

همدان خارج شد، فخرالدین برای انجام کاری همان‌جا ماند و تا زمستان ۴۴۳ ق با عمید ابوالفتح مظفر نیشابوری، که از طرف طغرل بیک، حاکم اصفهان شده بود، در آن شهر به سربرد (زرین‌کوب، همان‌جا).

در یکی از ملاقات‌های فخرالدین اسعد و ابوالفتح مظفر، سخن از داستان ویس و رامین به میان آمد و حاکم اصفهان به او پیشنهاد کرد که آن را از پهلوی به پارسی و به نظم درآورد و فخرالدین پذیرفت و نظم ویس و رامین را به نام او به پایان برد (تقیسی، همان، ص ۵۲؛ صفا، همان، ص ۳۷۳).

از سال ۴۴۳ ق به بعد، از حال فخرالدین اسعد خبری در دست نیست، جز اینکه می‌دانیم بسیاری از وقایعی که او در آغاز داستان ویس و رامین ذکر کرده مربوط به بعد از ۴۴۳ ق است؛ مثلاً داستان «هدیه فرستادن پادشاه شام» در ۴۴۶ ق، که طغرل شهر ملازگرد را محاصره کرده بود، اتفاق افتاده است و چون غیر از طغرل بیک از پادشاه دیگری در این کتاب یاد نشده، بنابراین نظم داستان باید پیش از سال ۴۵۵ ق (سال مرگ طغرل) به پایان رسیده باشد. از این نکته چنین برمی‌آید که فخرالدین اسعد بعد از ۴۴۶ ق و گویا در اواخر روزگار طغرل سلجوقی درگذشته است. از آنچه گفته شد در می‌یابیم که نظم داستان ویس و رامین بین سال‌های ۴۴۳ تا ۴۵۵ ق صورت گرفته است (فروزانفر، ص ۳۶۷ - ۳۷۰؛ صفا، همان‌جا).

داستان ویس و رامین از داستان‌های کهن فارسی است که در سرزمین کومش (سمنان، دامغان،...) به وقوع پیوست اصل این قصه را به دوره شاپور، پسر اردشیر بابکان، نسبت داده‌اند، ولی به نظر می‌رسد مربوط به قبل از دوره ساسانی، دست‌کم اواخر دوره اشکانی، بوده باشد؛ زیرا در این داستان آثار تمدن

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از نامش پیداست که در گرگان متولد شد. تاریخ دقیق تولد و فوت او دانسته نیست. از چگونگی زندگی فخرالدین اسعد نیز آگاهی چندانی نداریم (تقیسی، ج ۱، ص ۵۱؛ فروزانفر، ص ۳۶۲).

بیشترین اطلاعات درباره او با مطالعه اشعارش به دست می‌آید. با استناد به قسمتی از منظومه ویس و رامین تصور می‌شود که شاعر در آغاز قرن پنجم هجری زاده شده است. فخرالدین مردی خوش‌مشرّب، مسلمان و معتزلی‌مذهب بود. این موضوع را از وصف و ستایش او از خداوند و چگونگی به وجود آمدن عالم هستی و وصف مخلوقات، که در آغاز منظومه‌اش آمده، در می‌یابیم. او رؤیت خداوند و این موضوع را که او جسم و ماده است نفی کرده است (صفا، ج ۲، ص ۳۷۱؛ لغت‌نامه، ذیل مدخل).

دوره شاعری و شهرت فخرالدین با سلطنت ابوطالب طغرل بیگ‌بن میکائیل بن سلجوق (حکومت: ۴۲۹-۴۵۵) مصادف بود و فخرالدین در کتاب خود، نام او را به صراحت آورده است؛ به این ترتیب فخرالدین اسعد باید در اوایل قرن پنجم به شهرت رسیده باشد (زرین‌کوب، ص ۷۳).

اوج هنر و قدرت شاعری او در به‌نظم درآوردن داستان ویس و رامین است. دولت‌شاه سمرقندی (ص ۶۰) ویس و رامین فخرالدین اسعدگرگانی را به نظامی عروضی نسبت داده است و برخی دیگر نیز این منظومه را به نظامی گنجوی نسبت داده‌اند.

از لابه‌لای سخنان شاعر در می‌یابیم که او در فتح اصفهان و توقف چندماهه در آن شهر با سلطان همراه بود و بعد از اینکه سلطان از اصفهان به قصد تسخیر

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03 Mart 2013

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The Georgian Translation of *Vis and Rāmin*: An Old Specimen of Hermeneutics

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Fakhr-al-Din As'ad Gorgāni composed his versified romance *Vis o Rāmin* in the mid-eleventh century at the suggestion of 'Amid Abu'l-Mozaffar, the governor of Isfahan under the first Saljuq ruler, Toghril. The original Parthian version is lost, but a good number of points in the poem itself—personal names, lexicon, Zoroastrian terminology, and daily norms of life, among others—clearly reflect the impact of its origins. Despite of the Parthian origin, Gorgāni created an original romance that suited the taste of his time, when dogmatic ideology had been mellowed by some degree of freedom. It is one of the first full-fledged examples of a genre of romantic epic that has reached us,¹ a genre attaining its zenith a century later in the masterpieces of Nezāmi of Ganja. *Vis o Rāmin* was composed at least one century before the appearance of the European monuments of this genre, known today as the medieval romance. This is a point that must be emphasized in order to highlight its merits and acknowledge its proper place in the history of world literature. In the numerous works dedicated to the history of medieval European literature, the sources of this genre, as a rule, are considered to be only the traditions of the ancient world, and the Orient is, at best, only mentioned in passing and allotted quite an unimportant and disputable part. It is obvious that ancient and medieval European imaginative narratives often used originally Oriental topics and motives, but the fact that in the eleventh century, that is, a century before the beginning of the European romance, the genre of romantic epic had already reached its full development in Persia, is left unmentioned.

Among the early monuments of this genre that have reached us, namely 'Ayyuqi's *Varqa and Golshāh* (early eleventh century) and Gorgāni's *Vis o Rāmin*, the latter evinces the special characteristics of the genre of romantic

¹ It is predated only by 'Onsori's romantic epics and Abu'l-Mo'ayyad Balkhi's *Yusuf o Zolaykhā*, not to mention Ferdowsi's *Bizhan o Manizha*.

ستایش او از یزدان و کیفیت خلق عالم و وصف مخلوقات، که در آغاز منظومه او آمده است، می‌توان دریافت. او از اکثر علوم متداول در آن عصر بهره داشته، از کتب فلسفی مطلع بوده و شاید در آن فن دستی داشته است. فخرالدین اسعد گرگانی مانند همه دانشمندان معاصر خود، از ادبیات عربی بهره تام داشته و خط و زبان پهلوی را می‌خوانده و می‌دانسته و داستان ویس و رامین را از اصل پهلوی ترجمه کرده است. اثر مهم او همان مثنوی «ویس و رامین» است و به جز آن، تنها قطعه‌ای در هجو، یک غزل و یک رباعی به او نسبت داده‌اند. عوفی، امین احمدزای، صاحب کشف الظنون، و مجمع الفصحاء، مثنوی ویس و رامین را به فخرالدین اسعد گرگانی نسبت داده‌اند؛ اما دولتشاه سمرقندی آن را به نظامی عروضی نسبت داده است و همو نقل می‌کند که بعضی آن را به نظامی گنجوی منسوب کرده‌اند. آنچه از قرائن تاریخی و آثار مکتوب و گفتار تذکره نویسان برمی‌آید این انتساب را تأیید نمی‌کند و نظر غالب همان است که مثنوی ویس و رامین متعلق به فخرالدین اسعد گرگانی می‌باشد.

این مثنوی دارای بیش از هشت هزار بیت است و با آنکه از قرن سوم به بعد، مثنویهای متعدد به فارسی دری سروده شده، چون اکثر آنها از بین رفته، مثنوی ویس و رامین از حیث قدمت، سومین مثنوی کامل موجود است که امروز در دست داریم (بعد از گشتاسنامه دقیقی و شاهنامه فردوسی). احتمال می‌رود علت اینکه گذشتگان به ترجمه آن نپرداخته‌اند، منافات و مباینت آن با اصول اخلاقی و قوانین دینی بوده است. پس از اینکه فخرالدین اسعد این داستان را به نظم درآورده، داستان شهرت یافته و عده‌ای از شعراء اقتباساتی از آن داشته‌اند. ویس و رامین از باب آنکه بازمانده یک داستان کهن ایرانی است و از آن روی که ناظم آن به بهترین نحو از عهده نظم آن برآمده و اثر خود را با رعایت جانب سادگی به زیور فصاحت و بلاغت آراسته است، به زودی مشهور و مورد قبول واقع گردید، لیکن چون در بسیاری از موارد، دور از موازین اخلاقی و اجتماعی محیط اسلامی بوده است، از دوره تثبیت عقاید دینی در ایران و همچنین بعد از سروده شدن داستانهای منظوم نظامی و مقلدان وی، از شهرت و رواج آن کاسته و نسخ آن کمیاب شد. با این حال، تا اوایل قرن هفتم چنانکه از سخن عوفی برمی‌آید داستانی مشهور و مورد علاقه بود و سرمشق شاعرانی که دست به سرودن داستانهای عاشقانه می‌زدند قرار می‌گرفت. علی‌الخصوص نظامی هنگام سرودن خسرو و شیرین به برخی از موارد این کتاب نظر داشته است.

منابع: کتاب الالباب، عوفی، ۱۵۳۱۲؛ کشف الظنون؛

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فخرالدین اسعد گرگانی، شاعر و داستان سرای ایرانی در قرن پنجم هجری که داستان «ویس و رامین» را به نظم درآورده است. از شرح حال این شاعر اطلاعات زیادی در دست نیست و از آنچه که در دست ما است چنین برمی‌آید که از مردم گرگان بوده است.

لقب و نام و نسبت او به گرگان مورد اتفاق تذکره نویسندگان است، اما مشخص نیست که گرگان، زادگاه و یا فقط محل اقامت وی یا خاندان او بوده است. از او در کتاب کشف الظنون به نام «الفخری» یاد شده و علت شهرت او بدین نسبت، بر فرض صحت آن، به طور دقیق و محقق معلوم نیست. آنگونه که از قرائن برمی‌آید باید تولد، تربیت و شهرت فخرالدین اسعد در اوایل قرن پنجم صورت گرفته باشد، زیرا دوره شاعری و شهرتش مصادف بوده است با عهد سلطان ابوطالب طغرل بیک بن میکائیل بن سلجوقی (۴۲۹-۴۵۵ ق) و فخرالدین نام او را به صراحت در کتاب خود آورده و از فتوح بیایی و پیروزیهای او بر سلاطین خوارزم و خراسان و طبرستان و گرگان و ری و اصفهان سخن رانده است. فخرالدین اسعد از زادگاه خود به همراه طغرل بیک، پادشاه معروف سلجوقی، به اصفهان رفته و در فتح این شهر و توقف چندماهه طغرل در اصفهان، در التزام رکاب او بوده است و چون سلطان قصد رفتن به کوهستانهای همدان کرد فخرالدین اسعد در خدمت ابوالفتح مظفر بن محمد نیشابوری - حاکم اصفهان که از طرف طغرل به حکومت این شهر برگزیده شده بود - باقی ماند و داستان ویس و رامین را به توصیه او به نظم کشید؛ بنابراین تاریخ پایان نظم این کتاب را باید در حدود ۴۴۶ هجری، یا پس از این سال بدانیم؛ زیرا در مقدمه کتاب به حوادثی اشاره شده است که آخرین آنها مربوط به این سال است، اما از حوادث بعد از این زمان و تاریخ مرگ شاعر خبری در دست نیست. براساس قرائنی در متن کتاب ویس و رامین احتمالاً وفات فخرالدین اسعد گرگانی بعد از سال ۴۴۶ ق و گویا در اواخر عهد طغرل سلجوقی بوده است.

فخرالدین اسعد، مردی مسلمان و شاید شیعی مذهب و بر مشرب اهل اعتزال و یا فلاسفه بوده است و این معنی را از وصف

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02 Temmuz 2018

دائرة المعارف تشیع؛ جلد دوازدهم، تهران: مؤسسه انتشارات حکمت، ۱۳۹۱ ISAM DN. 257996

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VİS u RĀMĪN
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Traduction du passage de *Vis-o Ramin* (d. 31-59) dans lequel Fخر al-din Gurgani parle de ses sources, précédée de l'interprétation des mots *pahlavi* et *farsi* qui caractérisent tous deux, dans le texte, la langue de la source dont Gurgani s'est servie. Ces termes sont polysémiques et chargés d'affectivité, comme l'auteur l'a déjà montré et le rappelle ici. Il fournit les raisons qui portent à penser que *pahlavi* est à entendre, dans le passage de Gurgani, au sens de «moyen-perse», et *farsi/farsi* au sens d'«iranien», par opposition à l'arabe. Gurgani a donc bien disposé du récit en pehlevi, langue qu'il juge vieillie et dépourvue d'art poétique: *pahlavi* et *farsi* ne sont pas des termes en contradiction. C. F.
Abst. Ir., 1984, 1984 Leiden

31 AGUSTOS 1992

24504 GABRIELI, F. Note sul *Vis u Ramin* di Fahr ad-Din Gurgani. *Rend. Accad. Lincei* ser. 6, 15 (1939-40), pp. 168-188

Fahreddin Esad
Gurgani, Fahr. Esad

Gurgani, Fahr. Esad

1.5.205- Vise vü Ramin (86-175. Varaklar), Kadir Okumuş, AÜ. FEF. TDEB., (ET. 85/6), Erzurum 1985.

Bitirme (Mezuniyet) tezi.

06 HAZIRAN 1996

محمدی، هاشم
فرهنگ نامها در داستانهای غنایی
منظوم از فخرالدین اسعد گرگانی تا
جامی. (شماره ۸۶۸)
داستانهای غنایی
Gurgani, Fahr. Esad

21 HAZIRAN 1991 Gurgani, Fahr. Esad

FAKHR AL-DIN GURGANI. Proben älterer und neuerer *Munāzarāt* in Text und Übersetzung [Rypka, 177], von Hermann Ethé: (b) Wettstreit zwischen Feder und Schwert (*Munāzarah-i nay va āhan.*) *Verhandlungen* des 5. Internationalen Orientalisten-Congresses (1881), I. Theil, pp. 118-122.

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GRAF, K. H. *Wis und Ramin* [Rypka, 177.] *ZDMG* 23 (1869), pp. 375-433.

13332 BÜRCEL, J.C. Die Liebesvorstellungen im persischen Epos *Wis und Ramin*. *Asiat. Sud.* 33 (1979) pp. 65-98.

Gurgānī Pahlawī Esed

62. Fakhr al-dīn As'ād al-Jurgānī (Gurgānī) is the author of the romantic epic of *Wis u Rāmīn*. After the customary invocation of God and his Prophet (inc. *sipās u afrīn ān pād-shāh rā * kih gētī rā padīd āward u mā rā*) the poet launches into an extensive encomium on the Seljuq Toğrīl (429/1038 to 455/1063) in which he dwells in particular on that king's conquest of Isfahan in 441/1050, which date must be seen as the *terminus post quem* for [162] Gurgānī's poem. This is followed by eulogies of Toğrīl's minister, Khwājah Abū Naṣr b. Maṣṣūr, and of his governor in Isfahan, Khwājah Abū l-Faṭḥ b. Muḥammad, the poet's actual patron. He then tells us how this governor asked him what he thought of the story of *Wis* and *Rāmīn*. The poet replies¹ that it is fine story, put together by six wise men in 'Pahlawī'. But today not everyone understands that language. Moreover, 'in those days poetry was not a profession' (*ān-gāh shā'irī pēshah na-būda-st*). If those authors were alive today they would see 'how speech is now produced' and 'how (quantitative) metre (*wazn*) and rhymes (*qawāfi*) are imposed upon it'. At the request of the governor Gurgānī takes it upon himself to retell the old story with the requisite poetic embellishment. This section has generally been understood to mean that Gurgānī's source, the 'Pahlawī' book of *Wis* and *Rāmīn* was a poem, but without quantitative metre or rhyme. Although this is certainly possible, it does not seem the only conceivable interpretation of Gurgānī's words. It could be that he is simply saying that his source was in prose, and indeed could not have been otherwise, since 'in those days' that which a Muslim author would recognise as 'poetry' did not even exist. To be sure, the existence of a Middle-Persian poem (or poems) on the subject is evidently [163] implied by Ḥamzah al-Isfahānī² when, in his commentary on the *diwān* of Abū Nuwās, he explains the Arabic poet's phrase *firjardūt Rāmīn wa*

¹Ed. Todua/Gwakharia p. 28. See the translation in Minorsky, *Iranica* p. 153-4 (=BSOAS XI, 1946, p. 2-3) and the important remarks by Boyce, *JRAS* 1957, p. 37-8. In a later contribution (*BSOAS* XXV, 1962, p. 278-9) Minorsky rightly upholds (against Zariin-kūb, *Sukhan* IX/10, 1337sh./1958, p. 1015-8) that 'Pahlawī' here means 'Middle-Persian' and not the local vernacular of north-Western Persia. Gurgānī tells us precisely that the old book of *Wis* and *Rāmīn* was studied by people in order to learn 'Pahlawī'; with the latter the poet thus evidently means a literary language and not a colloquial dialect. See also G. Lazard, *Minorsky Volume* p. 366-7 and note 19.

