

From Peshawar to Tehran

An Anti-imperialist Poet of the Late Persianate Milieu

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Colonial experiences in South and West Asia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, followed by the rise of nationalist postcolonial ideologies in the twentieth century, bore a heavy cultural baggage of identity politics. Whatever their advantages, these experiences helped to shrink the forlorn milieu we now identify as the Persianate world, a once thriving sociocultural sphere that stretched from Khotan to Sarajevo and from Tbilisi to Mysore.¹ As probably the last Indo-Persian scholar-poet to cross not only the geographical but also the sectarian divides between the Sunni Indo-Afghan world and Shi'i Iran, Adib Pishawari (ca. 1844–1930) is an insightful case study of the retracting Persianate world on the cusp of the eras of colonialism and nationalism.

Adib's journey from India to Iran was only possible because he was the product of a rich and still vibrant Persianate Sufi heritage with a Shi'i affiliation, as well as being a recipient of the rich tradition of classical Perso-Arabic *adab* (literary humanism), which he mastered over decades of travel and trouble. Raised in Peshawar, he journeyed as a young man to Kabul and Mashhad and eventually Tehran, where he spent the remaining half century of his long life and died on May 30, 1930. His haphazard, almost subliminal, striving for a cultural revival relied primarily on the classical Persian literary heritage of the tenth and eleventh centuries, but also on the literary and philosophical heritage of Sufism and on the classical Arabic tradition. Yet he was more than a literary figure, an *adib*, as the surname he chose for himself suggests. In addition to the poetic, lexicographical, and Sufi dimensions of his character, Adib held strong anticolonial views, rooted in his unhappy personal history.

This was a potent combination and would have been ideal for the making of a modern Persianate activist—had it not been negated by his arcane literary orientation and reclusive personality. Adib's poetry was scarcely appreciated beyond the small circle of late Qajar and early Pahlavi literati who patronized and sustained him in Iran. Moreover, his anticolonial message never got off the ground, wrapped

as it was in unfamiliar poetic imagery that was unfathomable to the distinctly modern Iranian readers of the early twentieth century. Adib's career nonetheless traces the retraction of the formerly far-flung Persianate world.

ORIGINS AND EDUCATION

Adib was born Sayyid Ahmad Rizawi around 1844, most likely into a Shi'i family in a village in Kunar in the Sarhad region.² His birthplace was located 130 kilometers northeast of Jalalabad and 230 kilometers north of Peshawar in what soon came to be known as the North West Frontier Province of British India. While he was very young, his family moved to the city of Peshawar, presumably because of intertribal clashes in the region. He came from a family of sayyids known as Ojaq (or Ajaq, meaning "hearth"), a term of tribal kinship. Both his father Shihab al-Din (known as Sayyid Baba) and his grandfather Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzaq were Sufi masters with followings in and around Peshawar. According to Adib's devotee and biographer 'Ali 'Abd al-Rasuli (1879–1943), the family was attached to the Suhrawardi Sufi order. In the latter part of the nineteenth century, there were no Suhrawardi *khanaqahs* in the region,³ Adib's family nonetheless became known for its Sufi remembrance of God (*zikr*), and the people of the Peshawar and its surroundings paid homage to it, perhaps an indication that their Sufi network in Peshawar also reached to the Kunar, Waziristan, and Khyber regions.⁴

In his *Qaysar-nama* (Book of the Kaiser, composed around 1917), where he devoted a short passage to his early life, Adib paid homage to his father for his early education:

He entrusted [my education] to the care of a well-versed ascetic,
At the start of each month he paid off the tuition.⁵

Beyond private tuition, Adib's study of "preliminaries" (*muqadimat*) in the madrasa, and his interest in literature and philosophy, seem to have all followed the classical Perso-Arabic curriculum. There is no mention in his poetry of knowledge of Pashto or even Urdu, suggesting that at the time Persian was still the language of high culture in Peshawar.

At some stage in his youth, Adib's father and most of his male paternal and maternal relatives were killed fighting British Indian forces, perhaps in the 1863 Ambela Campaign against the Pashtuns of the North West Frontier, which resulted in a thousand British casualties and the deaths of an unknown number of Pashtun fighters. According to British records, the colonial army did not engage the local population of Peshawar in that campaign,⁶ but Sufi masters (*pirs*), such as the members of the Adib's family, were natural leaders of a jihad against the British and may well have fought alongside the rural Pashtuns of the neighboring region. According to Adib, his elderly maternal grandfather Sayyid 'Abd al-Samad carried the banner onto the battlefield before being cut to pieces by the British

forces. His father, uncles, cousins, and other members of his family also fought and died. Adib himself sustained two serious wounds, which left him bedridden for eleven months.⁷

Anticolonial resistance had a long history in the region, and no doubt in the living memory of Adib's family. Six years earlier, during the "Indian Mutiny" of 1857–58, after the British had crushed the sepoy mutineers in Punjab, they staged a public execution of rebellious Muslim sepoys in Peshawar, presumably to remind the local population of the grave consequences of putting up any resistance. The Peshawar garrison surrendered without resistance. In 1860, the British victory parade—the so-called Grand Durbar through the streets of Peshawar, with a row of elephants carrying the British viceroy and his court—conveyed a similar message to the bewildered public, who continued nurse anti-British resentment.

A revealing incident, which offers a clue to the young Adib's state of mind, occurred (presumably shortly after 1858) when he was thirteen years old. Many years later, he recalled that in the Peshawar bazaar he had heard a wandering dervish reciting a story from Rumi's *Masnawi* about the Prophet Muhammad and the peace of Hdaybiyya, a well-known episode in which in year six of the Hijra (that is, 628 CE), Muhammad made peace with the infidels of the Quraysh. At one point in his recitation, the dervish came to the verse:

Suddenly descended upon that light of the prophets,
The drumbeats of good fortune: "We Conquered!"⁸

On hearing this, the youthful Adib was so moved—presumably in frustration over peace with the British infidels—that he hit his head against a wall until blood ran all over his face.⁹ The event, a variant on a familiar trope in Sufi biographies, apparently inspired his lifelong engagement with the *Masnawi*.¹⁰ Soon afterwards, another incident (presumably shortly after 1863) hastened his departure from Peshawar. An argument with a British missionary in the local bazaar led to a brawl in which Adib slapped the missionary's face. This subsequently led to Adib's arrest and detention for nine days. Upon his release, a council of the family's women headed by Adib's mother, Mahd 'Ulya, persuaded him to leave Peshawar for Kabul in the hope that his education as a cleric (*ʿalim*) might "provide for a group of desperate women."¹¹

Under the Afghan ruler Dust Muhammad Khan (r. 1826–39, 1845–63), then an ally of the British, Kabul was nonetheless a haven for Sufi families driven out of the North West Frontier Province. Several of the Sufi families who settled there received pensions and land assignments. We may therefore surmise that in dispatching Adib to Kabul, his mother (herself the offspring of Husayni sayyid Sufi nobility) hoped that he would benefit from Dust Muhammad Khan's patronage. But for reasons unknown, Adib does not seem to have succeeded in this. His family's Shi'i affinity was far from welcome in Kabul, especially after the short-lived Qajar capture of Herat in 1856 led to Dust Muhammad's falling out with Qajar Iran during the Anglo-Persian

War of 1856–57. With British support, Dust Muhammad then expanded his control over Herat, making a great leap toward the unification of Afghanistan.¹²

Even without royal patronage, residence in Kabul offered Adib a chance to further his education. For two years, he studied in a local madrasa there. Then, moving south to Ghazni, where he resided at the tomb of the celebrated Persian poet Sana'i Ghaznawi (d. 1131), and later at the nearby tomb of Sultan Mahmud Ghazna (r. 998–1030) in a cemetery known as Bagh-i Fayruzi. There, for eighteen months, he studied philosophy (*hikmat*) and the literary sciences (*adab*) under a mullah named Sa'd al-Din. This appears to have been his first serious engagement with *adab* literature. From Ghazni, he moved on to Herat, where he stayed for another fourteen months, and thence to Turbat-i Jam in Iranian Khurasan, where he stayed for another eighteen months in the shrine of the celebrated Shaykh Ahmad-i Jam (d. 1141).

