

'Aishī's 'Ishrat-nāma A Dah-nāma with Unexpected Messengers

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Abstract In the first part of this article I presented an edition with a short introduction of 'Aishī Shīrāzī's 'Ishrat-nāma, a poem belonging to the *dah-nāma* genre. In this second part I discuss the messengers who convey the messages between the two lovers. At the request of his patron, 'Ināyat, an amir of the Aq-Quyūnlū Khalīl b. Uzun Ḥasan, instead of the usual messenger, the wind, 'Aishī chose for ten musical instruments. I argue that the choice of these instruments, and the way they are described, are not accidental but subtly convey the evolution of the protagonists' feelings.

Keywords 'Aishī Shīrāzī. 'Ishrat-nāma. Dah-nāma. Mathnawī. Musical Instruments. Messenger Motif.

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For Jan Schmidt

1 Introduction

'Aishī's *Ishrat-nāma* (Book of Enjoyment [or Pleasure]) is a little-known poem, belonging to the genre *dah-nāma*, which, as it seems, has come down to us in a single manuscript at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Suppl. Persan 1142).¹ In this genre the evolution of the relationship of two lovers up to their union is described through their exchange of ten letters or, as also the case here, ten verbal messages.² In the first part of this article, I offered an edition with a short introduction. I argued that it was written some seventy years later than Blochet's estimate, that is, between 874/1470 and 882/1478, namely, at the time of the Aq-Quyūnlū Khalīl b. Uzun Ḥasan during his governorship of Fārs and I gave the scant information we have on the poet. Here I shall give a brief discussion of the *dah-nāma* genre and the poems from which the *Ishrat-nāma* took its inspiration; then I shall go into the unexpected choice of the messengers who convey the lover's messages, namely ten musical instruments. I shall argue that the choice of these instruments, and the way they are described, are not accidental but subtly convey the evolution of the protagonists' feelings.

2 The Origin of the *dah-nāma* Genre: *Wīs u Rāmīn* and *Khusrau u Shīrīn*

It is generally agreed that the *dah-nāma* genre originated in Fakhr al-Dīn Gurgānī's mid-eleventh-century *mathnawī Wīs u Rāmīn*. Its roots lie in both the ten letters full of complaint and reproach that Wīs writes to an unfaithful Rāmīn and the later "dialogue" between the lovers – actually eight long monologues delivered by each of them, Wīs at her palace window, Rāmīn outside having been refused entry.³ The more direct inspiration of the genre, however, is Niẓāmī's

1 Blochet, *Catalogue*, 3: 247, no. 1642.

2 For a general bibliography on the genre see part 1 of this article, Beelaert, "A Little-Known *Dah-nāma*", fn. 4.

3 In response to a letter by Rāmīn, Wīs writes – or rather dictates – all ten letters herself, one after the other, and gives them to her messenger Āzīn to give to Rāmīn, who responds with a single letter he sends back with her messenger. An "exchange of ten letters" (De Bruijn, s.v. "Mathnawī, 2. In Persian", *EP*, 6: 834a) is therefore not exact. Letters and messages play an important part in this *mathnawī* – in addition to these ten, there are other letters as well as verbal messages the messenger is asked to deliver.

Khusrau u Shīrin, which was itself influenced by Gurgānī's *mathnawī*. This is also the poem 'Aishī explicitly mentions as source of inspiration of his own (v. 83). In *Khusrau u Shīrin* the lovers have a dialogue consisting of five monologues each, and, more importantly, they also communicate by way of eight love poems (called *ghazal*, despite not having the proper *ghazal* form), the inclusion of which in the *mathnawī* is a usual feature of the genre.⁴ These are delivered by court minstrels – as in the *'Ishrat-nāma*, each in a different musical mode: by Nakīsā (accompanying himself on the harp, *chang*) interpreting Shīrīn's feelings and by Bārbad (accompanying himself on the lute, *'ūd*) those of Khusrau.⁵ In addition to not having the form of a *ghazal*, the eight poems in *Khusrau u Shīrin* contain many more than the maximum of twelve verses⁶ – some have twenty-five or more. In most *dah-nāmas*, as it is in 'Aishī's case, the *ghazals* have monorhyme, a first line (*maṭla'*) with internal rhyme, and the same metre as the rest of the poem;⁷ some, as those in the *'Ishrat-nāma*, have a *takhalluṣ*. They always have a length characteristic of the *ghazal* – in 'Aishī's case, the minimum of five verses. Nearly all *dah-nāmas*, in-

⁴ 'Ayyūqī also included ten in his *Warqa u Gulshāh*, which must date from after 400/1009-10 when the *Shāh-nāma* was finished, as it shows its influence, but from before 421/1030 when the Ghaznavid Maḥmud died, see Khaleghi-Motlagh s.v. "‘Ayyūqī", *Elr*, 3: 167b; they are in the same *mutaqārib* metre as the rest of the poem, do not have a signature (*takhalluṣ*), but are in monorhyme. Along with the *dah-nāma* genre being a narrative, in which is an exchange of letters or messages of an amorous nature, the inclusion of a *ghazal* is seen by Khurāsānī and Dāwudī Muqaddam ("Taḥlīl-i dah-nāmahā", 20) to be essential, such that without it, a poem would not qualify as belonging to this genre. Dankoff ("The Lyric in the Romance", 10), does not discuss the *dah-nāma*, but refers to Gandjei's article "Genesis"; he is under the impression that in the genre the *ghazal* is always in *mathnawī* form and does not have a signature, which is contradicted by the *dah-nāma* of Auḥādī and 'Aishī in which the *ghazals* have monorhyme, and in 'Aishī's poem have a *makhṭaṣ*.

⁵ The two poems have only two modes in common, *naurūz* and *rāst*. In the order of the *ghazals*, the modes in the *'Ishrat-nāma* are *naurūz*, *ḥusainī*, *nūrīz*, *shahnāz*, *'uzzāl*, *bū salīk*, *zabūl*, *rāst*, *panj-gāh*, and *īkiyāt* (I owe the emendation of "*abkiyāt*" to Eckhard Neubauer, who gave me as source of this mode, *shu'ba*, inter alia Nasīmī's early tenth/sixteenth-century treatise *Nasīm-i ṭarab*, 75, 84). In *Khusrau u Shīrin*, according to Tharwatīyān's critical edition they are *rāst*, *'ushshāq*, *ḥisārī*, *'Irāq*, *naurūz*, *Sipāhān*, *rāhawī*, *zīr-afkand(a)* (§§ 78-85); in Dastgirdī's non-critical one the order is *rāst*, *'Irāq*, *naurūz*, *Sipāhān*, *ḥisārī*, *'ushshāq*, *rāhawī*, *zīr-afkan* (359-79). There are also differences between the editions as to which *ghazal* follows each mode. I am not aware of any study that addresses the modes used in Niẓāmī's poem or differences in the manuscript tradition in this respect and Tharwatīyān gives no comment on this in his otherwise extensive annotations. Each mode can correspond to a certain "modal sentiment" (Chabrier, s.v. "Maḳām", *EP*, 6: 102b); however, this seems not to be relevant in Niẓāmī or 'Aishī (Neubauer, personal communication).

