



HAFEZ VI. PRINTED EDITIONS OF THE DIVĀN OF HAFEZ

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Printed editions of Hafez's poems include partial and complete collections, non-critical and critical editions, in lithographic, calligraphic, facsimile, and typeset formats. Niknām's bibliography mentions over 300 printed editions (pp. 1-30), Rādfar's lists 225 printed editions (pp. 247-63). Since the publication of these two bibliographies, in 1988 and 1989 respectively, there have been many more editions. Only those editions of particular significance will be discussed here.

Early printed editions. The earliest printed editions appeared outside of Persia. The first printed edition using movable type was commissioned by Richard Johnson of the East India Company and published by Upjohn's Calcutta press in 1791. In a letter to Johnson prior to its publication, Sir William Jones, the famous orientalist and translator of Hafez, had complimented Johnson on taking up the task: "An impression of your Hafiz will, indeed, be a valuable acquisition to the publick; and I hope some years hence to offer up a copy of it on the tomb of the divine poet near the crystal stream of Rucnabad," (Jones, II, p. 702). The edition itself was compiled by Abu Ṭāleb Khan Landani (q.v.) and, as he explains in his anthology of poets, *Ḳolāṣāt al-afkār*, he based it on twelve



manuscripts. It was printed in 1200 copies (Baqir, p. 389; Rādfar, p. 247; Arberry, p. 9). Abu Ṭāleb Khan was also the author of the famous travelogue *Masir-e ṭālebi fī belād-e afranji* (ed. Ḥ. Kādiv-jam, Tehran 1352 Š./1974, p. *šānzdah*, p. 9). Another early *Divān*, commissioned by the viceroy of Egypt, Moḥammad 'Ali Pasha (1805-49), was printed at Bulāq in 1243/1827; in the same year, an edition which included the Golandām preface, edited by Badr-'Ali 'Azi-mābādi, was published in Calcutta (Niknām, pp. 1-2). Another notable Indian edition was by Major H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta, 1881). This was one of the prescribed texts for the Honours Examination in Persian of the military and civil services in India and was used extensively by H. Wilberforce Clarke for his translation. Like the Hermann Brockhaus edition described below, the Jarrett edition was based on the text used in the well-known Turkish commentary of Sudi (d. 1106/1598.)

The first lithograph of the *Divān* to appear in Persia was a pocket edition dated 18th Moḥarram 1254/13th April 1838 (Mošār, *Fehrest* I, col. 1514). From then on there was an incremental rise in the number of editions published in Persia, although they were still outnumbered for a long time by those printed elsewhere (Calcutta, Bombay, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Istanbul, etc.).

During the 19th century several editions were published in Europe as well, chief among them *Die Lieder des Hafis*, edited by Hermann Brockhaus (Leipzig, 1854-56), which also included a considerable part of Sudi's commentary (Arberry, p. 10), and *Der Diwan des grossen lyrischen Dichters Hafis*, edited and translated by Vincenz von Rosenzweig-Schwannau (3 vols., Vienna, 1858-84; see also xi, below).

A famous early edition of Hafez, published by the scholar, poet, and calligrapher of Shiraz, Moḥammad Qodsi Ḥosayni (1288-1361/1871-1942; see Rādfar, pp. 23-24), falls on the borderline between the non-critical and the critical. His edition, which took him eight years to complete, was based on fifty manuscripts and printed books. The "Qodsi edition," as it was usually referred to, appeared in two lithographed editions in Bombay (1314/1896, 1322/1904; Rādfar, pp. 248-49; [Figure 1](#)). Until the appearance of the Qazvini and Ġani edition (1320 Š./1941; see below) the Qodsi edition was very popular. In recent decades it has fallen out of favor; but Hušang Ebtehāj (H. E. Sāya) used it in his 1372/1993 edition of Hafez (see further below), and has taken some lines from it not found in other manuscripts.

