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"To dance like Solomon: imitation and martyrdom in a Qajar *ghazal*"

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ABSTRACT

Iran's neoclassical Literary Return movement (*Bāzgasht-i adabī*) that reached its climax in the first half of the nineteenth century has, to date, been studied almost exclusively in relation to the Qajar royal court and the elite male poets who received imperial patronage. This article examines how one of the founding mothers of the violently persecuted and socially marginalized Babi-Baha'i religious community succeeded in producing a bold, emotionally charged response to a celebrated *ghazal* by one of the towering figures of the Persian poetic canon, Mawlana Jalal al-Din Rumi. Considering herself a worthy imitator and drawing on a transhistorical chain of responses to Rumi spanning the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, this Babi-Baha'i poet refused to be excluded from the dominant literary currents of her day. Consequently, study of this unknown poet and those like her who, for far too long have been erased from modern Iran's literary history, demands of us a broader definition of the community of Qajar poets, one that transcends social, doctrinal, and gendered lines.

KEYWORDS

Poetic imitation; Rumi; Babi; Baha'i; Qajar

Introduction

The focus of this essay is a *ghazal* by Maryam Bushru'i (1815–1902), a sister of Mulla Husayn Bushru'i (1813–1849), the first disciple of the nineteenth-century messianic figure, Sayyid 'Ali-Muhammad Shirazi the Bab (1819–1850). A fine example of a Qajar response poem (*javāb*), Maryam's *ghazal* is modeled on two *ghazal*s by Rumi including his celebrated love lyric that opens, *Binmāy rukh ki bāgh u gulistān-am ārizū-st* ("Show your face, for it is the orchard and rose-garden that I desire!"). In her ecstatic poem, Maryam expresses her longing for the Bab and memorializes the brutal martyrdom in Tehran in August 1852 of Hajji Sulayman Khan Tabrizi, a prominent Babi with ties to the Qajar court. Prior to execution and in line with the victim's own instructions, the torturers cut incisions into Sulayman's flesh into which they inserted lighted candles. Enduring his fate with astonishing fortitude, Sulayman danced through the streets of Tehran's bazaar reciting poetry by Rumi. Maryam concludes her *ghazal* with the hope

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that she too will be martyred for her faith and that, at the point execution, she will dance just like Sulayman. Maryam Bushru'i was for several years a close associate of the Bab's most significant female follower, the scholar-poet, Tahira Qurrat al-'Ayn (1814-1852). Tahira's own imitations of Rumi may have inspired her sister in faith to voice her anguish at Sulayman's martyrdom through the medium of *istiqbāl* (poetic imitation). In this essay, the connection of the eminent British Persianist, Edward Granville Browne, to Maryam's *ghazal* will be discussed, Maryam's role in early Babi and Baha'i history mapped, the gory details of Sulayman's carnivalesque martyrdom presented, and Maryam's poem read with and against Rumi's two model poems and a chain of later imitative poems that may have influenced the Babi poet.

Browne's fascination with Tahira and his quest to find examples of her poetry in Iran

During his sojourn in Iran in 1887-88, E. G. Browne, who had already developed an intense curiosity in Babi history and texts,[1] searched anxiously for poems penned by Tahira Qurrat al-'Ayn (1814-1852); a quest that was met, in his words, "with a very limited amount of success." Browne himself conjectures that one reason why he faced difficultly in locating examples of Tahira's poetry was that those among her enemies who developed an involuntary admiration for poems might well "seek to justify their right to admire them by attributing them to some other writer."[2] Browne was told by a learned Muslim acquaintance in Iran that many of Tahira's poems enjoyed wide popularity, though the people, "were for the most part unaware of their authorship," and that open allusions to the Bab in these poems had been, "cut out or altered, so that no one could tell the source from whence they came."[3]

Though they were aware that some of Tahira's poems were extant, the Baha'is in Shiraz told Browne they had no copies, and they advised him to look for her poetry in Qazvin (her native town), in Hamadan (where she had preached), in Tehran (where she had been martyred), and also in Khurasan and Mazandaran.[4] However, it was ultimately at Yazd that Browne had success in his quest: he was shown two *ghazal*s attributed to Tahira.[5] Several of Browne's friends told him that one of these poems (a *ghazal* that opens with the Arabic phrase *Jadhabātu shawqi-ka* ["the thralls of your yearning"]) was undoubtedly the work of the Bab's most illustrious female disciple.[6] During his sojourn in Kirman, Browne heard this poem sung by a Babi minstrel.[7]

In May 1888, Browne made the acquaintance in Yazd of the Baha'i poet 'Andalib (1853-1919) with whom he conversed at length about the Baha'i religion and who shared with Browne some of his own poems.[8] 'Andalib also wrote down for Browne a *ghazal* commonly (though, most likely, erroneously) attributed to Qurrat al-'Ayn.[9] It was also in Yazd that Browne met another Baha'i, Mirza 'Ali-Akbar Khan Nuri, who was chief of the town's telegraph office and who appears as *Sarhang* ("the colonel") in Browne's travelogue.[10] During one of their meetings, *Sarhang* showed Browne some Babi poems, including a *ghazal* penned by Jinab-i Maryam ("Her Excellency Maryam"), a sister of Mulla Husayn Bushru'i, who, Browne was informed, was still living.[11] It is this Maryam and her one extant *ghazal* that form the focus of this article.[12] [Maryam Bushru'i should not be confused with another Babi-Baha'i poet, Maryam Nuri (c. 1826-1868), the daughter of Baha'ullah's paternal aunt, wife of his

half-brother, and full sister of his second wife.[13] Maryam Nuri most likely became a Babi in 1844, and it was at Maryam's home in Tehran that Baha'ullah recuperated for a full month after his release from the Siyah Chal dungeon in the winter of 1852-53.[14] Baha'ullah gave Maryam the title Varaqat al-Hamrā' ("the crimson leaf"),[15] declared her a martyr in his path, and wrote a joint *ziyāratnāma* (visitation prayer) in her and Tahira's memory.[16]]

After leaving Yazd, Browne journeyed to Kirman, where he stayed almost two and a half months. It was in Kirman that Browne received a letter from Mirza 'Ali-Akbar Khan Nuri delivered to him by the town's postmaster, Mirza 'Ali-Riza Khan Mahallati I'tizad al-Vuzara,[17] himself a recent Baha'i convert. Enclosed in the letter were copies of two poems requested by Browne: Tahira's *Jadhabātu shawqi-ka* and the *ghazal* by Jinab-i Maryam that Browne had been shown in Yazd.[18] The original transcription of these poems has survived as a single loose folio in Browne's papers kept at Cambridge University Library.[19] Browne showed both poems to I'tizad al-Vuzara who proceeded to share with his English acquaintance the account of Tahira's execution he had heard directly from Mahmud Khan, the mayor of Tehran in whose residence Tahira was detained from early 1850 until her execution in the summer of 1852.[20] In a Baha'i gathering attended by Browne in Kirman, poems by Tahira, Sulayman Khan, Nabil Zarandi, and a woman called Rawha (perhaps Rawhani Bushru'i; see below) were handed round and recited.[21] It is possible that Maryam's poem circulated in a similar fashion among Baha'is at Yazd, Kirman, and elsewhere.

In July 1888 while still in Kirman, Browne was introduced to a somewhat eccentric relative of the postmaster, a woman known as "Mulla" on account of her learning. Mulla, who Browne was told owned copies of Tahira's poems, claimed to be the "manifestation" (*mazhar*) of Qurrat al-'Ayn.[22] I'tizad al-Vuzara was related by marriage to another Baha'i woman, Shahrbanu Khanum (d. 1888), whose extant poems display a deep affinity with Hafiz.[23] Born into a wealthy family in Kirman and taught to read and write as a child, Shahrbanu was converted in the late 1870s to the Baha'i Faith along with her husband and I'tizad al-Vuzara by a veteran Babi, Sayyid Javad Karbala'i, who had become a devoted follower of Baha'ullah.[24] Around 1880, Shahrbanu moved with her husband to Tehran where she devoted herself to cooking for Baha'i prisoners and washing their clothes.[25] Circa 1885, the newly widowed Shahrbanu made the pilgrimage to Palestine to visit Baha'ullah, who had been exiled to 'Akka by the Ottoman authorities in the late 1860s. It was during this visit that Baha'ullah gave Shahrbanu the penname Hamama ("dove").[26] In a *ghazal* in which she celebrates the advent of Baha'ullah, Hamama lauds the sacrifices of innumerable Babi and Baha'i martyrs:[27]

چه سرها از عزیزان گشت پامال رخ کویش به میدان فدای او چه جانها خوار و زار آمد

How many are the heads of the mighty ones that have been trampled in his lane!
How many are the souls rendered debased and distraught in his arena of sacrifice!

