



FAHLAVĪYĀT

FAHLAVĪYĀT (sing.: *fahlavīya*, Arabicized form of Persian *pahlavī*, in its original sense of Parthian), an appellation given especially to the quatrains and by extension to the poetry in general composed in the old dialects of the Pahlā/Fahla regions. According to Ebn al-Moqaffa' (in *Fehrest*, ed. Tajaddod, p. 15, tr. Dodge, I, p. 24), Fahla consisted of five regions, namely Isfahan, Ray, Hamadān, Māh Nehāvand, and Azarbaijan, that is a region comprising Media (cf. K̄ārazmī, p. 117, where the word is recorded as *bahla*). Ebn K̄ordāqbeh (p. 57) describes it as a region consisting of Ray, Isfahan, Hamadān, Dīnavar, Nehāvand, Mehrajān-qadaq, Māsabaḍān, and Qazvīn. The use of *fahla* (< Mid. Pers. *pahlaw*) for designating Media goes back to late Arsacid times (cf. Henning, "Mitteliranisch," p. 95). The specimens of *fahlavī* poems quoted in Persian texts are mostly attributed to the above-mentioned regions. Nevertheless, from the linguistic point of view the Fahla area may have extended to Gīlān. Thus *fahlavīyāt* include poems composed in the former dialects of western, central, and northern Persia. There is evidence to suggest that certain popular lyrical quatrains were sung by the Persian Sufis of Baghdad in the 3rd/9th century in the course of their religious musical performances (*samā*). These quatrains could hardly have been in Arabic, but were in all probability in the local Iranian dialects (Šafī'ī Kadkanī, pp. 2335-39). The oldest extant *fahlavī* quatrain, apparently in the dialect of Nehāvand, is attributed to a certain Abū 'Abbās Nehāvandī (d. 331/942-43; Faṣīḥ, II, p. 54, without the appellation *fahlavī*; see Rīāḥī, pp. 1928 f.). The same quatrain is also recorded by Sorūrī with some minor variant readings (I, p. 300, where the poem is said to have been sung in the mode (*ṭarīq*) of *šarva*, see below).



Although this quatrain was composed in the 10th century, it has been Persianized to such an extent that in its present form it hardly possesses the archaic characteristics of a 10th-century *fahlavī* poem.

The *fahlavīyāt* were set to melodies (*lahn*, *malḥūnāt*) called *ōrāmanān* and were sung (Šams-al-Dīn Rāzī, *Moʿjam*, p. 166; *Borhān-e qāteʿ*, ed. Moʿīn, s.v. *ōrāman*). This term seems to be connected with the name of the region Avroman (q.v.) in Kurdistan. A variant of it, *ōrāma*, is sometimes used to designate a *fahlavī* poem (ʿAyn-al-Qozāt, II, pp. 82, n. 7, 168, 176, 374, 411, 444). Another mode used for singing *fahlavī* poetry was called *šarva*, whose origin is not known (Sorūrī, I, pp. 76, 300: *be ʿarīq-e šarva* “in the mode of *šarva*,” III, pp. 1104, 1494-95: *dar šarva* “in (the mode of) *šarva*”; see Kīā, 1978, pp. 34-37; cf. *šarvakvān* “one who sings in the *šarva* mode” juxtaposed with *pahlavīgū* in a Persian verse (*Loḡat-nāma*, s.v.). Another similar term, also of unknown origin, is recorded in Persian dictionaries as *bāhār*, defined as “a mode of singing similar to (the singing of) *pahlavī* and *rāmandī*” (Kīā, 1978, pp. 33, 34, see below). The singing of *fahlavīyāt* could also be accompanied by instrumental music (Neẓāmī, *Haft peykar*, p. 127, v. 7; idem, *Qosrow o Šīrīn*, p. 98, v. 7).

Besides *fahlavī* some other terms were occasionally used to designate dialect poetry. For example, *rāẓī/rāzī*, which was originally used for the poems composed in the dialect of Ray, was later so generalized. Thus it was used for the dialect poems of Azarbaijan, and also applied to the *fahlavī* poems of a Shirazi poet. Other terms are *šahrī*, lit. “relating to the city” (Adīb Ṭūsī, 1956, pp. 240-42; Reżāzāda, II, pp. 61-66; Rīāḥī, pp. 1321-25, cf. Pers. *pahlav* “city” in contrast to *dašt o hāmūn* “plain, desert”), and *rāmandī* “relating to Rāmand, a region of Qazvīn,” but used to designate a mode of singing dialect poetry; cf. also *rāẓīdān* “one who knows dialect poetry” and *šahrīkvān* “one who sings dialect poetry”).