By the time he arrived in Mashhad, around 1869, he seems to have undergone the typical training of an itinerant Sufi in the middle decades of the nineteenth century: classical Persian and Arabic language and literature, with some mystical philosophy, perhaps a mix of Avicennan philosophy and Neoplatonic *ishraq* (illuminationism). It is difficult to believe that there were substantial libraries in the Sufi shrines in which he resided, but there must have been enough books to afford him a degree of erudition. Oral traditions of learning must have played an important part in his education as well. This especially seems to be the case in view of his famed memory and capacity to learn by heart a vast body of poetry in Persian and Arabic, as well as his ease in repeating long and complex passages of poetry after merely hearing them once. He belonged to an oral culture that survived, especially in the format of verse (*nazm*), for at least a millennium. That as a habit later in life he listened and memorized a great deal, and borrowed books to read and memorize rather than acquiring a large book collection of his own, similarly points to the place of oral learning in the Persianate world before print culture became dominant. Difficult though it is, much of his own poetry also reveals aspects of this orality, for example, through greater emphasis on the rhythm and sonority of words and phrases rather than on their substance. His was a species of poetic wizardry that was soon to become extinct in the face of modern print-based knowledge.

Life in Mashhad therefore did not fundamentally change Adib's approach to learning. But it did draw him more into the study of philosophy, the rational sciences (*'ulum-i 'aqliyya*), especially mathematics, and poetics and stylistics (*'ulum-i adabiyya*). Although we might imagine that studying under three teachers in Mashhad converted him into a methodic textual scholar, very little of that appears in the small body of scholarly prose writing he left behind. It is as if he never cast off the orality of his earlier years. However, Mashhad did bring out more of his affinity with Shi'ism. Crossing the essentially Sunni zone of Afghanistan into Shi'i Iran gave him the chance to appreciate, and be appreciated, as a *sayyid*, a descendant of

the Prophet who composed lengthy panegyrics (*qasidas*) in honor of the families of the Prophet and the Twelfth Imam. That he was a *sayyid* of Razawi descent on his paternal side, as well as of Husayni descent on the maternal side, must have been a special source of pride in a city that housed the tomb of the Eighth Shi'i Imam, Musa al-Riza (d. 818), the progenitor of the Razawi *sayyids*. Yet study in Mashhad did not turn him into a Shi'i jurist (*mujtahid*), nor, as far as we know, did it result in his engagement with jurisprudence and the *naqliyya* (transmitted) Shi'i religious sciences.

Adib's personal proclivities aside, his interest in the '*aqliyya* (rationalist sciences) was in great part due to the fact that, even in the latter part of the nineteenth century, something of the old Khurasani cultural milieu still existed in Mashhad. Despite being home to some jurists, Mashhad's teaching circles resisted the Najaf-orientated Usuli legalism that came to dominate Isfahan and other centers of Shi'i learning in Qajar Iran. Remarkably, one of his teachers of philosophy and the rational sciences in Mashhad was Mulla Ghulam-Husayn Shaykh al-Islam, presumably the chief judge of the city. He may in turn have been instrumental in Adib's next move, in 1871, to Sabzawar, to study with Haji Mulla Hadi Sabzawari (d. 1873), then the most prominent representative of the school of philosophy founded by Mulla Sadra (d. 1640). As the author of the famous *Manzuma*, a long poem in Arabic covering a whole gamut of logic and Islamic theosophical philosophy, Mulla Hadi had preferred the seclusion of his hometown to madrasas in larger cities such as Mashhad or Isfahan. According to Arthur de Gobineau, who showed some interest in the study of philosophy in Iran in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, Mulla Hadi's fame attracted students not only from eastern Khurasan but from Central Asia, Arabia, and even as far away as Tibet.¹³ Adib studied for two years under Mulla Hadi's son, Mulla Muhammad, and perhaps also under Mulla Hadi himself toward the end of the latter's life.

After Mulla Hadi's death in 1873, Adib returned to Mashhad. But this did not set him on a conventional madrasa path, even though he was by then gaining some fame under what would become his lasting sobriquet "Adib-i Hindi" (Indian [literary] scholar). The title of *adib* (scholar) rather than "mullah," the usual term for members of the '*ulama*, and by extension for anyone who had some form of traditional Shari'a-based education, clearly differentiated him. Adib's scholarly orientation was perhaps too unorthodox to allow him to establish a teaching circle in the style of the madrasa-based Shi'i jurists. According to his biographer, while living in Mashhad, he would wander for days on end on the outskirts of the city, loudly reciting passages from Rumi's *Masnawi* till he reached the state of ecstasy.¹⁴ He had by now reportedly memorized all six books of the *Masnawi* and his recitation style, in a low voice, resembled the incantations (*zikr*) of the Sufis. This behavior was in tune with that of the wandering dervishes, especially the so-called entranced (*majzub*) Sufis who were more common in the Sufi-dominated eastern Persianate world, particularly India. Adib's recitations in the wilderness

got so out of hand that, fearing for his own sanity, he had to force himself to give up the practice.

Restored to sobriety, he placed greater emphasis on literary erudition, as he mustered a repository of Perso-Arabic poetic and lexicographic knowledge. Memorize long, complex verse passages, including numerous classical *qasidas* from pre-Islamic Arabic poetry and from the Persian poetry of the Khurasan school, made him a noted mnemonist. Residing in the Mirza Ja'far madrasa, adjacent to the shrine of Imam Riza, he occasionally hosted a literary circle (*anjuman*) devoted to poetry and literary debate. His circle, a novel kind of gathering perhaps, was significant enough to come to the attention of Mirza Sa'id Khan Ansari Garmrudi Maw'taman al-Mulk, who earlier served for two decades as minister of foreign affairs under Nasir al-Din Shah (r. 1848–96). However, at the time when he came to know Adib, between 1873 and 1879, Sa'id Khan was serving as the custodian (*mutawalli*) of the shrine of Imam Riza in honorable exile.¹⁵ A man of literary sophistication, well versed in Persian and Arabic poetry, Sa'id Khan was the first to recognize the accomplishments of Adib-i Hindi and act as his informal patron. Apparently, it was Sa'id Khan who, after his return to office in 1879, persuaded Adib to move from Mashhad to Tehran in 1882, possibly with an eye to establishing a literary *anjuman* in the Qajar capital.¹⁶ Mirza Sa'id was no doubt aware of the *Anjuman-i Khaqan* (Royal Society) of the era of Fath 'Ali Shah (r. 1797–1834), and it is quite possible that he was attempting to create something equivalent for the Nasiri era.