²Cf. M. Mīnuwī, 'Yak-i az fārsiyāt i Abū Nuwās', *MDAT* I/3, 1333sh./1954, p. 62-77. The relevant verse by Abū Nuwās is on p. 67, Ḥamzah's commentary on p. 69.

Blois, François de, *Persian literature: a Bio-bibliographical survey: poetry of the pre-Mongol period*, London 2004. pp. 140-145
İSAM DN:170961

Wis by saying that 'firjardūt are like odes' (*ka l-qaṣā'id*),¹ but this may refer not to a poetic version of the whole story but rather to a collection of songs put into the mouths of the two lovers. Something similar would seem to be implied by the verse of Rūmī's² which asks whether the reader has not seen the *diwāns* of *Wis* and *Rāmīn* (*dawāwīn i Wisah u Rāmīn*) or heard the tales (*hikāyāt*) of Wāmiq and 'Adhrā. There may thus well have been 'diwāns' of the two lovers, alongside the story of their adventures, in the same way that there is an (Arabic) *diwān* of Majnūn alongside the story of his romance with Lailā. It is consequently not certain that the 'odes' of *Wis* and *Rāmīn* were identical with the source used by Gurgānī. In any event, the fact that Gurgānī has evidently based his poem directly on a Middle-Persian book and not (like Firdausī or Asadī) on documents already relatively far removed from their Sasanian sources goes a long way towards explaining the decidedly Zoroastrian flavour of so much of what we find in it. The specifically Parthian background of the story has been well developed by Minorsky and need not be discussed here.

Wis u Rāmīn has survived in a very small number of manuscripts. The pronounced amoral character of the work and, particularly, the fact that it appears to condone adultery on the part of a woman meant that the work, if read at all, was widely regarded as indecent. Despite this, it had [164] a great influence on the formation of the style of the Persian romantic epic.

A number of authors have made extensive comparisons between the story of *Wis* and *Rāmīn* and the well-known Celtic legend of Tristan and Iseult. However, in the absence of any plausible explanation of how this story could have migrated from Persia to mediaeval Europe it must be assumed that the apparent similarities between the two are due in part to the recurrence of certain universal folkloristic motives, and in part to the fact that both have as their point of departure an identical human situation: the story of a young woman forced against her will to marry an older man.

'Aufī reports that, apart from *Wis u Rāmīn*, the only other known composition by Gurgānī were five verses (quoted by 'Aufī) satirising one

¹*Firjard* is clearly an Arabic spelling of Middle-Persian *fragard*, a word known to us as the designation for the individual 'chapters' of the Avestan text *Vendidad*.

²*Diwān i Shams i Tabrīz*, ed. Nicholson, p. 4, v. 7.

Thiqat al-mulk (?) Shahryār.¹ A lyrical poem of eight verses is quoted by Jājarmī.

Mss. of *Wis u Rāmīn*: Oxford Elliot 273 (Ethé 522); Paris Supplément 1380 (Blochet 1203. 16th century); Berlin Sprenger 1378 (Pertsch 681. Dated 28 Rabi' II 1270/1854. Copied from the Calcutta Ms.); Istanbul Beyazit (*olim* Umumi) 5411 (see Todua/Gwakharia p. xxvii); Tehran Gulistān/Bayānī p. 534 (17th century?) [Munz.]; Bombay Univ. no. 137 (Cat. p. 220-2. Defective at both ends); Hyderabad Sālār Jung IV 1117 (End missing. Has a seal dated 1020/1611-2); Calcutta Ivanow 429 (16th century? = Lucknow Sprenger 109, the basis of the Calcutta edition). Cf. Munz. IV 36323-8.

Extracts: London Add. 12,560 fol. 177-185 (Rieu p. 821-2. Dated Sha'bān 1228/1813); Turin Nallino 68 fol. 85b-90b (dated Rabi' I 745/1344, now destroyed. Contained the ten letters); Tehran Malik 5611/4 (Munz. 36324 inspexit. 18th century? [165] With a preface in prose); Other anthologies are listed in the introduction to the edition by Todua/Gwakharia.

Editions: Calcutta 1864-5 (Ed. W. Nassau Lees and Munshi Ahmad Ali); Tehran 1314sh./1935 (Ed. M. Mīnuwī); 1337sh./1959 (Ed. M.J. Mahjūb); 1349sh./1970 (critical edition by M.A. Todua and A.A. Gwakharia, based on 5 complete Persian manuscripts, 5 anthologies and the Georgian translation); Dushanbe 1966 (in Tajik script).

Translations: (Georgian): The old Georgian version (*Visramiani*) is attributed to Sargis T'mogveli (12th century) and is of great importance for the history of the Persian text. Editions: Tiflis 1884 (ed. I. Chavchavadze, A. Saradjishvili and P. Umicashvili); 1962 (Висрамиани. Текст, исследование и словарь, ed. A.A. Gvakhariya and M.A. Todua).

(English): *Visramiani*, translated from the Georgian by O. Wardrop, London 1914; *Wis and Ramin*, translated from the Persian by G. Morrison, New York/London 1972 (with useful notes).

(Russian): Висрамиани. Грузинский роман 12 века и персидская поэма 11 века Вис и Рамин, translated (from the Georgian) by B.T. Rudenko and (from the Persian) by M.M. D'yakonov, Moscow/Leningrad 1938; Translated from the Georgian by

¹For the name, and the possible identity, of this person see Minorsky, *Iranica* p. 154, 198.

Gurgu Bahaddin Bad

and Andkuy rivers, still in modern Afghanistan called Darzāb wa Gorzevān (*Hodud al-ālam*, tr. Minorsky, comm. p. 335). It was the summer residence (*qaṣaba*) of the local princes of the Farighunid family (see ĀL-E FARĪĠŪN), whose winter residence was at Anbār or Anbīr (q.v.). The geographers describe it as populous and flourishing. Under the K̄yārazmšāhs, it was a mint town (Zambaur, p. 97). The present ruins at Qal'a-ye Wāli, to the south of Bālā Morḡāb, may mark its site (Yate, pp. 157, 194-96, 211).

Bibliography: Ebn Ḥawqal, p. 443; tr. Kramers and Wiet, p. 428. *Gazetteer of Afghanistan* IV, pp. 193-94, 230-31. *Hodud al-ālam*, ed. Sotuda, pp. 30, 97; tr. Minorsky, pp. xxxvii-viii, 64, 107. Le Strange, *Lands*, p. 424. Ya'qubi, *Boldān*, p. 287; tr. Wiet, p. 100. Yāqut, *Boldān* (ed. Beirut) II, p. 125. C. C. Yate, *Northern Afghanistan*, London, 1888. Eduard von Zambaur, *Die Münprägungen des Islam*, Wiesbaden, 1968.

(C. EDMUND BOSWORTH)

GŌS YAŠT, the title of the ninth *Yašt* of the Avesta, also known as *Drwāsp Yašt*, after the goddess Druuāspā (see DRUĀSPĀ) to whom, in fact, it is dedicated. This *Yašt* corresponds to the fourteenth day of the Zoroastrian calendar, which also bears the name Gōš and on which Gēuš tašan, Gēuš uruuan and Druuāspā are invoked (*Sirōza* 1.14, 2.14). However, nowhere in the *Yašt* itself are Gēuš tašan and Gēuš uruuan mentioned, while Druuāspā appears in the first two stanzas only, the remaining thirty-one consisting of borrowings from the *Ābān Yašt* and *Ard Yašt*. The title of the *Yašt*, then, derives from the liturgical requirements of the fourteenth day dedicated to the deities having to do with domestic animals, especially cattle and horses. The structure of the *Yašt* shows that it is a late composition of redactors who were able to append material borrowed from the two *Yašts* mentioned to a core of ancient epithets of a goddess about whom we know almost nothing. Since the metrical structure of stanzas 1 and 2 is quite defective, it is hard to see in them vestiges of a more extensive *Yašt* to Druuāspā. Nevertheless, certain sequences of epithets display good octosyllabic composition and it may be that these are half-lines inherited from the priestly poetic repertory.

Bibliography: Boyce, *Zoroastrianism* I, p. 82. H. Lommel, *Die Yāšt's des Avesta*, Göttingen and Leipzig, 1927, pp. 57-61.

(W. W. MALANDRA)

GŌSĀN, a Parthian word of unknown derivation for "poet-musician, minstrel." It was evidently much used, since it was borrowed into several neighboring tongues; but because the Parthian language almost disappeared and was not recovered to any extent until the 20th century, the term first came to notice through its use in an 11th-century classical Persian text, Faḡr-al-Dīn As'ad Gorgāni's *Vis o Rāmin*. There it occurs twice in one pas-

sage (ed. Todua and Gwakharia, pp. 300, l. 12 to 301, l. 24, episode 69 ll. 17-24 in the editions of Minovi and Mahjub, tr. pp. 202-3). Read from the Arabic script as having initial "k," it was first taken to be a proper name; but in the late 19th century Keropé Petrovich Patkanov (cited by von Stackelberg, p. 495) identified it from the context as a common noun meaning perhaps "musician," and he suggested that it was an obsolete Persian term, traceable as a loanword in the well-attested Armenian *gōsān*. He read it nevertheless as "kusān"; but R. von Stackelberg proposed instead "gusan" and pointed out that Georgian *mgōsāni* was probably also derived from it.

The first indication that it was a Parthian word came when Harold Walter Bailey drew attention (1934, p. 11) to its occurrence in the *Mojmal al-tawāriḡ* (ed. Bahār, p. 69, tr. Mohl, pp. 514-15). There it is told that the Sasanian king Bahrām V Gōr asked the king of the Indians to send him *gōsāns* to make free minstrelsy (*rāmešī*) for his subjects when they drank wine, and the author explains that "in the Pahlavi language *gōsān* means *ḡonyāgar*." Since the latter is a Persian word for "minstrel" (Mid. Pers. *huniyāgar*), it appears that "Pahlavi" is used here in its proper sense of "Parthian." The text goes on to say that the "singers" who duly came from India, men and women, were the ancestors of the gypsies (*luri*) of the author's own day, and that Bahrām gave them goods and animals "that they might without charge make minstrelsy for the poor." Here an accurate definition of the calling of *gōsān*, portrayed in one of its aspects, has been confused by the identification of *gōsāns* with gypsies as popular entertainers. So far no occurrence of *gōsān* used for a woman singer is known, whereas such singers are found among gypsies.

Bailey, seeking an etymology for the word, was inclined to read it still with initial "k" (1934, p. 515; idem, 1954, p. 9, n. 6), but Walter Bruno Henning put an end to uncertainty on this point when he discovered (by putting together fragments of a manuscript page) a Manichean Parthian passage in which the word occurs written *gws'n* in the clear Manichean script (apud Boyce, 1957, p. 11). The text is attributable to the 4th or 5th century C.E. and runs: "like a *gōsān*, who proclaims the worthiness of kings and heroes of old, and himself achieves nothing at all" (*čawāgōn gōsān kē hasēnagān šahrdārān ud kawān hunar wiḡrāsēd ud xwad ēwiž nē karēd*). Henning (ref. apud Boyce, 1957, p. 17) also identified another borrowing of the Parthian word in Mandaean, where two occurrences of it, as *gwsānā*, had been brought together by Mark Lidzbarski (pp. 164, 166-67). One passage indicates that the *gōsānā* was a person of considerable social standing, on a level with a district judge. The other expresses the same scorn found in the Manichean Parthian passage for the minstrel as a man of words not deeds, and also, like the one in the *Mojmal al-tawāriḡ* (p. 69), assigns him a lowly status. The speaker has been entreated, with the offer of rich gifts, to sing a particular song, but refuses, declaring: "I am no *gōsānā* who makes music before humble people. I am a man whose words and

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(JAWĀD NEYESTĀNI AND EIR.)

GORGĀNI, FAKR-AL-DIN AS'AD (fl. ca. 441/1050), poet, best known for his verse romance *Vis o Rāmin*, completed in 447/1055 or shortly thereafter and dedicated to the Saljuq governor of Isfahan, the 'Amid Abu'l-Faṭḥ Mozaḥḥar b. Moḥammad. Virtually all that is known about this poet is derived from his own statements in his poem; three lyric fragments attributed to him have been preserved in anthologies (see Moḥammad-Ja'far Maḥjub, ed., *Vis o Rāmin ba moqaddama-e mabsuṭ wa ḥawāsi wa ta'liqāt*, Tehran, 1959, p. 14 and notes). Like his patron, who came from Nišāpur (Maḥjub, ed., sec. 6, vv. 7-8, 26), Gorgāni also came from the east—from Gorgān, as his *nesba* indicates, where, it would seem, he became attached to the train of the first Saljuq sultan, Toġrīl (429-55/1038-63). Sometime after Toġrīl conquered Isfahan, he appointed the 'Amid Abu'l-Faṭḥ Mozaḥḥar as its governor and left the city in his charge when he departed for further campaigns. Gorgāni, who states that he had business there, stayed on in Isfahan, rather than accompanying the sultan, and approached the 'Amid, who took him under his protection (Maḥjub, ed., sec. 7, vv. 10-16). One day, as they were conversing, the 'Amid asked him, "What do you say about the tale of Vis and Rāmin?" Gorgāni replied, in some detail, to the effect that this story existed only in "Pahlavi" and was thus both incomprehensible and "unpoetic": how much better it would be if put into proper meter and rhyme, with fine wording and deep meanings, of which the reader/hearer

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SOAS

DOKÜMANTASYON ME

The 'Description of the Night' in Gurgānī's *Viš u Rāmīn*

By Paul Kunitzsch (München)

The Persian verse epic of *Viš u Rāmīn*, composed by Fahr ad-Dīn As'ad Gurgānī in Isfahan around A.D. 1050, does not occupy a very prominent rank in Persian literary history.¹⁾ It has gained, however, a certain importance in comparative literary studies during the last hundred years, on the grounds that its plot – the love of both Šāh Mawbad and his younger brother Rāmīn for Viš – and some of its details have been assumed to have served as a model for the composition of the mediaeval European story of King Mark, Tristan, and Isolt, an assumption which, however, cannot be supported by any realistic historical evidence.²⁾ One highly interesting feature of this epic is that according to the author's own words its story dates back to older Persian times, Sasanian, or even Arsacid.³⁾ The task remains, therefore, of looking for special details that could prove – or disprove – older datings of the story. With regard to this problem, Dr A. de Mandach (Université de Neuchâtel), at the Arthurian Congress of Regensburg,⁴⁾ drew my attention to King Mawbad's 'horoscope' raising the question whether this 'horoscope' might contain astronomical elements which could contribute to the dating of the poem. Following this suggestion, the present article was composed with the two aims of commenting upon this section of Gurgānī's text, and examining the possibility of deriving a date from the astronomical elements in the 'horoscope'.

King Mawbad of Marv was promised by princess Šahrū of Hamadan to give him a daughter who was still to be born, in marriage. When the daughter, Viš, was born

¹⁾ See P. HORN, *Geschichte der persischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1901, pp. 43 and 179 ff.; E. G. BROWNE, *A Literary History of Persia*, ii, Cambridge, 1951, p. 274 f.; J. RYPKA, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1959, pp. 176–178; A. PAGLIARO and A. BAUSANI, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milano, 1960, pp. 621–626; H. MASSÉ, article "Gurgānī, Fakhr al-Dīn As'ad," in *EP*, ii, Leiden/London, 1965. For text editions and translations, see the *References* at the end of this article.

²⁾ See the latest analysis and conclusions by P. KUNITZSCH, presented in a paper at the Twelfth International Arthurian Congress, held at Regensburg, August 1979: "Are There Oriental Elements in the Tristan Story?," published in *Vox Romanica* 39 (1980), 73–85.

