

Notes

Prologue

- 1 The chapters of this book previously appeared in the following sources: "Revolutionary Posturing: Iranian Writers and the Iranian Revolution." *International Journal of Middle East Studies (IJMES)*. Volume 23, No. 4 (November 1991): 507–531; "Protest and Perish: A History of the Writers Association of Iran." *Iranian Studies*, Volume XVIII, Nos. 1–4 (1985): 189–229; "Of Hail and Hounds: The Image of the Iranian Revolution in Recent Persian Literature." *State, Culture and Society*, Volume I, No. 3 (Spring 1985): 148–180; "A Well amid the Waste: An Introduction to the Poetry of Ahmad Shamlu." *World Literature Today*, Volume 51, No. 2, (Spring 1977): 201–206; "Poet of Desires Turned to Dust: In Memoriam, Mehdi Akhavan-Saleh." *World Literature Today*, Volume 66, No. 1 (Winter 1991): 18–25; "A Story-Teller and His Times: Sa'idi-Sirjani of Iran." *World Literature Today*, Volume 69, No. 3 (Summer 1994): 516–522; "Authors and Authorities: Censorship and Literary Communication in Post-Revolution Iran." *Persian Studies in North America: Essays in Honor of Professor M.A. Jazayery*, ed. Mehdi Marashi, Iranbooks; Bethesda, MD, 303–330; "Up from the Underground: The Meaning of Exile in Gholamhossayn Sa'edi's Last Short Stories." *Iranian Refugees and Exiles since Khomeini*, ed. Asghar Fathi, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers, 257–279.

Introduction – The Bleeding Pen

- 1 Also see his other contributions such as "Some Common Characteristics of Persian Poetry and Art," in *Studia Islamica*, No. 16 (1962), pp. 61–71, where he, for instance, states, "Poetry is the most significant artistic achievement ...," p. 61.

- 2 G. Lazard, "The Rise of the New Persian Language," in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, Vol. IV. *The Period from the Arab Invasion to the Saljuqs*, ed. R.N. Frye, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975, Chapter 19, pp. 595–632. There are several stories about the birth of Persian poetry and who first composed a Persian poem. The chronicle *Tārīkh-e Sīstān* has it that the first Persian poem was composed at the local court of the Saffarids (861–1003). A poet recited a panegyric in Arabic, as was customary, praising the ruler, but the Persian ruler Ya'qub Layth questioned why he should be praised in a language that he could not understand: *chizi ke man andar nayābam cherā bāyad goft* or "things that I do not understand, why should they be said." His secretary Mohammad ibn Wasif translated the poem into Persian. While this story is usually told to refer to the rise of Persian literature, there were of course several other crucial events during the ninth and the tenth centuries showing the essential role of poetry in the revivification of Persian culture. See *Tārīkh-e sistān*, p. 209. The variant of the name is also Moḥammad b. Wāṣef but in Bahār's critical text edition it is Wasif. Also see S.M. Stern, "Ya'qub the Coppersmith and Persian National Sentiment" in *Iran and Islam, in Memory of the Late V. Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1971, pp. 535–555; C. Edmund Bosworth in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Saffarids; J.S. Meisami, *Persian Historiography to the End of the Twelfth Century*, Edinburgh, 1999, pp. 47–140; also see Ahmad Ashraf in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Iranian Identity, iii. Medieval Islamic Period.
- 3 See the analysis by A. Karimi-Hakkak of the topical literature between 1977 and 1979, which gives excellent leads for the political use of art and literature. See "Introduction: Iran's Literature 1977–1997," in *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 30, No. 3/4, (1997), pp. 193–213.
- 4 An excellent study, although not explicitly on the role of poetry, is Kathryn Babayan, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscape of Early Modern Iran*, London/Cambridge: Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs xxxv, 2002; other studies are Stephen G. Haw, "The Persian Language in Yuan-Dynasty China: A Reappraisal," in *East Asian History*, No. 39, 2014, pp. 5–32; D.O. Morgan, "Persian as a *Lingua Franca* in the Mongol Empire," in *Literacy in the Persianate World: Writing and the Social Order*, ed. B. Spooner and W.L. Hanaway, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012, pp. 160–170; Bert G. Fragner, *Die 'Persophonie': Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens*, Berlin: Halle an der Saale, 1999. On the use of poetry by Sufis see Dick Davis, "Sufism and Poetry: a Marriage of Convenience?" in *Edebiyât*, Vol. 10, 1999, pp. 279–292.