AN INDIAN ADIB IN QAJAR TEHRAN

Adib lived the life of a virtually homeless dervish, detached from his surroundings and on the brink of seclusion, during his half-century in Tehran. If he was brought to Tehran to be part of a cultural project, he produced little written work so far as his record shows. For nearly fifteen years, up to 1897, he was a "scholar in residence" in the house of Mirza Muhammad 'Ali Mu'awin al-Mulk (later known as Qawam al-Dawla), where he practically lived in the library. Mu'awin al-Mulk was a high-ranking, affluent state accountant (*mas-tawfi*) in the Qajar administration whose father, Mirza 'Abbas Qawam al-Mulk, was a colleague and friend of Mirza Sa'id, who had brought Adib to Tehran. Mu'awin himself had held various high offices under Nasir al-Din Shah. Yet judging by the dearth of available evidence, Mu'awin al-Mulk was not entirely a man of the establishment. Presumably well educated and with a large library, he had twice travelled to Europe, once in the retinue of Nasir al-Din Shah and once on his own. He seems to have been in the camp of Mirza 'Ali Khan Amin al-Dawla (1843–1904), a well-known reform-minded senior statesman of the Nasiri era, who also served briefly as the chief minister

of Muzaffar al-Din Shah (r. 1896–1907). When Amin al-Dawla was dismissed in disgrace in 1901, Mu'awin al-Mulk was also accused of taking part in a plot against Muzaffar al-Din Shah, arrested, disgraced, and sent into exile.

So Adib had to look for a new patron. He continued to live as a guest in the houses of other members of the Qajar cultural elite, men of affluence who had literary or Sufi affinities. Though his hosts seem to have taken care of him, he apparently was not a recipient of a state pension or any other regular source of income. In his later years, he was said to routinely frequent a bookstore in the capital, where he would sit for long, lonely hours reading newly published books. Nor did he hold regular teaching sessions, though he did occasionally read Sufi or literary texts with promising students, among them the famous scholar Muhammad Qazwini (1874–1949) and, later in his life, the leading literary critic Badi' al-Zaman Furuzanfar (1903–70). Over time, despite being solitary, aloof, and ill tempered, Adib came to be recognized as the star of Tehran's literary circles. As was often reported, his command of literature and lexicography, improved over decades by access to significant manuscripts and printed collections in Mashhad and Tehran, lent him an impressive presence.

A wide range of celebrated Qajar poets, scholars, statesmen, Sufis, and literary and artistic personalities attended the literary circle presided over by Sayyid Muhammad Baqa Ashraf al-Kuttab (later known as Sharaf al-Ma'ali, 1841–1913), who was known as a poet, calligrapher, and Sufi adept.¹⁷ Held in Baqa's house, this was the first literary society (*anjuman*) in Qajar Iran known to be in session on a weekly basis, which went on for a quarter of a century from around 1886 to 1913. Adib became its principal figure, even though he apparently did not attend regularly. His close affiliation with Baqa, an influential Ni'matullahi Sufi, was a crucial conduit for his introduction to the late Qajar cultural elite. Baqa even arranged for Adib to have an audience with Nasir al-Din Shah. In his later years, during the early Pahlavi era, Adib continued to appear in a literary circle that seems to have revived Baqa's *anjuman*. It included some of early twentieth-century Iran's most influential statesmen and literary figures.¹⁸

The sobriquet *adib*, a somewhat rare title for a learned man of his time, should not therefore be seen as a mere hyperbole. Rather, it was a signifier of a new form of erudition, distinct from religious (and more specifically Shari'a-based and jurist-dominated) scholarship. To the extent that can be determined, it was applied to masters of both Arabic and Persian as early as eleventh century, a time when Persian literature first emerged in the eastern Islamic world.¹⁹ By the Qajar era, and even more so in the post-Constitutional period after 1906, *adib* implied similar Perso-Arabic mastery, as well as a certain continuity with the classical era of Persian literature. This was important, because some of the early Qajar poets, historians and statesmen who were involved in the literary movement known as the "School of Return" (*maktab-i bazgash*t) sought to revive



FIGURE 15. The end of an Indo-Persian era: portrait of Adib Pishawari during his last years in Tehran. Undated photograph by unknown photographer in Pishawari, *Diwan-i Adib-i Pishawari*, ed. 'Ali 'Abd al-Rasuli (Tehran, 2000), unnumbered plate.

the Persian classical past, especially the Khurasan school of the tenth and eleventh centuries.²⁰

In the Qajar era, *adib* first seems to have been bestowed as a title on Mirza Hasan Taliqani (1848–1919), a contemporary of Adib Pishawari's. In the early 1870s, Taliqani was among the original authors of the incomplete multivolume biographical dictionary *Nama-yi Danishwaran-i Nasiri*, begun shortly before Adib's arrival in Tehran. Both the title *Adib al-'Ulama*, given to Taliqani by Nasir al-Din Shah, and his association with the encyclopedic project under prince 'Itizad al-Saltana recalled the classical concepts of *adab* and *adib*.²¹ Another holder of the title and near contemporary of Adib Pishawari's was Adib Nishaburi, who was also from Khurasan and in many respects mirrored Adib Pishawari's literary erudition.²² Muhammad Husayn Zuka' al-Mulk Furughi, a celebrated literary figure of the late Nasiri era and a friend and colleague of Adib's, also chose *adib* as his poetic pen name. He collaborated with Adib in the first published edition of Abu al-Fazl Bayhaqi's famous *Tarikh-i Mas'udi* (better known as *Tarikh-i Bayhaqi*), which was published in Tehran in 1889. In his preface, Furughi praised Adib Pishawari in no uncertain terms for his in-depth, all-embracing command of language and his piercing editorial judgment.²³ Adib was responsible for reviving a forgotten text, at that point unknown and unappreciated, Furughi pointed out.

The phenomenon of the *adib*, of which Pishawari was one of the most prominent representatives, should therefore be seen as a late stage in a century-long process of Persian cultural identity formation in the age of proto-nationalism. Yet despite its reliance on the rich heritage of the classical past, Qajar *adab* had limited capacity to shape the predominant discourse of cultural modernity of its time. This is even more evident when we consider the anti-imperialist themes in Adib's poetry.

THE POETRY OF ADIB PISHAWARI

Given Adib Pishawari's literary reputation, his written output is unimpressive, even poor, both in volume and, despite the approbation of his contemporaries, perhaps also in quality. Moreover, his attempt to address the realities of the world around him and the major upheavals of his time in his poetry (World War I in particular) is disappointing. He failed to employ the classical style and model as a means of creating poetry with a sociopolitical message. In the published edition, his *Diwan* comprises about 4,200 Persian verses and 370 Arabic verses, consisting of 37 very long "odes" (*qasida*) of 100 verses on average; 30 lyrical poems (*ghazal*); and some miscellaneous pieces. The *qasidas* are in an arcane and verbose style reminiscent of the most complex odes of the medieval Khurasani poets, such as the relatively obscure twelfth-century poet 'Usman Mukhtari Ghaznawi, who was known for his highly complex (and tedious) panegyrics.²⁴ Like 'Usman's poems, and the relative simplicity of the writings of many of the

Khurasani poets of the tenth and eleventh centuries, Adib's *qasidas* are replete with obscure words, impenetrable imagery, curious allusions, challenging meters, and tiresome didactics. His goal was more to impress the reader with his lexicographic command than to share poetic sentiments, or even convey a coherent message. Many lines of barren lexical wizardry go by before the reader can detect a glimmer of substance.