⁶ Bausani, s.v. "Ghazal, II. In Persian Literature", *EP*, 2: 1033b.

⁷ For those included in a *mathnawī* not belonging to the *dah-nāma* genre and having a different metre than the rest of the poem, see Dankoff ("Lyric in the Romance", 8 and fn. 1), who gives as example the *ghazal* at the end of each section in Amīr Khusrau's *Nuh sipīhr* (701/1302) and all those in Salmān Sāwajī's *Jamshīd u Khurshīd* (763/1362).

cluding the 'Ishrat-nāma, are written in the same *hazaj* metre of *Wīs u Rāmīn* and *Khusrau u Shīrīn*.⁸

3 The Other Sources of Inspiration of the 'Ishrat-nāma

The second source of inspiration that 'Aishī mentions is Auḥādī (= Auḥādī Marāghā'ī, v. 84a), referring to his *Manṭiq al-'ushshāq* ("The speech of the lovers"), which is, in fact, the oldest known actual *dah-nāma*, having all the defining characteristics of the genre.⁹ It was written in 706/1306, more than a century and a half before 'Aishī's poem. It was nevertheless not the first *dah-nāma*, as the poem's dedicatee, a vizir of the Mongols, Wajīh al-Dīn Shāh Yūsuf, asked Auḥādī to write a new *dah-nāma*, being "tired of the old ones".¹⁰

⁸ *Hazaj-i musaddas-i maḥzūf*. Exceptions are Ibn 'Imād, *Rauzat al-muḥibbīn* (794/1392), written in *hazaj-i musaddas-i akhrab-i maqbūz-i maḥzūf* (the metre of Nizāmī's *Lailā u Majnūn*: Gandjei, "Genesis", 62; Syed Hasan, "Dahnamehs in Persian", 17-19; 'Abbāsīya Kuhan, "Dah-nāma-sarā'ī", 74-5; Khurāsāni and Dāwudī Muqaddam, "Taḥlīl-i dah-nāmahā", 26); 'Azīz al-Dīn Zāhidī Bukhārī "Azīz", *Rauzat al-'āshiqīn* (810/1407-71), written in a slight variant – with overlong last syllable – of *khafīf-i musaddas-i makhbūn-i maḥzūf* (the metre of Sanā'ī's *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqat*: 'Aiważī, "Dah-nāma-gū'ī", 542-3; 'Abbāsīya Kuhan, "Dah-nāma-sarā'ī", 75-6); and *Muḥibb u Maḥbūb* from the eighth/fourteenth century (by an otherwise unknown poet calling himself "Ikhtiyār", preserved in a single manuscript), written in *mutaqārib-i muthamman-i maḥzūf* (the metre of the *Shāh-nāma*: *Muḥibb u Maḥbūb*, ed. Yalmahā).

⁹ There exist also a number of *mathnawīs* with an amorous theme entitled *sī-nāma* ("thirty letters"), which in theory would differ from *dah-nāmas* in the number of letters only. However, this is not always the case. Whereas the *sī-nāma*, also known as *Muḥibb u Maḥbūb*, written by Kātibī Turshīzī (d. 839/1435-36) as one of the poems of his *Khamasa*, is indeed a poem of the same kind as *Ṣafā* (*TA*, 4: 238) writes (I have been unable to locate it in print, but it is included in a 9th/15th-10th/16th-century manuscript of Kātibī's *Kulliyāt* in the Majlis Library in Tehran which can be consulted on this library's website dlib.ical.ir (shelf number 2615, pages 169-255). (The poem is also briefly mentioned by Rypka, *HIL*, 284). On the other hand, the *sī-nāma* by Amīr Ḥusainī Harawī (presumably 671/1273-74-719/1319-20), which might be the oldest poem thus called and more or less contemporary with the *Manṭiq al-'ushshāq*, should be regarded as belonging to a different, although related genre. (The exact date of its composition is unknown; the editor of this poem, Turābī, argues against the claim 9th/15th-century biographer Daulatshāh had made that the poet wrote it "in his youth" (*Mathnawihā-yi 'irfānī*, 11-12). As Khurāsāni and Dāwudī Muqaddam ("Taḥlīl-i dah-nāmahā", 29) already noted, contrary to *Ṣafā* (*TA*, 3/2: 756) and 'Abbāsīya Kuhan ("Dah-nāma-sarā'ī", 74b), the poem does not contain an exchange of letters between the lovers. Instead, it is a love story ending in an unresolved way and told by way of succession of unsent letters, all of them the lover's.

¹⁰ *Dīwān-i kāmīl*, 438, v. 11. Gandjei argues that because of "the absence of any evidence concerning the existence of a *Dah-nāma* as an independent poem" before *Manṭiq al-'ushshāq*, there was none, and suggests that the term may also have indicated more generally "a short love poem in *mathnawī* form", "as distinct from full-length romantic epics" ("Genesis", 66), offering as an example a verse in the *Firāq-nāma* (written in 769/1367 or shortly thereafter) in which its author, Salmān-i Sāwajī, allegedly describes his poem as such. (Gandjei quotes British Museum, Or. 2815, fol. 290v = *Dīwān*, 617, v. 7) However, when the poet asks God to grant him sufficient time to compose "*dah*

Mantiq al-'ushshāq has nearly the same length as the *'Ishrat-nāma*. In it, a lover and a beloved exchange ten messages (written and verbal), which include a *ghazal* and also a short narrative (*ḥikāyat*). At first, the beloved does not respond to the lover's feelings and resists contact, but gradually the lover wins over the beloved and they are united at the end.