Another Baha'i woman from Kirman province who wrote poetry was Bibi Fatima who used the penname Darvisha ("female dervish"). Darvisha, a talented extemporiser of verse, was the daughter of Aqa Muhammad Tahir of Rafsanjan. Darvisha's second husband was Muhammad-Karim Khan, the mayor of Rafsanjan,[28] and her daughter from her first marriage, Rukhsara, married 'Abd al-Hamid Mirza Nasir al-Dawla, a

paternal cousin of Nasir al-Din Shah who was governor of Kirman when Browne visited the town.[29] In her poetry, Darvisha expresses her longing to be martyred for Baha'ullah.[30]

Jinab-i Maryam: loyal companion of Tahira Qurrat al-'Ayn, and sister of the Bab's first follower

Jinab-i Maryam (1815-1902),[31] better known by her family moniker, Bibi Kuchak, and her Babi-Baha'i title, Varaqat al-Firdaws ("leaf of paradise"),[32] was a sister of Mulla Husayn Bushru'i (1813-1849). Mulla Husayn, a Shaykhi *'ālim*, was the first of the initial cohort of eighteen to follow the Bab who are known collectively as the *Hurūf-i hayy* ("Letters of the Living"). As the first Babi, Mulla Husayn was named *Awwalu man āmana* ("the first to believe") and *Bāb al-Bāb* ("gate to the Gate").[33] From 1846, Mulla Husayn served as the provincial Babi leader in Khurasan and in 1848-49, he was the organizer of Babi resistance in Mazandaran.[34] Maryam, who played an important role in early Babi and Baha'i history, has, for far too long, been overshadowed and eclipsed in Babi-Baha'i chronicles by her more famous relatives and coreligionists, both male and female.[35]

Around 1831, Maryam moved with her newly widowed mother and her brothers from their hometown of Bushruya in southern Khurasan westwards, eventually joining the circle of the Shaykhi leader, Sayyid Kazim Rashti (1793-1843), at Karbala.[36] It was in Karbala in 1844 that Maryam married a fellow Shaykhi-cum-Babi, Shaykh Abu Turab Ishtihardi, who was to become a trusted associate of Baha'ullah.[37] Shaykh Abu Turab's eyewitness account shaped Nabil Zarandi's telling of the events of the pivotal Conference of Badasht (see below).[38] By 1850, Maryam was living apart from her husband who had returned to his hometown.[39] In 1860, Shaykh Abu Turab was detained in Ishtihard for his proselytizing activities and transferred to Tehran where he was imprisoned until he died from ill health in 1862 while still incarcerated.[40]

Maryam was one of the first Shaykhi women to follow the Bab.[41] An assiduous attendee of the classes taught by Qurrat al-'Ayn in the months after Sayyid Kazim's passing,[42] it is unsurprising that Maryam followed her tutor's lead in becoming a Babi. Maryam was a member of that small band of courageous Babi women that formed in Karbala around the radical and altogether unconventional Qurrat al-'Ayn, the only woman among the *Hurūf-i hayy*.[43] One of Qurrat al-'Ayn's "quiet sisters,"[44] Maryam was the mainstay of that core group of Tahira's female associates who, in Amanat's assessment, "achieved a nascent feminist consciousness" defined by their leader's personality and inspired by her words and actions.[45] Speaking in 1847, Shaykh Abu Turab attributed his wife's outstanding talent in expounding Qur'anic verses and explicating Islamic doctrine to her prolonged, intimate association with Tahira.[46] In Karbala and later in Baghdad and then in Kirmanshah, Hamadan, and Qazvin, Maryam worked closely alongside Tahira's fiercest female supporters: Khurshid Baygum (Shams al-Zuhā) a cousin of the leading *mujtahid* of Isfahan;[47] and Marziya Baraghani, Tahira's full sister.[48] Another key member of Tahira's inner circle was Maryam's mother, Bibi Buzurg (or Jinab-i Bibi), a woman of considerable piety and learning who too wrote poetry.[49] As was the case with many of the earliest Babis, the Bushru'i siblings and their mother had received many years of formal instruction in Shaykhism in Iraq prior to their conversion.[50]

Expelled from Iraq in the spring of 1847, Tahira and her party journeyed to Kirmanshah and then on to Hamadan. In both towns, Tahira proclaimed the Bab's message

publicly to large numbers and converted several elite women.[51] Having parted from Tahira in Qazvin in late 1847, Maryam arrived in Tehran where she met Mirza Husayn-'Ali Nuri Baha'ullah.[52] At the request of Mulla Husayn, Maryam and Bibi Buzurg then traveled on to Mashhad, a major center of the Babi movement at that time.[53] Emulating Tahira's daring and harnessing her own innate audacity, Maryam converted many women to the religion of the Bab in her home province.[54]

It is possible that Maryam left Mashhad briefly to attend the momentous gathering of Babis that was convened on the instructions of the Bab from late June to early July 1848 at Badasht, a hamlet outside of Shahrud.[55] It was at Badasht that Tahira famously removed her face veil in the almost exclusively male gathering; a revolutionary act that constituted a "severance of all unique ties with the Shi'ite past."[56] The Bab having declared himself to be the Hidden Imam in person and an independent messenger from God, the stage was set at Badasht for the abrogation of the Islamic legal code and its supersession by a new legal system; a proclamation in which Tahira played a dominant role.[57] Following the Bab's assumption of the title of Qā'im (that is, the Twelfth Imam) in 1848, the title of *bāb* was transferred to Mulla Husayn,[58] hence Maryam came to be called *Ukht al-Bāb* ("sister of the gate"). In the turmoil that ensued after the conference, Baha'ullah arranged for Tahira to escape to the relative safety of his ancestral land of Nur, and entrusted Shaykh Abu Turab with her protection.[59] It is not clear whether Maryam accompanied her husband on this delicate mission, or whether instead she returned to Mashhad to be with her mother.

Soon after Badasht came the military siege of a makeshift fort constructed by approximately 500 Babis around the shrine of Shaykh Tabarsi outside of Babul. Clashing with government troops from October 1848 – May 1849, the Babi combatants (many of whom were clerics and theological students) fought an ultimately tragic defensive *jihād*.[60] The siege culminated in the massacre of the majority of the Babis and the capture and subsequent torture and gruesome execution of almost all who had survived the carnage.[61] Shaykh Tabarsi and its bloody aftermath represented a major turning-point for the Babi movement, not least because half of the *Hurūf-i hayy* had fallen,[62] among them the fighters' charismatic leader, Mulla Husayn (killed during a sortie on 2 February 1849), and his younger brother, Mirza Muhammad-Hasan,[63] who had accompanied his sister, mother, and Tahira from Karbala to Baghdad and on to Qazvin.[64]

Before the siege of Shaykh Tabarsi and even more so thereafter, Mulla Husayn was identified by the Babis as the return of Imam Husayn, the Prophet Muhammad's grandson and the third imam, who was slain by the Umayyads at Karbala in October 680.[65] Imam Husayn's martyrdom served as a paradigm for the actions of the Bushru'i brothers and their comrades who were schooled in Shaykhi esotericism and steeped in Shi'i martyrial traditions.[66] In Browne's estimation, the whole tragedy of Karbala was re-enacted at Shaykh Tabarsi.[67] As Smith has argued, the Babis at Shaykh Tabarsi may have seen their actions as a, "spiritual pronunciamento, a call to their fellow countrymen to accept the Bab and to establish the new theocratic order."[68] As they fought and died as actors in this new Karbala, the Babi martyrs provided their companions and successors with "new models of devotion, and of defiant resistance to the ungodly."[69] Viewed as a resurrection of the Karbala story, Mottahedeh argues, "every moment of the Babi present is shot through with fragments of Messianic time."[70]

In the years that followed, Bibi Buzurg composed eloquent poems in which she rejoiced in the martyrdom of her fallen sons, and recounted their afflictions.[71] Together

with Maryam, Bibi Buzurg sought to memorialize the martyrs of Shaykh Tabarsi further through commissioning a certain Sayyid Husayn Zavara'i (Mahjūr) to write a history of the bloody heroism of Mulla Husayn and his companions.[72] In the preamble to this work (entitled *Vaqayi'-i mimiya* or *Tarikh-i mimiya* and completed in 1861),[73] Mahjur credits mother and daughter with providing the impetus for its composition.[74]

Following the martyrdom of Mulla Husayn, Maryam and Bibi Buzurg moved back to Bushruya, where they had many supporters and detractors.[75] The two women devoted some of their attention to nearby Zirk, a village whose entire population had been converted to the Babi religion.[76] When Bibi Buzurg passed away in January 1853,[77] Maryam continued their work to support Bushruya's Babi widows who had lost their menfolk at Shaykh Tabarsi or in the Babi pogroms of the 1850s.[78] At some point between 1863 and 1865, the eminent Baha'i chronicler, Nabil Zarandi (1831-1892), visited Bushruya and it may have been as a result of his visit that Maryam recognized Baha'ullah as the rightful successor to the Bab.[79] By the 1870s, most of the region's Babis had become Baha'is and Maryam soon emerged as one of the leading Baha'is not only of Bushruya and its dependent villages, but of all Khurasan. Maryam ran literacy and religious study classes for Baha'i women,[80] and hosted devotions in her ancestral home;[81] contexts in which she may have shared her poetry with her coreligionists.[82] Many prominent Baha'is visited Bushruya and enjoyed Maryam's hospitality, including Ibn-i Asdaq (d. 1928),[83] the first Hand of the Cause (*Ayādī-yi amrullāh*) whom Baha'ullah designated a living martyr by giving him the title *Shahīd ibn-i shahīd* ("martyr son of martyr"). Ibn-i Asdaq was the son of Mulla Sadiq Muqaddas Khurasani (d. 1874) who had become a Babi in Isfahan through Mulla Husayn in the summer of 1844, and who was one of a handful of Shaykh Tabarsi veterans.[84] Ibn-i Asdaq visited Bushruya and nearby Zirk on several occasions in the 1880s and 1890s to support the efforts of Maryam.[85] Circa 1882, Ustad 'Ali-Akbar Banna Yazdi (a master builder-architect who supervised the construction of the Baha'i temple at 'Ishqabad) and Hajji Mirza Haydar-'Ali (a staunch Baha'i polemicist) spent more than a week as Maryam's guests.[86] During their stay, Maryam recounted her memories of her close companionship with Tahira. Ustad 'Ali-Akbar says Maryam, "was herself the history of this blessed Cause [i.e. of the Babi and Baha'i religions]" (*īshān khud-i tārīkh-i īn amr-i mubārak būdand*).[87] In addition to these face-to-face encounters, Maryam and her sister, Khadija (Varaqat al-Rizvān ["leaf of paradise"]), kept up a lively correspondence with Baha'is across Iran and beyond.[88]