A case in point is a *qasida* entitled *Shikwa'iya dar Ma'ani-yi Jang-i 'Umumi* (Eulogy on the Realities of the Great War). Consisting of about 280 verses composed in the style of the famous *khamriyat* (wine-praising) poems of the eleventh-century panegyrist Manuchihrī Damghani (d. 1040). It starts

O cup-bearer! Give [me] a heavy jug of wine cultivated by the squire [*dihqan*],
A wine that the *dihqan* of the wine jar breeds like soul in the human body.²⁵

Yet, despite its great promise, the *qasida* contains barely a single verse that is pertinent to the title. The closest is an allusion to an obscure villain in the *Shah-nama*:

With much ado, Pilsam rose from among the Turks.
Bring forward Rustam's Rakhsh! So he can secure victory over Turan.²⁶

Even the most substantive of Adib's *qasidas* are often devoid of a concise and clear message. Of the total of thirty-seven panegyrics in his *Diwan*, seven pay homage to the Creator, the Prophet, his son-in-law 'Ali ibn Abi-Talib, and the Lord of the Age (i.e., the Mahdi), which were all predictable topics for a Shi'i poet. Another five are didactic. But the most significant group, comprising some twenty five poems, are meant to have some political bearing. Of these, thirteen are in praise of Kaiser Wilhelm II and the German exploits during World War I, while another twelve are reflections on the misfortunes that had befallen on Iran, India, Afghanistan, and Egypt at the hands of the British Empire.

This group of political *qasidas* sounds a clearer, more consistent voice of protest. Invariably, the anti-British theme—expressed in the strongest of terms—complements an almost messianic aspiration for German success in the war that is often addressed to the person of Wilhelm II, Adib's wartime hero. Most, if not all, of these poems were composed in a brief span of time, roughly between 1916 and 1919, and barely make reference to any other political or social topic. Indeed, there are very few surviving poems by Adib of earlier or later years, and virtually none contain other historical references. It is as if Germany's entry into World War I, rather than any other major events in his long life, motivated him in this endeavor. This is particularly striking given the array of major upheavals Adib must have witnessed during his decades of residence in Iran, not to mention his earlier years. In the two decades of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, he must have seen the Regie Protest (1891–92), the assassination of Nasir al-Din Shah (1896), the Constitutional Revolution and its aftermath (1905–11), and later the coup of 1921, the rise of Riza Khan, and eventually the demise of the Qajar dynasty

in 1925. None of these events seems to have moved Adib, at least not to the extent of triggering his poetic inspiration. Among his Arabic *qasidas* there is a poem on the execution in 1909 of Shaykh Fazlullah Nuri, a prominent anti-Constitutional jurist (*mujtahid*) in Tehran. This may well be taken as further evidence of Adib's anti-Constitutional stance.²⁷ If so, his rather facile anticolonialism was devoid of any democratic dimension.

That in a period of three years he inflexibly composed thirteen *qasidas*, most of them terse and unreadable, in unreserved praise of Kaiser Wilhelm, one of the most despised political figures of the early twentieth century, is all the more a proof of Adib's skewed worldview and misplaced hopes. At best, he can be seen as a naïve poet blinded by Germany's military glitter and at worst as an admirer of an authoritarian warmonger who happened to be anti-British. Even if, as his biographer would lead us believe, Adib was a master of all twelve branches of classical knowledge, his poetry reveals no awareness of Germany's own colonialist exploits, which among other crimes led to the first genocide in the twentieth century against the Herero and Namaqua peoples in south-western Africa (today's Namibia) in 1903–4. Nor does he seem to have been aware of the Kaiser's racist views, or even his close, if vexed, relations with the British crown.²⁸

Adib's imagined *Qaysar* (the Persian term for Kaiser), the valiant smasher of the British Empire, was about as related to the reality of the German Kaiser Wilhelm as Adib's ode was celebrated beyond his limited circle. None of these *qasidas* were published in his lifetime, or even distributed beyond a very small group of friends and admirers. Even if they had been, it is highly unlikely that the majority of his readers would have made much sense of them. In that respect, the propaganda value of his Germanophilia was probably close to zero. Yet Adib did not seek a wide audience. Once 'Abd al-Rasuli humbly pointed out that a passage in one of Adib's *qasidas* describing a rifle was so complex that "out of a thousand [people], perhaps one can understand it." Adib responded: "I composed this poem for the sake of that one person."²⁹

In addition to his pro-German *qasidas*, Adib also composed a long epic poem titled *Qaysar-nama* (Book of the Kaiser) in further praise of Wilhelm II. Originally comprising around 14,000 verses (of which only around 4,000 have survived), it was, predictably, in the style of Firdawsi's *Shah-nama*, to which it made frequent allusions.³⁰ Despite Adib's conscious effort to write unhindered Persian verse in the style of the *Shah-nama*, here too his style is arduous and substantially inaccessible. *Qaysar-nama* is not entirely devoid of vivid passages, however, such as those wishing the downfall of the British Empire or complaining of the misfortunes that had befallen his homeland and his host country, or expressing his own emotional pain. Ideology aside, the poem reads as if a classical Khurasani poet of the eleventh century had composed it. The opening passage in one version of *Qaysar-nama* clearly demonstrates Adib's mastery of the epic genre:

Because of the poets the world is worthwhile,
 For the world is alive because of the poets.
 The word is the eye and the poet is the eye's creator,
 Look at the entire universe through that eye.³¹

Yet beyond this opening, with its profound mystical undertones, the poem largely lacks coherence. Wherever Adib tried to inject narrative, as in his description of the German invasion of Romania—a minor affair in late 1916 that Adib portrayed as a resounding German victory—his efforts border on the surreal, if not farcical. *Qaysar-nama* betrays the suppressed aspirations of a pained but timid soul who could wage a wishful war against the British Empire, his existential nemesis, only in the solitude of his own niche.

Like his odes in praise of the Kaiser, his *Qaysar-nama* was a by-product of the intense Germanophilia (known as *almandusti*) that swept Iran and the neighboring lands throughout World War I. Praise for a powerful rival to the imperial powers surrounding Iran was not limited to the German emperor. Another example is seen in Mirza Husayn-ʿAli Tajir Shirazi's *Mikadu-nama* (Book of the Mikado), which praised the Japanese emperor and people in the aftermath of Japan's victory in the Russo-Japanese War of 1904–5.³² *Mikadu-nama* was one of several turn-of-the-century epics in the style of the *Shah-nama* that served as a literary backdrop to what Adib would go on to produce in 1916 in his *Qaysar-nama*.