One of the most reliable older manuscripts, dated 827/1424 (some thirty-five



years after Hafez's death), formed the basis for the edition published by 'Abd-al-Raḥim Kaḵkāli (Tehran, 1306 Š./1927; photo-offset repr., Tehran, 1369 Š./1980; Korramšāhi, 1994, pp. 254-55, 273; Neysāri, pp. 41-44). Until 1349 Š./1970, this was the earliest known manuscript of the *Divān* (Neysāri, p. 95). Kaḵkāli collated this manuscript with three later ones (dated 898/1492-93, 901/1495-96, and 984/1576-77), noting the variants in the footnotes. Despite its literary merits, this edition, as the editor himself later observed, contained many errors and misprints (see Neysāri, p. 43). The manuscript formed the basis for the edition by Qazvini and Ġani, in the introduction to which Moḥammad Qazvini, the pioneer in establishing critical editions in Persia, pointed out many uncorrected scribal errors in Kaḵkāli's edition, as well as printing errors not included in the corrigenda (*Hāfezá*, pp. *mz-nz*). Kaḵkāli's manuscript has served as the basis for many printed editions of Hafez, some of which will be mentioned below; but as the manuscript itself was for a long time unavailable, it had been exploited indirectly, via the Qazvini and Ġani edition. In 1366 Š./1987 Salim Neysāri was finally able to consult the manuscript itself while preparing his own edition (Neysāri, pp. 95-98).

Modern critical editions of Hafez. According to Rādfar, the first critical edition of Hafez published in Persia was that of Ḥosayn Pežmān Baḵtiāri (d. 1352 Š./1973; Tehran, 1315 Š./1937, several reprints), based on three (incomplete) manuscripts dated 834/1430-31, 847/1443-44, and 893/1487-88 (Korramšāhi, 1994, p. 255; Rādfar, p. 16; Neysāri classifies this edition as a "teaching edition," p. 39). It includes a detailed and poetically expressed introduction in later editions in which the editor criticizes the method employed by Qazvini in collating his edition.

The calligraphic edition of Hafez's *Divān* published by Moḥammad Qazvini and Qāsem Ġani (Tehran, 1320 Š./1941; calligraphy by Ḥasan Zarrin-kaḵḵ, over 50 offset reprints) marked a turning-point in the history of editions of the *Divān*, and is still considered one of the best; though it is not without shortcomings. It is based on the collation of Kaḵkāli's 827/1424 manuscript with seventeen later manuscripts. The editors did not, however, systematically annotate their divergences from the Kaḵkāli manuscript, nor the sources of additional verses and of readings not found in that manuscript (see Neysāri, pp. 44-45, and pp. 95-142 for a detailed discussion of the edition). According to Neysāri, this edition fails to serve as a satisfactory edition of a single manuscript or to provide a truly critical edition (pp. 101-2). Nevertheless, it has been the basis for many other finely produced calligraphic editions, such as



those by Kaykosrow Kōruš (pub. by Anjoman-e Kōšnevisān, Tehran, 1362 Š./1983) as well as of many commercial and glossy publications. An expanded edition, including an appendix listing Qazvini's additions to the poems from other sources and a line index, was published by 'Abd-al-Karim Jorbozadār (Tehran, 1367 Š./1988). Raḥim Du'l-Nur has compared this edition with that of Kānlari (see below); the results of this comparison were printed in the footnotes of a reprint accompanied by a critical introduction and a line index (Tehran, 1369 Š./1990; Kōrramšāhi, 1994, pp. 257-58).

Mas'ud Farzād's (q.v.) *Jāme'-e nosak-e Hāfez* (2 vols., Shiraz, 1347 Š./1968; based on a manuscript dated 893/1488) was the first part of a project encompassing many years of delusive research which, marred by its subjective and idiosyncratic approach, is devoid of any scholarly merit. A total of ten volumes of the "Hāfez-e Farzād" appeared before his death in 1359 Š./1980 (Rādfar, pp. 53-54; Kōrramšāhi, 1994, p. 259. A further volume was published posthumously (*Divān-e Hāfez, matn-e nehā'i*, ed. 'Ali Ḥaṣuri, Tehran, 1362 Š./1983; Matini, p. 639 n. 16; for criticisms see, e.g., Matini, pp. 605-6, 639, n. 19; Kōrramšāhi, 1994, pp. 259-61; Neysāri, pp. 143-66).