³⁾ These problems have recently been studied by MINORSKY, MINOVI, and others without, however, yet attaining uncontested results.

⁴⁾ Cf. above, footnote 2.

0021-1812/82/5901-0006 \$ 2.00

and grown up, the princess forgot her promise and married Viš to her son Vīrū, Viš's brother. Eventually King Mawbad, with the help of Šahrū, abducted Viš to make her his wife. The night when Mawbad came to the castle of Gūrāb to abduct Viš – the night that was so decisive for the King's fate, his troubles with Viš, and his end – is described at great length in the poem under astrological aspects. It is interesting to see that the poet, here, does not content himself with giving a normal horoscope – i.e., the positions of the planets for the respective moment – but he extends the astronomical description by adding a portrayal of the whole sky with all the constellations of the fixed stars, which is unparalleled in mediaeval oriental poetry.

This important section, the 'Description of the Night', consists of 57 verses which, in some MSS. and printed editions, are counted as a separate chapter (ch. 29: *andar šifāt-i šab*, ed. MINOVI pp. 80–83; ed. MAHĠŪB pp. 60–63).⁵⁾ In P,⁶⁾ the 'Description of the Night' is incorporated in the chapter '*Nāma nivīštan-i Mawbad nazd-i Šahrū . . .*' ("Mawbad's writing a letter to Šahrū . . ."), of which it comprises the verses 53 to 108 (pp. 87–91; 56 verses only).

The fatal night is described as being dark and evil, indicating imminent dangers and bad luck. The section begins with a general account of the bad aspects of the night (P 53–64). Then follow specialized descriptions of the twelve zodiacal constellations (P 65–78), of nineteen constellations of the northern celestial hemisphere (P 82–90), and of the fifteen constellations of the southern celestial hemisphere (P 91–101). Finally comes what is to be called a horoscope proper, giving the positions of some of the planets, and some remarks on the bad aspects to be derived from these positions (P 102–108).

Thus, out of a total of 57 (or 56) verses, only seven verses really form a horoscope, while all the rest is just a descriptive passage serving to depict the sinister aspects of the moment and to emphasize the prominent rôle the sky played in foreboding the coming troubles.

In an analysis of the 'Description of the Night' we may thus say that it falls into three sequences of increasing importance: First, general topics which require no special knowledge from the author, and which might have been composed in any epoch, early Persian as well as Islamic. Second, descriptions of the constellations. This is an astronomical speciality going, for the most part, beyond the level of a mediaeval Islamic poet's general literary education. It requires the knowledge, and

⁵⁾ Trans. MASSÉ, pp. 72–75; trans. MORRISON, pp. 56–58. The Georgian version of ca. A.D. 1200 omitted the major part of the celestial description and ends with the zodiacal sign of Pisces (corresponding to P 78b); cf. trans. WARDROP, p. 43. K. H. GRAF, in his account of *Viš u Rāmīn* in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 23 (1869), pp. 375–433, gives only a superficial résumé of the 'Description of the Night', in a few lines, without entering upon details (p. 389, at the bottom).

⁶⁾ I.e., in the edition of TODUA/GWAKKHARIA/AINI, 1970. See the *References* at the end of this article. In the following, references to P are always made by verse numbers of this same section, the letters a and b indicating the first and second half-verses.

use, of special sources by the poet which, however, might have been available in pre-Islamic Persia as well as in Islamic Persia. For the particular purpose of the section – the astrological prediction of Mawbad's fate with Viš – this item is of no direct significance, the horoscope being constituted by the positions of the planets only. But the lengthy description of those strange, and perhaps intimidating figures was devised by the poet in order to impress his readers/listeners and to convey to the scene more weight and a higher degree of astronomical authenticity. Third, the horoscope proper. This, finally, is the device which is used to establish predictions for the future. But these astrological techniques were also known in pre-Islamic times as well as in the Islamic period, so that their use in the poem is of no help with regard to its dating. The only chance of finding a real hint to the date of the composition of this passage, or the story itself, would be, then, the examination of the planets' positions, about which we shall speak later in this article.

Let us, now, examine more closely item two, the description of the constellations. Even a superficial inspection of the section (P 65–101) shows that the poem here offers a complete 'catalogue' of the classical constellations. These constellations had been formed in classical antiquity, most of them after Babylonian models. Around the year A.D. 138, Ptolemy, the famous Alexandrian astronomer, following his predecessors, established a catalogue of 1025 individual fixed stars, arranged in 48 constellations. This catalogue, part of his great astronomical handbook Μαθηματικὴ Σύνταξις ("*Almagest*"), served as a basis for stellar astronomy until the seventeenth century, and was adopted, together with the *Almagest* itself, by the Mediterranean and neighbouring civilizations. Thus, it is not improbable that the *Almagest*, or selected parts of it, became known in Persia under Šāhpūr I (3rd century A.D.), and again under Ḥusraw Anūšīrvān (6th century A.D.).⁷⁾ In the late eighth and the ninth centuries A.D. several Arabic translations of the *Almagest* were made at Baghdad. The best known and most widely used book on the fixed stars and their constellations, in Islamic times, was written (in Arabic) around A.D. 964 by Abū I-Ḥusayn 'Abd ar-Rahmān aš-Šūfī, in close relation to the *Almagest*; its detailed text was accompanied by star tables and by drawings of every single constellation, one as it is seen in the sky, and the other one as it is seen on a celestial globe.

Now that we have found that the poem contains the complete list of the 48 classical constellations (with just two names missing), the important questions arise, when and whence this item was added to the story of *Viš u Rāmīn* – in pre-Islamic times, or in the Islamic period, by Gurgānī himself? Taking into account a number of details in the descriptions of those figures, and certain linguistic details in the nomenclature used in the Persian poem, we arrive at the conclusion that the description of the 48 constellations in *Viš u Rāmīn* was added to the poem in later times only, most probably by Gurgānī himself. This part of the 'Description of the Night', therefore, cannot contribute to the problem of the dating of *Viš u Rāmīn*, not astronomically because the constellations do not show remarkable changes in so short a period as a thousand years or less, and not historically because the descrip-

⁷⁾ For this and the following remarks on the transmission of the *Almagest*, cf. P. KUNITZSCH, *Der Almagest. Die Syntaxis Mathematica des Claudius Ptolemäus in arabisch-lateinischer Überlieferung*, Wiesbaden, 1974.

T. Yagici
I RedJŪRĀB (GŪRĀB)
South of Hamadān.

IN my articles on Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī's poem *Vīs-u-Rāmīn*¹ I made a point of its realistic geographical and historical background which, in my opinion, connects it with the Arsacid tradition. One of the important places in the story is the castle of Gūrāb in which the heroine Vīs was kept and which belonged to the family of her future rival Gul. Muslim geographers still referred to this place lying at the junction of the roads from Hamadān and Nihāvand to Karaj, and Gūrāb is mentioned in the course of the military operations of the Seljuk Sultān Mas'ūd (towards 541/1146), see *Rāḥat al-ṣulḥ*, 242. In more recent times its titles to distinction had been forgotten.

1. At this place I wish only to reproduce the photograph of the site taken at my request by my lamented friend A. C. Edwards († 11th September, 1951), who in his letter (dated Hamadan, 21st July, 1948) wrote: 'Jurab is situated about 5 miles from Malāyir, on the new Malayir-Sultanabad² road. The ruined castle is a very substantial affair. It is, indeed, the most imposing *qal'a* that I have seen in Persia and certainly [? V.M.] the oldest. It can be seen for miles. It must have been circular or slightly oval in shape, with a diameter which I identified as about 40 metres. There is little left of the walls or battlements which must have surrounded the top of the eminence. I should imagine that the fortress was built on the top of an already existing hillock to which (probably) more earth was added to raise it to the present imposing height'.

Gūrāb, as situated at crossing of the roads, on the southern approaches to Hamadan, was certainly an important strategic point. I think some day it will be found that a castle existed here even at the time when the pre-Iranian 'Zagros peoples' were dominant in the region. It is curious that our poem has preserved the memory of the ancient glory of Gūrāb. On the other hand, this detail enhances the realistic tendencies of the old legend.

2. The story of Vīs and Rāmīn, as narrating the love of a young queen for a young relative of her old husband, naturally reminds one of the similar plot of *Tristan and Isolde*,³ and is bound to occupy the attention of specialists in western European medieval lore. Recently I had the occasion to examine the introduction to a special collectanea on the motif of *Tristan and Isolde*⁴ in which O. M. Freidenberg has conveniently summed up the characteristic

¹ See *BSOAS.*, 1946, xi/4, and 1947, xii/1. *

² Sultānābād (now called Erāg) is the medieval Karaj Abī-Dulaf, as indicated by the name of the river رود کره (i.e. * رود کرج) in its neighbourhood.

³ See *BSOAS.*, xi/4, p. 4.

⁴ *Тристан и Иольда. Труды Института языка и мышления*, ii, 1932, p. 15 (in the R.A.S. Library). I leave aside O. M. Freidenberg's special endeavour to interpret the poem as a cosmic myth (Sun-Water-Region Underground).

* Now reprinted in *Iranica*, University of Tehran, 1964.

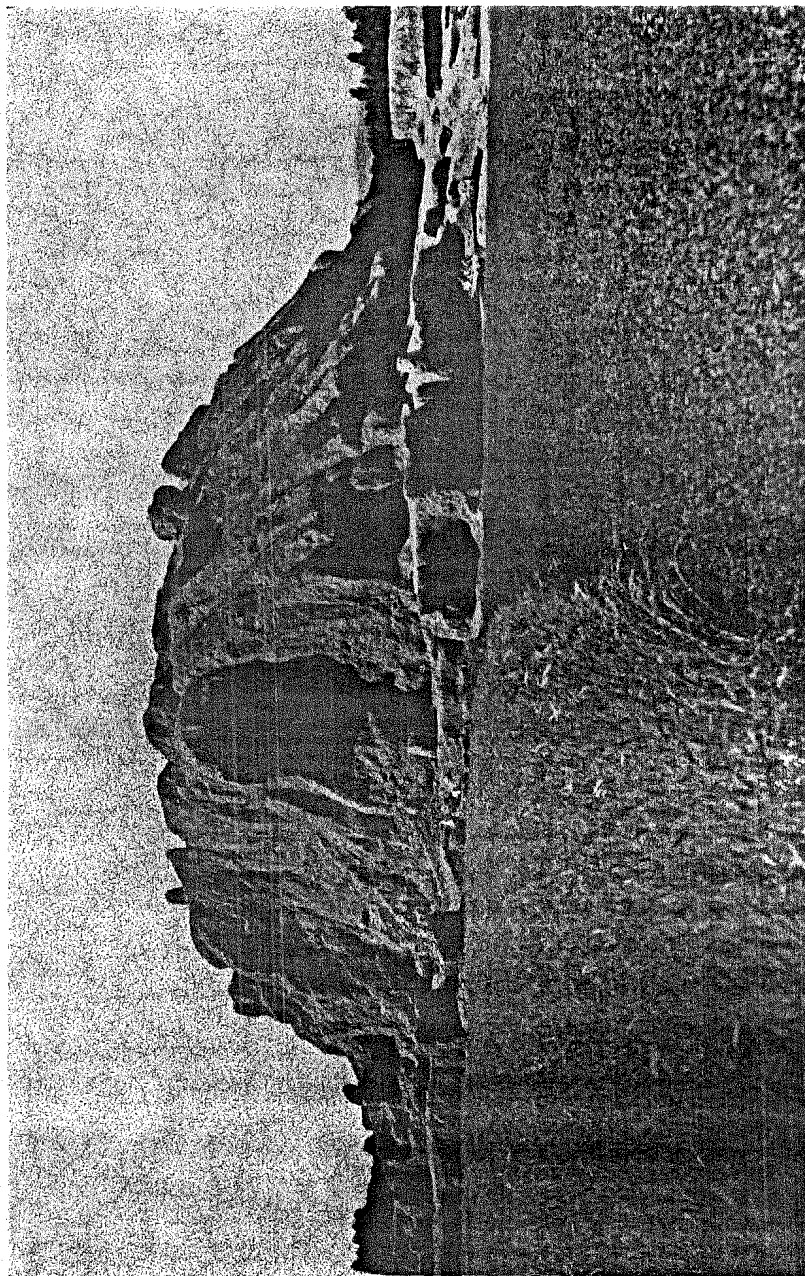
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Vladimir Minorsky

Medieval Iran and its Neighbours

Preface by C.E. BOSWORTH, Variorum Reprints, London-1982.

BSOAS, XVI, 1954, s. 91-92.



JŪRĀB (GŪRĀB)
South of Hamadān.

VĪS-U-RĀMĪN (III)

By V. MINORSKY

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language such as is seldom seen in others. His descriptions excel in plasticity and naturalistic conception. It is incorrect to regard him as a pupil of 'Unṣurī; if he refers to the latter as his *ustād*, 'master', on chronological grounds only this must be taken as a form of flattery, for he did not go to Ghazna until of maturer age. But it is also evident from their differences of style – Manūchihrī dislikes rhetorical artificialities, his field of activity lies rather in similes and metaphors. His verses are imbued with the joy of living, especially in the highly esteemed *musammaṭs*, a form that he was the first to employ. He also knows how to use the riddle in brilliant manner for purposes of panegyricism. His *divān*, in the edition dating from the year 1338, contains 57 *qaṣīdas*, eleven *musammaṭs*, twenty *qit'as* and small verses, altogether 2758 distichs. He was the first and only one of the ancient Ghazna panegyric poets to be edited and intensively studied by a European orientalist (A. de Biberstein-Kazimirski, 1886).

D. THE ROMANTIC EPIC

(*'Ayyūq and Fakhru'd-dīn As'ad Gurgānī*)

Until recently *Vīs u Rāmīn* was considered to be the earliest romantic epic in existence, but it has had to cede its priority in favour of the extremely fortunate discovery made by Professor A. Ateş (Istanbul) of the epic poem *Varqa u Gul-shāh* by 'Ayyūqī¹³, a poet who lived at the time of Sulṭān Maḥmūd of Ghazna. It is composed in *mutaqārib*, which fact again substantiates the theory that the use of this verse-metre was not confined to heroic subjects (see p. 98) but that it had been employed from olden times in romantic and other epics or long poems. It is well worth noticing that the monotony of the coupled rhymes is broken here and there by love songs in the form of *ghazals*. The plot itself is comparatively simple: two cousins fall in love with one another in early childhood. Death puts an end to the adversities of their unhappy love, just at the time of the appearance of Muḥammad. The Prophet raises both to new life and thenceforth they see all their hopes fulfilled. The story – in point of fact a eulogy of true love – is of Arabic origin and has parallels in the literatures of Spain and France in the 12th century ('Floire et Blancheflor'), where however the resurrection motif is absent. From two verses preserved in a lexicon it can be concluded that 'Ayyūqī wrote another epic (this time in the *ramal* metre) and also panegyric *qaṣīdas*.

Only slightly more recent is the romantic epic *Vīs u Rāmīn* by Fakhru'd-dīn As'ad Gurgānī, composed after 446/1054¹⁴ by consent of 'Amīd Abu'l-faḥ Muḥaffar b. Ḥusayn Nīshāpūrī, the governor of Isfahan.¹⁵ It appears that the frivolity of the theme largely contributed to a popularity – on which the author himself lays stress – both in the 'artless Persian prose version' and also in the Middle Persian source of the latter, although it is an insult to Islamic morality and in fact to every other religion. The most

JAN RYPKA

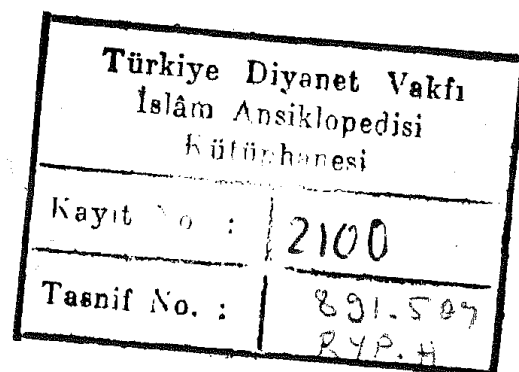
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PERSIAN LITERATURE TO THE BEGINNING OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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Notes on pp. 181–182

الحکمة، مباحث المشرقیه، النهایه است. در تفسیر: مفاتیح الغیب، که معروف به تفسیر کبیر است و در حقیقت دائرة المعارفی است از علوم دینی که ناتمام گذارده است. دیگر نهایه الاعجاز در بیان موارد فصاحت و بلاغت قرآن.

