

**FAHLAVĪYĀT**(sing.: *fahlavīya*, Arabicized form of Persian *pahlavī*, in its original sense of Parthian), an appellation given especially to the quatrains and by extension to the poetry in general composed in the old dialects of the Pahla/Fahla regions. According to Ebn al-Moqaffa<sup>ʿ</sup> (in *Fehrest*, ed. Tajaddod, p. 15, tr. Dodge, I, p. 24), Fahla consisted of five regions, namely Isfahan, Ray, Hamadān, Māh Nehāvand, and Azerbaijan, that is a region comprising Media (cf. *Ḳ̄vārazmī*, p. 117, where the word is recorded as *bahla*). Ebn *Ḳordādbēh* (p. 57) describes it as a region consisting of Ray, Isfahan, Hamadān, Dīnavar, Nehāvand, Mehrajān-qadaq, Māsabaḍān, and Qazvīn. The use of *fahla* (< Mid. Pers. *pahlaw*) for designating Media goes back to late Arsacid times (cf. Henning, "Mitteliranisch," p. 95). The specimens of *fahlavī* poems quoted in Persian texts are mostly attributed to the above-mentioned regions. Nevertheless, from the linguistic point of view the Fahla area may have extended to Gīlān. Thus *fahlavīyāt* include poems composed in the former dialects of western, central, and northern Persia. There is evidence to suggest that certain popular lyrical quatrains were sung by the Persian Sufis of Baghdad in the 3rd/9th century in the course of their religious musical performances (*samāʿ*). These quatrains could hardly have been in Arabic, but were in all probability in the local Iranian dialects (Šafīʿī Kadkanī, pp. 2335-39). The oldest extant *fahlavī* quatrain, apparently in the dialect of Nehāvand, is attributed to a certain Abū ʿAbbās Nehāvandī (d. 331/942-43; Faṣīḥ, II, p. 54, without the appellation *fahlavī*; see Rīāḥī, pp. 1928 f.). The same quatrain is also recorded by Sorūrī with some minor variant readings (I, p. 300, where the poem is said to have been sung in the mode (*ṭarīq*) of *æarva*, see below). Although this quatrain was composed in the 10th century, it has been Persianized to such an extent that in its present form it hardly possesses the archaic characteristics of a 10th-century *fahlavī* poem.

The *fahlavīyāt* were set to melodies (*lahn*, *malḥūnāt*) called *ōrāmanān* and were sung (Šams-al-Dīn Rāzī, *Moʿjam*, p. 166; *Borhān-e qāṭeʿ*, ed. Moʿīn, s.v. *ōrāman*). This term seems to be connected with the name of the region Avroman (q.v.) in Kurdistan. A variant of it, *ōrāma*, is sometimes used to designate a *fahlavī* poem (ʿAyn-al-Qoṣṭāt, II, pp. 82, n. 7, 168, 176, 374, 411, 444). Another mode used for singing *fahlavī* poetry was called *æarva*, whose origin is not known (Sorūrī, I, pp. 76, 300: *be ṭarīq-e æarva* "in the mode of *æarva*," III, pp. 1104, 1494-95: *dar æarva* "in (the mode of) *æarva*"; see Kīā, 1978, pp. 34-37; cf. *æarvakʿān* "one who sings in the *æarva* mode" juxtaposed with *pahlavīgū* in a Persian verse (*Loḡat-nāma*, s.v.). Another similar term, also of unknown origin, is recorded in Persian dictionaries as *bāhār*, defined as "a mode of singing similar to (the singing of) *pahlavī* and *rāmandī*" (Kīā, 1978, pp.

33, 34, see below). The singing of *fahlavīyāt* could also be accompanied by instrumental music (Neẓāmī, *Haft peykar*, p. 127, v. 7; idem, *Kosrow o Šīrīn*, p. 98, v. 7).

