4 pp. (one blank) of 12 \(\times\) 7\(\frac{1}{4}\). The Persian portion is lithographed in talīq and the Arabic in nashī.

(189)

Rūznāma-i-Millatī (The National Journal).

A paper lithographed in Tihrān in A.H. 1283 (= A.D. 1866–7). At the top of the page it bore the figure of a mosque, a conventional sign of its national character. Mirzā Fath-‘Alī Akhundoff of Tiflis wrote a long and laughable criticism of this paper, analyzing one of its numbers which had come under his notice, and of which more than half was taken up with an account of the genealogy and circumstances of a poet who bore the nom de guerre (takhallus) of Surūsh and the title of Shamsu'sh-Shu'ārā ('"Sun of the Poets"'), and with two of his poems, a qaṣīda and a ghazal. The criticism in question begins as follows: "On Friday the 14th of the month of Rabi‘ul-Awwal A.H. 1283 (= July 27, 1866) I happened to see in Tiflis a copy of the Rūznāma-i-Millat-i-Īrán under circumstances which will be mentioned below. First of all I read this sentence: 'It has been ordered
and determined on the Illustrious part of His Imperial Majesty (may God immortalize his Kingdom and Sovereignty!) that the Rūznāma-i-Millī shall be written in the freest fashion, so that gentle and simple may share alike in its advantages. The meaning of this sentence is..." etc.

Zākā'ul-Mulk writes: "The Rūznāma-i-Millāt used to be published, together with the Rūznāma-i-Dawlatī and the Rūznāma-i-Iltūtī, under the superintendence of the late Ḥusayn b. Saltana. Its first number was dated Friday, the 14th of Rabi‘i, A.H. 1283 (= July 27, 1866), and its last number the 20th of Jumādā ii, A.H. 1287 (= Sept. 17, 1870). It was published monthly, and in all 33 numbers appeared. Its contents consisted chiefly of the biographies of eminent poets."

Ẓimādī's-Saltana writes: "Another paper was the Rūznāma-i-Millat-i-Irān [of which the first number was] dated Wednesday, Muharram 15, A.H. 1283 (= May 30, 1866). This paper appeared while Mīrzā Muhammad Khān Sippadār was Prime Minister, and was under the management of the Ministry of Sciences."

As may be seen from the above, there exists a certain discrepancy and contradiction as to the date of this paper's first appearance, unless, indeed the Rūznāma-i-Millat-i-Irān is a different paper from the Rūznāma-i-Millāt, which seems somewhat improbable.

Not in Rabī‘, and not seen.

(190)

Rūznāma-i-Millī (The National Journal).

A quarto-sized weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906-7), the first number of which appeared on Ramazān 1st (= Oct. 19, 1906) of that year. This was the first newspaper published in Tabriz after the Revolution and the Proclamation of the Constitution. Its founder and editor was Mīrzā ‘Alī Akbar Khān, son of the well-known Sayyid Hāshim of Charandāb, who used at first to sign under the nom de guerre of Sarūsh-i-Ghaybī ("The Angel from the Unseen World"), but who afterwards wrote under his own name when, in the latter part of the same year, the paper changed its title to Jarida-i-Millī (see No. 123, supra). A little later, namely in the early
part of A.H. 1325 (= Feb.-March, 1907), it again changed its name, and was published under the title of *Anjuman* (see No. 64, supra). This paper, and likewise its successors, i.e. the *Jarida-e-Milli* and the *Anjuman*, were produced under the supervision and at the expense of the *Anjuman-e-Milli*, or National Council, of Tabriz.

See Rabino, No. 115. I do not possess a copy.

(191)

Rūznāma-i-Nizāmī (The Military Newspaper).

A paper published in Tihrān, of which Mīrzā Husayn Khān *Sipahsālīr* was probably the founder. In any case it was founded before A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879), for, as *Zakhānīl-Mulk* states, in a letter, its place was taken in that year by the *Mirrikh* (q.v.).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(192)

Rūznāma-i-Waqāyī-i-Ittifaqiyya (Journal of Current Events).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Tihrān in A.H. 1267 (= A.D. 1850-1), concerning which something has been already said in the Introduction. This was the first Persian newspaper published in Persia, and was started while Mīrzā Taqī Khān *Aмир-i-Nizām* was Prime Minister. At first, i.e. until the appearance of No. 16, dated Rajab 21, A.H. 1267 (= May 22, 1851), it was published every Friday, but afterwards until the end of its career on Thursdays. The yearly subscription was 24 *grāns*, while a single copy cost 10 *shāhīs*. It was published very regularly and punctually, without any delay, sometimes comprising one sheet of the size usual in Persia (4 pp.), like Nos. 1 to 9; sometimes 6 pp., like Nos. 17, 23, 24 and 25-40; sometimes 8 pp., as was generally the case in its middle and later period, occasionally regularly for some considerable time, though still numbers comprising 4 or 6 pp. would appear occasionally.

This paper continued publication until A.H. 1277 (= A.D. 1860-1), after which period it apparently received the title of
Rūznāma-i-Dawlat-i-'Alīyya-i-Īrān (q.v.). There exists a complete set of this paper in the State Library at Tihrān, while Nos. 409-456 inclusive are preserved in the British Museum under the class-mark 757.1.12 amongst the Periodical Publications. I myself possess Nos. 7-444.

"The first number of this paper," writes the I'timādullāhu's-Saltāna, "appeared on Friday the 5th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1267 (= Feb. 7, 1851), and bore only the superscription 'O Victorious Lion of God!' ('Yā Asadullāh!-Ghalib!'), but subsequently it bore the title Waqāyi'-i-Ittisāqiyya with the Lion and the Sun."

Zakā'ul-Mulk writes: "Originally, that is in the time of Mīrzā Taqqī Khān Atābāk, when the paper was first founded, Hájjī Mīrzā Jabbār Tāzkira-chi and the father of the present Sa'dullād-Dawla, who owned a printing-press, were instrumental in producing and circulating the paper, which was written by a certain Mīrzā 'Abdu'llāh. No. 474 of this paper, which I have seen and possess, is dated the 18th of Rabi' ii, A.H. 1277 (= Nov. 3, 1860)."

See Rabino, No. 116, who states that it was published by the Ministry of the Press, that No. 261 was dated the 22nd of Jamāda-i, A.H. 1313 (= Jan. 18, 1857), and that it "appears to be the same newspaper which Mīrzā Taqqī Khān Amār-Nīshān founded about A.H. 1345 (= A.D. 1828-9) in the early part of the reign of Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Shāh." I do not possess an original copy, but have a transcript of No. 8.

(193)


A daily paper printed in Tihrān in the latter part of A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). It was the successor of the Īrān-i-Naw, which, after its suppression, appeared under this name, but only one number was published. See above under No. 77.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(194)

Rahnumā (The Guide).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of 'Abdu'llāh Qājār.

See Rabino, No. 117, who gives the date of inception as the 26th of Jamāda-i, A.H. 1325 (= August 6, 1907). I possess Nos. 1, 3, 5-10, 12, 14 and 23, the first dated as above, the last the 21st of Rabi' i, A.H. 1326 (= April 23, 1908). Each.
number comprises 8 pp. of 13\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 7\(\frac{1}{4}\), with a large coloured title (the colour varying in each number) illustrating the idea of Progress with a railway-train, a steamer, a lighthouse and factories. Yearly subscription, 15 gr. in Tihrān, 20 gr. elsewhere in Persia, and 25 gr. abroad.

(195)

Zarārit Bahrā (The Ray of Light).

A religious paper published in the Chaldaean (Syriac) tongue by the Protestants in Urmīya. It is under American direction.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(196)

Zāng (The Bell).

A weekly paper printed in Tabrīz in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) in the Armenian language. This paper was the organ of the Armenian Hanchākists.

See Rabino, No. 233. Not seen by the translator.

(197)

Zāyanda-rūd.

An illustrated weekly newspaper lithographed in Iṣfahān in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of the Mu'inul-Islām of Khwānsār. In politics it was Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 118. I possess Nos. 10, 27 and 39 of the Second Year, and Nos. 3, 7, 9 and 13 of the Third Year, the first dated the 19th of Rabī' 1, A.H. 1328 (= March 31, 1910), and the last the 27th of Rabī' 1, A.H. 1329 (= April 27, 1911). All these numbers are printed except the first, which is lithographed, and a rather rude lithographed caricature or cartoon occupies the last page of each printed number. Each number comprises 8 pp. of 12\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). Yearly subscription, in Iṣfahān 16 gr., elsewhere in Persia and abroad, 24 gr.

(198)

Zabān-i-Millat (The Tongue of the Nation).

A paper printed in Tihrān twice a week in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

See Rabino, No. 119. I possess No. 3, which is dated the 28th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 1325 (= Nov. 4, 1907), and comprises 4 pp. of 11\(\frac{3}{4}\) x 6\(\frac{1}{4}\). Yearly subscription, 15 gr. in Tihrān, 18 gr. elsewhere in Persia, and 12 francs abroad.
Zisht u Ziba (Foul and Fair).

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Tihrvan in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Fathul-Mamlik.

See Rabino, No. 120, where the date of inception is given as the end of Jamada ii, A.H. 1329 (= July 13, 1907). I possess Nos. 1, 2 and 3. Each comprises 8 pp. of 12" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 30 grinds in Tihrvan, and the same plus postage elsewhere in Persia.

Zaman-i-Wisal (The Time of Union).

A weekly paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mirza 'Ali Asghar of Shiraz entitled Naşir-ul-Shu'ad.

See Rabino, No. 121, who states that only eight numbers appeared, the first on the 10th of Jamada i, A.H. 1329 (= May 18, 1911), and the last on the 2nd of Rajab (= July 19) of the same year. I possess Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7 and 8. Each comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 16 grinds.

Sahil-i-Najat (The Shore of Safety).

A paper printed in Anziali twice a week in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Afsahul-Mutakallimitn, the editor of the Khayrul-Kalamin (q.v.).

See Rabino, No. 122, who states that only eight numbers were published, the first on the 26th of Rajab, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 4, 1907). I possess Nos. 1-5, but No. 1 is dated not as above, but the 7th of Shahtan (= Sept. 25) of the same year. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12½" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 18 grinds in Gilan, 20 grinds elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 14 francs in Europe.

Sahil-i-Najat (The Shore of Safety).

A daily paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Afsahul-Mutakallimitn.

See Rabino, No. 122. I possess Nos. 8-12, the former dated the last day of Shawwal, A.H. 1328 (= Nov. 5, 1910). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 12½" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 25 grinds in Rasht, 30 grinds elsewhere in Persia, 6 roubles in Russia.
Sirājul-Akhbār (The Lamp of News).

A fortnightly paper lithographed in the nastāligī hand in Kābul (Afghānistān) in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). Its editor and chief writer was Māhmūd Tārzī, and it was under the supervision of 'Alī Ahmad the Chief Chamberlain (Ishīk-dāghūst) of His Majesty the Amīr. The first number was dated the 5th of Shawwāl (= Oct. 10) of the above year.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Surūsh.


See Rabino, Nos. 123 and 124, where mention is made of the Constantinople and Tihrān papers of this name, but no mention of such a paper at Rasht.

Surūsh.

A weekly newspaper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909–1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Tawfīq. It was founded during the time of the Persian Revolution or the "Lesser Autocracy" (June, 1908–July, 1909) by the Anjumān-i-Sa’ddat-i-Īrānīyān, and received contributions from the pens of Mīrzā ‘Alī Akbar Khān (formerly a regular contributor to the Sūr-i-Isrāfīl, q.v.), Ahmad Bey Aghayeff, and Hājji Mīrzā Yahyā of Dawlatābād.

See Rabino, No. 123, who erroneously describes it as lithographed. According to him it first appeared on the 12th of Jumādā ii, A.H. 1327 (= July 1, 1909).

Surūsh.

A paper printed in Tihrān in the latter part of A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of ‘Azudullāh-Īsām of Lāhijiān. It was written by Mīrzā ‘Isá Khān (the Sardār-i-Manṣūr’s man) of Rasht, who signed under the letter ‘ayn (ع), and enjoyed the
support of the Sardār-i-Mansūr and his followers. In politics it was Moderate.

See Rabino, No. 124, according to whom it first appeared on the 23rd of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1328 (= Nov. 26, 1910).

(207)

**Sa'ādat (Felicity).**

A weekly paper printed (not lithographed) in Hamadān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907)—not 1326—under the editorship of Muḥammad Taqī Nīrāqī.

See Rabino, No. 126. I possess Nos. 43, 46 and 47. Each comprises 4 pp. of 11½" × 7". Yearly subscription, 10 qādrūs in Hamadān, 15 qādrūs elsewhere in Persia, 4roubles in Russia and the Caucasus. No. 43 is dated the 10th of Safar, A.H. 1326 (= March 14, 1908).

(208)

**Sa'ādat (Felicity).**

A fortnightly paper printed (not lithographed) in Tabriz in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). The first number was dated the 23rd of Rabī' II (= April 23) of that year. It was edited by Sa'id-zāda, the Superintendent of the Madrasa-i-Sa'ādat, and founded by Mīrzā Ibrāhīm, the Director of the above-mentioned College. Its contents were purely academical and literary.

See Rabino, No. 125. I possess No. 4, dated the 8th of Jamāda II, A.H. 1339 (= June 6, 1911). It comprises 4 pp. of 11½" × 9½". Yearly subscription, 5 qādrūs in Tabriz, 10 abroad.

(209)

**Safina-i-Najāt (The Ark of Deliverance).**

A weekly paper first "jelly-graphed" and then lithographed at Yazd in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Muḥammad Sādiq.

See Rabino, No. 127, according to whom the paper was first issued on the 23rd of Shawwal, A.H. 1329 (= Nov. 28, 1907). He adds that on the arrival of the Bakhtiyyār chief Sardār-i-Jang as governor at Yazd this paper was suppressed, on account of the publication of a caricature of the Sardār, and his Deputy Mufīrūd-Dawla, and his Treasurer Mufīrūl-Mamālik. The latter was represented in the form of a dog, while a dog's tail was visible under the Mufīrūd-Dawla's coat, and both of them were urging the Sardār to take money from the people. As it was supposed that this caricature had been produced by lithography on the gelatine process in the workshops of the Safina-i-Najāt, the paper was suppressed. I possess Nos. 3, 6, 16, 20 and 21.
of the First Year, and No. 10 of the Second Year. The first is dated the 22nd of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (as stated above by Rabino), and the last the 22nd of Dhu‘l-Qa‘da, A.H. 1328 (=Nov. 25, 1910). Of the six numbers which I possess, the first three are “jelly-graphed” and the last three lithographed. Each contains 4 pp. of 10½” x 6½” (later enlarged to 12½” x 6½”), and is written in a large, clear, naskh hand. Yearly subscription, 30 ʿqrāns in Yazd, 32 ʿqrāns elsewhere in Persia, and 30 ʿqrāns abroad.

(210)
Sikandar (Alexander).

A weekly newspaper published every Sunday in Calcutta in A.H. 1262 (=A.D. 1846).

Mentioned in Zenker’s Bibliotheca Orientalis, No. 1829, but not by Rabino. Zenker gives the title in Roman characters only. Not seen.

(211)
Salām ‘alaykum! (Peace be upon you!).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(212)
Salsabil.


See Rabino, No. 128, on whose authority the paper is given.

(213)
Sūltānnu‘l-Akbar (The Greatest King).

A weekly newspaper published every Sunday in Calcutta in A.H. 1262 (=A.D. 1846).

Mentioned in Zenker’s Bibliotheca Orientalis, No. 1830, but not in Rabino, and not otherwise known. It appears probable that there may be a mistake in the name of this paper, and that Zenker never saw it, but only its title written in Roman characters, in which what was probably its real title Sūltānnu‘l-Akhbār (“The King of News”) might easily be corrupted into the obviously incorrect title Sūltānnu‘l-Akbār.

(214)
Sayyidu‘l-Akhbār (The Lord of News).

A large-sized weekly newspaper lithographed at Haydarābād in the Deccan in A.H. 1306 (=A.D. 1888–9) under the editorship of Āqā Sayyid Āqā Shirāzī. It was published regularly on
Saturdays, and comprised eight large-sized pages. Amongst the Periodical Publications in the British Museum, under the class-mark 757. m. 1, are preserved 35 numbers of this paper, of which No. 1 is dated the 4th of Rabii' ii, A.H. 1306 (= Dec. 8, 1888), and No. 35 the 5th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1306 (= August 2, 1889). At the top of each title-page stands the Lion and the Sun, beneath which are placed some Arabic and Persian verses in praise of the newspaper, of knowledge, etc., which verses are textually repeated in each number. Beneath these in turn the name of the newspaper is contained and inscribed in the following hemistich:

(The Sayyidu'l-Akhbâr is the best newspaper in the world.)

This paper (like the present day papers in Persia) was very instructive, containing full information, foreign news and telegraphic despatches. It translated from the English papers important political articles about Persia and Russia, and generally wrote against Russia and its designs in Persia. Some of its numbers contain particulars as to the third and last journey of Nâsiru'd-Dîn Shâh in Europe, which corresponded in time with those issues. In No. 35 there appears an announcement concerning the reduction in size of the newspaper in the forthcoming number.

One rather comic incident is that in the later numbers the editor complains much about the non-payment of subscriptions, and in one of them he writes in praise of Tabriz, its leading men, and the progress of science and education there. Finally, after giving a most brilliant and glowing account of Mîrzâ Yûsuf Khân Mustashârî'd-Dawla of Tabriz, he observes that the above-mentioned personage has been "graciously pleased" to remit the full amount of his subscription to the newspaper. In the first number he complains very much of obtaining permission in Haydarâbâd to publish the paper, and describes the editor's protracted wanderings in pursuit of this object. At the end of each copy is the signature "Sayyid Āqâ-yi-Shirâzi, owner and editor of the paper."
In some numbers he reproduces matter from the newspaper Farhang published at Isfahán, while in the tenth number he publishes an attack on and refutation of the Persian paper Azād (apparently published in Delhi), which, in the fourth number of the fifth volume, published on Friday, Feb. 1, 1889, attacks and reviles the higher circles of Ḥaydarābād in the Deccan, and the newspapers of that place, which do not enjoy freedom. From this it appears that a paper named Azād, otherwise unknown to us, was published in India in A.D. 1885 (= A.H. 1302–3).

I possess No. 34 of the second volume, dated Ramadān 11, A.H. 1307 (= May 11, 1890). It comprises 32 pp. of 12" × 7¼", and is lithographed in a fairly good type.

(215)

Shāhseven (The King-lover:—name of well-known tribe).

A “jelly-graphed” paper produced in Constantinople about A.H. 1306 (= A.D. 1888–9) or perhaps a little earlier, which vehemently criticized in a comical and sarcastic vein the autocratic Government of Persia. The production and publication of this paper was attributed to Ḥájjí Mīrzá ʿAbduʾr-Raḥīm Ṭāliboff and some of his associates, who were aided in its publication by Sayyīd Muḥammad Shabīṭarī ʿAbūz-Ziyā, afterwards editor of the Irān-i-Naw, who was at that time in Constantinople and shared in this enterprise; indeed it appears to have been reproduced from his handwriting. It was published secretly, and the issue was limited to 300 copies, which were placed in envelopes like letters and sent with various precautions to statesmen, theologians, merchants and others in Persia. Often, in order to conceal the place of publication, they were first sent to Paris, London, etc. to be forwarded thence to Persia. At the top of one copy which I possess stands the inscription, “Published once in forty years.” In the portion devoted to “telegraphic news” occurs the following passage:

“The British Consul at Hamadān has sent an official communication to the Government in which he complains that there is a public bath in the neighbourhood of the Consulate, and that the Consulate is sorely troubled by the filth thereof, and by the
infection which emanates from it, by reason of which two of its employees have died; and requesting that the Government will either close the bath, or provide a more suitable place for the Consulate."

Another runs as follows:

"Our correspondent of the Foreign Telegraphic Agency in Tihrân observed a great activity, accompanied by much haste and bustle, in the principal avenues, where most of the notables, ministers and leading personages of the kingdom, mounted in their carriages, were rapidly driving one after another in a particular direction. Before he had succeeded in ascertaining the true state of the case, he telegraphed to London stating that on that day a serious political crisis had arisen in Tihrân, and that an important movement was visible in official circles. After having despatched this telegram, he applied himself to the investigation of this matter and its real nature, and after a while was compelled, with the utmost shame, to send another telegram contradicting his first conjecture, and stating that it now appeared that all these gentlemen were merely going to attend a commemorative religious function (majlis-i-ravza-khwan) given by one of the great ecclesiastics (mujahidin) of Tihrân."

There are many telegrams of this sort, whereof the above (of which only the substance, not the exact phraseology, is given) will suffice to serve as a sample.

I have only seen one copy of this paper.

(216)

Shāhinshāhi (The Imperial).

A weekly illustrated paper lithographed in Tihrân in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905-6) under the editorship of Mirzá 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn Khán, entitled Maliku'l-Mu'arrikhin ("The King of Historians").

See Rabino, No. 134, who gives the date of inception as the 9th of Shawwáli, A.H. 1322 (= Nov. 7, 1905). I possess Nos. 18, 21, 26, 43, 44, 45, 46 and 47. The first is dated the 13th of Rabí'i, A.H. 1324 (= May 7, 1906), and the last the 13th of Muḥarrám, A.H. 1325 (= Feb. 26, 1907). Each number has on p. 1 the portrait of some notable Persian or foreign statesman, and comprises 4 pp. of 12" × 6¼". Yearly subscription, 20 guldáns. Similar in form and character to the Sharif and Sharafíat. (See infra.)
Shab-náma (Nocturnal).

A publication which appeared in Tabriz about A.H. 1310 (= A.D. 1892–3) and circulated for some time, but not in any regular or journalistic fashion, but only amongst a number of those who were inspired by the new ideas in a very secret manner. These publications were sarcastic and very amusing, and were written by 'Alí-qulí Khán, editor of the Jatiyáj and the Azarbâyján (q.v.), who was at that time known as Aqá-qulí. The name Shab-náma was, however, subsequently applied in a general way to all secret "jelly-graphed" publications. One or two specimens may be given of the contents of the Shab-námas, though it is difficult to give the preference to one over another. Concerning the deplorable condition of bread and the detestable confusion of the bread-market it wrote:

"Yesterday I sent the servant to get a loaf of bread for luncheon from the bazaar. He went early in the morning, and returned three hours after dusk, his clothes torn to rags, his face scratched, and his body wounded and bruised, bringing one cake of 'pebble bread' (nán-i-sangak), on which, by reason of our extreme hunger, we incontinentley fell and tore it in pieces. Out of it fell the objects enumerated below: one night-shirt; one ewer and basin; one head of...; one bundle of...; one..., etc."

Concerning the mud in the streets he writes:

"A string of camels sunk in the mud in the main street in front of the Royal Gynæcum, and disappeared from sight. They afterwards reappeared in the bed of the Ájí River (distant about one parasang)." And so on.

Not in Rabino. I possess one Shab-náma of Nov. 1906, written in Turkish. It consists of a single sheet of 14" x 8½", "jelly-graphed" in violet ink. A caricature occupies the upper half of the page, and below it are thirteen lines of letter-press. There is no date, title, or indication of author or place of publication.

Shajara-i-khabitha-i-Kufr: شجرة خبيثة جانبية طيبة ايمن
Shajara-i-tayyiba-i-Imán
(The foul Tree of Infidelity: the good Tree of Faith).

A lithographed publication which appeared in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.
Portrait of Mirzâ 'Ali Asghar Khân

Aminu-Şâhân by Muṣawwir-UL-Mulk

From No. 31 of the illustrated monthly Sharâfat of Oct.-Nov. 1900
Sharafat (Nobility).

A monthly illustrated paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1314 (= A.D. 1896-7) under the management of the Ministry of the Press. It was a continuation of the newspaper Sharaf (see supra), and was founded by Muhammad Bāqir Khán, the present Chimadu-s-Saltana, early in the reign of Muzaffar ud-Dīn Sháh.

See Rabino, No. 129, who says that No. 3 was issued in Rabī’ II, A.H. 1314 (= August-Sept. 1896). I possess No. 51, dated Rajab, A.H. 1318 (= Oct.-Nov. 1900). It comprises 4 pp. of 13” x 7½”, and the front page is adorned with a portrait of the Atāfūk-i-ʿAzam (Aminu-s-Saltān). Yearly subscription, 11 ʿridās.

Sharafat (Nobility).

A monthly paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Aqá Sayyid Hūsain, Director of the Sharafat Library. This paper has a special importance inasmuch as it was written in very popular language, in the idiom of the Tihrán “Mashhadis” (common people), and was sold at a very low price, so that it had a considerable influence on the humbler classes. It was instructive as regards subject-matter, and strongly supported the fullest form of Constitutional Government.

See Rabino, No. 130, who describes this paper as bi-weekly, and gives the date of No. 2 as the 4th of Safar, A.H. 1326 (= March 8, 1908). I possess Nos. 8, 9, 22, 24, 25 and 26. Each number comprises 4 pp. (with continuous pagination throughout the “set,” or “devoir,” of 40 numbers) of 13½” x 6¾”. Subscription for the “set” of 40 numbers, 3 ʿridās in Tihrán, 3 ʿridās elsewhere in Persia, and 5 ʿridās abroad.

Sharaf (Honour).

A monthly illustrated paper lithographed in Tihrán, of which the first issue was published on the first of Muharram, A.H. 1300 (= Nov. 12, 1882). This paper and its successor the Sharafat (see supra, No. 219) used to publish portraits of nobles and statesmen, accompanied by explanatory and biographical matter, and enjoyed a certain distinction and value by reason of the excellence of these portraits, which were executed by Kamduhl-Mulk, the well-known Persian artist. Muhammad Hasan Khán
Perimdu's-Saltana founded this paper, of which in all 78 numbers were published.

See Rabino, No. 131, according to whom this paper lasted until A.H. 1309 (= A.D. 1891) and published in all 87 numbers. I do not possess a copy.

(222)

Sharaf (Honour).

A weekly paper printed (not lithographed) in Tihran in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Ghulam Husayn of Tihran.

See Rabino, No. 132. I possess No. 1, which is dated the 17th of Rabii ii, A.H. 1326 (= May 19, 1908). It comprises 4 pp. of 11" x 7". Yearly subscription, 3 grivnas in Tihran, 6 grivnas elsewhere in Persia, and 5 francs abroad.

(223)

Sharq (The East).

A daily paper of large format printed in Tihran in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Sayyid Ziya-u'd-Din Tabatba'i (son of Sayyid 'Ali of Yazdi), who was also editor of the Nida-yi-Islam ("Call of Islam") and Barq ("Lightning," q.v.). This newspaper, in consequence of its violent and revolutionary attacks on those at the head of affairs, was several times suspended, and finally changed its name and came out under the title of Barq. Many numbers of this paper contained one page in French. Under the title of "literary contributions" (adabiyyat) there appeared in this newspaper poems, criticizing in a metaphorical manner the doings of the Government, which, in point of literary value, were both important and beautiful, and, by reason of their natural simplicity and approximation in style to the colloquial language, were as distinguished in merit as they were plain in language, and, alike by virtue of their novelty and their originality, are worthy to be taken as models and exemplars. The writer of these verses was a poet of Kirmanshah. In politics this newspaper originally represented the views of the Party of Union and Progress, but afterwards became Revolutionary.

See Rabino, No. 173. I possess a fairly complete set, including No. 1, which is dated the 14th of Ramazan, A.H. 1327 (= Sept. 30, 1909). Each number comprises
Shafaq (The Afterglow).

A weekly paper printed in Tabriz in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910). Its owner and editor was Mírzá Hájjí Áqá Ríz̤á-záda; the editorship was subsequently transferred in name to Mírzá Mahmúd Ghání-záda of Salmás, editor of the Faryād, Bú Qalamān, etc. This paper was remarkable for its boldness and violent writing, and especially in consequence of its patriotic articles became the object of vehement hatred on the part of the Russians, so that on the occasion of their aggressions in Muharram, A.H. 1330 (= January, 1912), they arrested and hanged one of its contributors, Mírzá Ahmad, known as "Suhaylí," and suppressed the paper. It published some poetical fragments in the new style, rhymed in the European fashion. In politics it was Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 136, according to whom it was first issued on Ramazán 27, A.H. 1328 (= Oct. 3, 1910). I possess a good many copies, including Nos. 1 and 27 of the First Year, and Nos. 1-40 (with some gaps) of the Second Year, the last dated the 18th of Dhul-l-Hijja, A.H. 1329 (= Dec. 21, 1911). Each number contains 4 pp. of 15½" x 9". Yearly subscription, 4 gráns in Tabriz, 5 gráns elsewhere in Persia, and 6 gráns abroad.

Shafaq (The Afterglow).

A "jelly-graphed" paper published in Khúy.

See Rabino, No. 137, on whose authority it is included here.

Shakar (Sugar).

A weekly paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Muḥammad 'Alī 'Abdu'l-Manáf-záda.

See Rabino, No. 135. I possess a copy of No. 3, which is dated the 17th of Rabi' 1, A.H. 1325 (= April 30, 1907). It comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½", and is written in Āz̤arbáyjānī Turkish, and lithographed in a poor but legible ta'līf. Yearly subscription, 3 gráns in Tabriz, 7 gráns elsewhere in Persia, and 3 roubles in Russia.
Shams (The Sun).

A weekly illustrated paper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Tawfiq of Basra, and owned by Sayyid Hasan of Tabriz. In politics it is Moderate.

See Rabino, No. 138. I possess a fairly complete set from the beginning. No. 1 is dated the 8th of Sha'ban, A.H. 1326 (= Sept. 2, 1908), and the paper is still appearing. Each number contains 8 pp. of 9" x 6½", but since the end of the Second Year the size of the paper has been considerably enlarged. Yearly subscription, 60 piastres in Constantinople, 75 piastres elsewhere in Turkey, 35 grâns in Persia, 6 rubles in Russia, and 17 francs in Europe.

Shams-i-Tâli' (The Rising Sun).


See Rabino, No. 139. I do not possess a copy.

Shurâ-yi-Ìrân (The Council of Persia).

A weekly paper published in Tabriz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908). It was founded and published by the Anjuman-i-Mushwarat ("Society of Council"), and was jointly written by those three martyred patriots Mîrzâ Sa'id of Salmâs, Áqá Sayyid Hasan Sharîf-zâda, and Hájjî 'Ali Dâwût-sârâsh ("The Druggist"). Its politics were Conservative and Moderate Constitutional.

See Rabino, No. 140, according to whom No. 2 was dated the 19th of Râzîn, A.H. 1326 (= May 11, 1908). I do not possess a copy.

Shurâ-yi-Baladî (The Municipal Council).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Chawik (The Little Path).


See Rabino, No. 134. Not seen by the translator.
Russia presents her second ultimatum to Persia. In the background are seven others.

From No. 5 of the Shapoori, Muharram 7, 1330 (Dec. 25, 1911)
(232)

Shaykh Chughundar (The Reverend Beetroot).

A weekly illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrān in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911), of which the first number was dated the 14th of Shawwāl of that year (= Oct. 8, 1911). Its proprietor, Mīr Fath 'Āli, and its editor, Ābu’l-Ma‘ālī, known as Sayyid-i-Āhan-bardār ("The Iron-lifter"), were both reactionaries, but the paper was connected with the Party of Agreement and Progress (Ittīfāq u tarāqqī).


(233)

Shaydā (Madcaps).

A serio-comic illustrated fortnightly paper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Muhammad Ziyā’u’d-Dīn. It was founded by a committee of Persian students. Its proprietor and writer was Hājjī Hasan Khān Ja'far-zāda, its managing editor Muzaffar Khān Isma’īl-zāda, and its artist-illustrator Mīrzā 'Abdu’l-Husayn Khān Tahīr-zāda. Not more than four or five numbers of it were issued. In politics it was Democrat.

Not in Rabino. I possess Nos. 1-4, the first dated the 19th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1329 (= Oct. 15, 1911), and the last the 2nd of Muharram, A.H. 1330 (= Dec. 13, 1911), with a supplementary sheet dated the following day. Each number comprises 4 pp., and, as a rule, two caricatures (on pp. 1 and 4), of 13 3/8" x 8". Yearly subscription, 15 grāms in Persia, 30 piastres in Constantinople.

(234)

Shīrāz.


See Rabino, No. 141. I do not possess a copy.
(235)

**Şubh-i-Sādiq** (*The True Dawn*).

A daily paper printed in Tihrān in the early part of A.H. 1325 (= Feb.–March, 1907) under the editorship of Murtazā-qua’ll Khán *Mu‘ayyid-u-Mamālik*, editor of the *Pulits-i-İrān* (q.v.).

See Rabino, No. 141, according to whom the paper first appeared in Safar (March–April) of that year, and was subsequently edited by Mahdī-qua’ll Khán *Mu‘ayyid-i-İdvin*. I possess 16 copies, ranging from No. 32 (May 14, 1907) to No. 149 (Oct. 8, 1907). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 45 qinār.

(236)

**Şubh-nāma** (*Morning Letter*).

A weekly "jelly-graphed" paper published in Tihrān in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) before the proclamation of the Constitution and for a short time after it. Its editor and writer was Āqā Sayyid Muḥammad Rīzā of Shīrāz, editor of the *Musāwät* ("Equality"). This paper was circulated secretly, and not more than seventeen or eighteen numbers were published. It opposed the autocracy, and was revolutionary in politics.

See Rabino, No. 143. I do not possess a copy.

(237)

**Şuhbat** (*Conversation*).

A paper in the Ázarbāyjānī Turkish dialect lithographed in Tābriz in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), under the editorship of Mīrzā Ḥusayn Khán, editor of the papers *al-Hadīd*, *Addalat* and *Khabar*. In consequence of having published in No. 4, by way of a joke, an article in Turkish entitled *Kej Qāburqā* ("The Crooked Rib") on the evils of the veiling of women and the necessity of improving their condition, it drew upon itself the violent hostility of the clergy and common people, as a result of which the paper was suspended and the editor arrested and imprisoned after judgement had been given against him.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(238)

**Şihat** (*Health*).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.
Şadá-yyi-Rasht (The Rasht Echo).

A paper printed in Rasht twice a week early in A.H. 1329 (≈ A.D. 1911) under the editorship of 'Ayn Ahmad-záda, Democrat in politics.

See Rabino, No. 144. The paper first appeared on the 15th (not the 19th as Rabino states) of Muḥarram (= Jan. 16, 1911) of that year. I possess Nos. 1-16. Each contains 4 pp. of 15½ x 10½". Yearly subscription, 25 qur′ím in Rasht, 30 qur′ím elsewhere in Persia, 35 qur′ím abroad.

Şadáqat (Fidelity).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Siráṭu-š-Sanáyi (The Way of Arts).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Siráṭu'l-Mustaqím (The Straight Way).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Siráṭu'l-Mustaqím (The Straight Way).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Súr-i-Ísráfíl (The Trumpet-call of Ísráfíl).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907). Its proprietor and editor was Mírzá Jahángír Khán of Shíráz; the second editor and publisher was Mírzá Qásím Khán of Tabríz; while its chief contributor was Mírzá 'Alí Akbar Khán.
of Qazvin, known as Dihkhudá or Dakhaw. It is reckoned one of the best of the Persian papers, old and new, and in particular the comic or satirical portion, entitled Charand Parand ("Chari-
vvari"), is the best specimen of literary satire in Persian. It became the special object of hostility on the part of the Reactionaries, and its editor Mirzá Jahángir Khán, who was captured on the occasion of the bombardment of the Majlis (June 23, 1908), was put to death by strangling by order of Muhammad "Ali Sháh. One of the most important incidents in the history of this paper was its controversy with the clergy and its critical remarks on the decline of the Islamic nations through the Doctors of Divinity, which appeared in No. 4, and gave rise to a great outcry amongst the Mullás and common people, and led to the suppression of the paper for about two months. In No. 7 there appeared a defence proving its innocence, which is also worthy of attention. The literary style of this paper was modelled, so far as the serious portion was concerned, on the style of Mirzá Malkom Khán, and greatly resembled his writings, while the comic or satirical portion was inspired by the Turkish Mullá Nasrud-Din, published at Tiflis. In politics the Şür-i-
Isráfil was Liberal and thorough-going Constitutionalist.

See Rabnà, No. 145, according to whom this paper first appeared on the 17th of Rabí’ II, A.H. 1325 (May 30, 1907), and was brought to an end on the 20th of Jamádá I, A.H. 1326 (June 20, 1908), three days before the bombardment of the Majlis, and four days before the editor, Mirzá Jahángir Khán, was put to death by Muhammad "Ali Sháh. I possess an almost complete set. Each number comprises 8 pp. of 142 × 68⁵⁄₈". Yearly subscription: 12 gráms in Tihrán, 17 gráms elsewhere in Persia, and 20 gráms abroad.

Şür-i-Isráfil (The Trumpet-call of Isráfil).

A weekly paper printed at Yverdon in Switzerland in the beginning of A.H. 1327 (A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mirzá "Ali Akbar Khán Dihkhudá, formerly on the staff of the Tihrán Şür-i-Isráfil. Not more than four numbers of this Swiss edition were published, and the paper did not possess its former eloquence and sweetness.

See Rabnà, No. 145. No. 1 was dated the first of Muharram, A.H. 1327 (Jan. 25, 1909), and No. 3 the 15th of Sahar (March 8) of the same year. I possess
Title of the Şahr-i-İsrāfīl, or "Trumpet of Isräfīl" (the Angel of the Resurrection) with portrait of its editor, Mirzā Jahāngīr Khān of Shirāz, who was put to death on June 24, 1908.
Nos. 1-3, which in size and appearance closely resemble the old Tihrân issue, save in the larger type used for the headings of articles. Yearly subscription, 15 francs in Tábríz, 20 francs elsewhere in Persia, and 25 francs abroad.

(246) Ṭariqatu'l-Falâh (The Way of Happiness).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(247) Tulū (The Dawn).

A comic illustrated paper lithographed in Bushire in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1) under the editorship of 'Abdu'l-Ḥamíd Khán Mátínú's-Saltana, afterwards a Member of the Second Majlis.
Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(248) Tús.

A bi-weekly paper printed in Mashhad in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mírzá Háshim Khán. The publication of the first number corresponded with the day on which the Second Majlis was opened in Tihrân.

See Rabino, No. 146, according to whom the paper began on the first of Dhu'l-Qá'da, A.H. 1327 (= Nov. 14, 1909), and ended on the 15th of Sha'ban, A.H. 1338 (= Aug. 23, 1910), 37 numbers being published in all. I possess Nos. 2, 8, 18, 19, 23 and 34. The first two are of a smaller size (14½" x 6½"), the later numbers are larger (16½" x 11½"). Yearly subscription, 30 qurush in Mashhad, 35 qurush elsewhere in Persia, and 7 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus.

(249) Tihrân.

A paper printed in Tihrân in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Hájjí Mírzá Ḥasan of Tábríz, known as Rusul diyya.

See Rabino, No. 147, according to whom the paper began on the 7th of Rábi' 1, A.H. 1326 (= April 4, 1908), and appeared twice a week. I possess Nos. 2 and 4. Each contains 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 15 qurush in Tihrân, 17 qurush elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles abroad.
(250) **Tbrat (Admonition).**


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(251) **'Adālat (Justice).**

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Tabrīz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Mīrzā Mahmūd Khān known as Ḥakāk-bāšī ("The Seal-engraver"), and afterwards of Mīrzā Sayyid Ḥusayn Khān, editor of the newspapers al-Ḥadīd, Ṣuḥbat and Khabar (q.v.). This paper succeeded al-Ḥadīd, and both of them were founded by the above-mentioned Mīrzā Sayyid Ḥusayn Khān.

See Rabino, No. 148, according to whom it reached the Third Year of publication. I possess a good many numbers, ranging from No. 13 of the First Year (dated the 12th of Shāhīd, A.H. 1324 = Sept. 30, 1906) to No. 4 of the Third Year, dated Jumāda 1, A.H. 1325 (= June-July, 1907). Each number contains 8 pp. of 12" x 6\(^\frac{1}{2}\)", lithographed in Fair ṭalāq, but a few numbers are in ṭaḥkī. Only the later numbers contain illustrations of celebrated men like Mirabelle, Ciceri, etc. Yearly subscription, 22 qurūns in Tabrīz, 26 qurūns elsewhere in Persia, 5 rubles in Russia, 13 francs elsewhere.

(252) **'Adl-i-Muẓaffar (The Justice of Muẓaffar).**

A weekly paper "jelly-graphed" (afterwards printed) in Hamadān in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906) under the editorship of Dr Ḥasan Khān Ṭabīb 'Alī. It was established at the instigation and maintained by the support of Zahīra'd-Dawla, who was at that time Governor. After some twenty numbers had been published, the paper changed its name to Ekbātān (Ecbatana). See No. 59 supra.

See Rabino, No. 242. Not in my possession.

(253) **Irāq-i-'Ajam.**

A weekly paper printed in Tihrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mīrzā Šādiq Khān Adībīl-Mamdālik,
sub-editor of the newspaper Adab. It was published on the part and at the charges of the political club called 'Irāq-i-'Ajam in Tihrán. 

See Rabino, No. 149. I possess Nos. 5, 6, 8, 16-19, and 22, the first dated the 3rd of Jumāda i, A.H. 1328 (= June 14, 1907), and the last the 16th of Dhu‘l-Hijja of the same year (= Jan. 16, 1908). Each number contains 4 or 8 pp. of 12" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 qdras in Tihrán, 17 qdras elsewhere in Persia, 5 roubles in Russia, 10 francs in Europe.


A weekly newspaper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907).

See Rabino, No. 150, who gives no further particulars. I do not possess the paper.

(255) 'Āsr (The Age).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910), owned and written by Mírzá 'Áqá of Isfahán, known as Mujáhid, and edited by Hájji Shaykh Hasan of Tabríz, formerly editor of the Khilafat (q.v.). In politics this paper was Moderate.

See Rabino, No. 151. I possess Nos. 5-31 of this paper, the first dated the 17th of Dhu‘l-Hijja, A.H. 1328 (= Dec. 20, 1910), and the last the 3rd of Sha‘bán, A.H. 1329 (= July 30, 1911). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 14½" × 8½". Yearly subscription, 10 qdras in Tihrán, 12 qdras elsewhere in Persia, 8 francs abroad.

(256) 'Āsr-i-Jadíd (The New Age).

A bi-weekly paper lithographed in Mashhad early in A.H. 1328 (= Jan. 1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Hasan-i-Músawi.

See Rabino, No. 152. I possess Nos. 2, 4, and 18, the first dated the 23rd of Ráhí I, A.H. 1328 (= April 4, 1910), and the last the 16th of Dhu‘l-Qa‘da, A.H. 1328 (= Nov. 19, 1910). Each number contains 4 or 8 pp. of 13" × 7", lithographed in a large masálik hand. Yearly subscription, 16 qdras in Mashhad, 20 qdras elsewhere in Persia, and 25 qdras abroad.

(257) 'Ilm-ámuż (The Teacher of Knowledge).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.
Ghayrat (Zeal).

A "jelly-graphed" newspaper secretly published in Tihrān in A.H. 1319 (= A.D. 1901-2) by a secret society, and chiefly directed against the Aminu's-Sultān. Something has been said about it in the Introduction (p. 21 supra).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Fārs.

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Shirāz in A.H. 1289 (= A.D. 1872-3), edited and written by Mīrzā Taqī Khān of Kāshān, editor of the Farhang (mention of which has been already made on p. 12 of the Introduction), and Chief Physician (Hakim-bāshi) of the Zillu's-Sultān. The first number of this paper appeared on Sunday, the 9th of Shahrīvar, in the year 794 of the Jalālī era, corresponding to the 25th of Jumādā ii, A.H. 1289 (= August 30, 1872), and coincided with the first arrival of the Zillu's-Sultān at Shirāz on the occasion of his third appointment as Governor of Fārs. The first 19 numbers of this paper are preserved in the British Museum amongst the periodical publications, under the class-mark M. 2.757. These I have seen, but they are erroneously entered in the Catalogue as published at Isfahān.

This paper as originally issued comprised eight pages, four in Persian and four in Arabic, the latter being an exact translation of the former. Only the first three numbers, however, appeared in this form, the Arabic part being discontinued from No. 4 onwards, an announcement in that issue declaring it to be unnecessary. No. 19 is dated the 23rd of Day-māh in the year 794 of the Jalālī era, corresponding to the 6th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1289 (= Jan. 5, 1873), so that the paper seems to have appeared regularly every week. Its title appears in the form of a very intricate monogram in the thuluth script, the deciphering of which is somewhat difficult. It appears to contain the words "printed in Fārs." At the top of the title-page stand the words "in the private printing-press in the Mirror-room of the Seat of Government of the Province: yearly subscription, 3 timidus"; and at the end the signature "Director of the Fārs printing-press and
writer of the paper, Mirzá Taqí Ḥakím-báshí. The paper is written in a fine nastālīq, and contains excellent verses composed by the poets of that period and sometimes by Mirzá Taqí Khán himself. At the foot of the page are dissertations on various topics, written in the divvānī hand, amongst these being a treatise on "the Education of Children," and another on "a Scientific Problem," dealing with the Creation of the Earth and the Science of Geology, which appeared in the eleventh and subsequent numbers. At the beginning of the latter the author says that he has written and published separately a more detailed monograph on Geology. All these treatises and articles are written by the editor himself.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(260)

Faraj ba’d az Shiddat (Joy after Grief).