As in the Ottoman Empire under the Young Turks and Afghanistan under Habibullah Khan (r. 1901–19), in Iran, German propaganda during World War I raised hopes of deliverance from the British and Russian imperial yoke. At the outbreak of the war, a small but active clique of pro-German Iranian journalists and poets composed poems and published articles in defiance of the British threat and in admiration of the German rise to power. The majority of Iranian nationalists, disillusioned with the sour outcome of their own Constitutional Revolution of 1906, were resentful of the neighboring powers and their mischief, especially the 1907 Anglo-Russian Agreement that divided Iran into two zones of influence. They welcomed the ascendance of Germany just as much as they welcomed the war as a long-awaited moment of deliverance.³³

The poet and journalist Wahid Dastgirdi, a well-known Germanophile, was imaginative enough to distribute his poems in praise of Germany via the wandering dervishes who were still traversing a sections of the Persianate world. His *Darwish-i Shurishi* (Rebellious Dervish), a long poem recited in the bazaars and public gatherings of Isfahan, included such verses as:

The iron fist of imperial Germany,
 Suffocates Russia and Britain.

and

Iran and Germany are united in race,
 In the battlefield both fight like Rustam and Shirzad.³⁴

Composed at the height of this pro-German period, Adib's *Qaysar-nama* should be seen in the polarized political milieu of its time. According to one source, Adib's fame persuaded the German ambassador in Tehran to pay the reclusive poet a visit and to propose the publication of his *Qaysar-nama*. Adib reportedly turned down the offer on the grounds that he composed it not out of "love for Germany but out of hatred for Britain [*na az ru-yi dusti-i Alman wali dushmani-yi Ingilis*]."³⁵ Given the complexity of Adib's style, it seems more plausible that the German diplomat approached Adib for reasons of prestige than propaganda. By 1918, in any case, growing uncertainty about the fortunes of the war seems to have persuaded Adib to abandon the project. For the same reason, he wanted his *Qaysar-nama* to remain unpublished during his lifetime.³⁶

Irrespective of the success or failure of this particular poetic enterprise, Adib's fascination with the *Shah-nama* should be attributed to more than either Firdawsi's masterful narration or the suitability of the epic meter he had employed. As with many of his predecessors and contemporaries, Adib's efforts to replicate the Persian classical legend should also be attributed to the *Shah-nama*'s mytho-historical narrative, particularly its legendary parts. Firdawsi's old Persian legends appealed to Adib, as to many before him, not only for their capacity to glorify political and military might, but also because they engendered messianic hopes for the advent of a Faridun-like savior to rise up against the Zahhak-like powers of latter days. Or, alternatively, for a Rostam-like restorer of stability and glory against the ever-present threat of a Turani other.

PERSIAN POETRY IN THE WAKE OF WORLD WAR I

At the close of the war, Adib's enthusiasm turned into frustration. His "intense interest in politics"—which often made him "discuss politics with everyone" and consider "love for the homeland and independence [*istiqlal*] his religion and inner self"—now saw "gravitation toward foreigners and betraying one's country as the gravest sin." But in a brief period of poetic activity that followed the end of the war, his disillusionment with Germany's defeat was intertwined with new hope of Iran's deliverance. In a *qasida* of 142 verses entitled "Politics and Upheavals in Iran," composed most likely in mid-1918, he demonstrated both poetic command and depth of emotion.³⁷ This was despite his usual complexity of imagery and countless references to the literary heritage of the past, with which he was as keenly enthralled as ever. The poem opens with the following verse:

There rose from Mount Alborz a cloud dark as a woman of Zanzibar,
Pregnant with sedition and barren of [moral] shackles.³⁸

Aside from the misogynistic, even racist, imagery that runs through the poem, and which becomes even more explicit in later verses, the *qasida* mourned the doomed fortune of Iran at a critical juncture in its history. The "dark cloud" and other scornful

attributes were references to British colonialism and, in a milder fashion, to President Woodrow Wilson and the Americans who had entered the war on the side of the Allies in early 1918. The *qasida*'s other context was the aftermath of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and end of Russia's occupation of Iran, when the British North Persia Force came to occupy the entire country from the Persian Gulf to the Caspian.

This was an unexpected and unnerving experience for Adib. Now he condemned Britain for "spreading seeds of anxiety all over the earth" and for "uprooting trees of calm and safety." Britain was a power that spread "the dust of misfortune" and "insecurity" over Iran and turned it into a "puppet in the hands of demons," "a grazing land for wild beasts." Only the annihilation of London could allow such barren gardens as the land of Iran to thrive again. Were it not for the vagaries of destiny, he proclaimed, the "German King" would have been able to "crush the head of this evil witch [*pityara*]." If destiny had not brought Wilson's Americans into the war, "the hand of the [Anglo-]Saxons would have been severed from the earth" and for every slain Iranian "a hundred Georges and a couple of [Lord] Curzons would have been slain." In a double entendre, the name George alluded not only to King George V but also to Britain's wartime prime minister, David Lloyd George.

It was at this point in the poem that Adib turned his attention to his birthplace, India. He voiced his wish that the "Peacock of India" (*Tawus-i Hind*) would turn into a scavenging vulture and "wipe out all the sneaks and rats" from his homeland. He further called on Iranians to rise up to support the Afghans and Arabs so that everyone could be saved from the hellfire of British sedition and rest instead in the garden of security. He then warned Iranians not to "harvest with a sickle" (an allusion no doubt to the hammer and sickle of the Bolshevik Revolution) but instead to look at the enslaved Irish as a model of patriotic honor. After much elaboration, Adib concluded the *qasida* with the following lines in praise of his own poetry:

As long as a soul is in my body, it will not rest from this agony,
So if I am long-winded, there is an obvious excuse.
Know that my every verse is a piercing arrow aimed at the enemy,
So as to cut through even armor of Indian steel.³⁹

Another extensive *qasida*, presumably composed at the conclusion of the 1919 Anglo-Persian Agreement, condemned Britain in the strongest terms for its imperialist designs that had now extended beyond India, Egypt and Afghanistan and were casting their ominous shadow over Iran. He nevertheless expressed his hope that, if not India and Egypt, then at least Iran might eventually produce a savior like the mythical Faridun or the more historical Nadir Shah (r. 1736–47):

O felicitous Faridun! Rise up and shine,
For the "return of the types" is not implausible among the wise . . .
By necessity after each torment there will be relief,
It is not implausible that another Nadir will rise again in Iran.⁴⁰

Albeit from an unexpected quarter, Adib's hopes for another Nadir were soon to be fulfilled with the rise of Riza Khan. In 1921, at the onset of Pahlavi rule, portrayals of Riza Khan as a second Nadir were not unusual in the literature of the time. Nor were hopes that, as Adib predicted, Iran would move away from what he called "the path of ignorance and decay."⁴¹ It is worth noting that similar voices from other parts of the Persianate world had been audible as early as the time of Hazin Lahiji (d. 1766) and Mir 'Abd al-Latif Shushatri (d. 1805), who at the outset of British rule in India cautioned the neighboring Iranians about the threat of colonial domination and hoped for the advent of a champion to save their country.