The *fahlavīyāt* as a means of entertainment of the general populace and as sources of spiritual satisfaction for the elites and intellectuals enjoyed great favor and prestige. In Šams-al-Dīn Rāzī’s words (*Moʿjam*, p. 166), “they were embellished with uncommon ideas (*maʿānī-e ḡarīb*) and adjusted (*pīrāsta*) to subtle (*moraqq*) and delightful melodies.” The contents of the surviving specimens include lyrical and mystical themes as well as colorful and elegant descriptions of nature and satires. It was because of these qualities that they were often quoted by the Persian mystics. Expressions such as *lahn-e fahlavī*, *golbāng-e fahlavī*, *ḡazal-e pahlavī*, *bayt-e pahlavī*, and *sorūd-e fahlavī* signify not



only beautiful and elegant but also spiritual and intellectual poetry. Thus Jāmī called Rūmī's *Maṭnawī* "the Qur'ān in the *fahlavī* language" (Rezāzāda, p. 60).

The *fahlavīyāt* have the characteristics of oral literature: the simplicity and vividness of their contents, the anonymity of their poets, and the repetitions and recurrences of more or less the same themes in them. For most of the *fahlavīyāt* the name of the poet is not mentioned, and of those which are attributed to a poet, the attribution must be regarded with caution. In some cases they are attributed to people in general or even to a legendary figure, such as a quatrain ascribed to Adam.

The *fahlavī* poets continued the oral tradition of the Parthian and later minstrels following, in early Islamic times, the principles of Middle Iranian prosody. But with the adoption of the so-called Arabic prosody for Persian poetry, and under the influence of the latter, the *fahlavīyāt* were gradually adapted to the rules of the quantitative meters, among which the most popular was *hazaj* (see 'ARŪŽ), although sometimes with modifications that seemed shocking to strict prosodists such as Šams-al-Dīn Rāzī (*Mo'jam*, pp. 166-67). Such deviations from the standard rules of Persian prosody were felt because the *fahlavīyāt* still partly continued pre-Islamic prosody. These modifications were hardly noticed when the poems were sung, whereas when reading them the prosodist immediately noticed their metrical defects according to 'arūž (Arabic-based prosody).

Although there are linguistic differences between the *fahlavīyāt* of different regions, their common morphological and lexical features resulted in their expansion in a vast area extending from west to center and north Persia, they being recited and sung everywhere regardless of their provenance. Thus one quatrain is quoted as being both by a native of Ray and a native of Azarbaijan, a *ġazal* of Homām Tabrīzī is cited in the *Dīvān* of 'Obayd Zākānī, Šā'en-al-Dīn Torka of Isfahan quoted a *bayt* by Bābā Ṭāher of Hamadān, and even the Shirazi poet Boshāq Aṭema (q.v.) has *fahlavīyāt*.

The *fahlavīyāt*, being survivals of the Median dialects, have certain linguistic affinities with Parthian, although in their existing forms they have been much influenced by Persian. It is impossible to discuss here all the common linguistic features of the *fahlavīyāt* and the points in which they differ. The most noticeable linguistic characteristics may, however, be mentioned: they are, the use of the ergative construction for the past transitive verbs, the existence of two forms for the first person singular pronoun, namely *az* "I"