مهمترین آثار او به زبان فارسی جامع العلوم یا حدائق الانوار فی حقایق الاسرار است که آن را به نام علاء الدین تکش خوارزمشاه در سال ۵۴۷ تألیف کرد. دیگر رساله روحیه است در حقیقت روح و فنای جسم و حکمت مرگ و پند و نصیحت. دیگر اصول عقاید در هشت باب، رساله الاختیارات العلابیه در نجوم که آن را به نام علاء الدین خوارزمشاه در دو مقاله نوشته است و این کتاب به عربی ترجمه شده است.

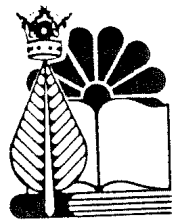
فخر گرجانی (ت) [ف: در حدود ۴۶۶] فخرالدین اسعد الجرجانی از شاعران داستانسرای ایران در قرن پنجم. وی معاصر ابوطالب طغرل بیک محمد بن میکائیل بوده و نزد او تقرب داشته است. از احوال فخرالدین اسعد اطلاع بسیاری در دست نیست ولی از اشعار او پیداست که با اکثر علوم متداول زمان خود آشنا بوده و کتب فلسفه و حکمت خوانده و از ادبیات فارسی و عربی اطلاع کامل داشته و به زبان پهلوی نیز آشنا بوده است. فخرالدین اسعد هنگامی که طغرل سلجوقی در سال ۴۴۳ هجری اصفهان را فتح کرد، با او بود و بعد از او در آنجا نزد حاکم اصفهان ابو الفتح المظفر بن محمد ماند و به درخواست او داستان ویس و رامین را

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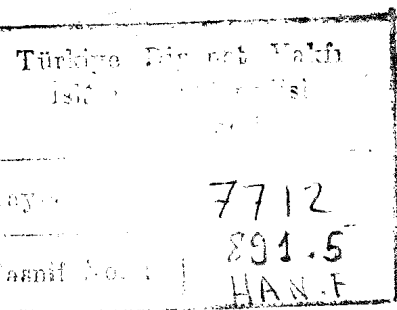
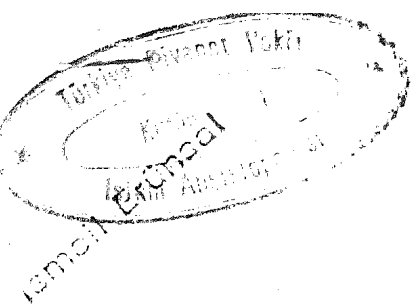
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Daryā). The town, whose age is unknown, was captured by the Arabs in 93/712. They attempted to deprive Gurgandj of its importance by founding a city, Fil (Fir), on the further bank of the Oxus; but the new settlement was gradually inundated by the river (for details see KĀTH). In order to maintain their domination over Kh̄arizm, which was an area at that time on the outer fringe of the world of Islam, the Arabs divided the territory; the native dynasty, the Āfrighids, who bore the title of Kh̄arizm-Shāh, were allowed to retain the northern part, with Kāth as their capital; Gurgandj became the residence of an Arab amir, who had power over the south-west (Hudūd al-Ālam, 122, § 25, and 371; Gardizī, ed. M. Nāzim, 1930, p. 57). This state of affairs lasted for over 250 years, until 385/995 (for details see KH̄ARIZM). Then the Arab amir of the time, Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad, was able to expel the old dynasty and unite the whole of Kh̄arizm under his own rule. From that time he took over the ancient title of the rulers of that country, Kh̄arizm-Shāh. Thereafter Gurgandj ranked after Kāth as the second principal city, but after the overthrow of Ma'mūn's successors by the Saldjūks in 434/1043, it exceeded Kāth in importance and became once more the real centre of the territory as well as the intermediary for commerce with the Oghuz and other northern Turkish tribes (Gardizī, 95; Iṣṭakhrī, 299 f., 341; Ibn Ḥawqal, 350 f., 477 f.). At this time the town had four gates and a large palace near the Bāb al-Ḥudjūd, on the edge of a huge market place, and consisted of an outer and an inner city (Hudūd, 122). According to Muḥaddasī, 288, in the 4th/10th century the town grew rapidly; in 600/1204 it was besieged by the Ghūrids [q.v.] (Djuwaynī, ii, 55; Barthold, Turkestan¹, 349 f.) and at the beginning of the 7th/13th century it was included among the most prosperous cities of the Islamic Empire (an account dating from the period 613-6/1216-9 is given in Yāqūt, ii, 54, 486; iii, 933; iv, 260 f.). Immediately thereafter, in 618/1221, Gurgandj was attacked by the Mongols and after a siege of many months was razed to the ground (there is a lengthy account in Djuwaynī, i, 98 f.; thorough discussion of details in Fritz Meier, Die Fawā'id . . . des . . . Kubrā, Wiesbaden 1957, 53-60, with presentation of all source material; cf. also Barthold, Turkestan¹, 433-7). The Mongols also flooded the town by diverting the Oxus; nevertheless a few remains of pre-Mongol buildings have been found (for instance an inscription of 401/1010-1: Zapiski Vost. Old. Imp. Russk. Arkheol. Obshchestva, xiv, 015 f.; cf. also Djūzdjāni, Tabakāt-i Nāsiri, ed. Raverty, 281, 1100). The question of how far the diversion of the Oxus at that time led to a displacement of the river bed is discussed in the article ĀMŪ DARYĀ. Gurgandj lay waste from that time forth. The new capital of the province, Urgenč, founded in 628/1231, was on a different site and presumably corresponds to the earlier so-called "Little Gurgandj", three parasangs from Gurgandj. For the history of this town see URGENČ.

Bibliography: Le Strange, 447-9; Barthold, Turkestan¹, index; idem, 12 Vorlesungen, Berlin 1935, 65; Josef Markwart, Wehrot und Arang, Leiden 1938, 96, 102; Spuler, Iran, 31, 108, 115; idem, Mongolen², 28 (sources in note 7); idem, Der Amu Darya, in Jean Dony Armağan, Ankara 1958, 231-48; A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, Razvalini Urgenča (The Ruins of Urgenč), in Izvestiya Akad. Material'noy kul'tury, vi/2 (1930); S. P. Tolstov, Drevniy Khorezm (Old Kh̄arizm), Moscow 1948, index; idem, Auf den Spuren der althoresmischen

Kultur, German tr. by O. Mehlitz, Berlin 1953, 241-5 (with very ambiguous use of sources), 253 f., 263 f., 286-91, 313; idem, in Vestnik Drevney Istorii, 1953/1, 160-74 (with plans and illustrations); H. Desmond Martin in JRAS, 1943, 63 (plan of the campaign in Kh̄arizm in 1220-1); Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya², xlv (1956), 313 f. (illustrations). (B. SPULER)

GURGĀNI, FAKHR AL-DĪN AS'AD, author of the first known courtly romance in Persian: *Wis and Rāmin*. In the opinion of Z. Safa (ii, 361) his achievement is to have introduced a literary genre which is now represented by a series of works, several of which are worthy of note. What is known of his life is limited to the little that he reveals in his poem. The accounts given by his biographers are negligible but agree in attributing to him the authorship of the poem (with the exception of Dawlat Shāh, who erroneously attributes it to one of the Nizāmīs). 'Awfī has preserved three of his lyrical poems (texts: Maḥdjūb, introd., 14), the others being lost. Shams-i Kays (*Mu'djam*, ed. Mirzā Muḥammad and E. G. Browne, 80) writes: "The poetic metre *bahr-i hazadī-i musaddas-i mahdhūf* is that of Nizāmī's *Khusraw and Shirin* and of Fakhrī Gurgāni's *Wis and Rāmin*"; later (140) he refers to him simply as Fakhrī, which was perhaps his *takhalluṣ*. In the last verse of his poem, Gurgāni refers to himself as young; in addition he inserts (ed. Minovi, 468, v. 72; ed. Maḥdjūb, 350, v. 72; tr. Massé, 431 bottom) this confidence (which partly explains his skill in depicting the passions of love): "How many days did I sample love! But it did not make me happy for one single day". He had certainly studied the Arab and Iranian philosophers (see the introd. to the poem, on the subject of a non-material God and His creation) and astronomy (description of the night: ed. Minovi, 80; ed. Maḥdjūb, 60; tr., 72). In this same introduction he sings the praises of Toghrīl Beg, of his vizier and of 'Amīd Abu 'l-Faṭḥ Muzaḥfar, who was appointed governor of Isfahan after the capture of this town by the sultan (441/1050); this governor was the patron of the poet and appointed him to various offices. In the course of conversation with him, as Gurgāni relates in detail (Minovi, 25-7; Maḥdjūb, 18-21; tr., 6-7), the subject arose of the love story of Wis and Rāmin, preserved in a Pahlavi manuscript: "a continuous narrative, but containing all manner of strange words", lacking in ideas and maxims—that is to say a prose narrative without any poetic ornament (perhaps like the Georgian translation of the poem). The governor having invited him to translate this story into Persian, "to embellish it as one adorns a flower-bed in April", Gurgāni set to work, and finished, in 447/1055 or shortly after, this verse romance which consists of 8905 *bayt* in *hazadī*, the metre most often adopted later by those who composed romances in the same genre.

The question arises whether Gurgāni knew Pahlavi. It is impossible summarily to deny this after having read his account, imprecise though it is, of the conversation with the governor, and it is possible to conclude from one of the verses of the poem that he had some, though not a complete, knowledge of the language ("For one who knows Pahlavi, *Khurāsān* signifies the place from which we receive light"; ed. Minovi and Maḥdjūb, ch. 48, v. 4); in the course of this conversation, however, he refers to the prolixity and the strange (*i.e.*, archaic) words of the Pahlavi text. For the question whether he worked directly from it or through a Persian translation, see Maḥdjūb,

Vis u Rāmin mesnevi
George Morrison tarafından
buğijeye her imle edilmiştir.
Gerçinse O bulgı olan
bilgi adını

تاریخ ادبیات در ایران

جلد دوم

از میانه قرن پنجم تا آغاز قرن
هفتم هجری

Türkiye İslâm Araştırmaları Merkezi Kütüphanesi	
Demirbaş No:	19917-2
Tasnif No:	891.509 S.A.F.T

تالیف

دکتر فریح آند صفا

استاد دانشگاه تهران

Göğsani, *Maabulda* Abdolmou Ebad

س. 370-377

عربی

چاپ اول تهران ۱۳۳۶
قیمت: ۴۵۰ ریال

ناشر: کتابفروشی ابن سینا
تهران - میدان مخرم الدوله

حق طبع و ترجمه محفوظ است
چاپخانه دانشگاه

باب سوم (فصل پنجم) ۳۷۱

و هدایت^۱ که او را معاصر محمد بن محمود سلجوقی (۵۱۱ - ۵۲۵) دانسته نظم «حکایت ویسه ورامین» را بوی نسبت داده و درین باره افسانه‌یی نیز نقل کرده است یعنی گفته است که فخرالدین بغلامی از آن محمد بن محمود دلبستگی داشت و بعد از مرگ آن غلام «از خدمت دامن کشید، در آن اوقات بجهت مشغولی خود حکایت ویسه ورامین را که بعضی بنظامی عروضی و غیره نسبت میدهند منظوم نموده گویند ده هزار بیت است...»

اینست مجموعه اطلاعاتی که قدما و متأخرین درباره فخرالدین اسعد داده‌اند. معاصر بودن فخرالدین اسعد در روایت هدایت با محمود بن محمد همچنان محال است که نسبت داشتن منظومه ویسه ورامین بنظامی عروضی یا نظامی گنجی، و برای آنکه اطلاع روشن تری از حال فخرالدین اسعد داشته باشیم بهتر آنست که از اشعار او یاوری بخواهیم: فخرالدین اسعد مردی مسلمان و بر مشرب اهل اعتزال یا فلاسفه بوده است و این معنی را از وصف ستایش او از یزدان و کیفیت خلق عالم و وصف مخلوقات که در آغاز منظومه او آمده است، در نهایت وضوح میتوان دریافت. در همین ابیاتست که فخرالدین نقی رؤیت از خداوند کرده و جسمیت یا تشبیه و چونی و چندی و کجایی و کبی را از وجود واجب دور دانسته است.^۲

بقیه حاشیه از صفحه قبل

of London, 1947, XI, 4; 1947, XII, 1 and 1948, XVI, 1

که آقای مصطفی مقربی آنرا در دفتر او ۲ از جلد ۴ فرهنگ ایران زمین ترجمه و طبع کرده‌اند.

۱- لباب‌الالباب ج ۲ ص ۲۴۰

۲- تذکره الشعرا چاپ هند ص ۳۴

۳- ایضاً ص ۸۲

۴- آتشکده چاپ بمبئی ص ۱۵۵

۱- مجمع الفصحاح ج ۱ ص ۳۷۵

۲- نه بتواند مر او را چشم دیدن

نه نیز اضداد بپذیرد نه جوهر

نه اندیشه در او داند رسیدن

نه زان گردد مر او را حال دیگر

بقیه در حاشیه صفحه بعد

۳۷۰ تاریخ ادبیات در ایران

نبودست چون من که نظم و نثر
بنظم چو پروین و نثر چو نعش
ادیب و دبیر و مفسر نبود
نه سحبان یعرب زبان عنصری...

شاعران پارسی گوی

شماره شاعران پارسی گوی این عهد بسیار بود و در بیشتر طبقات از علما و فقها و متصوفه و ادبا و وزراء و رجال و حتی سلاطین نیز یافتند و ما از آن میان بذكر عده‌یی که این کتاب گنجایش دارد مبادرت می‌کنیم:

۱- فخرالدین گرجانی^۱ کاملترین صورتی که از نام او داریم همانست که در لباب

الالباب ثبت شده است. عوفی میگوید «... کمال فضل و جمال هنر و غایت ذکا و ذوق شعرا و در تألیف کتاب ویسه ورامین ظاهر و مکتشف شده است...» مجموع اطلاعاتی که از لباب‌الالباب بدست میآید همینست که آورده‌ایم. دیگر تذکره نویسان اگر چه اطلاع بیشتری از حال او داده‌اند لیکن همه آنها غلط و مقرون بخطاست. مثلاً راجع بویسه ورامین او دولت‌شاه سمرقندی یکبار در شرح حال نظامی عروضی آنرا بوی نسبت داده^۲ و یکبار دیگر در شرح حال نظامی گنجی آنرا از گوینده پنج گنج دانسته است^۳ و لطفعلی بیگ آذر نیز در ذکر حال او گفته است^۴ که از فصیحای دیار جرجان و این دوشعر از او یاد گارست:

نکارا تو گل سرخی و من زرد
مرا ما در دعا کردست گویی
تو از شادی شکفتی و من از درد
که از تو دور بادا آنچه جویی

* درباره ویسه ورامین و فخرالدین اسعد چندین تحقیق مستمع صورت گرفته است مانند آنچه آقای بدیع الزمان فروزانفر در ج ۲ از سخن و سخنوران نوشته‌اند و مقاله مسوط آقای مجتبی مینوی در شماره اول از دوره ششم مجله سخن؛ و مقاله آقای پرفسور مینورسکی در

Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University

بقیه حاشیه در صفحه بعد

(2.10)

HANDBUCH DER ORIENTALISTIK
ERSTE ABTEILUNG
DER NAHE UND DER MITTLERE OSTEN
HERAUSGEGEBEN VON B. SPULER

VIERTER BAND
IRANISTIK

ZWEITER ABSCHNITT
LITERATUR
LIEFERUNG 2

03 MART 1994



HISTORY OF PERSIAN LITERATURE
FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE
ISLAMIC PERIOD TO THE PRESENT DAY

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY

GEORGE MORRISON, JULIAN BALDICK
AND SHAFĪ'Ī KADKANĪ

EDITED BY G. MORRISON



Gürgani, Fakhreddin Asad



Türkiy Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi İstanbul Şubesi	
Kayıt No. :	13851
Tasnif No. :	891.5 HIS.P

E. J. BRILL / LEIDEN-KÖLN / 1981

mirror to Nature, possessed as he is by endless curiosity; he considers him the most prolific poet of his period in imagery.²⁷

One of his *musammāt* runs:

Now Spring has come bringing joy:
Earth wears a bright dress again,
People rejoice everywhere,
Cups full of wine in the hand,
Notes high and low sweetly sound.
Since Winter's cold is no more,
Jasmine and roses abound,
Spring clouds are scattering rain,
Thousands of tulips appear
From the hard rock of the plain.²⁸

'Asjadī²⁹ wrote at the Ghaznavid court. He may have died in 1040/1.³⁰ Shihāb³¹ describes him as one of the first poets to employ rhetorical figures. Shafī'ī Kadkanī³² thinks that, together with Ghazāyirī, he follows 'Unṣurī in borrowing and refurbishing imagery.