A weekly paper lithographed in Tihrân. See Rabino, No. 184, on whose authority it is here given. He describes it as Conservative, and adds that only about seven numbers were issued. I have not seen it.

(261)

Farwardin.

A weekly newspaper printed at Urmiya (Ázarbáyjáhn) in A.H. 1329 (=A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Mirzá Ḥabíb Áqá-záda, and written by Mirzá Maḥmúd Khán Ashraf-záda. This paper contained a comic or satirical section in Ázarbáyjáhn Turkish entitled "Dághdán-Bághdán." In politics it was Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 153, according to whom it first appeared on the 28th of Jumáda l, A.H. 1329 (=May 27, 1911). I possess No. 3, which comprises 4 pp. of 15½" x 9¼". Yearly subscription, 12 grúns in Urmiya, 16 grúns elsewhere in Persia, 18 grúns abroad. The above-mentioned Mirzá Maḥmúd Khán was beaten almost to death by Russian soldiers at the command of the Russian Consul at the time of the Russian aggression in Ázarbáyján which began on Dec. 20, 1911. A full account of this event was published in the Constantinople Terjumán-i-Haqíqat of Feb. 11, 1912.

(262)

Farhang (Culture).

A weekly newspaper lithographed in Isfahán in A.H. 1296, and edited by Mirzá Taqí Khán of Káshán, editor of the
newspaper Fārs (see above, No. 259), and after his death by Mirzā Mahmūd Khān, father of Mirzā Muḥammad Khān, the present Farkhāng-ʾul-Mumālīk, under the general control of the Ẓillīs-Sulṭān. One number of it, which lies before me (No. 364) is dated the 21st of Ramazān, A.H. 1303 (= June 23, 1886). The first page is numbered (in continuation of what precedes) 53, and at the end is the imprint “Manager and Editor, Mirzā Mahmūd Khān; writer, ʿAbduʾr-Rahīm.” At the foot of the page is published an instalment of a book entitled “The War in the East of A.D. 1877,” translated by Mirzā Kāzīm, Professor of Natural Sciences in the Dārul-Funûn College of Ṭīhrān.

Some persons ascribe the original foundation and inception of this paper to Mirzā Husayn Khān (son of the late Mirzā Yūsuf Khān Mustashārīʾ-ʾul-Dawla of Tabrīz) who is at present resident in Paris and was formerly physician to the Ẓillīs-Sulṭān, and say that he was its founder and originator.

See Rahino, No. 156, according to whom it first appeared (under the patronage of the Ẓillīs-Sulṭān) on the 2nd of Jumādā 1, A.H. 1306 (= April 14, 1879), and came to an end on the 12th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1308 (= August 28, 1890).

(263)

Farhang (Culture).

A weekly paper printed in Ṭīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of the ʾIltizādʾul-ʾUlāmā ʿUmmāt Murtazā-yi-Sharīf.

See Rahino, No. 137. I possess No. 7, which is dated the 19th of Jumādā 1, A.H. 1323 (= June 30, 1907). It comprises 4 pp. of 12" x 62". Yearly subscription, 12 qārīn in Ṭīhrān, postage extra in other parts of Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, 7 francs in Europe.

(264)

Faryād (The Lament).

A weekly paper printed in Urmīya in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mirzā Mahmūd Ghanī-zāda, editor of the Shafāq and Bu Qalamīn (q.v.). It was written partly in Persian and partly in Turkish.

See Rahino, No. 138. I possess No. 7, which is dated the 17th of Shaʿbān, A.H. 1325 (= Oct. 5, 1907). It comprises 4 pp. of 11" x 7½". Yearly subscription, 12 qārīn in Urmīya, 18 qārīn elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia, 50 piastres in Turkey, and 12 francs in Europe.
Fikr (Thought).

A weekly paper printed in Tabriz in A.H. 1330 (= A.D. 1912). Its proprietor and chief contributor is an Armenian named Alexander Dir Wartáníyán, one of the teachers in the Armenian College. This paper was founded after the Russian aggressions and executions of the Liberal and Nationalist leaders, the suppression of all the newspapers, the entry of Šamad Khán Shujâ’u’d-Dawla of Marâgha into Tabriz, and the triumph of violent reaction (Muharram, A.H. 1330 = January, 1912), at the secret instigation of the Russians and with the encouragement of Šamad Khán, in order to glorify the actions of the Russians in Persia and to belittle the Constitution. It may be considered the only Persian newspaper in Persia which is an open traitor to its country. Amongst Persian newspapers it has, indeed, but one rival in this respect, namely the Transcaspian Gazette (Majmu’â-i-Mawârâ-yi-Bahr-i-Khasar), published at Ishq-âbâd, which will be mentioned presently.

As this paper was not started until after the publication of Rabino's Work, it is naturally not mentioned by him, nor have I seen it, though quotations from it amply sufficient to prove its detestable and unnatural tone have been published in the Hab'il-Matin and other papers.

Fikr-i-Istiqbál (The Thought of the Future).

A paper printed in Constantinople in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of ‘Alî Sharif-zâda of Tabriz. The first number was dated the 21st of Sha'bân, A.H. 1328 (= Aug. 28, 1910).

See Rabino, No. 159, I possess No. 1, which comprises 8 pp. of 8½" x 5¼". The subscription price is not mentioned.

Falâḥat-i-Muṣaffâri (Muṣaffâri Agriculture).

A monthly scientific paper printed in Tihrân in A.H. 1318 (= A.D. 1900-1) under the management of the College of Agriculture, and treating of agricultural matters.

See Rabino, No. 160, according to whom the second number appeared on the first of Jumâda ii, A.H. 1318 (= Sept. 36, 1900). I possess No. 2 of the First and
Fawâ'íd-i-'Ámma (Public Benefits).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907). Its editor and chief contributor was the notorious Yúsuf Khán of Herát, who was also the editor of the Kilíd-i-Siyášt ("Political Key"), and who was responsible for the recent disturbances in Mashhad (April, 1912) and the bombardment of the Holy Shrine of the Imám Rízá (Rabí'ii, A.H. 1330 = March-April, 1912). The editor of this paper had formerly resided in Mashhad, and was suspected of being connected with the Russian Consulate there, and of being an instrument in their hands. Soon after the granting of the Constitution he came to Tihrán and founded this paper and the Kilíd-i-Siyášt. He wrote chiefly against the English. [He was captured and shot by the Persians on May 23, 1912.]

See Rahino, No. 161. Not in my possession.

Qájáriyya.


Qálat Sharárá (The Voice of Truth).

A religious paper published in Chaldaean (Syriac) at Urmiya. It was founded and edited by a priest named Dáwúd (who has now embraced Islám, taken the name of 'Abdu'l-Ahád, and settled in Constantinople) in 1896. The paper is now edited by French Catholic missionaries.

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

Qásmu'l-Akhbár (The Distributor of News).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mirzá Abúl-Qásim Khán of Hamadán.

See Rahino, No. 161, who correctly describes it as lithographed, and states that No. 1 was dated the 1st of Rabí'íi, A.H. 1325 (= May 18, 1907). I possess Nos. 2 and
The Songsters of the Press.

From the Qdawsu'l-Akhbar of June-July, 1907.
7. Each consists of a single lithographed sheet, with rude cartoons on one or both sides, measuring $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$. The writing is a large but clumsy script. Yearly subscription, 8 qdras in Tihrān, 12 qdras elsewhere in Persia.

(272)

Qānūn (The Law):

A paper printed in London in A.H. 1307 (= A.D. 1889-90), edited and written by Mirzā Malkom Khān Nāṣimū'd-Dawla. The entry of this paper into Persia was forbidden, so that numbers of it were highly prized by such as possessed them. For the same reason, after the proclamation of the Constitution, in order to increase the number of copies it was reprinted by Hāshim Aqā Rabī'-zāda.

See Rabino, No. 163, who states that the reprint was made in A.H. 1316, and that he had seen 44 numbers of it. I possess a complete set of the original London edition, of which 41 numbers appeared, the first on Feb. 20, 1890. For further details, see my History of the Persian Revolution, pp. 35-47. Each number comprised 4 pp. of $11\frac{1}{2}'' \times 8\frac{1}{2}''$.

(273)

Qazvin.

A paper printed in Qazvin twice a week in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Mirzā Abu'l-Qāsim. In politics it was Democrat.

See Rabino, No. 164. I possess No. 21 of the First Year, dated the 20th of Jumādā I, A.H. 1328 (= July 8, 1910), and No. 16 of the Second Year, dated the end of Jumādā I, A.H. 1329 (= May 29, 1911). One contains 8 and the other 4 pages of $12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 7''$. Yearly subscription, 10 qdras in Qazvin, 12 qdras elsewhere in Persia.

(274)

Qand-i-Pārsi (Persian Sugar).

A literary magazine, published at 'All-garh in India.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(275)

Kāshān.


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(276)

Kāshifu'l-Haqā'iq (The Revealer of Truths).

A paper printed in Tihrān twice a week in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Mirzā Habibu'llah Khān,
known as "Gospodin," director of the college called Madrasa-i-Watan.

See Rabino, No. 165, who states correctly that the paper was published at Rashk, and that only one number appeared on the sixth of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1325 (= Jan. 10, 1908). This number I possess. It comprises 4 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 12 girbus in Rashk, 18 gymar elsewhere in Persia, 10 francs in Europe, 4 rubles in the Caucasus, and 10 rupees in India.

(277)

Kakhwá (The Star).

A political paper in the Chaldaean (Syriac) language printed in Urmiya in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Yúkhanná Múshá.

Not in Rabino, and not seen. I have a manuscript note in Persian in my copy of Rabino (I think by the author of this treatise, Mirzá Muhammad 'Ali Khán "Tarbiyat"), to the effect that besides this paper, which was political and national, the Chaldaean or Syrian Christians of Urmiya had two other newspapers in their language, both religious, the one Protestant and the other Catholic.

(278)

Kirmán.

Rabino (No. 166) mentions a paper of this name (omitted by Mirzá Muhammad 'Ali Khán) printed at Kirmán under the editorship of Mirzá Ghulám Husayn of Kirmán, and adds that it was Democrat in politics and was started on the 17th of Rabí'í, A.H. 1329 (= March 18, 1911). I do not possess a copy.

(279)

Kirmánsháh.

A weekly newspaper printed at Kirmánsháh in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Faṣūh'í-Mutakallimín, Democrat in politics.

See Rabino, No. 167, who says that it first appeared on the 3rd of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327, (= Dec. 16, 1909), and was published for three months at very irregular intervals, after which it was suspended. I possess No. 11, which comprises 4 pp. of 12½" x 8½", and is dated the 7th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1327 (= Dec. 20, 1909), which hardly agrees with the date of inception given above. Yearly subscription, 12 girbus in Kirmánsháh, 18 gymar elsewhere in Persia, 8 francs abroad.
Kashgul (The Alms-gourd).

A weekly illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihran in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Majdul-Islam, also editor of the Nidā-yi-Waṭan and Muhākamat.

See Rabino, No. 168, who gives the date of No. 2 (really No. 4) as the 23rd of Safar, A.H. 1325 (= April 6, 1907). I possess Nos. 4-39 of the First Year, and Nos. 1-31 of the Second, extending from April 1907 to May 1908. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 13 1/2 " x 6 1/4 ", of which as many as three are often occupied by rude caricatures. The writing is tally. Yearly subscription, 8 qrūns in Tihran, 10 qrūns elsewhere in Persia, 5 francs in Europe, 5 roubles in the Caucasus and Russia, 4 rupees in India.

Kashgul (The Alms-gourd).

A weekly comic paper lithographed in Isfahān in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Majdul-Islām, editor of the above-mentioned Tihran Kashgul.

See Rabino, No. 168, according to whom 23 numbers were issued in Isfahān between the 18th of Rabī‘ i., A.H. 1327 (= April 5, 1909), and the 9th of Shawwāl (= Oct. 24) of the same year. I do not possess a copy.

Kīlīd-i-Sīyāsī (The Political Key).

A weekly paper printed in Tihran in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Yūsuf Khān of Herāt, who used to sign himself “Muhammad Yūsuf Khān, Sardār-i-Muhājir-i-Hirāwī.” As has been already mentioned in connection with the newspaper Fatwā‘id-i-Amma (No. 268 supra), this person recently raised the standard of Autocracy at Mashhad in the name of Muhammad ‘Ali Shāh, gathered round him a number of Reactionaries, filled Khurasan with disturbance for a long while, gave great trouble to the Government, and finally took sanctuary in the Shrine of the Imam Rizā, until at length he afforded a pretext for the Russian aggressions against that Holy Place (in April, 1912).

See Rabino, No. 169. I possess No. 3, dated the 7th of Rabī‘ i., A.H. 1325 (= April 20, 1907). It comprises 32 pp. (numbered 17-48) of 7" x 3 1/2 ". Yearly subscription, 10 qrūns in Tihran, 12 qrūns elsewhere in Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, and 4 rupees in India.
Kamál (Perfection).

A fortnightly paper lithographed in Tabríz in A.H. 1319 (= A.D. 1901–2) under the editorship of Mirzá Husayn Tabíb-záda, director of the Kamál College and editor of the newspaper Tabríz. See No. 100 supra.

See Rahino, No. 170. I do not possess a copy.

Kamál (Perfection).

A fortnightly paper printed in Cairo in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905–6) under the editorship of Mirzá Husayn Tabíb-záda, formerly editor of the above-mentioned Tabríz Kamál.

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

Kingāsh (The Council).

A paper printed in Rasht twice a week in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Muhammad 'Alí Hasan-záda.

See Rahino, No. 171, who states that in politics the paper was Moderate, and that it first appeared on the 13th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1328 (= Nov. 16, 1910).

Kawkib-i-durri-yi-Nāšíri
(The Shining Nāšíri Star).

A paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Náẓimu'l-Islám of Kirmán, editor of the paper Naw-ráž ("New Year's Day," q.v.), and author of the Tarikh-i-Bídári-yi-Iráníyán ("History of the Persian Awaken-
ing"). Forty numbers of this paper were published yearly.

See Rahino, No. 172. I possess No. 12 of the Third Year, dated the 21st of Rabí' il, A.H. 1333 (= June 4, 1907). It comprises 8 pp. of 12½" × 6½", and is lithographed in a fine large naskh. Yearly subscription, 30 grivás in Turúd, 25 grivás elsewhere in Persia, 3 rubles in Russia, 1½ francs elsewhere.
Kawkib-l-Nāṣiri (The Nāṣiri Star).


Not in Rabino. I possess No. 3 of the First Year, dated Jan. 15, 1892; and Nos. 4, 5, 6 and 7 of the same year, each dated a week later than the preceding one. Each number comprises 8 pp. of 17½" × 11"", lithographed in ta'liq. Yearly subscription, 15 qurūṣ in Bombay, 20 qurūṣ in India, the Persian Gulf ports and 'Arabistān, and 25 qurūṣ elsewhere in Persia and in Turkey and Europe. Proprietors, Mirzá Muṣṭafá and Dr Silvester (?), editor, Mirzá Muṣṭafá Shāykhul-Islām of Bahbūhān.

Gūṭugū-yi-Safā-ḵāna-i-Iṣfahān

(Discussions of the House of Purity of Iṣfahān).

Another name for the paper entitled al-Islām. See No. 45 supra.

See Rabino, No. 70.

Gulistān (The Rose-Garden).

A weekly paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Āqā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Raʿds̄i-yi-Tuğ̄ār (Chief of the Merchants).

See Rabino, No. 173, according to whom only four numbers were published, the first on the 14th of Šaʿbān, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 22, 1907), and the last on the 1st of Dhuʾl-Ḥijja (= Jan. 8, 1908). I possess Nos. 1-4, which agree with the above statement. Each number comprises 4 pp. of 11" × 6½". Yearly subscription, "for the present, seal and fairness at home, justice and equality abroad." No price is mentioned.

Gulistān-i-Savaḍat (The Rose-Garden of Happiness).

A newspaper lithographed twice a week in Tihrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mirzā Naṣru'llāh Khān.

See Rabino, No. 174, according to whom No. 1 appeared in Rabīʿ ii, A.H. 1325 (= May-June, 1907), No. 4 on the first of Dhuʾl-Ḥijja of the same year (= Jan. 8, 1908), while Nos. 6 and 7 were undated. I possess Nos. 1 and 3. Each comprises 4 pp. of 12½" × 7½", lithographed in ta'liq. Yearly subscription, 20 qurūṣ in Tihrān, 6 rubles in Russia, 10 rupees in India, and 15 francs in Europe.
Ganj-i-Sháyagán (The Royal Treasure).


Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Ganjina-i-Ansár (The Treasure of the Helpers).

A newspaper published at Isfahán. See above, No. 73, under Ansár (انصار).

Ganjina-i-Funún (The Treasury of Arts).

A fortnightly scientific magazine lithographed at Tabriz in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902-3) under the management of the "Tarbiyat" Library. This periodical continued publication for just a year, and published 24 numbers, each of which comprised four parts. The first, entitled Ganjina-i-Funún, was a scientific and technical miscellany; the second, entitled Hunar-ánâz ("The Instructor in Arts") was a book compiled by the writer (Mírzá Muhammad 'Ali Khán "Tarbiyat"); the third, entitled Támad-dunát-i-qadíma ("Ancient Civilizations"), was translated from the French of Gustave le Bon by Sayyid Hasan Taqí-záda; while the fourth, entitled Safina-i-gharawwâṣa ("The Diving Ship," or "The Submarine") was translated from the French of Jules Verne, the novelist, by Mírzá Yusuf Khán ī'tísâmûl-Mulk.

See Rabino, No. 175, according to whom the magazine in question began on the 1st of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1320 (= March 1, 1903), and ended on the same date of A.H. 1321 (= Feb. 18, 1904). I do not possess this publication.

Gílán.

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Mírzá Hasan Khán Asad-záda. It was connected with and managed by the Anjuman (Provincial Council) of Gílán.

See Rabino, No. 176, according to whom only 12 numbers were issued, the first on the 18th of Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1326 (= Jan. 11, 1909). I do not possess a copy.
Gīlān.

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) and published every alternate day. It was edited by “M.S.”, and in politics represented the Moderates.

See Rahino, No. 177, who gives the 26th of Sha'bān, A.H. 1328 (= Sept. 2, 1910), as the date of inauguration.

Lisānu'l-Ghayb (The Tongue of the Unseen).

A newspaper “jelly-graphed” and clandestinely circulated in Tihrān about A.H. 1319 (= A.D. 1901–2) by a secret committee which used formerly to write against the Aminu's-Sultān, and concerning which something has been already said in the Introduction (p. 21).

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

Lodiana Akhbar (Lodiana News).

A weekly newspaper published in Calcutta on Saturdays, which, according to Zenker’s Bibliotheca Orientalis (No. 1834), was in circulation in A.H. 1262 (= A.D. 1846).

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

La Patrie.


See Rahino, No. 237, who states that it began (and ended) on Feb. 5, 1876.

Mujahid (The National Volunteer).

A paper printed in Tābrīz in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) and appearing every other day, edited by Sayyid Muhammad Shabristāni, known as Abu’z-Ziya, editor of the papers al-Hadīd and Iran-i-Naw. In consequence of the publication in its last number, which coincided with the Abortive Coup d'État (of December, 1907), or Event of the Artillery Barracks (Waq'a-i-Tā’khana), of a letter from Baghdad containing an attack on Sayyid Kāzim of Yazd, a mujahid residing at Najaf, it incurred
the hatred and vengeance of certain fanatics, and its editor was subjected to a severe bastinado, and was expelled from the city. This paper was published on behalf of the Social Democrats, and served as their organ.

See Rabino, No. 178, who gives the 9th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 17, 1907), as the date of inception, and adds that No. 22 was dated the 9th of Dhu’l-Qa’dā (= Dec. 14) of the same year. I possess Nos. 1, 20, 21 and 22, which comprise 4 pp. of 10\(^\frac{1}{2}\) x 6 inches. Yearly subscription, 15 q̣arān in Tābrīz, 20 q̣arān elsewhere in Persia, and 25 q̣arān abroad.

(298)

**Mujāhid** (*The National Volunteer*).

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8).

See Rabino, No. 179, who says that only five numbers were published, the first on the 9th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1325 (= Nov. 15, 1907), and the last on the 3rd of Muharram, A.H. 1326 (= Feb. 5, 1908). I possess Nos. 1 and 4, which comprise 4 pp. of 12\(^\frac{1}{2}\) x 6 inches. Yearly subscription, 12 q̣arān in Gīlān, 15 q̣arān elsewhere in Persia, 6 roubles in Russia.

(299)

**Majlis** (*The Assembly*).

A paper printed in Tīhārn, which first appeared on the 8th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1324 (= Nov. 25, 1906), edited by Sayyid Muhammad Sādiq (son of the well-known Sayyid Muḥammad-i-Tabātābā’i), and written by the *Adībul-Mamālīk*, editor of the *Adab* (q.v.). This was the first paper in Persia which reported the debates of the National Assembly after it was opened, on which account it achieved a great celebrity, so that in the provinces it was generally supposed that it was connected with the Assembly. After the restoration of the Constitution (in July, 1909) it again began to appear under the supervision of Shaykh Yahyā of Kāshān, a former contributor to the daily (Tīhārn) *Habībul-Masān*, and continued publication until these latter times (end of 1911 or beginning of 1912). During the Second Constitutional Period the politics of this paper were Moderate.\(^1\)

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\(^1\) In No. 4 of this newspaper is a very fine *qasida* in praise of the National Assembly by the *Adībul-Mamālīk*, which is one of the best poems produced during the Constitutional Period. It begins:

> "Hail, O National Assembly! For I see that at this epoch there will shortly issue forth from thee a healer for the Nation's ills."
See Rabino, No. 180. I possess a fairly complete collection of this paper. It underwent several enlargements. Thus Nos. 1 comprised 4 pp. of 14" x 7"; No. 8 increased in size to 14½" x 8½"; while No. 37 of the Third Year still further increased to 21½" x 14". The yearly subscription also increased from 45 groats in Tihrân, 35 groats in the provinces, and 26 francs abroad, to 60 groats in Tihrân, 75 groats in the provinces, 40 francs abroad, and 16 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus.

Majalla-i-Anjuman-i-Ittihádiyya-i-Sa'ádat

(= Magazine of the Society of the Union of Happiness).

See under Ittihádiyya-i-Sa'ádat, No. 27 supra.

Not in Rabino.

Majalla-i-Istibdád (= Magazine of Autocracy).

A monthly magazine printed in Tihrân in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) and edited by [Shaykh Mahdi of Qum, entitled] Shaykh-i-Mamálik.

See Rabino, No. 181, who states that 31 numbers appeared in all, the first on the 5th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1325 (= July 16, 1907). I was acquainted with the editor when I was in Kirmán in the summer of 1888, and in memory of that old friendship he sent me this magazine month by month, so that I possess an almost complete set.

Majalla-i-Tabábat (= Medical Magazine).

A scientific magazine lithographed in Tihrân in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Majalla-i-Hay'at-i-Tilmiyya-i-Dánishvarán

(= Magazine of the Scientific Society of Suvants).

According to Rabino (No. 182), on whose authority this publication is here included, it appeared monthly in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909).
Majalla-i-Naşmiyya (The Police Magazine).

A paper published in Tihrán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) which discussed matters concerning the Police.

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

Majmū‘a-i-Akhláq (Ethical Miscellany).

A magazine printed every ten days in Tihrán in A.H. 1323 (= A.D. 1905-6) under the editorship of Mirzá ‘Ali Akbar Khán (Muşawwir ‘Ali), and under the patronage of the Anjuman-i-Ukhwarerat (“Society of Brotherhood”) of Zahiru’d-Dawla, that is to say the followers of the Mystical Path of Šafi ‘Ali Shán. This paper discussed ethical matters and was for the most part written by Mirzá Ibráhim Khán, Deputy for Isfahán in the Second National Assembly.

See Rahino, No. 183. I possess Nos. 2-10, and 12-13, which are not dated. Each contains 8 pp. of 7½ x 4½, and is priced at 4 sháhís. No yearly subscription is mentioned. The magazine contains a great deal of poetry, and professedly avoids political and religious matters.

Majmū‘a-i-Má-wará-yi Bahr-i-Khazar
(The Trans-Caspian Review).

A weekly newspaper printed at ‘Ishqábád (Askabad) in A.H. 1322 (= A.D. 1904-5) under the editorship of the Russian Fedoroff. This paper was the instrument of Russian policy and the vehicle of Russian political aims in Persia. It was founded during the Russo-Japanese War to proclaim the Russian advances and victories, and was distributed gratuitously throughout Persia by the Russian Consulates.

See Rahino, No. 184, according to whom No. 4 of the Fourth Year was dated the 13th of Dhul-Qa’dá, A.H. 1337 (= Nov. 30, 1909). I possess Nos. 3, 4, and 8 of the Third Year. Each contains 4-8 pp. of 13½ x 8½. Yearly subscription, 3 roubles in Russia, 4½ roubles abroad.
Superscription and cover of the Majnū'a-i-Bahr-i-Khazar,
or "Revue Transcaucasiennne"
No. 3 of the Third Year, Feb. 28, 1908
(307)

Muḥākamāt (Judgements).

A paper printed in Tīhrān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8), at first twice and afterwards thrice a week, under the editorship of Majdul-Islām of Kirmān, to give publicity to the proceedings of the Law Courts.

See Rahino, No. 185, who describes it as the organ of the Ministry of Justice, and gives the 17th (sic, but see below) of Jumāda 1, A.H. 1325 (= June 28, 1907), as the date of its first appearance. I possess Nos. 1, 3, 7, 22, 26, 28, 29, 43, 48, and 49, the first-dated the 13th of Jumāda 1, A.H. 1325 (= June 24, 1907), and the last the 14th of Rabi‘ 1, A.H. 1326 (= April 16, 1908). Each number contains 4 pp. of 14” × 8”.

Yearly subscription, 15 pārsī in Tīhrān, 18 pārsī elsewhere in Persia, 2 mejilīyās in Turkey and Egypt, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 18 francs in Europe.

(308)

Muḥākamāt (Judgements).

A paper published in Tabrīz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908) under the editorship of Mirzā Mahmūd Ghanī-zāda of Salmās, editor of the Fāryād and Bū Qalamīn (q.v.).

Not in Rahino, and not seen.

(309)

Muḥākamat-i-Yazd (Judgements of Yazd).

A weekly paper lithographed in Yazd in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Muhammad Ṣādiq.

See Rahino, No. 186, who states that after the arrival at Yazd of the Bakhhtiyārī Sarṭār-i-Jang, the newspaper Muḥāfīz (see below, No. 318) was published under the title of Muḥākamat, but not more than two or three numbers were printed and circulated. I possess a copy of No. 2 of the First Year, which is dated the 15th of Dhu‘l-Qa‘da, A.H. 1327 (= Nov. 30, 1909). It comprises 4 pp. lithographed in large, clear type, of 11” × 6½”. Yearly subscription, 16 pārsī in Yazd, 20 pārsī elsewhere in Persia, 25 pārsī abroad.

(310)

Mudarris-i-Fārsī (The Persian Teacher).

A monthly magazine published in Bombay, partly lithographed and partly printed in small (book) form, in A.D. 1883 (= A.H. 1300–1). Its contents were partly Persian and partly English, and, as its name implies, were chiefly educational and connected with the study of the Persian language. It treated of Persian grammar and literature, and contained Persian stories,
anecdotes, proverbs, specimens of calligraphy, biographies, and notices of old poets and Kings of Persia, accompanied in most cases by English translations. Its first number was dated Thursday, January 1, 1883, and the following verse of poetry was printed on the top of each copy:

زوای حیدر و نفت اولی است بر خالک ادب خفیف
سجادی می توان گیردن درودی می توان گفتی

A complete collection of three years (36 numbers) of this periodical is preserved in the Library of the British Museum under the class-mark 757.cc.20. The last (36th) number is dated December, 1885.

This periodical was edited by Khán Bahádur G. M. Munshi and his sons. Each number comprised 16 pp., and the yearly subscription was 4 rupees, if paid in advance, and 5 rupees if paid at the end of the year. At the beginning of each number is written in English: "to save much time, trouble and money." In the number for August, 1885, appears an advertisement of the Farhang, published at Isfahán, and an encomium on it, and in subsequent numbers news is occasionally quoted from that paper.

In the later numbers of the Mudarris-i-Fársí there appear advertisements of a paper entitled Mufarríhu'l-Qulub, which is highly praised, and of which it writes as follows: "This is a weekly Persian newspaper published at Karáchi in Sind, and is the best Persian newspaper in India. It has appeared regularly for thirty years, and it is now the thirtieth year of its publication. Its Persian style is very good, and entirely accords with the spoken and written idiom of Persia. It contains the latest news from every country, and is in every respect a first-class newspaper. It is chiefly maintained and published by subventions from the rulers, princes, nobility and gentry of Persia, Turkey, Afghanistán, India, Europe, etc. Its proprietors and publishers possess testimonials, guarantees and letters from most of the above-mentioned rulers, nobles and gentry which afford ample evidence as to the excellence of its style and taste. It is especially suitable for the use of students of Persian in India. It is edited and published by two learned, accomplished and well-known persons,
Mirzá Muhammad Ja'far (the editor) and Mirzá Muhammad Šádiq of Mashhad, Persian Consul at Karáchi. Yearly subscription for Indian nobles, 12 rupees, if paid in advance, and 24 rupees if post-paid; for people of the middle class, 10 and 20 rupees respectively; and for students, 5 and 10 rupees respectively."

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(311)

Madaniyyat (Civilization).

A fortnightly newspaper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1301 (= A.D. 1883–4) under the editorship of the Secretary to the Armenian Agency, known as Šadrá. No. 2 was dated Wednesday the 12th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1301 (= April 9, 1884).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

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Madi (? Media).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8), edited and written by Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Ali, known as Muhád, on account of his sentiments with regard to Ancient Persia and the pure Persian language. After the Coup d'État of June 25, 1908, and the bombardment of the Majlis, he became acquainted with the celebrated M. Panoff, the correspondent of certain Liberal Russian papers in Persia, who also took part in the Gilán Rebellión in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), at the time when the Russian Legation had expelled him from Tihrán. He accompanied him to St Petersburg under the name of "Mirzá Shaykh 'Ali the Mujtahid," and endeavoured to influence public opinion in Russia in a manner favourable to Persia by means of public speeches.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(313)

Mirát-i-Janúb (The Mirror of the South).

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Kirmán in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Sayyid Jalálu'd-Dín Husaynî Mu'ayyidu'l-Ashraf.
Mirátu’s-Safar wa Mishkátu’l-Hadar

(The Mirror of Travel and Lamp of Sojourn).

A newspaper published in Rabí’ i, A.H. 1288 (= May–June, 1871) on the march and at the halting-places during Naṣiru’d-Dín Sháh’s summer journey to Mázandarán. It gave an account of the events of the journey from start to finish, and was printed and edited by Muhammad Hasan Kháñ Patimádu’s-Saltana. In all thirteen numbers were published.

This information is supplied in a letter from H.E. the Patimádu’s-Saltana. The paper is not mentioned by Rabíno, and is not otherwise known.

Mirrikh (Mars).

A newspaper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879) under the editorship of Mirzá Hasan Kháñ Sáru’d-Dawla. The first number was dated Muharram 5 of that year (= Dec. 30, 1878) and the last number the 16th of Jumáda ii, A.H. 1297 (= May 26, 1880). In all eighteen numbers were published. This paper took the place of the Rúznáma-i-Nízámí (“Military Journal”) which preceded it, and would seem to have been founded by Mirzá Husayn Kháñ Sínahsíh. See No. 191 supra.

Most of the above particulars are derived from information supplied by Záhíd-i-Mulk. The paper is not mentioned by Rabíno, nor have I seen it.

Musáwát (Equality).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Rízá of Shíríz, and

1 The Patimádu’s-Saltana, in one of his letters attributes the foundation and circulation of this newspaper to Prince Káshán Mirzá, entitled Náhiru’s-Saltana, the son of Naṣiru’d-Dín Sháh, who published it with the assistance of the present Sádik-i-Kull. It came to an end, however, after only twelve or thirteen numbers had appeared. It is, however, highly probable, nay, almost certain, that the details mentioned in the text are more correct and accurate, and that the other particulars refer to some other paper of which we have no further information.
Sayyid 'Abdu'-Rahim of Khalkhál. This paper, by reason of its extreme boldness and steadfastness in Constitutional Principles, was one of the foremost champions in the Press of the First Constitution. It achieved great notoriety in consequence of its criticism of the Press Law, on the promulgation of which it published a number full of idle stories, fables and phantasies, saying that henceforth, in consequence of the above-mentioned Law, everything except such matters would be prohibited; and also in consequence of a celebrated article entitled "How is the Sháh?" directed against Muhammad 'Ali Sháh. These actions led to the suppression of the paper and legal proceedings against the editor. The editor of this paper, Sayyid Muhammad Rızá, was one of the eight persons whose surrender Muhammad 'Ali Sháh demanded of the First National Assembly, but after the bombardment of the Majlis (June 23, 1908) he escaped and could not be captured. Finally he succeeded in reaching the Caucasus, whence he made his way to Tabriz, where, during the Revolution and siege of that city, he again published the Musáwát. Finally he was elected by Tabriz as one of the Members of the Second National Assembly. In politics the paper was thorough-going Constitutionalist and Liberal.

See Rahim, No. 188, who says that in all 35 numbers of the Tihrân edition appeared, the first on the 5th of Ramazán, A.H. 1325 (= Oct. 12, 1906), and the last at the end of Rahb'î, A.H. 1326 (= May 1, 1908). I possess a fairly complete collection.

Musáwát (Equality).

A paper lithographed in Tabriz early in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Sayyid Muhammad Rızá of Shiráz.

See Rahim, No. 188, according to whom the first issue of the Tabriz Musáwát appeared on Muharram 1, A.H. 1327 (= Jan. 23, 1909), and was numbered "16" in direct continuation of the former Tihrân Musáwát. I possess a fairly complete set of the Tihrân issues (Nos. 1-24, the last dated the 23rd of Rahb'î, A.H. 1326= May 25, 1908), and No. 25 (the second) of the Tabriz issue, which is punctured, not lithographed, and is dated the 7th of Muharram, A.H. 1327= Jan. 29, 1909. Each number contains 8 pp. of 12½'x6½". Yearly subscription of Tihrân issue, 10 piastres in Tihrân, 17 piastres elsewhere in Persia, 13 francs abroad; of Tabriz issue, 12 piastres in Tihráz, 20 piastres elsewhere in Persia, and 5 roubles abroad.
Mashwarat (Council).
Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Mashriqa-i-Bīqānūn (The Lawless Constitution).
Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Miśbāḥ (The Lamp).
A paper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1324 (= A.D. 1906–7)
under the editorship of Mirzā Abūl-Qāsim of Tabriz.
Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Musawwar (The Illustrated).
Inserted on the authority of Rabino, No. 189, who gives no particulars. Perhaps what he had in view was the Illustrated History of the War in the Far East, which was published in parts in Tihran.

Musaffari.
A fortnightly, and subsequently weekly, paper, first lithographed and subsequently printed in Bushire in A.H. 1319 (= A.D. 1901–2), under the editorship of 'Alī Āqā of Shīráz.

See Rabino, No. 190, who states that the paper was Democrat in politics, and that No. 2 was dated the 15th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1319 (= Jan. 23, 1901). I possess a large collection of this paper from the First to the Tenth Year (A.H. 1319–1329 = Jan. 1901–April, 1911). Of these, Nos. 2–66 (Jan. 1902–Sept. 1904) are lithographed, and the remainder printed. Each number comprises 16 pp. of 9½ x 5½. Yearly subscription, 22 grāms in Bushire, 18 grāms elsewhere in Persia, 8 rupees in India, 14 francs in Europe, Turkey and Egypt, and 5 roubles in Russia and Turkistān.
Muzaffari.

A paper printed in Mecca in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908–9) under the editorship of 'Ali Aqa of Shiraz, editor of the homonymous Bushire paper mentioned immediately above. Only one number was published during the season of the Pilgrimage.

See Rabino, No. 190, according to whom this paper (which I have not seen) first appeared in Dhu'l-Hijja, A.H. 1326 (= Dec. 1908–Jan. 1909).

Ma'zhar (The Manifestation).

Of this weekly paper, not mentioned by either Rabino or the author of this treatise, I possess one copy, No. 13, dated the 27th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Dec. 10, 1909). It is printed at Tiflis, partly in Turkish, partly in Persian, and bears a superscription in Russian. It comprises 4 pp. of \(16\frac{1}{2}'' \times 10''\), and contains on page 1 a portrait of Sardar-i-Humayun, the Persian Consul-General at Tiflis. Yearly subscription, 6 roubles. It describes itself as:

"a weekly literary, political, economic and patriotic Turkish newspaper."

Ma'arif (Instruction).

A paper lithographed in Tihran in A.H. 1317 (= A.D. 1899–1900) under the supervision of the Society of Instruction (Anjuman-i-Ma'arif).

Not in Rabino, unless this be merely the early beginning of the next following.

Ma'arif (Instruction).

A weekly paper printed in Tihran in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Shaykh Muhammad 'Ali Bahjat of Dizful, editor of the magazine entitled Da'watul-Haqq.

See Rabino, No. 191, who gives the date of No. 16 as the 11th of Safar, A.H. 1325 (= March 17, 1907). I possess Nos. 15, 18, 31, and the supplement to 10. As the
paper appeared weekly, it appears by reckoning backwards that it began to be published in A.H. 1324 (=A.D. 1906-7), and 1315, a fact also indicated on each issue, where "1324" stands immediately beneath the title. Each number comprises 8 pp. of 11¾" × 6¾". Yearly subscription, 17 grivás in Tihrán, 20 grivás in the provinces, and 13 francs abroad. In No. 36 the title is printed in na'dh instead as hitherto in ta'lid.

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Ma'darif (Instruction).

A paper printed twice a week in Tihrán in Sha'bán, A.H. 1326 (= Sept., 1908) under the management of the Society of Learning (Anjuman-i-Ma'darif).

See Rabino, No. 192, and No. 316 supra, of which I suspect it to be a continuation. Not seen by the Translator.

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Ma'rifat (Knowledge).

A weekly paper lithographed at Tabríz in A.H. 1319 (=A.D. 1901-2) under the editorship of Mirzá 'Abdu'lláh Khán, son of Mirzá Taqí, President of the Courts of Justice (Sadri-i-Adliyya), one of the Jahán-sháhí Sayyids of Tabríz, and Director of the Ma'rifat College.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

(329)

Ma'rifat (Knowledge).

A weekly paper "jelly-graphed," and subsequently lithographed, in Yazd, in A.H. 1326 (=A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Shaykh Abu'l-Qásim Iftikhar-i-Uláma.

See Rabino, No. 193. I possess Nos. 6 and 8. The former, dated the 15th of Muḥarram, A.H. 1326 (= Feb. 18, 1908), is "jelly-graphed"; the latter, dated the 18th of Ramadán, A.H. 1327 (= Oct. 3, 1909), is lithographed. From the long interval separating these two numbers, as well as from sundry differences apparent in arrangement and production, I am disposed to believe that in reality two independent papers named Ma'rifat were published in Yazd, one ("jelly-graphed") towards the end of A.H. 1327, and another (lithographed) about the middle of A.H. 1325. In size the two agree (4 pp. of 10¾" × 6"), but the yearly subscriptions differ as follows: No. 6 (the "jelly-graph"), 20 grivás in Yazd, 23 grivás elsewhere in Persia; No. 8 (the lithograph), 10 grivás in Yazd, 12 grivás elsewhere in Persia. No editor's name appears on No. 6.
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Marifatul-Akhlaq (Knowledge of Ethics).


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Miftahu'z-Zafar (The Key of Victory).

A weekly scientific paper lithographed at Calcutta in A.H. 1315 (= A.D. 1897-8) under the editorship of Mirza Sayyid Hasan of Kishn, afterwards editor of the Tihran Hablu'l-Matta.

See Rabino, No. 194. I possess Nos. 13 and 4 (sic) of the Second Year, the former dated the 26th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1316 (= April 4, 1899), and the latter the 25th of Jumada i, A.H. 1317 (= Oct. 4, 1899). The number of pages varies from 4 to 8 of 11 1/4'' x 6''. Lithographed in a rather large and ungraceful type. Yearly subscription, 10 rupees in India and the Persian Gulf, 35 francs in Persia and Afghanistan, 25 francs in China, Japan, Russia and Europe, and 5 mejiidiyes in Turkey.

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Mufarrihu'l-Qulub (The Rejoicer of Hearts).

A weekly newspaper published at Karach (Sind) in A.H. 1302-3 (= A.D. 1885) and edited by Mirza Muhammad Ja'far and Mirza Muhammad Sadiq of Mashhad, Persian Consul at Karach.

See above, No. 310, under the Mutarres-i-Farsi, through which alone it is known to us.

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Mukafat (Recompense).

A paper published in Khoy (Azarbajjan) in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of Mirza Aqa Khan Hirandi, director of the Madrasa-i-Musawat ("College of Equality"). Most of the articles in this paper were from the pen of Abu'l-Hasan Khan, Muhammad 'Ali-zada, entitled Saf'dul-Mamalik, and Amir-i-Hishmat, who at that time held Khoy and Salmas on behalf of the Revolutionaries. Its proprietor was Mirza Nuru'llah Yakani. In politics the paper was Revolutionary.

Maktab (The School).

A paper printed in Tihrān in A.H. 1323 (=A.D. 1905–6) under the editorship of Hajji Mīrzā Ḥasan of Tabriz, known as Kushdiyya.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Mu‘ayyad (Aided).


See Rabino, No. 146, on whose authority it is here inserted.

Mahdi Ḥammāl (Mahdi the Porter)1.

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1328 (=A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Akbar-zāda. Only one number of it appeared.

See Rabino, No. 197, on whose authority it is here inserted. The date of publication was the 16th of Kamarān, A.H. 1328 (=Sept. 21, 1910).

Mizān (The Balance).

An illustrated comic paper lithographed in Tihrān in A.H. 1329 (=A.D. 1911) under the editorship of Fakhra‘l-Wd‘istu of Kāshān. In politics it was Democrat.

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Mitq (Thought).

A paper printed at Tabriz in the Armenian language in A.H. 1330 (=A.D. 1912) under the editorship of Alexander Dir Wartāniyāns, also editor of the Persian Fikr. (See No. 265 supra.)

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

1 Mahdi Ḥammāl ("the Porter") was well known in Tihrān as a man of immense height, bulk and strength, and of voracious appetite. He would eat 14 or 1 maunds of bread and cheese, and could carry the weight of a kharwarī on his shoulders. His voracity has become proverbial.
Násiri.

A paper lithographed in Tabríz every ten days in A.H. 1311 (= A.D. 1893-4) under the editorship of Mullá Muhammad Nadim-báshí ("Chief Courtier"), director of the Mužaffarí College in Tabríz, and subsequently Nadím-š-Sãlih and Minister of the Press. The paper was subsequently edited by Isghal-š-Kuttáb, and finally by Hájjí Mirzá Mas'úd Khán Šáfí-u-l-Mamálik, son of Hájjí Sayyid Hasan Šáh-š-Mulk of Tabríz. It was semi-official, and was even considered as one of the official newspapers, and continued to be published for nearly seven years. Its polemics against the Constantinople Akhtâr ("Star," q.v., No. 34 supra) deserve attention.

See Rahím, No. 198. I possess No. 33 of the Third Year, dated the first of Ramzeán, A.H. 1314 (= Feb. 3, 1897). It comprises 4 pp. of 11 7/8" x 6 3/4". Yearly subscription, 16 ġulëm in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, 40 piastres in Turkey, and 5 rupees in India.

Náqur (The Clarion).

A paper lithographed twice a week in Isfahán in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Mirzá Masih Táysírsírá. The comic or satirical portion of this paper, entitled Zísht u Zibá ("Foul and Fair"), was written in a very agreeable literary style. In politics it was thorough-going Liberal and Constitutional.

See Rahím, No. 300, according to whom 75 numbers appeared in all, the last on the 21st of Dhu'l-Qa'dá, A.H. 1326 (= Nov. 25, 1908). I possess No. 9, dated the 24th of Safár, A.H. 1327 (= March 17, 1909). It comprises 4 pp. of 11 7/8" x 6 3/4". Yearly subscription, 14 ġulëm in Isfahán, 17 ġulëm elsewhere in Persia. Lithographed in good méth.

Nála-l-Millat (The Nation's Cry).

A paper lithographed in Tabríz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908-9) under the editorship of Mirzá Áqá, editor of the Istiqlát. In politics the paper was thorough-going Liberal and Constitutional.

