



ŞĀ'EB TABRIZI

ŞĀ'EB TABRIZI, Mirzā Moḥammad 'Alī (b. Tabriz, ca. 1000/1592; d. Isfahan, 1086-87/1676), celebrated Persian poet of the later Safavid period. The exact year of Şā'eb's birth is unknown, but an allusion in one of his *ġazals* to turning eighty suggests that he was born sometime in the last decade of the sixteenth century. He was a privileged child of the mercantile elite. His father, Mirzā 'Abd-al-Raḥīm, was a successful merchant, and his paternal uncle, Šams-al-Dīn of Tabriz, earned the sobriquet *Širin Qalam* ("Sweet Pen") for his calligraphic talents. Şā'eb's family was among those evacuated from Tabriz by 'Abbās I as a response to Ottoman incursions and settled in the neighborhood of 'Abbās-ābād in Isfahan. It is here that Şā'eb was educated and began his literary career. As a young man, he made the pilgrimage to Mecca and the Shi'ite shrines in Najaf and Kerbala.

Like many aspiring Persian poets of the age, Şā'eb felt that the Mughal courts of India offered the best prospects for the furtherance of his literary career. He set off for the east in 1034/1624-25. When he arrived in Kabul, he met the young governor of the city, Mirzā Aḥsan-Allāh Zafar Khan, himself a poet who wrote under the penname of Aḥsan. The two forged a close friendship: Zafar Khan was Şā'eb's primary patron for the next several years, and Şā'eb acted as the governor's mentor in the poetic art. Şā'eb accompanied Zafar Khan when he was called to the imperial court to pledge his allegiance to the newly enthroned Šāh-jahān in 1628. As Aḥmad Golčīn-e Ma'āni has argued (1985-86, p. *bist o noh*), Şā'eb was probably not present at the coronation nor did he compose a celebratory chronogram for the occasion; certainly no such poem



has been preserved in his *divān*. Similarly, the claims that Şā'eb received lavish payments and the title Mosta'ed Khan from Şāh-jahān appear to be the exaggerations of later biographers. Şā'eb did accompany Zafar Khan and his father Abu'l-Ḥasan Torbati on their military campaigns in the Deccan. The rigors of army life and the climate in Borhānpur did not agree with the poet, and fortuitously, he received word that his aged father had arrived in Agra in person to urge him to return to Persia. Şā'eb requested leave to depart from both Zafar Khan and Abu'l-Ḥasan, but it was not until the two were posted to the governorship of Kashmir in 1632 that Şā'eb finally started on the road back to Isfahan.

Şā'eb's seven-year residence in India helped to establish his reputation as the foremost poet of the age, and he spent the rest of his life in Isfahan, traveling only to visit other cities in Persia. He apparently enjoyed cordial, if not especially close relations, with the Safavid court. His *divān* contains panegyrics dedicated to Shah Şafi, 'Abbās II, and Shah Soleymān. Although 'Abbās II appointed him to the post of poet laureate (*malek-al-šo 'arā*), Şā'eb did not take up residence in the palace, and a story circulating in Isfahan a few years after his death tells how he had himself excused from the royal retinue during an excursion to Māzandarān. On the other hand, his reputed falling out with Shah Soleymān seems to be no more than a biographer's embellishment on the opening verse of his coronation ode. In any case, it is unlikely that Şā'eb depended on royal patronage for his livelihood. He could find a ready public audience for his *ġazals* in Isfahan's coffee shops and a more elite clientele in the homes of well-to-do merchants and courtiers. Like many people in Safavid Persia, he was a moderate and occasionally guilt-ridden user of intoxicants such as wine, coffee, and tobacco throughout his life. Şā'eb's family wealth assured him of a financial independence rare among medieval Persian poets. The biographer Maliḥā of Samarqand describes Şrā'eb's home as one of the grandest in the entire city (Mirzāyef, p. 40), and the poet employed his own resident calligrapher, 'Āref of Tabriz, to transcribe copies of his *divān*. In his later years, Şā'eb appears to have retired from public life, receiving a limited number of students and literary admirers from throughout the Persian-speaking world. He was buried in a garden retreat near the Masjed-e Lonbān in Isfahan. His tomb, together with those of his son and grandson, was rediscovered in the 1930s.