Zīnattī 'Alavī wrote at the courts of Maḥmūd and Mas'ūd at Ghazna. He is mentioned under poets of the Ghaznavid court in the *Chahār Maqāleh*.³³

It is disputed whether Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī 'l-Khair should be reckoned an early Ṣūfī poet.³⁴ Biographies of him are: *Asrār at-Tauḥīd fī Maqāmāt ash-Shaikh Abī Sa'īd* by Muḥammad ibn al-Munavvar and *Ḥālāt va Sukhanān-i Shaikh Abū Sa'īd ibn Abī 'l-Khair*.³⁵ It has been questioned whether the quatrains ascribed to Abū Sa'īd are in fact by him; Nafīsī³⁶ believes them to be genuine but mentions the fact that Muḥammad ibn al-Munavvar denies that Abū Sa'īd wrote poetry; Ṣafā believes that the work of other writers besides Abū Sa'īd is contained in the poems.³⁷ Shafī'ī Kadkanī does not believe that the quatrains in question are by Abū Sa'īd.³⁸

²⁷ Also on Manūchihri: Clinton, *The Divan of Manūchihri Dāmghānī, A Critical Study*, Minneapolis: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1972.

²⁸ On Manūchihri see Hillmann, *Manūchihri, Poet or Versifier?*, Edebiyāt, University of Pennsylvania 1 i 1976, p. 93.

²⁹ *Divan*, ed. Tahiri Shihab, Tehran 1955.

³⁰ later, according to Ṣafā, S I, p. 581.

³¹ Op. cit.

³² SK, p. 382.

³³ Students' Edition, p. 32 where his name occurs as Zīnattī; some sources record Zīnabr.

³⁴ v. Baldick, *Handbuch*, p. 113.

³⁵ Baldick, *Handbuch*, p. 93.

³⁶ *Sukhanān-i Manzūm-i Abū Sa'īd*, Tehran 1334.

³⁷ S I, p. 608; cf. HIL, p. 234.

³⁸ SK, p. 466.

Fakhr ad-Dīn Asad Gurgānī wrote the *maṣnavī Vīs o Rāmīn*,³⁹ the next romantic epic extant after *Varqeh o Gulshāh* of 'Ayyūqī,⁴⁰ between 1040 and 1054.⁴¹ Biographical details about Gurgānī are negligible. Minorsky⁴² suggests that he may first have been in the service of one of the minor Bāvandid rulers; *Vīs o Rāmīn* was composed at the suggestion of 'Amīd Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muẓaffar, appointed governor of Isfahan by the Seljūq Sultan Tuḡhril. An anecdote about Gurgānī and his desperate love for a slave-boy occurs in the *Ilāhīnāmeḥ* of 'Aṭṭar;⁴³ besides *Vīs o Rāmīn*, a small number of verses attributed to Gurgānī are recorded.⁴⁴

The author tells us that a Pahlavī version of the romance existed in his day; Minorsky believes⁴⁵ that Gurgānī worked from a Persian translation of this; evidently the poet had some acquaintance with Pahlavī, to judge from one or two passages in the work.⁴⁶ There is a reference to ballads about Vīs and Rāmīn in an Arabic poem of Abū Nawās (747-801);⁴⁷ Daulatshāh in the *Tazkirat ash-Shu'arā* mentions attributions of *Vīs o Rāmīn* to Nizāmī-yi 'Arūzī Samarqandī and to Nizāmī of Ganjeh, finally preferring the latter.⁴⁸ The poem tells of the loves and adventures of Vīs, daughter of the Queen of Māh (Media) and Rāmīn, brother of Moubad, King of Marv. The plot has a distinct resemblance to that of the legend of Tristan and Isolde;⁴⁹ for example, the Nurse of Vīs deputizes for her in the King's bed exactly as Brangane does in 'Tristan'; Rāmīn consoles himself with a new lover, Gul, as Tristan does with Isolde of the White Hand. Nevertheless views have differed about the connection between the two stories.⁵⁰

Gurgānī describes how he undertook to refurbish the romance: 'It is a very beautiful story, collected by six scholars. I have never seen a better; it resembles nothing so much as a blossoming garden. However, its language is Pahlavī, and by no means everyone who reads it is aware of its purport...at

³⁹ Ed. Nassau Lees, *Bibliotheca Indica*, 1864-5; ed. Mīnovī, Tehran 1935; ed. Maḥjūb, Tehran 1959; ed. Todua, Gwakharia and 'Ainī, Academy of Sciences of the USSR, Georgian SSR, Tajik SSR and Cultural Foundation of Iran, Tehran 1970; ed. Devonaqulov, Dushambēh, 1966; trans. George Morrison, *Persian Heritage Series*, Columbia 1972.

⁴⁰ See p. 30.

⁴¹ Minorsky, *Iranica*, p. 151.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 154.

⁴³ See p. 123.

⁴⁴ Maḥjūb, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴⁵ *Iranica*, p. 174; Boyce, *JRAS* 1957, p. 38.

⁴⁶ Furūzānfar surmises that Gurgānī was also learned in Arabic, S v S II i, p. 6.

⁴⁷ Minorsky, *Iranica*, p. 197; Mīnovī, *MDAT* 1954.

⁴⁸ *Tazkirat ash-Shu'arā*, ed. Browne, pp. 60, 130.

⁴⁹ Morrison, op. cit., p. xvi, Yarshater, foreword, p. vii.

⁵⁰ Morrison, op. cit., p. xvii; Minorsky, *Iranica*, p. 194.



A
HISTORY
OF
OTTOMAN POETRY

BY
THE LATE
E. J. W. GIBB, M. R. A. S.

VOLUME III

EDITED BY
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PRINTED FOR
THE TRUSTEES OF THE "E. J. W. GIBB MEMORIAL"
AND PUBLISHED BY MESSRS. LUZAC AND COMPANY LTD.
46 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

1965

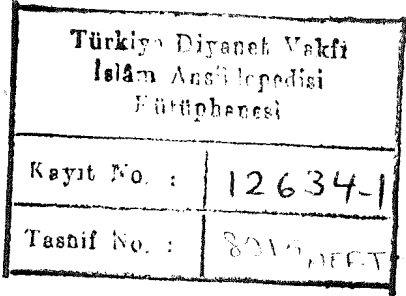
Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı
İslâm Ansiklopedisi
Kütüphanesi
Kayıt No : 5465-3
Tasfiye No : T 211.21
M. B. : GIB.H

Haft Awrang does indeed comprise seven poems, only three of these, the Joseph and Zelikhá, the Leylá and Mejnún, and the Selámán and Absál, are really romances, Lámi'í had the good sense to pass by the hackneyed tales of Joseph and Mejnún and seek the subjects of his poems among the less familiar legends of ancient Persia, so that most of his stories are new to Turkish literature. From Jámí he borrowed the history of Selámán and Absál, which Fitzgerald's translation has made familiar to English readers; from Fakhr-i Jurjání he got the tale of Vísá and Rámín; while it is probably to the old poet 'Unsurí that he is indebted for the story of Vámiq and 'Azrá.¹ The rich mine of old Persian lore supplied him with the subjects of two other poems, the Ferhád-Náma, or Ferhád Book, and the Heft Peyker, or Seven Effigies. The last-named is a translation of Hátifí's Heft Manzar, or Seven Belvederes, which is itself but a modification of Nizámí's well-known poem, also entitled, like that of Lámi'í, Heft Peyker.²

Besides these five legendary poems, this author left two allegorical romances, the Gúy u Chevgán, or Ball and Bat, and the Shem' u Perváne, or Taper and Moth. These two works belong to a class of allegorical poems at one time very popular in the East, in which certain inanimate or irrational objects which poetic usage represents as lover and

¹ [Fakhr of Jurján or Gurgán (the ancient Hyrcania, situated near the south-east corner of the Caspian sea) wrote his Vís u Rámín (variously ascribed by Dawlatsháh, pp. 60 and 130 of Browne's edition, to Nizámí of Ganja or Nizámí of Samarcand) about 440 (1048). This poem was published at Calcutta in 1865 in the Bibliotheca Indica. As regards the story of Vámiq and 'Azrá, Dawlatsháh (p. 30) mentions a Pahleví version composed for Núshírván (sixth century of our era); of which a copy extant in the ninth century was destroyed by order of 'Abdu'lláh b. Táhir, the Governor of Khurásán; and Dr. Ethé mentions (Grundriss d. Iran. Philolog., vol. II, p. 240) six Persian versions besides that of 'Unsurí who died in 441 (1050). ED.]

² Hátifí, a well-known Persian poet and nephew of the illustrious Jámí, died in 927 (1520—1).



سعی نفسی

تاریخ

Geygani, Fakhrudin Es'ad

نظم و شعر در ایران در زبان فارسی

تأییدات قرن دهم هجری

جلد اول

Tahran - 1363

۲- جمالی مهریجری نیز از شعرای این زمان و معاصر بلاجمعی و برهانی بود ولی از احوال وی چیزی معلوم نیست و او را منظومه‌ای باسم بهمن نامه در داستانهای قدیم ایران بوده که اینک در میان نیست و بعضی ابیات آن در فرهنگها باقی مانده و از اشعار دیگر او هم چیزی بدست نیست ولی از همین مختصر بیاد است که شاعر قادری بوده است.

۳- امیر عبدالملک محمد برهانی نیشابوری پدر معزی نیشابوری شاعر معروفست، اصلاً از مردم نسا بود ولی در نیشابور زندگی میکرد و در سلك شعرای دربار جلال‌الدین ملک‌شاه بود و چندان تقرب داشت که در سفرها با وی بود. عاقبت در سفری که در کاب این پادشاه بقزوین رفته بود در سن ۵۶ سالگی در اوایل سلطنت ملک‌شاه در آن شهر درگذشت. از احوال وی بیش از این اطلاعی نیست و از شعر او جز يك قصیده نمانده ولی در عصر خود از شعرای معروف بشمار میرفت.

۴- ابوالعالی نجاس اصفهانی از اعیان دربار سلجوقی بود. چندی در خدمت آلپ ارسلان میزیست و سپس عارض سپاه ملک‌شاه شد و در دربار بر کیارک و محمد بن ملک‌شاه نیز همین مقام را داشت و چون میان این دو برادر اختلاف افتاد بحله فرار کرد و حکمران آن دیار او را محترم داشت و از آنجا بمصر نزد المستنصر بالله خلیفه فاطمی رفت و مالی گزاف باورسید و پس از آن چندی در حبس بود و چون رهایی یافت بار دیگر بدربار بر کیارک رفت و در ضمن از خواص دادیک بن حبش بن آلتوتاق امیر خراسان بود که شعرای زمان را بسیار مینواخت و لامعی نیز او را مدح گفته است. عاقبت در سال ۵۱۲ رحلت کرد. وی از شعرای معروف عصر خود بوده و از شعر او جز چند قطعه چیزی بمانده است.

۵- فخرالدین اسعد فخری گرجانی در اواخر عمر خود در سلك شعرای سلجوقیان در آمد و در سال ۴۴۲ رحلت کرد. نخست دو گرجانی میزیست و سپس از شعرای دربار طغرل و ملک‌شاه بود و در عراق و ری زندگی میکرد و از معاریف شعرای عصر خود بود. از اشعار دیگر او سه قطعه بیشتر باقی نمانده ولی منظومه‌ای در همین از آثار او باقیست که یکی از شیواترین داستانهای عاشقانه شعرای ایرانست و

و عمیدالملک ابونصر کندی وزیر نیز شعر فارسی نقل کرده‌اند. عموماً پادشاهان این سلسله در پرورش شعرا می‌کوشیده‌اند و مخصوصاً طغان‌شاه بن آلپ ارسلان شعرای بسیار را گرد خویش جمع کرده بود و از نوازش ایشان دریغ نمی‌کرد، ملک‌شاه نیز نسبت بشعرا رغبت مخصوصی نشان می‌داد.

اما شعرای که در قرن پنجم در دربار سلجوقیان بوده‌اند و از ایشان آثاری مانده بدین قرارند: صفی‌الدین یزدی از شعرای طغان‌شاه که از چندیت مانده، کافی خراسانی معروف بکافک که او نیز در دربار طغان‌شاه بوده و از وی نیز چندیت مانده است، امیرعلی یوزی تکین که از احوال وی اطلاعی نیست و از شعر او دو بیت بمانده است، ابونصر احمد بن ابراهیم طالقانی از مردم طالقان خراسان که از شعرای دربار ملک‌شاه و از خواص نظام‌الملک بود و از شعر او چندیت باقیست شعرای بزرگ این دوره بدین قرار بوده‌اند:

۱- ابوالحسن بن محمد بن اسمعیل لامعی گرجانی دهستانی که از مردم بکر-آباد محله‌ای از شهر گرجان بود و در ماه رمضان سال ۳۹۲ یا ۳۹۳ متولد شد و تا شست و چند سال پس از آن یعنی تا زمان سلطنت آلپ ارسلان نیز زنده بود. وی از حیث زمان نخستین شاعر دربار سلجوقیانست و یکی از بزرگان شعرای درجه دوم ایران بشمار میرود. در زمان خود شهرت بسیار داشت و تمام شعرای عصر بوی اقتدا میکردند مخصوصاً معزی نیشابوری بزرگترین شاعر سلجوقیان همواره پیرو او بوده است و سبک وی را در شعر تکمیل کرده، دیوان لامعی در زمانهای قدیم بسیار مطلوب بود زیرا که در انسجام و تشبیهات طبیعی و اوصاف بهار و خزان و غزل استاد بود، اینک دیوان وی بدست نیست و از شعر او فقط نزدیک هزار بیت باقی مانده است. لامعی بیشتر اختصاص داشته است بخدمت خواجه عمیدالملک ابونصر کندی وزیر معروف و پس از مرگ او مدتی نیز مداح خواجه نظام‌الملک بوده است، می‌نویسند در جوانی از گرجان بخراسان رفت و در سلك شاگردان حجة الاسلام محمدغزالی در آمد ولی این نکته مشکوک می‌نماید.

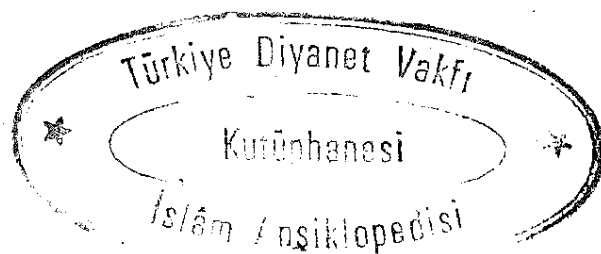
Dia için tarandı

A LITERARY
HISTORY OF PERSIA

Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslâm Ansiklopedisi	
Kayıt No.	3957-2
Tasnif No. :	891.59 BRON

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOLUME II



end of his life (p. 31 of Horn's Preface), but at what precise epoch is not certain. It only explains rare and archaic Persian words, but its great value lies in the fact that each word is illustrated and vouched for by a citation from one of the old poets, including many otherwise unknown to us. The total number of poets thus cited is seventy-six, and the citations include passages from Rûdagî's lost *Kallâ and Dimna*, and other poems hitherto known to us either not at all, or only by name. One of the most remarkable omissions is the name of Nâsir-i-Khusraw, whom, as we have seen, 'Awfî also ignores. The explanation of this lies, I have no doubt, in the hatred and terror inspired in the minds of the orthodox by the Isma'îlîs.

Fakhru'd-Dîn As'ad of Jurjân (or Gurgân) is scarcely known to us except as the author of the romantic poem of *Wis and Râmin*, a romance said to be based on an old Pahlawî original,¹ and compared by Ethé (*op. cit.*, p. 240) to that of Tristan and Iseult. Even 'Awfî (vol. ii, p. 240) says that, apart from this poem, he had only met with five verses by this poet. These verses, which he cites, contain an expression of the poet's disappointment at the lack of appreciation shown by his patron, Thiqtu'l-Mulk Shahriyâr, in spite of the "much poetry" which he had composed and recited to him; and, with two very abusive lines, in which, after observing that he "had never seen or heard of a man who was more of a cow than him," he loads him with coarse invective. Dawlatshâh makes no mention of this poet, and ascribes the poem of *Wis and Râmin* to Nidhâmî-i-'Arûdî of Samarqand (p. 60), adding (p. 130) that others attribute it to Nidhâmî of Ganja. It was composed about A.D. 1048, after Tughril's victory over the "Romans," and is dedicated to his Minister, 'Amîdu'd-Dîn Abu'l-Fath Mudhaffar of Nîshâpûr, and was published (from a manuscript unfortunately defective)

¹ See p. 11, l. 8, of the edition published by Nassau Lees in the *Bibliotheca Indica Series* (Calcutta, 1865).

features of the legend. In addition to the basic, and very general, likeness in the romantic situation, I have found in Dr. Freidenberg's longish record only two points of similarity with *Vīs-u-Rāmīn*: the episode of a maid (in our case the nurse) deputizing for her mistress on the marital couch, and the episode of the hero temporarily forgetting the heroine. Tristan's retirement to the forest might perhaps be compared with Rāmīn's retirement to Daylam. The results of the comparison look somewhat meagre. Isolated details can certainly belong to the common stock of human fantasy, which is not unlimited as regards situations in a three-cornered love.