Besides *fahlavī* some other terms were occasionally used to designate dialect poetry. For example, *rāžī/rāzī*, which was originally used for the poems composed in the dialect of Ray, was later so generalized. Thus it was used for the dialect poems of Azerbaijan, and also applied to the *fahlavī* poems of a Shirazi poet. Other terms are *æahrī*, lit. "relating to the city" (Adīb Ṭūsī, 1956, pp. 240-42; Reżāzāda, II, pp. 61-66; Rīāḥī, pp. 1321-25, cf. Pers. *pahlav* "city" in contrast to *daæet o hāmūn* "plain, desert"), and *rāmandī* "relating to Rāmand, a region of Qazvīn," but used to designate a mode of singing dialect poetry; cf. also *rāžīdān* "one who knows dialect poetry" and *æahrīk'ān* "one who sings dialect poetry").

The *fahlavīyāt* as a means of entertainment of the general populace and as sources of spiritual satisfaction for the elites and intellectuals enjoyed great favor and prestige. In Šams-al-Dīn Rāzī's words (*Mo'jam*, p. 166), "they were embellished with uncommon ideas (*ma'ānī-e ġarīb*) and adjusted (*pīrāsta*) to subtle (*moraqq*) and delightful melodies." The contents of the surviving specimens include lyrical and mystical themes as well as colorful and elegant descriptions of nature and satires. It was because of these qualities that they were often quoted by the Persian mystics. Expressions such as *laḥn-e fahlavī*, *golbāng-e fahlavī*, *ġazal-e pahlavī*, *bayt-e pahlavī*, and *sorūd-e fahlavī* signify not only beautiful and elegant but also spiritual and intellectual poetry. Thus Jāmī called Rūmī's *Maṭnawī* "the Koran in the *pahlavī* language" (Reżāzāda, p. 60).

The *fahlavīyāt* have the characteristics of oral literature: the simplicity and vividness of their contents, the anonymity of their poets, and the repetitions and recurrences of more or less the same themes in them. For most of the *fahlavīyāt* the name of the poet is not mentioned, and of those which are attributed to a poet, the attribution must be regarded with caution. In some cases they are attributed to people in general or even to a legendary figure, such as a quatrain ascribed to Adam.

The *fahlavī* poets continued the oral tradition of the Parthian and later minstrels following, in early Islamic times, the principles of Middle Iranian prosody. But with the adoption of the so-called Arabic prosody for Persian poetry, and under the influence of the latter, the *fahlavīyāt* were gradually adapted to the rules of the quantitative meters, among which the most popular was *hazaj* (see 'ARŪŽ), although sometimes with modifications that seemed shocking to strict prosodists such as Šams-al-Dīn Rāzī (*Mo'jam*, pp. 166-67). Such deviations from the standard rules of Persian prosody were felt because the *fahlavīyāt* still partly continued pre-Islamic prosody. These modifications were hardly noticed when the

poems were sung, whereas when reading them the prosodist immediately noticed their metrical defects according to *ʿarūž* (Arabic-based prosody). Although there are linguistic differences between the *fahlavīyāt* of different regions, their common morphological and lexical features resulted in their expansion in a vast area extending from west to center and north Persia, they being recited and sung everywhere regardless of their provenance. Thus one quatrain is quoted as being both by a native of Ray and a native of Azerbaijan, a *gāzal* of Homām Tabrīzī is cited in the *Dīvān* of ʿObayd Zākānī, Ṣāʿen-al-Dīn Torka of Isfahan quoted a *bayt* by Bābā Ṭāher of Hamadān, and even the Shirazi poet Boshāq Aṭʿema (q.v.) has *fahlavīyāt*.