(direct form, cf. Parth. *az*) and *ma/mo* “me” (oblique form, cf. Parth./Mid. Pers. *man*), the use of *jī/cā-* before the inverted determinant in the *ežāfa* (q.v.) construction, the existence of the possessive adjectives *jāman/cāman* “my,” *jāta/cāta/ašta* “your,” *jāmān/cāmān* “our,” the preverb *hā* (< *fra-*), and the development of *far-* and *xar-* to *har-* (e.g., *harsūdan* “wear out,” *harīdan* “buy”). The following is a selective list of words deserving mention: *ahnām* “love,” *aj/až/ja* “from, of,” *ālāva* “flame,” *asr* “tear,” *avā/vā* “with,” *az* “I,” *bar* “door” (Parth. *bar*), *bašn* “stature,” *bīš* “pain, sorrow” (cf. Mid. Pers. *bēš*), *dīl/del* “heart,” *dīm* “face” (Mid. Pers./Parth. *dēm*), *gēhān* “world,” *gyān/gān/yān* “soul,” *hanī* “other” (Mid. Pers./Parth. *any*), *herz-* “leave, let” (Parth. *hirz-*), *kar-* “do” (Parth. *kar-*), *kīj/kīž* “anybody, somebody” (Parth. *kēž*), *kovām* “which” (interrog. adj. Parth./Mid. Pers. *kadām*), *lāv* “agitation,” *māng* “moon,” *nād/nād* “beloved,” *ō* “to, at, in” (Parth./Mid. Pers.), *rīj-* “pour,” *rūj/rū/ru* “day” (Parth. *rōz*), *sā(y)* “shadow,” *tahra* “dark” (cf. Av. *taḡura-*), *vad/vaḍ/vay* “bad,” *vātan*, *vāž-* “say, tell” (Parth. *wāxtan*, *wāž-*), *vaz-* “move” (Parth. *waz-*), *vāžār* “market” (Parth. *wāžār*), *vel* “rose, beloved,” *vīn-* “see,” (Mid. Pers./Parth. *wēn-*), *xā* “earth, soil, dust,” *xvā* “god,” *xvāv* “sleep,” *xvāz-* “want, wish” (Parth. *wxāz-*), *yā* “place” (Parth. *wyāg*), *yān* “soul” (cf. *gyān/gān*), *zān-* “know” (Parth. *zān-*), and *žīvanda* “living” (Parth. *žīwandag*).

EXTANT SPECIMENS OF FAHLAVĪYĀT

Ardabīl. Eleven quatrains attributed to Shaikh Ṣafī-al-Dīn Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334) are recorded by Pīrzāda under the title “Rāji-e Ṭāleši poems”; out of the four quatrains recorded by Ebn Bazzāz (q.v.), two are attributed to Shaikh Ṣafī-al-Dīn (p. 68 with the appellation *pahlavī*, and p. 135) and two to his associates (p. 191 and p. 220 with the appellation *fahlavī*; see Kasrawī, 1938, pp. 41-51; idem, 1973, pp. 343-52; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1955; Yarshater, 1975; Ḍokā’).

Hamadān. 1. Attributed to Bābā Ṭāher of Hamadān (5th/11th century, q.v.) are the most popular *fahlavī* quatrains, which have mostly been Persianized due to their popularity. There are, however, specimens quoted in Persian texts or anthologies of poems (*jong/safīna*) that have more or less preserved the characteristics of the original (e.g., two *qeṭ’as* and eight quatrains attributed to him in an anthology of poems, copied in 848/1444-45 and now kept at the Mevlana Müze Kütüphanesi in Konya, MS. 2546; see Mīnovī, pp. 54-58; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1958, pp. 1-11; Bahār). Another *jong* (MS. Tehran, Majles Library, no. 900, copied in the 8th/14th century; see Kīā, 1948, pp. 19-22; Adīb Ṭūsī, loc. cit.) also contains under the title *fahlavīyāt* (without attributing them to any particular poet) four *qeṭ’as* and ten quatrains, some of which are identical with those



preserved in the Konya *jong*. Two verses (*bayts*) belonging to one of these *qeṭ'as* are also quoted by 'Abd-al-Qāder Marāgī (d. 838/1434-35; II, pp. 139-42; see 'A. Šādeqī). Another *bayt* attributed to Bābā Ṭāher is also quoted by Šā'en-al-Dīn Torka (d. 835/1431-32).

2. 'Ayn al-Qożāt Hamadānī (k. 525/1131, q.v.) quoted a few verses apparently in his own dialect (I, pp. 314, 330, where it is called *fahlavī*; *bayt-e pahlavī* in a manuscript variant, p. 370; see also idem, II, pp. 168, 176, 374, 411, 444, where all specimens are called *owrāma*, see below).

3. An anonymous Persian Sufi text contains three quatrains and two *qeṭ'as* each containing three *bayts*, all similar to those attributed to Bābā Ṭāher. They seem to belong to the 5-6th/11-12th century, since, according to Dānešpażūh (1958), the language of the text resembles that of 'Ayn-al-Qożāt's.

4. Two quatrains and a single *bayt* quoted by Moḥammad Rāvandī (pp. 45-46; see Adīb Ṭūsī, 1958, pp. 11-12).

5. A *bayt* by a certain Qāzī of Sajās (a town between Hamadān and Abhar), cited by Tāj-al-Dīn Ḥalāwī (p. 90) on the authority of Šams Sajāsī (d. 602/1205-06; see Mostawfī, p. 736), a poet and collector of Ṣahīr Fāryābī's *dīvān*. According to Ḥalāwī, this *bayt* was composed before a similar verse by Ṣahīr Fāryābī (d. 598/1201-02), which makes Qāzī of Sajās flourish in the 6th/12th century or earlier.