Maryam was the lynchpin of a remarkable circle of learned Baha'i women in Khurasan,[89] some of whom came from local clerical families and had been converted by Maryam and her mother. A number of these Baha'i women expressed their faith through poetry,[90] and they converted many other women (and men).[91] In her efforts to develop the capacity of the local Babi-Baha'i community, Maryam mentored several young women and girls.[92] The most accomplished of Maryam's tutees was Fatima Baygum (1838-1916) whom Maryam taught to read and write despite strong opposition from Fatima's Babi father.[93] As an adult, Fatima defended the Baha'i Faith by writing apologetic tracts and corresponding with local *'ulama*, whom she intimidated with her eloquence and challenged to debate with her in public.[94] Baha'ullah praised Fatima's efforts and named her Rawhani ("spiritual"),[95] a title she used as her penname.[96] During his visit to central Khurasan in 1882, Nasir al-Din Shah urged the governor of

Tabas (who was favorably disposed to the Baha'is) to have Rawhani killed for her faith, just as he had killed Tahira.[97]

Maryam sent letters interlaced with poetry to Baha'ullah,[98] and received *alvāh* (sing. *lawh*; ["scriptural addresses"]) from him in return,[99] some of which were embedded in his correspondence with Ibn-i Asdaq.[100] In one of these tablets, Baha'ullah gives blessings for the Bushru'i ancestral home.[101] In another, he encourages Maryam to guide other women to the Baha'i religion.[102] And in yet another, Baha'ullah emphasizes the equal station of his female and male followers.[103] In an Arabic tablet sent from 'Akka circa 1870, Baha'ullah praises her martyred brothers and asks Maryam not to be sorrowful.[104] In addition to these personal addresses, Baha'ullah penned in Maryam's honor a long *ziyāratnāma* for Mulla Husayn in which he catalogues the achievements and the tribulations of the Bab's first follower, and identifies both himself and Maryam's brother with Imam Husayn.[105] In a letter written in a mixture of Arabic and Persian, Maryam tells Baha'ullah of her trials and expresses her longing to visit him in Palestine.[106]

In her old age, Maryam received personal letters (*makātīb*) from 'Abdu'l-Baha, Baha'ullah's eldest son and leader of the Baha'i community from 1892 to 1921. In one of these letters, 'Abdu'l-Baha addresses Maryam as *varaqa-yi mubāraka-yi firdaws-i ilāhī* ("the blessed leaf of the divine paradise"), reassures her that she is fondly remembered in his presence, tells her that Baha'ullah showered her with favor, and requests she convey his greetings to all the Baha'i women in her locality.[107] In this letter sent just over six months after the passing of Baha'ullah in May 1892, 'Abdu'l-Baha assures Maryam that she is present with him though physically distant, tells her not to grieve, and asks why she is sorrowful when she is showered with God's grace.[108]

By the 1890s, the Baha'i community of Bushruya numbered some four to five hundred women, men, and children (around ten per cent of the total population).[109] Despite periods of relative calm when Bushruya was governed by officials well-disposed to the town's Baha'is, opposition from the *'ulama* was unrelenting. They denounced Maryam and Rawhani in their sermons and encouraged their congregants to curse the women in the streets.[110] The Baha'is were regular targets of physical abuse, and their property was all too often appropriated or damaged.[111] .In 1902, the Bushru'i family home, where Maryam hosted regular women-only and mixed-sex gatherings,[112] was looted and partially destroyed by a frenzied mob.[113] To escape serious physical harm, Maryam and her family were forced to take shelter in nearby ruins where they were provided for in secret by local Baha'is.[114] In October 1902, Maryam, then aged almost 90, left Bushruya for 'Ishqabad in neighboring Russian Turkistan, a haven for persecuted Iranian Baha'is at the time and home to a thriving Baha'i population numbering approximately 1,000 individuals.[115] Maryam arrived in the town at the end of October and died just five days later.[116]

Writing to the Baha'is of 'Ishqabad shortly after Maryam's passing, 'Abdu'l-Baha notes how she was attracted to the Bab from the, "very dawn of the Morn of Guidance" (*badv-i tulū'-i subh-i hudā*). 'Abdu'l-Baha says that, as the sister of Mulla Husayn, Maryam was always the target of enemies and did not have a single moment of peace from their torment, yet she remained steadfast in her belief in the Bab and was much devoted to Baha'ullah. 'Abdu'l-Baha tells his addressees that it was destined that Maryam would pass away in the "City of Love," and that this is a special blessing for their town, the dust of which will forever be perfumed by her fragrant and pure remains. 'Abdu'l-

Baha then calls on the Baha'is of 'Ishqabad to construct a fitting tomb for that "pristine light" (*nūr-i pāk*).[117]

Shortly before Maryam arrived in Turkistan, Ibn-i Asdaq's elderly mother, Jinab-i Bibi, traveled from Mashhad via 'Ishqabad to Palestine on pilgrimage. During her return journey, Jinab-i Bibi passed away and her body was brought to 'Ishqabad for burial.[118] Ibn-i Asdaq, whose first wife was Maryam's sororal niece,[119] sought to construct a single funerary superstructure for his mother and Maryam but on 'Abdu'l-Baha's instruction,[120] two separate, modest monuments were erected over their graves in the town's Baha'i cemetery.[121]

Hajji Sulayman Khan Tabrizi: a devout follower of the Bab with Qajar court connections

Before turning to Maryam's *ghazal* it is apt that we introduce Hajji Sulayman Khan Tabrizi (d. 1852), the prominent Babi whose bloody martyrdom Maryam memorialized in verse. Sulayman Khan was the son of Yahya Khan, a nobleman of Tabriz and commander of the royal stewards of the Crown Prince, 'Abbas Mirza (d. 1833), who subsequently served in a similar capacity under Muhammad Shah (r. 1834-1848).[122] From an early age, Sulayman Khan showed no interest in government or court position,[123] preferring to journey to Karbala where he frequented Sayyid Kazim Rashti's lectures.[124] Though he may have met the Bab in Mecca while on Hajj in 1844,[125] Sulayman Khan is thought to have become a Babi later, possibly during a second journey to Iraq. Back in Tabriz, Sulayman Khan openly praised the Bab in verse and proclaimed the new religion. He was arrested and was to be taken to Tehran when his mother, Hajjiya Khanum, who was much respected by the local authorities, appealed to the governor and demanded her son be allowed to stay in Tabriz.[126] After the Bab was transferred to the remote fortress at Chihriq in Azerbaijan in the spring of 1848, Sulayman Khan managed to disguise himself and enter the prison to enjoy an audience with the Bab.[127] In early 1849, Sulayman Khan ventured to join his fellow Babis in their struggle at Shaykh Tabarsi but by the time he reached Tehran, the siege was over.[128]

Sulayman Khan remained in Tehran but refused government position and associated continually with other leading Babis, seeking out the few that had survived Shaykh Tabarsi. In 1850, in collaboration with Baha'ullah, Sulayman Khan tried to reverse the death sentence imposed on the Bab. When Sulayman Khan learned that the Bab was due to be executed, Baha'ullah urged him to hurry to his hometown. Sulayman Khan arrived in Tabriz on 10th July 1850, the day after the Bab was martyred. Learning that the Bab's remains had been deposited beside the moat beyond the city walls where they were under armed guard,[129] Sulayman Khan approached the city's mayor, Hajji Mirza Mihdi Baghmisha'i, for help.[130] The mayor, a Sufi who was an old friend of Sulayman Khan, enlisted the assistance of a certain Hajji Allahyar Khan. A much-feared gang leader, Allahyar Khan intimidated the guards and facilitated Sulayman Khan's retrieval of the Bab's remains on the second night following his execution.[131] Sulayman Khan took the remains to a silk factory owned by a Babi where he wrapped them in silk and placed them in a wooden casket.[132] From Azerbaijan, under Baha'ullah's instructions, Sulayman Khan transferred the wooden casket to Tehran where it was hidden in various shrines and private homes in and

around the capital for more than four decades before being transported to Palestine and ultimately buried on Mount Carmel in Haifa in 1909.[133]

