



ANDARZ II. ANDARZ LITERATURE IN NEW PERSIAN

ii. Andarz Literature in New Persian

The *andarz* themes found in Pahlavi writings reappear in new forms but without much change of substance in New Persian. Short homilies and terse maxims are replaced by longer discourses in verse or prose, which contain the same ideas and sometimes explain the moral principles in detail. As time passes, the content is gradually adapted to the norms of Iranian Islamic culture and becomes greatly enriched thereby. Ethico-didactic writings constitute a large part of classical Persian literature, certainly larger than in the case of most other languages. Such writings, whether in verse or prose, are termed *pand* (maxim), *andarz* (counsel), *naṣīḥat* (advice), *waṣīyat* (testament), *waṣāya* (instruction), *maw'ēza* (exhortation), or *ḥekmat* (wisdom, proverb).

In the period up to the early years of the 5th/11th century, when the pre-Islamic Iranian culture was still pervasive, all counsels, whether or not translated from Pahlavi originals (for passages in Arabic tr. see, e.g., Mas'ūdī, *Morūj* II, pp. 159f., 165, 166, 172, 210, ed. Pellat, secs. 584, 587, 591, 593, 597, 631; Ta'ālebī, *Gorar*, pp. 40-41, 482-84), urge the individual to learn the conventions of social life, to make himself acceptable in cultured society by acquiring good manners and good speech, working hard and guarding against laziness, shunning falsehood and injustice, and always being truthful and honest, and generally to adorn himself with virtue, knowledge, and skill.



Significantly little or nothing is said about devotions and spiritual or bodily asceticism, let alone fasting and vigil-keeping, as means to divine favor and celestial reward. In other words, negative ideas about life do not enter into their concept of piety. When they speak about the transience of this world, their purpose is not to warn the hearer or reader against absorption in worldly affairs but to urge him to be virtuous and do good so that he may leave behind a good name (e.g., Rūdakī in Şafā, *Ganĵ-esokan*, 6th ed., Tehran, 1357 Š./1978, I, p. 8; *Šāh-nāma*, ed. Borūķīm, pp. 1918, 2261, 2374, and elsewhere; Faķr-al-dīn As‘ad Gorgānī, *Vīs oRāmīn*, passage quoted in Şafā, *Adabīyāt*, pp. 378-79). Both the maxims and the discourses reflect a tradition of personal and social morality and of professional or occupational standards required in tradesmen, secretaries, officials, soldiers, and kings and their viziers and courtiers.

Around the middle of the 5th/11th century, when Islamic teachings had penetrated more deeply and knowledge of Arabic and Arab culture had spread more widely, Iranian culture entered a new phase, which may be divided into two periods: The first up to the end of the 9th/15th century when Sunnism was dominant; second from the beginning of the 10th/16th century when Shi‘ism prevailed. In both periods ethico-didactic writers present Koranic verses, Prophetic traditions, and sayings of eminent Moslems (whether Sunnite saints or Shi‘ite imams) as rules for life, linking them to Islamic doctrines and laws and to hopes of reward or salvation from punishment in the afterworld. Such material is either added to materia¹ from the early period or, increasingly as time passes, substituted for it. The displacement of counsels of national origin by counsels of religious origin is much more marked after the victory of Twelver Shi‘ism. Up to the end of the 9th/15th century, despite the constantly growing influence of Islamic teachings of Arab culture, the traditional Iranian counsels are still va¹ued and placed side by side with the imported counsels, whereas in the subsequent period this is not the case. The Shi‘ism of Safavid times fell under the sway of scholars; of Arab descent from Jabal ‘Āmel, Aĥsā’, Bahrain, etc., whom the Safavid kings invited to Iran to direct the training of Shi‘ite ‘*olamā*’. These scholars naturally took no interest in Iranian counsels, their concern being to propagate Shi‘ism and Arab culture (for a more detailed discussion, see Şafā, *Adabīyāt* V, pp. 126-28, 187-92). Thus Bozorgmehr is replaced by Loqmān, and, even then, the maxims are usually accompanied by corroborative reports of words or deeds of the Shi‘ite imams, particularly ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭāleb, Moĥammad al-Bāqer, Ja‘far al-Şādeq, and Mūsā al-Kāzem (see, e.g., Maĵlesi’s *Ĥayāt al-qolūb*, Tehran, n.d., I, pp. 314-23). In Twe¹ver Shi‘ite



ethical treatises countless exhortations are ascribed to the Prophet, the imams, and leading Shi'ites and used as the basic subject-matter.