See Rahím, No. 199. I possess No. 38 of the First Year, dated the 14th of Muharrám, A.H. 1326 (= Feb. 17, 1908), which seems to show that the paper was founded in the latter part of A.H. 1325, not in 1326. It comprises 4 pp. of 11 7/8" x 8 3/4". Yearly subscription, 8 ġulëm in Tabríz, 10 ġulëm elsewhere in Persia, 4 roubles in Russia.
Nāma-i-Ḥaqiqat (The Letter of Truth).

Not in Rabino, and not seen.

Nāma-i-Waṭan (The Letter of the Fatherland).

A paper lithographed in Ḥaydarábād in the Deccan in A.H. 1326 (?) (= A.D. 1908–9) under the editorship of the Ṣahhāf-bāshī, a fugitive from Ṭihrān. The articles of this paper dealt with the supernatural, and it laid down sundry religious laws.

See Rabino, No. 201. I possess No. 7 of the Second Year, dated Ṣafar, A.H. 1326 (= March, 1908). It comprises 16 pp. of 10½" × 6½", lithographed in poor itall. No price is indicated.

Najāt (Salvation).

A newspaper printed at first once and subsequently twice a week in Ṭihrān in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909), before the capture of Ṭihrān by the National Armies, under the editorship of Mīrzā Muhammad of Khūrāsān, editor of the paper Ḥuqūq ("Rights," q.v.), and afterwards Member of the Second National Assembly. In consequence of a somewhat Liberal article, this paper was suspended by Sa'du'd-Dawla's Cabinet, which suspension provided one of the causes which led to the attack of the National Volunteers (Muḥāhidin) of Qazwīn on Ṭihrān. After the capture of Ṭihrān it again resumed publication. In politics it was thorough-going Liberal and Constitutionalist, but not Democratic as Rabino asserts.

See Rabino, No. 203. I possess Nos. 1, 6, 12, 18 and 25, the first dated the 3rd of Jumāda ii, A.H. 1327 (= June 22, 1909), and the last the 4th of Shawwal (= Oct. 19) of the same year. Contains 4 or 8 pp. of 13½" × 6½". Yearly subscription, 10 ʿāmens in Ṭihrān, 17 elsewhere in Persia, and 15 francs abroad.

Najāt (Salvation).

A "jelly-graphed" paper published in Rasht.

See Rabino, No. 203, on whose authority it is here inserted.
Najat (Salvation).

A paper printed in Khûy in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). In politics it was Democratic.

See Rabino, No. 204. Not seen by the translator.

Najat-i-Waṭan (The Country’s Salvation).


See Rabino, No. 205, on whose authority it is here inserted. He adds that not more than seven or eight numbers were published.

Najaf.

A weekly paper printed at Najaf in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Sayyid Muslim Zawin-zâda and Hájjî Muhammad ibn Hájjî Husayn, and owned by Shaykh Husayn of Tihrân.


Najm-i-Bâkhtar (The Star of the West).

See above under Payámbar-i-Bâkhtar (“The Prophet of the West”), No. 96 supra.

See Rabino, No. 207. It was published at Washington.

Nidâ-yi-Rasht (The Voice of Rasht).

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911). Only two numbers of it appeared, the first, according to Rabino, on the 28th of Rabî’ i, A.H. 1329 (= March 29, 1911), and the second on the 2nd of Rabî’ ii (April 2) of the same year.

See Rabino, No. 208.

Nidâ-yi-Islám (The Voice of Islam).

A weekly newspaper lithographed at Shiráz in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907-8) under the editorship of Sayyid Ziyâ‘u’d-Dîn-i-
Tabātabā'i of Yazd, editor of the newspapers *Sharq* and *Barg* (q.v.).

See Rahino, No. 209. I possess Nos. 7, 14, and 15. The first is dated the 11th of Safar, A.H. 1325 (=March 30, 1907). Each number consists of from 4 to 8 pp. of 10 x 7, lithographed (the earlier numbers in green ink) in a large and good *naskh*. Yearly subscription, 30 *qrans* in Shirāz, 36 *qrans* elsewhere in Persia, and 40 *qrans* abroad.

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**Nidā-yi-Watān (The Country's Call).**

A weekly; subsequently bi-weekly, and finally, daily paper printed at Tihrān in A.H. 1324 (=A.D. 1906–7) under the editorship of Majdūl-Islām of Kirmān, editor of the newspapers *Kashgūl* and *Muḥākamat* (q.v.).

See Rahino, No. 210, who gives the 11th of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1324 (=Dec. 27, 1906) as the date of first issue. I possess a fairly complete set. Each number comprises from 4 to 8 pp. of 11 3/8 x 6 7/8. Yearly subscription, 20 *qrans* in Tihrān, 36 *qrans* elsewhere in Persia, 2 mejdiyyes in Turkey and Egypt, 17 francs in America and Europe, 10 roubles in Russia, and 15 rupees in India.

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**Nidā-yi-Janūb (The Voice of the South).**

Of this paper, which is not mentioned either by Mīrzā Muhammad 'Alī "Tarbiyat" or by Rabino, I possess one copy, No. 2, dated the 22nd of Dhu'l-Qa'da, A.H. 1329 (=Nov. 15, 1911). It comprises 8 pp. of 15 x 81/4, and was printed in Tihrān. Proprietor and chief contributor, Mīrzā Bāqir Khān, teacher and translator, of Tabriz; responsible editor, Muhammad Bāqir Khān Tangistānī. Yearly subscription, 18 *qrans* in Tihrān, 20 *qrans* elsewhere in Persia, and 22 *qrans* abroad. The paper is described in the title as founded in Shawwāl, A.H. 1329 (=Sept.–Oct., 1911).

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**Naṣīm-I-Shimāl (The Breeze of the North).**

A paper printed in Rasht in A.H. 1325 (=A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Sayyid-Ashraf. This was one of the best literary papers, and in particular contained many notable poems, both serious and satirical.
See Rabino, No. 211, according to whom it appeared at irregular intervals, the first issue on the 2nd of Shawwál, A.H. 1325 (= Sept. 19, 1907), and the "Third Year" began with No. 69. I possess Nos. 9–12, 14, 16, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 33, 45, 48; Nos. 5 and 7 of the Third Year, No. 10 (dated the 2nd of Shawwál, A.H. 1329 = July 29, 1911), and Nos. 12–14, 16. The numbering is somewhat erratic, and the intervals of publication were very irregular.

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Naźmiyya (The Police).

A weekly illustrated newspaper lithographed in Tabriz in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908–9) under the editorship of Mashhāf Māhmūd Isgandānī. The first number contains the portrait of Iṣlāh-šā'īn, Chief of the Police at Tabriz.

See Rabino, No. 212, who gives the name of the proprietors as Muhammad ‘Alī, and states that the first issue was on the 23rd of Rabi‘ I, A.H. 1326 (= April 25, 1908). I possess No. 1, which is lithographed in an indifferent style, and comprises 4 pp. of 12½” × 6½”. Yearly subscription, 8 qurūns in Tabriz, 10 qurūns elsewhere in Persia.

(356)

Naqsh-i-Jahān (The Picture of the World).

An illustrated weekly paper lithographed in Isfahān in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8), and published by the office of the newspaper Isfahān. (See No. 49 supra.)

See Rabino, No. 213, who gives the date of No. 1 as the 23rd of Shawwál, A.H. 1325 (= Nov. 29, 1907). I possess No. 1, which comprises 4 pp. of 11½” × 6”, lithographed in style, with two cartoons. Yearly subscription, 12 qurūns in Isfahān.

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Naw-Bahār (Early Spring).

A paper printed in Mashhād twice a week in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910), of which No. 1 was dated the 9th of Shawwál (= Oct. 14, 1910) of that year, under the editorship of the Malikuš-Shu’ārā” (“King of the Poets”), who signed under the nom de guerre of “M. Bahār.” This paper had a special importance on account of its extreme boldness and fiery denunciations, especially against the Russian aggressions. Finally, in consequence of the complaints of the Russian Legation in Tihrān, the Ministry for Foreign Affairs ordered its suppression, but it subsequently resumed publication under the title of Tāẕa Bahār. (See No. 98 supra.) In politics this paper was Democrat.
See Rabino, No. 214. I possess Nos. 1, 28, 30 and 48, the first dated as above; the last the 14th of Jumāda 1, A.H. 1329 (= May 11, 1911). Each comprises 4 pp. of 164 x 104. Yearly subscription, 15 gírus in Mashhad, 75 gírus elsewhere in Persia; 6 roubles abroad.

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Naw-rúz (New Year’s Day).

A weekly paper lithographed in Tihrán in A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902–3), edited by Náẓím-ü-Islám of Kirmán, also editor of the Kawkib-i-durr-i-yi-Náṣír (see No. 286 supra), and written by Mírzá Kázim Khán of Kirmán.

See Rabino, No. 215, who gives the date of first issue as the 2nd of Dhu’l-Hijja, A.H. 1320 (= March 22, 1902). I do not possess a copy.

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Naw-rúz (New Year’s Day).

A paper lithographed in Isfahán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8). See Rabino, No. 216, on whose authority it is here inserted.

(360)

Naw-i-Bashar (The Human Race).

A paper printed in Rasht twice a week in A.H. 1329 (= A.D. 1911).

See Rabino, No. 217, who says that only six numbers appeared; the first on the 25th of Rabí’ ii, A.H. 1329 (= April 25, 1911), and the last on the 2nd of Jumáda 1 (= May 21) of the same year. I possess Nos. 1, 3 and 6. Each comprises 4 pp. of 113 x 63. Yearly subscription, 15 gírus in Rasht, and the same elsewhere plus postage.

(361)

Nayyir-i-A’zam (The Greater Luminary).

A paper printed in Tihrán twice a week in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907), under the editorship of the Mu’tám-ul-Ulama of Isfahán, who was afterwards suspected of favouring the Reaction, and, after the capture of Tihrán by the Nationalists (in July, 1909), was imprisoned for nearly a year with other political offenders. See Rabino, No. 218. I possess Nos. 1 and 13, of which the former is dated the 16th of Ramaḍánn, A.H. 1325 (= Oct. 23, 1907), and the latter the 6th of Dhu’l-Qa’da (= Dec. 11) of the same year. Each comprises 4 pp. of 12 x 7. Yearly subscription, 14 gírus in Tihrán, 17 gírus elsewhere in Persia, and 11 francs abroad.
(362)

Waṭān (Fatherland).


See Rabino, No. 219. I possess Nos. 3 and 10, dated Jan. 27 and April 22 respectively, both of which are printed; and Nos. 17, 20, 21 and 22, all of which are lithographed. The last number is dated the 12th of Ramaḍān, A.H. 1325 (= Oct. 19, 1907). Each number comprises 6 pp. of 11½" x 6½". Yearly subscription, 15 ġarāns.

(363)

Wāṭān dili (The Mother Tongue).

This paper, mentioned only by Rabino (No. 220), was lithographed at Tabriz in the Āzarbāyjānī Turkish language.

I possess one (probably incomplete) copy, consisting of a single sheet, lithographed on both sides in a good, clear nastaʿlīk, and bearing this title at the top of p. 1, but no date, subscription price, or other particulars. The sheet measures 12" x 6½". I am doubtful from its appearance whether it is a newspaper at all, in the proper sense of the word, and not rather an isolated sheet. It contains one long and complete article or appeal.

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Wāqt (Time).

A full-sized daily paper printed in Tihrān in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910) under the editorship of Mīrzá Ḥusayn Khān Kasmāʾī. It was a strong supporter of the Sipahdār's Cabinet, and the Moderates, and used to attack with vehemence the Irān-i-Naw (see No. 77 supra) and the Opposition (i.e. the Democrats), generally striving to cast suspicion on their orthodoxy in matters of Religion and Law. It had a comic or satirical section entitled Darāt-Wart, which is almost unintelligible.

In politics it was Moderate.

See Rabino, No. 321, who says that in all 66 numbers were published, the first on the 21st of Rabīʿ i, A.H. 1328 (= April 3, 1910), and the last on the 11th of Jumādā ll i (= June 20) of the same year. I possess Nos. 1–46, the first, a single sheet, printed on one side only, being dated 11 days earlier than Rabino says (March 17, 1910), and the last May 30 of the same year. Most of the numbers comprise 4 pp. of 11½" x 14½". Yearly subscription, 50 ġarāns in Tihrān, 60 ġarāns elsewhere in Persia, and 80 ġarāns abroad.
Hidáyat (Guidance).

A weekly paper printed in Tihrán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907) under the editorship of Mírzá Muhammad of Tihrán.

See Rabino, No. 332, according to whom it first appeared on the 7th of Rajáb, A.H. 1325 (= Aug. 14, 1907). This is correct, but the paper seems to have been suppressed or suspended for eight months immediately afterwards, for No. 2 is dated the 5th of Rabí‘l-‘Alá, A.H. 1326 (= April 7, 1908). I possess Nos. 1, 2 and 4. Each comprises 4 pp., of 14" x 7". Yearly subscription, $34 gráns in Tihrán, 40 gráns in the provinces, 9 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 25 francs in other foreign countries.

Hidáyat (Guidance).

A weekly paper lithographed in Qazwin in A.H. 1326 (= A.D. 1908–9) under the editorship of Mír Hádí Shaykhu‘l-Islámi.

See Rabino, No. 323. I possess Nos. 1 and 4, dated respectively the 3rd and the 10th of Rabí‘l-‘Alá, A.H. 1326 (= April 5 and 22, 1908). Each comprises 4 pp., of 17½" x 7¾". Yearly subscription, $8 gráns in Qazwin, 10 gráns elsewhere in Persia, 12 mejidiyés in Turkey and Egypt, 4 roubles in Russia and the Caucasus, and 6 francs in Europe and America.

Hama-dán (All-knowing—a word-play on Hamádán, the well-known city).

A weekly paper printed at Hamadán in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Hájí Husayn.

See Rabino, No. 324, who states that No. 18 was dated the 19th of Shawwal, A.H. 1325 (= Nov. 25, 1907). I do not possess a copy.

Hawá wa Hawas (Freak and Fancy).

A paper "jelly-graphed" in Láhiján in A.H. 1325 (= A.D. 1907–8) under the editorship of Hájí Husayn.

See Rabino, No. 325, on whose authority it is here inserted. I have not seen it.

Yádigár-i-Inqiláb (Memorial of the Revolution).

A paper lithographed in Qazwin twice a week in A.H. 1327 (= A.D. 1909) under the editorship of the Mu'tamadú'l-Islám of
Rasht during the sojourn of the National Volunteers (Mujāhidin) at that place. After the Conquest of Tihrán, the paper was transferred thither and published there. In politics it was Revolutionary.

See Rabino, No. 126. I possess Nos. 1, 2 and 3, dated the 1st, 5th and 18th of Jumādā 2, A.H. 1327 (= June 20, June 24 and July 7, 1909). Each number comprises 4 pp. of 114 x 64. Price in Qazwín, 100 dinars (50 of a qinā) a copy. Elsewhere in Persia, 12 qinās a year.

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Yādigār-i-Inqilāb (Memorial of the Revolution).


See Rabino, No. 226. I possess Nos. 9, 10, 12, 17, 18 and 20, the first dated the 24th of Rajab, the last the 15th of Dhul-Qa'da, A.H. 1327 (= Aug. 11, 1909, and Nov. 30, 1909, respectively). Each number contains 4 pp. of 114 x 64. Yearly subscription, 12 qinās in Tihrán, 15 qinās elsewhere in Persia, 3 roubles in Russia, and 8 francs in Europe.

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Yādigār-i-Janūb (Memorial of the South).

MODERNISING INFLUENCES IN THE PERSIAN PRESS OTHER THAN MAGAZINES AND JOURNALS.

Since the most important effect of the Press in every country is the awakening of political and literary opinion amongst the people, it is not inappropriate that we should conclude with a brief survey of the relations which exist between the early activities of the Press in Persia, and the latest movement of renaissance and renovation.

That portion of this subject which is connected with periodical publications, i.e. newspapers and magazines, has been discussed in the preceding section, and we shall here speak only of the effects of certain books and pamphlets which were operative in bringing about this awakening of thought, most of which were either translations of European books, or were inspired by European civilization and culture, and which acted for the most part by means of a gradual and peaceful progress.

Amongst printed books of this class the first place must be assigned to the earlier scientific and technical works, whether translated or compiled, published in the early days of the foundation of the State College, or Dārul-Funūn, at Tihrān (when a large number of European teachers were imported to give instruction there and in the Military College) to be used for teaching purposes; to which must be added a few earlier books ranging from the time of Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā Naʻību-s-Salṭana to that period. The greater number of these books were composed by these new European teachers or the old Persian teachers of the College, such as Lieut. Krží, M. Buhler, M. Lemaire, M. Vauvillier, Dr. Polak, Dr. Albu, M. Nicoias, M. Richard, M. Andreimi, and M. Gasteiger of the former, and Ḥājjī Najmu'd-Dawla, Mīrzā Zākī of Māzandarān, Mīrzā Kāzim, Instructor in

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*I am indebted to General Sir A. Houtum Schindler, K.C.I.E., for the identification of these gentlemen and for particulars concerning them. Artillery Lieut. Krží and Dr. Polak were two of the seven Austrians brought to Persia in 1821. The former returned to Europe in 1859, the latter in 1860. Capitaine Alexandre Buhler,
Natural Sciences, 'Ali Khán Naṣimul-Ulum, Zaká‘ul-Mulk and others of the latter. As an appendix to this brief sketch we shall give a partial and incomplete table of the most important of these new scientific and literary works. By the special kindness of H.E. Rizá-quli Khán, General Superintendent of the Ministry of Sciences and of the Dáru'l-Funún College (son of Nayyiru’l-Mulk, and grandson of the celebrated Rizá-quli Khán Lala-báshi) I am enabled to include in this table a list of printed books composed by the older and younger writers of the Government Colleges (such as the Dáru'l-Funún and the Military and Political Colleges). The remaining items I have myself supplied, and the result I now put forward in the following pages so as to leave a foundation, poor and defective though it may be, which others devoted to the collecting of such information and interested in the study of the history of books and arts, may render more complete and comprehensive.

Amongst the more celebrated of the older Persian writers of this class were the late Hájjí Najmu’d-Dawla (Mírzá ‘Abdu’l-Ghaffár, son of Mírzá ‘Ali Muhammad of Isfahán) the Chief Astrologer (Munajjim-báshi), who was entitled "Professor of all the exact Sciences" in the Dáru’l-Funún College, and who was the author of numerous published Works on the Mathematical and Natural Sciences. He only died recently, in A.H. 1328 (= A.D. 1910), his age, according to current report, exceeding 90 years.

ii Régiment de Génie, came to Persia in 1855, captured Herát in Nov. 1856, taught military science at the College, and took part in many expeditions. He died, a General of the First Class, in 1887. M. Albert Lemaître was sent to Persia by the French Government in 1868 to teach military music. He died in 1907. M. Félix Navvillier came to Persia in 1865 on behalf of a French Syndicate for a railway, but was afterwards employed by the Persian Government in constructing an Arsenal, and afterwards as teacher of Mineralogy at the College. He retired on a pension about 1900 and died a few years later. Dr Albu of Berlin was engaged by the Mukhšírul-Dawla for the College in 1883. He returned to Europe after 8 or 9 years of teaching and private practice in Persia. M. J. B. Nicolas, the translator of ‘Umar Khayyám, was the father of M. Alphonse Nicolas, now French Consul at Tabriz. M. Richard came to Persia in 1844 or 1846, fell in love with a Kurdish girl, and turned Musulmán in order to marry her. M. F. Andrici was a Tuscan volunteer in the 1848 revolutionary movements, fled to Constantinople in 1849, entered the service of the Persian Government in 1852, and died in 1894. M. Gasteiger, an Austrian adventurer, came to Persia in the early sixties, was engaged on various engineering works and resigned in 1889. He died soon afterwards.
Another was Muhammad Hasan Khán I'timádú's-Sultana (son of Hájjí 'Alí Khán, entitled Hájjíbú'd-Dawla, of Marágha), Minister of the Press, who contributed many additions to the Sád-námas or "Year Books." Although, according to the statements of credible authorities, he himself was devoid of any profound knowledge or scholarship, and merely caused these works to be written under his supervision and the control of the Ministry of the Press by those men of learning whom he collected from every quarter, afterwards causing their writings to be published in his own name, yet since it was under his name that these books appeared, they are commonly known as his, and must therefore necessarily be described as such.

Another was Rižá-qulí Khán of Shíráz, known as Lála-báshi, and poetically named Hidáyat (father of the present Náyyirú'l-Mulk), whose literary works are some of the most important which have appeared in Persia in the last century.

Others are the late Mírzá Muhammad Husayn Zádú'l-Mulk and his son Mírzá Muhammad 'Álí Khán, the present Zádú'l-Mulk, who co-operated in the translation and compilation of many works.

Then mention must be made of certain well-known doctors, such as Dr Muhammad of Kírmánsháh, Dr Rižá, Dr Abú'l-Hasan Khán, Dr 'Álí, and others, who have left as memorials of their learning and energy numerous works on Anatomy, Medicine, and other Natural Sciences.

After these mention may be made of the following (not in chronological order), Mírzá Yúúsuf Khán Mustasháru'd-Dawla of Tabríz; Hájjí Mírzá 'Abdu'r-Rahím Najjár-zádá of Tabríz, known as "ţáliboff"; Mírzá Hábíb of Isfahán, long resident in Constantinople; Hájjí Muhammad Táhir Mírzá (the father of the present Káflu'd-Dawla and the grandfather of Sulaymán Mírzá, Member of the Second National Assembly); Mírzá Taqí Khán of Káshán; Mírzá Áqá Khán of Kírmán, and others. Amongst the beneficent agencies which rendered valuable services to the cause of education was the Society for the publication of books (Shirkáت-i-tád-i-kutúb) in Tíhrán, which was founded about A.H. 1320 (= A.D. 1902) or a little earlier, and published a great many important works. One of the
most active members of this was Ḥājji Mīrzā Yāhyā of Dawlatābād.

Here is subjoined a brief list of the scientific, literary and historical publications of recent times, printed in Persia or abroad since the introduction of the art of printing into that country.\(^1\)

1. List of printed books composed or compiled by the older and more recent teachers of the Dāru'll-Funūn College.

1. Military treatise on the science of Artillery, by Mīrzā Zakī of Māzandarān.
2. Natural Philosophy and Mechanics, by the same.
3. Geography, by the same.
5. Ditto, by M. Buhler.
7. Algebra, by the same.
8. Surgery, by Dr Polak.
10. Mīzānū'l-Hisāb (Arithmetic), by Mīrzā Zakī.
11. Therapeutics, by Dr Abu'l-Ḥasan Khán.
12. Physiology, by Dr Albu.
15. Anatomy, by Dr 'Ali Ra'īs̄u'l-Aṭibbā.
19. Wasiṭu'l-Hisāb, a more advanced Manual of the same, by the same.

\(^1\) We shall not mention here the old books and tracts which have been printed or published during this period, but perhaps on a future occasion we may succeed in compiling a complete catalogue of all Persian printed and lithographed books, such as the American Dr Edward Van Dyck has done for Arabic printed books, under the title of Kitāb al-Qand\(^b\) bi-mul ḫamāṣ waṣṭab\(^b\).


22. Geography with Atlas, by the same.

23. Algebra, by the same.

24. Natural History, by the same.

25. Translation of *Télémague*, by the same.


27. French-Persian Dialogues, by the same.

28. French Verbs, explained in Persian, by the same.


30. Elementary and secondary Geography, by the same.

31. Solution of Algebraical Problems, by the same.

32. Geographical projections (*jahān-numā-yi-musaffaha*) and Map of Persia, by the same.

33. Maps of America and Africa, by the same.

34. Chemistry, by Mírzá Mahmúd Khán.

35. Arithmetic according to the four fundamental rules, by Mírzá Asadu'lláh Khán *Muhandisu's-Sultán*.

36. Elementary Geometry, by the same.

37. Elementary Geography, by the same.


40. Translation of *Ma'amalian*, by the same.

41. *Uṣūl-i-Ilm-i-fabr*, on Algebra, by Áqá Khán *Muhāsibu'd-Dawla*.

42. Geography, by the same.

43. Geography of Muhammad Ṣa‘ī Khán *Nāżimu'l-Ulūm*.

44. Pocket Atlas, by Sulaymán Khán *Ihtisābu'l-Mulk*.


2. List of Books published by the teachers of the Political College.


47. Short history of Greece, translated by *Nusratu's-Sultán*. 

49. Wealth, translated by the same.

50. Fundamental Rights, translated by the same.

51. Ta’rikh-i-mukhtasar-i-fran. History of Persia, by the same.


53. Fundamental Rights, by Manşüru’s-Saltana.

54. International Rights, by Mushiru’d-Dawla.

3. List of printed books composed or compiled by the older and more recent teachers of the Military College.


57. Movement of troops, according to the English method, translated by Bahram Khán Qájár.

58. Artillery drill with guns of 89 centimetres.

59. Austrian centimetry.

60. The Soldier’s Whole Duty, translated by M. Gasteiger and Karím Khán.

61. Drill Book, translated by the same.


65. General Regulations and Duties of the Barracks (translator unknown).


66. History of Peter the Great of Russia by Voltaire, translated by command of Abbás Mîrzâ Nâ’ib’s-Saltana.

67. “ Charles XII of Sweden “ Alexander

68. “ Alexander

69. Jâm-i-jam (“the World-showing Goblet of Jamshid”), on Geography, translated by Farhád Mîrzâ Mu’tamadü’d-Dawla, son of Abbás Mîrzâ Nâ’ib’s-Saltana. [It was published about
1850, and appears to be a translation of William Pinnock's Geography.

70. Jalān-numā ("the World-shower") or Geography, by Mīrzā Rafā'īll.


75. Saṣar-nāma-i-Khwārazm, by the same, being an account of his embassy to Khwārazm or Khiva. [Published by Leroux of Paris in 1879, with translation and annotations by the late M. Charles Schefzer.]

76. Supplement to Mirkhwānd's Universal History, the Rauṣatul-Safā (composed about A.D. 1500) carrying the history down to the middle of the nineteenth century, also by the above-mentioned Rizā-qulī Khān.

77. The Gulistān-i-Iram ("Rose-garden of Iram") or Bektāsh-nāma, an imaginative romance, by the same.

78. Majma'ul-Fusahā ("the Assembly of the Eloquent"), a great Anthology and Biography of Persian Poets in two-folio volumes, by the same.

79. Farhang-i-Anjuman-ārā-yi-Nāsirī, a large dictionary of Persian words explained in Persian, by the same.

80. The Khān of Lankurān, Musta'li Shāh the Wizard, and other national plays, descriptive of the condition of Persia and the Caucasus, in seven volumes, by Mīrzā Fath-Allāh Khundūff of Tiflis, translated by Mīrzā Ja'far of Qarāja Dāgh.

81. Yak Kalima ("One Word"), comparing the Rights of Man and the Laws of Europe with the Qur'ān and the Traditions, by Mīrzā Yusuf Khān Mustashārīn-d-Dawla of Tabrīz.

82. Ganjīna-i-Dānish ("the Treasury of Knowledge"), Elementary Scientific Dialogues, for Children, by the same.

83. The Strata of the Earth, on Geology, translated from the Turkish, by the same,
84. Treatise on the Potato, how to plant it and how to raise it in a scientific manner, by the same.

85. Haddī'īnu'l-Ṭabarāt ("Gardens of Nature"), on Natural Philosophy and Astronomy, by Mīrzā Taqī Khán of Káshán.

86. Education, by the same.

87. The Three Musketeers of Alexandre Dumas, translated by Muhammad Táhir Mírzá.

88. The Count of Monte Cristo of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same.

89. La Reine Margot of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same.

90. Louis XIV of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same.

91. Louis XV of Alexandre Dumas, translated by the same.

92. Kitāb-i-Ahmad; ya, Sāfinā-i-Tālibī, containing scientific and ethical Dialogues for children, by Mullá 'Abdu'-Rahím "Ṭaliboff" of Tabriz, 2 volumes.

93. The New Astronomy of Flammarion, translated by the above "Ṭaliboff."

94. Natural Philosophy, by the above "Ṭaliboff."

95. Nūkha-i-Sipīhr ("the Celestial Choice"), on the life of the Prophet, abridged from the Nāsikhu't-Tawārīkh (see infra), by "Ṭaliboff."

96. Masālikull-Muḥsīnīn ("Ways of Well-doers"), a romance containing scientific and political matters, by "Ṭaliboff."

97. Masā'īlull-Ḥayāt ("Problems of Life"), dealing with sundry scientific and political matters, by "Ṭaliboff."

98. Āzādī chi chīz-āst? ("What is Freedom?") by "Ṭaliboff."

99. Pand-nāma-i-Mārkūs ("Counsels of Marcus Aurelius"), translated by "Ṭaliboff."

100. Nāsikhu't-Tawārīkh ("the Abrogator of Histories"), an immense general history, carried down to about A.D. 1857, by Mīrzá Taqī, poetically named Sīpur, and entitled Lisānull-Mulk ("the Tongue of the Kingdom").

101. Barīthīnu'l-Ajam ("Proofs of the Persians"), on Literature and Prosody, by the same.
103. *Le Misanthrope*, translated into verse from the French of Molière.
107. Muzaffaru'd-Dīn Shâh's Journals of his Travels in Europe, in 4 volumes.
109. *Ittihadu'l-Islâm* ("the Union of Islâm"), by Hâjji Shaykhur-Ra'îs.
113. *Bāththwâsh-Shâkwâ* ("the Preferring of our Plaint"), translated by Mirzâ 'Alî Thiqatu'l-Islâm of Tabrîz.
115. "History of the Awakening of the Persians" (the Introduction and Vols. 1 and 11 have thus far been published), by Nâzîmu'l-Islâm of Kirmân.
117. *Bustânû's-Siyâhat* ("Garden of Travel"), by Hâjî Zaynu'l-Abîdin of Shîrwân.
118. *Tâ'rîkh-i-Guzûda* ("the Select History," a contemporary homonym of the well-known fourteenth-century work of that name, with which it must not be confounded), by Firdûs Malkom, the son of Prince Malkom Khân Nâzîmu'd-Dawla.
119. An illustrated translation of Stanley's Travels in Central Africa, the illustrations by Kamâlu'l-Mulk.
120. *Athârû'l-Ajam* ("Monuments of the Persians"), a
magazine containing some information about the ancient monuments of Persia, as well as about Persian literature and poetry.


122. *Alif-bd-iyi-Bihrawî*, on the reform of the Persian Alphabet, by the same writer as the last, also written in pure Persian.

123. *Zâd u bûm* ("Native Land"), on the historical and actual Geography of Persia, by Mirzá Muhammad ‘Alî Khán "Tarbiyat," the Author of this treatise.


125. *Haqiqatul-‘Alam* ("the Truth of the World"), by the above.


127. *Bûsa-i-Azrâ* ("the Virgin’s Kiss"), translated.

128. *Ghârdib-i-Awâ’d-id-i-Milal* ("Strange Customs of diverse Peoples"), by Mirzá Habib of Isfahân.

129. *Dastur-i-Sukhan* ("Model of Speech"), on Persian and Arabic Grammar, by the above.

130. *Dabistan-i-Pârs* ("the Persian School"), on Persian Accidence and Syntax, by the above.


132. *Shams-i-‘Îdî* ("the Rising Sun"), on the condition and recent developments of Japan, and its war with Russia, by Mâṭâ’ús Khán.

133. Treatise on Astronomy, by Mirzá Mahmûd Khán *Mushâvirül-Mulk*.

134. Geography.

136. History of the Afghans, by I'tiṣadu's-Saltana, Minister of Sciences.
137. History of Napoleon the Great, translated by the above.
139. Jules Verne's *Captain Hatteras*, translated by the same.
140. *Kulba-i-Hindī*, translated from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's *La Chaumière Indienne* by the same.
141. *Ishq u'lfat*, translated from Bernardin de Saint-Pierre's "Love and Virtue" by the same.
142. *Jām-i-Jām* ("the World-revealing Goblet of Jamshid"), an account of travels in India, by Sayyid ʿAlī Khān *Wigār-i-Mulk*.
143. "Conversations of an Indian traveller," a political work, published by the Ḥabīl-Mattā office.
144. *Siyāhat-nāma-i-Ibrāhīm Beg* (3 vols.), a clever satire on the methods of the old régime in Persia, by Ḥājjī Zaynu'll-ʿĀbidīn of Marāgha. The first volume has been translated into German under the title of Reisebuch des Ibrāhīm Beg.
145. *Ṣulār-nāma* ("Book of Princes"), in verse, on the model of the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi, by Mīrzā ʿAquā Khān of Kirmān.
146. *History of Persia*, by the same.
147. *Gil Blas*, translated by Dr Muhammad of Kirmānshāh.
148. *Robinson Crusoe*, translated by Mīrzā Muhammad ʿAlī Khān of Tabrīz, son of Ḥājjī Mīrzā ʿAbdu'llāh, the physician, of Khyū.

*Works by Muhammad Hasan Khān ʿtimād-u's-Saltana of Marāgha.*


156. *Al-Ma'āthir wa'l-Āthār* ("Monuments and Achievements"), an account of the institutions and achievements of the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Din Shāh, containing also biographies of contemporary notables, divines and scholars.

157. *Durara'ī-Tījān* ("Pearls for Crowns"), a historical work.


162. *Nāma-i-Dānishwardān* ("the Book of the Learned").
compiled by a committee of scholars consisting of Mírzá Abu’l-Fazl of Sáwa, Mírzá Hasan of Ṭálaqán, ‘Abdu’l-Wáhhab of Qazwín, known as “Mullá Áqá,” and Muhammad called al-Mahdí. This work, which was not completed, is a detailed Dictionary of Biography of the notable and eminent persons, men of letters, divines, philosophers, mystics, etc., who were most celebrated in Islám, and contains accounts of their biographies, adventures, characteristics and writings. Its publication was begun in A.H. 1296 (= A.D. 1879) under the supervision of ‘Allí-quill Mírzá ‘Itiṣádu’s-Saltana. On his death in A.H. 1298 (= A.D. 1881), after the publication of two volumes, the editorial committee made over the supervision to Muḥammad Ḥasan Khán ‘Itiṣádu’s-Saltana, so that the last five volumes (III–VII) were published as appendices to the Year Books (Sát-náma) of A.H. 1318, 1319, 1321, 1322 and 1323 (= A.D. 1900–5).

Here ends that which, with restricted facilities and defective materials, I have been able to collect in this brief summary, and I hope that the learned may make good its deficiencies and the discerning overlook its short-comings.
PART II

Specimens of
The Political and Patriotic Poetry
of Modern Persia.

Compiled and translated
by
EDWARD G. BROWNE.
The first specimen given below belongs to a much earlier period than the remainder, for it was printed and published in London by Messrs W. H. Allen and Co. and R. J. Mitchell and Sons in 1882. It is taken from a qasida of 366 verses entitled "A London Sunlet" (Shumaysa-i-Landaniyya) composed by my old friend and first Persian teacher Mírzá Muhammad Báqir of the district of Bawánát in Fárs, surnamed Ibráhím Ján Mu'attar. Of this remarkable and eccentric individual I have given some account in the first chapter of my Year amongst the Persians, published in 1893 by Messrs A. and C. Black (pp. 12–15), and I have there explained how he compelled me to read with great attention the extraordinary poem of which I subjoin a sample. Reading it again after the lapse of nearly thirty years, I cannot help being very much struck by its clear foreshadowing of the recent Anglo-Russian understanding, which at that time, midway between Plevna and Panj-dih, seemed of all things most improbable. In the rhymed translation which I have added to the original I have endeavoured to preserve as far as possible not only the sense of the latter, but its extraordinary half-prophetic half-punning style, which affords a strange mixture of rhapsody and lampoon, of grim jest and bitter earnest. The poem, which preserves the same rhyme throughout, is divided into two parts between verses 120 and 121, with which last I begin, selecting 29 verses out of the following 90 (i.e. between 121 and 211).

(121) کوشیکه بالکی نیز روس بر آمد، هوش اک کوش از خروش کوس کر آمدا
(122) ولوله بر زنک صوت هلله افزود، سلسله بنگین که فوت شیر نبر آمد
(123) به ثوب فتحاک زبر دهنده فتراقا، قلمیم زخیار آهنین لیر آمد
The Poet-Prophet Mirzā Muḥammad Bāqir (seated on left); his son Mirzā Isma‘īl (standing on right); Shaykh Muḥammad ʿAbdūh, afterwards Grand Mufti of Egypt (seated in middle); Ḥājjī Pir-zāda (seated on right); and Jemālūd-Dīn Bey (standing on left).

The photograph was taken at Beyrout about 1885.
(۱۲۴) بیست و ویک بیرون هم هم‌آمیزی زشت کنن‌یا و سر آزاد

(۱۲۷) جنادت لشکرکه گر سناره بیدی

(۱۲۸) از دیلم قطعی شمال نا بلوی کانیل

(۱۲۹) معرفی گویال و کرر و بال و بر آماد

(۱۳۰) مریم در ابروع گره با سعید و بازو

(۱۳۱) یا استخر و یا خیر اسدن سر

(۱۳۲) خرس نگونید خر از اسد بر آماد

(۱۳۳) گرگ و بر و بلکه م کبر آماد

(۱۳۴) شنگ و هرنت سببی نیک در آماد

(۱۳۵) های که رایت فرود ای شو فناد

(۱۳۶) هریهاد هیهاد و عدهای德拉گین

(۱۳۷) آوایه راست نا دم سفر آماد

(۱۳۸) ئاموس افسوس لفته در بین دندان

(۱۳۹) همیت یکم همیت چوکی و حجم

(۱۴۰) هندس دادم که تُنگ کوهی و جحیم

(۱۴۱) گنگم با روی جهن عروس مدیم

(۱۴۲) گنتن از من گنگن و از تو بن شندیش

(۱۴۳) نورم دیدی و ظلمت خیر آماد

(۱۴۴) شرعت دادم که بین بیدی تو بنورم
(127) خریس به‌یدا شد آر کناره کوه‌ی
وز دعیش دلی ترم ذوق آمد!
(128) از دل و آژان به‌و خرس چنان شد
کاپئم محبوب و قزین منفر آمد!
(129) و در زین جنیش و خراس و خوبی
درخوردن خلق کنی نسر آمد!
(130) من شکر هند و بار شیر سرپندا
ترکیب این دوشی در شکر آمد!
(131) شیر جنوب این دلبر و خرسی شمال آن
کستری با خرس و شیر مذفر آمد!
(132) این غرب وشتر هر دو زیر نگینش
آن‌ارا خود شرق و غرب در زگر آمد!
(133) هرُحا خرس است جای وحنط وقیس است
هرجا شب است لر در پجر آمد!
(134) انسانیت ز روی ارض بر افناد
حیوانیت دو را به مُختر آمد!
(135) کُرُوس که؟ که هنده عاشق روس است
گاء بوس و کنار و بر و بر آمد!
(136) آی خرس این شبی باگیر و بیاموز
ازآن علیه که خرس‌ها هر آمد!
(137) وین خرس و شبی باگیر بیاموز
کَراها خرسی و مطر مسر آمد!
(138) ناشت طبع دُرر بی‌هر آمد!

(Translation)

(127) Hark! the blare of Russian trumpets on the Northern breezes comes!
Heed ye! for the ears are deafened with the roar of Russian drums!
(122) Weep and wail! the sounds of turmoil loud and ever louder rise:
Shake thy chains and burst thy fetters, for the Lion surely dies!

(123) 'Neath the hosts of savage Cossacks all the boundless Qipchaq Plain
Seems a sea of iron billows, seems a roaring, surging main!

(124) Back to back and breast to breast throughout that spacious Plain they stand,
While an evil seed of severed heads and limbs fulfils the land.

(126) Boundless, countless is their army, so that if the stars should see,
They would ask, "Of these two armies which may claim infinity?"

(128) Even from the Bridge of Kābul to the regions of the Pole,
Clubs and maces, chests and shoulders, in one seething eddy roll.

(129) Frowning brows and knotted muscles doth each warrior display;
Little do they care for China, little reck they of Cathay!

(130) Think ye, Lion-Ass, or Ass with Lion's head, that yonder Bear
Doth not know the Ass will better yield to him the Lion's share?

(131) Quit the grounds wherein you hunted; turn your steps to house and town,
For the Tiger, Wolf and Leopard forces join to hunt you down!
(132) Call the Stone whereon you stumble "glad": 'tis but an empty name!
And thy Beauty Bright is surely caught within the claws of shame!

* * * * *

(138) Hail, thou great Caucasian Monarch! Full success attends thy plan!
Such success is thine by virtue of the strength which makes a man!

* * * *

(140) Welladay! Each lying promise, which, it seemed, would serve so well,
Now hath caught us, and hath brought us even to the gates of Hell!

(141) Welladay! The toothsome morsel still within thy molar lies,
While the sounds of spades which dig the morsel-eater's grave arise.

* * * *

(152) Graceless one! I gave thee India, seeking from thee prayer and laud,
But for praying heard but braying, and for laud got naught but bawd!

(153) Did I not command thee, saying, "Mate not with the Russian Bear,
For the Russian parent's offspring is the Russian parent's heir"?

(154) Mine it was to speak, and thine to lend an inattentive ear:
Mine to warn thee, thine to scorn me; mine to counsel, thine to jeer!

1 Gladstone and Bright, the prototypes of our modern Russophil Ministers, were, however, at once more magnanimous and more moderate than these, and Gladstone on occasion showed a firmness for which we look in vain in Sir Edward Grey.
(155) I bestowed the East upon thee that thou might' st behold my Light:
Thou didst see the Light, and turning didst prefer the mirk of night.

(167) Sudden from a mountain fastness doth the grizzly Bear appear,
And my. Darling sees it, loves it, swoons away with passion sheer.

(168) Heart and soul fulfilled with longing, to the Bear she draweth nigh,
Saying, "This is my beloved, this the Apple of mine Eye!"

(169) See her form so sleek and comely! See the beauty of her gait!
Worthy such a dainty morsel for the jaws which it await!

(170) "I," said she, "am India's sugar, he the milk of Samarqand:
"We shall mix like milk and sugar, we shall travel hand in hand!"

(171) "I the Lion of the South, and he the valiant Northern Bear:
"Who shall venture to oppose us when together forth we fare?"

(172) Subject to the former's sceptre are the realms of West and East:
East and West lie in the pouch and pocket of the second Beast.

(173) Where the Bear is, there is terror, there are cruelty and fear:
Where the Lion is the powers of nerve and muscle disappear.
(175) From the face of earth all human kindliness hath passed away:
Brutish cruelty becomes once more the order of the day.
*
*
*
*

(186) Where is Cyrus, now that India's sick with love for Russia's sake?
Let them kiss and hug each other, ere they share the stolen cake!*
*
*
*

(204) Come, O Bear, and take this Lion: lead her to thy dismal lair,
There to teach her all the arts which make the cunning of the Bear.
*
*
*
*

(210) Till at length there cometh one to take them both unto a place
Where like conies they shall shiver, threatened by a stronger race.

(211) There shall they be held in bondage in a prison and a cage,
Till unto a milk-like mildness turns their roughness and their rage!

(2)

The second specimen, published in No. 4 of the Šūr-i-Isráfil ("Trumpet-call of Isráfil") of June 20, 1907, refers to an event which happened at Qūchān in Khurāsān on the Russo-Persian frontier a year or two previously, when a number of the inhabitants, including several young girls, were carried off by Turkmāns subject to Russia, with the connivance, it was asserted, of Ḥasafu'd-Dawla and the governor of Būrūjird, who was subsequently tried for this offence.

1 "Cyrus" typifies Persia, which, I take it, is also intended by "the stolen cake."
2 I think it November, 1905. See my Persian Revolution, p. 111.
This ballad bears the following superscription:

Persian Concert, which the girls of Quchân, at the request of the Russians and Turkmans, give in a Café chantant at Tiflis.

Girls, in chorus, to the tune of the tasnîf (ballad)

"Ay Khudâ, Laylâ yâr-i-mâ nîst!"
("O God, Laylâ is not our friend!")

(1)

(2)

(3)
(۴)

یک دختر دوآزاده ساله تنها
نفس در سینه ساکت شو که گوئی، (خدای کی فکر ما نیست)
نسم از کوی ما آورده بودی، (خدای کی فکر ما نیست)
چه بوده دلکه آن م از چه کوئی، (خدای کی فکر ما نیست)
هنده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست.

(۵)

دخترها هم آواز
نسم بوم، ما بس چانفرا بودی، (خدای کی فکر ما نیست)
هوایش روح چش و غزدا بودی، (خدای کی فکر ما نیست)
ولی دردکه هم هیچ در قفا بودی، (خدای کی فکر ما نیست)
هنده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست.