In 1850, Sulayman Khan's brother, Farrukh Khan, who was sent to Zanjan to crush the Babi uprising, was killed by followers of the town's leading Babi, Hujjat (interestingly, Sulayman Khan and Farrukh Khan's sister, Khan Qizi, was herself a committed Babi).[134] The shah's chief minister, Mirza Taqi Khan Amir Kabir (1807-1852), though he knew of Sulayman Khan's Babi leanings, tolerated him,[135] and by 1851, Sulayman Khan was hosting large gatherings of Babis in his residences in Central Tehran and nearby Dizashib.[136] Traumatized by successive massacres of Babis at Shaykh Tabarsi, Nayriz, and Zanjan, and the execution of the Bab himself, Tehran's Babis gathered around various claimants to leadership.[137] Many looked to Shaykh 'Ali 'Azim and to Husayn Jan Milani, who set about orchestrating the failed attempt on the life of Nasir al-Din Shah on 15 August 1852.[138] Following this unsuccessful assassination attempt, Sulayman Khan's Tehran house was raided and he was arrested along with twelve other Babis suspected of involvement in the regicidal plot.[139] In all around thirty of Tehran's leading Babis were soon put to death in frightful circumstances after being subjected to various judicial tortures.[140] The majority of the mob lynchings and executions took place within a week of the attempt on the life of the shah (so between 16 and 22 August 1852).[141] Though cleared of all wrongdoing, Sulayman Khan was executed in a cruel and gruesome manner that, as Amanat notes, earned him a special place in the chronicles of the Babi martyrs.[142]

Maryam's Inspiration: the carnivalesque martyrdom of Sulayman Khan

By 1850, the royal court concluded that the Babi movement constituted a dangerous revolutionary menace to the Qajar state that needed to be eradicated entirely.[143] The Babi bloodbath that followed,[144] Amanat says, "set new standards for cruelty and sadistic frenzy."[145] Thus began the '*ulama*'s extensive and comprehensive persecution of the Babis that at times involved the enforced participation of the Iranian people in the extermination of the Bab's followers.[146] The notorious Hajib al-Dawla (the chief court chamberlain, 'Ali Khan Maragha'i; d. 1867) had been instructed by the shah that, if assured of Sulayman Khan's innocence, he should persuade him to recant. If he did so, Sulayman Khan's life was to be spared. The Hajib al-Dawla found Sulayman Khan to be innocent but, since he refused to deny his faith in the Bab, the shah ordered he be put to death; the one concession being that Sulayman Khan could choose the manner of his execution.[147] Zarandi's account of the tortures inflicted on Sulayman Khan and the gruesome details of his martyrdom is based largely on information provided to him by Baha'ullah's full brother, Mirza Musa Nuri.[148]

Sulayman Khan was conducted southwards from the vicinity of the Gulistan Palace through the bazaar via the Darvaza-yi Naw (the southerly city gate built by Muhammad Shah also known as Darvaza-yi Muhammadiya), to an open area just beyond the walls that came to be called Maydan-i I'dam (Execution Square).[149] The bazaar quarter, with its many mosques, shrines, and *takya*s (buildings used for mourning rituals during Muharram), was the center of socio-religious life in early Qajar Tehran and, in effect, an open air public performance space for the Muharram mourning processions (*dasta-gardānī*).[150] Given the popularity of such events at all levels of Qajar society,[151]

the spectacle of Sulayman Khan's real-life martyrdom unfolding as he was paraded through the streets may have appealed to Tehran's majority Shi'i population. Sulayman Khan was taken on a long procession around the alleyways of the bazaar from morning until nightfall.[152] And since the capital's Azeri residents lived predominantly in the bazaar quarter, this meant that Sulayman Khan was marched to his death past throngs of his fellow Tabrizis.[153]

As Vejdani has noted, such highly ritualized punishments that involved the accused being paraded barefoot before the general populace were not uncommon. Being led around the city streets formed the basis of *tashhīr*, punishment by exposure aimed at publicizing the accused's infamy with the goal of inciting ridicule.[154] But, as we shall see, making a spectacle of Sulayman Khan did not shame, humiliate, or silence him, rather it emboldened him. Through the process of *tashhīr*, Sulayman Khan became what Hafiz calls *shuhra-yi shahr* ("talk of the town"); the mystic lover whose fame in the eyes of his fellow citizens derives from his extreme display of intoxicated passion.[155]

In accordance with Sulayman Khan's wishes, burning candles were inserted into wounds made in his flesh in a barbaric torture method called *sham'-ājīn* (lit. stitched or sewn with candles).[156] Once the lighted candles had been inserted into the cuts in his body,[157] Sulayman Khan asked to be conducted through Tehran so that the populace might witness his torment (his motivation being that the intensity of his suffering may inspire them to recognize the validity of the Bab's claims).[158] Though often used as a degrading torture method,[159] *sham'-ājīn* was also one of the more violent self-mutilations (alongside *qama zadan* and *tīgh zadan* [self-laceration performed with a short blade, typically on the forehead and scalp])[160] performed by men as pious penance or as a way of fulfilling a vow (*nazr*).[161] This self-reflexive aspect of the devotional form of *sham'-ājīn* potentially prompted Sulayman Khan to choose this specific form of torture for his own execution.

Amanat identifies the Babi pogrom of the summer of 1852 as the turning point that, "opened the door to sporadic but severe mass killings [of Babis and then Baha'is] in the Iranian provinces and smaller communities in the following years and even decades."[162] For Browne, the execution of innocent Babis in 1852 was a foolish move on the part of the shah and his officials: "The barbarity of the persecutors … instead of inspiring terror, gave the martyrs an opportunity of exhibiting a heroic fortitude which has done more than any propaganda, however skilful, could have done to ensure the triumph of the cause for which they died."[163] These brutal public executions, the bloody processions that preceded them, and the unflinching courage and steadfastness of the Babi martyrs, would have had a considerable impact on the inhabitants of Tehran who in 1852 numbered no more than 120,000.[164]

When the executioner hesitated to make the incisions, Sulayman Khan attempted to snatch the knife to cut into his own flesh.[165] The executioner then ordered his men to tie the victim's hands behind his back and to cut a total of nine deep holes in Sulayman Khan's naked flesh: two in his chest, two in his shoulders, one in the nape of his neck, and four others in his back.[166] In each wound, the guards inserted a burning candle and then processed him with much pomp and gaiety through the bazaar to the rhythm of music played by minstrels blowing long horns and beating large drums.[167] Some accounts say this carnivalesque cavalcade was accompanied by dancers,[168] and even by trained monkeys and bears (used to humiliate the victims and entertain the

crowds).[169] Throughout his ordeal, Sulayman Khan displayed stoic fortitude. Followed on his march by a large crowd, Sulayman Khan was goaded by bystanders to dance.[170] He is said to have been unperturbed by the screams of the curious male and female spectators who gathered in large numbers to watch the gory spectacle and hurl dust and ashes upon him.[171] Active crowd participation was encouraged: spectators were prompted to insult and molest Sulayman Khan or to reward the executioners as a sign of their loyalty to the shah.[172] Yet even the sight of his own blood gushing from his wounds did not diminish Sulayman Khan's courageous resolve.[173]

Interrupting this macabre parade, Sulayman Khan frequently paused to address the bystanders, to glorify the Bab, and to recite verses from the Qur'an.[174] A poet of some talent,[175] Sulayman Khan is said to have recited poetry during his torture,[176] including the following *bayt* adapted from the opening hemistich of a *ghazal* by Rumi (R1390):[177]

باز آمدم باز آمدم از راه شیراز آمدم با عشوه و ناز آمدم هذا جنون العاشق

I have returned, I have returned, I have come back by way of Shiraz.
I have come with coquetry and charm; such is the lover's insanity!

Here Sulayman Khan alludes to his beloved, the Bab, by modifying Rumi's *az pīsh-i ān yār* ("from the presence of that dear friend") to *az rāh-i Shīrāz* ("by way of Shiraz"), an allusion to the Bab's hometown and the birthplace of the Babi movement.