The *fahlavīyāt*, being survivals of the Median dialects, have certain linguistic affinities with Parthian, although in their existing forms they have been much influenced by Persian. It is impossible to discuss here all the common linguistic features of the *fahlavīyāt* and the points in which they differ. The most noticeable linguistic characteristics may, however, be mentioned: they are, the use of the ergative construction for the past transitive verbs, the existence of two forms for the first person singular pronoun, namely *az* "I" (direct form, cf. Parth. *az*) and *ma/mo* "me" (oblique form, cf. Parth./Mid. Pers. *man*), the use of *jī-/cā-* before the inverted determinant in the *ežāfa* (q.v.) construction, the existence of the possessive adjectives *jāman/cāman* "my," *jāta/cāta/ačeta* "your," *jāmān/cāmān* "our," the preverb *hā* (< *fra-*), and the development of *far-* and *xar-* to *har-* (e.g., *harsūdan* "wear out," *harīdan* "buy"). The following is a selective list of words deserving mention: *ahnām* "love," *aj/až/ja* "from, of," *ālāva* "flame," *asr* "tear," *avā/vā* "with," *az* "I," *bar* "door" (Parth. *bar*), *bačēn* "stature," *bīčē* "pain, sorrow" (cf. Mid. Pers. *bēčē*), *dīl/del* "heart," *dīm* "face" (Mid. Pers./Parth. *dēm*), *gēhān* "world," *gyān/gān/yān* "soul," *hanī* "other" (Mid. Pers./Parth. *any*), *herz-* "leave, let" (Parth. *hīrz-*), *kar-* "do" (Parth. *kar-*), *kīj/kīž* "anybody, somebody" (Parth. *kēž*), *kovām* "which" (interrog. adj. Parth./Mid. Pers. *kadām*), *īāv* "agitation," *māng* "moon," *nād/nād* "beloved," *ō* "to, at, in" (Parth./Mid. Pers.), *rīj-* "pour," *rūj/rūž/ru* "day" (Parth. *rōz*), *sā(y)* "shadow," *tahra* "dark" (cf. Av. *taṣra-*), *vad/vad/vay* "bad," *vātan*, *vāž-* "say, tell" (Parth. *wāxtan*, *wāž-*), *vaz-* "move" (Parth. *waz-*), *vāžār* "market" (Parth. *wāžār*), *vel* "rose, beloved," *vīn-* "see," (Mid. Pers./Parth. *wēn-*), *xā* "earth, soil, dust," *xvā* "god," *xvāv* "sleep," *xvāz-* "want, wish" (Parth. *wxāz-*), *yā* "place" (Parth. *wyāg*), *yān* "soul" (cf. *gyān/gān*), *zān-* "know" (Parth. *zān-*), and *žīvanda* "living" (Parth. *žīwandag*).

#### EXTANT SPECIMENS OF FAHLAVĪYĀT

*Ardabīl*. Eleven quatrains attributed to Shaikh Ṣafī-al-Dīn Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334) are recorded by Pīrzāda under the title "Rājī-e Ṭalecēi poems";

out of the four quatrains recorded by Ebn Bazzāz (q.v.), two are attributed to Shaikh Ṣafī-al-Dīn (p. 68 with the appellation *pahlavī*, and p. 135) and two to his associates (p. 191 and p. 220 with the appellation *fahlavī*; see Kasrawī, 1938, pp. 41-51; idem, 1973, pp. 343-52; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1955; Yarshater, 1975; *Dokā*<sup>3</sup>).

*Hamadān*. 1. Attributed to Bābā Ṭāher of Hamadān (5th/11th century, q.v.) are the most popular *fahlavī* quatrains, which have mostly been Persianized due to their popularity. There are, however, specimens quoted in Persian texts or anthologies of poems (*jong/safīna*) that have more or less preserved the characteristics of the original (e.g., two *qeṭʿas* and eight quatrains attributed to him in an anthology of poems, copied in 848/1444-45 and now kept at the Mevlana Müze Kütüphanesi in Konya, MS. 2546; see Mīnovī, pp. 54-58; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1958, pp. 1-11; Bahār). Another *jong* (MS. Tehran, Majles Library, no. 900, copied in the 8th/14th century; see Kīā, 1948, pp. 19-22; Adīb Ṭūsī, loc. cit.) also contains under the title *fahlavīyāt* (without attributing them to any particular poet) four *qeṭʿas* and ten quatrains, some of which are identical with those preserved in the Konya *jong*. Two verses (*bayts*) belonging to one of these *qeṭʿas* are also quoted by ʿAbd-al-Qāder Marāgī (d. 838/1434-35; II, pp. 139-42; see ʿA. Ṣādeqī). Another *bayt* attributed to Bābā Ṭāher is also quoted by Ṣāʿen-al-Dīn Torka (d. 835/1431-32).