The famous modern poet Aḥmad Šāmlu (A. Bāmdād; d. 2000) published *Hāfez-e Širāz, be revāyat-e Aḥmad Šāmlu* (1st and 2nd eds., Tehran, 1354 Š./1975, 3rd ed., Tehran, 1360 Š./1981, many reprints; for a review see Kōrramšāhi, 1985). Although this edition also lacks a scholarly basis, it enjoys a wide popularity, particularly with the younger generation, partly perhaps due to the fame of its poet-editor and his popular recorded recitations of the poetry. In a comprehensive review, Jalāl Matini pointed out that in his prefaces (which vary from edition to edition, and are omitted in some) Šāmlu did not identify the manuscripts used; and his long-standing promise to identify the variants in his notes in a later publication was never fulfilled (Matini, pp. 606-7). Moreover, Šāmlu declared that his most important task was to establish the "logical" order of verses in each ghazal (Matini, pp. 603, 607-8; Kōrramšāhi, 1995, pp. 167-71)—this despite the fact that in the older manuscripts the order of verses is highly consistent (Matini, pp. 609-11). The texts of the ghazals themselves differ from edition to edition; verses are omitted, added or substituted (as are whole poems) in an arbitrary manner (Matini, pp. 627-29, 637-38). Šāmlu also introduced punctuation and bold type (for emphasis), often inappropriately (see Kōrramšāhi, 1995, pp. 200-209; Matini, p. 603).

Several important editions of Hafez were published by Parviz Nātel Kānlari. Kānlari's first edition of Hafez's ghazals (*Ġazalhā-ye K'vāja Hāfez Širāzi*, Tehran,



1337 Š./1959; see Korramšāhi, 1994, p. 267; Neysāri, pp. 46-47) was based on the Eskandar Solṭān (q.v.) anthology in the British Museum (now British Library, Ms. Add. 27,261; copied in 813-14/1410-11, see Rieu, *Persian Manuscripts* II, pp. 868-71), collated with three later manuscripts. Another edition by Kānlari of the *Divān*, based on fourteen old manuscripts, appeared in 1359 Š./1970 (*Divān-e Kvāja Šams-al-Din Moḥammad Širāzi*, Tehran), the manuscripts dating from 807/1404-5 (Tajikistan ms. containing 41 ghazals and published later in 1971) to 836/1432-33 (in the Aṣḡar Mahdavi collection, see Korramšāhi, 1994, p. 268). This edition was later revised and reprinted (*Divān-e Ḥāfez*, 2 vols, 2nd ed., Tehran, 1362 Š./1983, repr. 1375 Š./1996; for a review of the 1st. ed. see Haravi, 1981, pp. 9-15; Najafi, pp. 31-39; Eslāmi Nadušan, pp. 42-51; for the 2nd. ed. see Haravi, 1986, pp. 21-33. These reviews were reprinted in *Dar bāra-ye Ḥāfez*, as vol. II in a series of selected articles from *Našr-e dāneš*, ed. N. Purjavādi, Tehran 1365 Š./1986). The revised edition was also collated from the above manuscripts, which are fully introduced in vol. II (pp. 1127-36; see also Korramšāhi, 1994, pp. 269-70). This major scholarly edition of Hafez has been extensively reviewed (see Korramšāhi, 1994, pp. 267-70; Matini, pp. 608-9, 639 n. 26; Aḥmad, 1988); a comprehensive discussion is that of Neysāri (pp. 167-90), who comments on some questionable aspects of the methodology and suggests several emendations.

Brief mention should also be made here of the edition by Abu'l-Qāsem Enjavi Širāzi (q.v.; Tehran, 1345 Š./1966; several reprints), with an introduction by 'Ali Dašti (q.v.), notes, and a line index (Korramšāhi, 1994, pp. 258-59; Haravi, 1984, pp. 210-38).