According to another account, Sulayman Khan, appearing to delight in seeing the candles flicker in his bleeding wounds, whenever one of the candles fell, would pick it up, light it from one of the still burning candles, and reposition it.[178] The breeze blowing through the bazaar increased the intensity of the burning of the candles and, as they melted and their flames reached the level of the incisions, those nearby could hear the sizzling of Sulayman Khan's flesh.[179] The wicks are said to have burned so deep that, "the fat flickered convulsively in the wound like a newly-extinguished lamp."[180] No longer sensitive to the sting of the fire and indifferent to the pain to which he was subjected, Sulayman Khan, enveloped by the flames, "walked as a conqueror might have marched to the scene of his victory."[181]

The executioner mocked Sulayman Khan and asked him why he does not dance when he finds death so pleasant.[182] It was in response to this taunt that Sulayman Khan, beginning to dance,[183] sang a line from one of the *ghazal*s by Rumi subsequently imitated by Maryam (see below).[184] Having arrived at the open space beyond Darvaza-yi Naw, Sulayman Khan once again addressed the crowd, prostrated himself in the direction of Imamzada Hasan, murmured something in Arabic, and instructed the executioner to do his work.[185] It was then that his long and painful death reached its climax when he was sawn into two halves. His scorched, blood-soaked remains, as per his request, were then suspended on either side of the city gate.[186] According to the Hungarian Persianist, Ármin Vámbéry (1832-1913), Sulayman Khan's bare feet were shod with horseshoes, and his teeth were all pulled out shortly before he was cleaved in two.[187]

The cruelty, barbarity, and violence of the agonies inflicted on Babi victims prior to execution were noted by the British envoy to Iran, Sir Justin Sheil, in a dispatch dated 22 August 1852 in which he reports, "About ten persons have been executed, some with circumstances of great cruelty. Lighted candles have been stuck into the bodies of two or three, and after being allowed to linger, they have been halved with a

hatchet while still alive … "[188] And on 13 October 1852, around four weeks after his martyrdom, *The Times* described how Sulayman Khan's body was, "carefully drilled with a knife in parts which would not at the moment cause death: pieces of lighted candles were then introduced into the holes, and thus illuminated, [he was] carried in procession through the bazaar, and finally conveyed to the town gates, and there cleft in twain life a fat ram. … "[189] Both Sheil's dispatch and the article in *The Times* also mention the execution of Tahira, the "Bab's Lieutenant, or the Fair Prophetess of [Qazvin],"[190] the daughter of a *mujtahid* of great celebrity who had been confined for three years in Tehran and who was, "venerated as a prophetess by the Babees," and strangled by the shah's order.[191] Of Sulayman Khan's gory ordeal in the streets of south Tehran, Lady Sheil writes, "During these horrific tortures he is said to have preserved his fortitude to the last, and to have danced to the place of execution in defiance of his tormentors, and of the agony caused by the burning candles … "[192]

To Dance Like Solomon: Maryam's memorializing *ghazal:*

بر خیز و رخت بند که جانانم آرزوست
ایدل جمال حضرت سبحانم آرزوست
ناری ز عشق یار فروزان بطور دل
موسی جان فتاده به ثعبانم آرزوست
یک خرمی ز نار جمالش بدشت جان
کز آتش خلیل گلستانم آرزوست
این قلب را صفائی زان پس تجلّی
کز خویشتن ملولم و ایشانم آرزوست
یا ربّ مرا عری بنما از ظنون شرک
کاندر عراء حبّ تو عریانم آرزوست
در گردنم سلاسل زلفش چو سبق زار
کش وا کشی بکوه و بیابانم آرزوست
چشمم بروی یار و دلم محو طلعتش
بعد از وصال دوست بمیدانم آرزوست
بر فرق خویش تیغ عدوّ از چهار سو
چون ابر بهمنی به بهارانم آرزوست
افتاده بر تراب سرم غرق خون خویش
رقصی در آن زمان چو سلیمانم آرزوست

Arise and pack up your things, for the Beloved is my desire!
O heart, to gaze on the beauty of the Lord is my desire!
A fire for the love of my Companion blazes in the Sinai of my heart.
Seeing the Moses of my soul cast down before the serpent is my desire!
Just one spark from the fire of his beauty on the soul's plain!
For from Abraham's inferno, a rose-garden I desire.
Some small delight for this heart and then a manifestation,
For I have grown weary of my self and it is he whom I desire.
O Lord, strip me bare of the suspicion of idolatry,
For I wish to abide in the land of your love, rid of all attachment.
I wish his tresses like chains round my neck would drag me.
As though from the race-ground to the mountains and wilderness.
My eyes fixed on the Beloved's cheeks; my heart mesmerised by his face –
After I am reunited with the Friend, I wish to enter the battleground.
Like the clouds of late winter that assail the spring, I wish to see.
The blades of my enemies attack my forehead from all sides.

With my severed head drenched in my own blood on the dust,
At that very moment, I wish to dance just like Sulayman!

As in the love lyrics of Tahira,[193] the beloved (*jānān*) here is the Bab, and the first seven lines of Maryam's poem are focused on her devotion to (and fascination with) him. Maryam, like any true mystic, wishes to be stripped naked (*'uryān*) of all worldly attachments and to be led to the wilderness (a subtle allusion to the master lover, Majnun). Maryam – whose eyes are fixed on her beloved and whose heart is erased in his fair countenance – never met the Bab in person, a disappointment she shared with her mentor, Tahira, the only one among the eighteen Letters of the Living not to have done so. Tahira's frustration at this misfortune is captured in a poem commonly associated with her that opens, *gar bi-tu uftadam nazar, chihra bi-chihra, rū bi-rū* ("If my gaze were to fall upon you, face to face, one to one … ").[194]

The emotive crescendo of Maryam's *ghazal* comes in the last two lines as she pictures her own bloody martyrdom. She seeks to be struck down by the blade (*tīgh*) brandished by her enemy, and in the *maqta'*, she declares her aspiration to reenact the superhuman fortitude of Hajji Sulayman Khan Tabrizi. Though not the Babi protomartyr, Sulayman Khan endured a most brutal death; his gruesome torment arguably the most impactful of the many horrifying Babi martyrdoms of the 1850s.

On first inspection, Maryam's poem appears to be a straightforward response (*javāb*) to a celebrated *ghazal* by Rumi (R441). In conformance with the rules of *istiqbāl* (lit. "welcoming"; "poetic imitation"), Maryam's poem employs the same meter (*muzāri'-i musamman-i akhrab-i makfūf-i mahzūf*), rhyme (*-ān*), and refrain (*-am ārizū-st*; "is my desire") as Rumi's; the *radīf* infusing both the model poem and its imitation with abiding yearning. Though the relationship between R441 and Maryam's poem is more complex than Browne first thought,[195] the special connection between these two *ghazal*s is underscored by the intimate relationship of R441 to the macabre public torture of Sulayman Khan (see below).

Istiqbāl demands that the new poem be read in dialogue with its source in what Losensky has called the, "conscious remaking of the literary past."[196] But the towering genius of a canonical poet can, if not negotiated wisely, stifle the talent of an aspiring one, which is why imitation should only be embarked upon by those with a deep knowledge of literary heritage.[197] Imitation is permissible, even desirable, as long as the responding poet is a worthy imitator.[198] In *istiqbāl* there is an implicit challenge to the master poet: the imitator presents themselves as an equal equipped with the necessary skills to interpret and, potentially, better the work of their predecessor.[199] It is through the process of creative emulation that the imitator manifests their gratitude and debt to the past master.[200] At its best, *istiqbāl* "produces an outburst of independent creation,"[201] and, when practiced by a skilled poet, it goes beyond assimilation and emulation to encompass interpretation and reimagination of the canon. Consequently, *javāb*s can tell us much about contemporary reading habits and the reception of the Persian classics by later generations of poets.[202] But responding to poets whose lyrics are widely memorized and revered is no easy task. As Losensky reminds us, "by adopting the formal scheme of an earlier poem, [imitators] show reverence to their model and its creator. To sustain and renew the creative force of the model, however, they must revise it and give it new meaning."[203]

Though traditionally *javāb-gū'ī* (lit. "answering") connoted a competitive process whereby the imitator vied with the imitated to outdo their composition,[204] in the Qajar period composing a direct response to a specific model poem was typically an act of homage that served to reinforce the canonical standing of a past master. But as Subtelny notes, a successful imitation in the Persian tradition is far more than a "slavish copy": the imitator must improve on the model poem through reinterpretation with the aim of producing a novel twist.[205] Audacious poets in all post-classical periods set out to imitate poems considered "inimitable," hoping to outdo the original and thereby dazzle their audience and critics.[206] Moreover, as Lewis points out, in *javāb*, the active cooperation of a competent listener is required; one whose literary connoisseurship allows them to recognize and appreciate the intertextual allusions in the response.[207] Such social intercourse assumes that the poet and the consumer belong to a single "textual community."[208] We know that Maryam's *ghazal* was circulating in Yazd in the 1880s and it may well have been recited alongside those of other Babi-Baha'i poets at social gatherings attended by her coreligionists who had a particular affinity for Rumi's *ghazals*.

R441 comprises 24 lines and is one of Rumi's best-known love lyrics.[209] The poet devotes three lines (11, 12, and 14) to explaining the external factors that have caused him to become *malūl* (dejected; melancholic): (i) the pharaoh and his tyranny; (ii) tearful people who are full of complaint; and (iii) being forced to associate with beasts and demons (as opposed to humans). Maryam says she too is *malūl*, but the cause of her melancholy is, conversely, internal: her own self (a possible riff on similar statements by Kamal Isfahani [d. ca 1237] and/or Shams Maghribi [d. 1407]).[210] In addition to sharing a common meter, rhyme, and refrain, Maryam's *ghazal* and R441 share four rhyming words. It is in the lines in which these shared rhyming words appear that creative interconnections mediated by subtle shifts in emphasis and meaning are found.