6. *āgazal* of six lines by Kāfī-al-Dīn Karajī (d. early 7th/13th cent.) cited by Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfī (pp. 746-47); one of the lines is also quoted by 'Aṭā-Malek Jovaynī (p. 47). The poet was apparently from Karaj-e Abū Dolaf, a town between Hamadān and Nehāvand.

7. Some *fahlavī* poems by Rašīd al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh Hamadānī, the famous vizier of the Mongol Il-khans (d. 718/1318), apparently in his native dialect: a hemistich called *zabān-e fahlavī* (1976, I, p. 290), a quatrain with the appellation *bayt-efahlavī*, and another hemistich titled *zabān-e pahlavī* (1992, I, pp. 57-58).

8. A *qeṭ'a* consisting of three *bayts* described as *pahlavī* and apparently in the dialect of Hamadān (Mostawfī, pp. 739-40) by 'Ezz al-Dīn Hamadānī, a poet contemporary of Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfī (d. after 740/1339-40).

9. A quatrain with the appellation *pahlavī* in an undated manuscript of



Moḥammad Naḳjavānī's *Şehāḥ al-fors* (p. 73). The occurrence of the name of Alvand mountain may indicate that it was composed in the dialect of Hamadān. Two other *fahlavī* quatrains with the same meter and *radīf* and somewhat similar content are preserved in a manuscript copied in 980/1572-73 in Trebizond (Afšār, 1982, p. 823; cf. 'Emādī, pp. 140-42, who considers the two last quatrains as belonging to Deylamān). All these quatrains are in an old language similar to the specimens of 11th-12th-century *fahlavī* verses of Hamadān.

10. Two quatrains recorded by 'Abd-al-Qāder Marāḡī (II, 139-42; 'A. Şādeqī) and designated in the dialect of Hamadān (*be zabān-e hamadānī*).

Isfahan. Awḥadī Marāḡa'ī (ca. 673-738/1274-1338, q.v.) has three *ḡazals* in the dialect of Isfahan, arranged under the title of "in the language of Isfahan" (*fī lesān al-eşfahānīya*; pp. 431-32; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1963, pp. 15, 387-400).

Kāşān. Taqī-al-Dīn Kāşī quotes a quatrain by 'Enāyat Kāşānī in his *Ḳolāşat-al-aş'ār* (MS. Tehran, Majles, no. 334, copied in 1013, p. 226; see Rāvandī, ed. Moḥaddet, p. 62 n.; Rīāḡī, p. 1929). It is not called *fahlavī*, however.

Kenār-āb. Two *ḡazals* by Badr Şīrvānī (789-854/1387-1450) quoted under the title "zabān-e Kenār-āb," probably a region in northern Azerbaijan (pp. 665-66; Dokā', 1986, pp. 76-80).

Qazvīn. 1. The oldest specimen in the dialect of Qazvīn is a *bayt* attributed to the people of Qazvīn at the time of the siege of the city by the Muslims in the 7th century (cited in Mostawfī, p. 776).

2. Next is a *bayt* recorded by the 12th-century author 'Abd-al-Karīm Rāfe'ī, as recited by Esfandūya (Esfandīār) Jālīzbānī (Rāfe'ī, II, p. 286; Rīāḡī, p. 1930).

3. A *bayt* by Jamāl-al-Dīn of Rostoḡ al-Qoṭn (a quarter of the city of Qazvīn), who was a contemporary of the Il-khan Abaqa (r. 663-80/1265-82), cited in Mostawfī (pp. 47, 725).

4. A quatrain by Abu'l-Mājed (or Abu'l-Majīd) of Rāyagān (a village near Qazvīn), also a contemporary of Abaqa, cited by Mostawfī (p. 720).

5. Another poet of the same period named Amīr Kā (or Kākā) of Kīāraj (a village in the district of Rāmand) was said to have composed poetry in the dialect of Qazvīn (Mostawfī, p. 720), but none of his poems has survived.



6. Two single *fahlavī bayts* in the dialect of Qazvīn are quoted in *Nozhat al-qolūb* (comp. 740/1339-40; ed. Le Strange, p. 195, ed. M. Malek-al-Kottāb, Bombay, 1311/1893, p. 204; for the other *bayt* in the Bombay edition, p. 87, see also Dānešpažūh, 1979, p. 301).