In more recent years, several older manuscripts of Hafez's poems have come to light. Iraj Afšār based his *Divān-e kohna-ye Ḥāfez* (Tehran, 1348 Š./1969; 357 ghazals) on an undated manuscript of the *Divān* of Salmān Sāvaji (d. 778/1376?) with Hafez's ghazals in the margins. He believed this manuscript to have been compiled some time in the first two decades of the 9th/15th century, and thus to be older than Kalkāli's (827) and closer to the poet's own time. He compared the manuscript with the Qazvini and Ġani edition, and recorded the variants in the margins (see further Neysāri, pp. 49-50). Moḥammad-Rezā Jalāli Nā'ini and Naḍir Aḥmad based their first edition of the *Divān* on the 824/1421 so-called Gorakhpur manuscript of the Seyyed Hāšem Sabz-puś Library (Mašhad, 1350 Š./1971), and their second on this manuscript and an anthology in the Aya Sofia Library, Istanbul, dated 812-17/1409-15 (Tehran, 1352 Š./1974; repr. 1371 Š./1992). The 824 A.H. anthology includes 435 ghazals,



eighteen *qet'as* and twenty-six *robā'is*; the Aya Sofia Library anthology includes 468 ghazals (nine of which are repeated), as well as *mat-nawis*, *qet'as*, *robā'is* and *mofradāt* (single verses). In both cases the manuscripts on which the editions were based were compared with various others and with several printed editions, and the variants recorded in the footnotes. From the point of view of the care taken in collation, this edition is considered to be one of the most reliable (Korramšāhi, 1994, pp. 261-62; see further Neysāri, pp. 51-53; Haravi, 1984, pp. 114-92). Naḍir Aḥmad has published two other Indian manuscripts: one from an anthology in the Salar Jung Museum, Hyderabad dated 813/1410 (*A Critical Edition of the Ghazaliyat-i Hafiz*, New Delhi, 1988; includes a facsimile of the ms.), the other from a ms. in the Asafiya Library, Hyderabad, dated 818/1416 (*Diwan-i Hafiz*, New Delhi, 1988). Both editions have detailed comparisons with other manuscripts as well as with the Qazvini-Ġani edition.

Here mention should be made of three important facsimile reproductions of manuscripts of Hafez's poems. (1) That of a manuscript in the Sherani collection in the Library of the University of the Punjab, dated 894/1488, copied by Maḥmud b. Ḥasan Nišāpuri, the son-in-law and pupil of the famous calligrapher Solṭān-'Ali Maš-hadi, with an introduction by Momtaz Hasan (Karachi, 1971). (2) That of a manuscript purportedly dated 805/1402-03, by Rokn-al-Din Homāyun-Farroḡ (*Divān-e Ḥāfez: noska-ye 805 A.H.*, Tehran, 1367 Š./1989). For several reasons, it would seem that this manuscript is wrongly dated, and it contains a ghazal which does not appear in other manuscripts and whose allusion to the martyrdom at Karbalā suggests the possibility of a Safavid interpolation (for these and other reservations, see Korramšāhi, 1994, pp. 274-76). (3) *Diwan-e-Hafiz, Royal Mughal Copy/Divān-e Ḥāfez, noska-ye šāhān-e moḡo-liya*, New Delhi, 1992. The original manuscript, held by the Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library in Patna, probably dates from the 9th/15th century. The flyleaf at the end bears an inscription by the Timurid ruler Ḥo-sayn b. Maṣṣur b. Bāyqarā (r. 875-912/1470-1506), suggesting that it may have originated in Herat. At some point it was acquired by the Mughal prince Homāyun (r. 1530-56), probably at the time he took refuge at the court of Šāh Tahmāsb Šafawi in 950-51/1543-44. The *Divān* was used for taking auguries; it contains marginal notes by the Mughal rulers Homāyun (including one dated 962/1554-55) and Jahāngir (r. 1014-37/1605-27), and remained at the Mughal court at least until the time of Dārā Šokuh (q.v.; 1024-69/1615-59), who used it when writing the entry on Hafez in his biography of saints (*Safinat al-awliā*). The edition also reproduces, as its English introduction (pp. 7-35),



Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir's extensive account of the manuscript from his contribution to the *Catalogue of the Arabic and Persian Manuscripts in the Oriental Public Library at (Bankipore) Patna* (vol. 1, Persian Poets, pp. 231-59, Patna, 1908, 2nd. ed., Patna, 1962) giving a full account of the marginal notes as well as a general excursus on bibliomancy.