THE QUESTION OF A PERSIANATE LEGACY

Despite his anticolonial utterances, Adib essentially remained a poet-scholar with a premodern outlook who strived, perhaps unsuccessfully, to engage in modern anticolonial discourse. Unlike his younger Indian and Iranian contemporaries, Muhammad Iqbal (1877–1938) and Muhammad-Taqi Bahar (1884–1951), who both employed the language of popular modernity through poetry and prose, journalism and politics, Adib continued to operate in a Sufi Persianate mode. Despite his later sedentary life, he remained a frontier dervish, a warrior from the borderlands fighting with words who restlessly inhabited the Iranian capital while his heart throbbed for his childhood homeland. Although he believed he was breaking new poetic ground, in reality Adib was an anomaly who stood in contrast to the poetic trends of the Constitutional and post-Constitutional eras, characterized by such poets as Bahar, Iraj, 'Arif, and 'Ishqi. Though passionately anticolonial, Adib's political message also failed to draw a serious following. This was in contrast to the nationalist narrative formulated by the likes of Hasan Taqizada (1878–1970), another writer of Persian from the frontier, in his case, Tabriz. Though Taqizada was ultimately unable to deploy his German connections to negotiate the stormy political waters of the time, he and his colleagues in Berlin were more successful in framing a nationalist message for Iran and, through their journal *Kavih*, better equipped to convey it. Named after another mythical hero of the *Shah-nama*, the journal was another example of the preoccupation with Firdawsi and his paradigm of the hero Faridun.

On the other hand, one may argue that the Persianate erudition in which Adib was so well-versed could no longer function as a cross-regional medium. In the face of nationalist ideologies, and their cultural demands on the citizens of newly emerging nations, Persian higher learning could no longer serve as the impetus for a literary revival based on the *adab* humanism of the classical past. Vernaculars in India, Central Asia, and the Caucasus—and even in Iran, Afghanistan, and what soon became Tajikistan—defined boundaries of learning that were no longer welcoming to the movement of ideas, images, and poets along the well-trodden Persianate path that Adib had travelled as late as the close of the nineteenth century.

Under Riza Shah in Iran, policies of cultural homogenization soon persuaded many among the cultural elite of the Constitutional and post-Constitutional eras (including figures like Taqizada and Bahar, both former Germanophiles) to conform to the state's nationalist project. In such a climate, Adib could still be revered as a repository of classical learning and hermetic detachment, but he could not be emulated. His literary language and style were outmoded and could be of scant interest to the nationalist print culture or state-imposed curricula of the new schools. Likewise, his Sufi ethos could at best arouse nostalgic admiration in a milieu that was now wedded to Western modernity and the positivist ideology then in vogue. Nor could the literary societies (*anjumans*) of former decades function as venues for an emerging public sphere in a way that was equivalent to European salons. In short, the new literary establishment, striving to create a national culture, could only view Adib with nostalgia for a form of erudition that was fast disappearing.

Adib was appreciated by a literary establishment that ranged from scholars such as Muhammad Qazwini, and elder statesmen such as Hasan Wusuq al-Dawla, to influential Pahlavi ministers such as 'Abd al-Husayn Taymurtash and major poets such as Bahar and Iraj Mirza. Yet this was an establishment largely coopted by Pahlavi authority. In 1942, Bahar's *Sabk-shinasi* (Stylistics), an influential work defining the history and boundaries of Persian prose, was produced when, after bearing the brunt of Riza Shah's autocracy, its author accepted an academic post at Tehran University and became its most distinguished professor of Persian. Likewise, 'Ali Akbar Dihkhuda (1879–1956), who had long ago bid farewell to his career as revolutionary satirist, excelled in the Pahlavi era as a brilliant folklorist and lexicographer whose *Lughat-nama* (Dictionary) was supported by special legislation of the Iranian Majlis and went on, with such state support, to have lasting influence on modern Persian. As the second president of the Farhangistan-i Iran (Iranian Academy) during its most active period between 1935 and 1938, Hasan Wusuq al-Dawla played an important part in laying the foundation of the Pahlavi era's language reforms. At least six of the Farhangistan's founding members had earlier been in Adib's circle.⁴²

Even so, none of these scholars truly carried Adib's legacy into the new era. The closest anyone came to doing so was perhaps Muhammad Qazwini, whose preoccupation with textual accuracy and "correct" usage and vocabulary, at times deliberately complex prose style, and mastery of the classical *adab* literature were reminiscent of Adib. And like Adib, Qazwini did not leave behind a written corpus of scholarly work. It was not without reason that in an autobiographical essay, Qazwini praised Adib in the highest terms. In his youth, sometime between 1890s and the early 1900s, Qazwini had "effusively benefited" from Adib, and discussed him as only second among his early teachers, after the enlightened and crypto-Babi *mujtahid* of Tehran, Shaykh Hadi Najmabadi (d. 1902). Qazwini's description opens a window on Adib's oral mode of transmitting knowledge as it survived in the late Qajar era:

For a few years, it was [Adib's] habit in the summer to come to the shrine of Imam-zada Salih in Tajrish [in the summer resort of Shimiran, to the north of Tehran] and to sit for couple of hours in a corner of the courtyard. Mindful of his short temper, I had to come up with various strategies and invent excuses so as to broach conversation with him and, little by little and every now and then, ask some questions, then quickly memorize his all-encompassing answers or jot them down in my pocket-book. His command of Arabic and Persian literature and his extraordinary ability to memorize Arabic poetry were truly astonishing.⁴³

Qazwini went on to compare Adib to the eighth-century Hammad al-Rawiya, who had memorized as many as 2,900 Arabic *qasidas*. Though of Persian origin, Hammad was the first scholar to systematically collect and study Arabic poetry, becoming one of the founders of the *adab* genre of the early 'Abbasid era. Qazwini then drew another comparison, this time with the great 'Abbasid-era agnostic poet and philosopher of the Arabic language, Abu al-'Ala al-Ma'arri (d. 1057):

In my mind, I often compared [Adib's] extensive memory and vast knowledge of literature, poetry, and lexicography, as well as his philosophical orientation [*mashrab-i falsafih*], detachment from the world, hermetic lifestyle, and other temperaments and behaviors, to those of al-Ma'arri. But there was one difference: Abu al-'Ala was uniquely [gifted] in Arabic literature, whereas Adib was a bilingual genius in both Arabic and Persian.

CONCLUSIONS

In spite of some continuity from one generation to the next, Qazwini differed from Adib in several important ways, differences that indicate the changing cultural milieu of the early twentieth century. For Qazwini was not a poet but primarily a textual scholar. Moreover, like many in his generation, Qazwini enthusiastically embraced the Orientalist scholarship of early twentieth-century Europe, expanded its knowledge base and benefited from its approach to Persian, Arabic, and Islamic sources through the modern methodology of textual editing. By contrast, Adib and his generation remained adamantly loyal to the older itinerant Persianate mode of learning and apparently refused to engage in Western scholarly discourse. Even in the late nineteenth century, there were still vast private manuscript collections available all over Iran and Afghanistan to which, if they had links to the cultured nobility, scholars of Adib's generation had access. The important libraries belonging to 'Ali-Quli Mirza I'tizad al-Saltana (now partially in the library of the Madrasa Sipahsalar) and Farhad Mirza Mu'tamid al-Dawla, as well as those of Mu'awin al-Mulk and Yahya Khan I'timid al-Dawla Qaraguzlu, which served as Adib's virtual shelter, were only a few of the many private libraries of the Qajar era.