Finally, there is a third work of which 'Aishī says that it gave "grace" (*būy*) to his own, namely, *Mihr u Mushtarī* (v. 84b), the romantic *mathnawī* by 'Aṣṣār Tabrīzī, composed, in the same *hazaj* metre, a century before, in 778/1377.¹¹ It is, however, not a *dah-nāma*, although the lovers exchange some letters. The eponymous lovers are two young men, the sons of a king and his vizir, who have known each other since infancy and are united by what the poet calls a "love free of lust" (*mihri zi har shahwat mubarrā*, v. 216). The *'Ishrat-nāma* shares this characteristic of featuring a male beloved – for most of the poem, the beloved's gender is unspecified; the epithets, such as *māh-paikar* ("with a face as the moon") or *sahī-raftār* ("walking upright") suit both genders, but it becomes clear that the beloved is male with mention of his *kākul* ("forelock"), a typical male hairdo (v. 140).¹²

Of the poets who inspired him, 'Aishī does not mention Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (d. 672/1273), although he clearly did so. In the evocation at the beginning of the poem of how the participants in the *majlis* listen to, recite, and discuss different kinds of poems, *ghazals*, *qaṣīdas* (v. 64) and also *mathnawīs*, the phrasing evidently alludes to Rūmī's *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī* (v. 63):

Of one, his soul's ear was listening to a *mathnawī*

of another, his heart was intent on a lesson full of meaning (*dars-i ma'nawī*)

Moreover, Rūmī's influence is also apparent in the ten *ghazals*.¹³ For nearly every *ghazal* in the *'Ishrat-nāma*, there is a likely pendant in

nāma", this should be read as "ten [such] books". Up to the most recent publication of Khurāsānī and Dāwūdī Muqaddam ("Taḥlīl-i dah-nāmahā", 23 and 27), one also consistently finds 'Irāqī's *'Ushshāq-nāma* mentioned as a predecessor – although circulating under his name since the eighth/fourteenth century, the author is 'Izz al-Dīn 'Aṭā'ī who wrote it ca. 719/1319–20, some thirty years after 'Irāqī's death in 688/1289: Feuillet-Bois-Pierunek, *À la croisée des voies célestes*, 292–5 (with bibliography on this issue).

¹¹ *Mihr u Mushtarī ('Ishq-nāma)*, 'Aṣṣār's poem is ten times as long as 'Aishī's (in Muṣṭafawī Sabzawārī's edition, 5095 verses).

¹² Mentioned also by Ḥāfīz, *Dīwān*, 1: *ghazal* no. 271, v. 6. De Fouchécour translates it as "la houppe de cheveux en forme de crête au sommet du crâne et descendant en boucle sur le front, le reste du crâne étant rasé. C'est la façon dont les Mongols traitaient leur chevelure" (Ḥāfīz de Chiraz, *Le Divān*, 718). It resembles the Ukrainian Cossack *chupryna*.

¹³ None can be seen as a response (*naẓīra*) to a *ghazal* of 'Aishī's illustrious compatriots Ḥāfīz (d. ca. 792/1390) or Sa'dī (d. 691/1291).

Rūmī's *Dīwān-i Shams*, and in two cases they share a rhyme and refrain (*radīf*) that are too infrequently used to be accidental.¹⁴

Where there are letters or messages, there are messengers, and here the *Ishrat-nāma* shows originality: 'Aishī does not call on the usual messenger, the wind (*bād*), but, at the request of his patron, amir 'Ināyat, he chooses musical instruments (vv. 76-7). The first instrument is the reed flute, *nay*, which is again a reminiscence of Rūmī as it immediately brings to mind the wonderful complaint of the *nay* opening Rūmī's *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī*. In the course of the poem, ten different musical instruments are cast in the role of messenger¹⁵ and I shall argue that the choice of these specific instruments and the way they are described are not accidental but subtly convey the evolution of the protagonists' feelings.

With the exception of Nizāmī, 'Aishī was inspired by poets we know to have been mystics.¹⁶ The short notice on him in Qazwīnī's addition to *Majālis al-nafā'is*¹⁷ which I discussed in the first part of this article, does not mention a Sufi affiliation, although, of course, this does not prove that there was none. Indeed, at first sight the *Ishrat-nāma* is a mystical poem.¹⁸ 'Aishī presents amir 'Ināyat as a learned person, knowledgeable in mysticism (*fann-i 'irfān*, v. 50) and many of the terms with which the musical instruments are described are Sufi in inspiration; in the final section (v. 491) there is even a clear allusion to the Sufi concept of *fanā fī llāh*, "annihilation in God". Nevertheless, the poem, with its telling title "Book of Enjoyment", comes across as lighthearted and playful, rich in witticisms and puns, and

¹⁴ Viz., the seventh and the ninth *ghazal*, with, respectively, rhyme and refrain *ār-magzār* (a *naẓīra* of Rūmī, *Kullīyāt-i Shams, ghazal* no. 1041, which also has the same metre) and *ār-i 'āshiq* (*ghazal* no. 1307).

¹⁵ Though not messengers, personified musical instruments, speaking in *zabān-i hāl* ("the state of speaking by itself", or prosopopeia), are found in other poems from the ninth/fifteenth century, such as Fattāhī Nishāpūrī's *Husn u dil* (finished in 840/1437-38) which has a tambourine (*daf*), a *nay*, and a *chang* facing off in a boasting contest (*munāzara*) with the rose, the palm, and the violet respectively (288-301). Another example, also shaping the whole poem, is the *Contest of String Instruments*, a *munāzara* by the Chagatai poet Aḥmadi, in which "seven instruments, representing seven nations and religions (...) and at the same time, seven ranks and social standings, argue with the troublemaker, the *tanbura*, about their musical (and social) value and importance" (Neubauer, "Music in the Islamic Environment", 4/2: 599-601; online version, 606-7); see also Bodrogligeti, "A Masterpiece of Central Asian Turkic Satire".

¹⁶ Syed Hasan describes Auḥādī's *Manṭiq al-'ushshāq* correctly as a "mystical allegory" ("Dahnamehs in Persian", 5). Auḥādī was one of the followers of the renowned mystic Auḥād al-Dīn Kirmānī, who died ca. 634/1237 and from whom he took his *takhallus* (Khaleghi-Motlagh, s.v. "Awḥādī Marāḡa'ī", *Elr*, 3: 119). 'Aṣṣār was a disciple of Shaikh Majd al-Dīn Sīsī (d. 760/1359) (Ṣafā, s.v. "'Aṣṣār Tabrīzī", *Elr*, 2: 803).

¹⁷ For this addition to the work of Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, see Beelaert, "A Little-Known *Dah-nāma*", 123-4.