A number of editions of Hafez were published in the last decades of the 20th century. Salim Neysāri has published three different editions of the ghazals. The first (*Ġazalhā-ye Hāfez*, calligraphy by Moḥammad Salaḥšur, Tehran, 1353 Š./1974) is based on four old manuscripts: a photocopy of the Topkapi Museum library manuscript copied by Ja'far Tabrizi (Baysongōri) dated 822/1419; a photocopy of the Aya Sofia manuscript which was used by Jalāli Nā'ini and Naḍir Aḥmad; the Tehran University Central Library manuscript (4477), dated 874/1469-70; and a photocopy of the 938/1531-32 illustrated manuscript copied in Tabriz by Šāh Maḥmud Nišāpuri owned by the (former) Soviet Academy of Sciences. The second edition (*Ġazalhā-ye Hāfez*, Tehran, 1371 Š./1992) is based on forty-three manuscripts, the oldest being that of the Süleymaniye Library, Istanbul (813/1410-11; 455 ghazals) and the most recent (and least valuable) that in the library of the Majles-e Šurā-ye Eslāmi in Tehran (898/1492-93; 384 ghazals). This edition has 424 ghazals. A third edition (*Divān-e Hāfez*, 2 vols. in 1, Tehran, 1377 Š./1998) is based on forty-eight manuscripts from the ninth century A.H. and contains the ghazals in the first volume and the rest of the poetry, as well as the Golandām preface, in the second.

Yaḥyā Qarib's edition of the *Divān* (Tehran, 1354 Š./1975) was based on a manuscript owned by the editor dated 862/1467-68, and compared with several other manuscripts and printed editions (see Kōrramšāhi, 1994, pp. 265-66; Neysāri, p. 54). Rašid 'Ayvaži and Akbar Behruz's *Divān-e Hāfez* (Tabriz, 1356 Š./1977) was based on the 813 Aya Sofia manuscript, the 822/1419 Topkapi Museum Library manuscript copied by Ja'far Tabrizi, and the Nur Osmania Library (Istanbul) manuscript dated 825/1422 (Kōrramšāhi, 1994, p. 266; Neysāri, pp. 54-56). Rašid 'Ayvaži has since published a much more substantial edition based on eight manuscripts dating from 813 A.H. to 827 A.H. (*Divān-e Hāfez bar asās-e hašt nosḡa-ye kām-e kohaḡ*, vol. I (text), vol. II (variants and notes), Tehran, 1376 Š./1997). 'Abd-al-'Ali Adib Borumand and Purāndoḡt Borumand based their edition of the ghazals (*Ġazaliyāt-e Hāfez*, Tehran, 1367 Š./1988) on a manuscript copied by Pir Ḥosayn-e Kāteb dated 874/1469-70 and on the editions by Qazvini-Ġani, and Kānlari. Aḥmad Sohayli Kᵛānsāri (*Divān-e Hāfez*, Tehran, 1362 Š./1983) collated four manuscripts for



his edition: a manuscript in the Malek library, undated, but probably from the middle of the 9th/15th century; ms. 5933 from the same library, dated 892/1487; a manuscript from the Asafiya Library at Hyderabad dated 818/1415; and a manuscript copied by Pir Ḥosayn-e Kāteb, dated 871/1466-67 (for a review see Kōrramšāhi, 1989).