Despite such wide access to manuscripts, as well as printed sources, by this period, Adib's mode of scholarship resisted Western modernity. For him, literary

erudition served a purely personal purpose, a wellspring that could only quench a personal thirst for learning. Rather than a methodical engagement with texts, learning was an acquired experience. Though it had survived for many centuries in Sufi convents and clerical madrasas, this was a breed of learning that could no longer cross the new geographical and cultural boundaries of a world of nation-states. Adib's approach to knowledge may to some extent also explain his naïve hope that the Kaiser and imperial Germany would liberate his Indian homeland. The *qasida* written in his memory by Wusuq al-Dawla perhaps alludes to this passing of the age to which Adib had belonged:

It is the time of the foxes,
 Now that lions have rested in their den.
 Now is the lot of the crows, now that nightingales are silent.
 Who can any longer differentiate the shell from the nut?
 Who but him can set apart the dim from the bright?
 Where is the wise man of Tus [i.e., Firdawsi], where the master of Balkh [i.e., Rumi]
 To witness what he judged as sound and unsound?
 He has joined his friends; woe on us survivors!
 For we are destined to live away from our friend
 Wusuq heard about this loss and paid homage:
 "Alas and pity for Adib's loss," he said.⁴⁴

Beyond the tropes of verse eulogies, Wusuq's words ultimately acknowledged Adib as a man of the Khurasan of a bygone era, a man who belonged more to the time of Firdawsi and Rumi than to the present age of foxes and crows.

NOTES

* My thanks are due to Mohsen Ashtiyani, Oliver Bast, Ali Gheissari, Nile Green, Farhad Taheri, Farzin Vejdani and Waleed Ziad.

1. Transnational Persianate culture was revived as a concept by the American historian Marshall Hodgson (1922–68) in his rethinking of the traditional boundaries of the Eurasian world.

2. Muhammad Shafi' Sabir, *Shaykhsiyat-i Sarhad* (Peshawar: University Book Agency, 2010), 893–94. I thank Waleed Ziad for this source.

3. One may speculate that at some stage Adib's ancestors had immigrated to Kunar (or to Peshawar) from Sindh or Multan, where the Suhrawardi order held sway. Adib himself was silent on this subject. According to a well-known biographical dictionary of Peshawar's Sufis, a Suhrawardi Sufi called Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzaq, also known as Sayyid-i Makki, with ancestors from the Shi'i stronghold of Sabzawar in Iranian Khurasan, came to Peshawar from Ghazni in the early eighteenth century. This 'Abd al-Razzaq may have been among the émigrés fleeing Iran after the fall of the Safavids. After establishing himself in Peshawar for several years, he moved on to the Mughal court in Delhi, where he became a disciple of a Suhrawardi Sufi luminary called Miran Muhammad Shah. He died there around 1735. See Ghulam Sarwar Lahawri, *Khazinat al-Asfiya* (Kanpur: Nawwal Kishur, 1902). 'Abd al-Razzaq's itinerary resembles Adib's and he may well have been Adib's ancestor. I thank Waleed Ziad for this biographical detail.

4. 'Ali 'Abd al-Rasuli, Introduction to *Diwan-i Adib-i Pishawari*, ed. 'Abd al-Rasuli (Tehran, 1933; repr., Tehran: Ma, 2000), 2. This *diwan* does not seem to include all of Adib's literary production, and

the editor acknowledges that Adib's earlier *qasidas* have not survived. Moreover, in his obituary of Adib, Muhammad Qazwini recalled having seen a manuscript copy of Adib's *diwan* in Paris in the possession of Firuz Mirza Nusrat al-Dawla, which Qazwini regretted had not been published. See Muhammad Qazwini, *Yadgar* 3, 3 (1946): 33–34 (where Qazwini does not cite the 1933 edition).

5. *Diwan-i Adib-i Pishawari*, ed. 'Abd al-Rasuli, 2. The Persian reads:

Bih yik purhunar paryayam sipurd,

Chu mah gasht naw, mahiyana shimurd.

6. There is some confusion as to the date of Adib's family's confrontation with the British forces. 'Abd al-Rasuli merely refers to the British having engaged in "skirmishes with the local population" without providing any date. See *Diwan-i Adib-i Pishawari*, ed. 'Abd al-Rasuli, 3. Other sources suggest or imply 1857–58, but, given the available evidence, 1863 seems to be the most plausible year. In his old age, Adib seems to have had only a vague memory of the exact date and gave inconsistent dates.

7. Shaykh al-Mulk Awrang, "Adib Pishawari," *Armaghan* 31, 1 (1341/1962): 13–17 (15).

8. The Persian reads:

nagahan dar haqq an sham' rusul

dawlat-i "inna fatahna" zad duhul.

9. 'Abd al-Rasuli, Introduction to Pishawari, *Diwan*, 2.

10. The verse from the *Masnawi* in question cites part of a well-known Quranic verse (48:1): "inna fatahna laka fathan mubinan" (We have destined an obvious victory for you). Peace with the infidels, the theme running throughout the sura, must have moved the young Adib.

11. Awrang, "Adib," 15. In 1932, Fazullah Subhi, another admirer of Adib, noted that Adib departed for Kabul at the age of eighteen, which corresponds to the war of 1863. See Fazullah Subhi, "Adab Chist wa Adib Kist?" in *Nama-yi Nik-Khwah* (Tehran: Baqirzada, 1932). I thank Ali Gheissari for this source.

12. See, among other sources, Abbas Amanat, "Herat Question," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982–), 12, fasc. 2: 219–24.

13. Arthur de Gobineau, *Les Religions et les philosophies dan l'Asie centrale* (Paris: Didier, 1866), 99–102. Mulla Hadi had devised a seven-year course of philosophical study with prerequisites in intellectual sciences and logic.

14. 'Abd al-Rasuli, Introduction to Pishawari, *Diwan*, 5.

15. On Mirza Sa'id, see Mihdi Bamdad, *Tarikh-i Rijal-i Iran* (Tehran: Zawwar, 1968), 2: 66–70.

16. There is some confusion about the date of Adib's departure for Tehran. After the dismissal of Mirza Husayn Khan Mushir al-Dawla as minister of foreign affairs in 1879, Mirza Sa'id Khan, a member of the conservative officialdom, resumed his earlier post, which he held till his death in 1885. It is very likely that Mirza Sa'id summoned Adib to the capital during his second tenure.

17. See N. Kasimi, "Sayyid Muhammad Baqa Sharaf al-Ma'ali, Muassis-i Nakhustin Anjuman-i Adabi dar Qarn-i Akhir," *Gawhar* 44 (November 1976): 691–94.

18. For a list of attendants see Parsa Tuysirkani, "Khatirat-i Adabi," *Khatirat-i Wahid*, n.s., 2, 9 (Tehran: Wahid, 1971), 130–31. Tuysirkani counts ten major personalities of the time, though a larger aggregate list based on various other sources exceeds twenty. The best known among them are Mirza Husayn Furughi Zuka al-Mulk I; his son Muhammad 'Ali Furughi Zuka al-Mulk II; Mihdi-Quli Khan Hidayat Mukhbir al-Saltana; Hasan Isfandiari Muhtashim al-Saltana; 'Abd al-Husayn Taymurtash; Nusrat al-Dawla Firuz; Ahmad Qawam al-Saltana (Qawam); Hasan Wusuq al-Dawla; Muhammad Taqi Malik al-Shu'ara Bahar; Shaykh al-Ra'is Afsar; Shaykh al-Mulk Awrang; and Muhammad Qazwini.

