



JĀJARMĪ

JĀJARMĪ, MOḤAMMAD B. BADR, Persian poet and anthologist. His father Malek-al-Šo‘arā’ Badr-al-Din ‘Omar Jājarmi (d. 686/1287; q.v.), a poet from Jājarm, a small town in the district of Jovayn in Khorasan, had moved to Isfahan. There, Badr-al-Din entered the services of K̄vāja Bahā’-al-Din Moḥammed b. Šams-al-Din Jovayni (q.v.), the governor of Isfahan and ‘Erāq-e ‘Ajam in the Il-khanid kingdom.

Moḥammed was a poet himself, but his fame rests only on his *Mo’nes al-aḥrār fi daqā’eq al-aš‘ār* (“The Free Men’s Companion to the Niceties of Poems”), a voluminous anthology which is his only surviving work and the only source about his life. In the *Mo’nes* he includes eight of his own poems, none of which can be dated from before the death of the Il-khanid Abu Sa‘id (q.v.) in 736/1335 (Morton, in Swietochowski and Carboni, p. 49).

At the beginning of the 20th century, the art dealer Hagop Kevorkian (see below) acquired an incomplete illustrated autographed copy of this anthology, dated Ramadan 741/February-March 1341. Morton (in Swietochowski and Carboni, p. 51) convincingly argued that the manuscript was written and illustrated in Isfahan.

The *Mo’nes al-aḥrār* is divided into thirty chapters (*bāb*), according to criteria of form or content, and begins, like thematically arranged *divāns*, with chapters containing poems devoted to praises of God and the Prophet and those of ethical content. The majority of the chapters contain almost exclusively *qaṣidas*, while separate chapters are devoted to strophic poems



(*mosammaṭāt* and *tarji'āt*, respectively), “fragments” (*moqaṭṭa'āt*), *ḡazals*, *robā'īs*, and isolated single verses (*fardiyāt*).

Most of the chapters containing *qaṣidas* are concerned with devices that would appear rather frivolous in the view of modern critics and hardly include first-rate poems (e.g., the chapter on *maṣnu'āt* “artificial poems,” containing, amongst others, poems which have a different figure of style in each verse, or which can be scanned in more than one meter). Fortunately, the subject of some chapters is general to the point of being all-inclusive, such as those on *tašbihāt*, “poems containing similes” (I, pp. 214-369), *aš'ār-e moqaffā*, “rhyming poems” (II, pp. 453-663), and *aš'ār-e moraddaf*, poems with *radif* (II, pp. 664-778). These chapters contain also by far the most *qaṣidas*, and very beautiful ones among them (e.g., several by Anwari and two prison poems [*ḥabsiyāt*] by Mas'ud-e Sa'd). The order of the poems within these chapters is mainly associative. Poems follow one another because of a common rhyme, meter, or theme, and thus this anthology is an ideal source for a study of the phenomenon of *naẓira*. Jājarmi includes few poets from the earliest period (e.g., Daqīqī and Rudakī are represented by only a single *qaṣida* each). Likewise, the poets attached to the court of the early Ghaznavids (e.g., 'Onṣori, Farroḳi and Manu-čehri) are represented by only one or two *qaṣidas* each. Poets from the Saljuq period fare a little better, but unevenly (Anwari and Zahir-al-Din Fāryābi [q.v.] get much more attention than Kāqāni Šarvāni, for example). The *Mo'nes al-aḥrār*, however, is particularly rich in *qaṣidas* of some 13th-century poets, such as Kamāl-al-Din Esmā'il Eṣfahāni, Šams-al-Din Moḥammad Ṭabasi, Najib-al-Din Jorbādaqāni, Rafi'-al-Din Lonbāni (the younger), and Farid-al-Din Aḥwal. Understandably, Jājarmi pays much attention to poets attached to the Il-khans and their entourage like his own father, Badr-al-Din, and Sa'id Heravi.

The chapter on the *ḡazal* (II, pp. 952-1133), containing nearly three hundred poems by more than a hundred poets (most of them known only because of the *Mo'nes*), gives us a picture not entirely in keeping with modern critical consensus. There are, curiously enough, only three *ḡazals* by Farid-al-Din 'Aṭṭār (q.v.), and five by Jalāl-al-Din Moḥammad Balki Rumi; the latter's contemporary, Sa'di, however, is better served with sixteen *ḡazals*. Jājarmi includes many poets who were his (near)-contemporaries when they had some connections with the Il-khans, such as Awḥadi Marāḡa'i (q.v.), and, most of all, Kāvaju Kermāni, who are represented with sixteen and nineteen *ḡazals*, respectively. On the other hand, Amir Ḳosrow Dehlavi (q.v.), who had lived in



far-away India and died there less than two decades before the composition of *Mo'nes al-aḥrār*, appears to have been unknown to Jājarmi. Ḥāfez (q.v.)á, still in his teens, had yet to enter the stage.