Counsel-giving in verse can be traced back to the 3rd/9th century in the earliest preserved fragments of Persian poetry by such poets as Ḥanzala Bādġīsī and Bū Salīk Gorgānī (Lazard, *Premiers poètes* I, pp. 12, 21). From then onward it flourished without a break. In the next century Rūdakī (d. 329/940) devoted much of his very large poetic output to moral exhortation, some of which have survived in the form of short poems (*qeṭ'as*). A major contribution of his was a versified version of the *Kalīla wa Demna* fables into *matī'Enawī* verse.

Other poets of the 4th/10th century, such as Šahīd Balkī, Abū Ṭāher Ḳosrāvānī, Daqīqī, Ḳosravī Saraḳsī, Abu'l-Faṭḥ Bostī, are all known to have written long or short moralistic poems, but none is comparable to **Abū Šakūr Balkī** partly preserved in his *Afarīn-nāma*, a long *maṭnawī* in the *motaqāreb* meter completed in 336/947, which probably served as the prototype of later didactic *maṭnawīs* such as Sa'dī's *Būstān*. The verses, touching on social and moral matters, rules of conduct, man's duty to control his instincts and improve his mind through knowledge and understanding (see Lazard, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-127; Nafīsī, *Rūdakī*, pp. 1233-60), reveal an outlook similar to that which we find in the Pahlavi *andarz* books or in the *Šāh-nāma* and recall the descriptions of virtues cherished by the Iranians in Meskawayh's (Meskūya's) *al-Ḥekmat al-ḳāleda* and *al-Sa'āda wa'l-es'ād* (Tehran, 1336 Š./1957). The obviously practical intent and the didactic method are far removed from the philosophical theorizing and logical reasoning of Aristotelian ethics.

The very numerous counsels found in the āh-nāma stem from the texts to which Ferdows-1 had access. They may be divided into three main types: Those of the first and most basic type appear in the parts of the *Šāh-nāma* concerning careers of Sasanian kings, particularly Ardašīr Bābakān (ed. Borūḳīm, pp. 1990-92, 1998-99), Šāpūr I (p. 2008), and Hormozd (pp. 2009-14), and in the account of Anōšīravān's seven banquet-sessions with Bozorgmehr (pp. 2373-401). The last one, demonstrably derived from Pahlavi advice-books such as the *Pand-nāmag ī Wuzurgmīhr ī Bōtagān*, consist of maxims of conduct and civility, such as good manners in conversation, seeking excellence, behaving like a man, being truthful and honest, avoiding slackness and laziness, amassing knowledge, and the like, each of which is enunciated in one or two verses or sometimes in a halfverse. (Şafā, *Ḥamāsarā'ī dar Īrān*, 4th ed., Tehran, 1363 Š./1984, p. 69). The maxims of the second type are those



put into the mouth of a king as his throne address and his testament. They are generally about statecraft, treatment of the subjects, avoidance of injustice and tyranny, as well as the necessity of obedience to kings and respect for religious ordinances. The counsels of the third type come in comments by Ferdowsī himself at the end of stories of kings and heroes (particularly when one dies or is killed); these include remarks on the transience of worldly life and exhortation for good thoughts, good deeds, justice, and avoidance of evil (e.g., the end of the story of Żahḥāk, ed. Borūkīm, p. 61). Furthermore the story-texts, and especially the dialogues between heroes, often contain maxims which Ferdowsī probably found in his sources (e.g., the story of Īraĵ, verses 509-10, 524-25).