¹⁸ Cf. Blochet, *Catalogue*, 247: "poème mystique".

the cheerful *majlis* 'Aishī describes, during which 'Ināyat asked him to write this poem, seems to have been a literary gathering of poets and poetry lovers (*arbāb-i sukhan*, v. 61) rather than Sufis. Without knowing more about the poet and of the specific social context, an in-depth interpretation of the poem is difficult to make, however.¹⁹

4 Structure of the Poem

The poem is structured as follows. After the introductory sections with praise of God (vv. 1-17) and of the Prophet (*na't*) (vv. 18-26), and prayers (*munājāt*) (vv. 27-31), the poem continues with a section entitled *dar sabab-i naẓm-i kitāb*, which contains the praise of Sulṭān Khalīl (vv. 32-40), his amirs (v. 41), and, in particular, the above-mentioned 'Ināyat (vv. 42-60). Then follows a description of the *majlis* (vv. 61-9) in which 'Ināyat commissions the poem, and the poet accepts the task (vv. 70-91). Then abruptly, without title, the story about an unnamed youth (*jawānī*) becoming lovestruck by the "glance of a bloodthirsty one" (*ghamza-yi khūn-khwāra'ī*) begins at v. 92. It is followed by ten chapters – titled as the first letter, the second letter (*nāma-yi awwal, duwwum*), etc. – although the exchanged messages are delivered verbally rather than by letter. The poem ends with a description of the garden in which the festivities of the lovers' union is celebrated and of their joy at being united (vv. 501-16) and an address to a *khudāwand*, which must be 'Ināyat (vv. 517-21).

In each of the chapters, the lover or the beloved looks for a messenger and describes it, sometimes extensively; he then gives it the exact message it must deliver, including the *ghazal*. The messenger answers, goes to the addressee, and delivers the message, always adding a comment of its own as well; this is not a feature in every *dah-nāma*. Here, the instruments are not only messengers, but also go-betweens. The addressee then addresses the messenger, and sends a messenger of his own, and we have come full circle. In addition to being messengers and go-betweens, the instruments are gifts (they are not sent back, as the messengers in this genre normally are) and invested, as gifts often are, with a meaning the giver hopes the receiver will understand.²⁰

¹⁹ Qazwīnī's description of 'Aishī as "*shakhṣī hazzāl wa maskhara wa pur ḥāl*" ("a jester, facetious and witty"; see Beelaert, "A little-Known *Dah-nāma*", 204) could be used to argue in favor of a lighthearted interpretation of his poem. Although I acknowledge its mystical tones, I do not go so far as one of the anonymous readers, who pressed for a fully Sufi interpretation of the poem.

²⁰ In Persian literature, the quintessential example of the motif of an exchange of gifts between lovers that need to be decoded is found in the story of the Russian princess, the fourth story in Niẓāmī's *Haft paikar* (593/1197), a retelling of which was translated

5 The Instruments as Messengers

As mentioned, the first messenger is the *nay*, the reed flute, and in twelve verses (vv. 105-16) it is cast as the ideal alter ego of a lover far from his beloved, as is the *nay* in Rūmī. The lover addresses the flute as follows:

O you who are aware of the secrets of love" (*zi sirr-i 'ishq āgāh*),
 [...]

Anyone among those who suffer (*ahl-i dard*), knows you,
 your yellow face (*rūy-i zard*) testifies to it.
 Not a moment are you without complaint (*nāla*) or lamentation (*afghān*),
 not a moment are you without the grief of being separated (*gham-i hijrān*).
 You have a heart empty of everything except the friend,
 you are burning (*sūz*) and in ecstasy (*hāl, wajd*) from head to foot.
 [...]

Therefore, you cannot complain less than you do
 because you have so many holes in your heart (*dar dil hama sūrākh dārī*).²¹
 My pains are too numerous to count
 and you know how hard the pain of love is.
 How could a lover stay silent?
 One who is in ecstasy (*hāl*) wails continually!
 (vv. 105a, 106-8, 110-12)

‘Aishī continues, enumerating only positive qualities, such as not knowing any “self-conceit” (*khwud-parastī*, v. 114a), not being in the “fetters of existence” (*band-i hastī*, v. 114b), the *nay* having a “talking breath” (*dam-i gūyā*) and an “intelligent heart” (*dil-i āgāh*) (v. 116a). When the beloved receives the *nay*, he addresses it with the same qualities, which are then given negative connotations:²²

O *nay*, all your talk is wind;
 I remember hearing many of these tales!
 Save your breath, leave these tales;
 keep such messages at home!

by François Pétis de la Croix in *Mille et un jours* (1710-1712), the basis of Carlo Gozzi's play *Turandot* (1777), which became, in its turn, the inspiration of the libretto of Puccini's opera of the same title. On the history of the motif, see Meier, “Turandot in Persian”; Rossi, “La leggenda di Turandot”.

²¹ Though not in the proem of *Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī*, Rūmī too refers to the “emptiness” of the *nay* and compares its holes to eyes (see Schimmel, *Triumphal Sun*, 211).

²² The alternating of praise and blame is characteristic of the Arabic literary genre *al-maḥāsin wa-l-masāwī* (“qualities and defects”, see Gériès s.v. “al-Maḥāsin wa'l Masāwī”, *EP*), whose influence can be seen in many Persian and Chagatai poems (as that of Aḥmadi, fn. 15 above). See Beelaert, *Cure for the Grieving*, 72, fn. 177.

Why do you complain all the time?²³
 because your inside is always hollow (*khālī*)!
 You became fettered (*dar band*)²⁴ because of your complaints about your own
 being (*faryād-i khwudī*),
 therefore, unlike the sugar cane, you are not sweet!
 Leave these stories without head or tail
 or I shall annihilate (*nay kardan*) you with my nails!
 You have no name (*bī-nām-i*)²⁵ and no sorrow of your own,
 you have nothing but a yellow face!
 (vv. 141-6)

It would be better, the beloved continues, if “one sewed its eyes together”, and “beat it with a stone and burned it” (v. 147); it is only fit “to be bound together for a reed mat” (*būriyā*, v. 148). In fact, the beloved does tie it up and puts it in the corner (vv. 149-50).

The beloved's messenger is the *kamāncha*, a viol or vielle, a string instrument with a long neck, which is played with a bow, not plucked.²⁶ The beloved addresses it only briefly (vv. 151-3):

You are a libertine (*rind*), you have no honour (*āzarm*),
 nor, like [my] other friends, do you have any shame (*sharm*).
 (v. 152)

Indeed, it is an apt messenger for one who does not himself experience pangs of love.

The lover does not address the *kamāncha* but responds immediately by sending the *daf*, the frame drum or tambourine, which in six verses is portrayed, in contrast to the lover, as self-sufficient and carefree:

You have no need of anyone,
 in this world, for you, your own voice is enough.
 I am one who lost his heart (*bī-dil*) in the grip of sorrow,
 who in this grief lost sleep and appetite.
 (vv. 188-9)

²³ I read *bimū'ī* and *binālī* for the manuscript reading of *na mū'ī u na nālī* (v. 143a).