19. The poet and linguist Adib Natanzi was apparently the first to be recognized as such. As a *dhu al-lisanayn* (bilingual), he was known for his command of Arabic and Persian lexicographical and literary techniques. Together with Adib Tirmizi, a twelfth-century poet from the secretarial class of the Saljuq period, Adib Natanzi belonged to an era of cultural transition in eastern Islamic lands. See D. Safa, "Adib Saber," in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Yarshater, vol. 1, fasc. 5: 460–61.

20. They were mostly men of the *diwan* class and were loosely organized in the *Anjuman-i Khaqan*, a royal society of the kind patronized by Fath 'Ali Shah. Like Adib Pishawari and a few others known as

adib, the poets of the “Return School,” like Fath ‘Ali Khan Saba, were informed by the Khurasan school of the tenth and eleventh centuries and looked to the poetry of Firdawsi and his contemporaries as their literary role model.

21. Later, because of his Babi-Baha’i affiliation, Adib Taliqani was dismissed from his post as one of the original editors. See M. Momen, “Adib Taleqani,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ed. Yarshater, vol. 1, fasc. 5: 461. *Nama-yi Danishwaran-i Nasiri* was published in seven volumes (Tehran, 1878–1907) up to letter *shin* but remained incomplete. The editor of the last two volumes, Ghiyath al-Din Kashani, refers to his own title, and to the title of his colleague, Muhammad Mihdi ‘Abd al-Rababadi Shams al-‘Ulama, as *adib*. See also Abbas Amanat, “E’tezad al-Saltaneh,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, vol. 8, fasc. 6: 662–66.

22. J. Matini, “Adib Nishaburi,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ed. Yarshater, vol. 1, fasc. 5: 460.

23. Muhammad Husayn Furughi, epilogue in Abu al-Fazl Bayhaqi, *Tarikh-i Bayhaqi* (Tehran: Mirza Habibullah, 1307/1889).

24. Pizhman Bakhtiyari, Preface to *Diwan-i Wusuq* (Tehran: n.p., 1343/1964), 8.

25. *Diwan-i Adib-i Pishawari*, ed. ‘Abd al-Rasuli, 37–48. The Persian original reads:

Saqi bidih ratl-i giran z-an may ki dihqan parwarad,
Dihqansh andar khum chu jan dar jism-i insan parwarad

26. *Ibid.*, 44, line 19. The Persian original reads:

Amad burun ba bad u dam az khayl-i Turkan Pilsam
Pish-ar Rakhsh-i Rustam ta fath-i Turan parwarad.

27. *Ibid.*, 190–91. The title specifies “at the time of his [i.e. Shaykh Fazlullah Nuri’s] crucifixion [*hin-i salb*],” i.e., 1909. This is the only *qasida* that can be dated before 1915. That Adib composed it in a highly impenetrable Arabic may be attributed to his fear of the prevailing Constitutionalists.

28. The Kaiser was the eldest grandson of Queen Victoria and hence first cousin to both King George V of Britain and Tsar Nicholas II of Russia.

29. *Diwan-i Adib-i Pishawari*, ed. ‘Abd al-Rasuli, 12.

30. It is not yet published in its entirety. For the first part, see Adib Pishawari, *Masnawi-yi Qaysar-nama*, vol. 1, ed. A. Puyandihpur and S. Sami’ (Qum: Intisharat-i Iram, 2015). Note that this is a private publication. The title of *Qaysar-nama* was apparently proposed by ‘Abd al-Rasuli and approved by Adib.

31. Pishawari, *Masnawi-yi Qaysar-nama*, 131–32. The Persian original reads:

Bi guyandih giti barazandih ast/ ki giti zi guyandigan zindih ast
Sukhan chashm u guyandih chashm afarin/ sarapa-yi giti bidin chasm bin.

32. *Mikadu-nama* was published by Mu’ayyid al-Islam as Mirza Husayn-‘Ali Tajir Shirazi, *Mikadu-nama* (Calcutta: Habl al-Matin, 1907). There is a summary with an introduction by ‘A. Mir-Ansari in Supplement 9 *Ayina-yi Miras* 4 (Tehran, 2006), 128–32. For a discussion of the text, see Roxanne Haag-Higuchi, “A Topos and Its Dissolution: Japan in Some 20th-Century Iranian Texts,” *Iranian Studies* 29, 1–2 (1996): 71–83, and Siamak Adhami, “The Conversion of the Japanese Emperor to Islam: A Study of Central Asian Eschatology,” *Central Asiatic Journal* 43, 1 (1999): 1–9.

33. On German activities in Iran before and during World War I, see Oliver Bast, “Germany: I “German-Persian Diplomatic Relations,” in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, ed. Yarshater, vol. 10, fasc. 5: 506–19; *id.*, “Germany IX: Germans in Persia,” *ibid.*, fasc. 6: 567–72.

34. Yahya Aryanpur, *Az Saba ta Nima*, 2 vols. (Tehran: Shirkat-i Sahami-yi Kitabha-yi Jibi, 1350/1971), 2: 322–23. For other Germanophiles, including Muhammad Taqi Bahar (Malik al-Shu’ara), see *ibid.*, 322–32 and 341.

35. Tuysirkani, “Khatirat-i Adabi,” 131–32. The diplomat in question most likely was Wilhelm Litzen, the German consul in Tabriz in 1914 and later the German minister in Tehran. He seems to have sponsored pro-German propaganda among the Iranian intelligentsia. On him, see reference in Bast, “Germany IX” and the sources cited therein.

36. Tuysirkani, “Khatirat-i Adabi,” 132.

37. *Diwan-i Adib-i Pishawari*, ed. ‘Abd al-Rasuli, 129–35.

38. *Ibid.*, 129, line 1. The Persian original reads:

Bar shud az Alburz abr-i tirih chun zangi zani,
 Az fitan abistani wa-z imini istarwani
 39. *Ibid.*, 135, lines 14–15. The Persian original reads:
 Ta kih janam hast dar tan zin afghan asudih nist,
 War kunam itnab bari hast uzr-i bayyini.
 Tir nawak dan pay-i dushman tu har bayt-i mara,
 Ta bidarrad bar tan az pulad-i hindi juwshani

40. *Ibid.*, “Grieved over the upheavals in lands of Islam and India,” 136–49, esp.149, lines 21 and 24.
 The Persian original reads:

Ay Faridun-i mubarak-pay brun ay zankih nist,
 Rajat-i amsal nazd ‘aqilan mustankari . . .
 Bil-zarurih az pay-i har shiddati bashad faraj,
 Nist nadir gar zi Iran baz khizad Nadiri

41. *Ibid.*, line 25.

42. These were Muhammad ‘Ali Furughi; ‘Ali Akbar Dihkhuda; Malik al-Shu‘ara Bahar; Muhammad Qazwini; Badi’ al-Zaman Furuzanfar; and Rashid Yasimi.

43. Mirza Muhammad Khan Qazwini, *Bist Maqala* (Tehran: Matba ‘a-yi Majlis, 1313/1934), 2: 9–10.

44. Hasan Wusuq (Wusuq al-Dawla), *Diwan*. Also cited in *Diwan-i Adib-i Pishawari*, ed. ‘Abd al-Rasuli, 17.