Sources differ concerning the year of Şā'eb's death. Based on chronograms by his student Aşraf of Māzandarān and the biographer Sarḳoş (*Kalemāt al-*



šo'arā), earlier sources give the date as 1081/1670-71. The inscription on Şā'eb's tomb, however, is dated 1087/1676, and this agrees with both a contemporary chronogram by Wā'eẓ of Qazvin and the report of Maliḥā of Samarqand, who visited Isfahan with a mission from the Khan of Bokhara in 1679. Aḥmad Golčīn-e Ma'āni has noted that the chronograms by Sarḳoš and Ašraf can easily be amended to yield the year 1086/1675, and Karim Amiri Firuzkuhi has reasonably concluded that Şā'eb probably died in the last month of 1086 or the first month of 1087 (February-March 1676), allowing for chronograms in either year. In any case, there is little reason to question Maliḥā's claim that Şā'eb was near ninety at the time of his death (for a summary of these arguments, see Dowlatabādi, I, pp. 474-75.)

Poetic Works. Şā'eb was a prolific poet, and during the course of a literary career spanning over sixty-five years, he compiled one of the largest divāns in classical Persian literature. Although the estimates of the biographers of 120,000 to 200,000 verses are inflated, the most comprehensive edition of the divān nevertheless contains some 75,000 lines of poetry. This figure is especially remarkable considering that Şā'eb wrote almost no narrative poetry. Hermann Ethé's attribution to Şā'eb of a *maṭnawī* on the story of Maḥmud and Ayāz is untenable. He did compose a *maṭnawī* on 'Abbās II's conquest of Qandahār in 1051/1641, but reports that this work, the *Qandahār-or 'Abbās-nāma*, contains between 35,000 and 135,000 verses are gross exaggerations; no manuscript of the work exceeds 200 lines (Kazāna-dārī, pp. 366-68; *Divān*, Qahramān, VI, pp. 3602-608). Some fifty *qaṣīdas* and other short panegyric poems have survived, spanning his career from early poems describing the Ka'ba and the shrine at Najaf to a short chronogram on an architectural restoration carried out by Shah Soleymān in the final year of the poet's life. Dedicated to all of Şā'eb's major patrons in India and Persia, these poems provide crucial documentary evidence not only of the poet's life, but also of Safavid architecture (Babaie; Losensky, forthcoming) and popular political ideology (Ja'fariyān). However, by far the bulk of Şā'eb's literary output consists of *gāzals*. In the history of Persian literature, only Jalāl-al-Dīn Rumi's *Divān-e Šams* begins to approach the size and scope of Şā'eb's lyric oeuvre. Qahramān's edition of the divān contains over 7,000 *gāzals* (including some twenty poems in the Turkish dialect of his native Tabriz), as well as a couple of hundred isolated verses from poems no longer extant in their entirety.