(۶)

مکر مردان مازار خواب برده، (خدای کی فکر ما نیست)
غیبت‌ات وظن را آب برده، (خدای کی فکر ما نیست)
که اغبار آب از احاب برده، (خدای کی فکر ما نیست)
هنده و هژده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست.
(7)
(دختر دوئزده ساله تنهایا)
که خواجه برده نا جلس بپسام (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)
که ای دل برده نا داده کام (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)
جبری شد محو از بادی نو سامام (خدا کی فکر ما نیست)
هنده و هزده و نوزده و بیست
ای خدا کی فکر ما نیست!
(جفت)
(بهشت اجتماع)
هورا هورا هورا! اسلام کرانتی وزنیم دویست سام برسی! اسلام آصف الدوله! اسلام مینسترست ور پرسی! باشن‌ون ایران قوزل قزرا! باشن‌ون آصف الدوله! باشن‌ون ملت وژئئری!

(Translation)

(1)
(The girls, in chorus)

"Our nobles all are drunk with pride,
(O God, nobody cares for us!)
From justice and virtue they stand aside, (O God, etc.)
Dumb, blind, untaught the people abide, (O God, etc.)
One seven, one eight, one nine, two naught:
No one of us taketh heed or thought!"
"Thou seest how Heaven with us doth play,
(O God, nobody cares for us!)
From kith and kin we are torn away; (O God, etc.)
The ill that is wrought us shall ill repay! (O God, etc.).
One seven, one eight, etc.

"Though exiled far from our home so dear,
(O God, nobody cares for us!)
And plunged by exile in sorrow and fear, (O God, etc.)
We love it and dream of it ever here! (O God, etc.)
One seven, one eight, etc.

(A girl of twelve, solo)
"Pause, O breath in my breast: meseems
(O God, nobody cares for us!)
That the breeze with the scents of the home-land teems;
(O God, etc.)
What delicate scent from what land of dreams! (O God, etc.)
One seven, one eight, etc.

(The girls, in chorus)
"Sweet doth the breeze from the home-land smell!
(O God, nobody cares for us!)
Life doth it give and grief dispel! (O God, etc.)
But alas, for of exile it speaks as well! (O God, etc.)
One seven, one eight, etc.

"Sleep hath o'ercome our men, I ween,
(O God, nobody cares for us!)
And blunted our townsman's honour keen, (O God, etc.)
And our friends dishonoured by foes have been! (O God, etc.)
One seven, one eight, etc.
"Who to the Majlis a message will bear
(O God, nobody cares for us!)
Of heart's surrender and hope's despair?
(O God, nobody cares for us!)
Is our name remembered no longer there?
(O God, nobody cares for us!)
One seven, one eight, one nine, two naught:
No one of us taketh heed or thought!"

The spectators in unison:

"Hurrah, hurrah, hurrah!
Slava gezlisnim, djevëltisam Persii! Yâ'hashên Íranin gynët qidari!
Slava Asafú'd-Dawla! Yâ'hashên Asafú'd-Dawla!
Slava Ministryestëd Persii! Yâ'hashên millet vezirleri!

(In Russian and Turkish.)

"Long live the pretty girls of Persia! Long live Asafú'd-Dawla!
Long live the Persian Ministry!"

The following poem, like the last, is taken from the Sûr-i-Isrâ'îlî for November 20, 1907. The "Kablâ'î" to whom it is addressed is taken by some to refer to the poet himself, but by others to the ex-Shah, Muhammad 'Ali, who was at that time the ruler of Persia. The word "Kablâ'î" or "Kablây" is a popular abbreviation of Karbalâ'î, a title given to those who have visited the holy tombs of Karbalâ in Turkish Arabia; just as one who has visited Mashhad is entitled "Mashhadi," and one who has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, "Hâjjî." The two former titles, however, are seldom used except by muleteers, tradespeople, and others of humble condition, and "Kablây" especially has come to be used colloquially in a somewhat familiar or even contemptuous way, as though we should call a man whose name was unknown to us "Johnnie." The original poem is slangy,
مردود خدا رانده هر بندته اکلاهی،
از دلک معرف نمایندگی آکلاهی
با شوقی و با محترم و خنده آکلاهی
نذر مرده گذشته و نه از زنده آکلاهی
هر تی تو جه یکته او و یک دندنه آکلاهی.

(3)

نه بیست زکت نین و نه چین گیر و نه رمال
نه خوف زدروشی و نه از جذبدهنه از حال
نه ترس زکانته و نه از بیدشتو شبیشال
مشکل بیری گوز سر زنده آکلاهی
هر تی تو جه یکته او و یک دندنه آکلاهی.

(4)

صد بار تکنام که خال تو محالست
تا نبهای ازین طالهنه جوانست
ظرف شوید اسلام درین قوم خبالست
هی بار بیست حرف پراکده آکلاهی
هر تی تو جه یکته او و یک دندنه آکلاهی.

(5)

گاهی به بر و باجه درویش بریده
گمه بردده سکاغذلو آخوند دریده
امراز نهات را همه در صور دمیده
زود تا پایی بعی جه مبست کنه آکلاهی
هر تی تو جه یکته او و یک دندنه آکلاهی.
(0)

ار کریستیگی مرد رغیت بجیتم، ور نیست دریس قوم مبیت بجیتم،
دریاک بريد عراقي حیت بجیتم، خوش باش تو با مطب و سازندآ کلایی،
هسی تو جه یکیخلو و یک دندآ آکلایی.

(1)

"Rejected by men and by God the Forgiving, O Kablây! You're a wonderful sample of riotous living, O Kablây!
You're a wag, you're a joker, no end to your fun, Of living and dead you are sparing of none,
Such a limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kablây!"

(2)

"Neither wizard, diviner nor warlock you fear, O Kablây! Nor the dervish's prayer, nor the dreams of the Seer, O Kablây! Nor Shapshâl's revolver, nor mujâhid's rage:
Tis hard to believe you will die of old age,
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kablây!"

(3)

"Times a hundred I've told you your project will fail, O Kablây! While half of the nation are wrapped in a veil, O Kablây! Can Islâm in you and your circle prevail?
With fresh words of folly your friends you'll regale,
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kablây!"

* Concerning Shapshâl Khan, the Russian agent provocateur, see my Persian Revolution, pp. 105, 150, 170-1, 198-203, 207, 279, 374 and 418-420.

* i.e. the women.
"At the heels of the dervish you bark and you bite, O Kablây! 
Break the Dominie's windows¹ and let in the light, O Kablây! 
While this trumpet² of yours doth all secrets proclaim; 
Yes, blazon them forth, for what know you of shame? 
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kablây! 

"To hell with the folk, if with hunger they pine, O Kablây! 
Devil take them, the brutes, since they cannot combine, 
O Kablây! 
Since opium hath stolen their courage away, 
With your minstrels and singers be merry and gay, 
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kablây! 

"In Persia will bribes ever go out of fashion, O Kablây? 
Will the mullahs for justice develop a passion, O, Kablây? 
From magic and marshids³ can Islam win free? 
Bid the dead come to life, for 'twill easier be, 
You limb of the Devil and son of a gun, O Kablây!"

The following poem, by Ashraf of Gilân, is of a much more classical type than the last, and is what is called a mustasād. It appeared in No. 9 of the Nastim-i-Shimal ("Breeze of the North"), published at Rasht on January 2, 1908. Part of it only is translated as a specimen.

¹ The Turkish word ḍūḵālāq means a window covered with paper instead of glass.
² This is an allusion to the paper Sur-i-Isrāfīl or "Trumpet of Isrāfīl," in which this poem appeared.
³ Spiritual guides.
The Poet Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Din of Gilán
ابوی وطن واي

1. گررودد وطن غرته اندوه و محج وای

2. خبررودد رویدر از پی نابود و کردن وای

3. زنگین طبق ماه

4. از خون جوانان که شهد کشته دربین راه

5. خونین شده مهربان و نل و دشت و دم وای

6. کو هست و کو غیرت و کو جوش فتوت

7. دردکا رسد از دو طرف سبل فتن وای

8. انسوس که اسلام شده از همه جانب

9. مشروطه ابراهیم شده تاریخ زین وای

10. بنیا نه همین کشت وطن ضایع و بدنام

11. بزمرده شد این باع و گل و سرو و سنی وای

12. نگرای شده قمر

13. بیلب تبرید نام گل از واهو هرگذر

14. سرخند ازین غصه سبادت جهن وای

15. بعیق وزرا مسلکشنات راهزن شد

16. گنته علما غرته دربری. لاه و لجن وای

17. سوزد جکبر از مانی خفای خدایبا

18. بک جامه ندارند رعیت ببندت وای

19. گاهی خبر آرند که سعیکر رومنی

20. گس آستو و بران شده از شاهسون وای

21. افسوس ازین خالک گیهخیز گیهرزا

22. از چار طرف خالک به از مشکخن وای

23. کو بلغ و جنابا و جهشند خیوه و کابل

24. شام و حلب و ازین و عبان و عنان و وای
جغد آسکر، قصر زر اندود و مظهر
ابواي وطن واي
بمشته درين بوم و دمن زاغ و زغن و اي
بجاره رعیت
ابواي وطن واي
کارش همه فریاد حسین واي حس واي
اهر لحظه بگوید
ابواي وطن واي

(Translation)

1. Our country is flooded with sorrow and woe,
   Arise, and for coffin and cerements go!

2. With the blood of our sons for the fatherland shed
   Hill, plain and garden blood-red glow:

3. Where are zeal and courage and strife,
   The floods of trouble around us flow!

4. Foreigners trample on every side
   Of our Freedom naught but the name they know:

5. Not only our land is lost and misnamed;
   E'en the flowers in the garden stunted grow:

6. The nightingale dares not to sing of the rose:
   And red the lily-white flowrets blow,

7. Some of our statesmen are brigands sheer;
   And the priests to follow them are not slow:

O, for our land woe!

The moon shines red;

A Nation's life?

On Islam's pride;

Our faith's defamed:

Red the daffodil grows,

No mystery here!

O, for our land woe!
8 For Khalkhál's sake are our hearts in gloom:
Not even a shirt hath the peasant to show:
9 To Úrmi the Turkish commander,
we hear,
While at Astara Shahsevens strike a blow!
10 Alas for our pearl-bearing, pearl-raising land
Though its dust be more fragrant than musk, I trow;

'tis the Day of Doom!
O, for our land woe!
Swift draws near,
O, for our land woe!
Partition is planned,
O, for our land woe!

(5)

The following poem, also by Ashraf, and also published in the Nastín-i-Shímal (No. 10, dated January 20, 1908), is similar to the last, and is also a mustáṣsí. The allusions in verse 5 are to some of the chief newspapers published at that time, and those in verses 9 to 12 to events connected with what I have called "the abortive Coup d'État" of December, 1907. (See my Persian Revolution, pp. 162 et seqq.) The pessimistic strain which characterizes the last poem is also apparent in this.

١ دوّر می گفت این خن دیوانه بی بار خواست
درد ایران بیدواست
عاقبتی گفت که از دیوانه بیشتر حرف راست
درد ایران بیدواست

٢ ملک آر جار سود در حالی جراین و خطر
با جبهه دستور این روحور مهیوس از شنست
درد ایران بیدواست
زیار مصیبت آه آه

٣ بادشگهر بر طلّ ملّت ملّت اندرون غدی نشان
جن حنیف نیگری م این خطا م آن ختست
درد ایران بیدواست
گوید اورا مستّد

٤ هرکس با هرکس خشم است و دخواه است و قدّ
با جهن شکل ای با خونی هدر و جانی هاست
نام نصرالدین رسید
درود ایران بی‌بیه
پری هریک رزیست
درود ایران بی‌بیه
پری هریک رزیست
درود ایران بی‌بیه
علی فاطمی مطهر
درود ایران بی‌بیه
پری هریک رزیست
درود ایران بی‌بیه
پری هریک رزیست
درود ایران بی‌بیه
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پری هریک رزیست
درود ایران بی‌بیه
پری هریک رزیست

1 Concerning Shaykh Fazl Allah of Nur, see my Persian Revolution, pp. 113, 148-9, 243, 262, and 444-5. By “Aminli” is meant Mulla Muhammad of Amin, pithman of the Masjidi-Marw, another noted reactionary priest.
2 Cf. Qur'an, xviii. 304, lv. 34.
The great Constitutional Mujtahid Mulla Muhammad Kazim al-Khurisani in A.H. 1324 (A.D. 1906)
The following poem is from the same paper (No. 11, January 31, 1908) as the two last, and is, I think, also by Ashraf, since it bears the signature Faqir, which he elsewhere uses. He appeals to the 'ulamâ’ (or so-called “clergy”), the Deputies and the Shâh (Muhammad ‘Ali) to observe the Constitution, enforce the law, and guard the country from the designs of foreign foes, “the Turk, the Two-headed Bird (i.e., eagle), the Bear and the Old Dog,” and the Shi’ite faith from its Sunni adversaries.
امسال دو سالست که مشروطه شد ایران،
کی جریان قانونت و چه شد هنیه مرا کُردی?
افسردی که مارا هوی صلی و صنعت نیست
در عقل که فرماین افسونگر و فالست
هر مغرک که جریز نیکست و خالاست
هر ملک که علیش هنگی قال و منالست
قانونت که بحیرین. مسلکی راهنا بیست
احوالی اروهمه آخر مره مشنیدی در قرر ز غیره کنی خویش دهید
از دیده ارواح همه خویش بچیدی در خلل بچر زنده وا وطنا نیست
از جار طرف سبل بلا کنته سرازیر
عنایتی و مرغ دوسر و خرس و گلف بیبر
شگاه مکر از مملکت خود شده سیر؟
بی فیدی وا اهامی باین پایه سرا نیست
اى خسرو مشروطه طلب شاه دل آگاه
مسنید که از لذتی عینانى آی خواه
منسوع بود لنظیر علیاً و لی الله
شاهنبا چند صرازیر. بیش روا نیستاً
(فقری)

The following poem is also by Ashraf, but it is placed in the mouth of an imaginary reactionary, grotesquely named (as Morier named his characters "Mullá Nádán," "Mírzá Ahnaq," etc.) "Kharáb-'All Mírzá," who is supposed to reproach Ashraf for his enthusiasm for the Constitution. I have appended a prose rendering.

در سر مشروطه لاجیت مکی
می شنویم با احذی حکم
هیچ مشروطه تو دعوت مكن.
مسنید مستند مستند مستند
مطربیا خیبر بن چنگک و رود
دستی اگر رفت نخن زنود!

ashraf ازین پیش جامث مکی
با همه خلق ممن خس و ضع
مسنید مستند مستند مستند
مطربیا خیبر بن چنگک و رود
دولت اگر رفت نخن زنود!
"O Ashraf, be no longer over-bold! Be not so insistent about the Constitution!
I am an adversary and enemy to all the people; I will not unite with any one;
I am a Reactionary, a Reactionary, a Reactionary! Do not thou preach Constitutionalism!
O little minstrel, arise, strike the harp and the lute! O little cup-bearer, give wine quickly!
If the Empire is lost, to Hell with it! Prate not of the Turk and the Empire!
I drink for wine the blood of the people; I eat for roast meat the flesh of the people;
I have no fear of torment and retribution; do not put me off with threats of to-morrow's Resurrection!
Put not thy trust in the words of the Franks; talk not of the maxims of the schools;
Do not find fault with such as love the ancient ways; do not exult in the awakening of the Nation!
What can I do? the enemy is sharp-witted? He has broken into this garden and meadow:

(Prose Translation)
مکتوب قروین

بسوت از غیم مشروطه احیوان دخو
ز باد رفته سیکسار خانبان دخو
کشت روشن از اشراق او روان دخو
همینه صحت یا بود بر زبان دخو
خلال فاده بارکان پارلیات دخو
و زیده بر از خرائی به بیستون دخو
وشکنه نشین و سرو و ارغوان دخو
زند اهل غرض شعلها سیان دخو
امام جمعه قروین بیودمان دخو
از ظالم و کنیه آین مستبد مشنا،
بسک کرده اثر ناله و فغان دخو

1. بکز حلقه بگوش اشرف الیکن
2. و آزگرد درجه شورت شعر خونداران دخو
(Prose Translation)

(1) "To-day the appeal of Dakhaw ascends to the Throne of God; with grief for the Constitution the bones of Dakhaw are burned.

(2) In this land of Qazwin, through the tyranny of Despotism, the household of Dakhaw is utterly forgotten.

(3) When the luminary of the Constitution arose from Persia the spirit of Dakhaw was illuminated by its dawning.

(4) When the Sun of the Constitution arose talk of it was ever on Dakhaw's tongue.

(5) May my tongue be cut out now that I hear that harm befalls the pillars of the Parliament!

(6) The ambassador of Autocracy hath set his foot in the Majlis; an autumnal blast hath blown over Dakhaw's garden.

(7) The foreigner hath stepped into the midst of the Deputies; Dakhaw's gelder-rose and cypress and Judas-tree are broken!

(8) If (which God forbid!) the Parliament suffers hurt, Dakhaw's enemies will set fire to his soul.

(9) The Imam-Jum'a (Chief Priest) of Qazwin hath cast the fire of tyranny, malice and despotism on the family of Dakhaw.

(10) On account of the tyranny and spite of this autocrat in sheep's clothing the wailing and lamentations of Dakhaw affect the very stones.

(11) I will become one of the humble servants of Ashrafu'd-Din if this piteous poem of Dakhaw's should be inserted [in his paper]."

(9)

The following poem, which, like No. 7, is cast in the form of a letter of remonstrance emanating from an imaginary reactionary, is also by Ashraf, and appeared in No. 16 of the second year of the Nasim-i-Shimâl, on April 14, 1908.
امرا بهم ناله و فریاد چسبت
بختیاری به دم‌ه تا بیستی
نور فلکی یک چندان که مزار خواب بر یافته بیلکه کن که صمت نصوت بیست
با پوست و آلبانی مازار چه کار
آفتایی علم طالع عید شد چه شد
کویت کارا بر مکانیسی جدید
یک معلم خانه مازی استوار
طلیل بابید خوشه بر کوهه رود
طلیل بابید شیر و خلت بازی یاد
رودز و شپ با سک سرا بنشکد
بذرین از گره بصورت جنگ زیت
نام زنجان خانه مکتب مکت
انگلیس‌نیستند مازا ترجیمات
بای تخت شاهرا طهرا بست است
چم مصور جوط آلباله لیلولا
لای در محضر جلیلین آی عیوم
روی بام چمنا دنبک مرت
از علوم خارج، صمیم مکین

۳۰ ترم آخر بشکنند با ودیست
 فال بین و مرید و ماضی پریست
Amenities of Muslim family life
(From Mullah Nazr'ud-Din, No. 20, June 1, 1907)
(Prose Translation)

(1) "O Ashraf, what is this outcry and lamentation? What is this sighing and crying for the people?
(2) Speak out plainly: who and what are you? Are you [a man of] one maund, or ten maunds, or twenty?
(3) Even if the flood carries away this city and land, know for a surety that sleep overpowers us.
(4) What is the newspaper? What is this disturbance? Think of some action, for there is no dearth of talents.
(5) Russia and Japan are nothing to us! What have we to do with Prussia and Germany?
(6) If the luminary of the Constitution hath shone forth, what is that [to us]? If the Sun of Knowledge hath arisen, what is that [to us]?
(7) You vehemently urge and incite the children to [attend] the new schools;
(8) Then you desire in every town and district to establish a teachers' college.
(9) Alas for the child who goes to school! A child should run about the streets;
(10) A child should make kites: a child should play pitch and toss:
(11) A child should break the mulâtés ankles: a child should break [people's] heads with stones.
(12) A child should be an adept at stone-throwing: a child should be worse than a cat at face-scratching,
(13) Do not make these children's days more gloomy than nights! Do not call a prison a school!
(14) When they consign us to the earth, English will not serve to interpret our thoughts!
(15) This Qur'ân is sufficient for us: Tihrán is sufficient for the Shâh's capital!
(16) If the floods of misfortune attack us, grieve not, for 'misfortune is love's portion!'

1 This refers to the "Questioning of the Tomb," when the angels Munkir and Nâkîr come to the dead man and examine him as to his faith. Naturally he will be expected to reply to them in Arabic, or some other Musulmân language.
(17) If I am abased in this world, O uncle, yet shall I be glorified in the Resurrection, O uncle!

(18) Smite us not on the neck with thy pen! Beat not the drum on the roof of our Shaykh!

(19) O Ashraf, do not urge us to [cultivate] Art! Do not talk to us about foreign sciences!

(20) I fear that in the end the sooth-sayer, the spiritual director and the admirer of ancient fashions will break your feet and hands!"

The following poem is another of those abounding with slang. It appeared in No. 18 of the Nasim-i-Shimal, dated May 11, 1908.
Sayyid Muhammad Yazdi teaching the *jinnis* how to overthrow the Constitution

(From the illustrated comic weekly *Naqshiyân*, No. 17, Oct. 11, 1907)
(Translation)

(1)

While addled in our reverend master's pate,
And dust and rust our spirits obfuscate,
And drunk and dizzy's he who guides our fate,
And this old humbug still directs our gait

Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(2)

Vainly our lives to hardship we expose
While in each heart the fire of hatred glows:
For while the Nation doth the Sháh oppose,
And while the Sháh supports the Nation's foes,

And while Reaction dominates the State

Needs must our caravan be lame and late!
(3)
We say that now at last the Press is free,
That Persia shall regain prosperity,
That firmly based is now our Liberty,
That colleges abound increasingly.
Bottle and stone best typify our state!
Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(5)
An ass becomes our arbiter supreme,
A dog controls each project and each scheme,
A fox the object of respect doth seem,
Shapshál a trusty treasurer we deem:
What piece can move to save the King from mate?
Needs must our caravan be lame and late!

(11)
The following poem, with the refrain "How can hearing be like seeing?" appeared in the Nasim-i-Shimdd for May 29, 1908 (No. 19). It also is from the pen of Ashraf.

See *supra*, p. 181, n. 1.
جیان روحیه شد از انوار مجلس
بابند عصیبيوت آن آتید
شیخان کی بود مانند دیدن

محمد الله زنفید ظلم رستم
سر دیوی جهاندارا شکستن
جو وحشی بابند از ظالم رخیدت
شیخان کی بود مانند دیدن

خبر آمد که شد دوران ملت
خلاص از مستبد شد جان ملت
نداند گرگ بر جرده بریدت
شیخان کی بود مانند دیدن

از استبداد هم نام و نشاوت رفته
نداند گرگه بر دنیه جهیدت
شیخان کی بود مانند دیدن

نباید زد بصر آفسار والله
جب خوش بی بروح اساق دیدن
شیخان کی بود مانند دیدن

نباشند و دغل پیوند نا کی
به پرده بجیدت سگند نا کی
شیخان کی بود مانند دیدن

1. *H/D* is a dialect form of *hamed*, familiar to all educated Persians through the popular quatrains of Bába Táhir the Lur, who may be called the "Buna of Persia."
(12)

The following poem appeared in the Nasim-i-Shimil for June 18, 1908 (No. 22), five days before the Coup d'Etat.

ایران زعتر علم معطر نمی شود
سک و کلوه لوله و گوهر نمی شوید
صد بار گفت: امکان مکرر نمی شود
داناتی مارد دسته خنجر نمی شود

سلطان کجا و با ضعفا ور می‌خواهیم کجا
با زور برگر می‌گیرد جوی‌هاین نمی‌شود
داناتی مارد دسته خنجر نمی‌شود
ارد فیل ظالم شاه بنگلی بیاده شد
دیدم منکل است خنجر در نمی‌شود
داناتی مارد دسته خنجر نمی‌شود

کنیدم علم وصعت و جرذوت زیاده شد
با فوت و مسک که که که قل ماده شد
نگیم فیلستان درست نه افتعلات صمیم
می‌دانم می‌باشد و نه خاتبان صمیم

نه فیلستان درست نه افتعلات صمیم
می‌دانم می‌باشد و نه خاتبان صمیم

رهنم دو ساله رفت هدر وا مصیبا
خوردن زهر جای شکر وا مصیبا

هرجا نهال نورش مشروطه رخ گنبد
بايد بیای نخل وطن خون روان نبود

داناتی مارد دسته خنجر نمی‌شود

1. Qanbar was the faithful negro servant of the Imam 'Ali. To say "every negro is not a Qanbar" is equivalent to saying "every sailor is not a Nelson."
The following taṣūf, or ballad, appeared in the same issue of the Nastin-i-Shindāl (No. 22) as the last. It is written in a very simple and somewhat colloquial style. Mi-shē and na-mi-shē ("will it be?" "it cannot be!") are common colloquial contractions for mi-shawād and namī-shawād; siyā (black) = siyāh; shahvat-charānī means "self-indulgence," "pampering the passions"; jān-i-Mawālī (analogous to jān-i-pīdar) means literally "Soul of the Lord," i.e. "God's beloved," and is equivalent to "my good friend"; and yārū ("that friend" of ours) refers to some person, known to the speaker and the hearer only, whom it is not desired to name. It is often used contemptuously, and here, presumably, refers to Muhammad 'Alī Shāh.

1 Pillanmehr (Balasowar of the maps) is situated near the western shore of the Caspian, in the northern part of the province of Tālīsh, close to the Russo-Persian frontier and was the scene of one of the earliest acts of Russian aggression.

2 Ahalabād is a district between Azarbāyjān and Tālīsh, between Ardabīl and Miyānā.
After the Coup d'État of June 23, 1908, and the destruction of the First National Assembly, the free press of the first Constitutional Period entirely disappeared for some months, and Mirzá Jahángír Khán of Shíráz, the editor of the Súr-i-Isráfíl ("Trumpet-call of Isráfíl"), one of the most notable publications of that period, was put to death by the ex-Sháh Muḥammad 'Alí in the Bágh-i-Sháh. *Dakhaw*¹, one of the most talented contributors to that paper, escaped to Europe, and again began to publish the paper at Yverdon in Switzerland on Muḥarram 1, A.H. 1327 (January 23, 1909). Only three numbers, so far as I

¹ See p. 190 supra.
know, appeared; the third, published on March 8, 1909, contained the following elegy on Mírzá Jahángír Khán, "that Martyr of the Path of Liberty and most faithful defender of the rights of his country," by his associate and friend, the above-mentioned Mírzá 'All Akbar Dih-khudá, better known as "Dakha". It will be noticed that this poem, in the arrangement of its rhymes, shows strong traces of European influence. It runs as follows:

ووصیت نامه دوست بگانه من هدیه برادری بیوفا به بیشگاوا
آن روح اقدس را علی

(1)

آی مرغ مدفون جو آین شیپ نار
بگذشت ز سر سیاه کارد
وز فله روح عجش احمار
رفت از سر خنگان خداری
بگنود گره ز زلفی زر نار
جمینه نبلگون عباری
بیدان بخشمال شد نبودار
و امیرین زفت خو حصاری
باد آر ز شیپ مرده بهد آر

(2)

آی مؤسس بیوسف اندرین بند
تعییر عبان جو شد نرا خواب
دل یزر شعف لب آر شکر خد
سعود عدو با ختم اتحاد
رفت بی بی بار خوش و بیوند
آزادتر از نسم و هنای
زان کو همه شام با نو بک جنت
در آرزوز پرسال احباب
اخر بیجور شیرده بهد آر
Mírzá 'Alí Akbar "Dakhaw" (right) and Mírzá Husayn Dánish Khán (left), both notable Persian poets.
(۳)
چون باغ شود دو باره خرم
از بیلبل مستند مسکن
آفاق سرگانه، جنبت
وز سبل و سوری و سیرگمن
گل سرخ و برخ عرق ز شیب
نوداده زکف قرار و نکبت
آن نو گذل پیشب روی دم
از سرده دی فرده باد آر

(۴)
ای هریه تیبو بور عمران
بنیاد جو این سنین معدود
و آن شاهد نگز بزم عرفان
بر میلش وری خوبش مشهد
هر صبح شهره عفر و عود
در حضرت روی ارگی موعود
بر بادیه جان سیرده باد آر

(۵)
چون گفت ز ۲۰ زمانه آیان
ای کودک دوی طالبی
وز طاعت بهدگان خود شاد
بکریت ز سرخدا خدایی
نه رسم ارم نه اسم شداد
گل بست دهان، دیاب‌خان
مأخوذ بهم به این جلدان
بی‌بانه وصل خورده باد آر
(Prose Translation)

"In Memory of my incomparable Friend: the offering of an unworthy brother at the shrine of that most high and holy Spirit.

(1)

"O bird of the morning, when this gloomy night puts aside its dark deeds,
And, at the life-giving breath of the Dawn, besotted slumber departs from the heads of those who sleep,
And the Loved One enthroned on the dark blue litter loosens the knots from her golden-threaded locks¹,
And God is manifested in perfection, while Ahriman of evil nature withdraws to his citadel,
Remember, O remember, that extinguished Lamp²!

(2)

"O companion of Joseph in this bondage, when the interpretation of the Dream becomes plain to thee,
And thy heart is full of joy, and thy lips with sweet laughter, and thou art as thy friends would have thee, and envied by thy foes,
And thou hast gone back to thy friends and kin, freer than the zephyr or the moonlight,
Remember him who, for a while throughout the night, in the desire to meet the friends, with thee counted the stars until the morning.

(3)

"When the garden smiles again, O poor, longing nightingale,
And when the horizons become like the picture-gallery of China with hyacinths, red roses and marjoram,
And when the rose is red, and the dew stands like sweat on its cheek, while thou hast relinquished rest and consideration,

¹ The golden rays of the sun in the dark blue pavilion of the sky are intended. In Persian there is no gender, but it is worth noting that in Arabic the sun is feminine, while the moon is masculine.
² i.e. Mirád Jahángír Khán, who lighted us on our way ere the Dawn broke, until his light was quenched in death.
Remember that budding rose which bloomed before its time,
and which withered in sorrow in the chill of December
ere 'it had assuaged the fires of its cravings!

(4)

"O thou who wert the companion in the Desert of 'Imrán's
son! When these few years have elapsed,
And that sweet comrade at the Banquet of Wisdom hath made
manifest his promise,
And when each morning the fragrance of ambergris and aloes
ascends to Saturn from the Golden Altar,
Remember him who, for the sins of an ignorant people, yielded
up his life in the Desert, hoping for a sight of the Promised
Land!

(5)

"When the times are once more propitious, O Child of the
Golden Age,
And God, gladdened by the obedience of His Servants, once
again assumes Divinity,
And there endures neither the fashion of Iram nor the name
of Shaddád¹, but earth stops the mouth of him whose food
was filth (i.e. whose words were folly),
Remember him who, punished for the crime of glorifying the
truth, drained the draught of Union from the point of the
headsman's sword!"

(15)

This and the two following poems are of some historical
interest in connection with the incipient rising in Rasht, which,
in conjunction with the gathering of the Bakhtiyári clans at
Isfahán, culminated in the capture of 'Ihrán and deposition of
Muhammad 'Ali Sháh in July, 1909. The first of these three
poems appeared in the Nastín-i-Shímdl (No. 23) of February 15,
1909, and recommends "deeds not words" to the people of
Gíllán.

¹ For the ancient Arabian tyrant Shaddád and his wonderful Garden of Iram,
see Surah lxxxix of the Qur'án, verses 5-7, and the commentaries on it. Here
Muhammad 'Ali, the ex-Sháh, and his garden, the Bégh-i-Sháh, are meant.
Sovereignty endureth not for cruel and tyrannical kings: to lay down life for the amelioration of one's country is meet and proper.

So long as thou makest no effort, no one will open the door before thee: he is a man who shuts his lips and stretches out his arm!

The Prophets have included in their utterances discourses on Justice; all the Saints have celebrated the praises of Justice; All the learned have enshrined in their writings traditions of Justice: unseemly to-day is vain talk about Injustice; He is a man who shuts his lips and stretches out his arm!

"Strive" (jähidu) saith God both in the Gospels and in the Qur'an: arise, then, and like a "striver" (mujähid) lay down thy life for thy country's sake!

1 See Qur'an, v, 39; ix, 41, 87; xxii, 77. Mujähid (the title given during the Persian Revolution to the National Volunteers) is the participle corresponding to the noun jähid, which means a "striving" "in God's way" (fitnabīllâh), and in the Qur'an especially fighting for the Faith, but in these days for the Fatherland. The appeal to the Gospels as well as the Qur'an is interesting and characteristic, for it must be remembered that many of those Mujähidin were Armenian Christians.
Dagger, arrow and javelin are as the rose, the narcissus and the basil: it is the roar of cannons and guns which will dissipate our sorrows!

He is a man who shuts his lips and stretches out his arm!

The following verses appeared in the same issue of the *Nasîm-i-Shimâl* as the last, and celebrate the adhesion (or apparent adhesion) of the *Sipahdâr*, who had previously been employed by the Shâh in the siege of Tabrîz, to the Nationalist Cause. The quatrain immediately following these verses appeared in the issue of the same paper dated March 5, 1909, and like them celebrates the praises of the *Sipahdâr*.

نگینهار خداوند جهانگیر
روش و نابند به این سپهدار
هم بین زندگی به دام سپهدار
باقی و نابند به این سپهدار

(16)
(Translation)

Once again Gilán is filled with radiance by the blessing of the auspicious advance of the Sipahdār.
It were meet that all the people of Gilán should make the dust of his advance collyrium for their eyesight!
O Conqueror of the world, O Saviour-Chief, whose fame hath become spread abroad throughout the lands,
No inhabitant [of this land] hath ever in his life beheld or will behold a patriot like thee!
If the House of Buwayh appeared from Daylam, from Tānkābūn hath appeared one like thee!
Since, amongst hundreds of thousands of the people, God saw thee worthy of every work and deed,
In His Mercy He whispered into the ear of thy heart, "O make haste, and take charge of Gilán!
"Take charge of it, that thy name may endure for ever! Take charge of it, and may thy life be long!"
O, so long as the Standard of the Constitution stands, and so long as the cup of the Constitution brims over,
May Ashraf ever be thy panegyrist! May God the Ruler of the world keep thee in safety!

May the name of the Sipahdār be bright and resplendent,
May the name of the Sipahdār continue and endure!
May the name of the Sipahdār live on earth,
And may it be inscribed in the register of Heaven!

(17)

The following poem also appeared in the Nasīm-i-Shimāl, in No. 27, issued on March 5, 1909. It is supposed to express the despair of the Devil at the downfall of Despotism, and is not lacking in merit and originality.

1 The House of Buwayh ruled over the greater part of Southern Persia from A.D. 932 to 1055, and came originally from the shores of the Caspian Sea. Though their immediate ancestor was of humble station, they claimed noble Persian descent, and the learned al-Birūnī supports this claim.
(1)
گفت شیطان دعا آخ جکم فاخ جکم
مغ مسروطه بکلمزار وطن شهید
د نام مسروطه بچه‌یم ظلمه خُنجر دز

(2)
مستنبدان همه مردن ز غم بیب شلیم
گنگم انگشت نما آخ جکم واح جکم
گفت شیطان دعا آخ جکم واح جکم

(3)
من که شیطان از این غصه زمین گرف شد
راستی مانکه ز اوضاع جهان سیر شد

(4)
مکه دیوانه قدام ای عفلا دور شوید
مستنبدان همه گشتند فحا دور شوید

(5)
بیولها از طرف بیو زنانه می‌برید
همه گشتند گنا آخ جکم واح جکم
گفت شیطان دعا آخ جکم واح جکم

(6)
سلام با بود که خون‌همره می‌خوردم
دل ملت را بسیصد جیر می‌آزدم

(7)
گفت شیطان دعا آخ جکم واح جکم

(8)
نیستند ظلام وچنی حبل و تزوری بمرد
ظلم از رنج و عنا گشت زمین گیر بمرد
هنيئيًّا بسرعة المشروط درين دينيًّا نود
خبر ثيغ و فحشان نسر خوان دينيًّا
مستعد فينا آخ جكم واخ جكم

أي ذلك آن هبه بد حرق و شTOR جهش
قنث جوب و فثي و غزير شلاق جهش
كانت شيطان دعا آخ جكم واخ جكم

جهش آن قتل رعيس جهش آن ظلم و عزاب
جهش آن شربت فند و فهد آن مرغ كاب
كانت شيطان دعا آخ جكم واخ جكم

مرنيا موية كنهر تنه بر جين و برو
كنت نسيت تور بر جين و برو
مستعد كنت فنا آخ جكم واخ جكم

اهل كيليات همه بكىته هشيار شديد
از حقوق و حتي خيض خيردار شديد
دشدي أشب نواة كرد كه بدادر شديد
مستعد كنت فنا آخ جكم واخ جكم
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,

"What'll I do? O what'll I do?
For the Constitution has found its feet:
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?
"The Bird of Liberty preens its wings in a rose-girt land,
"And Tyranny's vein is severed at last by Justice's hand,
"And the Despot's eyes are blinded by Freedom's gleaming brand,

"And the autocrats are, it would seem, dead beat,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

"I, the Devil, with this vexation am now laid low;
All the despots are dead, and I am grown old with woe;
In very truth I am sorry and sick at the way things go.
"I'm exposed to the finger of scorn in the street:
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

"Men of sense! I am mad: 'Twere best you should let me alone!
Lest I arise and break your heads with stick or with stone!
For the autocrats all are uprooted and scattered and overthrown,
And the Flag of Freedom the people greet:
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(4)

For many a year from all and sundry I sucked the gore,
"And stole the hard-won moneys I found in the widow's store,
"And afflicted the heart of the people with sorrows and griefs galore:
"But now we're beggars who roam the street,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(5)

Deceit is dead, and cruel oppression hath passed away:
"Hypocrisy's crushed and godless bribery's lost its sway:
"Fallen and dead is the despot, his head with grief grown grey:
"His sighs to heaven rise swift and fleet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(6)

For seven months this country no Constitution knew:
"With our whips and our scourges the backs of the peasants were black and blue.
"But now from the libertine's tables the chickens and game and stew
"Have taken their flight with hurrying feet:
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
"Heavens! What hath become of our curses and oaths and
blows?
"Our pavilions and pomps, and the thrones and truncheons
which we dispose?
"The sticks and scourges and rods that were ready in ranks
and rows?
"What hath arrested our nimble feet?
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(8)

"What hath become of our slaughter of peasants and torments
grim?
"What of our roasted lambs and our goblets filled to the brim?
"What of our sherbets sweet and the succulent capon's limb?
"Whither is gone our delectable meat?
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"
The wily old Devil did groan and greet,
"What'll I do? O what'll I do?"

(18)

The following poem appeared in No. 45 of the Nasim-i-
Shimul on July 12, 1909, the very day on which the first
detachment of the Nationalist Volunteers under the command of
the Sipahdor entered Tihrán. It depicts Shaykh Faizulláh, the
reactionary mujtahid, hastening to betray Persian independ-
dence and ready to sell the country by auction to the highest
bidder. A rhymed paraphrase of the first half of this poem is
appended.

1 See my Persian Revolution, p. 315.
English tourist collecting antiques
(From Mullā Nāṣrāʾ-Dīn. Year iii, No. 5, Feb. 16, 1908)
(1) حاجى بنازار رواج است رواج
عريف وناهيم مسلمان رأ
فروشهم هما أبرات رأ
ريد وفروشين وقم وكاشات رأ
عود وخوانسار رهاج است رهاج
(2) دشتى فرقه احزار منم
فانيل زمرة احزار منم
دشتى فروشندى بنازار منم
ماي مرزدار رهاج است رهاج
(3) با همه خلق عداوت دارم
دشتى با همه ملك دارم
ار خويش شاه وكالك دارم
وقتي افكار رهاج است رهاج
(4) شهير نو اردوى ملى زده رج
كركر ديوانش شوم نست حرج
جز هراج نبعود راه راج
بختي زن تار رهاج است رهاج
(5) طلل وشيمور علیا كي هماد
شير وخوشت رهاج كي مسجد
تحت جسيم غميرا كي سجد
اسب واشفار رهاج است رهاج
(6) كي هنر
(6)

سی دم که نیستی کیانات، را بگر،
بی زنی مسندِ جهرا به علیو،
بی خورشِ خوش‌هرا به جلو،
کو خریتار هراج است هراج

(7)

آن شیبدم که حمّی در عتبات،
زو جاده بلبل شقّ فرات،
جز هراجِ درود راه نجات،
کو خریتار هراج است هراج

(8)

گر ز اسلام بخشید قطع اثار،
ور بسیری بی رهگ‌ترین فجر,
ور بی‌بان کننگ بگل خشک,
کو خریتار هراج است هراج

(9)

جز هرجوم‌ش به مهر و داد،
هریم‌دی از مالی بدر مانده‌ز باد;
همی فرشد هم‌هرا بادا باد،
کو خریتار هراج است هراج

(10)

می کند صبح، سروس از طراق،
یکشیاری از طراف،
ملبّه رشت به‌چوش از طرف،
فرش‌ دربار هراج است هراج
(11)

در همه مکر و فین استادم من، منبی بصر و بغنادم من،
فاضی سلطنت آنادم من، آی تمج در تله اقتادم من,
گرگ و کننار هراج است هراج، کو خریدار هراج است هراج

(Translation)

(1)

Hájji, the market's brisk, the bidding high;
Here comes the auctioneer! Who'll buy? Who'll buy
I'm here the Persian land to sell or pawn,
The pride and honour of each Musulmán,
Both Qum and Rasht, both Qazwín and Káshán,
Yazd, Khwánsár, every city of Írán.
All's up for auction at a figure fair:
Come, gentlemen, where is a bidder, where?

(2)

Of Liberals I am the stalwart foe;
I'd like to kill them all, as well you know!
I represent Shaykh Fazlu'lláh and Co.,
Brokers, who hawk Religion to and fro,
Here is the carcase. Gentlemen, draw near!
Who'll buy? Who'll buy? Here comes the auctioneer!

(3)

My countrymen I loathe and execrate;
My country is the object of my hate!
I represent our Monarch wise and great,
Who to my hands commits the Nation's fate!
'Tis time for breakfast. Put this business through!
Who bids? Who bids? Come Sir, a bid from you!
(4)

At Shahr-i-Naw behold the patriots' post!
Scattered at Karachi is the Cossack host!
Well may I rave, or e'en give up the ghost!
Let's sell the land to him who offers most!
      What offer for this richly-wrought brocade
With gold enwoven? Is no offer made?

(5)

Who wants these trumpets, drums and flags to own?
Who'd make the Lion and the Sun his own?
Who'll make a bid for Persian Jamshid's throne?
Kay's crown, Jam's sceptre in with these are thrown!
      For this fine horse and for this bridle rare
Who'll make a bid? Where is an offer, where?
      *
      *
      *

(19)

The following poem, which celebrates the Nationalist victory and capture of Tehrân, the deposition of Muhammad 'Ali, and the accession of his young son Sultán Ahmad Sháh, appeared in No. 48 of the Nasl-i-Shimal on August 1, 1909, only a fortnight after these stirring events. It and the poem next succeeding are remarkable not only for their spirited words and metre and the wonderful lilt of the lines, but for a note of triumph and optimism which too rarely reveals itself in these poems. The beauty of both poems lies largely in the euphony of the phrases and the splendour of the rhythm and rhymes, which I have despaired of rendering adequately into English, even in the freest paraphrase. As the poems present no particular difficulty, I have not given a prose translation, but have contented myself with adding a few notes to explain allusions to current events.
بادشاهی که دوران جهان بر کام نست
در محجد خوش‌را بی‌نیمی پی‌نیمی نگرد
دارخواهیکن دریم شروط جول نشوروان
در نکر عالی دیگر نگرد
خوش‌را والاتر از دارا و اسکندر نگرد
در معارف دشمنان علمرا نابود کن
وقت نکر و خرنش لک و خشی معم نکر
آخر ابن ایران که بوده جای جم باخت که
باغبانان با غرا در شاخ و برگ و پر نکر
ای سیاه‌هار شیطای ای روح جمش زنده دم
نام خودرا تا جهان باقیست در دفتر نگرد
پارلاتهارا از وکالت صاحب آناد کن
خائنین با روز کن اخراج بر نفر نکر
شیخ نوری دستگیر فرخی احمراد شد
وآن‌مناخ رست حلق آویز بر کیفر نگرد
مذیبی با شیخ رقی بی خریدن ساختی
حال و روز بعد ازیمیا از ابن بدر نکر
سیوه کوبیات شیخ نایت بی‌ناریز در جلو
آخ جه شد خوا بلو

1 The execution of Shaykh Fuad Allah of Sir, the reactionary mushtahid, is announced in the latest news in this same issue.
2 The allusion is to the Mughal-i-Nadim, who had been already punished in April, 1908, for the part he took in the Abortive Coup d'État of December, 1907. (See my Persian Revolution, p. 199.) He was not, however, hanged in August, 1909, as this poem implies.
3 The Mughal-i-Mull, who had been Vice-Governor of Tehran and had taken refuge at the Russian Legation, was condemned to death by the Special Court instituted to try such cases, and was shot on July 19, 1909. See my Persian Revolution, p. 320.
The following poem by Bahár of Mashhad, of which the general character has been discussed in the last article, appeared in No. 1 of the *Iran-i-Naw* ("New Persia") on August 24, 1909.