2. ʿAyn al-Qożāt Hamadānī (k. 525/1131, q.v.) quoted a few verses apparently in his own dialect (I, pp. 314, 330, where it is called *fahlavī*, *bayt-e pahlavī* in a manuscript variant, p. 370; see also idem, II, pp. 168, 176, 374, 411, 444, where all specimens are called *owrāma*, see below).

3. An anonymous Persian Sufi text contains three quatrains and two *qeṭʿas* each containing three *bayts*, all similar to those attributed to Bābā Ṭāher. They seem to belong to the 5-6th/11-12th century, since, according to Dānecepażūh (1958), the language of the text resembles that of ʿAyn-al-Qożāt's.

4. Two quatrains and a single *bayt* quoted by Moḥammad Rāvandī (pp. 45-46; see Adīb Ṭūsī, 1958, pp. 11-12).

5. A *bayt* by a certain Qāzī of Sajās (a town between Hamadān and Abhar), cited by Taj-al-Dīn Ḥalāwī (p. 90) on the authority of Šams Sajāsī (d. 602/1205-06; see Mostawfī, p. 736), a poet and collector of Zāhīr Fāryābī's *dīvān*. According to Ḥalāwī, this *bayt* was composed before a similar verse by Zāhīr Fāryābī (d. 598/1201-02), which makes Qāzī of Sajās flourish in the 6th/12th century or earlier.

6. A *gaza*l of six lines by Kāfī-al-Dīn Karajī (d. early 7th/13th cent.) cited by Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfī (pp. 746-47); one of the lines is also quoted by ʿAṭā-Malek Jovaynī (p. 47). The poet was apparently from Karaj-e Abū Dolaf, a town between Hamadān and Nehāvand.

7. Some *fahlavī* poems by Raceid al-Dīn Faḏl-Allāh Hamadānī, the famous vizier of the Mongol Il-khans (d. 718/1318), apparently in his native dialect: a hemistich called *zabān-e fahlavī* (1976, I, p. 290), a quatrain with the appellation *bayt-e fahlavī*, and another hemistich titled *zabān-e pahlavī* (1992, I, pp. 57-58).

8. A *qetʿa* consisting of three *bayts* described as *pahlavī* and apparently in the dialect of Hamadān (Mostawfī, pp. 739-40) by ʿEzz al-Dīn Hamadānī, a poet contemporary of Ḥamd-Allāh Mostawfī (d. after 740/1339-40).

9. A quatrain with the appellation *pahlavī* in an undated manuscript of Moḥammad Naḵjavānī's *Ṣeḥāḥ al-fors* (p. 73). The occurrence of the name of Alvand mountain may indicate that it was composed in the dialect of Hamadān. Two other *fahlavī* quatrains with the same meter and *radīf* and somewhat similar content are preserved in a manuscript copied in 980/1572-73 in Trebizond (Afḩār, 1982, p. 823; cf. ʿEmādī, pp. 140-42, who considers the two last quatrains as belonging to Deylamān). All these quatrains are in an old language similar to the specimens of 11th-12th-century *fahlavī* verses of Hamadān.

10. Two quatrains recorded by ʿAbd-al-Qāder Marāḡī (II, 139-42; ʿA. Ṣādeqī) and designated in the dialect of Hamadān (*be zabān-e hamadānī*).

*Isfahan*. Awhādī Marāḡāʿī (ca. 673-738/1274-1338, q.v.) has three *ḡazaks* in the dialect of Isfahan, arranged under the title of "in the language of Isfahan" (*fī lesān al-eṣfahānīya*; pp. 431-32; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1963, pp. 15, 387-400).

*Kāceān*. Taqī-al-Dīn Kāceī quotes a quatrain by ʿEnāyat Kāceānī in his *Kolāṣat-al-aḩār* (MS. Tehran, Majles, no. 334, copied in 1013, p. 226; see Rāvandī, ed. Moḥaddet, p. 62 n.; Rīāḡī, p. 1929). It is not called *fahlavī*, however.

*Kenār-āb*. Two *ḡazaks* by Badr Šīrvānī (789-854/1387-1450) quoted under the title "zabān-e Kenār-āb," probably a region in northern Azerbaijan (pp. 665-66; Dokāʿ, 1986, pp. 76-80).