Among the epic poems written after the *Šāh-nāma* and under its influence only the *Garšāsp-nāma* of Asadī Ṭūsī (d. 465/1072) deserves attention for our purpose. Counsels and maxims are found in various contexts and one cannot be sure whether the author inserted them or took them from the condensed prose version of the Garšāsp saga on which he depended. Also relevant are the exchanges of questions and answers between the Brahmin and Farāmarz in the *Farāmarznāma* (Bombay ed., pp. 152-56) and the occasional dialogues in other epics, particularly Nezāmī's *Eskandar-nāma* and works modeled on it.

Among the poets of the first part of the 5th/11th century, one named Badāye'ī Balkī (not to be confused with Badī' Balkī, see *Maĵma' al-foṣaḥā'* I, pp. 456-62) made a verse rendering of the *Pand-nāma* of Anōšīravān in the *motaqāreb* meter (409 verses) and entitled it *Rāḥat al-ensān* (ed. Ch. Schefer in *Chrestomathie Persane*, Paris, 1885; repr., together with Pers. tr. of the Pahlavi *Pand-nāmak*, by S. Nafisī in *Mehr* 2/2-3, 1313 Š./1934). As in other Iranian *andarz* books of this type, many different virtues of self-control and self-perfection, such as following reason, seeking knowledge, speaking courteously, showing kindness, telling the truth, keeping good company, and being content with one's lot, are here epitomized in one or two verses each.

The writing of didactic *matnawīs* and *qeṭ'as*, begun by Rūdakī, received a great impetus by Kesā'ī Marvazī (late 4th/10th and early 5th/11th cent.) and Nāṣer(-e) Kōsrow (d. 481/1088) the author of two relatively short *matnawīs*, the *Rowšanā'ī-nāma* and the *Sa'ādat-nāma*. Nāṣer Kōsrow is also unique in having written long *qaṣīdas* on ethical, philosophical, and practical subjects.

In the first half of the 6th/12th century Sanā'ī Ġaznavī (d. 545/1150), after undergoing a spiritual transformation, opened a new chapter by writing



poetry with a combined mystic and moral content. The example was to be widely followed. Sanā'ī expounded mystic and ethical ideas and poured forth counsels and homilies in *qaṣīdas* and *qeṭ'as* of seldom equalled eloquence and in long *matnawī* poems, particularly his *Ḥadīqat al-ḥaqīqa*. His success led a number of poets of the 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries to take works of his as their models: e.g., Qewāmī Rāzī (d. ca. 560/1164), Jamāl-al-dīn Eṣfahānī (d. 588/1164), Kāqānī Šervānī (d. 595/1198), in the writing of didactic *qaṣīdas*, Neẓāmī Ganjavī (d. 614/1217) in his *matnawī*, the *Maḳzan al-asrār*, and several others.

One of the ablest poets of this period was Awḥad-al-dīn Anwarī (d. 583/1187); famous above all for his *qaṣīdas*, he also knew how to evoke social and moral problems through counsels or critical taunts in short, cogent *qeṭ'as*. This style of exhortative *qeṭ'a*-writing was to be brought to perfection by another great poet, Ebn Yamīn (d. 769/1367), whose *qeṭ'as* soon won renown for their variety and simplicity and for the author's manifest sincerity.

Didactic literature reached its zenith in the works of Shaikh Moṣleḥ-al-dīn Sa'dī Šīrāzī (d. 691/1291 or 694/1294). In his *Golestān*, with its wealth of moral, educational, and political maxims in both prose and verse, and in his celebrated *matnawī* the *Būstān*, and his *qaṣīdas*, he gives counsels on every aspect of private and social life which remain well-known and, for the most part, are seen by Iranians as enduringly valid. In both of his major works, Sa'dī prefers to impress moral lessons on the reader's mind by means of exemplary anecdotes and vivid comparisons rather than dry statements of principle. This method was maintained by all the imitators of the *Golestān* and *Būstān*.