The chapter on the *robā'i* (II, pp. 1134-1216) is divided into thirty-five sections (*fašls*), with quatrains that are either thematically related, share the same figure of style, or are considered to be by the same author, like those by Mahsati (the collection has been used by Fr. Meier, pp. 117-18), or 'Omar Ḳayyām (thirteen *robā'is*, published as an appendix by Fr. Rosen to his edition of *Robā'iyāt*).

One short chapter (II, pp. 841-60) is devoted entirely to selections from the *Šāh-nāma*; it contains no narrative passages, but primarily ethical and panegyric ones. Others deal with light verse and facetiae (*hazliyāt*, *moṭā-yabāt*), divination based on the twitching of a part of the body (*eḳtelāj*; poems by the author's father), and riddles. Chapter 29, known well to art-historians, contains two fully illustrated didactic works.

The first, *aš'ār-e moṣawwar*, under the name of Ostād Moḥammad Rāvandi, is to be considered, as has been demonstrated by Morton, as a riddle of which the illustrations give the clue. The second, *eḳtiārāt-e qamar*, by Badr-al-Din Jājarmi, a poem on ascertaining the (in)auspiciousness of the different lunar months, consists of a suite of quatrains with a short introduction in *ramal* (II, pp. 1217-21; Morton, in Swietochowski and Carboni, pp. 54-57).

Even if the *Mo'nes al-aḥrār* offers a rather idiosyncratic choice of poems (the extensive quoting of his own father is an example), it gives an idea of what was known and loved in Isfahan at the time. Moreover, it is an important source because, unlike most works belonging to the *taḍkera*-genre, it gives the full text of all the poems (although no particulars on the authors) instead of excerpts. Of many of the poets mentioned here no manuscript of a *divān* older than this autograph is extant.

There seems to be no information about precisely where and when Kevorkian acquired the autographed copy of the *Mo'nes al-aḥrār*. Six of the eight illustrated folios (that is, not the frontispiece, but all those making up chapter 29) were detached, and purchased by public collections in the United States (details in Carboni, in Swietochowski and Carboni, p. 9). The rest of the manuscript was sold in 1979, at Sotheby's in London, and is now in the Dār-al-aḳāf al-Eslāmiya in Kuwait (LNS 9 MS). In all probability the manuscript was



not well known in the centuries after its completion and may have been part of a private collection during a long period. Apparently, no *taḍkera* earlier than the mid-19th-century *Majma' al-foṣaḥā* by Reżāqoli Khan Hedāyat mentioned it explicitly (author's Introd., p. xi). When Kevorkian acquired the autograph copy, it was bound together both with a full index of all the poems it should have contained, and thirty-five pages of poems missing in the autograph copy (even so the text was not complete). He offered the non-autograph part of the manuscript to the Persian scholar Moḥammad Qazvini (q.v.), who bequeathed it to the University Library in Tehran. Moḥammad-Taḡi Dānešpażuh dated it from the 17th century, which would make it older than all the other manuscripts (pp. 504-6, MS no. 144b; full text of Qazvini's note on the provenance and the value of these pages, Jājarmi, I, pp. *yā-kāf*).

The published text edited by Mir Şāleḡ Ṭabibi is based not only on various manuscripts (none of which is older than the 18th century, except for the autographed copy and the pages mentioned above), but also on other material: an untitled anthology dated 1021/1612 which itself heavily depends on the *Mo'nes* (II, pp. iii-iv), and both the published and unpublished *divāns* of the poets. The complete index which had been bound together with the autograph provided the information about the poems originally included. Curiously enough, whenever the editor was unable to find the complete text of the original poem, he added another poem by the same poet (on this procedure, Jājarmi, II, pp.vi-vii; examples a.o. II, pp. 795, 960, 961).