7. A single *fahlavībayt* by ‘Obayd Zākanī (d. 771/1368-69) is in his published collected works (p. 232). Besides, seven quatrains under the title of *dar bahlavīyāt* (on the *Pahlavīs*) are preserved in some old manuscripts of his *dīvān* (information from the late M.-J. Maḥjūb, who was preparing a new edition of his collected works).

8. Abd-al-Qāder Marāḡī mentions a quatrain under the general title of *fahlavīyāt* and a single *bayt* with the appellation *zabān-e qazāvena* “the language of the Qazvinis” (II, p. 142; ‘A. Šādeqī, pp. 56, 63).

9. A single line by an anonymous Qazvīnī poet quoted by the 14th-century author Tāj-al-Dīn Ḥalāwī (p. 11). From the 16th-century Qazvīnī poet Ḥāfez Šābūnī a few *bayts* are preserved (Šādeqī Ketābdār, pp. 179-80, *Haft eqlīm* III, p. 187; ‘A. Šādeqī, p. 63).

10. A quatrain by another 16th-century Qazvīnī poet, cited by Šādeqī Ketābdār (pp. 266-67).

Ray. 1. The oldest *fahlavī* specimens from Ray are attributed to Bondār (or Pendār) Rāzī, who flourished in the 10th century and early years of the 11th century: a single line (‘Ayn al-Qozāt, II, p. 82), three single lines and a quatrain (Šams-al-Dīn Rāzī, *Mo’jam*, pp. 119, 167; Kīā, 1945, p. 14); a *qeṭ’a* consisting of three *bayts*, a quatrain, and three *bayts* from his poem called *Čamuš-nāma* (Mostawfī, pp. 723-24), a *qašīda* (Jājarmī, II, pp. 487-94; Kīā, loc. cit.); three *bayts* of a *ḡazal*, two quatrains and a *qeṭ’a* consisting of two *bayts* (*Haft eqlīm* III, pp. 21-23; *Majma’-al-foṣaḡā’* I, p. 439; Kīā, loc. cit.); a *qeṭ’a* of four *bayts* quoted by ‘Abd-al-Qāder Marāḡī (II, p. 142; ‘A. Šādeqī, pp. 56, 61); a hemistich recorded by Tāj-al-Dīn Ḥalāwī (p. 89).

2. A quatrain attributed to Adam and quoted by Najm-al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 654/1256, p. 95) seems to belong to the dialect of Ray. The same quatrain, however, is found in an anthology of poems copied in 1125/1713, where it is attributed to Mehān Kašfī of Namīn (in Ardabīl), who lived in the 8th/14th century. It is also recorded in another anthology of poems found in Ṭāleš (see Rīāḡī, p. 1930 with references).



3. A *bayt* titled *Rāzī* is quoted by ‘Obayd Zākānī (p. 236), but in some manuscripts it is attributed to the people of Hamadān.

4. The poems of Mollā Seḥrī Ṭehrānī, who lived in the 17th century (Naṣrābādī, pp. 409-10; see Kīā, 1945, pp. 20-21) belong to the Ray region.

Tabrīz. 1. Four quatrains titled *fahlavīyāt* are attributed to K̄vāja Moḥammad Kojjānī (d. 677/1278-79; Kojjān or Korojān is a village near Tabrīz) by ‘Abd-al-Qāder Marāgī (II, pp. 140-41; ‘A. Ṣādeqī, pp. 56, 59-61).

Attributed to Homām Tabrīzī (d. 714/1314-15) is a macaronic *ḡazal* apparently in the dialect of Tabrīz (*Dīvān*, pp. 62-63; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1955, pp. 460 ff.). The same *ḡazal* with some minor variant readings is also quoted under the name of Homām in the *dīvān* of ‘Obayd Zākānī (p. 167). Homām has also a macaronic verse in a Persian *ḡazal*, in which he quoted a hemistich probably from another poet or from the popular oral tradition. It is also quoted by ‘Obayd (p. 184).

2. A *ḡazal* and fourteen quatrains under the title of *fahlavīyāt* by Maḡrebī (d. 809/1406-7; *Dīvān*, pp. 255-63; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1956).

3. Two single *fahlavī bayts* by the 14th-century poet Šaraf-al-Dīn Rāmī Tabrīzī (p. 19).

4. A quatrain from Māmā ‘Eṣmat (9th/15th century) titled *rāzī* (or *šahrī* according to the popular usage, see below) is cited by Ebn Karbalā’ī (II, p. 50; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1956, pp. 240-43).

5. Two *qeṭ‘as* quoted by ‘Abd-al-Qāder Marāgī in the dialect of Tabrīz (d. 838/1434-35; II, p. 142), where the editor reads Tarmaḡī instead of Tabrīzī (‘A. Ṣādeqī, pp. 57, 63).