Following Sanā'ī's initiative in linking moral to mystic themes, later poets composed *matnawīs* with the aim of expounding basic principles of Sufism and guiding seekers to ways of spiritual self-protection. Their discourses are accompanied by anecdotes and comparisons and are frequently interspersed with moral and social maxims. The number of such *matnawīs* is very large. Names of the authors and titles of the finest works in this genre are listed below: Neẓāmī Ganjavī, *Maḳzan al-asrār* (the model for many later didactic *matnawīs*); Farīd-al-dīn 'Aṭṭār (d. 618/1221 or 627/1229), *Manṭeq al-ṭayr*, *Asrār-nāma*, *Elāhī-nāma*, and others; Jalāl-al-dīn Moḥammad Balkī Rūmī (d. 672/1273), the *Matnawī*, *Mīr Ḥosaynī Heravī* (d. 718/1318), *Zād al-mosāferīn* and *Kanz al-romūz*; Amīr Ḳosrow Dehlavī (d. 725/1324), *Maṭla' al-anwār* (on the model of Neẓāmī's *Maḳzan al-asrār*); Awḥadī Marāḡa'ī (d. 738/1337), *Jām-e Jam* (important for its plentiful data and recommendations on social and



educational matters); Kvājū Kermānī (d. 753/1352), Rawzat al-anwār; ‘Emād-al-dīn Faqīh Kermānī (d. 773/1371), Mo’nes al-abrār; Kātebī Nīšābūrī (838/1434), Golšān-e abrār; ‘Abd-al-Raḥmān Jāmī (d. 898/1492), Toḥfat al-aḥrār and Sobḥat al-abra@r; Ġazālī Mašhadī (d. 936/1528), Mašhad-e anwār; Fayzī or Fayyazī (d. 1004/1595), Markaz-e adwār. The abovementioned works, beginning with the Maṭla’ al-anwār of Amīr Ḳosrow are all imitations of the Makzan al-asrār of Neẓāmī, whose works, like those of Sanā’ī, Rūmī, and Sa’dī, were imitated up to the mid-13th/19th century.

From around the beginning of the 8th/14th century, another poetic vehicle for the conveyance of counsels, namely the ḡazal, came into widespread use. The counsels in this genre of poetry are often expressed, particularly in the works of the adherents of sabk-e Hendī (q.v.), in delicate, poetic language, sometimes with accompanying current proverbs and symbolic comparisons; their contents usually have a bearing on the poet’s own circumstances and environment.

Prose. Post-Islamic wisdom literature by Iranians was initially in Arabic. Among the subsequently written Persian books of this genre, some are translated or derived either from ancient, mainly Pahlavi, sources, or from their Arabic versions; some are grounded in the moral and social conventions which had gradually arisen in Islamic Iranian civilization; a few fall into the category of philosophical ethics.

A prominent example of the works translated from Arabic versions of Pahlavi originals is Nāma-ye Tansar (ed. M. Mīnovī, Tehran, 1311 Š./1933; tr. M. Boyce, The Letter of Tansar, Rome, 1968). It is a letter allegedly written by Tansar (Tōsar?), the chief priest of Ardašīr I, to Jošnasp (Gošnasp) Šāh the ruler of Ṭabarestān, answering a number of questions posed by the latter with regard to the legitimacy of the king’s rule (see Boyce, op. cit., intro.; Mīnovī, intro.). It was translated into Arabic by Ebn al-Moqaffa’ and then into Persian by Ebn Esfandiār (6th-7th/12th- 13th cent.) who included it in his Tārīḳ-e Ṭabarestān (pp. 15-41).