- 5 Roland Bleiker, *Aesthetics and World Politics*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009, p. 85.
- 6 Roland Bleiker, *Aesthetics and World Politics*, p. 86.
- 7 See Seyed-Gohrab, "Poetry as Awakening: Singing Modernity," in *Literature of the Early Twentieth Century: From the Constitutional Period to Reza Shah*, ed. A.A. Seyed-Gohrab, Vol. XI, London / New York: I.B. Tauris, pp. 30–132.
- 8 Houra Yavari, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Fiction ii (b). The Novel.
- 9 Roland Bleiker, *Aesthetics and World Politics*, p. 88.
- 10 J.T.P. de Bruijn defines *sokhan* in his discussion of Nezāmi's *Makhzan al-asrār*. Elsewhere I have summarised the gist of this definition as follows: "it alludes to the metaphysical logos, the as yet undivided principle of creation, which is closely related to universal reason. *Sukhan* also refers to God's creative command, as mentioned in the Quran (19:35), or in general terms to God's Word as a command to ethical action, contained in the Quran and elaborated in Islamic law. *Sukhan* also alludes to the rational capacity of individuals, enabling them to understand the intellectual reality behind the deceptive appearance of sensually perceptible realities. Moreover, *sukhan* refers to language; an ennobled literary version of language which is worthy to express the eternal truth, the treasures or secrets of both worlds." See J.T.P. de Bruijn, "De dichter over het woord. Beschouwingen over de rede, de taal en de dichtkunst in de Perzische poëzie" in *De Vorsten van het woord: Teksten over dichterschap en poëzie uit Oosterse tradities*, ed. W.L. Idema, Amsterdam, 1983, pp. 36–37, and Seyed-Gohrab, *Courtly Riddles: Enigmatic Embellishments in Early Persian Poetry*, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2010, p. 156; also see K. Talattof, "Nizāmi Ganjavi, the Wordsmith: the Concept of *sakhun* in Classical Persian Poetry," in *A Key to the Treasure of the Hakim: Artistic and Humanistic Aspects of Nizami Ganjavi's Khamsa*, ed. J.C. Bürgel and Ch. van Ruymbeke, Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011, pp. 211–244.
- 11 Roland Bleiker, *Aesthetics and World Politics*, p. 93.
- 12 For an evaluation of Karimi-Hakkak's scholarly *oeuvre* see K. Talattof, "Introduction" in *Persian Language, Literature and Culture: New Leaves, Fresh Looks*, ed. K. Talattof, London/New York: Routledge, 2015, pp. 1–20.
- 13 H. Mir'ābedini, *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Behazin.
- 14 See chapter two of this book "Protest and Perish: A History of the Writers Association of Iran"; on Persian prison narratives see Mohammad Mehdi Khorrami, *Literary Subterfuge and Contemporary Persian Fiction: Who Writers Iran?*, London: Routledge, 2015 especially chapter one, and pp. 85–87.

- 15 See chapter two "Protest and Perish," p. 66.
- 16 See chapter two "Protest and Perish," p. 53.
- 17 See chapter seven "Poet of Desires Turned to Dust: In Memoriam Mehdi Akhavan Saleh," p. 175.
- 18 On Nimā see *Essays on Nima Yushij: Animating Modernism in Persian Poetry*, ed. by A. Karimi-Hakkak and K. Talattof, Leiden: Brill, 2004.
- 19 See chapter seven "Poet of Desires Turned to Dust," p. 177.
- 20 Mehdi Akhavan Saleh, *Zemestan*, Terhan: Morvaraid Publications, 1956, p. 105.
- 21 See chapter seven "Poet of Desires Turned to Dust," p. 177.
- 22 Interview with *Le Monde*, 6 May, 1978.
- 23 For more examples see Houra Yavari, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, s.v. Fiction. ii(f). by Persians in non-Persian languages.
- 24 Also compare Azar Nafisi who indicates in her introduction to the English translation of Ferdowsi's *Shahnama* that "Persians basically did not have a home, except in their literature, especially in their poetry." See Abolqasem Ferdowsi, *Shahnama: The Persian Book of Kings*, translated by Dick Davis, Penguin Classics, 2007, with a foreword by Azar Nafisi, p. ix.
- 25 See chapter six "Up from the Underground," p. 152 of this book.
- 26 For a most recent treatment of this theme see A. Karimi-Hakkak, "Continuity and Creativity: Models of Change in Persian Poetry, Classical and Modern," in *The Layered Heart: Essays on Persian Poetry*, ed. A.A. Seyed-Ghorab, Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2019, pp. 25–54.
- 27 See chapter one "Revolutionary Posturing," p. 29.
- 28 K. Talattof, "Introduction" in *Persian Language, Literature and Culture*, p. 10.
- 29 See chapter four "Of Hail and Hounds," p. 111.
- 30 See chapter two "Protest and Perish," p. 83.