The general atmosphere of the two poems is very different. Apart from the talisman built by the crafty nurse (a native of Khūzān), *Vīs-u-Rāmīn* is devoid of magic or symbolic elements which abound in the Celtic legend. The sea which fills in the background of *Tristan and Isolde* is naturally absent in the Iranian story. But one of the curious features in Gurgānī's poem is Rāmīn's patiently-borne ordeal in the snow before Vis's residence. Snow as an element of a romantic story is unexpected in purely Persian surroundings. Here the imagination of the original story-teller seems to move in the framework of the Parthian north.¹

¹ H. W. Bailey, *BSOAS.*, xiii/2 (1950), p. 403, has added the name of *اسب تخاره 'Tokharian horses' to my list of geographical epithets in the poem (*BSOAS.*, xi/4, p. 23). W. B. Henning, *Asia Major*, ii/2 (1952), p. 178, has quoted the name *Wērōy* (*Worōd*) in support of my attribution of *Vīs-u-Rāmīn* to the Parthian epoch. The name of the town Burūjird (south of Gūrāb) is derived from the same personal name. The *Zafar-nāma*, i, 586, 594, 812, still spells it: ورودرد.

07 MAYIS 1994

VĪS-U RĀMĪN (IV)¹*Later developments*

1. Two articles by M. Minovi
2. The new edition of the poem (1959)
3. Pahlavi and the 'language of Fahla'
4. Gurgānī and Toghrīl-bek (M. Molé)

1. *Two articles by M. Minovi*

The promised vol. II of Professor Minovi's edition of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* has not yet appeared and the variants of the important MS of Istanbul remain unknown. On the other hand we owe to the editor two interesting articles shedding light on the poem of Gurgānī.

(A) In the first of these (see the Tehran monthly *Sukhan*, vi, 1, 1333/1954, 13-21, and vi, 2, 1333/1954, 129-37) M. Minovi reviews the scanty data on the origin of the story and on the biography of Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī, and gives a summary of the poem.

He admits the possibility of the Parthian origin of the plot² and makes the interesting suggestion that the original which Gurgānī had before him was in Middle Persian transcribed in Arabic characters (Pāzand), though I personally still believe that the text used by Gurgānī was an antiquated Persian (*fārsī*) translation of the original Pahlavi.

Drawing attention to the fact that the poet in his conclusion calls himself young (*javān*) but elsewhere speaks of his disappointments in love experienced 'many days ago', and taking it that the poem was completed in 446/1054, Minovi tentatively assumes that the author was born *circa* 406/1016 (?).

Already in 1312/1933 Professor Badī' al-zamān in his *Sukhan va sukhan-varān*, II, 1, p. 5, referred to the queer story which Farīd al-dīn 'Aṭṭār, in his *Ilāhī-nāma*, tells about Fakhr al-dīn Gurgānī. The poet living at the court of the 'shāh' of Gurgān was suddenly overcome by love for one of the king's minions. The king hastened to give his *ghulām* to the poet, but the beautiful slave perished in an accident. In despair (*divānāqī* 'madness') Fakhr al-dīn wandered in the wilderness with the story of *Vīs-u Rāmīn* on his tongue (*vīrd-i zabān*). Minovi is sceptical about the story told by 'Aṭṭār in a mystical spirit, but it merits some attention as indicating Gurgānī's connexions in his homeland. The king in question might have been one of the later Ziyārīds.³ The great sensibility of Gurgānī may be also reflected in this anecdote.

¹ For parts I-III see *BSOAS.*, xi, 4, 1946, 741-63; xii, 1, 1947, 20-35; xvi, 1, 1954, 91-2.

² To the guess in this direction found in *Tārīkh-i guzīda* he adds the similar utterings of Ḥājji Khalīfa and the *Haft iqlīm*.

³ Minūchīhr 403-20/1012-29; Anūshīrvān 420-41/1029-49; Dārā (one year). The Seljūqid Toghrīl appeared in Gurgān already in 433/1041. Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 340, and Kay Kāvus b. Dārā, who was considered as a ruler in 441-62/1049-69, and died *circa* 475/1082, led the life of a knight-errant fighting infidels first on the Indian, and then on the Transcaucasian front.

Vladimir Minorsky [Preface by C.E. BOSWORTH]

Medieval Iran and its Neighbours
Variorum reprints, London, 1982,

BSOAS, xxv, 1962. s. 275-286

IRCICA: 6793

-Fahreddin Abd Gurgani

at specified times for devotion to God, and "rose". (For more on this aspect, as well as numerous translated passages from traditional *awrād*, see Constance Padwick, *Muslim devotions, prayer-manuals in common use*, London 1961, 20-2, *et passim*.)

Bibliography: In addition to works cited in the text, L. Massignon's art. s.v. in *EI* remains valuable, particularly its listing of collections and manuals of *awrād* since the 8th/14th century. Massignon considered "the essential work" to be 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, 2 vols. Fās 1346.

(F.M. DENNY)

WĪS u **RĀMĪN**, a long narrative poem in Persian by Fakhr al-Dīn As'ad Gurgānī [q.v.], written not long after 441/1050 and dedicated to Abū Naṣr b. Maṣṣūr, the governor of Iṣfahān on behalf of the Saljūqids. The story, which is set in the distant and unspecified past, deals with the love affair between Wīs, the wife of King Mōbad of Marw, and Rāmīn, her husband's younger brother. It tells of how the two lovers meet, how they are eventually discovered, and how Rāmīn rises in rebellion against his brother, in the end seizing the throne and making the widowed Wīs his queen. In the opening section, Gurgānī says that he had found the story in a book in Pahlawī, which he put into Persian verse at the request of his patron. The existence of an older Iranian poetical version of the story would seem to be confirmed by a verse by the much earlier Arabic poet Abū Nuwās referring to *firdjardāt Rāmīn wa-Wīs*, whereby, according to the commentary by Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, "*firdjardāt* are like poems (*ka 'l-kaṣa'id*"). (For the poem by Abū Nuwās, and Ḥamza's commentary, not yet in Wagner's edition, see M. Mīnuwī, *Yak-i az fārsiyyāt-i Abū Nuwās*, in *Maḍjalla-yi Dānīshkada-yi Adabīyyāt-i Tīhrān*, i/3 [1333 *sh.*/1954], 62-77). It is evidently an Arabic spelling of Middle Persian *fragard*, "chapter, section".

On the basis of the proper names, and in particular the topographical framework of Gurgānī's poem, Minorsky has argued that the origin of the story lay in Arsacid Parthia. Gurgānī has largely resisted the temptation to adapt the story to his Islamic environment and it retains a strong Zoroastrian flavour. It exerted considerable influence on the development of the Persian romantic epic, but later fell out of favour, in part, doubtless, because of its relatively simple style, but mainly because it was considered immoral, not so much on account of the fairly explicit erotic episodes (which are not exceptional by Persian standards) but because it appears to condone adultery on the part of a woman. Copies are thus rare. Gurgānī's work was translated into Georgian, apparently in the 12th century A.D. Several scholars have claimed a decisive influence of the Persian story on the Celtic tale of Tristan and Iseult, but it is difficult to see by what paths the legend might have migrated to Europe.

Bibliography (in addition to that cited under GURGĀNĪ): The older editions of the Persian text have been superseded by the critical edition by M.A. Todua and A.A. Gwakharia, Tehran 1349 *sh.*/1970; the same scholars have also re-edited the Georgian translation, Tiflis 1962. Additional translations: *Vīs and Ramīn*, tr. G. Morrison, New York and London 1972; *Vīs i Ramīn*, tr. S. Lipkin, Moscow 1963. V. Minorsky's fundamental study *Vīs u Rāmīn. A Parthian romance*, in *BSOAS*, xi (1946), 741-63, xii (1947), 20-35, xvi (1954), 91-2, xxv (1962), 275-86, was reprinted, with considerable revision, in his *Iranica, bīst maḳāla*, Tehran 1964, 151-99. For further literature, mss., etc. see de Blois, *Persian literature*, v, 161-7.

(F.C. DE BLOIS)

WIṢĀL (A.), or less frequently *muwāsala* "maintaining an amorous relationship, chaste or otherwise" (*LA*), a technical term of Ṣūfism. *Waṣl* is employed in the same sense, with the antonym *hadjir* or *hidjran* (shunning, evasion) or even *faṣl* (separation). *Wuṣla* "amorous connection" is also recorded by the *Lisān* as an equivalent of *ittiṣāl* "the act of forming an amorous relationship".

Nascent Ṣūfism borrowed these terms from romantic poetry and integrated them into its own poetic production as well as into its doctrinal literature. Even with a poet such as 'Umar Ibn Abī Rabī'a [q.v.], *wiṣāl* or *waṣl* signifies an amorous relationship which one accuses the other of not respecting rather than a union as such (cf. *Diwān*, Cairo 1978, 77, 168, 176). In the poetry attributed to Rābī'a al-'Adawiyya [q.v.], the opposition between *waṣl* and *hadjir* is encountered: "I have shunned (*hadjartu*) all creatures in the hope of a union on Your part, my greatest desire" (quoted by 'Abd al-Raḥmān Badawī, *Shahīdat al-īshk al-ilāhī*, Cairo n.d., 163). The use by the Ṣūfīs of these terms continues to bear the mark of their origin: *wiṣāl* never signifies love in itself, but a link that is always fragile, liable to be broken or outgrown. It is not found in the lists of stages of love, borrowed from works dealing with profane love (cf. C. Ernst, *The stages of love in early Persian Sufism*, in *Classical Persian Sufism from its origins to Rumi*, ed. L. Lewisohn, London-New York 1993, 435-55). No equivalent is to be found in Ṣūfism to the lyricism of Ibn Ḥazm on *waṣl*, although in his works, the inexpressible and paradisiacal nature of the union could be considered a transition between profane love and sacred love (cf. *Tawḳ al-ḥamāma*, Fr. tr. L. Bercher, *Le collier du pigeon*, Algiers 1949, 152-3, Eng. tr. A.J. Arberry, *The ring of the dove*, London 1953, 118).

For al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857 [q.v.]), while love cannot be described, it nonetheless leaves behind it indubitable traces on lovers "on account of the constancy of their link with their Beloved (*li-dawām uttiṣālihim bi-ḥabībihim*), since God, in manifesting His love to them, instructs them *idhā waṣalahum afādahum*" (Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, x, 79; cf. J. van Ess, *Die Gedankenwelt des Hārīt al-Muḥāsibī*, Bonn 1961, 224). Through *wiṣāl* and its equivalents, the expression of divine love has from the outset taken two directions. One of them is poetic and based on imagery, expressing intense desire for union with, or proximity to God. *Dhu 'l-Nūn* (d. 246/861 [q.v.]) thus says of Muḥammad that he was the first of the prophets to arrive in "the garden of union" (*rawḍat al-wiṣāl*) (cf. Ibn al-'Arabī, tr. R. Deladrière, *La vie merveilleuse de Dhu l-Nun l'Égyptien*, Paris 1988, 166; see also *Hilya*, ix, 375). The joy shown by al-Ḥallādj [q.v.] immediately before his execution, emanates, he declares, "from the coquetry of His beauty, which draws the elect towards union (*wiṣāl*)" (al-Munāwī, *al-Kawākib al-durriyya*, Cairo 1994, i, 545; *Passion*, i, 635, refers in error to *Akhbār*, no. 16). The second, more doctrinal direction seeks to determine the reality of the union. In the abridged version of his *Hakā'ik*, al-Sulamī quotes, with *isnād*, the interpretation by *Dja'far al-Ṣādiq* of *Qur'an*, VII, 143, when Moses asks to see God "in language of humility on the carpet of union (*bisāt al-wiṣāl*) in the shade of Majesty" (ed. G. Böwering, *The minor Qur'an Commentary of Sulamī*, Beirut 1995, 146). Regarding God's reply "you shall not see Me", *Dja'far* speaks further of *wuṣla* and of *muwāsala*, impossible to realise fully with God in this world (cf. P. Nwyia, *Le tafsir mystique de Dja'far al-Sadiq*, in *MUSJ*, xliii [1968], 18-19). Al-Ḥakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. between 295 and 300/905-10

ARABIC 2001
MADDA VA YIMLAKHISTAN
SOVRA DELTA DUBAN

Metinde سرچشمه سر کونده şeklinde yazılan ibareyi Ergin ve Gökyay "keser günde ser çeşme yüğrük yahşi" şeklinde okumuşlardır. Tezcan bu ibarenin yazılışında istinsah hataları bulunduğunu söyleyerek "segirdüğünde sürçmese yüğrük yahşi" şeklinde düzeltir. Bu makul bir tekliftir. Ancak buradaki "segir-" fiili çok açık değildir. Tezcan bunu "koşma" anlamındaki "segirtmek" ile birleştiriyor. Segir- için TS'de verilen "koşmak" anlamı bence tartışmalıdır. Birinci tanıktaki segirti kelimesi muhtemelen *segirtti* olacaktır. Diğer tanıklardaki segir-fiillerinin anlamı ise "koşmak" değil "zıplamak"tır. EDPT'deki veriler bunu göstermektedir. Belki düzeltmeyi "segirdüğünde sürçmese" şeklinde yapmak mümkündür.

121a/3 : ...kulağı dilük olsa "Begil sevincidür." deyü Begil'e gönderürleridi.

Tezcan buradaki *sevinç* kelimesini 119a/6'da geçen "... atasına Basatun sevinç verdi..." cümlesindeki kelime ile aynı kabul ediyor ve daha önceki neşirlerde verilen "müjde, muştuluk, sevinçli haber" anlamlarını doğru kabul ediyor. Kelime 119a/6'da bu anlama gelse de, 121a/3'de bu anlama geldiği açık değildir. Zira Begil, avda silah kullanmamakta, yakaladığı avların kulaklarını keserek işaret koymakta, kendine ait olduğunu belli etmektedir. Diğer beyler vurdukları avın kulağının kesilmiş "dilük" olduğunu görünce "Begil sevincidür, diyü" Begil'e gönderiyorlar. Burada "muştuluk" bir durum yoktur. Kanaatimce kelimeyi başka türlü okumalı ve anlamlandırmalıyız. Aranılacak anlam "...tarafından işaretlenmiş, ...filancaya ait, ...filancanın salıverdiği" olmalıdır. Belki *sav-* "göndermek, bırakmak, salıvermek" fiilinden *savinç*.

Son olarak, DKON'da metinle doğrudan ilişkisi olmayan bir aktarıma değinmek istiyorum. s. 292'de Nemrud'un göğe ok atışıyla ilgili Rabguzî'nin *Kıyasu'l-Enbiyâ*'sından tanık olarak verilen metnin başlığı "Nemrûdnîñ kökge aggan sözleri" Türkiye Türkçesine "Nemrud'un göğe çıkışının öyküsü" olarak çevrilmiştir. Bu çok serbest bir tercüme olmuş. Herhalde daha metne sadık olarak "Nemrud'un Göğe Çıkan Sözleri" şeklinde tercüme edilmeliydi.

Bu iki kitapla Dede Korkut araştırmaları yeni ve ileri bir merhaleye girmiş bulunuyor. Tezcan ve Boeschoten neşri, Dede Korkut yayınları konusunda yüksek bir standart getirmiştir.

VİS Ü RÂMÎN MESNEVİLERİNDE KAHRAMANLARIN ÖZELLİKLERİ VE AŞK ANLAYIŞLARI

Sadettin EĞRİ*

The Characteristic and Love Approaches of The Heroes in The Mesnevis of "Vis ü Râmîn"

In this study two different versions of the same story, which had been written in Mesnevi genre, are compared in regard to the characteristics of their personas and understanding of love. One of these versions is Fahrüddin Cürcânî's *Vis ü Râmîn*. The other one is Lâmi'î Çelebi's *Vise vü Râmîn*.