The ease with which Şā'eb composed poetry gave rise to numerous stories in



the tadkera literature about his ability to complete others' verses (*piš-mesra' rasāndan*) on the spur of the moment. In one instance (Browne, IV, p. 269, whose translation has been emended and partially followed below), one of Şā'eb's students presents him with the rather jejune paradox "Seek from the wineless bottle, the bottleless wine" (*az šiša-ye bi mey mey-e bi šiša talab kon*); with perhaps a touch of irony, Şā'eb adds the rhyming hemistich "Seek the truth from the heart which is empty of thought" (*ḥaq rā ze del-e kāli az andiša talab kon*). Although most of these stories are no doubt later fabrications (Golčīn-e Ma'āni, I, p. *bist o noh*), they do serve to represent Şā'eb's seemingly effortless gift for invention. In a more modern critical idiom, Ğolām-Ḥosayn Yusofi argues that Şā'eb's ability to create new images and metaphors places him among the outstanding poets in Persian literature (in *Şā'eb wa sabk-e hendi*, p. 313) and attributes the range of his imagery to the social spread of poetry outside the confines of the court into the realm of everyday urban life. Şā'eb himself uses the phrase *ma'nā-ye bigāna*, 'unfamiliar or alien conception,' to refer to the unexpected images, startling similes, and unusual metaphors that flowed from his pen. Poetic inspiration seemed to come to him unbidden through *feyz* or divine emanation, revealing often unpredictable connections between objects of the material world as manifestations of a cosmic unity of being.

In more mundane terms, Şā'eb's creative fluency also derived from his prodigious mastery of the earlier tradition. Although we know little of Şā'eb's training—there are suggestions that he was tutored by Ḥakim Şafā'i of Isfahan (d. 1037/1627-28) or Rokn-al-Din Masiḥ of Kashan (d. 1066/1655-56)—it must have been the finest that a highly literary culture could provide. Few poets have been as generous as Şā'eb in acknowledging their debt to their literary peers and predecessors. He mentions some seventy different poets by name in his *ḡazals*, most often at the end of a *jawāb* or response written in homage or emulation of an earlier poem. Most frequently mentioned are Rumi and Ḥāfez, but even an examination of his *jawābsto* a lesser-known poet like [Bābā Faḡāni](#) shows how scrupulously and creatively he evaluated and re-created the work of earlier masters (Losensky, 1998, pp. 212-30). Şā'eb left a record of his reading in his personal anthology of poetry, his *saḡina* or *bayāz*. Šebli No'māni (III, p. 168) has compared this work to the *Ḥamāsa*, the great collection of Arabic poetry assembled by Abu Tammām, and its treatment of contemporary poets has been discussed by Tarbiyat (1932). Rāšedi (II, p. 587-88) describes a manuscript of this work in Hyderabad, and other copies are reported to be preserved in the Royal Library (*Ketābkāna-ye salṭanati*) at

the Golestān Palace in Tehran. Publication of this work would provide much information about Şā'eb's taste, circle of associates, and the later reception of the classical tradition.

Critical reception. The adulation of Şā'eb among his contemporaries and later readers is evident throughout the biographical literature. His contemporary Moḥammad Ṭāher Naşrābādi writes simply that “the sublimity of his genius and extent of his fame need no description” (I, p. 316). In India a few years later, Sarkoş writes that Şā'eb's “jewel-like verses have broadcast his fame throughout the world,” reporting that the Safavid shahs sent copies of his divān as gifts to rulers in other parts of the Islamic world (Raşidi, II, p. 519). Shortly after the poet's death, the Central Asian poet and biographer Maliḥā of Samarqand gives a moving account of his pilgrimage to Şā'eb's tomb and the night he spent in vigil there (Mirzāyef, pp. 41-42). In most parts of the Persian-speaking world, the praise of Şā'eb's literary achievement continues unabated through the nineteenth century, reaching perhaps its fullest expression in the writings of Āzād Belgrāmi in *Sarv-e āzād* and *Kezāna-ye āmera*.