1. i.e. Shaykh Faḍlullah of Nūr and the ex-Shāh Muḥammad `All.
"Become as microbes in the belly of the Commonwealth."

Saltar Khan, the hero of Tabriz.

The Sipahdar, who was nominally in command of the Army of Rashid, and the Bakhhtiyar chiefs, Sardar-i-Azad and Zargham-i-Saltana, were the chief heroes of the Nationalist Victory of July, 1929.
The following poem, entitled "the disordered dream of Muhammad 'Ali Mīrzā on the first night of his arrival at Odessa in Russia," appeared on December 16, 1909, in No. 91 of the Irān-i-Naw.
No. 21. MUHAMMAD 'ALI'S DREAM 221

(Translation)

"I dream once more I rule o'er Persia's land,
And in my garden scoff at God's command.
Bahadur Jang before me still I see,
Who cries 'O King! May I thy ransom be!'
Liakhoff too, my Russian colonel true,
Marshals his Cossacks still before my view.
While old Mushiru's-Saltana, the cow!
Drains, as of yore, the people's life-blood now,
And Sadrud-Dawla, egotist unique,
Still to my ears of Russian aid doth speak.
The Shaykh of Nur and Mirza Hasan both
Sanction the breaking of my solemn oath.
The Imam-jum'a and his pious peers
Urge me to break my word and have no fears.
Kur Amuli and Akbar Shah withal
Me still 'God's shadow on the Earth' do call.
Mujallal, with the wine-cup in his hand,
With locks dishevelled doth before me stand;
While smooth-cheeked pages with love-wanton eyes
Bemuse my wits and make my heart their prize;
And 'Aynud-Dawla, Samad and Rahim
Still loot the town of Tabriz in my dream.
Still from the Russian Bank my wars to wage:
I beg for cash and offer pledge and gauge."

1 All the persons mentioned in the above poem were notorious reactionaries, and full accounts of most of them will be found in my Persian Revolution, viz. of Amir Bahadur Jang on pp. 114, 157, 166, 199-200, 227, 261, 323, 330, 334 and 446-7; of Liakhoff, passim; of Mushiru's-Saltana, pp. 334, 405, 445; of Sadrud-Dawla, pp. 97, 131, 137, 140, 194-5, 166, 305, 330, 334 and 445; of 'Abidin Khan, Mujallalu's-Saltan, pp. 198-200, 330, 437, 445 and 447-8; of 'Aynud-Dawla,
(22)

The following fine poem originally appeared on July 26, 1909, in the Nasim-i-Shindil, No. 47; and again in the Iran-i-Naw, No. 93, on December 19, 1909. In the first only it bears the superscription من كلم عند أسرار مغرب. In the second it is followed by another poem signed Mirza Taqi Khan Darvish, but it is not clear whether this signature is intended to apply to both poems or only to the second.

(1)

صد شكر حفون وطن أمرور ادا شد به به جه بجا شد

(2)

المديكة قانون اليم جيان باقت دلته همين باقت شد دكرته وجان باقت قران محمد همرو راهنما شد مشروطه يبا شد به به جه بجا شد

(3)

وإلا نسبنا قانون طلانتنا مجوست صنغر بكد نوش لبانرا خسرت بلانش ماند وزيدوش رفت وفنا شد

(4)

اين غلفه وين جيش وابن شيرش ملي وله كه از بهر حفون فقير شد به به جه بجا شد

pp. 105, 108-9, 111, 113, 117-118, 124, 256, 272, 317 of Samad Khan Sheikha'd-Dawla, pp. 270, 273, 342 and 446; and of Rahim Khan, pp. 142-3, 148, 256, 259, 271, 296, 547, 349, 443 and 466. By "the Shaykh of Nai" is meant Shaykh Fazlu'llah, concerning whom see pp. 113, 142-9, 242, 202 and 444-5 of the same work. For Hajji Mirza Hasan the muntahid of Tabriz, see ibid., pp. 107, 249 and 504; for the Imam-Jaww of Tihra, Mirza Abu'l-Qasim, pp. 80-81, 89-90, 101, 281 and 444. By Kure-Amuli ("the Blind Man of Amul") is meant Mullâ Muhammad of Amul, in Mazambaran, also called "Kure-Mamji.

Sayyid Akbar Shah was a roza-khawan, or religious chapsidiat.
(5) ند خلخ مه‌بندی علی از تخت ضیافتی از نجات صادقان بین دو راه نه‌یادی آنان چه‌گونه جمانه و پا حین به چه‌گونه شدی؟
(6) خلاق جهان نازه بهار جوان داد همه سیوندیار وطن کام روان شدی نمی‌داند خلق چه‌جان داد
(7) از حضرت سنتار واپس سالار از هم‌تستان مات عوامی عفلا شدی
(8) تا شد علیم نصرت دین آلله نیایان از سلطانیان م حولا ارض و سما شدی
(9) تا شد زندهان علیم کاوپدیدار استفاده مدد می‌بخشد جنود سعدا شدی
(10) تا خواست خداوند که مخلوق نیبردی دلت نیزی‌برند مشروطه با گیب‌برند به‌چه‌گونه شدی؟
(11) البته الله چون جوان شاواز حمید به‌چه‌گونه بی‌نتیجه بی‌نتیجه دیوان‌ای عفلا وقت کسیل وکلا شدی
(12)
فاطرچی و الدنگ و دنیوری تکتا رفت‌
نوری کجا رفت سویی کجا رفت‌
بی‌بی به جه می‌کرده.

(13)
یانشی‌ی نه بی‌بی تو دنگ رنگ‌ی علم‌یا
نه قیمه‌ی بلوری‌ی نه فریمه‌ی جلم‌‌یا
بی‌بی به جه می‌کرده.

(23)

The following "Mother's Lullaby" (Lāy-lāy-i-Mādarāna) appeared on February 2, 1910, in No. 123 of the Irān-i-Naw above the signature "Lāhūti of Kirmānshāh."

آمد حضرت موم(pe) کاراست بالام لاکا خواب تو ذکر باعث عار است بالام لاکا
لای لای بالا لاکا لای لای لای لای.

جنگ است که مردم هم در کارو تو در خواب‌ی اقبال وطن بسی بکار است بالام لاکا
بر خز وسوی مدرسه بیشتاب لای لای بالا لاکا لای لای

خالکستان آبآ تو با خلوت شهیدان برگرد تو زان خان حصاری است بالام لاکا

گریدی‌ی غیب مادر ایران لای لای بالا لاکا لای لای

نورکودک ایران و ایران وطن نست جاننارا نتی در عیب بکار است بالام لاکا

نوجانی و ایران جو نتی نست لای لای بالا لاکا لای لای

(*) The two texts of this poem offer a certain number of variants which for my present purpose I have not deemed it necessary to record. I have followed in the main the N.S. version, which contains 3 stanzas (10, 11 and 12) omitted in J.M.

The most important variant occurs in the third sufera* of stanza 8, where N.S. reads

میلیتناش درج به الواح بنا برد.
Morn hath come and the time for work, with a lám-láy, lám-láy;
'Tis a shame any longer to sleep or to shirk, with a lám-láy,
lám-láy!
Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!

War's toward, and work for all; no time to waste, with a lám-láy;
Our country's hope on this work is based, with a lám-láy,
lám-láy;
Rise, then, rise, and to college haste, with a lám-láy, lám-láy!
Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!

From the martyrs' blood and thy forbears' dust, with a lám-láy, lám-láy,
A rampart rings thee which thou canst trust, with a lám-láy,
lám-láy:
Sorrow we may, but struggle we must, with a lám-láy, lám-láy!
Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!
(4)

A Persian boy art thou, and Persia thy fatherland, with a lám-láy;
Well in a faultless body a fearless soul doth stand, with a lám-láy!
That soul art thou, and this body of thine is the Persian land, with a lám-láy!
Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!

(5)

Rise in arms, and to save the State thy quality show, with a lám-láy!
Wherefore, O tender rose-bud, is Persia brought so low, with a lám-láy!
With a garment of glory invest thyself, that it be not so, with a lám-láy!
Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!

(6)

No longer the cot but the saddle now is thy proper place, with a lám-láy!
O lion-cub, 'tis time for the chase, with a lám-láy, lám-láy!
Arise, arise, for a foeman lurks in each sheltering space, with a lám-láy!
Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!

(7)

Suffer not that thy native land be the foeman's share, with a lám-láy!
Since it hath like thee a hero bold and a champion rare, with a lám-láy!
Let not its honour decline and its hope be turned to despair, with a lám-láy!
Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy! Láy-láy, bálá láy-láy!
The following poem, also by Láhúti of Kirmánscháh, appeared on February 9, 1910, in No. 129 of the *Iran-i-Naw*, and is a denunciation of the notorious Rahim Khán Chalibánlu. The earlier career of this miscreant is recorded in my *Persian Revolution*. Immediately after the deposition of Muhammad ‘Ali, on August 8, 1909, he began to loot sundry Armenian villages in N.W. Persia and to massacre the inhabitants. Ten days later he openly revolted against the restored Constitutional Government. On August 29 he was captured by Russian troops, but was released by them on September 18 on payment of a considerable sum of money. A month later he marched on Ardabil, which was reported to have fallen into his hands on November 2. A few days later a second body of Russian troops was sent to Ardabil, ostensibly to effect his capture, and on November 10 it was stated on the authority of the *Times* correspondent at Tihrán that £25,000 had already been expended by the Persian Government on the equipment of an army to take the field against him. This army, commanded by Yeprem Khán, the Armenian, inflicted a severe defeat upon him on December 31, 1909, and four days later had driven him back on the Russian frontier and surrounded him so thoroughly that only across that frontier could he escape. The Persian Government, appealing to the explicit provisions of the Treaty of Turkman-chay, begged the Russian Government not to permit him to take refuge across their border; they not only allowed him to do this, however, but refused his extradition on February 4, 1910, and allowed him to proceed to Elizavetpol (the ancient Ganja), where he remained for nearly a year. He subsequently returned to Tabriz (about January 23, 1911) where he was ultimately put to death. His was one of the numerous flagrant cases of Russian patronage and protection accorded to Persian subjects in active revolt against their Government. An illustration facing p. 440 of my *Persian Revolution* shows him, surrounded by a number of his followers, with his hand affectionately clasping that of a Russian Consular official, while a Russian officer stands a little distance from him on the other side.
(خاطره مشتوم رحیم خان)

که بعد از زین همه رستی بناء بر دود بروین
گذشته اینکه بچر ملک روس جانی نیست
بناه گاه جنین مردمان بی ناموس
شاد از حمایت رویه از خطر محروم
بجنده خواند این دبو سیرزاه عیوب
نیمود دشمنی خوش‌یار بنا محسوس
بنز زیب خزر تا کنار اقیانوس
جنین شیری شکارگارا کند محسوس
مالم است زکردار خود خورد آفسوس
(لغوی کرباشفی)

(Translation)

Fie on the traitor renegade, outlawed and unashamed,
Who after all these evil deeds from Russia shelter claimed!
In all the world save Russia no country do I ken
Willing protection to afford to such dishonoured men.
The villainies of Rahím Khán are noise d o'er land and sea,
And now 'neath Russia's sheltering care he stands, from danger free!
I know not why so great a Power should seem to take a pride
Such human fiends of scowling mien in calling to its side.
Alas! by friendship thus misplaced it maketh but too plain
How great a hate for us and ours it still doth entertain!
Profound mistrust and deep disgust grow ever more and more,
And deeds like these to the Seven Seas spread from the Caspian shore.
If such a tyrant vile were housed in prison it were best,
Not met with hospitable care, like some much-honoured guest.
Foes of the human race like these whoever shall befriend
Reason his action to regret finds surely in the end!
The following excellent poem, entitled *Ququltiq* ("Cock-a-doodle-do!") appeared in the *Nasim-i-Shimal* of December, 1910, and is signed *Māhī-gīr* ("Fisherman"), perhaps on account of the allusion in the last verse to the obnoxious Fishery Concession (*shlāt*) on the Persian shore of the Caspian granted to a Russian named Lianzof or Lianozoff, of which the original scope was violently extended by the *concessionaire*, supported by his Government, to the upper waters of all the rivers of Māzandarān and Gīlān discharging themselves into the Caspian.

(1) مچوائند خروشی بخشستان گوپولینتو گنمت که آی فرقه مستان گوپولینتو گو بیشین و کوریش دستان گوپولینتو آووج که اوران زد گلستان گوپولینتو فریاد ز سربای زمستان گوپولینتو

(2) از سیل فتی شهر وطن روز چریا گنمت به مرگان هوا آمد آین در شهر بود قطی انسان گوپولینتو فریاد ز سربای زمستان گوپولینتو

(3) خون گریه کند مزوعه بر حال دهانی سوژد بچک سک ی آقال دهانی عربان و به یاده اطلاع دهان ابوا ز بندمی دهات گوپولینتو فریاد ز سربای زمستان گوپولینتو
(4) 
اف باد باین زندگی و طالع مخوس
تف باد باین غیرت و این دفتر معکوس
افوس که تبریزشده دستخوش روس
فرنزنده جولانگو روسان فوقین‌فو
فیداد کشیدند خروس ها فوقین‌فو

(5) 
کوه‌ها و یزد و جهش شد خیوه کابل
کوه‌ها و سیرانتید و جهش شد بابل و رابل
کوونقیه قنافاز و جهش شد آن جمنگ
ابن یحیی خزر بود ز ایران فوقین‌فو
فیداد ز سرمای زمستان فوقین‌فو

(6) 
آوخ که ز کف شهر وطن میرود آسان
اطنال رعیت همه تریان و وراسان
آوخ که دبرن و دکورین و خراسان
سالدار بدر صح دهد سان فوقین‌فو
فیداد ز سرمای زمستان فوقین‌فو

(7) 
هیچی جنون‌شده که بازآویل کار است
شیرانه جنون‌شده که هنگام شکرست
مردانه جنون‌شده که همین بکار است
زبر لکد افندی خروس ها فوقین‌فو
کافر که خالق سلسلان فوقین‌فو

(8) 
در انزلی اوزر حمیهای محفظ است
دعا لیانزوف بر سرماهی صوف است
درخانه ما مدخل عولف الف است
صیاد بدریا شده نالاه فوقین‌فو
فیداد ز سرمای زمستان فوقین‌فو

(مالکی کر)
(Translation)

(1)
A cock in the hen-house shrilly trolled, "Coocoolicoo!
"Hear, O revellers young and old, Coocoolicoo!
"Where are Bahman and Rustam bold? Coocoolicoo!
"The Autumn chill doth the rose enfold, Coocoolicoo!
"Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!"

(2)
Floods of trouble have brought our land to a swift decline,
The while we sleep, bemused, like men who are drunk with wine.
The Water-man to the birds of the air doth loud repine,
"There's a dearth of men amongst young and old,
Coocoolicoo!
"Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!"

(3)
The very field sheds tears of blood o'er the peasant's state;
The very heart of the stone doth melt at the peasant's fate;
Hungry and naked the peasant's child and the peasant's mate!
Alas for the peasant's woes untold, Coocoolicoo!
Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!

(4)
Fie on this life and this star sinister, banishing joy!
Out on this page reversed and the zeal without employ!
"Alas for Tabriz, doomed to become the Russians' toy!
And for Qazwin, by Muscovite troops patrolled, Coocoolicoo!"
Cry the cocks and the roosters young and old, Coocoolicoo!

(5)
Where are Bukhárá, Khíva, Bálkh and Kábul, where?
Babylon, India, Samárqand and Zábul, where?
Where the Caucasian lands and their blossoming gardens fair?
The Caspian Sea was ours of old, Coocoolicoo!
Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!
Alas for lands so easily lost as these have been!
Our village-children are filled with terror and fear, I ween!
In Khurásán, alas! and in Tabríz too, and eke Qazwín
Daily the Russians manœuvres hold, Coocoolicoo!
Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!

Rouse ye, Ho! for as yet 'tis but the first of the work!
Rage like lions: the hunt's toward, and who would shirk?
Quit ye as men, for in every corner a foe doth lurk!
Spurned in the dust are the roosters bold, Coocoolicoo!
A Muslim land shall the heathen hold? Coocoolicoo!

Terrible talk is heard to-day in Anzálí
Of Lianzoff's claims to the fish which haunt our rivers and sea;
In a million ways with our homes and lands he now makes free.
To the sea the fisherman's woes are told, Coocoolicoo!
Alack and alas for the Winter's cold, Coocoolicoo!

The next poem is a ballad, or taṣnīf ascribed to a lady named
Minára Khánim, but signed "Húp-húp." It is, like so many
taṣnīfs, written in a very simple and colloquial style, and con-
tains some forms (like wásat, for wdsita-at, "for thee," and mana,
for mard, "me") which belong to the colloquial speech or even
to dialects.
"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision:
Ramazán was over, Mother dear;
Everyone in clover, Mother dear!
But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!
All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

(2)
"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision:
The Constitution flourished, Mother dear;
All the poor were housed and nourished, Mother dear!
But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!
All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

(Translation)
"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision:
Spacious street and splendid square, Mother dear;
Like some Frankish city rare, Mother dear!
But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!
All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

"Mother dear, I slept, I saw a vision:
The baths were clean and sweet, Mother dear;
'Snap your fingers, stamp your feet,' Mother dear!
But my dream was a delusion, Mother dear!
All delusion and confusion, Mother dear!

"Weep not, Mother dear, I pray, nor worry:
I will buy you sugar-loaves and sweets untold,
And a pretty out-door mantle stitched with gold,
For when crushed by household care, Mother dear!
You fill me with despair, Mother dear!"

The following poem, entitled *Khabar dār!* ("Look out!") and signed *Fikrī-yi-Barsgar*, appeared in the *Nasim-i-Shimāl* of May 11, 1911 (No. 7 of the Fourth Year). Its real author is said to be Ashraf of Rasht, the editor of the paper above mentioned, and this is very probable.
این نور دیده، بابا صحرای جریده بابا، در مدرسه شرب و روز آرامش بابتنه بابا، هرکس بنکر خویشه توم بنکر خود باش، جری فیل و قالی آهنونده جری ندیه بابا.

بک جوجه اعتدالی بک دست انقلابی، بک طاتیه شرب و روز در فنکر بچه‌ای.

بمحم بکسی دیگر بابا بای، هرکس بنکر خویشه توم بنکر خود باش.

بمحم بکسی دیگر بابا بای، از بهتر مالی دینا رو بر بزرگ‌کردن.

بمحم بکسی دیگر بابا بای، اولاد مصطفی را نامی شهید کردن.

بمحم بکسی دیگر بابا بای، از بالوده شدید و کسی که جرب.

بمحم بکسی دیگر بابا بای، از بالوده شدید و کسی که جرب.

بمحم بکسی دیگر بابا بای، برند پول‌هایی در بانک‌های سردد.

بمحم بکسی دیگر بابا بای، برند پول‌هایی در بانک‌های سردد.

بمحم بکسی دیگر بابا بای، برند پول‌هایی در بانک‌های سردد.

بمحم بکسی دیگر بابا بای، برند پول‌هایی در بانک‌های سردد.

بمحم بکش عازم‌هار بای، بسی میاب و مجد مشغول در نبایند.

بمحم بکش عازم‌هار بای، بسی میاب و مجد مشغول در نبایند.
After your prayers, O reverend Sir, to meditation turn:
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!
In truth in this our age each one doth mind his own affair;
The scorpion's thinking of his sting, the bulbul of his air;
The bearded chin of beardless cheek, the beardless chin of hair.
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

O dervish friend, my eyes' delight, at large the fields you graze,
Who once in schools and colleges did spend laborious days!
Naught know you save the lecturer's rhetorical displays;
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

One calls himself a Shaykh, one calls himself a Bábí;
One faction Pádášt, one party Inqilábí,
While in "self-help" another lot unto themselves a Law be;
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

* * The rival sects of the Bábís and the Shaykhis are well known to all students of modern Persian history. The political parties named Pádášt ("Moderate") and Inqilábí ("Revolutionary") took definite shape after the opening of the Second National Assembly in 1909.
The Boy-Colonel declines to have his bath

(From Molla Nasreddin, Year iii, No. 5, Feb. 16, 1908)
Some in the name of Islám foul innovations breed;
Through love of worldly wealth some turn their faces to Yazíd,
And by their hand at his command the Prophet’s children bleed1.

Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

By Royal Warrant this one’s a Colonel, that a Knight;
Their titles and their honours nor reason have nor right,
While purse and pouch and pocket they fill with silver bright.
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

Some in the Nation’s name the wealth of others strive to gain,
That in the Bank their balance may ever grow amain,
That they may eat the choicest meat and drink the best champagne!
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

Some mount the patient camel and thus to Mecca fare;
Some in the middle of the mosque are occupied with prayer;
While some pursue the women, some seek their joys elsewhere.
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

One takes the name of Friday: one Saturday they call,
These fight like cats and dogs and on each other’s vitals fall;
The fire these wantons kindle burns cotton, wool and all!
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

Some charlatans in journals long articles indite,
And though the garb they don is black, the sheets they use are white;
And now, alas! his turban casts aside each reverend wight2.
Since each one minds his own affair, you mind your own concern!

1 The Umayyad Yazíd ibn Mu‘awiya, the slayer of al-Humayn, the Prophet’s grandson, is the Pontif Pilâte of Persia. The allusion here is probably to the incident described on pp. 117-118 of my Persian Revolution.

2 In consternation at the “blasphemous” innovations of the Press.
The following poem, signed Sayyid Najaf-i-Banu ("the Builder"), appeared on May 11, 1911, in No. 7 of the Fourth Year of the Nasim-i-Shimâl.

(1) 

ایین رویت‌ها بر گو علی مبارک است
مهمان از برای فنگیزمان مبارک است

(2) 

فرخنده باد سال به اصناف خون چگرا
فرخنده باد سال غریبان در بدر

(3) 

زحمت طهارت صدف شیراز و بهمیان
بر فنگیزمان خمه و زنگ مبارک است

(4) 

بر زارعیان م lành و نبریر و اصناف
محبت بران طالم و فرزون و طالبان

(5) 

بر دیگرولد و لالج و غلامان و آگور
آن گرگ نوی و حاصلی نوغان مبارک است

(6) 

رستم از خطیب مسلمان هزار شکر
جستیم از تعدادی ظالم هزار شکر
مشروطه از برای مسلمان مبارک است
(6) ساقی بریز شریعت، شیرین عاجم ما، مطریب بکنوب طلیب تبارک بنام ما، بیلبل بخوان که کتیب مبارک علام ما، با ابن علام سیر خیابان مبارک است.

(7) بیا ابتدای کمک کن و قائل واقف شد، تحویل سال نازه به تنگ کوز بیلبل نشا این انگلیب جماه و تنبل شد، هنگام انگلیب جماه و تنبل شد، ابن انتخاب نازه بهکنال مبارک است.

(8) دعوا نمی کنم دکتر برهنه و بوج دیگر نمی زنیم سه کلمه مثل قویج، سالمند روس بزرگ فروین بهبوده کویج، ابن مんで از برای خراسان مبارک است.

(9) من بعد دختران همه صاحب هنر شوند، این اشتراک عالم نسوان مبارک است، در مکتب علوم همه بهره ور شوند.

(10) جاری شد آبیار عادل ز جمعه سار، دیگر نمی دهدن بما ظالمان فتخار، آورد شاه نازه ز امریک مستشار، ابن مستشار نازه بطلران مبارک است.

(11) مشعلی عش و نوش خوان، مالدار، قربانی زلف خبرک رفاقت خالدار، از بک طرف کبایی و آواز خوان ونار. آن ماج و موجی نصف شب خان مبارک است.
The optimistic tone of this poem is partly due to the withdrawal of the Russian troops (except 80 Cossacks, retained as a "Consular Guard") from Qazvin on March 13-15, 1911, alluded to in stanza 8; and partly to the arrival at Anzali on the very day of the poem's publication of Mr. Morgan Shuster and the other American advisers, alluded to in stanza 10. This poem is quite easy, and I have not thought it necessary to add a translation, but the following observations may facilitate its comprehension. The newspaper Nasim-i-Shimdi boasts itself the champion of the poor artisans and peasants, and then gives a long list of the places in Persia where its advent is hailed with joy. Those mentioned in stanza 3 are towns of importance in various parts of Persia, while the twelve villages enumerated in stanza 4 are all in the Caspian provinces of Gilan and Mazendaran. The Tangus Yil ("Year of the Pig") mentioned in stanza 7 is one of the cycle of twelve years, each called after some animal, brought into Persia by the Tartars (tangus in Oriental Turkish is equivalent to the Ottoman Turkish domuz). The translation of stanza 9, which may be of interest to feminists is as follows:

"Henceforth all the girls shall be educated; 
All shall have their share in the Colleges of Science; 
They shall be equal with the boys in their rights of learning. 
Blessed is this participation of the World of Women!"
Stanzas 11 and 12 contrast the luxury and dissipation of the wealthy nobles with the misery of the poor and their half-starved children. The last stanza expresses confidence that God's help will keep Persia for the Persians, however gloomy the outlook may be.

The two following poems both appeared in the Nast-i-Shimal of July 30, 1911 (No. 10 of the Third Year), and both refer to the recent attempt (July 19, 1911) of the ex-Sháh Muhammad 'Ali (aided and abetted by the Russians) to recover his lost throne, an attempt which was ended on September 5 by what the Times correspondent described as "a decisive and brilliant victory of the government troops," the execution of Arshad'ud-Dawla, the ex-Sháh's best and most devoted general, and the flight of the ex-Sháh himself on a Russian ship on September 7.

(29)

The first of these two poems, entitled "Congratulation" (Tabrik), is a very short one and runs as follows.

(1)

"Deed be established, blest be the New Year's Eve,
May the goal of conquest ever be attained, blest be the New Year's Eve!

(2)

Never will we be subdued, never will we bend,
We must fight on high, then we will find a haven;

(3)

May there be no end to our freedom! May there be no end to our freedom!
For the Persians and the Persians, may there be no end to our freedom!

The Persians and the Persians, may there be no end to our freedom!

"
(Translation)

(1)
Behold o'er Astarábád what sudden plague is spread,
For there that selfish despot once more doth rear his head.
How well divergent factions to meet this plague combine!
   God bless the Nation's Union! God bless this effort fine!

(2)
All, all combine together, for Progress is their quest,
And Muslim and Armenian each strives to do his best;
Absorbed are all the Persians in this endeavour blessed.
   With hope deferred is wasted this vagrant libertine!
   God bless the Nation's Union! God bless this effort fine!

(3)
The Democrats and Moderates, like one fraternity,
Unite their bands and join their hands in all equality:
Persia and rule of Despots—remote may these two be!
   The just are now exalted, the tyrants loud repine;
   God bless the Nation's Union! God bless this effort fine!

(30)
The next poem, described as a rajaz (a term applied to heroic,
or in this case mock-heroic verse) is supposed to express the
feelings of the ex-Sháh Muḥammad 'Alí on beholding the failure
of his efforts to regain the throne which for two years and a half
he so unworthily filled.
بر آرم چاقوی دلزا برو
ز سردار اسعد بدرم جگر
همای پارلمان را بی‌پای بیوی
مه خلقرا جون شیش ی گی کشم
و کلایین بیست ریسمان
نیشابر سربرا سوبیری زمین
گرفتم بعنوان باج سبیل
طلالها و یافوه و درب‌ای نور
برای نمایشای (مانتهکه) من
جو اندیر (اورودس) بیولیا تا کسید
فقط اسم خودرا بهمدم عوض
اگرچه بود نام من ماندی
بکنتم نهر از خون ملت روان
یار رواشند شد سوی اردیبل
بکی ارگه دلوله جون لاک یشت
خدای در (گلمت تنه) ظاهرشدم
بدل بغض باشد مرا از سه جا
خصوصاً ز برج و ورای شبیه
را کریه گردید که در جنگک پارک
گر گرمه طهراش شدود جلوه
ز بقال و نانوا و سزی فروش
ز شهری و دهفانی و زخم‌

16-2
I am that famous, shameless libertine
Whose days and nights were passed twixt sleep and wine!
Although my belly daily larger grows,
My strength is waning like the melting snows.
Could I to Tihrán once an entrance gain
Its people butcher-like I'd cleave in twain,
And its inhabitants, both great and small,
With shot and shrapnel I would dose them all!

As for the Regent, off his head should go,
Who caused my projects to miscarry so;
And with my pen-knife out the eyes I'd bring
Of Sultán Ahmad Sháh, the reigning king;
Out the Sardár-i-As'ad's heart I'd take,
And the Sipahdár into mince-meat make;
The Parliament with cannons I would shake,
For freedom's balm to me's a poisoned snake;

Mirzá Abú'l-Qásim Khán Náyervāl-Mulk, elected Regent (Ndžhū's-Saltāna) on September 23, 1910, immediately after the death of his predecessor Azandīl-Mulk.

He succeeded to the throne on July 18, 1909, on his father's deposition.
And, by my worthless Northern Friend's advice, I'd crush the folk, as though they were but lice;

(10) The Deputies to one long rope I'd tie, And topsy-turvy turn the Ministry. Now in the dust my head is bowed, and I Glide like a serpent from the Nation's eye. A hundred thousand guineas in a year I wrung as 'road-tax' from the people's fear. The 'Sea of Light', gold, rubies beyond price I squandered on my drinking bouts and dice. To please my Russian mistress when she's glum I play the tambourine and beat the drum.

(15) How in Odessa, when my funds ran low, To Belgium sped my agents, all men know. Only to change my name I did decide—'Muhammad Husayn, rascal double-dyed.' Although the vulgar call me 'Mamdall' I'm not 'dalt'; in wits few equal me! The people's blood in streams I'll cause to pour From Astarábád unto Sabzawár! To Ardabil Mujallal swift doth hie; Alas! Ill-fortune bears him company!

(20) Arshadu'd-Dawla, like a tortoise slow, At Urmiya about my work doth go. My flag at Gyumush-tepé I display, Hoping in ruins town and land to lay. Thought of three foes my heart with hate doth freeze—The Bakhtiyáris, Gilán and Tabriz. But most of all Tabriz—that ruined land Where Sattár Khán this conflagration planned. I weep to think that one escaped alive Of those my foes who in the Park did strive.

1 This celebrated diamond (the Darván-yi-Ná'í) is the companion gem to the still more celebrated Káb-i-ná'í ("Mountain of Light").

2 "Mamdall" is the vulgar contraction of Muhammad 'Ali. The meaning of the Turkish word "delf" (or "dalt") is "mad."

3 This alludes to the conflict of August 7, 1910, in the Atábak's Park at Tibrán, on the occasion of the disarming of the fikhrí.
(25) Should Tihrán once again become my share
Not one of all its people will I spare.
Of grocer, baker and of caterer,
Of druggist, butcher and of fruiterer,
Townsman and peasant, toilers without rest,
Of aged men and children at the breast,
Of blacksmith, joiner, carpenter therewith,
Of draper and of pedlar and goldsmith,
The blood in such wise on the earth I'll shed
That it shall form a sea with waves of red!

(30) But cruel fate has tied my hands, alack!
And fortune—sinister doth break my back!
I'm poor, I'm poor, I'm poor, I'm poor indeed;
I have not, have not, have not, aught I need!
O belly, belly, belly, belly mine,
'Tis you who cause me thus to grieve and pine!
To thee, Bahádur, greetings do I send;
Where art thou? Help me, O my trusty friend!
Sardár Muhíyy, I hear, hath marched from Ray,
And wends towards Mázarán his way.

(35) This time, for all my bulging paunch, I feel
That on the gibbet I shall dance a reel!
With empty purse and brains of sense bereft,
I've neither foot to fly nor refuge left!"

(31)
The following poem, like the last, is supposed to express the feelings of the ex-Sháh Muhammad 'Ali after the failure of his attempt to regain the throne in August, 1911. It appeared in the Nasím-i-Shimád (No. 12 of the Third Year) on September 11, 1911. It contains a certain number of slang or colloquial expressions, especially in the last bayt of each stanza, e.g. namí-shád (= namí-shawad), Mamdál (= Muhammad 'Ali), Shá (for Sháh), mí-khád (for mí-khwáhád), mí-khám (for mí-khwáham), etc. I have not thought it necessary to add a translation of this poem.
(زبان حلال شمیه)

(1)
ای قلیک ابن جه باطنی است که جیدستی تو جه زبردستی تو
دل اعداء وطنیا رجا نا خستی تو جنگر بیستی تو
عید با همبوطنات ستق و بنشستی تو گوشبا بستی تو
خفر مسیلیم دارویه انزلیم تره حلیا نیشه مسیلی بگ شایینه

(2)
مسیلی تنهبیه ی بقول و غزیل روس نمود ترک ناموس نمود
خوشیا را در نظر اهلی وطن لب لیم نمود کار مکوس نمود
هوس حمله تخت جم و خفاور نمود مبل با بوس نمود
کله اش تاج متفاد با بیلیلاد متفاد تره حلیا نیشه مسیلی بگ شایینه

(3)
مسیلی اشک همی وخت ممالک بارات از فراق بارات
ترکمانیا همه طرفند فرار از ممالک همه در خون غلتان
هدف نیمی بلا گفت رشید السلطان لعی حق بر شیبان
گول شیبان خرویدم آبروی خود برند خروشعلانیشه مسیلی بگ شایینه

(4)
تا ز روبه در این خال خاک زیبی شدم طمعه شیر شدم
جبیل قشعه شد از غصه زبر و گیشر شدم همی تصویرشدم
ارشید الدوله جو شد کشفه زبان سیر شدم خودبود به یرشدم
بشکسا یکریم خال دوعلم بسر تره حلیا نیشه مسیلی بگ شایینه
Of the persons alluded to in this poem, Rashidu's-Sultan was defeated by the Bakhtiyaris at Firuzkuh on August 11, 1911, and was said to have been shot or to have died of his wounds two days later. Arshadi'd-Dawla, the best and most capable of the ex-Shah's generals, was taken prisoner and shot by Yprem Khan, the great Armenian general of the Constitutionalists, on September 5, 1911. A very graphic account of this event, by Mr W. A. Moore, appeared in the Times a day or two later. The Sardar-i-Muhij was the real leader of the Raftt army in the summer of 1909. Photographs of both him and Yprem Khan will be found facing p. 436 of my Persian Revolution. The other three persons mentioned in stanza 5 are well-known chiefs of the Bakhtiyaris.

The following poem appeared in the Charand Parand column of the Saur-i-Irdifil (No. 24) for February 27, 1908. It is entitled Ru'asâ wa Millat ("the Leaders and the Nation"), and is difficult to understand fully, being written in the language employed by mothers in speaking to their small children. Of all the poems
here cited it is the most remote from the ordinary literary language. The “leaders of the people” are, apparently, represented as an ignorant mother, and the Nation as a sickly child, who finally expires in its mother’s arms in consequence of her mismanagement.

(Translation)

(1) Dust on my head! The child has woken up! Go to sleep, my pet; the Bogey-man* is coming!
Don’t cry! The ogre² will come and eat you up! The cat will come and take away your kiddy!³

¹ This expression is equivalent to “Botheration take me!”
² Literally “the two-cared one-head,” an imaginary monster with which children are intimidated.
³ Lālā is another kind of bogey.
⁴ Buzzbuz is anything, such as a pet animal or a toy, to which a child is much attached.
Oh, oh! What ails you? My pet? "I am hungry" [you say]? May you burst? You have eaten all this; is it too little?

Get out, dog! Pussy, puss, puss, come here! Hushaby, darling! You are my rose! Hush, hush!

(5) "Mamma! I am ready to die with hunger!" Don't cry!
To-morrow I will give you bread!
"O dear, Mamma! My life is ready to leave me!" Don't cry! The pot is just on the boil!
"O my hand! See, it is as cold as ice!" Fie, fie, my Soul! See, the breast is dry!
"Why does my head spin so?" [Because] the lice are digging holes in your head!

Akh-kh-kh!...What ails you, my Soul? Ḥāq, Ḥāq! O my Aunt! Why are its eyes turned up to the ceiling?

(10) Come here! Alas, see, its body also has become cold!
Dust on my head! Why has its colour turned so pale?

(11) Woe is me! My child is gone from my hands! Alas, alas!
To me there remain but sighs and grief! Alas, alas!!

I do not know whether or where the following poem was published, but its title, "On the departure of Mr Shuster from Persia," sufficiently fixes its date as the latter part of the year 1911. Mr Shuster's dismissal was demanded by the Russian Government on November 29 of that year, and he handed over his charge to Mr Cairns on January 7, 1912, and left Tihrân four days later. The poem is by Ārif of Qazwin.

1. Child? = chist-e. "What is to thee?" "What ails thee?"
2. Gushnama = guranam-am.
3. Ārif = ham-zut.
4. Chkh ("get out!"") is probably Turkish, from the verb āchmāq (ōkhmāq).
5. Persian mothers, when they wish to wean their babies, smear the nipple with some black or bitter substance (such as opium) to make the child recoil from it. Speaking of this they say, Menī ākh zinda ("the nipple has gone sour").
6. Ḥāq, Ḥāq is an onomatopoeic word indicating sobbing.
7. This is the literal rendering of Wāy, Khāla!—an exclamation used by Persian women in a manner similar to the corresponding English vulgarism.
8. The exclamation "Rād, rād!" is used by women in lamenting the bad conduct or the death of an only and much-loved child.
England (l.) and Russia (r.) endeavouring to drive out Mr W. Morgan Shuster, the American Treasurer-General of Persia.

From No. 4 of the Shephard, Nov. 25, 1914.
در باب حركت مسبو شستر از ایران

1 نگک آن خانه که مهیبان رز خوان برود، جان ناراکن و مگذارک که مهیبان برود
گر رود شستر از ایران رود ایران بردا، یا جوانان مگذارک که ایران برود

2 شد مسلبا ماین وزیران نفیم، حکم نفیب خود کرد به لنگ که
حریب اندر طلیت در سر بیک را یم، کافریم ار بگذارم که ابیان برود

3 مشت دژدی شده امروز در ملک وزیر، تو درین مسلمان امروز خیری و بسرد
دست بذردامت آویخته بک مشت فیفر، تو اگر رفی از مسلمان عبان برود

4 شد لیالب دگر از حوضه بینتیما، ما دزد خواند برخعتی بسرد خانه ما، نگک تاریخی عالم شود افسانه ما، بگذارم اگر شستر از ایران برود

5 سک جویان شده با کرگ جو لالی مبونی بسان که امروز شقایق است جهون
شد بست خود آن کهه دل کن فیکون، بار مگذار کربین خانه ویران برود

6 نو مروگر برود جان و سر وحدت ما، کورند دیده بدخواه ز هدست ما، در فراغت بمخايری بسته وسط ما، ناله عازر ازین درد بسکوان برود

1 As adapted for singing, the word is repeated at the end of each line where it occurs, and the word at the end of the other lines, while the following refrain is repeated at the end of each stanza.
Shame on the host whose guest unfed doth from the table rise!
Rather than this should happen, make thy life his sacrifice!
Should Shuster fare from Persia forth, Persia is lost in sooth:
O let not Persia thus be lost, if ye be men in truth!

Behold, these Ministers of ours¹ our Muslimhood divide,
And each unto our common foe his portion doth confide;
One party still² in unison demands that thou should'st stay;
We're naught but heathens if we let our Faith thus slip away!

To-day a gang of thieves become the guardians of our land:
In all this Kingdom thou alone dost see and understand!
Close clinging to thy skirts a band of suppliants are we,
For, should'st thou go, our Country's name, alas! will go with thee!

Our cup is full unto the brim, our measure overflows;
Our homes are meanly filched away by base and cruel foes!
And if we suffer Shuster now to leave our Persian land
Eternal infamy our name in history shall brand!

The wolf and shepherd's dog are one like Laylā and Majnūn³;
A cowardly herdsman guards the flock and will betray it soon.
O what creative energy our Hearts' Exemplar⁴ showed!
Let not our faithful guardian quit our desolate abode!

O leave us not, although our life and thought are merged in night!
The eyes of those who wish us ill grow blind when we unite:
But, left by thee, the banquet's glee turns to reaction drear,
And thus it is that 'Ārif's wail doth reach to Saturn's sphere³:

¹ I.e. the Cabinet who effected the dissolution of the Mojill in December, 1911.
² Presumably the so-called "Democrats," who were the patriotic party.
³ Laylā and Majnūn are the typical lovers of Eastern romance.
⁴ The "Ka'ba of hearts" is that to which men's hearts turn as the Faithful turn towards Mecca. "Kun fa-yakūn" ("'Bel' and it is") is God's Creative Word.
⁵ i.e. the seventh and highest heaven, which is the "Sphere of Saturn."
The Poet Ārif of Qazvin
The following qaṣīda, entitled "A Critical Tribute to Sir Edward Grey," appeared in the Calcutta Ḥablul-Mattu of November 11, 1912, and is by the poet Bahār of Mashhad, entitled Malikuš-Shu'arāʾ ("the King of poets").
نور خور از تبت و ایران و ز افغانستان
نوش موصل بگیندیها رو آن نا زابل
زن سیب پرانگردی، این هر مه طریق
پیش از فاندیت هند بسیار گردید صرف
انگلیس آن ضروریا که ازین پلن برد
نهمین زیر بیر یک روس شد ایران وست
ور همی گونن زرس بیان نرود
در بر تن سپسی شاه عقیدت کار
خاصه جون روس که اوحشته باشد بر هند
ورنه این روس زیک نویل جر دی ایران
در خراسان که مهین رو روس هدست جر
فتنه از جه بیا کرد و جر آخر کار
سی روژ ز تربیه کنون نا به سرخس
هله کر مغری ما اسر بود نا بشمال
گرجه خود به نبیری نیست که این جشنگر
سفر ایشان هند است و تنباشات هند
وی به کر بای پیشماری نا از خط رو
بعدو خط نتیب روسا نزدیک کند
بی سیب معترال ایران بدن در رو هند
باد نتیرن الماجت که ماجت بر داشت

ساخته پشت رو حسمر نابای سه دری
ور هر نت تسلیم شدی نا به هری
نغم میلیار تفقوت بابد بحری و بری
عاقت فائتح نبسم جخون جزی
تو نداستی و دان بدوئی و حضری
بلحه افغان ویران شد و کاملی
رو بینارج نگر نا که عجان تگز
این نه من گیوه گیاه هست ز طبع بری
هیچشان سی به شیشه برک درت
راند فراق و تهاد افکر بیادگردی
کرد این ما مایه فشون بسی راهبردی
کرد نسبتچه چنان کار بدیان مشتری
یو شیب یزارد چو نیکو شمیر
سی روس چرا مانده، بدرین، و کچه
سیری کردت خواهند بعد ناموری
هنگ خواهند بی اخربن تناب خری
خط آهن بسوی هند کند رصبری
نا تو دیگر نروی راه یبدین بر خطبری
وکه بر داشته شد سال بدخب
برده از کار و فرو بست رخ بر هندی.
To London speed, O breeze of dawning day,
Bear this my message to Sir Edward Grey.
To thee in skill, wise Councillor of State,
Ne'er did the world produce a peer or mate!
Great Peter's schemes to thine were shifting sand,
And weak by thine the plans that Bismarck planned.
Ne'er from Toulon Napoleon's hosts had gone
If on the Pyramids thy name had shone.

(5) Had Paris been in league with thee, in vain
The German hosts had swamped Alsace-Lorraine.
Had England 'gainst the States sought help from thee
No Washington had won them victory.
Had thy prestige companied England's arms
Ne'er had the Boers caused England such alarms.
Would Kuropatkin's hosts before Japan
Had fled had he been guided by thy plan?
Had the Manchus been aided by thy thought
The rebels ne'er against their king had fought.

(10) And had thy schemes included Persia's life
Not fruitless had remained this storm and strife.
"When fortune frowns on man," the proverb goes,
"His wisest act no good resultant shows."
Alas that thou, for all thy wits, hast wrought
A deed which save regret can yield thee naught!
For India's gates, closed for a hundred years,
To Russia now you open without fears.
You nurse the wolf-cub in your arms: a deed
Which folly prompts, and which to grief will lead.

(15) To this o'erbearing partner you submit,
And bow your head, bereft of sense and wit.
Your pacts with Russia made in time gone by
Brought loss unseen by your short-sighted eye.
In Afghanistan, Persia and Tibet
Before your foe a three-doored wall you've set.
Mosul to Sistan's now an open way:
Herat, Tibet they claim, nor fear your "Nay!"
Henceforth this three-fold road to watch, indeed.
A million men on land and sea you'll need.

(20) India's advantage if you squander so
Naught will you reap except remorse and woe.
You knew not, though both town and desert knew,
What hurt to England would from this accrue.
Not Persia only feels the Russian squeeze;
"Tis felt by Afghans and by Kashgharis!
"Russia her pact will keep," you answer me:
Her records read, and wondrous things you'll see!
Not I but human nature tells you plain
That pacts weigh naught compared with present gain;

(25) The more since Russia longs for India still
As longs the hawk for partridge on the hill;
Else why did she o'er Persian lands let loose
Her Cossack hordes to crown her long abuse?
Why in Khurasan, India's broad highway,
Do all these troops of hers unmotivated stay?
Such mischief wherefore hath she wrought, and why
Done deeds redounding to her infamy?
From Tabriz to Sarakhs her soldiers dwell,
Some twenty thousand, if you count them well.