²⁴ Because of their nodes (*band*), reeds are said to be “in fetters” (*dar band*).

²⁵ A pun, the homograph *nay* also meaning “no, not”, its name being thus “a negation”, in a sense, “it has no name”. In the previous verses 'Aishī also plays thus with the word *nay*, writing *nay* for *na'ī* (“you are not”) and *nay kardan* for *nīst kardan* (“annihilate”).

²⁶ Farmer: “the hemispheric viol” (s.v. “Rabāb”, *Elr*, 5: 348a); Blum: “spike fiddle with a small, often spherical, resonating chamber” (s.v. “Kamānča”, *Elr*, 15: 434a).

If it does utter any complaints, these have an exhilarating effect:

With you the *majlis* is lit up (*munawwar*),
with your cries (*faryād*) the heavens (*charkh u chanbar*) become cheerful
(*khurram*)!

[...]

Without you no [other] instrument (*sāz*) has any luster (*raunaq*),
listen to me so that I can tell you my needs!
(vv. 185, 187)

It seems as if the lover hopes that the beloved will see the *daf* as an invitation to join him in a carefree love. The beloved, however, still reacts negatively, and again sees all the features of this instrument only in a negative light. He begins his address of eleven verses (vv. 218-28):

Stop this chattering (*harza-gū'ī*)
because, as long as you exist, you are a hypocrite (*du-rū*, lit. double-faced)!²⁷
(v. 218)

Because it has few aspirations (*kam-himmatī*), he continues, it is always drunk (*mast*)” (v. 219). This negative view derives from the *daf* being struck (v. 221b) and its cries (*faryād*) making the hypocritical deceivers (*sālūsān-i shayyād*) dance (*ba charkh ārī*) (v. 222); from which part of the body people strike it with, and from what kind of people do it – lower-class people (*kasān*, v. 228), for instance, or prostitutes (*qaḥbaqān*), who hit it with their face and back (v. 224), or others who even put it in their armpits (*baghal*) and on their shoulders (*dūsh*) (v. 220). Other negative comments refer to the metal rings in its frame, as when the beloved says they put a ring in its ear (*ḥalqa bar gūsh*), that is, they treat it like a slave (v. 221). After they finish, they put it in a sack (*kīsa*) like a snake (v. 223). With the circle of the heavens it shares only its outward appearance (*rang*), therefore it has a bad reputation (*bad-nangī*) (v. 225).²⁸ The beloved threatens “to pull its skin from its body” (v. 226) and “to cut its ears, even if there are ten of them” (v. 227), again a reference to the metal rings. At the end of this invective, he slaps the *daf* on its neck, puts it in the corner next to the *nay*, and responds by sending a *qānūn*, a zither (or psaltery).²⁹ His response is an instrument that he apparently considers to be above any of the possible allegations of “lowness” he made against the *daf*. He addresses it thus (vv. 230-7):

²⁷ A reference to the *daf* having two sides.

²⁸ That is, the *daf* is curved in the same way as the dome of heaven, the fickle and unreliable celestial sphere (*falak*).

²⁹ Farmer, s.v. “Mi’zaf”, *EP*².

O melodious confidant (*ham-rāz-i khwash-khwān*),
 you are wise (*khiradmand*) and have been invented by wise men (*zi taṣnīf-i ḥakīmān*).
 Your cries (*faryād*) are not without wisdom (*bīḥikmatī nīst*)
 as there is no associate (*ham-ṣuḥbat*) like you in the world!
 They sprinkle gold and silver on you,
 out of reverence people put you on their lap (*kinār*)!
 You have the marks of every perfect person (*ṣāḥib-kamāl*);
 you have been tuned by every master!³⁰
 Due to you, many instruments are burning and melting (*dar sūz u gudāz*)
 because the mighty (*ṣāḥib-daulatān*) play you!
 There is no one as capable (*qābil*) and rhythmical (*mauzūn*)³¹ as you
 [...]
 Wherever you go, as a sign of respect (*ta'zīm*)
 they fill the edge of your skirt (*kinār-i dāman*) with silver!
 There is no better messenger than you
 to bring my message to the lover.³²

Although the message that follows is still not very positive, the choice of messenger indicates that the beloved is beginning to take the lover seriously, although his feelings have not yet changed. When the lover receives the *qānūn*, he does not further characterize it in his own address, but only unburdens his own heart to it.

30 *Zi har ustād didī gūshmālī. Gūsh mālīdan*, “boxing the ears”, is an image used at least since the eleventh-century Manūchihri for “tuning a string instrument”, the “ears” being the pegs; see Beelaert, *Cure for the Grieving*, 190 and fn. 35.

31 In manuscript, *mauzun*.

32 I omitted translating v. 235b, *kasī hargiz bad qānūn nadīdam*, which lacks one mora between *hargiz* and *bad*; since the poet is obviously punning on *qānūn*, a possible emendation – with *qānūn* in the sense of *rasm*, *rawish* – might be: *kasī hargiz ba-d-īn qānūn nadīdam*, “I never saw anyone in this way”.

The lover then sends the *rubāb*, a kind of lute,³³ which is associated with love and enjoyment, and also with libertinism (*rindī*), as was the *kamāncha* the beloved had sent him; however, in contrast to the latter, which “knew no sorrow” (v. 152), as befits an alter ego of the lover, the *rubāb* is associated with grief:

You who are a token (*yādgār*) of scholars [or mystics] (*ahl-i 'irfān*),
 you who are a boon companion of restless lovers (*nadīm-i 'āshiqān-i bī-qārār*),
 Because you are, according to ranking (*az rūy-i marātib*),
 night and day in the company of libertines (*rindān*),
 You are beyond every beauty or ugliness
 since you are continually making a paradise in this world!
 [...]
 You have no pride (*'ujb*) or haughtiness (*takabbur*)!
 There is no freer (*wā-rasta*) mystic (*'arif*) than you,
 there is no lover more grieving than me!
 You are the companion (*mu'nis*) of grieving libertines (*rindān-i ghamnāk*);
 you have no fear of evil and good of the world (*bad u nīk-i jahān*)!³⁴
 (vv. 275-7, 278b-80)

The lover goes on to describe the *rubāb* as someone who engages in galantry (*'ishqbāzī*, v. 281a) and who holds his head high among the people of enjoyment (*ahl-i 'ishrat*, v. 281b),³⁵ it has no dwelling except the winehouse (*maykhāna*, v. 282a) and it may complain all the time