In Persia, however, the late eighteenth century saw the development of the neo-classical *bāzgaşt-e adabi* (‘literary return’), which like most new literary movements, found its identity in part by rejecting the values of its immediate predecessors. In 1779, Āḍar Beygdeli would accuse Şā'eb of “losing track of the established rules of previous masters” and leading poetry down a path of steady decline (*Ātaşkada*, I, p. 122). By the middle of the nineteenth century, Reżā-Qoli Khan Hedāyat could write simply that Şā'eb wrote in “a strange style that is not now approved” (*Majma' al-foşahā*, IV, p. 44). This blanket rejection remained critical dogma in Persian literary circles through the early decades of the twentieth century and is perhaps best represented by Moḥammad-Taqi Bahār's succinctly comprehensive dismissal of Şā'eb and his style (1970; compare the more tempered assessment in *Sabk-şenāsi*). However, as the *bāzgaşt* itself came into disrepute with the fall of the Qajars and the rise of modernism, Şā'eb and seventeenth-century poetry in general began to be re-evaluated. Especially notable in Şā'eb's critical rehabilitation were the publications of the poet-scholar Karim Amiri Firuzkuhi and the literary historian Zeyn-al-Ābedin Mo'taman in the 1940s and 1950s. Şā'eb's return to the canon of classical poetry was officially marked by a conference held at the University of Tehran in January 1976 and attended by many of the major literary figures of the day; its proceedings remain an essential contribution to the critical literature on the poet.



Yet even today, Şā'eb remains a controversial figure in Persian literary circles, with both detractors and supporters going to extremes of censure and approbation. Şā'eb's success as a self-professed modernist who stretched the limits of poetic expression can perhaps best be measured by the critical passion his work continues to exercise. In terms of his literary reputation, Şā'eb may have been too prolific and his work too well preserved. Even the best poets nod, and a certain unevenness is inevitable in a literary career of over sixty years and a body of work of over 75,000 verses. Not all of Şā'eb's poetic experiments are equally successful. The literary historian Ḍabiḥ-Allāh Şafā (V, pp. 1279-80) may come closest to offering a measured assessment of Şā'eb's achievement. Remarking that critics have taken some objectionable verses as an excuse to denigrate Şā'eb's work as a whole, Şafā maintains that "in reality, Şā'eb is a powerful poet in the ḡazal, and although he wrote a great deal, his language is seldom open to criticism." Şā'eb's poetry, Şafā continues, "is solid, in accordance with the criteria of eloquence, and full of subtle ideas, delicate thoughts, and graceful images." In conclusion, he notes the "distinctive splendor" that the abundance of social, gnomic, mystical, and social observations gives to Şā'eb's ḡazals. It is unlikely that Şā'eb's often-complex poetry will ever be to everyone's taste, but readers are increasingly willing to appreciate it according to its own aims and standards. The *ma'āni-ye pičida* ('intricate ideas') of which Şā'eb so often boasts may not be the most direct route between two points, but like a winding road, can reveal vistas of meaning otherwise unseen.

Literary style. The size and range of Şā'eb's oeuvre defy brief summary, but we may note some general features. In formal terms, Şā'eb's ḡazals tend to run longer than the classical norm; though some poems are as short as five verses, most contain ten to twelve lines, and ḡazals of fifteen to twenty verses are not unusual. Longer ḡazals often repeat the same rhyme words two or three times and occasionally deploy a doubled *matla'*, opening line, at the start of the poem. There are few poems in the *divān* that do not utilize a *radif* (a word or phrase that follows the rhyme throughout the poem). This is usually a verbal refrain, such as *mišavad*, but Şā'eb's occasionally employs unusual nominal *radifs*, such as *šab* (night), *šoḃḥ* (morning), *ḥobāb* (bubble), or *soḡan* (poetry or speech). In contrast to the varied, dance-like meters of his admired predecessor Rumi, over ninety percent of Şā'eb's ḡazals are written in just five long and fluid meters. (Moḡammadi, pp. 78-82). This choice of meters contributes to the rhythmically "languid" quality of many of Şā'eb's verses (Yarshater, p. 992).