R441 opens with the equation of the beloved's fragrant face with the "orchard and rose-garden" (*bāgh u gulistān*) but for Maryam (line 3), it is the salvific rose-garden that grew to save Abraham from the fire that she desires. Both poets seek refuge in the "mountains and wilderness" (*kūh u bīābān*), with Maryam (line 6) hoping to be dragged there like a racehorse bridled with the beloved's locks. Maryam pegs her more imaginative reworkings to the space of the *maydān* (public square, marketplace, arena) and the person of Sulayman (Solomon). While being processed through Tehran's bazaar by his executioners, Sulayman Khan reportedly recited the following *bayt* from R441:

یک دست جام باده و یک دست زلف یار رقصی چنین میانهٔ میدانم آرزوست

In one hand a wine-cup and in the other the beloved's locks.
Such a dance in the middle of the marketplace is my desire!

It is the poetic connection between Sulayman Khan's ecstasy during his gruesome torment and this *bayt* that served as the catalyst for Maryam to imitate R441.[211] Here Rumi may be alluding to Shaykh Najm al-Din Kubra who was murdered by the Mongols in Khwarazm in 1221.[212] Maryam replaces the medieval Sufi saint with the Babi martyr who dances before the new Mongols, his Qajar tormentors. R441 ends with the ever-faithful hoopoe (Rumi) yearning for the regal presence (*huzūr*) of

Solomon (here, Shams-i Tabrizi), but Maryam desires more than mere closeness with *her* Solomon: she longs to *become* him through imitating his martyrial dance at her own execution. In R441 (line 10), Rumi seeks the bravery of two figures who are often paired in the Iranian imagination: *shīr-i khudā* ("God's Lion;" an epithet of Imam ʿAli) and the hero of heroes, Rustam. It follows that Maryam intended her readers to understand that the fearless courage of ʿAli and Rustam had been manifested anew by Sulayman Khan in his valiant endurance in the face of unspeakable oppression.

Though clearly inspired by R441, Maryam's poem is not a straightforward response to this one poem. On closer inspection, it becomes evident that Maryam was responding simultaneously to R457, another *ghazal* by Rumi that shares R441's formal features.[213] Like Maryam's poem, R457 consists of 9 lines (though, given the significance of the number 9 to Baha'is because of its equation with *Bahā'* – the numerical value of which is 9 – Maryam may have chosen this length for her *javāb* for spiritual reasons). The desire expressed in R457 (line 6) for "martyrdom and faith" (*shahādat u īmān*) is the root for the martyrial strand that unites a chain of imitative poems culminating in Maryam's. R457 ends with this line that may have inspired Maryam's expression of her yearning to meet the Bab, whom she refers to (line 4) using *īshān*, the third person plural pronoun employed to show respect to a single, revered individual:

در نور یار صورت خوبان همی نمود دیدار یار و دیدن ایشانم آرزوست

In the beloved's light, all the faces of the fair ones can be seen.
To behold the beloved and to gaze upon them (*īshān*), is my desire.

Looking beyond Rumi, we find *ghazal*s with the same (or very similar) formal features by seven other poets composed between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries which, to a greater or lesser extent, have an intertextual relationship with Maryam's *javāb*. Fakhr al-Din ʿIraqi (d. 1289) has a 12-line *ghazal* with the same meter and rhyme scheme but, given he was a contemporary of Rumi, it is not possible to determine whether his poem predates R441 and/or R457.[214] The opening *misraʿ* of ʿIraqi's poem ends as per Maryam's: *jānān-am ārizū-st*, but the commonalities with her response poem end there. Like Rumi, ʿIraqi laments his *malūl* condition and seeks a cure for his love woes.

The next 6 poems considered here constitute a transhistorical chain of intertextual replies stretching from the Safavid period through to the 1830s.[215] The last line of a 5-line *ghazal* by the early Safavid poet and Nurbakhshi Sufi, Asiri Lahiji (d. 1506), responds to the *maqtaʿ* of R457 and Rumi's desire for a "face to face audience" (*dīdār*) with the beloved.[216] The early modern master of the Persian *ghazal*, Sa'ib Tabrizi (d. 1676), penned a 15-line *ghazal* in emulation of R441 that opens with rejection of worldly and spiritual kingship, and a stress on the primacy of proximity to the object of one's desire:[217]

نه تخت جم نه ملک سلیمانم آرزوست راهی به خلوت دل جانانم آرزوست

Neither Jamshid's throne nor Solomon's dominion do I desire.
A path to private communion with my beloved's heart is what I desire.

Here Sa'ib dismisses Solomon when for Rumi, the beloved and the prophet-king are one and the same. Sa'ib expresses (line 2) the wish to gaze upon the beloved's face (*nazāra-yi rukh-i jānān*) and (line 12) to serve as the mirror holder for his fair countenance (*ā'īna-*

dārī-yi rukh-i jānān). One phrase that unites R441, R457, Sa'ib's poem and that of Maryam is *Sulaymān-am ārizū-st*. But beyond this shared allusion to Solomon, Sa'ib does not appear to have influenced Maryam to any noticeable extent.

But there are other imitations of Rumi (and imitations of those imitations) that do appear to have inspired Maryam. Sa'ib's contemporary, Fayz Kashani (d. 1680), has a 12-line *ghazal* with the same formal features that is heavily Bacchic and erotic.[218] Echoing 'Iraqi, Asiri, and Sa'ib, Fayz calls on his *jānān* in the opening line of his poem. In line 8, Fayz turns his attention to self-sacrifice: he spies his darling handling a "sharp blade" (*tīgh-i ābdār*) and wishes to present his head to him as a "devotional offering" (*nisār*); textual portents of Maryam's vision of her own longed-for martyrdom. But it is in the *maqta'*, in which Fayz steers this chain of imitation in a distinctly Twelver Shi'i direction, that we see the deepest resonance with the ethos permeating Maryam's *ghazal*:

از دیده خون ببارم تا جان شود روان چون فیض اجر خون شهیدانم آرزوست

I will cry blood from my eyes until my soul flows forth.
Like Fayz, it is the reward of the martyrs' blood that I desire.

It is worth noting here that an abbreviated version of one of Fayz's longer *ghazal*s has been attributed to Tahira with some regularity for many decades.[219] This attribution suggests that Tahira most likely used Fayz Kashani's poetry in her preaching and that she was an avid reader of his work.

Moving into the post-Safavid period, Hazin Lahiji (d. 1766) has a 6-*bayt* twofold *javāb* to Rumi and Fayz that contains (line 4) this apostrophe to the latter:[220]

ای ابر فیض بر من آتش جگر ببار بیش از گیاه سوخته بارانم آرزوست

O' cloud of bounty (*fayz*) rain down on me for my heart is on fire!
I desire the rainfall far more than any singed vegetation.

Hazin ends his poem by saying he wishes to walk under the shadow of the banner of the King of Khurasan, an allusion to Imam Riza (d. 818) whose shrine is at Mashhad:

ناید سرم به سدره و طوبی فرو حزین ظل لوای شاه خراسانم آرزوست

My head, Hazin, will never reach the Tuba and lote tree of Paradise,
For it is the shade cast by the banner of the King of Khurasan that I desire.

Azar Baygdili (d. 1781), a younger contemporary of Hazin and a key figure in the eighteenth-century prefiguring of the stringently neoclassical turn now known as the *Bāzgasht-i adabī*,[221] has a micro 4-line *ghazal* in which (line 2) he expresses the desire to cry out, "in the middle of the rose garden" (*dar mīān-i gulistān*); a turn of phrase that mimics Rumi's *mīāna-yi maydān*.[222] In his *maqta'*, Azar strikes an ecumenical line (one that would have appealed to a Babi-Baha'i poet such as Maryam) by rejecting both unbelief (*kufr*) and faith (*īmān*) in his quest for reconciliation between disparate religious communities:

از حرف کفر و قصهٔ ایمان دلم گرفت صلحی میان گبر و مسلمانم آرزوست

I have become depressed by all this talk of unbelief and tales of faith.
Peace between the Zoroastrian and the Muslim is what I desire.

Perhaps most significant for this study is a 7-line panegyric *ghazal* by Hayran Dunbuli, a female poet active at Tabriz circa 1805-1840.[223] Hayran, who was the sister (or, possibly, the daughter) of Karim Khan Kangarlu, was descended from a line of Kurdish governors of Nakhjavan with strong familial ties to the Dunbuli tribal confederation and their stronghold,[224] Khuy (where Shams, Rumi's spiritual guide, is believed by many to be buried).[225] Hayran left a sizeable *dīvān* that includes poems in praise of the crown prince, 'Abbas Mirza (d. 1833),[226] his mother, full sister,[227] and daughter-in-law, Mahd-i 'Ulya,[228] mother of Nasir al-Din Shah. Hayran was a distant cousin of the renowned historian and poet, 'Abd al-Razzaq Dunbuli (Maftun), and she was attached to 'Abbas Mirza's court at the same time as Maftun (circa 1799-1827).[229] [Another relation of Hayran who wrote poetry was Shahbaz Khan Dunbuli's daughter who adopted the penname Shahbaz, and who wrote panegyrics for Fath-'Ali Shah's sixth son, Hasan-'Ali Mirza Shuja' al-Saltana (1790-1854).[230]]

Hayran's poem is a dirge for 'Abbas Mirza. While lamenting separation from her *yārān* ("beloveds;" "dear friends"), Hayran longs for *suhbat-i īshān* ("communion with them/him"), a phrase echoed in Maryam's wish to meet the Bab. Distanced from her beloved, Hayran seeks closeness to the *shāh-i shahīdān* ("King of Martyrs"), an epithet of Imam Husayn (d. 680). Hayran looks to the third Shi'i imam for consolation:

از فرقتش چو بسته زبان دوخته لبم گشتن به دور شاه شهیدانم آرزوست

Since separation from him has tied my tongue and sealed my lips
Circumambulating round the King of Martyrs is my desire.