33 It can be vocalised as *rabāb* and *rubāb*. As *rabāb*, it is “the generic name in Arabic for the viol”, in a Persian context, however, the reference is mostly to the *rubāb*, a lute. “The *rubāb* with the Persians has ever been a plucked and not a bowed instrument”, Farmer writes (s.v. “*Rabāb*”, *EP*, 8: 346b-347a), one with “a vaulted sound-chest and incurvations at the waist. It has been described at length in the “*Kanz al-tuḥaf*” [which is a Persian musical treatise of the 8th/14th century]. “The lower part of the belly was of skin, and three double strings were mounted on it” (Farmer, s.v. “*ūd*”, *EP*², 10: 770a). Still, there is evidence that in a Persian context, for instance in Rūmī, the reference could be to a bowed instrument: “Quant au *rabāb*, il ne s’agit pas du *rabāb[siç]*-luth (que l’on trouve de nos jours dans l’Iran extérieur) mais d’un instrument à cordes frottées, de la famille des vièles” (During, *Musique et extase: L’audition mystique*, 181). But to which instrument would a Shirazi poet refer? None of the examples in Ḥāfīz’s *Dīwān*, for example, is conclusive (Mallāḥ’s unquestioning identification with a bowed instrument, unsupported by any proof, carries no weight, *Ḥāfīz wa mūsīqī*, 122-3). There is a clear reference to a plucked instrument, however, in the *Dīwān* of Ḥāfīz’s older contemporary and compatriot Khwājū Kirmāni (d. 753/1352), who writes that “minstrels struck their hand on the *rubāb*” (*chu muṭribān-i sahar chang dar rubāb zanand: Dīwān-i ash’ār*, 440, *ghazal* no. 140, v. 1a) so arguably the instrument to which ‘Aishī refers a century later was also plucked.

34 An address of ten verses (275-84).

35 This is the first verse, halfway the poem, in which ‘ishrat is used. It occurs six more times: in vv. 434, 436, 439 (these three in the ninth *nāma*, where the messenger is the *chang*), 496, 500 (in the tenth *nāma*, where the messenger is the ‘ūd), and 515 (in the finale).

(*hamī nālī*) but has no fear (*parwā'ī nadārī*, v. 282b); it is not like people thinking about their honour or reputation (*nang u nām*, v. 283a); it is a complete pauper (*darwīsh-i tamām*, v. 283b). The lover says he puts his hopes in this messenger's magnanimity (*muruwwat*) to convey his message to his beloved (v. 284). The implicit message that this instrument conveys to the beloved, whom he addresses as *ay bī muruwwat*, "O you who have no generosity" (v. 285a), is thus: "Do not be haughty, enjoy life, and show some magnanimity".

This is the fifth message, only halfway the poem, and the beloved still says of himself that he was created with "tyranny and cruelty" (*jaur u jafā*, v. 313b), that is, he is not yet persuaded. However, he does *not* put the *rubāb* in the corner with the two other instruments (although the *rubāb* had expected that he would, v. 301) and the message he sends back is for the first time more responsive. He may press the lover to stay away (v. 322a), and to be content to see him from a distance (v. 323a), but he also lets him know that if his advice is not followed, he will ask his guardians, otherwise hot-tempered (*tund-khū*), not to harm him (v. 325). He conveys this message with the *mughnī*,³⁶ an instrument Farmer translates as "arch-lute",³⁷ a kind of zither, or maybe a dulcimer.³⁸ The beloved's address to this *mughnī* is brief, but kind:

O friend with a melodious voice (*yār-i khwash-āwāz*),
sincere (*yak-rūy*) associate (*ham-ṣuḥbat*) and confidant (*yak-rāz*)!
Go near that grieving (*ghamgīn*) and friendless one (*bī-kas*),
hasten to assist his desperate heart (*dil-i bī-chāra-ash*)!³⁹
(vv. 320-1)

The *mughnī* calls the message it delivers a "message of happiness" (*paighām-i shādī*, v. 343), and the lover faints from joy (v. 350), but at the same time his anguish increases as he realizes that a union with the beloved comes closer (v. 352).

³⁶ The vocalization *mughannī* (for metrical reasons impossible in the 'Ishrat-nāma), as given in Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma* and Mu'in, *Farhang-i fārsī*, is incorrect (Neubauer, personal communication).

³⁷ Farmer, s.v. "Ūd", *EP*, 10: 770a; Farmer, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, 3/2, *Islam*, 100: "Erzlaute" (page 101 reproduces an illustration taken from a fourteenth-century manuscript of *Kanz al-tuḥaf*, in which the instrument is described as a combination of the *rubāb*, the *qānūn*, and the *nuzha*, itself related to the *qānūn* but larger [on the *nuzha*, see Farmer, s.v. "Mī'zaf", *EP*, 7: 191a] and invented by Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min Urmawī (d. 693/1294). Mu'in, *Farhang-i fārsī*, s.v., gives a similar description, taken from Ibn Ghaibī's *Maqāṣid al-alḥān* (completed in 821/1418).

³⁸ The difference would be that the former is plucked, while the latter is struck by hammers.

³⁹ This is the entire address; a lacuna follows, for the *mughnī*'s message begins at v. 322 without being announced.

The lover responds by sending a *ṭanbūr* (or *ṭunbūr*), a pandore, a string instrument related to the lute.⁴⁰ He addresses this instrument elaborately, for sixteen verses (355-70):

O companion of the soul (*mu'nis-i rūḥ*)
 who gives a remedy to the wounded heart of the lovesick (*dawā-bakhsh-i dil-i afgār-i majrūḥ*)!
 You wail and complain like the 'ūd,
 as it were, you sing David's songs (*naghma-yi Dāwūd*)!
 Because your voice is unique (*ghair-i mukarrar*),
 you refresh (*tar mīkunī*) the minds of the people of the *majlis*!
 Like the *bulbul* you have a hundred thousand melodies (*ṣad hazār āwāz*),
 you boast of being superior to every other instrument (*tafākhur bā har sāz dārī*)!
 The heart of kings is turned to your fresh face,
 wherever I come there is your sound (*āwāza*)!⁴¹
 By your plectrum (*mizrāb*) Venus (*zuhra*) begins to dance in heaven (*dar charkh ast*);⁴²
 what a vigour (*zahra*)⁴³ the *arghanūn*⁴⁴ gets from your sounds!
 Every difficult task becomes easy by you,
 you are the associate of dispirited lovers ('*ushshāq-i bī-dil*)!
 By you, every helpless one (*bī-nawā*) gets a voice (*nawā*);
 by you, there is an echo (*ṣadā*) in every corner!
 Now you sit in the company of sultans,
 then you are an intimate of poor lovers ('*ushshāq-i miskīn*).
 Because of your knowledge of subtleties (*nukta-dānī*)
 with an effective strike (*ba zarb-i rāst*) you receive silver and gold from kings!
 Night and day, you were active on all sides
 to take away the burning (*sūz*) of a lover like me.
 (vv. 355-65)