Among the Persian works ascribed to Ebn Sīnā (d. 428/1036) is one entitled Ẓafar-nāma (Tabrīz, 1307 Š./1928 as a feuilleton to the Taqwīm-e Tarbiyat; Tehran, 1331 Š./1952, several other eds.). Its contents are manifestly based on Bozorgmehr’s counsels and sayings in reply to Anōšīravān’s questions. According to the preface, the book was translated by order of the Samanid amir Nūḥ b. Maṣṣūr (r. 365-87/975-97). Another set of counsels ascribed to



Anōšīravān is found in chapter 8 of the Andarz-nāma (q.v.), known as the Qābūs-nāma, of ‘Onsor-al-ma‘ālī Kaykāvūs. It comprises fifty-eight counsels, each epitomizing a moral principle, which according to ‘Onsor-al-ma‘ālī were inscribed on the wall of Anōšīravān’s tomb. There is also a short Pand-nāma-ye Anōšīravān (Armaġān 12/9, 1310 Š./1931, pp. 623-26), discussing the maxims which, according to the preface, were inscribed on each side of his decagonal crown; as already noted, it was put into verse by Badāye‘ī Balkī in his Rāḡat al-ensān.

Ebn Sīnā’s contemporary Abū ‘Alī Kāzen Aḡmad b. Moḡammad known as (Ebn) Meskūya or Meskawayh (d. 421/1030) compiled an Arabic work entitled al-Ḥekmat al-ḡāleda from ancient materials, including maxims of pre-Islamic Iranians, Indians, Arabs, Romans, and Greeks as well as wise sayings of Moslems (ed. with intro. by ‘A. Badawī, Cairo, 1952. See also W. B. Henning, in ZDMG 106, 1956, pp. 73-77; M. Moḡammadī, “Āyīn-nāma wa’l-maġāte‘ al-bāġīa menhā fi’l-maṡāder al-‘arabīya,” al-Derāsāt al-adabīya 1/2-3, pp. 15-39, esp. 36-39, and idem, al-Tarġama wa’l-naql men al-fāresīya fi’l-qorūn al-eslāmīya al-ūlā, Part 1, Kotob al-tāġ wa’l-āyīn, Beirut, 1964). Two Persian translations of this work were made in India: one, entitled Jāvīdān ḡerad, in Jahāngīr’s reign (1014-37/1605-27) by Taġī-al-dīn Moḡammad b. Šayḡ Moḡammad Arrajānī Šūštārī; the other, entitled Entekāb-e šāyesta-ye Kānī, in Awrangzēb’s reign (1068-118/1658-707) by Šams-al-dīn Moḡammad Ḥosayn Ḥakīm.

A little after ‘Onsor-al-ma‘ālī’s time, Kāvāja Neẓām-al-molk Ṭūsī (d. 485/1092) wrote the celebrated Sīāsatnāma for the Saljuq sultan Malekšāh (465-85/1072-92). The work consists mainly of counsels on governmental problems, statecraft, and royal treatment of courtiers, ministers, peasants, and troops. Neẓām-al-molk has also left a letter to his son Faḡr-al-molk (d. 500/1106) on qualities required of ministers, copies of which have reached us under the title Waṡāyā-ye Neẓām-al-molk or Dostūr al-wezāra, and another essay in the same field entitled Qānūn al-molk (Šafā, Adabīyāt II, p. 907).

Counsels on morality, statecraft, social conduct, and education are of course to be found in many Persian prose classics, e.g., the Kīmīā-ye sa‘ādāt and Naṡīḡat al-molūk of Moḡammad Ġazālī, the Marzbān-nama, the Baḡtīār-nāma, the Persian version of Kalīla wa Demna, the Sendbād-nāma, the Ṭūṡī-nāma, and the Golestān of Sa‘dī.

Among the works written in the late 6th/12th century and early 7th/13th century, one which deserves mention is Makārem al-aḡlāq in forty chapters by



the poet and scholar Rażī-al-dīn Nīšābūrī (d. 598/1201; see the notice in S. Nafīsī's ed. of the *Tārīk-e Bayhaqī* III, Tehran, 1319 Š./1940, pp. 1339f.). Also interesting are two advice-books, the first on political, the second on military matters, by Mobārakšāh Moḥammad b. Maṣūr known as Fakr-e Modabber (d. before 633/1235); the first is named either *Ādāb al-molūk* or *Kefāyat al-molūk*, the second, unique in its field, *Ādāb al-ḥarb wa'l-šafā'a*. A book named *Tohāfat al-molūk* written by an unknown author some time after 618/1221 uses material from early sources such as Rūdakī's *Kalīla wa Demna* and Ferdowsī's *Šāh-nāma* in its advice to kings, and is noteworthy because it contains instructions on practical morality in the traditional Iranian style.