(30) From North to East our land all peaceful lay:
Why without reason do the Russians stay?
Reason, forsooth! The Russians there remain
Waiting for some more glorious campaign
With India for its goal; this goal they crave,
These pampered pirates of the Caspian Wave!
The more so should you culpably delay
Till Russian rails to India find their way.
These rails shall bring thy foeman near to thee:
Avoid such roads so fraught with jeopardy!

"Twas Persia barred the road: woe-worth the day
Which swept this ancient barrier away!
O cursed obstinacy, which did raise
This veil, and set the feet in such a maze!
Headstrong and rash you wrought a deed of shame
Which stolid Turk and vagrant Arab blame.
Woe to that judgement cool, that reason bright,
Which now have put you in so dire a plight!
All hail that judgement, hail that insight rare,
Of which, men say, you hold so large a share!

The following poem, entitled "An offering of thanks and welcome to the honoured and revered guest," is a curious protest against the intrusion of Germany (real or supposed) into Persian affairs; for, by the generality of Persians, Germany was favourably regarded as friendly to Islám and hostile to Russia. It appeared in No. 17 of the illustrated comic paper Azarbáyján on October 11, 1907.
السلام بود بیکس و بی داد رس کشون، صد شکر بابت جون تو نگهبان خوش آمدی
من یک می شناسمت آی رنگ بر فضون، احسنت خوانن مکار تو پیمان خوش آمدی
بیوته شامی است باسلام لطف تو ما عاجز از لوارم شکران خوش آمدی
دادی ز چلی دست سپیت بسیار ترک خواندی بکشوش آبی خسرون خوش آمدی
و آنکه با اسم بارز سلطان ملک فاس گشته بسوی طبیعی سنابان خوش آمدی
از صدمة که دید مرکب زبون تو دوست هرگز ندیده بود ز عذوون خوش آمدی
فارغ زکار آن دو بکرده بی دنگی گشته بهرز فارس نیمبان خوش آمدی
از بیبر سرمردی بیک منسی بی گیاه در کف گرفته نیلک بران خوش آمدی
بیژن اتبا بی بیانه دار بالک دو باکس نائل شدی بیمضید پیمان خوش آمدی
بانگک فغات هنوز ز ما مبرض شجاع ازدشت باکند روس و ایران خوش آمدی
الفن تیست چاره ما گوئیم کمی نیز اتفام حکم فرگات خوش آمدی
ا لیکن بیک فرار نیمبان دوآ دوآ
نومید گو میاش ز یزان خوش آمدی
(امضا: م.چ.خ)

(Translation)

("Fortunate is your advent! Greeting and Welcome to thee,
O Germany!")

"O newly-arrived guest of Persia, welcome!
O Germany! Your place is on our eyes: welcome!
Persia is like a well-filled table with foreigners for guests;
O guest unbidden to this table, welcome!
Thanks be to God! The morning of union hath appeared;
The nights of separation have come to an end: welcome!
To take captive the bird-like hearts of your unhappy lovers
With the snare in your hand and the grain in your apron,
welcome!

(5) Claiming to be the protector of Islám and the Muslims
Thou hast entered the gang of thieves: welcome!
But, since your competitors have carried off all that there
was,
I am afraid that disappointment may be your portion:
welcome!
Islám was friendless and helpless; now
A hundred thanks, it has found a guardian like thee:
welcome!
I know thee well, O libertine of many spells!
The Devil sings the praises of thy cunning: welcome!
Thy favour ever embraces Islám; we are unable to voice
the thanks which are your due: welcome!

(10) Cunning prompted thee to extend the hand of friendship
to the Turk;
Thou didst whisper into his ear the verse of loss: welcome!
Then, on the pretext of friendship for the Sultan of Fez,
Thou didst hasten towards Tangier: welcome!
The injury which Morocco experienced from such a friend
as thee
It had never experienced from the enmity [of another]:
welcome!
Having finished with the affairs of these two, without delay
Thou didst appear in the land of Persia: welcome!
To shear the heads of a handful of innocents
Thou bringest in thy hand a sharp razor: welcome!

(15) Wantonly, with pretexts of College and Bank,
Thou hast attained thy secret object: welcome!
Our cry of lamentation still rises to heaven
On account of the Russian and British Banks: welcome!
In short it seems that we have now no option
Save to submit to the orders of the Franks: welcome!

(18) Yet the circling heaven remains not in one position;
Say, 'Despair not of God!' Welcome!''

[Signed: M. J. K.H.]

* Concerning German activities in Persia at this period (1907) see my Persian Revolution, pp. 178 and 187.
ADDITIONAL POEMS RECEIVED WHILE
THE BOOK WAS GOING THROUGH
THE PRESS.

POEMS BY BAHAR OF MASHHAD,
ENTITLED MALIKUSH-SHU'ARA, OR
"THE KING OF POETS."

At the end of October, 1913, I received through one of my
Persian friends a collection of fifteen poems by Bahār of Mash-
had, transcribed by the poet's own hand, only one of which (No.
20, pp. 218–20 supra) had previously reached me. These poems
range in date from Jumāda 1, A.H. 1327, to Ramāzan, A.H. 1329
(= May–June, 1909, to August–September, 1911), and most if
not all of them appeared in the Mashhad papers Khurāsān, Tūs
and Naw Bahār, while the most celebrated of them (referred to
above as already included in this book) also appeared in the
Hablu'l-Matin, Irān-i-Naw and Tarāqqi. I shall give a short
description of these fifteen poems and the full text of several
of the most striking.

(36)

The first is a fine mustazadd (similar in form and metre to
No. 5 on pp. 185–6 supra) written and published in the paper
Khurāsān in Jumāda 1, A.H. 1327 (= May–June, 1909), towards
the end of the "Lesser Tyranny" (Istibdād-i-ṣughir), some few
weeks before the capture of Tihrān and deposition of Muḥammad
'All by the victorious Nationalists. It was designed to arouse
in Khurāsān sympathy with the efforts put forth by Azarbāyjān,
Gišán and Isfahān, and is here given in full.

با شو ایران ز آزادی چن گفت خاطست
کار ایران با خداست
مذهب شاهنشو ایران از مذهب جدیدت
کار ایران با خداست
شاه نست و میانور نست و شجع مست
مملکت رفته ز دست
هر دم از دستان مستان فتنه و غرفا بیاست
کار ایران با خداست
The poet Bahár of Mashhad, entitled
*Maliḳš-Shu'ārā* ("the King of Poets")
موجهاى جانگداز
کار ایران با خداست
نخدا عدل است و بین
کار ایران با خداست
خوب جمعی بگذار
کار ایران با خداست
پاداش خودرا مسلمانان خواند و سازد ن با
ای مسلمانان در اسلام این بین ما چه چیدند چه
شاو ایران گیر عادالدا تغواهند باک نیست
دیده خداى از خویشان در رنگ و عناصر
روز و شب خندن همى بر راهى ناجیز وزیر
کی شود زین رهش در زشت کار راست
باش نا آگه کند شما از زین نا بچید
انشقانه زیمده بر اسد و نامزد گیساد
سنگریه جون بدوزانان تن
رفت از باغ شاه
روز دبک سنگر در سرد سملک فانست
باش نا برون زشت آبد سیده ای از
کار ایران با خداست
نامی خود و سیمک
کار ایران با خداست
نامی خود و سیمک
باش نا از اصناف منصوب حق گردد بندید
کار ایران با خداست
جز خراسان خراب
(بیاین)

1 داروش‌نیپت ("Hare-Hill") is one of the Sháh's hunting-boxes situated a few miles to the N.E. of Tihrán. See my Year among the Persians, pp. 86 and 91.
2 This line is a quotation from Häfiz.
The second poem in this collection is, in the words of the author, a portion of "a metrical history of Persia down to the time of Muhammed 'Ali, mingled with moving exhortations, sent to the Shâh by means of Mushiru's-Saltana, the Court Chamberlain (Wasir-i-Darbâr), which, however, produced no effect." It also was composed in Jumâda i, A.H. 1327 (= May-June, 1909), but seems not to have been published at the time. This poem also I consider worthy of being reproduced here.

(1)

پاسمان تا بچید این سنتی و خواب گران ی پاسمان را نست خواب ازخواب سر بردارهان
کلّه خوراک اگر در پاسمان و بی نبانی یک طرف کرگ دمای و بک طرف شر زبان
آن زیگک این زیبای طعمه این ازچگک آن ی هر یک آلوده بخون این گله جنگ و دهان
پاسمان مست و گله منغول و دشن هوشیار
کار با پردن بود کرکف پرون رفصت گار

(2)

پید بیدر ای ملل زین بالک گهور رایگان ی بکی از زبان جمیو و باری از همساگان
و آنگه از سر دور کن کنار این پییاگان ی بابداری جنده خواهی چست از این در پییاگان
کشور توخیرا کهی است کهی شابکان ی ترم این گنگ ازکت شاه با آباد راگان
طره کهی در کف آورگان کون در هنی رنج
جوت نردنی رنج شاها کی شناسی قدر گنگ
"O watchman, how long this sloth and heavy sleep? 
Sleep is not for the watchman; O, raise thy head from slumber! 
Behold: thy flock without watchman or shepherd, 
On one side the raging wolf, on the other the roaring lion; 
That one snatches the morsel from the claws of this one, and 
this one from that one, 
Each one having dyed his claws and fangs with the blood of 
this flock. 
The watchman drunk, the flock preoccupied, the enemy 
watchful—
The matter rests with God, for it has passed out of our hands!

"Accept advice freely, O King, from this loyal nature; 
Seek not for fairness from the foul, nor friendliness from thy 
neighbours; 
Then put away out of thine head the words of these worthless ones; 
How long wilt thou seek for constancy from these inconstant ones? 
Thy kingdom, O Prince, is a treasure, a royal treasure, 
And I fear, O King, lest this treasure may slip from thy hands 
without a struggle."
A wondrous treasure hast thou got in thy hands without trouble!
O King, since thou hast obtained it without trouble, how shouldst thou know the value of the treasure?

"All these monuments of the Kings, O prince, are no vain tale;
A king, O King, cannot dispense with kingly qualities.
Kingship does not befit every sluggard and madman;
Yea, it is the candle, not the moth, which illuminates the banquet!
Lo and behold, in this house there is no master save thee,
Yet is there no house so desolate as thine, O Prince!
Arise, cause thy house to prosper by Justice and Bounty,
And, little by little, put away the stranger from thee!"

The third poem, written about the same time as the last (May-June, 1909), is also addressed to Muhammad 'Ali, then Sháh. It is what is technically known as a takhmús, or "fivesome," and a taṣūnī, or amplification, of one of Shaykh Sa’di’s odes (ghazals), that is to say to each verse of Sa’di’s ode are prefixed three new half-verses, the five half-verses thus obtained constituting a band or stanza¹. This poem runs as follows:

¹ Concerning the takhmís and mubhammad, see Vol. 1 of the late E. J. W. Gibb’s History of Ottoman Poetry, pp. 92-3, and concerning the taṣūnī ("quotation"), p. 113. The poem of Sa’di on which this is based will be found on pp. 191-3 of the Calcutta printed edition of A.D. 1791.
(3) ملکا خود سر و جواد تو ایران سوز است، بخشافتات تو امروز وطن، فیروز است ناحیه نور مکافات تم از امروز است، "این همان جشنی بخارید هیحان فیروز است، سخن همی نافذ بر آرامگاه عاد و بی‌نیا\n
(4) بیش ازین شاها بر زنده خود نیه مردن خود و مسلمان در وریدا ذل صنایع بی‌خود مینا، "خویست خود بسیاری و مناهی معنی\n
گر ی‌بایان درست است بروز موعود\n
(5) کسی منتبر کرده زمست بالده درو، شده‌که قصّه جنگفز ز بیدان تو نوا، لیزان دل زند بندی بس ازین گفت و شنوا، "ایاک در نمیت و نازی لیزان غزه نشون که مخالصت درین مرحله امکات خلود\n
(6) بگذر از خطه تیز و مکالم شهیداش، شست‌و‌نشر آن قصّه جانسوز ودل از غم خراش، اندز در خطه بس از آن کش و آن پرخاش "خانه راهی که بران می‌گذش‌دن ساکن باش، که عیون است و جنون است وخدود است وقود\n
(7) شاه بکشل نشد و کار خبا گشت و هدر، یلاب خشته در این مرحله کن فکر دگر، منایه می‌هی نب دب در شاخص یخود سر، "دست حاجت جو بپر، بی‌سخ خداوندی بر\n
که کرم است و جهیم است وغناور است وودود\n
(8)
(8)

شای خود کیست بدین کوروناتیام او، تا نهضتو باشد در باره ما نیست او؛
ما پرستند حقیم و الهیت او "خطر دنیا" تا بشریان باعثندیت او،
هیه در ذکر و مناجات و قبایل و قعود;

(9)

سرزمین کوک مشروطه زگرسون کمال، بس آبید شیب هجارت و دم تلخ و محل کار نیکه شود از فر، خدا انتقال "ابهسه در شهاد و فریع و پرشان حال
صره کن کین دو سه روزی بس آبید معدود؛

(10)

جرخته کاری ازین شاه نیای باید خواست، کانه مها در او ببینم سرسر بختیست;
"سیاهین بیده که بر بد میدان بد هیست" "بند سعدی که کلید در گچ سعداست
تواند که پیای آورد الامام سعیدی.

(Translation)

(1)

"O King, at what dost thou aim by thy despotism?
From such deeds naught will be witnessed save evil fortune?
Shew generosity in the way of the Constitution, that thou may'st be adored:
'The honour of a man is in generosity, and his nobility in worship:
Whoever has not these two, his non-existence is better than his existence!"
"O King, make not cruelty thy practice, nor break thy promises, For, if thou dost, Divine punishment will seize thy skirt! The happenings of the cycle of time will cast dust on thy head: "Dost thou not see that the gladsome dust of Egypt is the same Dust of Egypt, but [cast] on the heads of Pharaoh and his hosts?"

"O King, thine obstinacy and tyranny consume Persia; To-day the Nation is successful in requiting thee! The glow of the light of retribution is not [a thing] of to-day; "This is the same world-enkindling disc of the Sun Which used to shine on the dwellings of 'Ad and Thamūd!"

"O King, strike not the axe more than this on thy root! Cast not thyself and the Nation into the gulf of abasement! Do not dig up thine own roots through selfish desires and whims! "Do not mar thy worth by frivolous and forbidden pursuits, If thy belief in the Promised Day be sincere!"

"With tyranny thou didst reap clean the Nation's crop; The old story of Chingiz Khan hath been renewed by thine injustice; After this conversation wherefore shouldst thou set thy heart on the world? "O thou who art in luxury and wealth, be not deceived by the world, For to tarry eternally in this halting-place is an impossible contingency!"

\[i.e.\ the Day of Judgement,\]
"Pass by the region of Tabriz and the place of its martyrs:
Hearken to that soul-melting story, and rend thy heart with woe!
In that region, after that slaughter and strife,

'Walk gently on the dust of that road wherever thou passest,
For it is [composed of] eyes and eyelids, cheeks and bodies!'"

"The King is not single-hearted, and affairs are gone to rack
and ruin:
O wearied nation, think of some fresh plan at this stage!
Set not the foot of hope at the gate of this headstrong monarch!

'If thou stretchest out thine hand in supplication, stretch it
towards One
Who is generous, merciful, forgiving and kind!'"

"Who, indeed, is the King, with this his pride and egotism,
That his intentions with regard to us should be good?
We are the worshippers of God and His Divinity,

'In whose service, from the dust to the Pleiades,
All are engaged in commemoration, prayers, rising up and
bowing down.'"

"The Constellation of the Constitution appears from the Firmament of Perfection:
The Night of Parting draws to an end, and the Morn of
Union dawns:
All will be well through the Glory of God Most High.

'O thou who art in hardship, poverty and distracted circumstances,
Be patient, for these few brief days will come to an end!'"
"One must not expect from this King anything but mistakes, For what we see in him is wrong from one end to the other: Counsel him not, for vain is counsel to those of evil nature.

'The advice of Sa'di, which is the key to the door of the Treasure of the Blessed,
None can put into practice save the favoured!""

The fourth poem of the collection, composed "in the latter days of the Lesser Tyranny, and the beginning of the Revolt in Khurásán (i.e. in the early summer of A.D. 1909) in order to excite and encourage the Fiddā'is," was recited in the Bágh-i-'Anbā' at Mashhad, and afterwards published in the newspaper Khurásán, It is remarkable in form as being what is called Dhū Qāfiyatayn, or having a double rhyme. Only the first of the five stanzas which constitute the poem is here given,
The fifth poem has been already given (No. 20, pp. 218-20 *supra*). It was published not only in the *Irān-i-Naw* (from which it was quoted), but also in the papers *Khurāsān*, *Taraqqi*, and *Hablu’l-Mattin*.

The sixth poem was originally declaimed in a great assembly of the notables, officials and people of Mashhad held in the Holy Shrine of the Imām Rizā to celebrate the opening of the Second National Assembly (about November 15, 1909). It is in praise of Freedom, comprises fifteen couplets, and begins:

بيا ساق ك كرذ ارد قوى اركان آزادی
نبود آباد از توهان ونرات آزادی
جهان بكشید بر غنی‌دگان ایوبی آسانی
فلك بر بست با دلمستگان ببان آزادی

The seventh poem was written in July, 1910, at a time of political crisis and change of Cabinet. It is a *tarkib-band* of four strophes, and appeared in the newspaper *Tūs*, No. 50. The last strophe is as follows:

بارات روشن دکر گرفتم
وز ما دل و دیده بر گرفتم
از سملک ما شدند دگر
برایه عینصر گرفتم
دربانی طبع اعتدال
هر برخی از دگر گرفتم
هر برخی از دگر گرفتم
وز خارجیان ز ساده لوحی
فرمان نشکو خوشنیرا
و از دشته که دگر گرفتم
کایتان ز رو خطر گرفتم
بارز از خوف شکر گرفتم
باز زابایی ز کن شده‌دادن
غافل که جمالاً احراز
صبح گوش است بست دیوار.
The eighth poem appeared in No. 31 of the newspaper Tūs on the Persian Nāwrūz (New Year's Day), March 22, 1910. It is a mustazād of fifteen stanzas, and is worthy of notice both on account of its intrinsic beauty and its allusions to recent events in Persia.

(1)

عبد توروز است هر روزی بنام توروز نداد
بچمیست سالی حیات ما بنام فیوروز نداد
برق تیغ ما جیان بردار و دهشت سیز نداد
سالی استقلالی مارا بناد آغازی بهار

(2)

پاد باد آن نوبهار رفته و آن بپرمرد به ای
و آن خزان تیر جنگ
در رو ناموس و نگ
لانهای رنگ رنگ
سرهای خاکساز

(3)

پاد باد آن باغات کرکمه آنی در فکد
و آن نیم مهرگانی کپاد و از بین کنن
وان بکی یز هزه کرد انباز رفته حنون بد
و آن دکر بخورد کرد آویز جوهر خشک داز
(4)

از نسیم جری شا،
کنست از آن آتش که ناگه اندران کنور گرفت
خون مسکینات نیا،
لشکر مشروط خواه،
با هزاران گیر و دار
لشکر همسایه،
(5)

کابین منم افکرده یا اندوز رو حلق و وداد،
نيست ازمن خوف و یم
آئبستم نا به بندم رو بر آشوب و فساد,
بر طریقت مستقیم
الله الله، زان تفاوت الله الله، زان عاد
ای خیالنگی، هر
این جه جوز است و عداوت این جه بغض است و نقار
زين گروه باربار.
(6)

و حثبانه جهان روی،
اندک اندک زین بیانه سوی فرتنگ کرد روی،
در سه مال ملك ما افتاد از آبانه های و هوی،
دی در خراسان هم در آنان هنگامه روسی خبر بیوی
حامي اشتر شد و افکنند در مشهد شرار.
(7)

در روناموس و دين،
باد بادا آن مو خورداد و آن جان بالخته،
و آت بسی فتنه اسلام توپ انداختن
فونی از بیدانه کسار و طولارا ساخته،
تا که بدالی بست آنند درآن گیر و دار،

1 i.e. Russia.
(8)
غافل از این کسانان هر روز بازیها کنن
سلت بیدار دل گردن فرازیها سختن
بر مرام اهل دود
جرخ رام و بخت یار

(9)
حضور ستار خان
اندر آذری‌هاجات
شاد بادا جاودان
آن وطنرا اختبار

(10)
و آن بورشی‌ها برگ
و آن جوانان ستگ
جوان زهرآتشنه گرگ
برده اورا در جوار

(11)
و آن همه گلنان و آن فریمان علی
پاد باد آت اردیلب و آن همه سینگدن
پاد بادا آن رحمی ناکس و آن جاهل
پاد باد آن آتش افرورزان بیهان دبار

1 The revolt in Anjān, headed by Mullā Qorbān ‘Alī, began about the middle of August, 1909, and culminated in the Dārāb Mīrzā incident in May–June, 1910. The troubles at Ardabī began about the same time.
(13)

باد باد آفا آت طبخن روی عیشی نفس،
و آن رحم دردم;
جز به بیماری نوزند،
و آن همه رنج و گردد،
لینکر و حکی شمار.

(14)

باد باد آفا دادان اندرا آسان عکس گروب،
و آن بیاران رحم از شوق دادن شمی کوب;
و آن عیان به دادن اهدایان نا پادار.

(15)

ابنک ابنک سالی تو شن آفیقین بر سالی تو
دل کد آمالی تو،
سالی تو هر دم زند بر ملک ایران فالی تو
فزر و استنفال تو
مانند آرود گار.

لطفی حیه لا یمام
آن عیری ذو انتقام
ابنک ابنک نویت کار است باید کار کرد
نیک منصوبی دست آزم بعد از انتظار.

1 The "group" photograph of Rahim Khan and his Russian friends to which reference is here made was published in the Habla'i-Mattu, the Manchester Guardian, and opposite p. 440 of my Persian Revolution.

2 A line has evidently fallen out here in the original.
Raḥim Khān Qarāja-Dāghi,
the notorious Reactionary referred to in verse 13 of Poem No. 40,
holding the hand of M. Belaieff, the Secretary of the
Russian Consulate-General at Tashkent

From a photograph taken about the end of August, 1909
(17)

Proof of the verse: 'Lo, your work will be undone! Mine, on the contrary, is firm. False is your plan! True is mine! False is your view! True is mine! False is your friends! True is mine! I am a hard worker!'

(41)

The ninth poem, which appeared in No. 30 of the newspaper Tūs about the middle of March, 1910, is a satire on the disgraceful condition of the streets of Mashhad in rainy weather on account of the mud.

با رجب از چا می‌بادی کسی سیمای گل
کام رونق‌گانه شده مشکل گنای گل
بر بام‌های سرا به آبند گل
ای جاده‌ای الهی فنای گل
هرگونه نبی رسته بی‌خند غنا گل
اسکدری خورنده.\(^1\) درین چشم‌هاهای گل
افضتیم بر زمین و ویژه‌بیای گل
آز جنای کوچه و داد آز جنای گل
صد البغای به بی‌خیمه می‌تابای گل
که درست راهی، داده‌دهند ۵۰۰۰ گل
جوان بی‌گذرم جنده دندان‌های گل
آتش‌گیری باپ در گردی غنا گل
شعار جایست که خالی است جای‌گل

1. لِبّام‌کارکاران is a slang expression meaning "to fall on the face," but there is a tanâbâh with لیکه in the previous line.

2. This is a conjectural emendation for râzâh, which gives no good sense.
The tenth poem, a *musaddas* or “six-some,” appeared in No. 1 of the newspaper *Naw Bahar* in the month of Shawwal, A.H. 1328 (= October–November, 1910). Five of the twelve stanzas of this poem (Nos. 3, 6, 7, 8 and 12) are here given.

(3)

وزّرنا بارز نهادن زکف کار وطن وکلا مهر نهادن بختام وبدهن
علما شبها نسودند وفنداند بظن جهادند کشور ایرانزا نیو فتن
کشور ایرانزا نیو فتن ورزش ای وطن در خطر است

(6)

بازی انگیزنی این قوم در اصلاح امور
لیک بارز باین زاصلح بصد مرحله دور
خروج و حضور ریاستنات اول منظر
غافل ازاینکه وطن مانده غرب وشمار
ملت خته جه از مرد وجه زن در خطر است

(7)

خرس صرا شده همدست نهگن دریا
کشی مارا زانده است بگرددم بلا
آه ازین رنگ رنگ آویز ازین جور وجنا
فوات در جرأت وغیرت نسود جاره ما
ز آنکه ناموس وطن زیر دومن در خطر است

ای وطنوهات زنیار وطن در خطر است
(8)

The paper *Naw Bahār* (see No. 357, p. 149 supra) first appeared on the 9th of Shawwāl, A.H. 1328 (= October 14, 1910), at Mashhad. The celebrated Haydar Khān, called ‘Amū-oghlu ("cousin"), was its founder, and our poet Bahār, its editor. It was suppressed at the instance of the Russians exactly a year after its inception (on October 14, 1911).

(43)

The eleventh poem is evidently modelled on a well-known fragment by the great poet Jāmī, beginning:

*بِدنِانَ رَهْنَهُ در بُولاَد كُرْدِنَ؛ بِنَاهِنَ رَاهُ در خَارِا بَرُیدنَ؛*

and ending:

*کَه بَارِ مَنْشِ دُونَانٍ کَنَیدنَ؛*
دو رونه زیر به نفر رفتی،
شما بیشتر، زلزله و زور،
پیکنیکی در بهبهانی،
همان لازم و نیز با جرم پیار زمین.
برهنه زخمی‌ها به خوردن،
پیشینه صندلیه، داره خوشیدن.

که زیغی در زور رفتی =
پیشینه مینه رازان، دام خوشیدن.

(44)

The twelfth poem is a tasnif, or ballad, in the "Afshâr Mode," and appeared in the Nau Bahâr in the month of Dhul-Hijja, A.H. 1328 (= December, 1910). It runs as follows:

(در پرده: افتخار)

(1)

نبرد دام جوا با برناه گشته وطن، متفاوت دنبال در کهکه گشتی وطن;
نوشیج جمع می‌تواند وطن جوا، ببینی دیگران برناه گشتی وطن;
برناه گشتی وطن، (مکرر)
نو عزیز سبی نو گل گلی گسترشی، بدین خواری جوا افتخار گشته وطن;

(2)

خوش زیره که بودی شاد و خدایان، وطن، نکردن خصرا چگل و دندانان وطن;
تو بودی در بلند افسوس وطن در افتخاری بمال مستبندان وطن;
در افتخاری بمال مستبندان وطن، (مکرر)
امان امان امان بیداد بیداد بیداد، ز جوی دشمنان وبرانه گشتی وطن.
The thirteenth poem was recited at the official celebration held on the birthday of Sultan Ahmad Shah by the Provincial Council of Khurasan in August, 1911, and was afterwards published in the *Naw Bahar*. It is a *qasida* of twenty-seven verses, composed in the style of the old poet Farrukhi, and begins:

The fourteenth poem was published in the *Naw Bahar* in Ramazan, A.H. 1329 (= August–September, 1911). It comprises eleven verses, and is an imitation of a poem by Minûchihrî.¹

¹ This begins:

![Image of the page](image-url)
The fifteenth and last poem in this collection is placed in the mouth of the ex-Sháh Muhammad `Alí, whose raid into Persia in August, 1911, ended, in spite of the hardly-concealed help of the Russians, in the defeat and death of his most capable General, Arshadu'd-Dawla, at the end of August and beginning of September, and his flight back to Russia soon afterwards. This poem also was published in the *Naw Bahár*.

(46)

(1)

با بند فلک جرا بی‌رنگ است سجادت الله ابی به رنگ است

بودم روزی بفهر ثبریز آقا و قل عدید و با جبهر

شی هرم بود و بندی پروز و ابلک شدیدام ز دیده خونرباز

کاین جرج جرا جهن دو رنگ است

سجادت الله ابی به رنگ است

(2)  

سیه تمایل که زندگی اختیار و دین را رنگ است

با نور و نگاه، از لحاظ زندگی

بناهی چنان، اینه زندگی و دین را رنگ است

* This hemistic does not scan, but I cannot emend it.
* This seems to be a reminiscence of al-Mutanabbi's verse (ed. Dieterici, p. 3).
بودم روزی به شیر تنهات، مولا و خدا بگانگان و سلطان
بستم همانا به نوبه غزات، گفتتم که کی نیاند از اینان
دبём روز درک شته جنگ است
سجات الله اینه جه رنگ است

کنتم که خلق حرف منتند، آخر دیدم دم خلفنتند
خیلی کنتم و کرم منتند، بیک جهی صندکند، کنتم
بهم الله ره سوی فرینگ است
سجات الله اینه جه رنگ است

کنتم که ما ز گنگناتم، رخت ز ختا به زندگانیم
سوی اودسا شونگناتم، غم نپست گر از زونگناتم
بینشتنی ما جنگه نتگ است
سجات الله اینه جه رنگ است

سوی اودسا شدم هی، هی مجدوت آنا شندم هی، هی
پی برگ و نوا شندم هی، هی بپسواره فتئا شدم هی، هی
آن دل که بنا نسخت نمک است
سجات الله اینه جه رنگ است
(6)
اندر آدمی فرز جهیل، آمد جوف لبی آر فیلیه
مجنون شدیدم بلا وسیله، بکر کاشت بگوئی من فیلیه
گدنده که وقت لاس و دنگ است
سچان الله این چه رنگ است

(7)
بد بنده ما نگر که خام، نا داد درک بدنی ما دم
یک روز و دو روز بود و شد گم، با خود گدنده خسرا فرم
کن عزم سفرکه وقت نگد است
سچان الله این چه رنگ است

(8)
بر باد نگار عیسوی کیش، کرم سفر سملک اطرش
درویشانه گدنده از خوشب، کر عشق شهان شوند درویش
دبیم ره دور و بای لانگ است
سچان الله این چه رنگ است

(9)
خانم ز نظر برفت باری، منتصد سفر برفت باری
وقت ببدر برفت باری، جوان عشق ز سر برفت باری
گدنده چه موقع درنگ است
سچان الله این چه رنگ است
(10)
دهدی بن شهر فال و قره است صحبت زنگ‌داری بهدل است.
وزما جهان در طول است، گنیم که نام ما خلیل است.
گنیم که کار ما شلک است، سجان الله ابن جه زنگ است.

(11)
با خود گنیم مصدال قی، وقت صفر است با علی قی،
بر خیر و بر مگر ثلی هی خودرا آناده کن، وی فی،
بپا که زمانه نیز جنگ است، سجان الله ابن جه زنگ است.

(12)
آن کین که زرات میهنان دار، سبارة زنگی نخست سبارة،
از توب و ننگ و جنگ جریان، هسرو کنندت مندرس زنیتر،
بستاب که وقت نام و ننگ است، سجان الله ابن جه زنگ است.

(13)
و آنکه، زنهر، مارباند، گنیم، بادکوبه دلشاد،
صاحب خانه نوید میبداد، میگنند برو با مشابه.
گنیم که مصدال زنگ است، سجان الله ابن جه زنگ است.
گفتتم قلبم بیا بیا زود آناده پکن بیک برایغ
نامرد بپسیمتش بیكی بد ان نیز قیبل کردم از جوگ
گفتتم که همه وقت جنگ جنگ است
سخنان الله این جه رنگ است

(15)
و آنگاه برسم میهمانها رفتنم با بابل ترکمانها
دیدم نپیومتند بیانها گفتتم که ای عزیزی جانها
از غم دل ما بیونگ ونگ است
سخنان الله این جه رنگ است

(16)
گفتتم خنان بسکور و فنیها جننها از آن خنیه
خوش داد نتیجه مآ و سنیها این نفله نه خوب گفت تنها
هر نفله که می کنم فشنگ است
سخنان الله این جه رنگ است

(17)
من مسجد گریز یام با دوست به آتشیام
نهران نو کجا و من کجا خواهم که پجانم تو آم
کر عشقت تو کلام دیگر است
سخنان الله این جه رنگ است
(18)
پر درد، سلطنت منم دی؛ آسانی و عافیت منم دی.
م عزت و منزلت منم دی؛ آویخت که بو ملکت منم دی.
ملت به ایندی قولنشک است.
سجان الله این چه زنگ است.

(19)
ای ترکمنان نپیک منظر، ریزید بیشه و فلعله پکر.
جاود هر آنچه اسب و است، ز آغوش پدر خندید دختر.
کاین ماده بیشترت جنگ است.
سجان الله این چه زنگ است.

(20)
قالتقوت گندرز بنیله هماه، همسقن ایبدون من بیه شاه.
شاه ولایه، تر اولوون سر آگاه، گوارت اپدروز بیه دلخواه.
قالتقوت گندرز که وقت نهک است.
سجان الله این چه زنگ است.

(21)
و آنگاه دواش با دل شاد، رفته ببnder استریاباد،
کردم علّم جمّاک بیداد، گنتنیم که هرکه بیشک داد.
ایمن ز گلوله، نفیک است.
سجان الله این چه زنگ است.

1 This and the two following verses are in Turkish.
اردشک که چو مانند هر رسان
شد عاژم شاهرود و سهبان
از سوی دوکر رشید سلطان
شد آر و راست سوز تهران
گنتیم که وقت چتک وقت است
سخن این که این جه رنگ است

خوب گرچه ز طوق نیز بودم
در وحشت و ترس نیز بودم
هر در بسیار گریز بودم
هر لحظه جست و خست بودم
گنتیم که این ما یکنگ است
سخن این که این جه رنگ است

گنتند که کارها شلوع است
و این که جه زاغ بی فرغ است
سرما بی ارتعاش داغ است
گنتیم که جملگی دروغ است
گنتیم که جملگی جنگ است
سخن این که این جه رنگ است

گنتند که کنیه شد رضیت
گنتند که باره شد امیدت
گنتند و عیاد شد ثوابت
گنتند سیا شد سفیدت
دبیم سری ز زعه منک است
سخن این که این جه رنگ است
57
گستند که خصمانه خواوه است
بد خواه براثر و نبینه راه است
قصد همیک بنشینی شاه است
دمتم که روز من سیاه است
و آقایی ای فرامی زنگ است
سیاها نبینه این چه رنگ است

58
گستند که ارشفت جدید شد
و آن میرا مکرمت کنند
اردی منظومت چسب شد
هنگام بهد بهد بهد شد
گریز که جمعه بی فشک است
سیاها نبینه این چه رنگ است

58
گستند جناب حکم فرمی
زحمت چکصور دکر پنمار
بر گردهنا که بودی آنجا
دبیزم زنین بیش چگک و دعا
هفنا که برای بدنه نگک است
سیاها نبینه این چه رنگ است

59
بیسوم زمانه هری هری بوتی
وی بگردنن کرد نبره روئی
افکند مرا بمیرده شوهی
گستنی مکرم که چگک جوئی
جوئی عشاقی کنار نمخت و نشک است
سیاها نبینه این چه رنگ است
The following poem, not included in the above collection, is also by Bahá, and was sent to me separately by a Persian friend. It is, I think, a parody of a well-known ode (ghazal) of Háfiz or some other of the classical poets, and, though couched in the erotic strain usual in this class of poems, is full of political allusions.
POEMS BY PŪR-I-DĀWŪD

(48)

The following fine poem by Pūr-i-Dāwūd has a less purely Persian vocabulary than he generally affects. It was communicated to me in November, 1913, and has, I think, never before been published.

ما بیانی دو جشنان تو فانع تشوم
که در این جهان تو خوشنویسی ایست
فرخچه آن حکم تو باشد به میوه دارد
طلیعی از زمان دهات تو نیش دارد
متظالم شد و جشنان تو حاشا دارد

دنک تازه ز طبع تو عجب نیست بهار

که همیش مشرقیان متعلق گویا دارند

ئازن بیلسطین آنی هم دربار
در خیل همه باران همرز محیم
در جهت دیبا ن فبل و هنر مدرن
در کلکه درونی خوش باشم از آزاد
یلمی بدر مسجد خلیلی بسوی فرشخار
گیر از سند کمنی آتشکده شد خاموش
از مدرسه و از درس کی جاره شد دندم
ی گره ی حرل آمیر در کمیل سلمانی

وز اشک کن دربا روی همه صورارا
نی زاهد رویان نه شاهد زبانارا
با علم و شرف بیشتر خوشنویسی خیارا
در بند نیش خواه صد قصری معلارا
خنیا بیکشت اندر جميع است کلاسیارا
در کاخ دل افروزم کانون اوستارا
ساز و دم و خوشنویسی دلاباد و شیدارا
در باده خوشش بیون آفیر مسیارا
تا نا شنونم ز ایران این غفل و آوارا

صوق که بدلزنان این کنند مینارا

19
(Translation)

(1) With sighs I dry up the water of all the sea, and with tears I turn into a sea all the face of the plain. In all the company of friends I seek no confidant, nor spiritual ascetic, nor beauteous sweetheart. The virtue and talent of a man are not in the robe of brocade; for all my learning and nobility I wear a coat of cloth.

If I be free I can be happy in a dervish's cell, while I desire not a hundred lofty palaces [if I be] in bonds.

(5) There is a crowd at the door of the Mosque, a troop [moving] towards [the idol-temple of] Farkhár, a host entering the synagogue, a congregation [filling] the church.

If the Fire-temple has been extinguished through the tyranny of Fate, I will kindle in the chamber of the heart the altar of the Avesta.
How can my sorrow be cured by colleges and lectures?
Music, cymbals and flute are more congenial to the madman who has lost his heart.
Although wine is forbidden in the Musulmán creed, in the drinking of wine I will pursue the Christian practice.
I would fain fall down dazed, drunken and overcome by wine, so that I may not hear from Persia this clamour and crying.

(10) From the direction of Persia every moment there reaches the ear a voice which causes this blue vault [of heaven] to tremble;
A voice whereat the very hair becomes like needles; a voice whereat thou seest the heart of granite filled with blood.
She cries to thee, "O son, consider thy state! Seek the ease of to-morrow by the efforts of to-day!
"Out of this wool which thou art twisting thou canst not weave brocade; from this thorn thou canst not gather the red rose!
"Loose the chains from me, and only then take in thy hand the chain-like tresses of thy charming sweetheart!

(13) "I am fevered, tormented and grieved, thou art glad, happy and cheerful; such heedlessness is a shame in a youth like thee!
"Through the blood of my young men the ground is all rosy-red; come back and gaze for a moment on my rose-walks and rose-show!
"Through the tyranny of evil men the Kingdom of Jamshíd and Kay hath been made desolate: Behold Persia, once exalted to Heaven, become a ruin haunted by owls.
"The Lion of the Kayánians is hidden; it is the time of the jackal's prowling; humiliation hath succeeded the splendour and glory of Darius.
"King Núshírwán slumbers in the dark tomb, while the Bear stands over his place. Behold the tricks of Fate!"

(20) If, through love of his native land, Púr-i-Dáwúd should one day mount the scaffold, still will he give a hundred thanks and praises to the One God!
I possess some half dozen other poems by Pūr-i-Dāwūd, of which three, one in praise of the Anjuman or Council (in this case, to judge by the context, the National Assembly or Majlis) and two in praise of the old Persian tongue (Pārsī-yi-Bāstān), are written in that almost pure Persian which this poet, like Shaykh 'Abdu'l-'Ali of Tihrān, called Mūbad', and one or two others, is wont to cultivate in his writings. One of these is here given as a specimen.

(49)

Jimmy Dehghā dar Ferozeh Yārī
Ziban ārān māst bārī Yazdān, ān nākān māst bārī Yazdān,
Gowhār raghīna māst bārī Yazdān,
Zoroşk khānīk pad va dāshid va qā'.
Nol: faradāt māst bārī Yazdān,
Zād gār ārānīan va rūstānī kān, bāyānīan kān,
Bagān va bāfet mādī dāri zājūn, gowhār Yārī kān,
Az bārī khānīk va āfīn ān,
Zendgī va gān māst bārī Yazdān,
Az nazdīkī az nazdīkī gārī jūzārī,
Darwāsh dar māst bārī Yazdān,
Shōkāt nūdīgī būr bīrīndī dāri,
Az ānke az ān māst bārī Yazdān,

(50)

In the following poem, which is entitled "a National Song" and was composed in Paris on the occasion of the European New Year (probably of 1913), the poet has not attempted, and I think wisely, to exclude Arabic words and to write in pure and undiluted Persian.

Nāvā, būnī
Az hājīrīt āyī nāgārīm, az kūfī bāndī qarārīm,
Jūn zilfī pārkārīt pad nūrī rūzgārīm,

See p. 87 supra.
بر گیر پرده از راز تیهان ز انتظارم 
تا نم جان خودرا در منفیت سبایم
واعظ خیمن سراید از حور و گهر ز غیبتان
من مایلتم وطنرا بنوید بغير کارم
من مرغ خوش نوام ابرام آشیانه
از درون جرح خروج برچ وکلسندنه
گیرم که شهر پارس شد رشک خلخ و فرودن
آنا جه سود نبود آرامگاه بازم
جشن است و خیلی زندان افتاده مسئ و دمدهوش
از جام مهیر ابران من مسئ هوشارم
جشنک است و تزار و تنور رود وی جفانه
من ناله و طالبا از دور گوش دارم
جون کبک که مسیاران خویان هی خزانان
درگنگ و در دمیا من نازر و دلگان
تا جور دستمانوا تاریخ باد دارد
از زنگی ملیم با درد و غم دوجان
این یکه و انگل افغان امروز در شعر نیست
فرداست لاله رود از تزیت و مزاح
افروخت بور داود در سبیه علی ابران
ز آن رويست شعله خیزد ز اشعار آبادم

(51)

One more poem by Púr-i-Dáwúd may be quoted. It is entitled "On Worship" (andar Parastish), and describes the different objects of devotion of different classes of men, not without a certain cynicism.

اندر پرستش
بختی گاتی بختی بهدا یادت پرستند
بختی بهدا و این دیگر بهسی
بختی مزیت میمون جوان پرستند
فره و خواش خوان پرستند
بیاود، حضرت حسن پرستند
حیدر و سید و فران پرستند

بختی گاتی بختی بهدا یادت پرستند
بختی بهدا و این دیگر بهسی
بختی مزیت میمون جوان پرستند
فره و خواش خوان پرستند
بیاود، حضرت حسن پرستند
حیدر و سید و فران پرستند
بنیان بایلی شراب و بیان را
فقطه آزمد از حریق و شیوع
چه نیرگک است باران مغتی شرع
نیه اینان زاهد از زر و مال
چگونم خود تو دالی و عظت شهر
فرش داد عارف اند و هدایت ذات
صنابت صوفی پبپانه پوشال
دل از دنبای قافی کنده درویش
قلقلند و هال از سیار انا آشفت
سیه شد روزگار عاشق از عنی
سرخک از بس فرو بارید شد کور
نو خور دادی که مثبت باده خواره
نیستی قلمز اندبیش شاعر
فغان از سر دمب روزنامه
وکبیل عصرناک که بیش پلست
برناک آمد علوفه تندیستی
نجم نبگیم اندر سیر افلاک
دل بی‌بار آرزوه حکیمی نگر
نهاد در کوره بوته در دمدم
ناهاند کهیش چادگر نینته
شبدند که رامشکر همه عصر
چمیه چون کرمان پشت گشازور
The following poem, which might be entitled "a Persian patriot's nightmare," is by Ja'far-i-Khámná'í of Tabriz. It was communicated to me by a friend, and I do not know that it has ever been published before.
(1) "A strangely disordered dream do I see on this ill-starred night;
I see visible before my sight a fate fraught with peril.
I see the moving ship of Persian Independence fallen
Into the whirlpool of misfortunes, and the Captain in despair.
I see the King and his Courtiers sunk in the sleep of heedlessness,
While on the other hand I see my Country trampled by
the wrath of the English and the Russians.
I see two man-eating wolves, with intent to compass the
destruction of a flock,
Linked by treaty, allied by promises, and grown familiar
with one another.
(5) In such wise do these two disingenuous allies attack us
on every side
That I see the Russian army at Tūs (Mashhad) in the
near future.
As for those ills which have invaded the Constitution of
our Country,

4 Khurshid means "Solar," "of the Sun," and, since the Lion and the Sun are
the emblem of Persia, I take it here to mean "Persian"; just as China is called,"the
Celestial Empire."

5 Kaf-pālān means a beast of burden whose pack-saddle is crooked, and is com-
monly used metaphorically for a shifty, dishonest and rascally fellow, or, to use the
English slang equivalent, "a bad hat."
I see even Hippocrates and Galen unable to cure them.

For these misfortunes of ours there is in the dictionary no adequate term:

No such word do I find either in the Burhān or the Qāmūs. Wealth hath escaped from our hands, and we remain in abasement:

I see the Nation clothed in the garb of poverty and misery.

With the yoke of servitude on the neck, with the rod of abasement overhead,

I see it politely kissing the fetters of its subjection!