The lover asks the *ṭanbūr* to make fragrant (*mu'aṭṭar*) by his message the beloved's soul's brain (*dimāgh-i jān*) (v. 366), to relay to him his complaints, and tell him the story of his pain (v. 367). In other words, the lover's troubles are still ongoing; the beloved may not be as ill-disposed toward his love as before, yet there is still cause to

⁴⁰ "It is generally to be distinguished from the lute by its smaller sound-chest and longer neck" (Farmer, s.v. "Ṭunbūr", *EP*, 10: 634b).

⁴¹ Wrongly written as *āwaza*.

⁴² A pun on *charkh*, which means both "heaven" and "circle". In Islamic iconography, the planet Venus is traditionally represented as a woman playing the lute; see, e.g., Denny, "Music and Musicians in Islamic Art", 64 and pl. 26.

⁴³ A pun on *zahra* and *zuhra* is common in Persian poetry.

⁴⁴ *Argghanūn* (or *urghanūn*) mostly refers to a pipe organ. When the instruments' strings (*autār*) are referred to explicitly, however, as, for instance, in Nizāmī's *'Iqbāl-nāma* (§ 70, v. 2), then a string instrument is meant. For both uses, see Farmer, s.v. "Urghan", *EP*, 10: 893-94.

complain. But the *ṭanbūr*, which is associated with both grief and joy and for whom “every difficult task becomes easy”, will be conveying a message of hope.

The beloved receives the lover’s message with approval and does not banish the *ṭanbūr* to the corner; as his next messenger he calls the *rūḥ-afzā* (lit. “increasing the spirits”, or “vivifying”), a string instrument related to the pandore.⁴⁵ The beloved addresses the *rūḥ-afzā* only briefly (vv. 399-400), showing some empathy for what the lover is going through:

O companion of every poor miserable one (*mu'nis-i har dardmandī*),
 you who give a remedy to the heart of every wretched one (*dawā-bakhsh-i dil-i har mustmandī*)! (v. 399)

He admits to having been cruel and praises the lover for nonetheless having been so faithful (*yak-rang*, v. 404); with his *ghazal* he hopes to remove the lover’s affliction (*dil-girānī*, v. 407). The message is called a happy one (*payāmī inḥunīn khwash*, v. 417), and the lover is indeed gladdened by it.

We have now reached the last exchange of instruments – it is likely not fortuitous that these are the same with which Niẓāmī’s Nakisā and Bārbad accompany their “*ghazals*” when they convey Shīrīn’s and Khusrau’s feelings.

The last instrument the lover sends is the **chang**, the harp, in the hope that he will once be able to kiss his beloved’s hands and forearms (*dast u sā'id*) as the harp will do when it arrives (v. 425). The lover characterizes the harp as the leader of the instruments (*bar hama sāzī muqaddam*), always honoured (*mu'azzam*) in the company of kings (v. 428) and he goes on:

I haven’t seen any old man (*pīr*) as experienced (*kār-dīda*) as you,
 your bent figure (*qadd-i khamīda*) is enough proof of that!
 You have more value⁴⁶ (*andāza*) than any other instrument,
 you have more fame (*āwāza*) than any of your friends!
 When [hearing] your voice the heavens cry out (*charkh andar khurūsh ast*),
 from your sounds Venus is all eyes and ears (*chashm u gūsh ast*)!
 Everyone who is in the grip of sorrow (*ba chang-i gham giriṭār*)

⁴⁵ This instrument was described by the celebrated musician Ibn Ghaibī in *Jāmi' al-alḥān*: “[it] seems to have had a globular sound-chest – “in the form of an orange” – and was furnished with six strings, four of them of silk and two of them of twisted copper. Its tonal scope was much the same as the ordinary *ṭanbūr*” (Farmer, “AbdalQādir Ibn Ġaibī on Instruments of Music”, 244). The description in Mu’in’s *Farhang-i fārsī*, s.v., must come from Ibn Ghaibī, although he gives no source. Curiously, it is not included in Dihkhudā’s extensive *Lughat-nāma*.

⁴⁶ Or, alternatively, “you are larger”.

is restored (*āyad bāz dar kār*) by you!
 In the world you have seen only happy hearts (*dil-i khurram*),
 in your own life you never saw any sorrow (*gham*)!
 For many years in happiness (*shādkāmī*)
 you have been sitting in joyful company (*'ishrat*) with the high and the low (*khāṣṣ*
u 'āmm)!⁴⁷
 With every hair you have on your body⁴⁸
 you give a hundred messages of the pain of love (*zi dard-i 'ishq*)!
 In this period no one profited from you
 [but] you spent your own life in enjoyment (*'ishrat*)!⁴⁹
 (vv. 429-36)

We see that the harp is associated both with happiness and wisdom, and this association with wisdom is even more prominent when it arrives at the beloved. “Listen to me”, it tells the beloved, because I am a wise elder (*pīr*) (v. 453). How can a young person who does not heed the advice of sages (*pand-i pīrān*) ever release prisoners from grief (v. 456)? As the beloved is young, he should listen to the *pand-i pīr* (v. 457). Thus, the *chang*, with its bent back (*qadd-i khamīda*) like a *pīr* who has lived a long life (*sāl-dīda*), counsels (*naṣīḥat kard*) him about what is good and evil (v. 458). The harp's association with wisdom is in contrast to a frequent earlier characterization in Persian poetry when many poets regarded its being “bent” as negative, and when it was compared to an elderly person, it was as a rule not a wise one.⁵⁰

The beloved, who, in contrast to the harp, walks upright (*sahī raftār*, v. 459) answers that he will not disobey the advice of a sage: “if I did so before, I won't do it again”, he promises (v. 460). This wise old man (*pīr-i khiradmand*) spoke so beautifully – whoever turns away

⁴⁷ Emending *ba 'ishrat ham-nishīn-i* for *ba 'ishrat ham-nishīnī*.