Cürcânî's *Vis ü Râmîn* is quite different from other stories of love in many respects. Reflecting traces of ancient Persian creed and life, this work has also a considerable impact on Turkish Literature. Ahmedî had first begun to translate this story. But, upon his death the translation remained incomplete.

Lâmi'î Çelebi's *Vise vü Râmîn*, on the other hand, was translated into Turkish in free meter as being highly different from its original form. Lâmi'î Çelebi added an Islamic and even a sophistic complexion to his version.

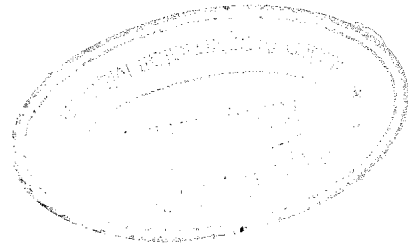
Keywords : Lami'î, Cürcânî, Vis/Veys, Râmîn, Mesnevi, Turkish literature

Tarihi çok eski olan aşk mesnevilerinden biri de *Vis ü Râmîn*'dir. İslâmiyet'in doğup, yayılmasından önceki zamanlarda Merv'den Hemedan'a kadar geniş bir alanda meydana gelen bu hikâyeye; Pehlevi dilinde söylenmiş ve yazılmıştır. Fahrüddin Esad Gurgânî¹ (XI.yy) tarafından 1040-1050 tarihleri arasında nazmedilmiştir. Bu mesnevi, İran edebiyatında o zamana kadar bilinen aşk hikâyelerinden oldukça farklıdır. Bu yazıda olayların örgüsünde ve kahramanların özellik-

* Yard. Doç. Dr., Uludağ Üniversitesi Fen-Edebiyat Fakültesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Bölümü.
¹ Şairin isminin yazılışı konusunda bazı okuma farklılıkları vardır: Fahr-i Cürcân, Fahr-i Cürcânî, Fahreddin Cürcânî, Fahreddin Gurgânî, Fahr-i Gurgânî ... Bu farklı okunuş ve adlandırmaların aslı, şairin (کرکان) isimli bir yerde doğmuş olması ve bu kelimenin Arapça'da "Curcân" olarak telaffuzundan kaynaklanmaktadır. Gurgan veya Curcan: Eski Hyrcania, Hazar Denizi'nin güney-doğu kısmıdır.

MADDE YAYIMLANDIKTAN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

20 MAYIS 2002



این پیام که در میان یک سکوت زندانه - و بی آنکه هیچ اندیشه تعلیم در آن باشد - بیان می‌گردد یک قرن بعد در ترانه‌های دلنشین نکته‌آموز خیام انعکاس یافته است [۱۷]. جای دیگر شاعر لب به ستایش بهار می‌گشاید، شهریار را به زیباییها و شادمانیهای زندگی متوجه می‌کند و به تمتع از لذایذ جهان وامی‌دارد:

نوبهار آمد و آورد گل تازه فرزاز
می خوشبوی فرزاز آور و بریبط بنواز
ای بلند اختر نام آور تا چند به کاخ
سوی باغ آی که آمد گه نوروز فرزاز
بوستان عود همی سوزد، تیمار بسوز
فاخته نای همی سازد، طنبور بساز
به سماعی که بدیعت کنون گوش بنه
به نسیدی که لطیفست کنون دست بیاز
گر همی خواهی بنشست ملک وار نشین
ور همی تاختن آری به سوی خوبان تاز

بدین گونه، شاعر طبیعت شاعر عشق و شراب و زندگی نیز هست. اشعار او نغمه‌یی ناتمام را می‌ماند. خواننده در مطالعه این اشعار خود را با کودکی روبرو می‌بیند که از سر شوق و هوس نغمه می‌خواند. اما گاه سیری و تماشایی نیز او را از ادامه تغنی و ترنم باز می‌دارد و به چیزهای دیگر سرگرم می‌کند. نغمه طرب انگیز او را مرگ - مرگ نابهنگام او که به فحوای قول عوفی [۱۸] در جوانی رخ داد (۴۳۲ هجری) - ناتمام گذاشت. اگر بیشتر زیسته بود بسا که آثاری بدیعتی، زیباتر، و دلپسندتر پدید می‌آورد.

عبد الحسین زرین کوب، با کاروان حله : جموعه نقد ادبی ،
تهران ۱۳۷۴، ص. ۶۹-۸۳. DIA 41851.

Dipnotlar için bkz. s. 409-410

فخری گرگانی

پیشرو شعر بزمی

با آنکه در باب پایه قدر منظومه «ویس و رامین»، از جهت اخلاقی و ادبی هر دو، اختلاف نظرها بسیار جالب است، در اینکه فخرالدین اسعد گرگانی گوینده آن را باید فعلاً قدیمترین سراینده مثنوی بزمی در تمام ادوار ابیات فارسی شمرد جای بحث نیست. حتی نظامی گنجوی پرآوازه‌ترین سراینده مثنویهای بزمی، که خود پیشرو یا پیشوای تقریباً تمام کسانی است که در سراسر ادبیات فارسی در این شیوه طبع آزمایی کرده‌اند، نزدیک یک قرن بعد از وی به نظم سخن پرداخته است و در داستان خسرو و شیرین هم، که عالیترین اثر بزمی اوست، به نحو بارزی تحت تأثیر این منظومه واقع شده است و حتی در انتخاب وزن هم در آنجا خود را به پیروی سلیقه وی ناچار دیده است. از همین رو، و به سبب پاره‌یی همانندیهای دیگر که بین دو منظومه - با یک قرن فاصله - هست بعضی تذکره‌نویسان [۱] با تردید و تأمل ناشی از حیرت گه‌گاه پنداشته‌اند که این منظومه را باید به نظامی گنجوی یا حداقل نظامی عروضی که در باب او هم چیزی نمی‌دانسته‌اند - منسوب داشت، و پیداست که آنچه در این باب گفته‌اند هر چند جز پندار باطل نیست باری از آگاهی به همانندیهای بین ویس و رامین با خسرو و شیرین به این پندار دچار شده‌اند.

MADDE TAHSİSİNDEN
SONRA GELEN DOKÜMAN

16 MART 1997

TÜRK DİLİ VE EDEBİYATI ANABİLİM DALI
LÂMÎ ÇELEBİ'NİN VEYSE VÜ RAMİN MESNEVİSİ
(TRANSKRİPSİYONLU METİN)

Fatma Zehra KAVUKÇU
(Yüksek Lisans Tezi)

1994

Kültür ve edebiyat tarihimizde, gerek duygu ve düşüncelerin aktarılması gerekse farklı kültürlerin tanıtılması bakımından tercüme edilen eserler, müstesna bir yere sahiptir. İslâm medeniyetini, ilmî, dinî ve edebî cephesiyle tanıtmaya yönelik olarak 13. ve 14.yüzyıllarda başlayan tercüme ve nazire faaliyetleri 16.asırda da gelişerek devam etmiştir.

Bu çalışmamızda, 16.asrın tanınmış mutasavvıf, şair ve mütercimlerinden biri olan Lâmiî Çelebi'nin Fahredden Cürcanî'nin aynı adlı eserinden tercüme ettiği ve tasavvufî bir mana yükleyerek farklı bir boyutta ele aldığı Veyse vü Ramin mesnevisini transkribe etmek suretiyle gün yüzüne çıkarmayı amaçlıyoruz.

Tez, giriş ve metin bölümlerinden oluşmaktadır. Girişte Lâmiî Çelebi'nin hayatı ve eserleri hakkında kısaca bilgi verildikten sonra Veyse vü Ramin mesnevisi, nüshalarıyla birlikte tanıtılmıştır. Metin bölümünde ise Bursa Yazma ve Eski Basma Eserler Kütüphanesi'nde bulunan Genel 2278 numaralı 3091 beyitten oluşan mesnevi, transkribe edilmiştir. Derkenarlar beyit numaralarının yanına konulan bir yıldız ile belirtilerek müellif tarafından yapılan tashihlerde alternatif olarak gösterilen kelime veya mısralar ise metnin bütünlüğünü bozmamak için sadece ait olduğu beytin sonuna konulan bir yıldız ile belirtilerek müellif tarafından yapılan tashihlerde alternatif olarak gösterilen kelime veya mısralar ise metnin bütünlüğünü bozmamak için sadece ait olduğu beytin sonuna konulan bir yıldızla dipnotta gösterilmiştir.

Danışman : Prof.Dr.Coşkun AK

Sayfa sayısı:248

Uludağ Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü
Yüksek Lisans ve Doktora Tez Özetleri (1993-1994) Bursa - 1996, s.105 DN: 40745

27 OCAK 1997

ویس و رامین

از ولادیمیر مینورسکی

ترجمه مصطفی مقرابی

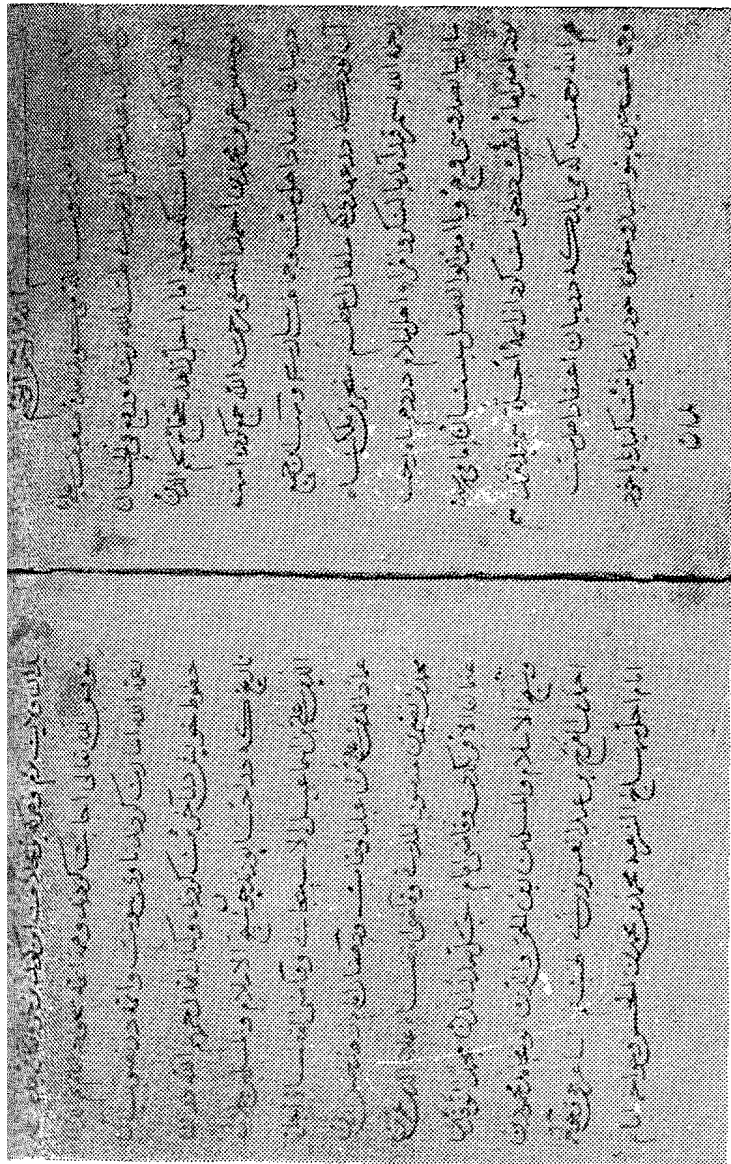
سطوری که از نظر خوانندگان میگذرد. ترجمه مقالاتی است از خاورشناس شهیر پروفیسور ولادیمیر مینورسکی درباره داستان ویس و رامین که در شماره مجله BSOAS (۱) در سالهای ۱۹۴۷ و ۱۹۵۴ انتشار یافته است.

در این مقالات مینورسکی کوشیده است که با مطالعه منابع مختلف شرقی و غربی و از جمله اشاراتی که در خود منظومه ویس و رامین فخر گزگانی هست، زمان و مکان داستان را روشن سازد؛ و از مجموع تحقیقات خود باین نتیجه رسیده که داستان مربوط بزمان اشکانیان و قلمرو فرمانفرمایی آنان است.

با اینکه ممکن است نویسنده محترم تاکنون در این زمینه تحقیقات تازه تری کرده و نتایج نوتری بدست آورده باشند، برای اینکه فایده تبعات (۲) مزبور عامتر گردد، بترجمه آن‌ها دست بردم.

۱- Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. University of London, 1947, XI, 4; 1947, XII, 1 and 1945, XVI, 1.

۲- دانشمند گرامی آقای مجتبی مینوی نیز در باره ویس و رامین تحقیقات مبسوطی دارند و چندی پیش، مقاله جامع و سودمندی در این باب در شماره نخست از دوره ششم مجله سخن (اسفند ماه ۱۳۳۳) نگاشته اند، و مهذب ترین چاپی که از این منظومه اکنون در دست است، هم بکوشش و تصحیح ایشان بسال ۱۳۱۴ ش. فراهم آمده است. همچنین مرحوم صادق هدایت دو مقاله بنام «چند نکته درباره ویس و رامین» در شماره های ۹ و ۱۰ سال اول مجله پیام نو (تهران، ۱۳۲۴) نگاشته است.



نموده دو صفحه ۱۸ و ۴۸ از نسخه بیان اعتقاد اهل سنت

مجموعه دکتر مهدی بیانی



Ferheng-i Iran-i Zemin, cit: IV Tahan 1335, s. 3-73.

D.543

NISAN 1995 MADDE KATIP ANKARTAN SONRA KUTUPHANESINE GIRMISINIZ

M. MOLÉ

«Vis u Rāmīn» et l'histoire seldjoukide.

Des recherches récentes, notamment celles de M. Minorsky, ont mis en relief le fond préislamique de *Vis u Rāmīn* de Gurgānī. Personne ne songera à contester le caractère archaïque des coutûmes décrites dans ce roman courtois, ni la résonnance spécifiquement parthe de certains noms de personnes mentionnés dans le poème. Que les rares allusions politiques contenues dans l'écrit reflètent également les conditions de l'époque parthe est en revanche plus douteux; la ressemblance entre les termes dans lesquels est décrit le royaume de Mobad et ceux qui désignent, dans la préface, l'empire seldjoukide naissant est frappante.

1.

padēd āmad zi mašriq hamtu hwar- ba-dawlat-i šāh-i šāhān šud ču
[šēd [jamšēd
ba-hindī tēy bi-stad Hind-u Hāwar ba-turkī jang-jōyān Rūm-u Barbar

« Il apparut à l'Orient comme le soleil, il partit pour l'empire du roi des rois comme Jamšēd. De l'épée indienne il prit l'Inde et l'Occident, avec des guerriers turcs Rome et la Barbarie ».

(3 v. 12 s., p. 10)

Quel est ce roi généreux, ce conquérant fulgurant et à qui la chance paraît sourire? Digne de souveraineté universelle, ce ne saurait être qu'un prédestiné, qu'un nouveau Jamšēd, ou – nous sommes en terre d'Islam – quelqu'un qui se trouve dans un rapport tout spécial avec le Prophète:

mar-ān-rā k-ō-st ham-nām-i Mu- ču ō maṣṣūr šud čun ō mu'ayyad
[ḥammad

« Celui qui porte le même nom que Muḥammad, (qui) devint aidé et soutenu comme lui ».

(3 v. 11, p. 9)

C'est que toujours et partout, et en Iran plus peut-être qu'ailleurs, un élément mystique préside à l'établissement d'un état. *Non est potestas nisi a Deo*. Une création nouvelle et surprenante ne l'est que pour les non-initiés, elle est providentielle et s'inscrit dans un plan divin. Comment en pourrait-il être autrement dans le cas de Toyrlbek ?

0 AGUSTOS 1995

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06 MAYIS 1993

Kitābshāsi-yi Īrān, c. VII (1366. H.S.) Tahran, s. 879-880.