This interest in the traditional mores of the Iranians was maintained in the 7th/13th century. Kāvāja Noşīr-al-dīn Ṭūsī (d. 672/1273) has left us a Persian translation of Ebn al-Moqaffa's advice to his own son *al-Adab al-wafīz le'l-walad al-šağīr* (Short book of advice on morals and manners for a young son). In his treatises on ethics he uses three different methods. In his *Aqlāq-e Nāşeri* he generally follows the Aristotelian method in discussing theoretical and practical ethics (including politics and economics), and views these subjects mainly from a philosophical standpoint; in his *Awşāf al-aşraf* he looks at moral education from a Sufi standpoint. In his *Aqlāq-e Moḥtaşamī* he writes about ethics mainly from a religious standpoint, presenting counsels and arguments based on verses of the Koran, traditions of the Prophet, and sayings of sages and saints.

From the 8th/14th and later centuries we possess a number of books on ethics whose approach to the subject is half way between that of the *Aqlāq-e Nāşeri* and that of the *Aqlāq-e Moḥtaşamī*. In the main they tend to link ethical principles to words and deeds of great religious and historical figures, with frequent citation of Koranic verses and Prophetic traditions, as well as poems and parables, in support of arguments. Aside from the *Aqlāq-e Jalālī* of Jalāl-al-dīn Davānī (d. 908/1502), which is largely philosophical, the following works may be mentioned: *Aqlāq-e Moḥsenī* by Ḥosayn Kāşefī Sabzavārī (d. 910/1504); *Aqlāq-e Homāyūn*, on right conduct for princes, written for Zāhīr-al-dīn Bābor by Qāzī Ektīār-al-dīn Ḥosaynī Torbatī in 912/1506; *Toḥfa-ye Qoṭbşāhī*, written for the sultan of Golkonda, 'Abdallāh Qoṭbşāh (d. 1083/1672), by 'Alī b. Ṭayfūr Beşāmī; *Aqlāq-e Şefā'ī*, by Moẓaffar b. Moḥammad Ḥosaynī Şefā'ī Kāşānī (d. 1088/1676); and *Abwāb al-ĵanān*, by Wā'eẓ Qazvīnī (d. 1089/1677), a work with a more emphatically religious tone (he planned eight chapters, but only wrote two, and his son Mollā Moḥammad Şafī' compressed the remaining material



into a single chapter).

Emphasis on religious premises and concern for Islamic culture in the treatment of ethical and related subjects long antedated the appearance of the above-mentioned books. The spread of the teachings of Moḥammad Ḡazālī, who abjured the Aristotelian method of inquiry into ethical matters and based his writings about these matters on Islamic law, Koranic teaching, and intuitive faith, had prompted Muslim thinkers to refute the Greek philosophy and to declare philosophers to be infidels (see Şafā, *Adabīyāt* II, pp. 274-88). Even such intellectual poets as Sanā'ī Ḡaznavī and Kāqānī Šervānī joined in the condemnation of philosophy, insisting that human salvation lies only in adherence to religion and Koranic precepts (*ibid.*, pp. 288-92).

The contents of Ḡazālī's *Kīmīā-ye sa'ādat* (Alchemy of happiness), itself a Persian summary of his *Eḥyā' 'olūm-al-dīn*, are both abstract and concrete, arranged under four "headings" ('onwān) and four "pillars" (rokn) respectively. The four "headings" are knowing one's self, knowing the True God, knowing this lower

world, and knowing the afterworld. The four "pillars" are about rituals of worship, dealings with fellow-humans, removal of obstacles to religion, and private confessions and prayers to God. Ḡazālī planned the work on these lines with the aim of leading his readers to the "alchemy of happiness," i.e., the essential element of intuitive faith which would enable them to throw off bad qualities, develop good qualities, break loose from worldly attachments, submit wholly to God's will, and thus advance to the ultimate and eternal happiness of total self-effacement and absorption in God. In his opinion, character training and moral improvement are the proper concern of ethics and are only possible through fulfillment of religious commandments and purposes.