*Qazvīn*. 1. The oldest specimen in the dialect of Qazvīn is a *bayt* attributed to the people of Qazvīn at the time of the siege of the city by the Muslims in the 7th century (cited in Mostawfī, p. 776).

2. Next is a *bayt* recorded by the 12th-century author ʿAbd-al-Karīm Rāfeʿī, as recited by Esfanduya (Esfandīār) Jālīzbānī (Rāfeʿī, II, p. 286; Rīāḡī, p. 1930).

3. A *bayt* by Jamāl-al-Dīn of Rostuq al-Qoṭn (a quarter of the city of Qazvīn), who was a contemporary of the Il-khan Abaqa (r. 663-80/1265-82), cited in Mostawfī (pp. 47, 725).

4. A quatrain by Abu'l-Mājed (or Abu'l-Majīd) of Rāyagān (a village near Qazvīn), also a contemporary of Abaqā, cited by Mostawfī (p. 720).  
5. Another poet of the same period named Amīr Kā (or Kākā) of Kīrāraj (a village in the district of Rāmand) was said to have composed poetry in the dialect of Qazvīn (Mostawfī, p. 720), but none of his poems has survived.

6. Two single *fahlavī bayts* in the dialect of Qazvīn are quoted in *Nozhat al-qolūb* (comp. 740/1339-40; ed. Le Strange, p. 195, ed. M. Malek-al-Kottāb, Bombay, 1311/1893, p. 204; for the other *bayt* in the Bombay edition, p. 87, see also Dānecepažūh, 1979, p. 301).

7. A single *fahlavī bayt* by 'Obayd Zākānī (d. 771/1368-69) is in his published collected works (p. 232). Besides, seven quatrains under the title of *dar bahlavīyāt* (on the *Pahlavīs*) are preserved in some old manuscripts of his *dīvān* (information from the late M.-J. Maḥjūb, who was preparing a new edition of his collected works).

8. Abd-al-Qāder Marāgī mentions a quatrain under the general title of *fahlavīyāt* and a single *bayt* with the appellation *zabān-e qazāvena* "the language of the Qazvinis" (II, p. 142; 'A. Šādeqī, pp. 56, 63).

9. A single line by an anonymous Qazvīnī poet quoted by the 14th-century author Tāj-al-Dīn Ḥalāwī (p. 11). From the 16th-century Qazvīnī poet Ḥāfez Šabūnī a few *bayts* are preserved (Šādeqī Ketābdār, pp. 179-80, *Haft eqḷīm* III, p. 187; 'A. Šādeqī, p. 63).

10. A quatrain by another 16th-century Qazvīnī poet, cited by Šādeqī Ketābdār (pp. 266-67).

*Ray.* 1. The oldest *fahlavī* specimens from Ray are attributed to Bondār (or Pendār) Rāzī, who flourished in the 10th century and early years of the 11th century: a single line ('Ayn al-Qożāt, II, p. 82), three single lines and a quatrain (Šams-al-Dīn Rāzī, *Mo'jam*, pp. 119, 167; Kīā, 1945, p. 14); a *qeṭ'a* consisting of three *bayts*, a quatrain, and three *bayts* from his poem called *Čamūce-nāma* (Mostawfī, pp. 723-24), a *qaṣīda* (Jājarmī, II, pp. 487-94; Kīā, loc. cit.); three *bayts* of a *gāzal*, two quatrains and a *qeṭ'a* consisting of two *bayts* (*Haft eqḷīm* III, pp. 21-23; *Majma' al-foṣaḥā*' I, p. 439; Kīā, loc. cit.); a *qeṭ'a* of four *bayts* quoted by 'Abd-al-Qāder Marāgī (II, p. 142; 'A. Šādeqī, pp. 56, 61); a hemistich recorded by Tāj-al-Dīn Ḥalāwī (p. 89).

2. A quatrain attributed to Adam and quoted by Najm-al-Dīn Dāya Rāzī (d. 654/1256, p. 95) seems to belong to the dialect of Ray. The same quatrain, however, is found in an anthology of poems copied in 1125/1713, where it is attributed to Mehān Kaṣfī of Namīn (in Ardabīl), who lived in the 8th/14th century. It is also recorded in another anthology of poems found in Ṭalece (see Rīāḥī, p. 1930 with references).