AGUSTOS 1995

ANNALI, vol: XVIII (Nuova Serie I)

Roma - 1940, s. 253-258



Gurgani Fahrudin
Sevish

FRANCESCO GABRIELI

Sul poema persiano *Vīs u Rāmīn*

La recente edizione critica di M. Minovi, che sostituisce completamente per bontà di testo e accessibilità la vecchia edizione del Nassau Lees cui dobbiamo la prima conoscenza del *Vīs u Rāmīn*¹, riconduce l'attenzione degli iranisti al poema di Fakhr ad-dīn As'ad Giurgiānī. Son note le ormai tradizionali definizioni storico-letterarie sul suo conto: precursore di Nizāmī, iniziatore del «genere» del poema romanzesco, risuscitatore in neopersiano di un'antica leggenda pehlevica. La trama del poema è stata largamente esposta, con intercalati saggi di versione poetica, dal Graf (*ZDMG*, XXIII, 375-433) ma nè il Graf stesso, nè l'Éthé e il Browne nelle loro letterature hanno nemmeno sfiorato i problemi storici e critici di valutazione dell'opera: autenticità dell'attribuzione, caratterizzazione del probabile originale pehlevico, individualità del rifacitore o autore neopersiano, fisionomia artistica e valore culturale del poema quale è giunto a noi. Alcuni di questi problemi saranno presumibilmente trattati dal benemerito editore Minovi, in quel secondo volume con introduzione e apparato annunciato in preparazione al pubblicarsi del testo, ma sino a tutt'ora (inverno 1940) non venuto in luce. E, anche indipendentemente da ciò, chi scrive queste righe spera potere prossimamente dare qualche contributo a queste ricerche. Una prima semplice lettura del poema, compiuta con la pazienza che richiede un poema cavalleresco persiano di novemila distici, mi pare tuttavia sufficiente a rettificare sin da ora l'unico un po' esteso giudizio che si abbia sul *Vīs u Rāmīn* nel suo insieme, che è quello, del tutto negativo, del nostro Pizzi.

Nella sua *Storia della poesia persiana* (I, 87-90) il Pizzi dedica alcune pagine al nostro poema, che giudica «il più sciocco, inetto e insipido che

¹ *Vīs u Rāmīn: yak dāstān-i 'āshiqāneh-i Irān-i bāstān ki Fakhr ad-dīn Gurgānī dar hudūd-i 446 higrī az pahlavī banāzīm-i fārisī dar āvardak ve īnek ba-dastūr-i Wazārat-i mā'ārif Muḡtabā Mīnawī taḡhīh numūdah ve ba-ṭab' rasūndah ast, gild-i evvel, matn, Tīhrān, Kitābhāneh ve maṭba'ah-i Berūhīm, 1314 (= 1934), p. 525; l'edizione di W. Nassau Lees è compresa nella serie della Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta, 1864-65.*

VĪS U RĀMĪN

Virtues and Vices in Medieval Art (1939) and *The Sculptural Programs of Chartres Cathedral* (1959).

JENNIFER E. JONES

[See also Allegory; Angel/Angelology; Prudentius; Seven Deadly Sins.]

VĪS U RĀMĪN (*Vis and Rāmīn*), a Persian romance in verse by Fakhr al-Dīn Asʿad Gurgānī (*fl.* mid eleventh century). Completed around 1050, the poem consists of 8,905 rhyming distichs in the *hazaj* meter. Almost nothing is known of the poet's life.

The story relates that Queen Shahrō of Māh promises her daughter Vīs to King Mōbad of Merv (Mary). Vīs is brought up with Rāmīn, Mōbad's younger brother. When Vīs grows up, Shahrō breaks her pledge to Mōbad and marries Vīs to her own son, Virō, Vīs's brother. Mōbad learns that the marriage is unconsummated and induces Shahrō to surrender Vīs to him. While on a journey, Rāmīn sees Vīs and falls in love with her. Vīs persuades her old nurse, a sorceress, to prepare a talisman to render Mōbad temporarily impotent, but the talisman is lost and Mōbad remains impotent for life. The lovers elope and later return to Merv, where Vīs rejoins Mōbad. On one occasion Vīs has the nurse take her place in Mōbad's bed so that she can meet Rāmīn. Rāmīn leaves Merv and in another city marries Gul. He tires of her and returns to Merv, where he and Vīs quarrel and are later reconciled. Rāmīn raises an army and prepares to overthrow Mōbad. The king marches against Rāmīn but is gored to death by a boar in Amul. Rāmīn reaches Amul, where he is proclaimed king, and then returns with Vīs to Merv, where he rules in prosperity for eighty-three years.

The romance of Vīs and Rāmīn shows a number of striking similarities of plot and character to that of Tristan and Isolde, although no actual connection has been demonstrated. Vladimir Minorsky has argued that *Vīs u Rāmīn* has a Parthian background and reflects historical events during the reign of that dynasty (*ca.* 237/247 B.C.—A.D. 224/226), but this thesis has been disputed by ʿAbdal-Ḥusayn Zarrīnkūb and other Iranian scholars. *Vīs u Rāmīn* was translated into Georgian, probably during the reign of Queen Tamar (1184–1213).

VISCONTI

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WILLIAM LIPPINCOTT HANAWAY, JR.

[See also Georgian Literature; Iranian Literature.]

VISCHER, PETER (THE ELDER) (*fl.* 1489–1520's), metal sculptor. Son of a bronze founder, Vischer became the leading bronze sculptor in Nuremberg. He was head of a large workshop that included his two sons (after *ca.* 1510) and produced bronze tombs as well as small-scale works for export. His masterwork is the tomb of St. Sebaldus at Nuremberg (commissioned 1507, completed 1514–1519; illustration overleaf), filled with references to humanist subjects and Italianate figures and ornaments.

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LARRY SILVER

[See also Gothic, International Style; Metalworkers.]

VISCONTI. The Visconti family held the lordship of Milan from 1277 to 1447. They were one of the

VĪS AND RĀMĪN: AN ANOMALY AMONG IRANIAN COURTLY ROMANCES

By MINOO S. SOUTHGATE

Composed somewhere between 1040 and 1054, Fakhr al-Dīn As'ad Gurgānī's metrical romance of *Vīs and Rāmīn* celebrates the adulterous love of Queen Vīs and the King's younger brother, Rāmīn.¹ In his introduction the poet informs us that the tale of Vīs and Rāmīn enjoyed great popularity in his time although it was not widely understood in its Pahlavi version or satisfactorily rendered into New Persian.² Based on a lost Pahlavi original, Gurgānī's version takes place in ancient Zoroastrian Iran. Scholars have variously identified its setting as Sasanian (A.D. 226-651)³ and Arsacid Iran (247 B.C.-A.D. 224).⁴ Perhaps our scant knowledge of the Arsacid nobility prevents us from deciding between an Arsacid and a Sasanian setting; moreover, even if the story is of Arsacid origin, its subsequent adaptations and interpretations must have altered its original characteristics.

Whatever its setting, *Vīs and Rāmīn* is distinguished from other Iranian medieval courtly romances by its daring depiction of adultery and its uninhibited treatment of sensual love, a subject it examines more thoroughly than other romances. Like the romantic portions of Firdawsī's *Shāhnāmah*, *Vīs and Rāmīn* deals with defiant young love, but Gurgānī's treatment of the subject is far more daring than Firdawsī's. Unconstrained by didacticism Gurgānī does not justify love by giving it a Platonic turn, as Nizāmī and Jāmī among others, do. This paper examines those elements which make *Vīs and Rāmīn* an anomaly among Iranian courtly romances. We shall see that the romance's hedonistic setting, its sensual and forward women, and its adulterous love distinguish it from contemporary or later romances.

In its glorification of passionate love and sensuality, *Vīs and Rāmīn* contrasts with Firdawsī's conservative romances, which preceded it by less than half a century. Firdawsī's depiction of the emotion of love in the stories of Zāl and Rūdābah and Bīzhan and Manīzhah lacks the depth and detail of Gurgānī's treatment, because these stories are not independent romances but rather episodes in a larger epic whose main concern is war and the heroism of men, not passionate love.⁵ The love of Zāl and Rūdābah leads to their marriage and to the birth of Rustam, whose exploits form a major part of the epic's heroic portion. Similarly, the love of Bīzhan and Manīzhah is a brief episode in the rule of Kaykhusraw, and Bīzhan's rescue only one of the many feats accomplished by Rustam. Indeed, the great bulk of these romances is devoted not to the lovers' emotions or the psychology of love but rather to the enmity between their peoples and the resulting complications which keep the lovers apart.⁶ Young, passionate,

even reckless, Firdawsī's lovers nevertheless abide by moral rules and do not consummate their love until they marry. With the exception of Sūdābah, who falls in love with her stepson,⁷ the men and women in the *Shāhnāmah* are chaste. A moral and didactic poet,⁸ Firdawsī does not glorify unbridled passion as does Gurgānī. The graphic erotic scenes of Gurgānī are entirely lacking in the *Shāhnāmah*. Both poets, however, speak of physical love without any mystical or Platonic trappings, and this feature distinguishes them from later romance writers like Nizāmī (1141-1203) and Jāmī (1414-92).

Similarity between *Vīs and Rāmīn* and the tale of Tristan and Isolde has led to the speculation that the Celtic lovers "may in fact have been modeled on Vīs and Rāmīn, following the tradition of Persian minstrels during the Crusades or earlier".⁹ Whether or not such a connection exists, the Persian romance's psychology of love bears a strong resemblance to that in the Western medieval *amour courtois*, whose most distinct feature is the glorification of adulterous love between an unmarried nobleman and a married noblewoman. We read in Andreas Capellanus' *Art of Courtly Love* (1170) that passionate love cannot exist between husband and wife, "for what is love but an inordinate desire to receive passionately a furtive and hidden embrace? But what embrace between husband and wife can be furtive . . . since they . . . may satisfy all of each others' desires without fear that anybody will object?"¹⁰ Capellanus states further that passionate love thrives on obstacles, for the "easy attainment of love makes it of little value".¹¹ In European courtly romances marriage is the most common obstacle between lovers. While adulterous ladies proliferated in European romances, the adulterous Vīs remained unique among Iranian romance heroines; for Islamic mores in the twelfth century and after grew too stringent to condone promiscuity and adultery even in fictional women. Writing and reading about adultery in the genre of romance required a willing suspension of moral judgment. The fact that European romance writers were somewhat constrained in their treatment of passionate love and adultery is shown by devices such as the love potion in the Tristan story to justify love, and by the unhappy fate suffered by adulterous lovers, regardless of the sympathetic treatment they are given. The familiar renunciation of secular love at the end of most European medieval romances is further evidence of conflict between Christianity and passionate love. Apparently impervious to moral or religious considerations, Gurgānī allows his adulterous lovers to succeed the cuckolded king, marry, multiply, and rule the land for some eighty years, leading a happy and prosperous life.¹²

Unrestrained by didacticism or religion, *Vīs and Rāmīn* reflects a decadent courtly society of noblemen and noblewomen given to a life of pleasure - feasting, hunting, polo, music, love and wine. A tale of love, youth, and sensuality, the romance aptly opens with a spring celebration at the court of the King of Kings, Mūbad. Powerful and beautiful ladies dance, drink wine, play polo, or engage in the game of love against a background of rejuvenated nature teeming with birds

poetry was written at the age of thirteen; his early work was influenced by classical poetry in its form. His characteristic genre is the lyric, at first the romantic lyric, later coming under realist influence. He has been called a poet-painter. He travelled a great deal through Kurdistan, drawing inspiration for his work. Love poetry is also well represented in his lyrics. During World War II and the years which followed he turned more and more to the history of his own people and to social and political questions. He was often victimized, and spent several terms in prison, before the 1958 revolution in Iraq; then he became active in the political and cultural life of the country and in a wider context. Gōrān died in 1962, leaving behind a body of work in several genres from classical *ghazals* and *qaṣidas* (qqv) to theatrical plays, novellas, and translations from French and English. Unfortunately his work has not yet been collected, classified and published. Besides their poetic value, his poems are distinguished by their excellent language. Four volumes of his poetry have so far appeared: *Bahasht a yādegār* (Paradise and a Memory, 1950), *Firmēsk u hunar* (Tears and Art, 1950), *Siruşt u darūn* (Nature and the Soul, 1968), *Lāvīk u payām* (Ballad and Message, 1969). Many of his poems appeared separately, or not at all.

C. J. Edmonds, *Kurds, Turks and Arabs* (London 1957), 172-9 (excerpts from his poetry, with English translations: *Gasht la Hewramān*, A Tour in the Hewraman); FKH xlviī-xlviii.

AK

Görgāni, Fakhroddīn As'ad (11th century), Persian poet. He held office at the court of Toghrol, the founder of the Seljuq dynasty. Not much of his poetry has survived, and most of that is in the anthology of 'Oufi (qv). Görgāni's fame rests on his *maṣnavī* (qv) of 9,000 distichs, *Vis o Rāmīn* (1057). The author claimed to have based it on an old Pahlavi work. Sometimes regarded as highly immoral, the poem is in fact a condemnation of the immorality that was ruining society. Some scholars believe that the poem served as the model for the mediaeval poem of chivalry, *Tristan et*

Iseult; there are many similarities between the two.

Trans.: Henri Massé, *Le roman de Wis et Rāmīn* (Paris 1959).

RHIL 177-9.

JB

Grigor Narekatsi (Gregory of Narek, b 945-9, d 1003-1011), Armenian poet, son of a bishop. He studied theology and philosophy, and lived and died in the Narek monastery on Lake Van. He was famous as a poet, adored by the people, and beatified by the Church after death. He was the first to overcome the dogmatism, formal monotony and dependence of Armenian mediaeval poetry on church ritual. He wrote odes (*gandz*), songs (*tagh*) where the religious element is often superficial only, interpretations of the *Song of Songs* (qv), and prayers. He used monorhyme (perhaps derived from the folk poetry) and drew epithets, metaphors and neologisms from the colloquial language. His *Matean oṣbergut'ean*, or *Aḡor'amatean* (Book of Lamentations, French trans. by I. Kechichian, Paris 1961, English excerpt in LACC), also called *Narek*, a cycle of 95 lyrics, 'talking with God in the depths of his heart', informed by the idea of the divine and the human merging through suffering and spiritual purification, contains many paraphrased passages from the *Psalms* (qv). It is the intimate confession of an involved spiritual life, disturbed by the contradictions of the human lot, and in its profundity and wealth of thought clothed in polished and infinitely varied expression, has the power to move the reader even today. This work, the keystone of reflective poetry in Armenian, is viewed as one of the first harbingers of the Armenian cultural renaissance.

Trans.: A. S. Blackwell, *Armenian Poems* (Boston 1917), *Armenian Legends and Poems* (London 1917).

NACL; THLA; HO 7; LACC.

LM

Grigoris Aghthamartsis (Gregory of Aghthamar, b end 15th century, d after 1569 on Aghthamar Island, Lake Van), Armenian lyric poet and educated church dignitary. About thirty lyrics have been preserved, singing enthusiastic and even ecstatic

دکتر محمد تقی باقری - ویس و رامین

زبان و ادبیات فارسی ، شماره ۱۸ ، ۳۴+۵۵۷ صفحه ، قطع ۱۷×۲۴ ، بیا ۳۵۰ ریال .
داستان ویس و رامین از افسانه‌های عشقی و شورانگیز زبان فارسی است .
اصل این داستان کهن از زبان پهلوی است که پس از سالها به زبان فارسی آمیخته
به واژه‌های پهلوی درآمده و این آمیختگی چندان بوده که فهم آن برای همه
فارسی زبانان میسر نبوده است . فخرالدین اسعدگرگانی به تشویق ابوالفتح
مظفر بن محمد نیشابوری به نظم این داستان پرداخته است . فخرالدین از
شمرای بزرگ و نامی قرن پنجم هجری ، و ظاهراً با طغرل هنگام فتح
اصفهان همراه بوده است . این شاعر بلندنام با حکمت و علم دین آشنا و
از پیروان معتزله بوده است . نظم ویس و رامین در حدود سال ۴۴۶ به پایان
رسیده .

منظومه ویس و رامین تاکنون چهار بار به زبان فارسی چاپ شده است .
بار اول در سال ۱۸۶۵ میلادی به تصحیح کپتان ولیم ناسولیس در هندوستان .
بار دوم در سال ۱۳۱۴ خورشیدی در تهران به اهتمام استاد مجتبی مینوی .
بار سوم به تصحیح دکتر محمد جعفر محجوب ، و بار چهارم (چاپ بنیاد
فرهنگ ایران) به تصحیح دو دانشمند معروف از اتحاد جماهیر شوروی : ماگالی
تودوا رئیس شعبه ادب فارسی و تاجیکی در انستیتوی خاورشناسی گرجستان
و الکساندر گواخاریا کارمند ارشد علمی انستیتوی خاورشناسان گرجستان .
مزیت چاپ اخیر ، گذشته از دقتی که مصححان در ضبط کلیه نسخه بدلها
میدول داشته‌اند ، مقابله متن است با ترجمه گرجی آن که به تصدیق اهل فن بسیار
لازم می‌نموده است .

04 TEMMUZ 1992