Ṭāleš. 1. A collection of quatrains is attributed to Sayyed Šaraf-al-Dīn known as Šarafšāh of Dūlā’ or Dūlāb (i.e., Ṭāleš), who probably lived in the 13th century (1979, intro.; 1982, pp. 7-33).

2. The dialect poems of Qāsem-e Anwār (d. 837/1433-34) may belong to the *fahlavī* genre (*Kollīyāt*, pp. 342-44, 347; Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia* III, pp. 473-87; Dawlatābādī, pp. 553-56).

Zanjān. 1. A *qeṭ‘a* consisting of nine *bayts* by a certain 13th-century poet called



Ūtāyač (var. Oyānaḥ, etc.), probably in his own dialect (Mostawfī, pp. 721-22; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1955a, pp. 255-59, who reads the name as Īnānj).

2. Four *bayts* with the appellation *pahlavī* by Jūlāha Abharī, who lived in the 13th century (Mostawfī, pp. 726-27; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1955a, pp. 253-55).

Fahlavī specimens not attributed to a particular region or date. 1. A quatrain cited by Naṣīr-al-Dīn Ṭūsī (597-672/1201-74; p. 51).

2. Three quatrains written on the margin of the manuscript of *Montakāb-e rawnaq al-majāles* (fols. 100-101); they may date back to the 13th century (Afšār, 1983; see ‘Emādī, pp. 142-46, who attributed them to the Deylamān region).

3. A *bayt* with the appellation *pahlavī* quoted by Mostawfī (p. 291).

4. A *bayt* in a manuscript of Asadī’s *Loḡat-e fors* (copied in 1332; ed. Horn, p. 34).

5. Two quatrains designated as *fahlavīyāt*, quoted by Boshāq Aṭ’ema (d. 827/1423 or 830/1427; *Dīvān*, p. 113).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(for cited works not given in detail, see “Short References”):

‘Abd-al-Qāder Marāḡī, *Jāme‘-al-alḡān*, ed. T. Bīneš, 2 vols., Tehran 1366-72 Š./1987-93.

“Āḡarī,” in *DMBE I*, Tehran, 1367 Š./1988, pp. 259-62.

M.-A. Adīb Ṭūsī, “Fahlavīyāt-e *al-Mo‘jam*,” *NDA Tabrīz* 6, 1333 Š./1954, pp. 471-78.

Idem, “Nemūna-ī az fahlavīyāt-e Qazvīn o Zanjān o Tabrīz dar qarn-e haftom,” *NDA Tabrīz* 7, 1334 Š./1955a, pp. 251-73.



Idem, “Fahlavīyāt-e zabān-e ādarī dar qarn-e haštom o nohom,” *NDA Tabrīz* 7, 1334 Š./1955b., pp. 460-82.

Idem, “Fahlavīyāt-e Mağrebī Tabrīzī,” *NDA Tabrīz* 8, 1335 Š./1956, pp. 121-37.

Idem, “Fahlavīyāt-e Māmā ‘Eşmat wa Kaşfi be zabān-e ādarī: Eştelāḥ-e rāzī yā šahrī,” *ibid.*, pp. 240-57.

Idem, “Fahlavīyāt-e lorī,” *NDA Tabrīz* 10, 1337 Š./1958, pp. 1-16.

Idem, “Se ġazal-e eşfahānī az Awḥadī Marāġī,” *NDA Tabrīz* 15, 1342 Š./1963, pp. 387-400.

Ī. Afşār, “Fahlavī,” *Āyanda* 7/11-12, 1360 Š./1982, p. 823.

Idem, “Fahlavīhā-ye nosqa-ye movarraḳ-e 543-e Berlīn,” *Āyanda* 8/12, 1361 Š./1983, pp. 932-34; 9/2, 1362 Š./1983, p. 157.

Asadī Tūsī, *Loġat-e fors*, ed. P. Horn, Berlin, 1897.

Awḥadī Eşfahānī (Marāġī), *Kollīyāt-e Awḥadī Eşfahānī*, ed. S. Nafīsī, Tehran, 1340 Š./1961.

‘Ayn-al-Qozāt ‘Abd-Allāh Hamadānī, *Nāmahā*, ed. ‘A.-N. Monzawī and ‘A. ‘Osayrān, 2 vols., Tehran, 1347-50 Š./1968-71.

Badr Šīrvānī, *Dīvān*, ed. Abu’l-Faẓl Raḥīmov, Moscow, 1958.