Ḡazālī's method is more or less followed by several later writers of ethical treatises, some of which have already been mentioned. Mollā Moḥsen Fayḏ Kāšānī (d. 1091/1680) even tried to improve on Ḡazālī's major Arabic work *Eḥyā' 'olūm al-dīn*. In a book entitled *al-Meḥajja al-bayzā' fī eḥyā' Ketāb al-eḥyā'* (Tehran, n.d.), he supplements Ḡazālī's work with traditions of the imams of the Shi'ites and reported pronouncements by Shi'ite 'olamā' (Şafā, *Adabīyāt* V, Tehran, 1362 Š./1983, p. 334). The same technique of deducing ethical principles from religious teachings, above all verses of the Koran and reported words and deeds of the Prophet Moḥammad and the imams, is used



in books which other theologians of the Safavid period wrote in Persian, the best examples being those by Mollā Moḥammad-Bāqer Maḥlesī (d. 1110/1698), particularly his *Ḥelyat al-mottaqīn* and a section of his *Ḥaqq al-yaqīn*. In the former he lays down rules, based on precedents set by the Prophet and the imams, for every action in a believer's life, even for such things as dressing, eating, marrying, and going to public baths. On minute details Maḥlesī quotes precise instructions or counsels said to have been given by the Prophet or an imam.

One of the Arabic classics in the field of *adab* is a book which is also of religious importance and has strongly influenced Persian ethico-didactic literature, namely the *Nahī al-balāḡa* ascribed to 'Alī b. Abī Ṭāleb, the first imam of the Shi'ites. The book is a collection of 'Alī's sermons and short sayings on religious and mundane matters assembled and put into literary form by Sayyed Rażī (d. 406/1015), but its main significance for this study lies in the short sayings, many of which give advice on various subjects not unlike the old Iranian counsels. There are also separate collections of the short sayings, which are very numerous—over 13,000 in some collections. The first collection, made by the famous Arab writer al-Jāḥeẓ (d. 255/868) and entitled *Me'at kalema*, consists, as the title shows, of only 100 sayings. Many Persian prose and verse translations of this were brought out under the title *Ṣad kalema*, the earliest being by the well-known poet of the 6th/12th century Rašīd-al-dīn Vaṭvāṭ (for the later translations and commentaries, see the Catalogue of Tehran University Library, vol. 2, pp. 137-41). The main collection containing most, if not all, of 'Alī's real or purported short sayings, was made in the 5th/11th century by Nāseḥ-al-dīn Abu'l-Faṭḥ Āmedī, a contemporary of Sayyed Rażī, the compiler of the *Nahī al-balāḡa*; it is entitled *Ḡorar al-ḥekam wa dorar al-kalem* and consists of twenty-nine chapters arranged in the alphabetical order of the spelling of the first word of each saying (Bombay, 1280/1863). A Persian commentary on this work was made by Āqā Jamāl Kḡānsārī (d. 1125/1713), and a complete translation was produced by 'Abd-al-Karīm Qazvīnī, a contemporary of the Safavid king Solṭān Ḥosayn.

The *Nahī al-balāḡa* was, of course, not the only channel of Arabic influence on the language and content of Persian ethico-didactic writings. Virtually all Persian prose writers and poets had some knowledge of Arabic texts and, roughly speaking, from the 6th/12th century onward they showed a fondness for filling their works with references to well-known sayings of Arab orators, sages, and poets, and for citing Arabic maxims as proof of arguments. Good



examples of this style of writing by pretentious Persian scribes are to be found in Ša'd-al-dīn Varāvīnī's version of the Marzbān-nāma and Ḥosayn Kāšefī's version of Kalīla wa Demna, in the works of historians such as Ebn Bibī, 'Aṭā Malek Jovaynī, Nāṣer-al-dīn Monšī, and Waṣṣāf, and in collections of letters from subsequent centuries.