Chapter 1 – Revolutionary Posturing

- 1 Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak. "Of Hail and Hounds: The Image of the Iranian Revolution in Recent Persian Literature," *State, Culture and Society*, I, 3 (Spring 1985), 148–180, pp. 148–180.
- 2 For a survey of this tendency in one particularly illustrative instance see Sorour S. Soroudi, "The Iranian Heritage in the Eyes of the Contemporary Poet Mehdi Akhavan Saleh (M. Omid)," in Ellie Kedouri and Sylvia Haim, eds., *Towards a Modern Iran: Studies in Thought, Politics and Society* (London: Frank Cass, 1988), pp. 132–154.

- 3 For a representative sample of this poetry see Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, *An Anthology of Modern Persian Poetry* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1978).
- 4 Nima Yushij, "Morph-e Amin" (The Amen Bird), *Majmu'eh-ye Asar-e Nima Yushij* (The Collected Works of Nima Yushij), vol. I (Tehran: Nashr-e Nasher, 1985), pp. 172–182.
- 5 Ahmad Shamlu, "Pariya" (The Fairies), *Hava-ye Tazeh* (Fresh Air) (Tehran: NIL Publishers, 1976), p. 89. For a more detailed analysis of "The Fairies," see my article "A Well Amid the Waste: An Introduction to the Poetry of Ahmad Shamlu," *World Literature Today* 51, 2 (Fall 1976), 201–206.
- 6 Karimi-Hakkak, *Anthology*, p. 89.
- 7 Jalal Al-e Ahmad, "First Day in Mecca," tr. John Green and Ahmad Alizadeh, in *Iranian Society: An Anthology of Writings by Jalal Al-e Ahmad*, comp. and ed. Michael C. Hillmann (Lexington, KY.: Mazda Publishers, 1982), pp. 122–133.
- 8 Karimi-Hakkak, *Anthology*, pp. 153–159.
- 9 Mirza Aqa Asgari, "Tashyi'-e Jenazeh-ye Shahid" (A Martyr's Funeral Procession), in *Nameh-ye Kanun-e Nevisandegan-e Iran* (Journal of the Writers' Association of Iran), I (Spring 1979), 199.
- 10 Siyavosh Kasra'i, "Az Ghorub ta Khorus-khan" (From the Dusk to the Cockcrow), in *ibid.*, p. 139.
- 11 Mahmud Azad, "Farazha-i az sh'e r-e Boland-e 'Iman Hamisheh Razi-st'" (Fragments from the Long Poem "Faith Is Always a Mystery"), *ibid.*, p. 141.
- 12 Esma'il Kho'i, "Mardom Hamareh Haq Darand" (The People Are Forever Right), in *Andisheh-ye Azad*, I (February 19, 1980), pp. 11–15.
- 13 *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- 14 Ahmad Shamlu, "Sobh" (Morning), in *Taranehha-ye Kuchek-e Ghorbat* (Little Homesick Songs) (Tehran: Mazyar Publishers, 1980), p. 27.
- 15 On the attitude of Iranian intellectuals towards the language of the clerics in contemporary Iran see my essay entitled "Language Reform Movement and Its Language: The Case of Persian" in Bjorn H. Jernudd and Michael J. Shapiro, eds., *The Politics of Language Purism* (New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989), pp. 81–104.
- 16 Esma'il Kho'i, "Amizegan-e Tokhmeh-ye Changiz o Dudman-e Abujahl" (Crossbreeds of the Seed of Gengiz and the House of Abu-Jahl), in *Andisheh-ye Azad*, p. 33.
- 17 On the nationalistic views of this pioneering Iranian thinker see Mangol Bayat-Philipp, "Mirza Aqa Khan Kirmani: A Nineteenth Century Persian Nationalist," in *Toward a Modern Iran*, op. cit. [cited in note 2], pp. 64–95.