M. Bahār, “Şe’r-ī čand ba ġuyeş-e hamadānī,” *Pażūheş-nāma-ye Farhangestān-e zabān-e Īrān* 3, 1957 Š./1978, pp. 5-22.

Boshāq Aṭema, *Dīvān*, ed. Ḥ. Ma’refat, Shiraz, 1360 Š./1981.

M.-T. Dāneşpażūh, “Čand fahlavī dar ketāb-ī ‘erfānī,” *FIZ* 6, 1337 Š./1958, pp. 328-33.

Idem, “Nozhat al-qolūb,” *Nosqahā-ye kaṭṭī* 10, Tehran, 1358 Š./1979, pp. 300-303.

‘A. Dawlatābādī, “Aş’ār wa molamma’āt-e ġilakī-e Qāsem-e Anwār,” *Āyanda* 10/8-9, 1363 Š./1984, pp. 553-56.

Y. Dokā’, “Dar bāra-ye ġuyeş-e Kenār-āb,” *Īrān-nāma* 5/1, 1365 Š./1986, pp.



76-80.

Ebn Bazzāz, *al-Mawāheb al-sanīya fī manāqeb al-Şafawīya (Şafwat al-şafā)*, Bombay, 1329/1911.

Ebn Karbalā'ī, *Rawzāt al-jenān wa jannāt al-janān*, ed. J. Solţān-al-Qorrā'ī, 2 vols., Tehran, 1344-49 Š./1965-70.

‘A.-R. ‘Emādī, “Şenāsā’ī-e panj fahlavī-e kohan,” *Āyanda* 10/1, 1363 Š./1984, pp. 140-46.

Faşıh Aḥmad b. Moḥammad K̄vāfī, *Mojmal-e faşıhī*, ed. M. Farroḳ, 3 vols., Mašhad, 1339-41 Š./1960-62.

Tāj-al-Dīn ‘Alī b. Moḥammad Ḥalāwī, *Daqā’eq al-şe’r*, ed. M.-K. Emām, Tehran, 1341 Š./1962.

J. Homā’ī, “Eštebāh-e şāḥeb-e *al-Mo’jam* dar awzān-e awrāmān,” in Ż Sajjādī, ed., *Jašn-nāma-ye Modarres Razawī*, Tehran, 1356 Š./1977, pp. 489-513.

Homām Tabrīzī, *Dīvān*, ed. R. ‘Ayważī, Tabrīz, 1351 Š./1972.

Moḥammad b. Badr Jājarmī, *Mo’nes-al-aḥrārfti daqā’eq al-aş’ār*, ed. M.-Ş. Ṭabībī, 2 vols., Tehran, 1350 Š./1971.

‘Alā’-al-Dīn ‘Aṭā-Malek Jovaynī, *Tasliat al-ekwān*, ed. ‘A. Māhyār, Tehran, 1361 Š./1982.

Abū ‘Abd-Allāh Moḥammad b. Aḥmad K̄vārazmī, *Mafātīḥ al-’olūm*, ed. G. van Vloten, Leiden, 1895.

A. Kasrawī, *Ādarī yā zabān-e bāstān-e Ādarbāygān*, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1317 Š./1938; publ. in idem, *Kārvand-e Kasrawī*, ed. Y. Dōkā’, Tehran, 1352 Š./1973, pp. 317-74.

Ş. Kīā, “Yāddāšt-ī dar bāra-ye zabān-e rāzī,” *Īrān-kūda* 3, 1314 Y./1945, pp. 14-22.

Idem, “Fahlavīyāt wa nayrīzīyāt,” *Īrān-kūda* 10, 1317 Y./1948, pp. 19-25.

Idem, *Vāzahā-ye fārsī-ye mīāna [pahlavī] dar hašt vāža-nāma-ye fārsī*, Tehran, 1357 Š./1978.



Moḥammad Maḡrebī Tabrīzī, *Dīvān*, ed. A.-T. Mīr-‘Ābedīnī, Tehran, 1358 Š./1979.

M. Mīnovī, “Az ḡazāyen-e Torkīya,” *MDAT* 4/2, 1335 Š./1956, pp. 42-75.

Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfī, *Tārīḡ-e gozīda*, ed. A.-Ḥ. Navā‘ī, Tehran, 1336 Š./1957.

Najm-al-Dīn Abū Bakr ‘Abd-Allāh Dāya, *Merṣād-al-‘ebād men al-mabda’ ela’l-ma’ād*, ed., M.-A. Rīāḡī, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1365 Š./1986; tr. H. Algar as *The Path of God’s Bondsmen*, Boulder, Colo., 1979.