3. A *bayt* titled *Rāzī* is quoted by ‘Obayd Zākānī (p. 236), but in some manuscripts it is attributed to the people of Hamadān.

4. The poems of Mollā Seḥrī Ṭehrānī, who lived in the 17th century (Naṣrābādī, pp. 409-10; see Kīā, 1945, pp. 20-21) belong to the Ray region.

*Tabrīz*. 1. Four quatrains titled *fahlavīyāt* are attributed to K̲vāja Moḥammad Kojjānī (d. 677/1278-79; Kojjān or Korojān is a village near Tabrīz) by ‘Abd-al-Qāder Marāgī (II, pp. 140-41; ‘A. Ṣādeqī, pp. 56, 59-61).

Attributed to Homām Tabrīzī (d. 714/1314-15) is a macaronic *ḡazal* apparently in the dialect of Tabrīz (*Dīvān*, pp. 62-63; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1955, pp. 460 ff.). The same *ḡazal* with some minor variant readings is also quoted under the name of Homām in the *dīvān* of ‘Obayd Zākānī (p. 167). Homām has also a macaronic verse in a Persian *ḡazal*, in which he quoted a hemistich probably from another poet or from the popular oral tradition. It is also quoted by ‘Obayd (p. 184).

2. A *ḡazal* and fourteen quatrains under the title of *fahlavīyāt* by Maḡrebī (d. 809/1406-7; *Dīvān*, pp. 255-63; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1956).

3. Two single *fahlavī bayts* by the 14th-century poet Šaraf-al-Dīn Rāmī Tabrīzī (p. 19).

4. A quatrain from Māmā ‘Eṣmat (9th/15th century) titled *rāzī* (or *æahrī* according to the popular usage, see below) is cited by Ebn Karbalā’ī (II, p. 50; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1956, pp. 240-43).

5. Two *qeṭ‘as* quoted by ‘Abd-al-Qāder Marāgī in the dialect of Tabrīz (d. 838/1434-35; II, p. 142), where the editor reads Tarmaḡī instead of Tabrīzī (‘A. Ṣādeqī, pp. 57, 63).

*Ṭāleæ*. 1. A collection of quatrains is attributed to Sayyed Šaraf-al-Dīn known as Šarafæāh of Dūlā’ or Dūlāb (i.e., Ṭāleæ), who probably lived in the 13th century (1979, intro.; 1982, pp. 7-33).

2. The dialect poems of Qāsem-e Anwār (d. 837/1433-34) may belong to the *fahlavī* genre (*Kollīyāt*, pp. 342-44, 347; Browne, *Lit. Hist. Persia* III, pp. 473-87; Dawlatābādī, pp. 553-56).

*Zanjān*. 1. A *qeṭ‘a* consisting of nine *bayts* by a certain 13th-century poet called Ūtāyač (var. Oyānaḡ, etc.), probably in his own dialect (Mostawfī, pp. 721-22; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1955a, pp. 255-59, who reads the name as Īnānj).

2. Four *bayts* with the appellation *pahlavī* by Jūlāha Abharī, who lived in the 13th century (Mostawfī, pp. 726-27; Adīb Ṭūsī, 1955a, pp. 253-55).

*Fahlavī specimens not attributed to a particular region or date*. 1. A quatrain cited by Naṣīr-al-Dīn Ṭūsī (597-672/1201-74; p. 51).

2. Three quatrains written on the margin of the manuscript of *Montakab-e rawnaq al-majāles* (fols. 100-101); they may date back to the 13th

century (Afceār, 1983; see 'Emādī, pp. 142-46, who attributed them to the Deylamān region).

3. A *bayt* with the appellation *pahlavī* quoted by Mostawfī (p. 291).

4. A *bayt* in a manuscript of Asadī's *Loġat-e fors* (copied in 1332; ed. Horn, p. 34).

5. Two quatrains designated as *fahlavīyāt*, quoted by Boshāq Aṭ'ema (d. 827/1423 or 830/1427; *Dīvān*, p. 113).

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