None of these Arabic influences left such a mark on the Persian language as the practice of paraphrasing Koranic verses, Prophetic traditions, and sayings of saints, etc. Most quotations of this type are, by their very nature, religious injunctions, and they are presented by didactic writers as keys to happiness in the present life and salvation in the afterlife. Such material is used in different ways: Either an entire verse, report, or saying, or a part of it having special importance for the writer, may be brought into the Persian discourse, or a mere reference to it may be considered sufficient. The practice is best illustrated in Persian writings of mystics, Sufis, and preachers, such as the Maḡāles of Moḡammad b. 'Abd-al-Karīm Šahrestānī (d. 548/1153), the Ketāb al-taṣfīa of Abū Maṣṣūr 'Abbādī (d. 547/1152), the Ketāb al-ma'āref of Bahā'al-dīn Moḡammad Balkī (d. 628/1230), and the Maṣṣnawī of Jalāl-al-dīn Moḡammad Balkī Rūmī and all maṣṣnawīs modeled on it (Šafā, Adabīyāt II, pp. 953-54, 1019-22; idem, Gaṣṣīna-ye soḡan, Tehran, 1353 Š./1974, II, pp. 207-20). Some of these authors extended the practice to letter-writing, as can be seen in surviving collections of their letters, e.g., the Makātīb of 'Ayn-al-qozāt Hamadānī (d. 523/1130; 2 vols., repr. Tehran, 1362 Š./1983), and the Maktūbāt of Rūmī (Tehran, 1356 Š./1977).

Counsels and maxims of Indian origin have also entered Persian literature as a natural result of the translation of Indian writings. They are generally linked to exemplifying allegories and parables, as in Kalīla wa Demna, the Sendbād-nāma, and the Ṭūṭī-nāma. Translation from Sanskrit into Persian was pursued until relatively late times, in particular in the reigns of Akbar (963-1014/1605-56), Jahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27), and Šāh Jahān (1037-69/1627-59).

Perhaps to a wider extent than any other influence, the ideas of Iranian mystics and Sufis have left their stamp on the content of Persian ethico-didactic literature. From early times such men began (as already noted) to propagate their ideas by writing as well as preaching. They composed maṣṣnawīs, qaṣīdas, ḡazals, prose treatises and, above all, accounts of the lives and sayings of Sufi saints and leaders. The number of such writings is extremely large (some are listed in the bibliography). Works such as Hoṣṣvīrī's



Kašf al-maḥjūb, ‘Aṭṭār’s Taḍkerat al-awliā’, Jāmī’s Nafaḥāt al-ons, ‘Alī Ṣafī’s Rašaḥāt ‘ayn al-ḥayāt contain so many moral exhortations and educational and other counsels that these alone could fill separate volumes. They are usually centered on themes such as self-perfection, moral purification, spiritual detachment, intensification of faith, self-respect, magnanimity, service to fellow-men, generosity and charity, or avoidance of greed, ambition, distrust, hypocrisy, untruthfulness, dishonesty, and conceit—in short, on ways to become a perfect man who will seek, heed, and see only God.

Sufi shaikhs made abundant use of Koranic verses and reported words and deeds of great Moslem theologians and mystics as instructional material for their disciples and for people in general. Their teachings hinge on Koranic precepts and Islamic norms as they understood them. With the passage of time and the maturation of Islamic Iranian civilization, this characteristic of Sufi didactics becomes more marked. The later writers appear to have completely lost touch with their Iranian ancestors. They show no knowledge of the moral teachings and counsels to be found not only in Pahlavi andarz texts but also in Persian books such as Abū Ṣakūr Balkī’s Āfarīn-nāma, Badāye’ī Balkī’s Rāḥat al-ensān, Ferdowsī’s Šāh-nāma, and ‘Onṣor-al-ma’ālī’s Andarz-nāma.

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