⁴⁸ The topos of the harp's strings as “hair” is found from the end of the eleventh century; see Mukhtārī's (d. between 513/1118 and 515/1121) riddle on this instrument (*Dīwān*, 159, v. 12); Niẓāmī, *'Iqbāl-nāma*, § 26, v. 11; and Khāqānī, *Dīwān*, e.g., 144, v. 10; 160, v. 11; 223 v. 3.

⁴⁹ In the following verse, the lover sends the *chang* to the beloved.

⁵⁰ Examples of a negative portrayal of the *chang* are numerous and dominant in the imagery connected to it. For instance, it was described as someone who is skinny and complaining because of it (e.g., Khāqānī, *Dīwān*, 427, v. -5), or, the other way round, someone who is himself “all skin and bones” with protruding “veins” (the analogue of the strings) was portrayed as a *chang* (Sa'dī, *Būstān*, v. 1359), as was a bent-over forlorn lover (Farrukhī, *Dīwān*, *qaṣīda* no. 80, v. 5). A *chang* as an old man, bent by age, is found many times in Khāqānī's *Dīwān*, but then, e.g., bent “from shame” (*zi sharm*, 493, v. 1) and certainly not represented as a sage. For more negative portrayals, see Beelaert, *Cure for the Grieving*, 186-92. A *chang* as a *pīr* does offer advice, albeit ironically, twice in Ḥāfīz: “The bent harp (*chang-i khamīda-qāmat*) invites you to pleasure (*'ishrat*) / listen, as the advice of sages (*pand-i pīrān*) won't do you any harm! (*Dīwān*, *ghazal* no. 122, v. 6) and “Give wine, since the harp bent its head toward my ear and said / “spend your time pleasurably, listen to this bent old man” (*pīr-i munḥānī*)!” (*ghazal* no. 470, v. 5).

from his advice would not be wise, he adds (v. 461).

The instrument the beloved summons for his final message, namely, the **'ūd**, is also associated with wisdom and is described as follows:

I have a *hakīm*, a perfect learned man (*dānā-yi kāmīl*),
eloquent (*sukhandān*), fortunate (*sa'adatmand*), and intelligent (*'āqīl*). (v. 462)

He addresses it as “one who knows what passion is” (*ṣāhib-i ḥāl*, v. 467), adding that it makes his soul content (*khwushnūd*): its melodies are like those of David (v. 468). For the first time, the beloved elaborates on the suffering of the lover who “far too long has burned as aloeswood (*'ūd*)”, punning, as many poets did before 'Aishī, on the two meanings of *'ūd* (v. 469), and he regrets the unjust treatment to which he so long subjected him (v. 470).⁵¹ There is no longer any distinction between the lover and the beloved, “I am the lover”, the beloved says, “and you are the desired beloved” (v. 491). Lover and beloved are finally united and a feast is had in a garden that is lovingly described. A feast that will be enlivened by music as all the messengers also attend (vv. 497, 512).

6 Conclusion

With the edition of the *Ishrat-nāma* I presented in the first part of this article a poem is added to the corpus of poems belonging to the *dah-nāma* genre. Even if this addition to the *mathnawī* corpus will do little to influence the judgment on the literary history of the ninth/fifteenth century, the age of Jāmī, each addition is an enrichment and refines our knowledge of a specific genre.

At the end of the ninth/fifteenth century, the messenger motif as a compositional device was still a fertile one, and one in which a poet still made variations.⁵² Although 'Aishī credits the amir 'Ināyat with the idea of making a change in this motif by replacing the wind with musical instruments, it is 'Aishī who gives this idea a highly personal interpretation; in his characterizations of the instruments, he adjusted the connotations they had come to carry in the centuries before in a completely original way.⁵³ The Persian *Bildersprache* is famously

⁵¹ The address is fourteen verses (vv. 467-80), but only the first two verses describe the instrument; the rest is devoted to the beloved's commiseration and repentance.

⁵² For earlier variations, see Beelaert, *Cure for the Grieving*, 39-48.

⁵³ My earlier remark on the choice of musical instruments as messengers in 'Aishī's poem (they “can perfectly be cast in the role of grieving alter egos”, Beelaert, *Cure for the Grieving*, 193) must be refined, for actually, in the course of the poem, these “alter egos” grieve less and less. Despite having a “bent back”, the *chang*, for instance, is not grieving but wise.

an enormously rich one and although a number of studies exist, it is yet far from being fully mapped.⁵⁴ This article is, first of all, intended as a contribution to this field.

The *'Ishrat-nāma* may be only a minor poem – albeit one with undeniable charm – but even a minor poem contributes an essential element for the full picture. As yet, I have not found evidence that it influenced others, but if my hypothesis is correct that 'Aishī's patron 'Ināyat is the brother of Hidāyat-'Alī Beg, whose Turkish *Dīwān* survived,⁵⁵ its influence may have traces in both Persian and Turkish poetry. Dating a work of literature correctly is, arguably, an essential element into establishing an accurate history of Persian literature, and in this respect also there is much still work to do. Up till now the accepted date of the *'Ishrat-nāma* was some seventy years off, and, unfortunately, in histories of Persian literature such a difference is not an exception.⁵⁶ To establish any influence 'Aishī might have had, further study should be made of the cultural milieu of the Aq-Quyūnlu Sulṭān Khalīl in Shiraz, to which we now know he belonged.⁵⁷ Finally, 'Aishī's poem contributes to our knowledge of the history of musical instruments – it is, e.g., one of the few texts we know of in which the *rūḥ-afzā* figures⁵⁸ – yet there may be more as yet unedited, or even uncatalogued. I hope this article provides inspiration to fill these lacunae.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

El² = *Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*. Leiden: Brill, 1960-2005.

Elr = *Encyclopaedia Iranica*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul; later Costa Mesa: Mazda; New York: Bibliotheca Persica Press and New York: Encyclopaedia Iranica Foundation, 1985- and online <http://www.iranicaonline.org>. Rypka, *HIL* = Rypka, Jan. *History of Iranian Literature*. Dordrecht: D. Reidel Publishing Company, 1968.

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⁵⁴ It is presented in all its splendour by Schimmel, *Two-Colored Brocade*, a more recent useful overview and a bibliography is Zipoli, "Poetic Imagery".

⁵⁵ See part 1 of this article, Beelaert, "A Little-Known *Dah-nāma*", fn. 18.

⁵⁶ A case in point is 'Irāqī's *'Ushshāq-nāma*, which is still considered by too many scholars to be one of his authentic works, whereas we now know that it was written by someone else, some thirty years after 'Irāqī's death, see above, fn. 10.

⁵⁷ Sona does not discuss it in his edition of Hidāyat's *Dīwān* (Jan Schmidt, personal communication).

⁵⁸ See above fn. 45.

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