Another important edition of the past decade is that by the poet H. E. Sāya (Hušang Ebtehāj; *Ḥāfeẓ be-sā'y-e Sāya*, Tehran, 1372 Š./1993), collated from thirty manuscripts (thirty-one, if the Qodsi edition is counted as a manuscript), most of which are the same utilized by Kān-lari and others. In his edition, Sāya departs from the traditional editorial assumptions that preference is to be given to older manuscripts (whose dates only reflect the date at which they were copied, not the original date of compilation), and that the readings in the majority of manuscripts are not necessarily the “correct” ones (see further Sāya’s introduction to his edition; Kōrramšāhi, 1994, pp. 277-80; Kōrramšāhi, 1995). Another edition, by Bahā-al-Din Kōrramšāhi (Tehran, 1373 Š./1995, 3rd ed. 1379 Š./2000), is based on Kalkāli’s 827 A.H. manuscript, compared with the Bodleian Library manuscript dated 843/1439-40, and the University of the Punjab manuscript dated 894/1489. This edition has an extensive introduction and a line index; the general aim was to present Kalkāli’s manuscript in a more scholarly way than had been done before. Another recent edition is by Hāšem Jāvid and Bahā-al-Din Kōrramšāhi (*Divān-e Ḥāfeẓ, bar asās-e taṣṣiḥ-e Qazvini wa moqābala bā hašt nosḡa-ye mo'tabar-e čāpi, qarā'at-gozini-e enteqādi*, Teh-ran, 1378 Š./1999).

Finally, two new editions of the *Divān*, both published in Tehran in 2000, should be mentioned: 1. *Divān-e Ḥāfeẓ “Lesān al-ġayb,” nosḡa-ye Fereyduṅ Mirzā Tey-muri*, ed. Aḡmad Mojāhed, Tehran, 1379 Š./2000, based on an edition prepared in 907/1502 by a group of scholars from among a wealth of mss. available to them, with an introduction by K̄vāja Šehāb-al-Din ‘Abd-Allāh Morvārid (Bayāni Kermāni), under the patronage of Fereyduṅ Mirzā b. Solṡān Ḥosayn Bāyqarā. Collected a century after Hafez’s death, this annotated edition of some 646 ghazals is as important as the four best editions of the *Divān*, i.e., Qazvini-Ġani, Kānlari, Sāya, and Neysāri. 2. A recent popular edition of the *Divān* edited by Sayyed Šādeq Sajjādi and ‘Ali Bahrāmiān, with annotations and an explanatory commentary by Kāzem Bargnisi, *Divān-e Ḥāfeẓ bar asās-e nosḡa-ye kohan-e now yāfta*, Tehran, 1379 Š./2000. This annotated edition of some 407 ghazals is based on a manuscript (no. 12770, Tashkent Oriental Institute) apparently copied a decade after Hafez’s death



(803/1401) according to the colophon on fol. 140a (see editors' introd., pp. 11-12). This is intended to provide an accessible edition of Hafez's *Divān* complete with a detailed explanatory apparatus for the general reader.

The process of producing what amounts to a "corrected standard text," the aim of which "was to attain the intended text of the author," as well as the critical effort to reconstruct an "archetypal" Ur-text (Flemming, p. 7), have not gone unquestioned, and there seems to be a growing awareness of subtle nuances in technique required in editing different genres of classical texts, such as the *Divān* of a lyric poet like Hafez or a long narrative poem, like the *Šāh-nāma*. On the other hand, it is too soon to predict what the effect of modern electronic advances will be on editing short lyrical texts like the *Divān* where, exploiting the multiplicity of options offered by a hypertext, it would be feasible to allow the reader or viewer to see a much wider range of variants with relative ease and speed, and with minimum editorial intervention. For the time being, however, one of the beneficial effects of the burgeoning number of printed editions and the concomitant abundance of thoroughgoing reviews has been to provide the occasion for the poems themselves to be discussed in detail and the poetic diction analyzed and debated. After all, the existence of so many plausible variants is, in itself, a diachronic manifestation of a vigorous literary heritage. This *embarras de richesse* may instigate a degree of stemmatic anguish or even despair among some editors, but it is also certainly a source of delight and further inspiration for the cultural community in general (Cerquiglini, *passim*).

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