In another *ghazal*, Hayran follows Hazin's lead and says she is engaged in praise of the Shah of Khurasan (i.e. Imam Riza).[231] In addition to deriving inspiration from R441 and R457, it seems that Maryam may have been influenced by the *javāb*s of Fayz and Hazin (and, perhaps, that of Hayran). But unlike these poets who glorify Shi'i martyrs in order to renew their bond with the past, Maryam's inspiration derives from her present and the brutal martyrdom of her contemporary and fellow Babi. In picturing her own imagined martyrdom, Maryam challenges her readers to look forwards. This aspect of Maryam's poem calls into question the dominant narrative that asserts Qajar poets tended to look backwards rather than ahead, and that, as a result, their poetry did not evolve naturally.[232]

Conclusion

The Safavid and Zand influences detectable in Maryam's *ghazal* provide good evidence that some Qajar poets' interests stretched beyond the straightforwardly archaic: these complex intertextual patterns show that Maryam was reading (and responding to) poetry produced long after the "classical" (pre-Timurid) period, and that she drew on her knowledge of both earlier and more recent poets in her creative repurposing of the literary past. Maryam achieved something that transcended the flat, neoclassical pastiches ubiquitous in Qajar poetry. While recognizing her debt to her medieval models and their imitations, Maryam does not stand in the shadow of Rumi and those who imitated him before her, rather she asserts a degree of independence from them, albeit illumined by six centuries of intertextual rewriting.[233] Poetic imitation in Persian has always served as the initiating test of technical skill used to define one's own generic affiliation.

By producing this successful imitation of Rumi and his admirers, Maryam proved that she too belonged to that tradition.[234] In the absence of other poems penned by Maryam Bushru'i, it is not possible to say much about her productivity as a poet or how she may have used her poetry in her community life. The literary skill and emotional force manifested in this one *ghazal* do, however, suggest that: (a) like her mother and her mentor, Maryam may have composed many more poems; and (b) that she may have used her poetic talents to memorialize other Babi martyrs, among them Tahira, to share vicariously in their physical suffering and partake in their triumph over torture through faith. The subject of Maryam's poem – the brutal martyrdom of Sulayman Khan – lends her *javāb* a charged quality that adds to its distinction among other Qajar responses to Rumi.

Notes

1. See Cole, Ekbal, and Wickens, "Browne, Edward Granville," 486.
2. Browne, "The Babis of Persia," 935–36.
3. Browne, "The Babis of Persia," 936; See Yazdani, "Layers of Veils," 367–69.
4. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 315.
5. Browne, "The Babis of Persia," 934.
6. Browne, "The Babis of Persia," 935–37, 991. See Browne, *Materials for the Study*, 347–48. See Shayani, "Literary Imitation."
7. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 489–90. See Quinn, "Babi-Baha'i Books and Believers," 441.
8. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 398–99, 404; Quinn, "Babi-Baha'i Books and Believers," 437. See Balyuzi, *Eminent Baha'is*, 60–74.
9. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 399. See Browne, MS LC.II.75, 579; Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 314–16.
10. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 398, 402–04
11. Browne, MC.II.75, 579. See Quinn, "Babi-Baha'i Books and Believers," 437.
12. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 405.
13. Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shu'ara* III, 334–36.
14. Rouhani Ma'ani, *Leaves of the Twin Divine Trees*, 294–95.
15. See Ra'fati, *Alvan dar asar-i Baha'i*, 48–55; Rouhani Ma'ani, *Leaves of the Twin Divine Trees*, 293–308.
16. See Arbab, *Akhtaran-i taban*, 427–28; Ishraq-Khavari, *Ganj-i shayigan*, 205–06.
17. Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* II, 177, 436.
18. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 495; Browne Folder 2, item 42.5; Browne, MC LC.II.75, 578–79.
19. Browne Folder 2, item 42.5.
20. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 495–96.
21. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 525. See Quinn, "Babi-Baha'i Books and Believers," 443.
22. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 519–20. See Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* II, 438; Quinn, "Babi-Baha'i Books and Believers," 444.
23. Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shu'ara* I, 275.
24. Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shu'ara,* I, 270; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* II, 177, 436.
25. Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shu'ara* I, 271.
26. Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shu'ara* I, 271.
27. Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shu'ara* I, 273–74.
28. Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shu'ara* II, 147.
29. See Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* II, 438.
30. Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shu'ara* II, 148.
31. Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 187.

32. Arbab, *Akhtaran-i taban*, 49; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, 169; Momen, "The Role of Women," 357; Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 187.
33. Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 50; Dehghani, *Martyrium*, 55–6.
34. MacEoin 1989.
35. Nakhjavani, *Asking Questions*, 126–30.
36. Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 117; Arbab, *Akhtaran-i taban*: 48; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 220.
37. Zarandi, *The Dawn-Breakers*, 299, 347–48.
38. Zarandi, *The Dawn-Breakers*, 293. See Nakhjavani, *Asking Questions*, 74–81; Mottahedeh, "Ruptured Sapces," 59.
39. Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 111.
40. Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 12, 111.
41. 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Tazkirat al-Vafa*, 173–75.
42. Gulpaygani, *Kashf al-ghita*, 93; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, 300.
43. See Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 111–2; MacEoin, "The Babi Concept," 110–1.
44. Nakhjavani, *Asking Questions*, 124.
45. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, 304.
46. Hamadani, *Tarikh-i Jadid*, 115; Browne, *The Tarikh-i-Jadid*, 94; Zarandi, *The Dawn-Breakers*, 384.
47. 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Tazkirat al-Vafa*, 176–81; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, 304; Nakhjavani, *Asking Questions*, 97; Momen, "The Role of Women," 351–52.
48. Momen, "Tahirih and the Religious," 297–98.
49. Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 61; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, 305; Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 188–9.
50. Mottahedeh, "The Mutilated Body," 38; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 220.
51. 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Tazkirat al-Vafa*, 189–91; Baghdadi, *al-Risala al-amriya*, 112; Ishraq-Khavari, *Tarikh-i Amri*, 37–8, 48–9.
52. Zarandi, *The Dawn-Breakers*, 383; Browne, *The Tarikh-i-Jadid*, 94; Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 348.
53. Browne, *The Tarikh-i-Jadid*, 94; Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 117; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 220; Arbab, *Akhtaran-i taban*, 49.
54. Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 188; Smith, *Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 50.
55. See Momen, "Badašt," 364.
56. Mottahedeh, "Resurrection, Return, Reform," 398.
57. Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 113–4; MacEoin, "The Babi Concept," 93, 101–2, 107; Dehghani, *Martyrium*, 112, 123–4. See Amanat, "The Historical Roots," 174.
58. MacEoin 1989.
59. Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 190.
60. MacEoin, "The Babi Concept," 112–3.
61. Smith and Momen, "Martyrs - Babi".
62. Smith, *Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 26.
63. Hamadani, *Tarikh-i Jadid*, 117; Browne, *The Tarikh-i-Jadid*, 95; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 50; Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 121.
64. See Zarandi, *The Dawn-Breakers*, 383; Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 117.
65. Smith, *Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 25; MacEoin, "The Babi Concept," 115; Mottahedeh, "Resurrection, return, Reform," 391, 398; Dehghani, *Martyrium*, 137–8, 144.
66. Smith, *Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 26.
67. Browne, *A Literary History*, 197. See Bayat, *Mysticism and Dissent*, 120; MacEoin, "The Babi Concept," 116.
68. Smith, *Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 26.
69. Smith, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 45. See Dehghani, *Martyrium*, 146.
70. Mottahedeh, "Resurrection, Return, Reform," 390.
71. Hamadani, *Tarikh-i Jadid*, 116; Browne, *The Tarikh-i-Jadid*, 95; Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 61.

72. Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 622.
73. Zabihi-Muqaddam, *Vaqi'a-yi qal'a*, 61. See Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 622.
74. See Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 623.
75. Fu'di-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 61, 346, 348; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 220.
76. Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 226.
77. Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 196.
78. Arbab, *Akhtaran-i taban*, 49.
79. Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 197.
80. Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 222.
81. Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 117; Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 337, 341.
82. See Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 202.
83. See Baha'ullah and 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Payk-i rastan*, 339–53; Balyuzi, *Eminent Baha'is*, 171–6; Brookshaw, "Instructive Encouragement," 50–4; Lambden, "Ebn Asdaq, Mirza 'Ali-Mohammad."
84. See Baha'ullah and 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Payk-i rastan*, 329–38; Balyuzi, *Eminent Baha'is*, 7–23; Rafati, "Korasani, Molla Sadeq."
85. Baha'ullah and 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Payk-i rastan*, 69, 155, 430, 449.
86. Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 532, 617.
87. Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 617–8.
88. Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 192–3.
89. Momen, "The Role of Women," 358; Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 192–3.
90. Ra'fati, *Faran-i hubb*, 164–79; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 221–2.
91. Momen, "The Role of Women," 358.
92. Ra'fati, *Faran-i hubb*, 416.
93. Rawhani Bushru'i, *Risala*, 5.
94. Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 351; Rawhani, *Risala*: 6; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities of Iran*: 208, 220–1.
95. Rawhani Bushru'i, *Risala*, 3–4.
96. Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 349–52.
97. Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 96, 322; Rawhani Bushru'i, *Risala*, 6; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 220.
98. Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 203–5.
99. Ra'fati, *Faran-i hubb*, 73, 527.
100. Baha'ullah and 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Payk-i rastan*, 156.
101. Ra'fati, *Faran-i hubb*, 73.
102. Baha'ullah and 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Payk-i rastan*, 144.
103. Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 620.
104. Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 619.
105. Baha'ullah, *Asar-i qalam-i a'la*, 607–15. See McCants, "The Wronged One," 86–7.
106. Baraqi, *Bushruya*, 203–5.
107. 'Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 621.
108. Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 621.
109. Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 225.
110. Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 339.
111. Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 341.
112. Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 337, 346; Arbab, *Akhtaran-i taban*, 49.
113. Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 341; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 223. See Amanat, "The Historical Roots," 170–1.
114. Momen, "The Role of Women," 358.
115. Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 222.
116. Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 617, 668; Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 348; Arbab, *Akhtaran-i taban*, 50; Momen, "The Role of Women," 358; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 222.

117. Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 41.
118. Yazdi, *Tarikh-i 'Ishqabad*, 551.
119. Baha'ullah and 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Payk-i rastan*, 351; Fu'adi-Bushru'i, *Tarikh-i dianat-i Baha'i*, 347.
120. Baha'ullah and 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Payk-i rastan*, 246.
121. Baha'ullah and 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Payk-i rastan*, 247, 251.
122. Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 21; Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, 366.
123. Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shu'ara* I, 254.
124. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, 366
125. Browne, *The Tarikh-i-Jadid*, 400; Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 253; Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 22.
126. Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 22
127. Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 22. See Browne, *The Tarikh-i-Jadid*, 309.
128. Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 21.
129. See 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Maqala-yi shakhsi sayyah*, 26.
130. 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Maqala-yi shakhsi sayyah*, 27; Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 46.
131. See 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Maqala-yi shakhsi sayyah*, 27; Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 47; Browne, *The Tarikh-i-Jadid*, 310–2; Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 22–3.
132. 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Maqala-yi shakhsi sayyah*, 27–8.
133. Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 54; Rabbani, "Efforts to preserve," 84–8.
134. Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 24.
135. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, 366; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 77.
136. Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 4, 7; Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 24.
137. Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 5.
138. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 207; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 10–1.
139. Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 185, 192; Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 209.
140. See Vejdani, "Branded Bodies," 331–3; Browne, *A Literary History,* 154; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 77; Momen, *The Baha'i Communities* I, 11.
141. Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 326. See Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 135; Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 214–5.
142. Amanat, *Resurrection and Renewal*, 366–7.
143. Amanat, "The Historical Roots," 176.
144. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 211.
145. Amanat, "The Historical Roots," 176.
146. Mottahedeh, "The Mutilated Body," 38–9.
147. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 617; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 77.
148. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 616.
149. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 617. See Aghaie, *The Martyrs of Karbala*, 32.
150. See Aghaie, *The Martyrs of Karbala*, 31–2; Calmard, "'Azadari," 176; Nakash, "An Attempt to Trace," 169.
151. See Aghaie, *The Martyrs of Karbala*, 31.
152. 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Abdul Baha on Divine Philosophy*, 45.
153. See Aghaie, *The Martyrs of Karbala*, 34-35.
154. Vejdani, "Hair and Hat," 749.
155. See Brookshaw, *Hafiz and His Contemporaries*, 87, 216.
156. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 209; Dehghani, *Martyrium*, 266.
157. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 617.
158. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 618.
159. 'Abdu'l-Baha, *Abdul Baha on Divine Philosophy*, 44.
160. Shahri, *Tihran-i qadim*,370, 409–14. See Calmard, "'Azadari," 175–6.
161. See Nakash, "An Attempt to Trace," 174.
162. Amanat, "The Historical Roots," 177.
163. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 102.
164. See Aghaie, *The Martyrs of Karbala*, 32; Browne, *A Literary History*, 195.

165. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 618.
166. Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 77.
167. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 617. See Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 133, 142; Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 209. See also Nakash, "An Attempt to Trace," 178.
168. Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 142. See Nicolas, *Massacres de Babis*, 35.
169. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 102; ʻAbdu'l-Baha, *Abdul Baha on Divine Philosophy*, 44; Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-haqq* III, 24.
170. ʻAbdu'l-Baha, *Abdul Baha on Divine Philosophy*, 45.
171. Nicolas, *Massacres de Babis*, 37; Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 332–3.
172. Amanat, *Pivot of the Universe*, 209.
173. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 618; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 77.
174. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 619.
175. See Zuka'i-Bayza'i, *Tazkira-yi Shuʻara* I, 256–60; Dehghani, *Martyrium*, 208–10.
176. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 621.
177. Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 333. See Rumi, *Kulliyat*, 538–9.
178. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 619; Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 142; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 77.
179. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 619.
180. Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 133.
181. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 620; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 78.
182. Browne, *A Traveller's Narrative*, 333.
183. Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 138, 142.
184. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 102; Browne, *A Literary History*, 196; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 77.
185. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 620; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 78.
186. Zarandi, *The Dawn-breakers*, 617; Shoghi Effendi, *God Passes By*, 78.
187. Vambery, *Meine Wanderungen*, 299.
188. See Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 134–5.
189. See Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 132.
190. See Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 132
191. See Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 135
192. See Momen, *The Babi and Baha'i Religions*, 138.
193. Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 490.
194. See Afnan, *Chahar risala-yi tarikhi*, 104; Banani, *Tahirih a Portrait*, 62–3; Hatcher and Hemmat, *The Poetry of Tahirih*, 220–1; Milani, *Veils and Words*, 93; Muhammad-Husayni, *Hazrat-i Tahira*, 436–7; Nuqaba'i, *Tahira Qurrat al-ʻAyn*, 146; Root, *Tahirih the Pure*, 124.
195. Browne, MS LC.II.75, 579; Browne, *A Year Among the Persians*, 405.
196. Losensky, "The Allusive Field," 229.
197. See Zipoli, *The Technique of*, 5.
198. Lewis, "The Rise and Fall," 199–200.
199. See Brookshaw, *Hafiz and His Contemporaries*, 16.
200. Losensky, "To Revere, Revise," 10–1.
201. Losensky, "To Revere, Revise," 10.
202. See Losensky, "To Revere, Revise," 11.
203. Losensky, "To Revere, Revise," 14–5.
204. Subtelny, "A Taste for," 62.
205. Subtelny, "A Taste for," 63.
206. Subtelny, "A Taste for," 69.
207. Lewis, *Reading, Writing*, 108.
208. See Lewis, *Reading,* Writing, 107.
209. Rumi, *Kulliyat*, 203.
210. See Kamal Isfahani, *Divan*, 446; Shams Maghribi, *Divan*, 78.
211. Nicholson, *Selected Poems*, 243.

212. Nicholson, *Selected Poems*, 242.
213. Rumi, *Kulliyat*, 209–10.
214. 'Iraqi, *Kulliyat*, 104.
215. Zipoli, *The Technique of*, 13.
216. Asiri Lahiji, *Divan*, 75.
217. Sa'ib Tabrizi, *Divan*, 959–60.
218. Fayz Kashani, *Divan*, 111–12.
219. Fayz Kashani, *Divan*, 364–5. See Afnan, *Chahar risala-yi tarikhi*, 90; Banani, *Tahirih a Portrait*, 74; Fazil Mazandarani, *Zuhur al-Haqq* III, 289; Hatcher and Hemmat, *The Poetry of Tahirih*, 248; Milani, *Veils and Words*, 98–9; Muhammad-Husayni, *Hazrat-i Tahira*, 426; Nuqaba'i, *Tahira Qurrat al-'Ayn*, 153.
220. Hazin Lahiji, *Divan*, 275.
221. Matini, "Azar Bigdeli." See Schwartz, *Remapping Persian*, 41–9 and 102–3.
222. Azar Baygdili, *Divan*, 178.
223. Hayran Dunbuli, *Divan*, 157.
224. See Al-e Dawud and Oberling, "Donboli;" Werner, *An Iranian Town*, 16, 36, 38, 42, 47, 52; Ashraf, *Making and Remaking Empire*, 199–215.
225. See Lewis, *Rumi, Past and Present*, 197–200.
226. Hayran Dunbuli, *Divan*, 157.
227. Hayran Dunbuli, *Divan*, 64, 67–8, 74–5.
228. Hayran Dunbuli, *Divan*, 78.
229. Perry, " 'Abd-al-Razzaq Beg;" Werner, *An Iranian Town*, 43.
230. See Mahmud Mirza, *Nuql-i majlis*, 47; Wener, *An Iranian Town*, 36–9.
231. Hayran Dunbuli, *Divan*, 214.
232. See Hanaway, "Bazgast-e Adabi," 60.
233. See Losensky, "To Revere, Revise," 16–7.
234. See Zipoli, *The Technique of*, 13.

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