Moḥammad b. Henduśāh Naḡjavānī, *Şeḡāḡ al-fors*, ed. ‘A.-‘A. Ṭā‘atī, Tehran, 1341 Š./1962.

Moḥammad-Ṭāher Naşrābādī, *Taḡkera-ye Naşrābādī*, Tehran, 1336 Š./1957.

Naşīr-al-Dīn Ṭūsī, *Me’yār al-aş’ār*, ed. M. Feşārakī and J. Mażāherī, Isfahan, 1363 Š./1984.

Neżāmī Ganjavī, *Haft peykar*, ed. Ḥ. Waḡīd Dastgerdī, Tehran, 1315 Š./1936.

Idem, *Ḳosrow o Şīrīn*, ed. Ḥ. Waḡīd Dastgerdī, Tehran, 1333 Š./1954.

‘Obayd Zākānī, *Kollīyāt*, ed. ‘A. Eqbāl, Tehran, 1331 Š./1952.

Shaikh Ḥosayn Pīrzāda Zāhedī, *Selselat al-nasab-e Şafawīya*, Berlin, 1343/1924-25.

Qāsem-e Anwār, *Kollīyāt*, ed. S. Nafīsī, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1337 Š./1958.

‘Abd-al-Karīm Rāfe‘ī Qazvīnī, *Ketāb al-tadwīn fī dekr ahl al-‘elm be Qazvīn* II, ed. A. ‘Oṭāredī, Beirut, 1987.

Raşīd-al-Dīn Fażl-Allāh, *Kaşf al-ḡaqā’eq* I, Tehran, 1355 Š./1976.

Idem, *As’ela wa ajweba*, ed. R. Şa’bānī, Islamabad, 1992.

‘Abd-al-Rezā Rāvandī Qāsānī, *Dīvān*, ed. M. J. Ḥ. Ormavī Moḡaddet, Tehran, 1334 Š./1955.

Moḥammad b. ‘Alī Rāvandī, *Rāḡat al-şodūr wa āyat al-sorūr*, ed. M. Eqbāl, Leiden, 1921.



- R. Reżāzāda Malek, “Yāddāšt-ī dar bāra-ye vāžahā-ye Pahlavī, šahrī, dar šahrī, wa rāžī,” *Naqd o taḥqīq* 2, 1353 Š./1974, pp. 56-71.
- M.-A. Rīāḥī, “Zabān-e kohan-e Āḍarbāyjān,” in Ī. Afšār, ed., *Yādvāra-ye Doktor Maḥmūd Afšār IV*, Tehran, 1367 Š./1988, pp. 1911-46.
- ‘A. A. Šādeqī, “Aš‘ār-e maḥallī-e *Jāme’ al-alḥān*,” *Majalla-ye zabān-æenāsī* 9, 1371 Š./1992, pp. 54-64.
- Šādeqī Ketābdār, *Majma’ al-ḵawāṣṣ*, tr. ‘A.-R. Ḵayyāmpūr, Tabrīz, 1327 Š./1948.
- Šā’en-al-Dīn Torka Eşfahānī, *Šarḥ-e Tā’īya-ye Ebn Fārez*, ed. A. Jūdī, forthcoming.
- M.-R. Šafī’ī Kadkanī, “Rūdakī wa robā’ī,” in Ī. Afšār, ed., *Yādvāra-ye Doktor Maḥmūd Afšār IV*, 1367 Š./1988, pp. 2330-42.
- Šaraf-al-Dīn Ḥasan b. Moḥammad Rāmī, *Anīs al-’oşşāq*, ed. ‘A. Eqbāl, Tehran, 1325 Š./1946.
- Šarafšāh Dūlā’ī, *Dīvān*, ed. M.-‘A. Şawtī, Tehran, 1358 Š./1979.
- Idem, *Dīvān-e kūčak*, ed. A. Savār-e Raḵœ, Tehran, 1361 Š./1982.
- Sorūrī Kāšānī, *Majma’ al-fors*, ed. M. Dabīrsīāqī, 3 vols., Tehran, 1338-41 Š./1959-62.
- E. Yarshater, “Āḍarī,” in idem, ed., *Dāneş-nāma-ye Īrān o Eslām I*, Tehran, 1354 Š./1975, pp. 61-69.
- Idem, “Azarbaijan vii. The Iranian Language of Azarbaijan,” in *EIr.* II, pp. 238-45.