(10) The Caravan starts in the morning, while we slumber in happy heedlessness.

I see that not even at the sound of the drum do we awaken from our intoxication.

If we do not awake to-day at the sound of the Azān,

I see that the Bell will awaken us on another day.

We slumber heedlessly in the pit of annihilation and self-effacement,

While I see the robber, with his guile and hypocrisy, lying in ambush.

O God, come Thyself to succour Thy Holy Religion, else speedily

I see the Cross set up over the Cupola of Qābūs!

Alas! How can I weep [enough] at the result of Muslim dissensions?

I see the Standard of the Faith reversed by the hands of the infidels!

(15) A thousand times alas! May my pen break! Mosque and Mihrāb

I see obliterated under the feet of the Christians!"

1 The Qāmūs of al-Firāsūshūdi is one of the best-known Arabic dictionaries, and the Burhān-i-Qādī one of the most famous Persian lexicons.

2 The beating of a drum is employed to warn travellers that the caravan is about to start.

3 The azād is the Muhammadan as the bell is the Christian call to prayer. The meaning is, "if the appeal of Islam cannot arouse us to-day, the victorious bells of Christendom will give us a rude awakening to-morrow."
The following short poem, also by Ja'far-i-Khâmna'î, is interesting on account of its form, which is a departure from the classical arrangement of rhymes, and in this respect resembles No. 14 (pp. 200-4) supra.

(Translation)

In some fresh blood-stained form at each day's dawning,
In some new garb of grief the whole night long
Thou comest, O my Country, and its song
My heart renews to celebrate thy mourning!

Unhappy Mother, with the wounded face,
And mournful mien, hemmed in by swords of foes,
And girt about by hosts of grievous woes,
Like circles which the compasses do trace.

Yes, girt by foes; for now, the truth to tell,
O Lion by the cowardly fox abased,
By cruel swords on every side thou'rt faced.
How long this sleep? Awake, unclose thine eyes!
Rouse thee for one last Lion-charge, and go
To yield thy life or else destroy thy foe!

TWO POEMS COMMUNICATED BY ASHRAF-ZÁDA

The two following poems were communicated to me on October 23, 1913, by Mirzá Mahmúd Khán Ashraf-záda, formerly editor of the newspaper Farwardin (published at Urmíya in Ázarbáyján), who suffered so cruelly at the hands of the Russians in January, 1912. He quoted them from memory and cannot vouch for their verbal exactitude, while, as will be seen, lines have here and there been forgotten and their places left blank.

(54)

This short poem, dealing with what is known in Persia as Ihtikár or Anbár-dárî (i.e., making a “corner” in wheat or bread—an abuse which has frequently led to popular disturbances from ancient times), is by Mirzá Husayn Tabl-záda, poetically surnamed Kamál, who was the principal of the Kamál College (Madrassa-i-Kamál) at Tabríz, and afterwards edited a Persian paper of the same name in Egypt, in the second number of which these verses appeared. See supra No. 100 (pp. 60–1) and Nos. 283–4 (p. 128).
(Translation)

So long as the fingers of the bread-cornerers are on the bread
There is unrest in the world and ruin in the age.
That fair ascendant star of Justice is eclipsed;
That beauteous face of Equality is hidden.
O hungry child, cry not thus, or else
There will be a slap on thy face from the hands of the bread-cornerers!

O mother, surrender that ornament of thy embrace to the earth,
For a human life is cheaper than a mouthful of bread!
The pen is wearied of talking so much of bread;
The pages of the Kamál are dyed with blood: what hurt is there in this?

Apropos of this holding back of corn from the people it is not
out of place to quote the following verse which appeared in a
shah-náma secretly published at Tabriz on a similar occasion.

این قطره قلرباران کاید بکنست زاران ی هر قطره اش خشنگی است بر جفن غله داران

"These drops of rain which fall on the arable lands,
Each drop is an arrow in the eyes of the corn-holders!"

(55)

The following poem, also communicated from memory by
Mírzá Mahmúd Ashraf-záda, is a musammáfat by Mírzá Muhammad
Sadíq Khán Adíbú'l-Manálik, which was published in the Adab
newspaper at Mashhad. (See Nos. 38–40, pp. 37–9 supra.) Some
of the lines and verses which Ashraf-záda had forgotten have
been supplied (also from memory) by Mírzá Kázimzáda.

(1)

بی کازیر نشتربانان بر بند کیاوه کر خرج عیان گشت کنون راپت کاو
کرطول سفرنحویت می گنشت علاوه
در دیده من بکر درباجه ساق
وز سینه ام آتش کنن فارس نمودنار
(3)
ماًم كا آر بادشهات بنا بنا گرفتم
از ببخشان دCHILD بن دبا گرفتم
ماًم كا آر دنبا امواج گرفتم
دCHILD و سر بر از اکرد و گاج گرفتم

(4)
دCHILD در دندر و دندر غلظه از شوشک ما بود
دCHILD در جن و خن ولله از قدرت ما بود
دCHILD در انگلما و روم عيان قوت ما بود
غزنطه و اشبله در طاعت ما بود

(5)
فرنان همان برون قضا آباد ما بود
جاري بريج و فلك و ثابت و سيار

(6)
مرغابت بسانير امنشدار بريدند
اوراق رياحين اطراف دوبند
کاوان نکافوره بکنان جريدند
گرگان زين سبب سيار دوبند
تا عاقبت اورا سوى بازار کشيدند
پاران بدرخند و اغيار خريدند

آبخ ز فروشند دريغا ز خريدار

(7)
جون خانه خدا خنت عسن مانند زرفتن خادم بري خوردن شد و بانو بير خين
جاسوس بپ بري بره بري راز نهفتن قاضي همه جا درطلب رضوه، زرفت
و اعتين بكوتو خواندن و افساح شنغن له وفيه شيندن دگر و موقعين قتن
آمد سر هميانه برون آر زين دبزوار
THE LAMENT OF THE KINE

(56)

The following very simple and even uncouth verses, wherein a Persian peasant is supposed to apostrophize his cow, appeared under the heading Adabiyyat-i-Bábé Ahmad ("Bábé Ahmad's Literary Column") in No. 11 of the Chanta-i-Pd-barahna ("Beggar's Wallet"), which bears no date.
"The Lament of the Kine"

From No. 11 of the Chanta-i-Pi-barahna or "Beggar's Wallet"
ای رحمت سیاه، جرده،
ًبنبنا گناو می‌خربئی،
اي داده بیاره لسک بینلاین
بر لردو سهیمه دو بیایی.
اي لرک پدر دو بخواب سلیع
ای گاوم دیه ی ثرتیس زمین.
دام تو برحممان و بنیعی
ئای گاوم اگر نسودی ایران,
أز نارن یکشته اشکت سیر
اپرانت شده یزده دار
ئای حسرت ناه بکور برده
گنریل دو از یزدان خرید
ئای خلقت سپرلایو مغبلات.
ئای آبی رحمت خدایان
بر خزیر که موسم بیمار است.
ئای گاوم ضعیف لاحیر می‌رئین
بر خزیر ز لانفان بروت تو
ئای گاوم دادان که مدعی کشت
شده فصل بیمار و موئم ذی
اربان بیمار دو بیش و کاه.
ئای بسیب دو شتیامات
شایسته ودلئش هر آئه خواهد
هیئ. بره و جوجه کن، نییه.
From a literary point of view these verses have little value, but they are interesting as an attempt to arouse the Persian peasant to a sense of his miserable condition, and as presenting a certain analogy with the opening of the ancient Zoroastrian Gāthās (probably the oldest literary monument of the Iranian people), in which, to quote the words prefixed by Dr L. H. Mills to his translation of Yasna xxix, "the Soul of the Kine, as representing the herds of the holy Iranian people, their only means of honourable livelihood, raises its voice, and, expressing the profoundest needs of an afflicted people, addresses Ahura and His Divine Order, Asha, in bitterness." In verses 1-4 the poet addresses the peasant and bids him speak to his cow in the words of verses 5-24. In the last five verses the poet again addresses the peasant as follows:

"O companion of the cow and her friend, arise, for the season of Winter hath passed!
I am ever travelling with thee: the work is the ass's and its food the pony's.
Arise, and tell the cow about uncomplaining trouble and labour. We are for the ploughing and the tilling, the pony and the Master for the eating.
This cow is thy servant, the friendly helper in sowing and reaping. This is the way of inconstant Fortune: one bears the toil and another is clever [enough to enjoy the proceeds]."

1 Max Müller's Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. xxxi, the Zend Avesta, Part III, by L. H. Mills, p. 3.
conclude this selection with five epigrams, hitherto, I believe, unpublished. The first, of which the author desires to remain anonymous, is directed against M. Mornard, the Belgian official who replaced Mr Morgan Shuster as Treasurer-General. The low opinion which it expresses of the former may be profitably compared with the high opinion of the latter expressed in No. 33 (pp. 250–2 supra).

(57)

گویند مردمان اروپا که کدک و قند با طیب‌ت اهلی ایران سرخ‌خاند،
همند آگر نیوس اروپا چو مورنارد ایرانیان بنست اینان فرستخاند.

(Translation)
The Persian nature—so the Franks repeat—is fraught with falsehood, fashioned with deceit:
Yet if by Mornard we may judge the Franks
The Persian nature with the Angels ranks!

(58)

The following epigram is remarkable amongst the poems cited as being directed against the Constitutionalists, though the author, Maliku'l-Kalām of Kurdistān, poetically surnamed Majdī, whose proper name is 'Abdu'l-Majīd, the son of the late Mirzā Shukru'llāh Fakhru'l-Kuttāb, subsequently stated that it was only intended to apply to "those robbers who came forward in the garb of Constitutionalists."

(59)

ز بین مستوطنه خواهان بر ضعیفان چو استبدادیان بیداد کردن;
ضعفان از برای دفع اینان ز استبداد استبداد کردن.

(Translation)
Those for Democracy who claim to speak
Like Despots so oppress the poor and weak
That these at last, their malice to escape,
E'en from the Despots now assistance seek.
The same poet, in fact, has the two following pieces of verse in favour of the Constitution and against the Autocracy.

(60)

ملك إیران بود مانند مریض معصر، اهلی استبداد بوبدن از قساد اخلات وی،
از براى دفع اخلات ردیه زین مریض مجلی شورای ملی گشت انتخاب،
گرو بیابند ره بطنع این مریض اخلات باز، میکند طومار عمرابن مریض اخلات طلی.

(Translation)

The Kingdom of Persia was like unto a man sick unto death;
The partisans of Despotism were, in their mischief, the malignant humours.
For the expulsion of these evil humours from the sick man
The National Assembly became as an emetic of antimony.
If these humours should again find their way into the constitution of the patient,
They will roll up the scroll of the sick man's life!

(61)

گرو نظر در کار استبداد بو مشروطه کنی، فرق استبداد با مشروطه باشد بیشمار،
وقتی استبداد مERCHANT السک آر بهر صید، گرو مشروطه بحیث بسنآذدر آر بسر کار.

(Translation)

If you look at the deeds of Despotism and Constitutionalism
The differences between Despotism and Constitutionalism are countless.
In the days of Despotism they sought dogs for the chase:
In the days of the Constitution they seek men for work!

I much regret that the limits imposed on the size of this book do not permit me to add to the number of poems here cited. The mass of available material was so great that I have been obliged to limit the selection almost entirely to
contemporary political and topical poetry, and of this to admit only what had hitherto remained unpublished, or had been published only in an ephemeral form in the newspapers, and which, for some reason, appeared to me of some especial interest in form or matter.

Amongst the contemporary poems separately published in the form of tracts or pamphlets I should like especially to mention a remarkable tāsīlīs (or "six-some") based on a qaṣīda of the celebrated classical poet Khāqānī of Shīrūn by my very accomplished friend Hūsain Dānish, son of Mirzā Hāshim of Isfahān, who, long resident at Constantinople in the service of the Turkish Government, is recognized as one of the leading contemporary writers both in Persian and Turkish. This poem, entitled (in Turkish) "the Ruins of Ctesiphon" (Medd'in Kharābā-lāri), is dedicated to another most learned, accomplished and single-minded friend of mine, Dr Rizā Tevfīq, Deputy for Adrianople in the last Turkish Parliament, who contributes a critical and historical preface. It was published at Constantinople in A.H. 1330 (A.D. 1912), when Persia's fortunes were at their darkest and her foes at their cruellest, as a small tract of 37 pp. at the modest price of three piastres (about 7½d.). In the same year, on March 21, on the occasion of the Persian Naw-rūz, or New Year's Day, the same poet published (also at Constantinople) another fine poem "for Persia" (Iran iche), dedicated to the eminent Turkish man of letters Tevfīq Fikret Bey, entitled "A New Year's Present" (Hadīyya-i-Sāl), and comprising 56 couplets. From both of these works I should like to have quoted here, both on account of the beauty and pathos of the verses, and on account of my regard for the author; but both poems should be read in their entirety to be judged fairly, and, moreover, can without difficulty be obtained from Constantinople.

Mention has already been made in Part I of this book of a periodical publication, in magazine form, issued at irregular intervals, beginning on April 20, 1908, entitled Dabīriyya, written by Mirzā Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Rahmān Dabīr'i-Mumālīk, and containing an extensive selection of the verses (estimated by their author at 35,000) composed by him during the preceding thirty
or forty years. Most of these poems refer to the leading Persian statesmen and courtiers of this period, and many of them are satires, which naturally had to remain in manuscript until the greater freedom of the Press inaugurated by the Constitutional Régime permitted their publication. I am indebted to Mr. H. L. Rabino for a bound volume containing a good many numbers of this magazine. The poems which it contains vary a good deal in quality and merit, and, though some of them deal with events subsequent to the deposition of Muhammad 'Ali and the enthronement of his young son Sultán Ahmad, the reigning sovereign, they are on the whole of an old-fashioned type, and the satirical poems incline to that coarseness of language which is characteristic of most of the older hajwiyat and hasliyyat.
APPENDIX

A Brief Chronology of the Persian Revolution.

From December, 1905 to April, 1912.
For convenience of reference, and for the better understanding of the sequence of events illustrated by the preceding poems, a brief statement of the principal events and epochs of the Persian Revolution, or Constitutional Movement, is here appended. Details of these events down to the Nationalist victory of July, 1909, the capture of Tiflis, and the deposition of the ex-Sháh Muhammed 'Ali, will be found in my Persian Revolution, 1905-1909 (Cambridge, 1910). The connected history of the subsequent period, which I hope to embody in another volume, has not yet been written, and must be pieced together from Blue Books and press-cuttings, supplemented by such oral and written evidence as is obtainable. The admirable Persian "History of the Awakening of the Persians" (Tarikh-i-Bidari-yi-iraniyân) of the Náẓím-i-Islám of Kirmán, of which up to the present time only the Introduction (pp. 272), first volume (pp. 255), and second volume (pp. 240) have been published, does not at present carry the story beyond July, 1906, and so stops short of the granting of the Constitution by Muqáffarud-Din Sháh (August 5, 1906) and the opening of the First National Assembly (October 7, 1906). For all events before these dates it is by far the richest source available, and contains the texts of many important documents and masses of detail not to be found elsewhere.

From the earliest historical times until 1906 the government of Persia was, both in theory and in practice, an absolute despotism, of which the general character is well described by Mr. R. G. Watson at pp. 12-13 and 15-20 of his admirable History of Persia from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to the Year 1858. Signs of a new ferment appeared in Persia, as in so many other countries, in the memorable year 1848, at the end of the reign of Muhammad Shah and the beginning of that of his successor, Náṣírúd-Din Shah, when the Bábí insurrection threatened for three or four years the stability of the Qájar Dynasty. This movement, though essentially religious, was not, as the Comte de Gobineau has well indicated, devoid of political significance, and above all showed the Persian character in a new, unexpected and heroic light. It was contemporary with and violently opposed by one of the greatest Ministers whom Persia has produced in recent times, Mirza Taqi Khan Amir-i-Káhir, whose courage, integrity and far-sighted political vision have led the recent historians of the Constitution to claim him as the fore-runner of the Constitutional Movement, or at any rate as a very wise and sincere patriot. Spiritually this may be true, but historically he belongs entirely to the "Days of Autocracy" (Ayyám-i-Istibdád), that long period of some 2,500 years through which the history of Persia can be clearly and certainly traced, and which by analogy should be called (for I have not
actually met with the expression) "the Greater Autocracy" (Istibdad-i-Kavir), in contradistinction to "the Lesser Autocracy" (Istibdad-i-Saghir), which lasted from June 23, 1908 to July 16, 1909, and of which we shall shortly speak.

The history of the Constitutional struggle in Persia may be divided into the following periods:

I. The Preparatory Period, or Prodromata of the Revolution.

II. The First Constitutional Period (August 5, 1906–June 23, 1908), or Period of the First Majlis or National Assembly (October 7, 1906–June 23, 1908).

III. The "Lesser Autocracy" (Istibdad-i-Saghir), during which the Constitution was suspended and the ex-Shah, Muhammad 'Ali, re-established despotic rule (June 23, 1908–July 16, 1909).

IV. The Second Constitutional Period (July 16, 1909–December 24, 1911), which was brought to an end by the Russian Ultimatums of November 12 and November 29, the expulsion of Mr W. Morgan Shuster, Treasurer-General, and the invasion of North Persia by the Russians, with the concomitant atrocities committed by them and their myrmidons at Tabriz, Rasht and elsewhere (December, 1911 and January, 1912 onwards).

V. The present anomalous period, which can be described neither as Autocratic nor Constitutional; the Persian Government being terrorized and paralysed by Russia, which is gradually converting all North Persia into what is called in the cant of diplomacy a "Veiled Protectorate" (January 1, 1912 to the date of writing).

Some of the principal events and dates of the first four of these periods (for the last appears to be but a death-agony or mortal lethargy) will now be given.

1. The Preparatory Period.

The beginning of this cannot be exactly fixed, but it may be divided into two parts, one of intellectual preparation and propaganda, and one of actual revolt against the prevailing intolerable conditions. The intellectual preparation was chiefly the work of two men, Sayyid Jamalu'd-Din al-Afghani (born 1838, died 1897) and Prince Malkom Khán Naširu'd-Dinatola (born 1833, died 1908), and their disciples. The manifold political activities of the former, which are fully discussed in the first chapter of my Persian Revolution, began, so far as the Near East is concerned, about 1870, when he visited Egypt and Constantinople for the first time. In Persia his direct activity was greatest during the years 1886–1890, when he was expelled ignominiously; but his indirect influence survived his death in 1897, and was the chief factor in the revolt against the Tobacco Regie (May, 1890–January, 1892) and the assassination of Naširu'd-Din Shah (May 1, 1896) by Mirzâ Rížá of Kirmán, one of the Sayyid's disciples. Prince Malkom-Khan's monthly paper, the Qánán ("Law"), which all students of the subject agree in regarding as one of the most potent literary factors in bringing about
the Constitutional Movement, first appeared on February 20, 1890, and seems to have continued publication for about three years and a half, forty-one monthly numbers having been issued in all. The successful revolt against the Tobacco Concession in 1891 was a momentous epoch in the history of Persia, and may fairly be regarded as the starting-point of the Revolution, of which, however, the immediate prodromata began in December, 1905. The chief of these events, with their dates, down to the granting of the Constitution on August 5, 1906, are as follows:

1905

Dec. 11, 1905. Merchants and Sayyids bastinadoed by ‘Abd’ullāh-Dawla, with the approval of ‘Aynu’d-Dawla, on account of the rise in the price of sugar. Bazaars closed and assembly at Mayjid-i-Shāh.

Dec. 13, 1905. Some two thousand mullās, students and merchants, headed by Sayyid Muhammad Tabātabā’ī and Sayyid ‘Abdullāh Bahbahānī, leave Tihrān as a protest and take sanctuary at the Shrine of Shāh ‘Abdu’l-‘Azīm. This is known as the Hijrat-i-Saghra or “Lesser Exodus” (همجرا صغرى).

1906

Jan. 12, 1906. After prolonged negotiations with the Shāh and his Court and Ministers, the fugitives (muhājirūn) return to Tihrān on receiving from the Shāh an autograph rescript (dast-khāf), which was publicly read in the Mosque on the same day, promising the establishment of a “House of Justice” (‘Adulat-khānā), the dismissal of the obnoxious Ministers ‘Aynu’d-Dawla and ‘Abd’ullāh-Dawla, and other demands of the people as voiced by their spiritual leaders the mullās. On this day, according to the “History of the Awakening of the Persians,” the cry of “Long live the Persian Nation!” (Zinda bād Millat-i-īrān!) was first heard. On the following day Tihrān was illuminated as a sign of joy.

June 17, 1906. Mīrzā Hasan Rushdiyya, Majdu’d-Islām of Kirmān and Mīrzā Aqā of Isfahān were exiled to Kalāt.

June 21, 1906. During a successful attempt made by the people to rescue one of their leaders, who had been arrested by the soldiers, some fifteen persons, including two Sayyids named Husayn and ‘Abdu’l-Majid, were shot dead. The increasing discontent of the people, who saw themselves cheated of the promised reforms, was met by increasing severity on the part of the Government.

July 6, 1906. Sayyid Muhammad Tabātabā’ī preached to a vast crowd, denouncing the existing tyranny and misgovernment and urging the absolute necessity of a “House of Justice.”

July, 1906. The leading ecclesiastics, accompanied by a vast concourse of students, merchants and others, left Tihrān for the holy city of Qum, where they took sanctuary. This is what is known as the Hijrat-i-Kubra, or “Greater Exodus” (همجرا كبيرى). About the
same time a number of merchants, bankers, tradesmen and others, with the permission of the British Chargé d'Affaires, Mr Grant Duff, took refuge in the grounds of the British Legation at Tihran. The numbers increased daily, until they finally reached some 13,000 or 14,000 souls.

Aug. 5, 1906. Muṣaffaru’d-Din Shāh finally gave way, granted a Constitution and Parliament, dismissed the ‘Aynu’d-Dawla, and promised monetary compensation to the relatives of the murdered Sayyids. This event, celebrated a few days later with great rejoicings as 'the National Victory' (Fath-i-Millī), marks the beginning of the Constitutional Epoch. According to the Muḥammadan Calendar it fell on the 14th of Jumādā ii, A.H. 1324, and its first anniversary was celebrated with great splendour and enthusiasm on the same date of the following Muḥammadan year, corresponding with July 25, 1907, under the title of 'the National Festival' (Fasāh-i-Millī).

II. The First Constitutional Period.

Aug. 19, 1906. Solemn official opening of the new House of Parliament in presence of the high ecclesiastical authorities, who were entertained as the Shāh’s guests for three days.


Sept. 18–27, 1906. A number of citizens of Tabriz took refuge at the British Consulate there as a protest against the tyranny of Muhammad ‘Ali Mirza, the Crown Prince, afterwards Shāh.

Oct. 7, 1906. The first Majlis, or National Assembly was opened under the presidency of San‘ū’d-Dawla.

Nov. 23, 1906. Proposed joint Anglo-Russian Loan of £400,000 rejected by the Majlis.

Nov. 25, 1906. The newspaper Majlis first appeared.


Dec. 30, 1906. The Fundamental Laws were ratified by Muṣaffaru’d-Din Shāh and promulgated, and the form of the Persian Constitution was thus fixed and defined.

1907

Jan. 8, 1907. Death of Muṣaffaru’d-Din Shāh.

Jan. 19, 1907. Coronation of his son Muḥammad ‘Ali, of which the Majlis received no official notification, and to which none of its Members were invited.

Feb. 7, 1907. Arrival at Tihran of the Tabriz Deputies, including Sayyid Taqī-zāda, who received a great ovation.

Feb. 10, 1907. The Shāh was compelled by the Majlis to dismiss M. Naue, the unpopular Belgian Chief of the Customs.

March 17, 1907. The Mashrūṭa-Dawla resigned the Premiership.

April 26, 1907. The Amin-i-Sultān, or Atābak-i-A’zam, returned
to Persia after three and a half years' exile to assume, at the invitation of the Shah, the position of Premier.

April 29, 1907. The Tehran Hablu'l-Matin newspaper founded.

May, 1907. Plot contrived by Rahim Khan and his son to raise a disturbance in Tabriz and murder leading Constitutionalists. It was believed to have been instigated by the Shah.

May 26, 1907. This being the eve of the Shah's birthday, and Tehran decorated and prepared for illumination, the people pulled down the decorations and would not allow them to be replaced until the Shah handed over Rahim Khan to the Ministry of Justice to stand his trial for conspiracy.

May 30, 1907. The weekly newspaper Sār-i-Isrāfīl first appeared.

June, 1907. Rebellion of the Shah's brother Sādārial-Dawla at Hamadan. He was defeated on the historic field of Nishawand, and surrendered, on his safety being guaranteed, to the Shah's representative on June 22.

July 25, 1907. Celebration of the "National Festival" (Jashn-i-Mill) on the first anniversary (according to the Muhammadan Calendar) of the granting of the Constitution.

Aug. 31, 1907. The Anglo-Russian Agreement was signed. The Amin-i-Sultan, or Attabak-i-A'zam, was shot by 'Abbās Aqa, a money-changer of Tabriz, as he was leaving the National Assembly, and died half an hour later. The assassin committed suicide.

Sept. 4, 1907. Sir Cecil Spring Rice's celebrated Memorandum (Yād-dāsh), designed to allay the anxieties of the Persians as to the scope and aim of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, was communicated to the Persian Foreign Minister, and was published ten days later in the Tehran Hablu'l-Matin (No. 115).

Sept. 10, 1907. 'Ītīshāmu'l-Saltana elected President of the Assembly.


Oct. 1, 1907. The Princes of the Blood and Nobles of the Court attended the National Assembly and swore an oath of allegiance to the Constitution.

Oct. 2, 1907. Sardu'd-Dawla resigned, and a new Cabinet was formed under the presidency of the Nāṣiru'l-Mulk (the present Regent). This Cabinet resigned on the 14th of December, 1907.

Oct. 6, 1907. The fortieth day (chilla) after the death of 'Abbās Aqa, who killed the Amin-i-Sultan, was celebrated with great enthusiasm and circumstance by a large number of his admirers.

Nov. 6, 1907. The newspaper Râhu'l-Qudus ("the Holy Spirit") published a violent and threatening article addressed to the Shah, and was suppressed by the National Assembly in consequence.

Nov. 12, 1907. The Shah visited the National Assembly in state, and again swore fidelity to the Constitution.
Dec. 15, 1907. Beginning of the "Abortive Coup d'État" (called by the Persians Waq' a-i-Maydān-i-Tūp-khāna, "the Event of the Artillery Square," which place served as the rallying-point of the Shāh’s hired ruffians). Arrest and threatened destruction by the Shāh of the Nizārn-i-Mulk, who was saved by the intervention of the British Legation, and left Persia next day for Europe. Complete triumph of the Assembly and collapse of the Shāh on Dec. 22. A new Cabinet was formed under Nizām-i-Saltana. The Zill-i-Sulṭān was ordered to leave Tibrān.

1908

Feb., 1908. An attempt was made on the Shāh’s life by means of a bomb, which killed one of his attendants and wrecked an automobile. The thrower of the bomb was never identified.

April, 1908. The Ihtishām-i-Saltana resigned the Presidency of the National Assembly, and was succeeded by Mumāzār-d-Dawla. Several prominent reactionaries who had taken part in the Abortive Coup d'État of the preceding December, or in the murder of the Zoroastrian Arshāb Firdūsī, were exiled to Kalāt, or bastinadoed, or both. Amongst these were Sāmt-i-Haẓrat (afterwards hanged on July 29, 1909) and Muqtādīr-i-Nizām.

May, 1908. Increasing tension between the Shāh and the National Assembly.

June 2, 1908. Intervention, with implied threats, of the Russian Minister M. de Hartwig and the British Chargé d'Affaires Mr Marling on behalf of the Shāh.

June 3, 1908. Flight of the Shāh, escorted by Persian Cossacks under the command of the Russian Colonel Liakhoff, from Tibrān to his adjacent garden, the Bagh-i-Shāh.

June 5, 1908. At the invitation of the Shāh, a deputation of notables waited on him at the Bagh-i-Shāh, but were treacherously arrested.

June 11, 1908. The Shāh proclaimed martial law and threatened to bombard the Majlis-i-Sipahsālār unless the people there assembled dispersed.

June 12, 1908. The Shāh demanded the expulsion of eight popular leaders, control of the Press, and disarmament of the National Volunteers.

June 23, 1908. The Bombardment of the Majlis (Tūp-handi-i-Majlis), Coup d'Etat (Zarbā-i-Hukūmat), or Reactionary Triumph (Waq'a-i-Irījāt-e-īyya), carried out by the instrumentality of Colonel Liakhoff and the other Russian officers of the Persian Cossack Brigade. A number of leaders of the popular party were arrested and carried captive to Bagh-i-Shāh. Hijji Mirzā Ibrāhim Aqā, Deputy for Tabriz, was killed.

June 24, 1908. Mirzā Jahāngir Khān of Shirāz, editor of the Sāhrā-i-Īrāfil, and the Molīkh-i-Mutahālimin, a prominent orator, were strangled in the Bagh-i-Shāh. Some of the Nationalists whose lives were in danger took refuge in the British Legation. Many houses
of persons obnoxious to the Shah, including those of his uncle the Zill-i-Sultan, and his cousin Prince Jalalud-Dawla, were destroyed and looted. Colonel Liakhoff was appointed military governor of Tehran.

III. "The Lesser Tyranny" or "Autocracy" (Istibdad-e-Saghir).

During this period, which lasted from the Coup d'Etat of June 25, 1908, and the destruction of the First National Assembly until the Nationalist victory and deposition of Muhammad 'Ali on July 15, 1909, the Constitution was suspended and Reaction was dominant in Tehran. Tabriz, however, rallied gallantly to the Constitutional Cause, under the leadership of Sattar Khan and Baqir Khan, expelled the Reactionaries, and sustained a siege of nine months, which was brought to an end on April 29, 1909, by the entrance of Russian troops under General Znarisky. Meanwhile its resistance had given time and encouragement to the Nationalists, who were at first bewildered and discouraged by the Coup d'Etat, to rally, and two armies were gradually formed, one at Rasht under the nominal leadership of the Sipahdar, another consisting of the Bakhtiyari tribesmen under the leadership of their chief Sardar-i-At'tad, and these two forces gradually converged until they effected a junction at Karachi to the west of Tehran on July 8, 1909. After indecisive skirmishes at Shahabad and Badamak, a body of the Nationalists, eluding the vigilance of the Royalist troops and the Cossack Brigade, slipped through the lines of their opponents and entered Tehran on July 13. Fighting continued in the capital for four days, until finally, on Friday, July 16, the ex-Shah took refuge in the Russian Legation, which act was considered as tantamount to abdication, and Colonel Liakhoff and the Cossack Brigade surrendered. The ex-Shah's son, Sultan Ahmad, aged only twelve years, was proclaimed King, and the aged 'Ayubudd-Mulk Regent; the Constitution was re-established, and steps were taken as soon as possible to convene a new Majlis or National Assembly. The principal events of this period of thirteen months, with their dates, are as follows:

August 4, 1908. The defenders of Tabriz are greatly encouraged by news of the successful Revolution in Turkey.

August 20, 1908. 'Ayubud-Dawla and the Sipahdar arrive before Tabriz to prosecute the siege.

Sept. 16, 1908. The "Race-course Incident" at Tehran, where Indian watchmen of the British Legation guard are attacked by Persian Cossacks. Colonel Liakhoff is compelled to apologize, and the incident is hushed up.

Oct. 1, 1908. Sir George Barclay arrives at Tehran as British Minister.

Oct. 5, 1908. Defeat of Royalists at Tabriz.

Oct. 11, 1908. Four hundred Persian Cossacks under the command of the Russian Captain Ushakoff leave Tehran to take part in the siege of Tabriz.

Oct. 12, 1908. Further Nationalist success at Tabriz.
Oct. 17, 1908. Russia threatens to intervene at Tabriz, but Sir Edward Grey informs her that such intervention "will create a very bad impression" in England, and she desists.


Nov. 7, 1908. Fictitious demonstration against the revival of the Constitution at the Bugh-i-Shah.

November (middle). M. de Hartwig, the Russian Minister, leaves Tihrân for good.

Nov. 19, 1908. The Shâh issues a proclamation declaring that he will not restore the old or grant any new Constitution.

December (middle). Expulsion of M. Panoff, the Bulgarian revolutionary and correspondent of the Russian paper Ryeth, from Tihrân by the Russian Legation.

1909


January (end). Arrival of Mr W. A. Moore as correspondent of the Manchester Guardian, Daily News and Daily Chronicle at Tabriz.

Feb. 8, 1909. Rasht is seized by the Nationalists, the Shâh's governor killed, and the Constitution proclaimed.

Feb. 11, 1909. The last road open into Tabriz, that from Julfa, is occupied by the Royalists, and the blockade of the city completed.

Feb. 22, 1909. Sattâr Khân vainly endeavours to re-open the Julfa Road.

March 7, 1909. Sattâr Khân's "distinguished personal courage" praised by Mr Wratislaw, the British Consul at Tabriz.

April 20, 1909. With Sir Edward Grey's approval, it was decided to send Russian troops to raise the siege of starving Tabriz, open the roads, and bring in supplies.

April 21, 1909. A last attempt was made by the besieged to break out of Tabriz to obtain provisions. The sortie was led by Mr W. A. Moore and Mr Baskerville, a young American. The latter was killed.


May 6, 1909. Persian Cossacks commanded by the Russian Captain Zapolski were sent out to guard the Karach bridge, and the Nationalists were advised by the Russian Legation, with threats, to desist from their advance.

May 17, 1909. The Sipahdâr formulates the four demands of the Constitutionalists.

May 22, 1909. Yâsuf of Hukmâbâd (who was afterwards, in Jan. 1912, most cruelly put to death and his body cut in two and hung up in
the street by Shujardin-Dawla, the Russian protégé) was arrested by the Russians and his house blown up with dynamite at Tabriz.

May (latter part). Sattár Khán, Bāqir Khán, Taqī-zada, and other leading Constitutionalists take refuge in the Turkish Consulate at Tabriz as a protest against the high-handed actions of the Russians.

June 17, 1909. The Bakhtiyáris begin their march on Tíhrán.

June 23, 1909. The advance guard of the Bakhtiyáris reaches Qum.

June 27, 1909. Further attempt on the part of the British Minister and the Russian Chargé d’Affaires to check the Bakhtiyári advance.

June 30, 1909. Russian expeditionary force assembled at Bákú.


July 4-6, 1909. Armistice of two days.

July 8, 1909. Two or three thousand Russian troops disembarked at Anzali.


July 12, 1909. Fighting renewed at Bádámák.

July 13, 1909. Tíhrán entered by part of the Nationalist forces, headed by Bakhtiyáris. After four days’ fighting (July 13-16) during which some 500 men were killed (no European being hurt) Muhammad ‘Alí took refuge in the Russian Legation and abdicated. Colonel Liakhoff and the Cossack Brigade surrendered. This event is known as Fath-i-Millī ("the National Victory," فتح ملی) with which the Third Period, called "the Lesser Tyranny" (Istibdá-i-Saghír) concludes.

IV. The Second Constitutional Period (Mushratá-i-Thánt), beginning with the accession of Sultán Ahmad Sháh, and ending with the dissolution of the Second National Assembly and the Russian aggressions of Dec. 1911 and Jan. 1912.

July 18, 1909. The gwondam Crown Prince (Wált-áshd), Sultán Ahmad, was proclaimed Sháh, entered Tíhrán, where he was enthusiastically received, on July 20, held his first reception (darbár) on July 21, and was formally recognized by Russia and England on the same or the following day.

July 26, 1909. The ex-Sháh was offered a pension of £5000 a year on condition of his leaving Persia at once. Russia threatens a punitive expedition against the Sháh’s seven tribesmen, and increases the number of her troops at Qazwín to 2300 men. A special Courtmartial (Divshá-i-Haráb) was instituted to try political offenders at Tíhrán.

1 As my Persian Revolution of 1905-1909, though recording the opening of the Second National Assembly on Nov. 15, 1909, gives a continued narrative of events only to the Conquest of Tíhrán in July, 1909, I have made the chronology of this period very much fuller than the previous ones, though it is covered by Mr. Morgan Shuster’s admirable work the Stomping of Persia (published in 1913). Mr. Shuster’s narrative, however, only becomes full and continuous from the date of his arrival in Persia (May 11, 1911).
July 29, 1909. Execution of Mustafáhiról-Mulk (former Head of the Police at Tih-rán) and Šāh-i-Hārezl.

July 30, 1909. Colonel Liakhoff recalled to Russia. He left Tih-rán on August 4.

July 31, 1909. Execution of the Ajúdán-báshi, who commanded the artillery to fire on the Majlis on June 23, 1908; and of Shaykh Fażūl-Illāh, on the charge of complicity in the murder of Mirzá Muṣṭafá, son of Mirzá Hasan Ashtiyání, and one of the students of the German College.

Aug. 4, 1909. Ex-Sháh’s pension fixed at £15,000 a year.

Aug. 5, 1909. The Šāhí-zāl, uncle of the ex-Sháh, reached Anzali from Vienna, and not allowed to leave again for Europe until he paid a forfeit of £60,000, which he only consented to do on August 23.

Aug. 8, 1909. Rahím Khán plunders an Armenian village in N.W. Persia and massacres the inhabitants. Taqí-záda arrives at Tih-rán from Tabrítz. The Reactionary Mir Hāshím is captured.

Aug. 9, 1909. Mir Hāshím and his brother are hanged.

Aug. 13, 1909. Trial of the editor of the Tih-rán Habbú-l-Mattí, Sayyid Hasan of Káshán (see p. 74 supra), for publishing an article alleged to be derogatory of Islám. He was sentenced to two years’ imprisonment.

Aug. 17, 1909. The extraordinary National Council (Majlis-i ‘Áli) consisting of some 300 or 400 members, which was formed on the capture of Tih-rán, is supplemented by a Directory (Hay’át-i-Mudíra) of twenty persons, including both the Sipáhdár and the Sardár-i-Aš’ad. The elections “in the first degree” for the new National Assembly were concluded at Tih-rán. A box containing 60,000 gold tómaní was discovered at the Ministry of Finance. The debts of the ex-Sháh to the Russian Bank and other creditors were estimated at £400,000.


Aug. 19, 1909. Proposed tax on alcohol, opium and salt (known as Dá’irá-i-thalátka) to yield £300,000 a year. Fifteen deputies elected for Tih-rán, including Husayn-qull Khán Nawáwáb, Šāh-i-d-Dawlá, Abdúl-Husayn Khán of Káshán entitled Wákhán-i-Mulk, and Taqí-záda.


Aug. 29, 1909. The notorious brigand Rahím Khán was captured by the Russians, but released again by them on Sept. 18, A.V.

Aug. 31, 1909. General amnesty proclaimed by Persian Government. The ex-Sháh appeals to the Tsar for support. The Russian
Legation opposes the dismissal of M. Smirnoff, the young Shâh's tutor. Fight between Kurds and Russians at Urmia.


Sept. 7, 1909. Signature by Persian, Russian and British representatives of the Protocol regulating the ex-Shâh's place of banishment, future conduct and pension (finally fixed at 100,000 tâmans or £16,666 a year). French expert called in to value Crown Jewels.

Sept. 9, 1909. Departure of ex-Shâh Muhammad 'Ali from Tihrân.

Sept. 13, 1909. The young Shâh holds a darbâr to celebrate his twelfth birthday. The Directory (Hay'at-i-Mudira) is increased from 20 to 40 members.


Sept. 18, 1909. Rahim Khân released by the Russians on payment of £7,200 and 180 camels.


Sept. 26, 1909. The Zîl-lî's-Sultân is allowed to return to Europe on payment of 100,000 tâmans (£16,666) and the promise to pay double this sum within four months. 'Ahdút-Sultân, formerly Persian Minister in London, is made Foreign Minister.

Sept. 28, 1909. The ex-Shâh reaches Rasht. The Sipahdâr is made Premier.

Oct. 5, 1909. The ex-Shâh reaches Odessa, his place of exile.

Oct. 16, 1909. One battery and two companies of Russian troops withdrawn from Tabriz. Three days later General Znauzsky, who was in command of this force, and one thousand Russian troops were stated to have been withdrawn from Tabriz.


Oct. 28, 1909. The Nâsîru'd-Mulk (actually the Regent) returns from Europe to Tihrân.

Nov. 1, 1909. Announcement that the Russian force at Qazwin will be reduced to 50 men, and that 450 more will be distributed between Rasht and Anzâlî.

Nov. 2, 1909. Reported fall of Ardabil. Fresh troops sent from Russia.
Nov. 5, 1909. A second detachment of Russian troops sent to Ardabil.

Nov. 7, 1909. Withdrawal of Russian force from Qazwin postponed. The Times praises the Persian relief-force destined for Ardabil, on which some £25,000 had been expended, and regrets that Russia will not give them the chance of restoring order there by themselves.

Nov. 9, 1909. Rahim Khan threatens to march on Tehran, destroy the Constitution, and restore the ex-Shah.

Nov. 15, 1909. Opening of the Second National Assembly under the presidency of the Mustashara'd-Dawla, with the Mumtaza'd-Dawla and Sayyid Nasru'llah as Vice-presidents.

Nov. 16, 1909. Rahim Khan retires from Ardabil. Two thousand more Russian troops embark at Baku for Persia.

Nov. 23, 1909. The Persian Government protests against the highhanded action of the Russians at Ardabil.


Nov. 26, 1909. Rashidul'Mulk made Governor of Ardabil.

Dec. 7, 1909. The Persian Government agrees in principle to a foreign (i.e. Anglo-Russian) loan and to the employment of foreign advisers, but objects to Russian officers in the Gendarmerie.

Dec. 13, 1909. The Persian Government applies to England and Russia for a loan of £500,000. (See Feb. 16, 1910, infra.)

Dec. 31, 1909. The Persian expedition under Yeprem Khan the Armenian obtains a victory over Rahim Khan.

1910

Jan. 20, 1910. Three more detachments of Russian troops sent to Ahar.

Jan. 24, 1910. Rahim Khan, hard pressed by the Persian Government troops, has no way of escape save into Russian territory. On Feb. 4 he crosses the Russian frontier unhindered, and on Feb. 6 reaches Elisavetpol. The Persian Government demands his extradition in conformity with the Treaty of Turkménchay, but its request is ignored by Russia.

Jan. 27, 1910. Mawgurd's-Saffana is hanged.

Feb. 4, 1910. 'Ald'un's-Saffana resigns the position of Foreign Minister.

Feb. 11, 1910. The people of Varimin, incited by Shaykh Mahmud, a Russian protégé, hoist Russian flags over their houses.

Feb. 16, 1910. The Russian and British Ministers formally communicate to Tughhrul'Mulk, the Acting Minister for Foreign Affairs, the conditions demanded by them for a loan of £400,000. These include "privileged rights" in their respective "Spheres of Influence" to
appoint military instructors and build railways. (See Dec. 13, 1909, supra.)

Feb. 20, 1910. Persian merchants beg their Government not to accept the proposed loan on the conditions indicated above.

Feb. 28, 1910. Russo-Persian dispute at Langarud as to the fishery concession (Shhilt) in the Caspian provinces granted to the Russian Lianosoff (or Lianazoff) in Safar, A.H. 1324 (= April, 1906), for a period of twenty years. Persia has to give way on March 5.

March 1, 1910. The Sipahdär and Sardār-i-As'ād tender their resignation on account of the continued presence of Russian troops on Persian soil. (See under April 20, 1910, infra.)

March 16, 1910. A French expert, M. Falconburg, arrives in Tihmān to value the Crown Jewels, at a fee of £1000 for 8 days' work, but this period proving insufficient it was afterwards extended. Rumours of a French loan to Persia. The Persian New Year's Day (Novruz) was not observed, as a sign of mourning for the continued presence of foreign troops on Persian soil.

March 17, 1910. M. Bizot, the French financial adviser, left Tihmān on three months' leave of absence.

March 20, 1910. Muawwīd-Dawla is appointed Foreign Minister. Sattār Khān and Bāqir Khān leave Tābriz under Russian pressure and come to Tihmān.

March 27, 1910. Some 400 fresh Russian soldiers sent to Tābriz.


April 3, 1910. Expiry of Persia's undertaking to Russia (in the Convention of 1900) not to build railways.

April 10, 1910. Persia rejects the proposed Anglo-Russian loan on account of the dangerous political conditions attached to it. The total value of the Persian Crown Jewels was stated to be £750,000, but this was mere rumour, for the actual estimate of M. Falconburg was, I believe, only known to two representatives of Persia, one of whom, Petros Andreadissian, the Armenian, was subsequently hanged by the Russians at Tābriz in Jan. 1912. The other, from whom I learned these particulars, was one of my oldest Persian friends, who held many high positions in the Government, and whose word I trust implicitly.

April 17, 1910. Mr Bill, a member of the Indian Civil Service, who had been acting as British Consul at Shirāz, and who vehemently advocated British occupation of the Southern provinces, was attacked at Yazdikhwāst. Three days later he reached Isfahān safely. It subsequently transpired that Mr Bill had taken the initiative in the conflict.