At least one more anthology, titled *Daqā'eq al-aş'ār* by a certain 'Abd al-Wahhāb Dawlatābādi, which is not dated, is dependent on the *Mo'nes* (Bodleian library, Elliot 37, Cat. Sachau/Ethé 1333: presumably 18th century; for the relation between the two texts, see Dānešpażuh, p. 505; Monzawi, *Noskahā* IV, pp. 2813, 3249; Storey/de Blois, V/2, p. 437, n. 3). Another anthology titled *Mo'nes al-aḡrār*, composed in 702/1302 by a certain Laṭif al-Din Kalāmi (or Kalāti), has been considered as the original version of Jājarmi's text; this was disproved later on (Nafisi, *Naẓm o naṭr*, I, pp. 176, 204; Jājarmi, II, pp. v-vi).



BIBLIOGRAPHY

Arthur J. Arberry, "Handlist of Islamic Manuscripts Acquired by the India Office Library 1936-38," *JRAS*, 1939, no. 4600, pp. 380-81.

Taqi Bineš, "Mo'nes al-aḥrār fi daqā'eq al-aš'ār," *Rāhnemā-ye ketāb* 2/5, 1960, pp. 713-16; 16/4-6, 1973, pp. 265-74 (reviews of Ṭabibi's edition).

Hugo Buchthal, Otto Kurz, and Richard Ettinghausen, "Supplementary Notes to K. Holter's Check List of Islamic Illustrated Manuscripts before AD 1350," in *Ars Islamica* 7, 1940, no. 48, p. 155.

Stefano Carboni, "The Mu'nīs al-Aḥrār Manuscript in the al-Sabah Collection, Illustrated Poetry for a Princely Patron," in *The Newsletter of Dar al-Athar al-Islamiyyah* 6, Fall 1997, pp. 14-16.

Catalogue of Important Oriental Manuscripts and Miniatures the Property of the Hagop Kevorkian Fund (. . .) which Will be Sold by Auction by Sotheby . . . London (. . .) 23rd April, 1979, no. 144, pp. 84-87.

Moḥammad-Taqi Dānešpažuh, *Fehrest-e noskaha-ye kaṭṭi-e Ketāb-kāna-ye dāneškada-ye adabiyāt*, MDAT 8/1, Tehran, 1960.

J. T. P. de Bruijn, "Djādjarmī," in *EI2*, Suppl. (with bibl., read K. Holter for K. Hilter), pp. 235-36.

Exhibition of the Kevorkian Collection (. . .) Exhibited at the Galleries of Charles of London, New York, March–April 1914, nos. 68 and 264.

Rezāqoli Khan Hedāyat, *Majma' al-foṣaḥā'*, ed. Mazāher Moṣaffā, Tehran, 1957-61.

Kurt Holter, "Die islamischen Miniaturhandschriften vor 1350," in *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, Leipzig, 1937, no. 48, p. 19.

Moḥammad b. Badr-al-Din Jājarmi, *Mo'nes al-aḥrār fi daqā'eq al-aš'ār*, ed. Mir Šāleḥ Ṭabibi, 2 vols., Tehran 1959-71.

Georges Marteau and Henri Vever, *Miniatures persanes: tirées des collections*



de MM. Henry d'Allemagne, Claude Anet . . . exposées au Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris 1913, pl. xlix, fig. 55.

Fritz Meier, *Die Schöne Mahsatī: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des persischen Vierzeilers I*, Wiesbaden, 1963.

Aḥmad Monzawi, *Nosk̄ahā IV*, pp. 3249-50.

Sa'id Nafisi, *Naẓm o naṭr*, Moḥammad Qazvini, "Mo'nes al-aḥrār," in idem, *Bist maqāla-ye Qazvini*, 2 vols., ed. 'Abbās Eqbāl, Tehran, 1928-34, II, pp. 138-55; 2nd ed., Tehran, 1954, II, pp. 184-206. repr. in the edition of the *Mo'nes al-aḥrār I*, Introd., pp. *bā-yā*.

Idem, "An Account of the *Mu'nisu'l-ahrar*: A Rare Persian MS. Belonging to Mr. H. Kevorkian," *BSO(A)S* 5, 1928-30, pp. 97-108 (not a translation of his Persian article).

Friedrick Rosen, *Robā'iyāt-e Ḥakīm 'Omar Kayyām*, Berlin, 1925.

Eduard Sachau and Hermann Ethé, *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library I*, Oxford, 1889.

Storey/de Blois, V. Marie Lukens Swietochowski and Stefani Carboni (with essays by A. H. Morton and Tomoko Masuya), *Illustrated Poetry and Epic Images: Persian Painting of the 1330s and 1340s*, New York, 1994 (contains photographs and a discussion of all the miniatures in the autograph, as well as the text and translation of the poems they illustrate).