Şā'eb is best known for his figures of thought. He frequently refers to his *šiva-ye tāza* or “fresh style” and boasts of its *ma'nā-ye bigāna* (unfamiliar or alien conceit), *ma'nā-ye rangin* (colorful or variegated idea), and *maẓmun-e barjasta* (outstanding conceit). This “poetics of the new” prizes the unexpected turn of thought or startling connection between image and idea. Under the rubric of the Indian style (*sabk-e hendi*), critics have compiled long lists of features that distinguish Şā'eb's poetry and that of many of his contemporaries (Losensky, 1998, p. 202). Şā'eb is particularly renowned for his mastery of a device called *tamṭil* or *ersāl-e maṭal*, in which a claim is made in one half of the verse and an exemplum is adduced to support it in the other, as in this opening verse: “When a man grows old, his greed grows young: sleep grows heavy just before the dawn” (*ādami pir čō šod ḥeṣṣ javān migardad/ kvāb dar waqt-e saḥargāh gerān migardad: Divān, Qahramān, IV, p. 1591*). This technique produces a compound metaphor, a miniature allegory. These aphoristic verses often employ current proverbs or later achieve the status of proverbs themselves, as the frequent citation of Şā'eb in Dehḳodā's *Amṭāl o ḥekam* indicates. (Yarshater, pp. 986-87; *Şā'eb wa sabk-e hendi*, pp. 137-215; and Losensky, 1996.)

The following verse illustrates several other typical features of Şā'eb's style: *čonān be-fekr-e to dar-ḳvištan foru-raftim / ke ḳošk šod čō sabu dast zir-e sar mā-rā (Divān, Qahramān, I, p. 288)*. The first *mesra'* or half-line uses a natural, almost prosaic syntax to set up the complex simile in the second: “Thinking of you, we so sank into ourselves/that the hand beneath our head went numb (dried out) like the wine flask.” *Ḳošk šodan* is used both figuratively for the hand and literally for the wine flask, a trope known as *kenāya*. This play on idiomatic meaning frequently marks Şā'eb's introduction of popular colloquialisms into the language of the *ḡazal*. The ambiguous placement of the simile in the verse allows it to work on several levels. The brooding speaker has been sitting motionless for so long that his arm is as stiff and inert as a piece of pottery. With his head propped up on his arm, his posture resembles the shape of the round handle on the neck of the flask. Fueling his reveries with wine, the speaker reaches the depths of self and flask, leaving both dried out and exhausted. The precise visual image, the use of *double entendre*, and the harmonious layering of meaning are all important elements of Şā'eb's fresh style.

Another frequently noted aspect of Şā'eb's imagery is how he uses metaphor to animate lifeless objects or abstract concepts. We can see this figure of thought at work in the opening verses of one *ḡazal (Divān, Qahramān, II, p. 729)*:



ma'ni az lafz-e sabok-ruḥ falak-pardāz ast

*lafzā-e pardāktabāl o par-e in šahbāz ast 'ešq bālā-tar az ān ast ke dar waşf
āyad čark kabkist ke dar panja-ye in šahbāz ast*

Through ethereal words, meaning can soar to the skies;

polished words are the wings and feathers of this falcon. Love is too lofty to be described. The wheel of heaven is a partridge in the talons of this falcon.

Meaning, in the first verse, takes on life as a high-flying falcon, and in the second, love as an animate bird of prey, seizes heaven itself in its claws. The word choice in both lines is governed by the dominant avian imagery, exhibiting the 'observance of the similar' (*morā'āt-e nażir*) characteristic of Şā'eb's poetry; even the word *čarkò*, 'the wheel of heaven,' carries the secondary sense of 'a hunting bird.' Mo'taman also singles out this poem to illustrate one of the truisms of Şā'eb studies: "the lack of unity and connection between ideas in a *ğaza!*" (*Goharhā-ye rāz*, p. 82). Almost all critical writing on Şā'eb (by both proponents and detractors) is based on the citation of single verses extracted from their original poetic context. Here, however, Şā'eb clearly utilizes repeated rhyme to contrast the vast power of well-wrought words with the inherent puniness of all language before the creative principle of love. The "harmony of images," antitheses, and complexity of thought that structure a single verse may also serve to organize groups of verses or an entire poem.