April 20, 1910. The Sipahdār and Sardār-i-As'ād consent to resume office (see under March 1, 1910, supra) provided the Sāndād-Dawla, "who is not a persona grata with the Legislations," is excluded. The Cabinet crisis ends on May 1.

May 6, 1910. Death of King Edward the Seventh. Reported
chronology of the persian revolution

Confederation of tribes in South Persia to maintain Persian independence.

May 25, 1910. Rumours of a projected German loan to Persia.

May 27, 1910. Violent scene in the National Assembly on account of the suppression of the daily paper Sharg.

May 29, 1910. Zanján attacked by Daráb Mirzâ, a Persian prince who had become naturalized as a Russian subject and held a commission in the Labinsky Cossack regiment at this time occupying Qazvin. He obtained leave of absence to go to Russia, but instead rallied round him disaffected persons, obtained for them "letters of protection" (ta'imin-nâmâ) signed by the Russian Colonel Rakuzâ, and with their aid endeavoured to overthrow the Constitutional Government at Zanján. The Persian Government send a small force against him commanded by 'Ali Khân; the Russians also sent a force of Cossacks, which, while returning to Qazvin with Daráb Mirzâ, fell in and fought with the Persian force and killed its leader 'Ali Khân. The incident was a typical and disgraceful example of Russian intrigue, but both in the Blue Book for this period and in the debate in the House of Commons on July 1, 1910, its real nature (clearly exposed in original documents in my possession) was concealed. Internal loan of £5,000,000 authorized by Persian Government. Persian women sell their jewels to provide money for the State.

June 4, 1910. Kâshân captured by the outlaw Nâ'ib Husayn.


June 12, 1910. Sir Charles (now Lord) Hardinge appointed Viceroy of India, and Sir Arthur Nicholson, British Ambassador at St Petersburg, appointed to succeed him as Permanent Under-Secretary at the British Foreign Office. Both appointments warmly approved by Russia, whose approval is reported by the Times.

June 13, 1910. Announcement that no loan will be made by Germany to Persia. Russia objects to the exemption from taxation of silver destined for the Persian Mint.

June (middle), 1910. Aggressive actions of the Russians at Tabriz, including arrest of Persian police, invasion of Thaqatul-Islâm's house in search of Russian deserter, and demand for dismissal of Mukhbîrul-Saltânâ the Governor.—Arrival at Tîhrân of Mr W. A. Moore in connection with the projected Seligmann loan to Persia.

July 1, 1910. Triumphal entry into Tîhrân of Yêprem Khân and his troops after suppressing the marauding tribesmen who threatened Ardabil.

July 3, 1910. Heated debate in the Majîlis between Taqî-zâ'dâ and his party (the Democrats) and the Ecclesiastical party. Taqî-zâ'dâ is "given permission to retire" for three months. He left Tîhrân on July 30.

July 4, 1910. Zâkâ'îl-Mulk becomes President of the Majîlis.

July 16, 1910. Attempted boycott of Russian goods by Persians.

July 20, 1910. New Cabinet formed, comprising Mustawfi’-Mamâlîkh (Premier), Farman-farmâ (Interior), Husayn-qul Khân Nawzâd (Foreign Affairs), Qiwâmdâ’s-Saltânâ (War), Dâhirî-‘Mulk (Justice), Asadullah Mirzâ (Post Office and Telegraphs), and Hakimî-‘Mulk (Finance).

Aug. 2, 1910. Assassination by Nawruzoff, Karim and Mahdi-qul of ‘Ali Muḥammad Khân, a close friend of Taqî-zâda’s, and Sayyid ‘Abdu’r-Razzâq Khân, in retaliation, as it was alleged, for Sayyid ‘Abdu’llâh Bahbahâni’s murder on July 15. (See Aug. 17, infra.)


Aug. 4, 1910. National Volunteers (fâddîs) ordered to surrender their arms within 48 hours.

Aug. 5, 1910. Manifesto issued by the Sipahdâr, Sardâr-i-Asâd, Sâmadu’s-Saltânâ, Sattâr Khân and Bâqîr Khân declaring that they will sink all personal aims and work together for the good of the country. Fâddîs surrendering arms in return for money payments.

Aug. 7, 1910. Severe fighting took place at the Atâbak’s Park between Fâddîs who refused to surrender their arms and the Government troops. The former were eventually overcome, with a loss of 50 killed and 300 prisoners. Mu‘izzu’s-Saltân, who took so prominent a part in the Rasht insurrection, escaped. Both Sattâr Khân and Bâqîr Khân were wounded. Mediation was attempted by the German Minister, Baron Quadt, and the Turkish Ambassador, but was ineffectual.

Aug. 10, 1910. Zarzhamu’s-Saltânâ and his Bakhitiyârî followers were disarmed at Shah ‘Abdu’ll-‘Azîm.

Aug. 14, 1910. The Istiqâl-i-‘Irân (“Independence of Persia”) is the only paper appearing in Tihrân since the Coup d’État. Two thousand tâma’us reward (£400) is offered for such information as may lead to the arrest of Sayyid ‘Abdu’llâh’s murderers. Proposals for a strong army and the appointment of foreign advisers.

Aug. 17, 1910. Russia obliges the Persian Government to surrender to them Nawruzoff of Nakhjuwan, a Russian subject suspected of having taken part in the assassination of ‘Ali Muḥammad Khân. (See Aug. 7, supra.)

Aug. 18, 1910. Sir George Barclay returns from leave to Tihrân. Pensions are accorded by the Persian Government to Sattâr Khân and Bâqîr Khân.

Aug. 19, 1910. Persian Foreign Minister (Husayn-qul Khân) makes a fresh appeal to Russia to withdraw her troops from Persia.

Aug. 21, 1910. Russia protests against “Turkish violations of Persian territory.”
Aug. 25, 1910. Russia demands concessions as the price of the withdrawal of her troops from Persia. Even the Times (Sept. 24, 1910) protests against such a demand. (See Oct. 25, infra.)

Sept. 6, 1910. The Majlis decides to appoint American advisers in preference to French.

Sept. 12, 1910. Revolt in Mazandaran headed by Rashidu'd-Sultan, Amir-i-Mukarram and Ismail Khan. (See Oct. 12, infra.)


Sept. 22, 1910. Death of the Regent, the aged 'Azuddin-Mulk.

Sept. 23, 1910. Mirza Abu'l-Qasim Khan Násiru'd-Mulk elected Regent by 40 votes as against 29 votes given to the rival candidate Mustawfi'i-Mamálik.


Sept. 28, 1910. Russian Government proposes to send M. Izvolsky, who has ceased to be Minister for Foreign Affairs, as Ambassador to Paris. A violent attack on him appeared in the Novoe Vremya about Oct. 4.


Oct. 15, 1910. Russia prevents the Persian Crown Jewels being pawned, and announces that her troops at Qazwin shall not be withdrawn, but shall go into winter quarters. "Restiveness of English banking and commercial circles" at Russia's attitude.

Oct. 16, 1910. British Note (widely described as "Ultimatum") to Persia on the disturbed condition of South Persia and interruption of the traffic on the Southern roads.

Oct. 17, 1910. Fighting with Na'im Husayn at Káshán. British "Ultimatum" published at Tihran. M. Pokhitanoff appointed Russian Consul at Tihran. (He took up his appointment on Dec. 27, 1910, the day on which Husayn-quuli Khan resigned the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.)

Oct. 18-19, 1910. The British "Ultimatum" arouses so much excitement and indignation in various quarters, especially in Germany, Turkey and India, that the British Foreign Office issues a communiqué minimizing its importance, while the Government of India disclaims all responsibility for the measures proposed in it.

Oct. 20, 1910. Turkish alarm at British "Ultimatum," which is described in the Vienna Press as "the débat of Sir Arthur Nicholson, an energetic and unscrupulous politician." The German papers say that this meeting between the Tsar and the Kaiser [at Potsdam] will greatly
influence the Persian situation." (See under Nov. 5, infra.) Concentration of Turkish troops on Persian frontier. Lord Hardinge's farewell speech on the eve of his departure for India.

Oct. 22, 1910. Persian reply to British Note presented. Persia asks for Italian military instructors. (These were refused on Dec. 29, 1911. Sweden consented to lend officers for this purpose.) Treasonable correspondence between Shaykh Mahmūd of Varāmin, in refuge at the Russian Legation, and Rashīdī's Sultan, in rebellion in Māzandaran, intercepted by the Persian Government.

Oct. 23, 1910. Great protest meeting of Turks and Persians at Constantinople, where Russia and England and their policy towards Persia are violently attacked. On Oct. 27 Mr FitzMaurice, First Dragoman of the British Embassy at Constantinople, protests to Tal'at Bey against the language used on this occasion.

Oct. 25, 1910. Persia offers the concessions demanded by Russia in return for the immediate withdrawal of her troops from Persian soil. (See Aug. 25, supra.)


Oct. 29, 1910. The Persian Government, having intercepted correspondence between the ex-Shāh and the Turkmenians proving that he was inciting them to espouse his cause, proposes to the Legations to stop his pension in accordance with Article 11 of the Protocol of Sept. 7, 1909. The Legations forbid this (apparently without condescending to examine the evidence), and send gualdums to "shadow" Huseyn-quli Khān, the Persian Foreign Minister, until the ex-Shāh's allowance is paid, which is done, under protest, two days later. The Persian Minister in London formally protests against this insult to Huseyn-quli Khān (which is feebly defended by Sir Edward Grey) on Nov. 4.

Nov. 5, 1910. Meeting at Potsdam between the Tsar and the Kaiser. The text of the Agreement then arrived at was published in England on Jan. 5, 1911. Great disquietude is shown by the French at Russo-German relations, especially a propos of Herr von Bethmann-Hollweg's speech of Dec. 11 on this subject.

Nov. 8, 1910. The ex-Shāh, having surreptitiously left Odessa, the place of his banishment, without (as it was pretended) the knowledge of the Russian Government, arrived at Vienna. M. Sazonoff, the new Russian Minister for Foreign Affairs, returned to St Petersburg from Berlin.

Nov. 10, 1910. Proposals for Trans-Persian railway mooted.

Nov. 13, 1910. Resignation of Yēprem Khān. Seligmann loan to Persia finally stopped by Russia and England about this date.

Nov. 16, 1910. M. Poklevski Koziell, the Russian Minister at Tīhrān, demands a formal apology from Huseyn-quli Khān Nawwāl; the Persian Minister for Foreign Affairs, for alleged insults offered to Aqā Ḥasan, the Russian Consular Agent at Kāshān.


Dec. 8, 1910. Proposed loan of £1,250,000 at 5½% issued by Imperial Bank of Persia at 87¾ opposed by Majlis.—Sir George Buchanan, the new Ambassador of Great Britain to Russia, reaches St Petersburg.


Dec. 28, 1910. Persian reply to British Note of Nov. 17. The All-India Muslim League protests against British policy in Persia. The new Regent, Náṣiru'll-Mulk, who had been expected in Persia since Oct. 19, is still at Vienna and refuses to proceed.

Dec. 29, 1910. Italy refuses to lend officers for the training and organization of the Persian Gendarmerie. Sweden is approached.

1911


Jan. 6, 1911. The ex-Sháh, with Amir Bahdúth Jang, arrived at Berlin from Brussels, having visited Meran, Rome, Nice, Paris and Vienna, and held consultations and conversations with his exiled partisans in those places.

Jan. 12, 1911. Sir Arthur Nicholson is stated to have told the Turkish Ambassador in London that "Turkish policy in Persia was a menace to England."

Jan. 16, 1911. Náṣiru'll-Mulk, the Regent, left Vienna for Persia.

Jan. 17, 1911. Rumoured undertaking of Turkey to help Persia. Conciliatory attitude of Persia towards Russia, and talk of withdrawal of Russian troops from Qazvin.

Jan. 18, 1911. Manifesto of Persian Mufthahids at Najaf, and boycott of Russian goods advocated by them.

Jan. 23, 1911. Náṣiru'll-Mulk, the Regent, reaches Bákú.—Rahim Khán returns to Tabríz from Russia.


Jan. 29, 1911. Náṣiru'll-Mulk reaches Rasht, but is delayed there by a snow-storm.

Feb. 1, 1911. The Mutamad-í-Kháqán, Governor of Isfahán, and his cousin ‘Abdul-r-Rahim Khán are shot by ‘Abbás, an ex-officer of
police, the former being severely wounded, the latter killed. 'Abbás takes refuge with the Russian Consul, M. Bogozhavlenski, who refuses to give him up. (See under May 19, infra.)

Feb. 2, 1911. Five American finance experts appointed to serve the Persian Government at salaries ranging from £600 to £2000 a year. (See under May 11, infra.)

Feb. 6, 1911. Šan' i'd-Dawla, the Persian Minister of Finance, shot dead by a Georgian named Ivan and two confederates. The assassins are arrested after one of them and four of the Persian Police have been wounded in the struggle. The Russian Legation demands and obtains the surrender of the assassins, who are Russian subjects. Anti-Russian feeling strongly excited. (See under May 9, infra.)

Feb. 8, 1911. Nišār-i-Mulk, the Regent, arrives in Tihrān.

Feb. 11, 1911. M. Bogozhavlenski, the Russian Consul at Išfahān, is found drowned in a tank in the Consulate garden. It was supposed to be a case of suicide.

Feb. 12, 1911. Russians at Ardabl undertake primitive expedition against Galish tribesmen.

Feb. 13, 1911. Nišār-i-Mulk, the Regent, makes a strong speech to the Deputies, demanding their loyal support, which they promise him.

Feb. 15-22, 1911. Cossacks sack the village of Varmin near Āstārā and kill some fifty persons, including women and children. An additional Russian battalion sent from Bīlū, of whom 600 had already reached Āstārā.

Feb. 20, 1911. Assassins of Šan' i'd-Dawla condemned by Russian Government to fourteen years' banishment to Siberia.

Feb. 23, 1911. The Sipahdār is entrusted with the formation of a Cabinet. Brawl in Tihrān between two parties of armed men, believed to be Russian subjects. Two, supposed to be relations of one of Šan' i'd-Dawla's assassins, are killed.

Feb. 28, 1911. 'Ali Beg, a young Reactionary who was notorious in connection with the Coup d'État of June 23, 1908, shot himself in the Square Montholon, Paris, in consequence of a quarrel with his mistress.

March 2, 1911. Messrs Kay and Haycock robbed near Išfahān.

March 4, 1911. The Regent's address to the Persian Nation on the occasion of his taking the oath.

March 8, 1911. New Cabinet formed, consisting of the Sipahdār (War), Muhtashamū's-Saltana (Foreign Affairs), Mustashārd-i-Dawla (Interior), 'Alī'ā's-Saltana (Education), Mumāz'ud-Dawla (Commerce), Mumāz'ud-Dawla (Finance), Mumāz'ud-Dawla (Justice).—Disarmament of persons not authorized to bear arms by Yıpem Kháń.

March 13-15, 1911. Qazwin is evacuated by the bulk of Russian troops stationed there, except 80 Cossacks.

April 6, 1911. British Consulate at Kirmánsháh attacked by robbers.—Debate in Majls on powers demanded by Cabinet.
April 12, 1911. Improved state of Shiraz roads under Nizamun's-Saltana's government of Fars.

April 17, 1911. Arrest of Qawamis by Nizamun's-Saltana at Shiraz. (See under May 8, infra.)

April 24, 1911. Proposed Persian loan of £1,250,000 discussed in Majlis; defeated on April 27; finally passed on May 2.

April 27, 1911. Proposed British railway from the Persian Gulf to Khurramabad.

May 8, 1911. Niziru'd-Dawla, one of the Qawamis, is murdered.

May 9, 1911. Alleged suicide of one of Saltu'i'd-Dawla's assassins on the Caspian steamer carrying him to Russia.

May 11, 1911. Mr. W. Morgan Shuster and the other American Financial Advisers reach Anzali.

May 15, 1911. Mr. Kingston, a representative of Messrs. Burroughs and Welcome, is robbed near Kashan.

May 18, 1911. Hostile demonstrations before the British Consulate at Shiraz.

May 19, 1911. 'Abbás, the assassin who attempted to kill the Mu'tamad-i-Khāqān and succeeded in killing his cousin at Isfahān on Feb. 1, is found guilty and deported to Russia.—The Russian Legation demands the deportation of Amin Rasūl-zāda, the editor of the important Persian daily Irān-i-Naw.

May 30, 1911. It is proposed in the Majlis and unanimously agreed on June 13 to invest Mr. W. Morgan Shuster, the new American Treasurer-General, with very extensive powers. The Sardar-i-Astād leaves Tihrān for Europe.

June 15, 1911. The Sipahdār leaves Tihrān in a huff, bidding his coachman drive "to Shirangistān"; but is induced to return on July 4.

July 9, 1911. The command of the new Treasury Gendarmerie which it is proposed to organize is offered to Captain C. B. Stokes, whose appointment as Military Attaché to the British Legation at Tihrān is on the point of expiring. Praise of this move by Mr. W. A. Moore, who has now become Times correspondent in the Persian capital.

July 16, 1911. The ex-Shāh's brother Saltu'u'd-Dawla seizes Hamadān and proclaims the ex-Shāh Muḥammad 'All as king.

July 19, 1911. The ex-Shāh, accompanied by some of his followers, re-appears in Persia, having passed through Russia, as it is alleged, with a false beard and under a false name, unknown to the Russian Government, carrying with him a quantity of arms and ammunition, labelled "Mineral Waters," and accompanied by a Russian officer named Khatabeyff, specially attached to him.—Russia objects to Captain Stokes' appointment.

July 19-21, 1911. The Persian Government takes energetic steps to deal with the ex-Shāh's raid, and protests to the Russian and British Legations at this flagrant violation of the Protocol of Sept. 7, 1909.
The Legations reply on Aug. 2 to the effect that it is no concern of theirs, but is a matter affecting Persia only.

July 25, 1911. The Sipahdār is removed from the Cabinet, and retires to Zarganda, the village in which is situated the Russian Legation. Mr. Morgan Shuster Advises the Persian Government as to steps to be taken against the ex-Shāh.

July 27, 1911. The Russian Consul at Tābrīz, accompanied by 300 Russian troops and Cossacks, forcibly releases Rashidullāh Mulk, the former Governor of Ardabil, imprisoned on suspicion of treason, from the custody of the Deputy-Governor of Tābrīz, and conveys him to the Russian Consulate—Shāhrūd is looted by the ex-Shāh's Türkman allies.

July 28, 1911. The captain and mate of the Russian steamer Christopoulos are dismissed from their command for communicating to the Press the fact that the ex-Shāh crossed the Caspian to Persia in their vessel.

July 29, 1911. Russia again protests against Captain Stokes's appointment, which is still warmly supported by M. Jean Herbette of l'Action and le Siècle (who had been in Persia for some months to study the situation) in a series of four telegrams, despatched on July 29—Aug. 4, intended for publication in the British Press, but refused by the chief agencies on grounds of political expediency. The Majlis voted the acceptance of the contract with Capt. C. B. Stokes by 63 votes out of 72, and decided by 50 votes out of 70 to put a price of 100,000 tumans on the ex-Shāh's head and 25,000 tumans each on the heads of his brothers Shu'da's-Saltana and Sīhārūd-Dawāla.

July 31, 1911. Russia demands that the Customs' receipts be paid to M. Mornard and not to Mr. Shuster, between whom an acute conflict arises. The French and Italian Legations support Russia, and the German Legation is also said to be opposed to Mr. Shuster, who is violently and coarsely attacked by the Novoe Vremya, which declares (Aug. 4) that, "in the absence of a miracle, the ex-Shāh will be at Tihran in five days."

Aug. 4, 1911. The Times says that neither the British nor the Indian Government has any power to prevent Captain Stokes accepting the appointment," offered him by the Persian Government. British Note advising the Persian Government not to persist in the appointment. Alleged agreement between the Russian Government and the ex-Shāh whereby the latter consents, in case of success, to cede to Russia Azarbāiyjān and the Persian shore of the Caspian Sea.

Aug. 9, 1911. The Persia Committee revived in London.

Aug. 7-13, 1911. Renewed violent attack by the Novoe Vremya on "Stokes and Company," accompanied by expressions of surprise at the "apparent helplessness" of the British Foreign Office.

Aug. 12, 1911. Defeat of ex-Shāh's forces by Bakhtiyāris at Firidekīā and death of Rashidullāh Mulk.

*Published in the Manchester Guardian of Aug. 8, 1911.*
Aug. 21, 1911. The British Foreign Office informs the Persian Legation that Captain Stokes’s resignation from the Indian Army will not be accepted.


Sept. 5–6, 1911. Arshadú’d-Dawla, the ex-Sháh’s best and bravest General, is captured and shot.

Sept. 7, 1911. The ex-Sháh takes refuge on a Russian vessel on the Caspian Sea.

Sept. 11, 1911. Rahim Khánn is put to death at Tábríz by order of the Anjumán or Provincial Assembly. An understanding is arrived at between Mr Shuster and M. Mornard.

Sept. 13, 1911. The ex-Sháh arrives, a fugitive, at Gyumush-tepé with seven of his followers.

Sept. 18, 1911. Reported destruction of 120 Turkmáns forming part of Arshadú’d-Dawla’s army at Sháhrúd.

Sept. 20, 1911. Seven additional Swedish officers appointed to the Persian Gendarmerie. Mr New’s appointment as Persian Treasury officer cancelled by the Majlis in consequence of the British Government’s objection to the appointment of Captain Stokes, but finally ratified at Mr Shuster’s request on Oct. 4.


Sept. 25, 1911. Sáláru’d-Dawla defeated by Persian Government troops at Sáwa, and again two days later at Nawbarán.

Sept. 27, 1911. Italian Ultimatum to Turkey. (It was stated in the Nation, with a great show of probability, that Italy was acting in collusion with Russia, Russia’s object being to involve the Turks in a war which would prevent them from coming to Persia’s aid or opposing the projected Russian invasion of N.W. Persia.)

Oct. 3, 1911. Decision of Indian Government to send Indian troops to S. Persia.

Oct. 6, 1911. Hamadán taken by Persian Government troops and Sáláru’d-Dawla put to flight.


Oct. 9, 1911. The property of the ex-Sháh’s brother Shúrú’d-Sáltán being confiscated by the Persian Government, and Treasury Gendarmes placed in possession by order of Mr Morgan Shuster the Treasurer-General, the Russian Consul M. Pokhitanov sends a superior force of Cossacks to expel them. Next day a large force of Gendarmes expels the Cossacks and again takes possession. Thereupon M. Pokhitanov comes there in person, insults the Gendarmes, and does his best to provoke an “incident.”

Oct. 17, 1911. Russia definitely refuses to withdraw her objection to the appointment of Captain Stokes. Capture of ex-Shāh’s diary.

Oct. 18, 1911. Times attacks Mr Shuster in a leader. The ex-Shāh reaches Ishqābād (Askabād) in Russian territory.

Oct. 19, 1911. Persian Government protests against the sending of Indian troops to South Persia.

Oct. 20, 1911. Mr Shuster telegraphs to the Times that he is sending a reply to their leader of Oct. 18.

Oct. 22, 1911. Russia objects to the appointment of 20 additional Swedish officers.

Oct. 23–27, 1911. Italian massacre of 4000 Arabs, including women and children, at Tripoli.

Oct. 24, 1911. The British Government notifies Persia of the sailing of the Indian troops, of whom the first detachment land at Bushire on Oct. 27. On the same day 200 additional Russian troops are landed at Anzall, and it is stated that 1700 more will follow, while 1900 will advance from Julfā to Tabriz.

Oct. 29, 1911. The ex-Shāh is reported as having returned from Ishqābād to Gyumush-tepē.

Nov. 3, 1911. First Russian Ultimatum, demanding an apology from the Persian Government for alleged insult to the Russian Consul, M. Pokhitanoff, on Oct. 9. The Times of this date censures Pokhitanoff's conduct.

Nov. 7, 1911. The Swedish Government is reported to have yielded to Russia’s objection of Oct. 22 to the lending of more Swedish officers to the Persian Government. (But see under Nov. 17 infra.)

Nov. 9, 1911. Mr Morgan Shuster's reply of Oct. 20 to the Times leader of Oct. 18 is published in the Times.

Nov. 11, 1911. Captain Stokes is ordered by the British Government to return to India. Two more squadrons of Central Indian horse arrive at Bushire.

Nov. 12, 1911. Russian Note to Persian Government repeating the demand for an apology of Nov. 5.

Nov. 13, 1911. The first two squadrons of Indian troops reach Shiraz.

Nov. 15, 1911. Lord Curzon's sympathetic and eloquent speech at the Persia Society's Dinner in London.—Russian troops are ready to enter Persia.

Nov. 16, 1911. The Viceroy of the Caucasus is instructed to send 4000 more Russian troops into Persia. At Malāyir 3000 Persian Government troops are held in readiness to act against Sīdārvādd-Dawla.

Nov. 17, 1911. Seven more Swedish officers are selected for service
in Persia.—Violence of the Novoe Vremya against Mr Shuster.—Violent attack by the Outlook (which, having been strongly pro-Russian, executed an amazing volte face on Nov. 11) on Sir Edward Grey, whom it describes as "the painted lath at the Foreign Office."

Nov. 19, 1911. Letter from Mr Shuster in the New York Sun denouncing Sir George Barclay's duplicity.—Defeat of Sattar-ud-Dawla, with loss of 500 men, at Burrijiird.—Russia breaks off diplomatic relations with Persia, who appeals to England for mediation.

Nov. 20, 1911. Persia is given to understand by the British Minister that if she submits to the Ultimatum the Russian troops will not advance.

Nov. 23, 1911. The Treasury Gendarmes are withdrawn from the house of Shuja'u-ud-Saltana, the Persian Foreign Minister goes to the Russian Legation and offers an apology, and Persia thus complies with the terms of the First Russian Ultimatum. According to the Times, "Sir George Barclay assisted the reconciliation by convincing the Persians that the Russian troops would be withdrawn if an acceptable apology was tendered." The number of Russian troops in Persia is now estimated at 12,000. Russian Note to the Powers. Wuthigul'd-Dawla, Foreign Minister; Samadmu' Saltana, Premier; Mushiruld-Dawla, Education; Mu'azzidu' Saltana, Posts and Telegraphs. To these were subsequently added Sardar-ud-Mulkash, War; Mustashari's-Saltana, Justice; and Zakhud-ud-Mulk, Finance.—Three more battalions of Russian troops disembark at Anzali.

Nov. 25, 1911. High-handed behaviour of Russian Consul at Rasht.—Russian Legation accuses Mr Shuster of circulating Persian translation of his letter to the Times. Mr Shuster (Nov. 28) disclaims all responsibility for this.

Nov. 27, 1911. Debate in Commons and (Nov. 28) in Lords on Persian Question. The Novoe Vremya foreshadows fresh demands on Russia's part.

Nov. 29, 1911. Second Russian Ultimatum presented to Persian Government.

Nov. 30, 1911. Second Ultimatum rejected. Bazaars closed, great excitement, offers of help to Persia from Armenian Dashnaktsjun. Plots against Mr Shuster's life discovered.

Dec. 1, 1911. Complaints from Tabriz that Russia is openly supporting the Reactionary Samad Khan Shuja'ud-Dawla.—Russian troops ordered to advance.

Dec. 2, 1911. Assassination of 'Ald'ud-Dawla, who is suspected of intriguing with the Sipahd'dr to effect restoration of es-Shah. Anti-Russian demonstrations.—Wuthigul'd-Dawla resigns the Ministry for Foreign Affairs.—Bakhtyar's said to have been "squared" by Russia.

Dec. 3, 1911. Russian troops advancing on Tihran.—Yeprem Khan is said to favour armed resistance. Popular demonstrations and processions crying "Marj yae Istiglal" ("Death or Independence!"). Mr Shuster releases Captain Stokes from his engagement and cancels the engagements of Messrs LeCoffre, Haycock and Schindler. The Sardar-
i-As'ad, returning from Europe, lands at Rasht, where the Russians disarm the local militia and seize the telegraph.

Dec. 4-6, 1911. Telegrams of protest against Russia's action from Mass Meeting at Tabriz, from the President of the Majlis, Mu'tamand-i-Malik, from the Persian women (addressed to the Women's Suffrage Societies), and from the Persia Defence Society, Calcutta. Popular feeling runs high against England, who is considered to have betrayed the Persians.—M. Sazonoff in Paris.—Wuthuqi'd-Dawla resumes office (Dec. 5) of Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dec. 7, 1911. Lord Curzon's eloquent speech on Persia in House of Lords. Lord Morley's reply.—Russia's aggressions in Mongolia and attempts to obtain from Turkey the opening of the Dardanelles. Dispute between the United States and Russia about status of American Jews and their passports.

Dec. 11, 1911. Conference of the Sardar-i-As'ad with British and Russian Ministers at the British Legation.—The Mu'tahids of Najaf and Karbalá prepare for a jihád.—Feeling runs high in Tihrán.—“Russia,” according to the Times, “regards the existence of the Majlis as incompatible with her interests.” 4000 Turkish troops reported at Salmas.

Dec. 12, 1911. Sudden death of Mulla Muhammed Kasim, the chief Constitutionalist Mu'tahid at Najaf, on the eve of his departure for Persia.—The Majlis still stands firm against acceptance of the Second Russian Ultimatum, and refuses to recognize the new Cabinet (see under Nov. 23, supra). Russia sends 800 troops and 10 guns to Khúy.

Dec. 13, 1911. General Gabieff and 4000 Russian troops concentrate at Qazwin.


Dec. 17, 1911. Samad Khan Mumtáz's-Sultana, the Persian Minister at Paris, said to be working for “a conciliatory settlement of the Russo-Persian conflict.”

Dec. 18, 1911. Sollum in Cyrenaica ceded to England (or nominally to Egypt) by Turkey.—The Majlis rejects the Cabinet's proposed acceptance of the Second Russian Ultimatum.

Dec. 20, 1911. The Cabinet refuses to resign.

Dec. 21, 1911. By a vote of 39 to 19 the Majlis agrees to appoint a Commission of five Deputies to deal, conjointly with the Cabinet, with the Russian Ultimatum. Fighting between the Russian troops and the Persians breaks out simultaneously at Tabriz, Rasht, and Anzali. Telegraphic communication with Persia interrupted.

Dec. 25, 1911. Persia accepts and submits to the Russian Ultimatum. Political meetings prohibited in Tihrán, and most of the newspapers stopped on Dec. 26. Orders sent to the people of Tabriz, Rasht, etc., to stop fighting. Mr Shuster is notified of his dismissal. Telegraphic communication with Tabriz interrupted. Fresh Russian reinforcements ordered thither.
Dec. 24, 1911. Further severe fighting at Tabriz, which is heavily bombarded by the Russians. The Russian Consul at Rasht assumes control of the town. The Novoe Vremya demands "merciless retribution" and "extermination of the fidelis," and says that "true humanity requires cruelty."—The Regent, on the advice of the Cabinet, dissolves the Majlis. Telegraphic communication with Persia only possible by Suez, and entirely interrupted between Tehran and Tabriz.

Dec. 25, 1911. The Bahá'ístán, where the National Assembly was wont to sit, is closed and guarded by troops, and the newspapers are suppressed.

Dec. 27, 1911. Attack on a body of Indian troops escorting Mr W. A. Smart to Shiraz. Mr Smart, first reported as killed, was wounded and fell into the hands of the tribesmen, who, on recognizing him, treated him with much kindness and hospitality.—The Tehran-Tabriz telegraph worked for a short time to-day.

Dec. 28, 1911. Amanulláh Mírzá, Acting Governor of Tabriz, pursuaded by Russian hatred on account of telegrams sent by him denouncing Russian cruelties, takes refuge in the British Consulate—Šámid Khán Shujá'u'd-Dawla, the notorious Reactionary and partisan of the ex-Sháh, prepares, with Russian approval, to enter Tabriz and assume governorship.—The Bakhtiyári Amir-i-Mujahid said to be a candidate for the post of Treasurer-General vacated by Mr. Shuster.

Dec. 29, 1911. General clamour in Imperialist Press in Great Britain and India for British expedition to South Persia.—The Russian and British Legations support the candidature of M. Monard for the post of Treasurer-General, to the great dissatisfaction of Persian and non-official English elements.

Dec. 30, 1911. Press Association telegram from Tabriz saying that "had the fidelis continued to fight a day longer, the Russians [i.e. those already in the city before the arrival of their reinforcements] would have been overpowered."—Mr Smart reached Kázarin safely.

It is unnecessary to continue this chronology here over the two years (1912 and 1913) which have since elapsed, since this book deals only with events and things belonging to the Four Periods enumerated above, and the second Constitutional Period properly ends with the forcible closure of the Majlis on December 24, 1911. The horrors which followed the Russian invasion of Azarbáyjan, especially at Tabriz, and inaugurated the gloomy year of 1912 are briefly described in a pamphlet entitled The Reign of Terror in Tabriz: England's Responsibility which I published in October, 1912, and I am preparing a larger volume containing much fuller details derived from all available sources. On January 1, 1912, which coincided with the 'Ashurí or toth of Muharram (the most solemn day of mourning amongst the Shi'a Muhammadans), A.H. 1330, the Russians began a whole series of executions of leading citizens and patriots by publicly hanging on a gallows daily decorated with the Russian colours eight persons, of whom the most notable were the venerable and learned ecclesiastic Tháqáullát-Íslám, chief mujtahid of Azarbáyjan; Ziyá'í-Ulama; Šádiqí-İ-Mulk,
a young officer; and Shaykh Salim. Amongst other notable persons hanged by them were the philanthropist Hajji Ali Davd-jarsh ("the Druggist"), the poet Mirza Ahmad Suhayli, and two nephews of Saiid Khan on or about Jan. 6; and the much-respected and trusted Armenian Petros Andressian some days later. In most cases the houses of the victims were blown up with dynamite by the Russians, who installed as Governor Saiid Khan Shaj‘u‘d-Dawla, with the support of Mr Shipley, the British Consul at Tabriz, and the concurrence of the British Foreign Office. This miscreant tortured, killed and extorted money by methods summarily described in the pamphlet above mentioned. The executions continued in Tabriz at any rate until August, 1912, and similar deeds were done throughout Azarbajjan. At Rasht the printing-presses were destroyed, the newspapers (some of the best in Persia) were stopped, and a few people were hanged. The unprompted bombardment and plunder by the Russians of the sacred shrine of the Imam Riza at Mashhad on March 29, 1912, on which occasion many innocent people, both inhabitants and pilgrims, were killed, was the culmination of these horrors, and produced an indescribably painful impression throughout the Muslim World.

Since the closure of the Second National Assembly at the end of 1911, that is to say for more than two years, rumours have several times arisen that fresh elections were to be held and a new Majlis convened. These elections are now actually taking place, except in Azarbajjan, and it is probable that this year may witness the inauguration of a Third National Assembly, which, however, welcome as it will be to Persia and her friends, will have to face with diminished strength tasks even more arduous and problems even more difficult than those which confronted its two predecessors. For on the one hand many of the most single-minded, able and resolute patriots have been slain or are in exile or in hiding, while full advantage has been taken by Russia during this two years' interregnum (when Persian Cabinet Ministers have hardly been able to hold office, much less act, without the sanction of the Russian and British Legations) to extort confessions of the most far-reaching character as to the making of railways, the exploitation of minerals and fisheries, and other matters, and to saddle the unhappy country with fresh burdens of debt at usurious rates of interest.

Bad as the situation is, however, it is impossible to deny that it might have been worse; Tehran has not been occupied by the Russians nor been the scene of horrors such as those perpetrated at Tabriz; the Royal Pretenders Muhammed Ali, Shir‘u‘-Saltana and Saiid-dawla have for the present ceased to trouble, and have disappeared; it may be hoped for ever, from the political horizon; and the work effected by the new Gendarmerie under the Swedish officers in suppressing brigandage and securing the safety of the roads deserves the fullest recognition and the highest praise. For so much salvage from the general wreck we must be thankful, and for the fact that, however dark the horizon and ominous the outlook, Persia, in name at least, still remains an independent and undivided country.
INDEX

This Index comprises names mentioned in the Translator's Preface, the Author's Introduction, and the text of the Persian poems contained in Part II, as well as those occurring in the translated portion (Part I) of the book. The prefix Abdu ("Father of —") when it occurs in proper names, is sometimes ignored in the alphabetical arrangement, so that, for example, Abdu the Yazd may be found either under Z, or A. Titles, as opposed to names, of persons, as well as titles of books and newspapers, are printed in Italics. The abbreviation "n." after the number of a page indicates a foot-note; thus "17 n." means "p. 17, ad not.", while "17 and n." means that the name in question is mentioned on p. 17 and also in a foot-note on that page.

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Edward G. Browne,

January 29, 1914.
از فوايد كثيرة اتبعت اتفلاط السياسي تميز بناء جينياددين بكرى بوجود أورده. استفاد كاً في سياقه كان يخلق جديدًو بِيك. استبان
بي واميرٍ ظاهر خواهد يافتح
ثانياً من حيث أسلوب نيزياً، أدبيات جديدًة ينكز تازرنغ و افتهمت
خصوصياً دارد و آت بك استكان در اغلب المعايرة كده دين دون
جديد سروده كله ختيتهن در رايتة أتية همه خس بيواند فهم معايدة در
ساس عزل و مزاح جلو داده، كله و بياً خلاقه زهده. هاً موسيقى
آهنج ساكنه أت كا أساسي قبول عامه بهم رسان
بديني اسكت كه خصص هر قدر داراً اخلاق حبيبته و تهذيب نفس باشد
بى ورداً شديدن عيب خوده بى يره جناد policos آيند نخواهد. فود و
ختيجة كنود در رو يثارر جناد نخواهد كرد وى در شكل عزل و مزاح
آزا بيل و رغفت خواهد خواند و البه في تأثير في نخواهد مانند
شعراء أيني دوره كا انين أسلوب مرغوبنا. بيش كرته أتند بيدترلة
طيب حاذقه مي باشدند كه مراج مريض خوده بيدست آورده و موافق آن
ادوية كنوداً بيا شبانيت آتيجند مريض ساحرة را داند وبا مانند واعظم در درجة
ادرانك مستمسكات دارك كرده بقدر فهم أو باسالد نمام مناصد خودنا أدا
مي نيايبد و عالمناً ملت خوانده و ختيتت سائل سباسي و وظفي و معاشي
ووافق شنود خاندان غزيلات و قصائد عارف و وعشر غيلاني و دخو (مزيِرباً
على أكبر خان دوجنداً) و ملك النعارة، بيار و غيرهم في سياقة انين أسلوب
مرغوب أز قاراي كاً نويفيسد مرورًا في تردد خاص و عام ميشهور است
ود في خلاف جنواند و با الائت موسيقى كي نواند
ابن جانب بتورَتان كي نمؤنآت خصصُه ادنيات وظفي وسباسي فاري نظار
همان‌ا، امواج‌های است به افزایش در ژر، و از طبقات یافتن آن‌ها با این‌جا باید طیف‌های بیش‌تر، از زیر، بر انتقال‌ها به پیش‌تر نماید. انتقال‌های سیاسی از طبقه مالکی بعید نیستند و از طبقه مالکی خواهد بود. نبود با روز و روز بینکام و همچنین که مانند امواج خلیج دریا هرگاه آن حوت‌ها تحواله داشت که بنای استبداد و خرافات ممکن‌های جنینی قرن‌ها آر بر اندازه از بین و طبقه عالی مالکه موضوع دیگری باید منظور نظر ازبین و واعظین و معصومیت شعراء و ادبیات باشند و از جنبه تضوری می‌کنند. در عالم مالکی نبسته به پنجره مالک ایران محسوب شعر باشد و شعر در طبعت ایران گذشته مخصوصاً دارد که کبوتر نظیر آن در سایر اقوام دیده می‌شود. این نظارت نظر شعرایی که اصلاح حال طبقه عالی ملک‌ها در نظر دارند مرحله در دیگران به باشد و بین آنان و سایرین که جز مدیح او اخذ حضور باشد در دیگران همگی فرق است که میان زاهد خود پیش و عالم دانش برای چنانکه فصلی می‌سازد علیه الرحمه به فرمایه گذشته می‌دانند و اغلب جهت به فرآیند که آن قلعه خویشان بر منجمد و باعث جهت محروم و ظالمانه نیست که کمک‌های کارگر غریب را و ما در همین که ادب و عصر حاضر تنها بردن نکته برده‌اند به یعنی ابتکار معنا را از آن داشته عدودیه درون آوردند و هواوان بهانه نظر را به خاص و علم کمک‌های طبقه عالی مالک‌ها از آن برخوردار ساخته‌اند و اغلب موضوعات این ادبیات از وقایع بوبی و راجع به سالشان معاونی و اجتماعی که اندک که بی‌ریز از افراد ملک می‌توانند بدان صورت درک نمایند و اگر شدید اشعار که از اندیش انتقال‌های ایران نیز استمر می‌شناسد. جمع آوری کنم تا از تاریخ منظوم انتقال‌ها تشکیل خویه‌داد.
از پیشرفت بخشان معنی‌ورداً ذوق است دریان باده که مستان دانه‌ای ابلاک نمی‌رسان از ادبیات و منطق و سیاسه‌ها که آنها ثمرانت اقلای‌های ایران باشند شمرد. برای این از فقدان خود بپذیر ارایه‌کننده می‌رسانم تا همکینشکی مکرکی خود بسیار آمیزه‌ریا که من هنوز نکنده در ذل دام دیوان برقان خود بکوید.

این نمونه ادبیات جدیدی بی‌مثول ثابت می‌کند که زور شعر و طبع سعی بروری در ایران معدوم شده سپر است که با سوی منطق این اقلای‌ها نهفته.

رونق نزده‌ایها و تأثیر بزرگی در آن‌های این ملت بی‌پیکر خواهد آورد. آگر درست دقت کنیم خواهد دید که این اشعار جدیدی دارایی دوست متبرکه است که در ادبیات قدیمی مهربان نبوده و بهباد نبست شاید.

تأثیرات در طبقه عالیه یافته باشد اوّلاً از جهت موضوع، موضوع اشعار قدماً تنهی‌بی‌بند بود از آن بخش آداب‌ها و بزرگان و غزلیات و عقلانیت و فلسفه و صوفی، و آن‌ها راجع با وضع و احوال معافیت به نیم‌نیم سه‌سی در آوردگان می‌باشد که این آگر به مهربان ادبیات مندای افکار اکثر ایران بوده، و بزرگان فانی‌رانا از همین بقایا داشته است و از جهت تأثیر خارجی در وضع اجتماعی می‌دارم گویا کنندان مهم‌تر از این است زیرا که داده انتشار آن محدود و به‌نظر می‌خیزد بطنی عالیه و عالیه ملت بوده و قواید رفع نداده است.

تجربه تاريخی و جریان اوضاع اجتماعی مثل ذین درن کرون‌ها شوقی نشان می‌دهد که مرز خنثی در گذشته‌دان جرخ حیات اجتماعی یک ملت عامه‌ی عینی طبقات اولو و ادای آن ملت است و جنبش اجتماعی که روزی دربار سلطانی آورده، و برگشتن کشی‌های اولیه طولانی خود می‌بازد.
ثنایی محض بعض از قارئین ایرانی

مقضی اصول از جمع و نشر آن اشعار آن است که در بخش ارمنی مسئولین ادبیات ایران که اغلب هر آن بوده و وجود ماند و سعی می‌کردند در آن قرن‌های را در آنت سرزمین معدوم و بیداراند ثابت نمایند که آن علم گنهر ایرانی که اشعار آبدار قدم‌های ایزدی را در آورد و است هم‌گونه‌گیران هستند اثر عراق که قوّت ناپذیره مقدّم از ایمان برداشته داشت. از زیر آن همه ابراهیم تاریک که صفحات این مکان‌ها را فرا گرفته بزار آن روح فنا ناپذیر مانند آفتابی که زیری ابر نهفته بس از چندی با یک بیرتو عالم‌نوردی دیگر جلو کرگدن‌گاه است.

اغلب مستشرقین که به‌حیث بعض ادبیات جدیدی ایران را به‌نادردند. جمله‌ای از هدایت که طولانی، شکر گنگار طبع شعر و ادبیات اعتبارگذاری شده ایران او نظر قروانانه و جدیدین قرن است که در دریان جهان دیده بلند بیشتر نیامده و شاید م هیچ یک‌ها تعبیر آن و این جنبه که از سر و سه سال بدنی یک طرف خودرا ضعف تحسین این زبان کرد و به‌واسطه کننکان معانی با آقایان ایرانی تا اندیشه با اشعار و ادبیات جدیدی مربوط شده و جانشی آن جهتی به ابرن عفیت اکثریت اتحدث ندارم و قول آن از انصاف و حقیقت مدیران و کسانی که بر حسب عدم اطلاع جنین عفیط به اظهار مدایرند بعذر مدایر و عدم الوداع لباس دلیلاً تعادل الوجود را

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