Many critics have commented on the remarkable breadth of Şā'eb's poetic vision. Amiri Firuzkuhi, for example, has observed that Şā'eb "turned his attention and curiosity to all of life's phenomena, occurrences, sights, and feelings and even to the things and objects around him" (quoted in *Gozida-ye aš'ār*, p. 46). Given Şā'eb's comprehensive knowledge of earlier poetry, it is not surprising that his *divān* embraces the full thematic range of the Persian lyric tradition, from amatory appeal to philosophical meditation. Although evidence of Şā'eb's Sufi affiliation is scanty, mystical symbols and ideas are prevalent in his poetry. He demonstrates a keen gift for the introspective analysis of feeling and emotion. Metapoetic themes are also common in Şā'eb's poetry. Perhaps most characteristic, however, is a strong sense of the ethics of everyday life. Şā'eb often speaks in a knowing and gentle didactic voice, offering advice on how one can live contentedly in this world while remaining faithful to a set of ultimate values. Finally, one might note Şā'eb's attitude of



poised wonderment before even the most insignificant objects or most shop-worn poetic images as they offer up seemingly endless lessons on proper conduct, the ways of human life, and the order of the world. *Manuscripts*. Because of the immense fame that Şā'eb enjoyed during his lifetime, his works were frequently copied and are represented in every major collection of Persian manuscripts. Monzawi's bibliographical catalogue (*Fehrest*, III, pp. 1877 and 2391-98) cites nearly one hundred and fifty manuscripts of his divān in libraries from Persia and India to Europe and the United States, and this list does not include copies in Central Asia or those catalogued over the last thirty years. More important than sheer numbers, however, is the fact that many of these manuscripts date from the poet's lifetime and were produced under his supervision. Following in his uncle's footsteps, Şā'eb was himself a skilled calligrapher and took great pains to collect and preserve his own works. Among several manuscripts of the divān reputed to be in the poet's own hand, Rāšedi (II, p. 588) describes one divān in Calcutta that Şā'eb is supposed to have prepared as a presentation copy for Zafar Khan. Others date from later in his career, during his long residence as the master poet of Isfahan. However, as Qahramān points out (*Divān*, I, pp. *do-haft*), many of the manuscripts reportedly copied by Şā'eb were, in fact, the work of his personal scribe, 'Āref of Tabriz. Nevertheless, the annotation "*balāḡa Şā'eb*" indicates that these manuscripts were reviewed by the poet and that he was responsible for the marginal additions and annotations. But whether Şā'eb copied or just approved these manuscripts, the text of his divān is perhaps better preserved than that of any other major poet of the classical tradition. *Editions*. For a poet whose reputation was so long in the doldrums, Şā'eb's works have been frequently printed in a variety of formats. The publishing history begins with a number of lithograph editions produced in India in the early twentieth century. The first full print edition was published in Tehran in 1954 by Ketābforuši-ye Kayyām and has often been reprinted. This edition carries an introduction by Amiri Firuzkuhi, but given the poor quality of the text, it seems unlikely that a poet and scholar of his caliber had a hand in its editing. However, he also provided an introduction for a much more reputable edition of the divān: this is the facsimile of a manuscript prepared under Şā'eb's direction published by the Anjoman-e Ātār-e Melli. No less than four other facsimile editions have been published. Contrary to the publishers' claims, none of the manuscripts reproduced are in Şā'eb's hand, but those published in Karachi are good examples of the work of the poet's scriptorium. The print editions of Sirus Šamisā and Jahāngir Maṣūr are essentially transcriptions of similar early manuscripts. These editions each contain around 3,000 ḡazals,



and it was not until the appearance of Moḥammad Qahramān's edition that the full extent of Şā'eb's literary production could be accurately assessed. Published in Tehran between 1985 and 1991, Qahramān's six-volume, eclectic edition is gathered from over twenty sources and sets a new standard for accuracy and comprehensiveness. Although it lacks the full textual apparatus of a truly critical edition and is best used in conjunction with earlier editions, it nevertheless provides a firm foundation for all future study of the poet. *Selections*. Given its large bulk, it is not surprising that the divān of Şā'eb's has often been abridged and excerpted. It was the poet himself who initiated this practice. Most of the copies of the divān produced under Şā'eb's direction, for example, contain less than half of the total corpus of his work. He also supervised the creation of at least one anthology of his own work, entitled *Mer'āt al-jamāl*, in which selected *gāzals* and verses are arranged topically according to parts of the human figure—eyebrows, lips and teeth, kisses, waist and hips, etc. This work apparently provided the model for a number of other topical anthologies, such as *Ārāyaš-e negār* (on the mirror and the comb), *Meykāna* (on wine and the tavern), *Šam' o parvāna* (on the candle and the moth), *Āsmān o āsyāb* (on heaven and the millstone). It is not clear whether these were produced under the poet's direction or, as seems more likely, assembled by later poets and readers. *Wājeb al-ḥefẓ*, for example, is often described as a collection of first lines (*matla'*) selected by Şā'eb; however, the copy of this work kept at the India Office collection is attributed to the Central Asian poet 'Āmelā of Bokhara and is a wide-ranging topical selection covering diverse topics (Ethé, II, cols. 884-87). Numerous selections of Şā'eb's verse have also appeared in print. Among the most important of these is *Aš'ār-e bargozida* edited by Ḥeydar-'Alī Kamāli, which made Şā'eb's poetry widely available in Persia for the first time in the twentieth century and seems to have contributed greatly to his critical rehabilitation. It was, for example, this work that first attracted the attention of Zeyn-al-'Ābedin Mo'taman, who helped prepare two anthologies of Şā'eb's works. Amiri Firuzkuhi and Moḥammad Qahramān also produced annotated selections. The recent publication of *Šo'la-ye āvāz: šarḥ-e yakšad gāzal-e Şā'eb* by Ašḡar Barzi shows that there is still a market for selections of Şā'eb's massive divān annotated for students and the general reader. Finally, Košrow Eḥtešāmi Hunagāni's *Dar kuča-bāḡ-e zolf: Esfahān dar šer-e Şā'eb* and Wāḥedi's *Didgāh- Şā'eb dar partow-e 'erfān* are perhaps better regarded as topical selections on material culture and gnostic themes than as analytical studies. *Other writings*. A number of short prose pieces by Şā'eb have been discovered in *jongs* (manuscript miscellanies) and published in part or whole. Two indicate the Safavid fascination with

intoxicants: a petition addressed to the shah (probably 'Abbās II) asking for the rescinding of a prohibition on wine and a short treatise on the pleasures of tobacco and the water pipe. Three letters survive, one addressed to an absent beloved and two requests addressed to patrons, one asking for grain and another for a vase of narcissus. Finally, a mock petition is addressed to the Sultan of Love, complaining of the oppressive tyranny of his agents. Golčīn-e Ma'āni (1969-70) has also published two letters written to Şā'eb that apparently accompanied pension payments made to him by the government late in his life. No doubt these documents represent only a small portion of a lifetime's correspondence, and a fuller inventory of Safavid manuscripts will likely reveal other pieces.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Facsimile editions: Tehran, 1966 (Anjoman-e Āṭār-e Melli, with an introduction by Amiri Firuzkuhi); two editions, Tabriz, 1978 (nos. 28 and 33 in the publications of Mo'assasa-ye Tāriḵ wa Farhang-e Irān, sponsored by Dāneškada-ye adabiyāt-e Tabriz); two editions, Karachi, 1971 (reproductions of manuscripts N.M. 1998-266/1 and N.M. 1958-266/2 of the National Museum of Pakistan, with introductions by Momtaz Hasan).

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Among the numerous selections from Şā'eb's works, mention should be made of *Aš'ār-e bargozida*, ed. rḤeydar 'Ali Kamāli, with introduction by



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