- 18 Hushang Golshiri, "Fathnameh-ye Moghan" (The Magi's Victory-Chronicle), in *Kargah-e Qesseh I* (n.d.), 1–6. The story itself is dated November-December 1980.
- 19 Ibid., p. 6.
- 20 Qodsi Qazinur, "Ketabha-ye Darsi-ye Jadid" (New School Textbooks), *Ketab-e Jom'eh*, 20 (27 December 1979), 31–41.
- 21 Ahmad Shamlu in *ibid.*, 39–41.
- 22 Abolqasem Ferdowsi, *The Shahnameh of Firdausi*, tr. Arthur George Warner and Edmond Warner, vol. I (London, 1905), p. 168.
- 23 Shamlu's footnote to Qazinur's essay (cited in n. 25), p. 40.
- 24 M.A. Sepanlu, "Ferdowsi va Dastan-e Kaveh-ye Ahangar" (Ferdowsi and the story of Kaveh the Ironsmith), *Ketab-e Jom'eh*, 31 (7 April 1980), 157–160. Also, Feraydun Jonaydi, "Aqa-ye Shamlu, Tora ba Nabard-e Deliran Chekar?" (Mr. Shamlu, What Have You to Do with the Battle of the Brave?), *Borj*, I (November-December 1980), 96–139.
- 25 Ahmad Shamlu (cited in 26), p. 39.

Chapter 2 – Protest and Perish

- 1 The account of these two attempts was related to me by playwright and novelist Gholamhosein Sa'edi in Paris in the winter of 1984.
- 2 A copy of this statement was published by Baqer Parham as part of a series of articles on the relationship between the Writers' Association of Iran and the Tudeh Party. Cf. *Ketab-e Jom'eh*, No. 27 (21 February 1980): 16.
- 3 According to Michael Hillmann, "Nader Naderpur recalls that most of the writers boycotted the event." In 1971, the Pahlavi government published a volume titled *Sokhanraniha-ye Nakhostin Kongreh-ye She'r dar Iran* (Speeches of the First Congress of Poetry in Iran), Tehran: Ministry of Arts and Culture, 1971.
- 4 The Writers' Association of Iran, "Report of the Executive Board to the General Assembly" dated 14 March 1969, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 22.
- 5 Ibid., p. 24.
- 6 The various views on Al-e Ahmad's death are described by Michael Hillmann in "Cultural Dilemmas of an Iranian Intellectual," *Lost in the Crowd* by Jalal Al-e Ahmad (Washington, DC: Three Continents Press, 1985).
- 7 Quoted in M.E. Beh'azin, *Mehman-e In Aqayan* [Guest of These Gentlemen] (Tehran: Nil, 1970), p. 5.

- 8 Ibid., p. 152.
- 9 Ibid., p. 155.
- 10 Bahram Bayza'i, "Dar Mowqe'iyat-e Te'atr va Sinema" [On the Situation of Theatre and Film-Making] *Dah Shab* [The Ten Nights], compiled by Naser Mo'azzen (Tehran: Amir Kabir, 1978), pp. 120–125.
- 11 Shams Al-e Ahmad, *ibid.*, pp. 117–119.
- 12 Baqer Mo'meni, "Sansur va 'Avarez-e Nashi az An" [Censorship and Its Implications], *ibid.*, pp. 253–265.
- 13 "Mosahebeh-ye Sa'edi dar New York" [Sa'edi's Interview in New York], dated 15 June 1978, mimeographed.
- 14 Bahram Bayza'i, *Ten Nights*, p. 122.
- 15 On this point see my essay entitled "Adabiyat va Degardisiha-ye Tarikh" [Literature and History's Transformations], *Andisheh-ye Azad*, No. 5 (April 1980): 5.
- 16 [Historical Transformations] *Andisheh-ye Haj-Seyed-Javadi's* letters were disseminated through xerox copies in various forms. In my personal collection of this xeroxed literature of the years from 1973 to 1979 I have a total of 16 letters written by him.
- 17 Gbolamhosayn Sa'edi, "Shebh-e Honarmand" [Pseudoartist], *Ten Nights*, pp. 201–205.
- 18 Nameh'i az "(A Letter by) 'Ali Aaghar Haj Sayyed Javadi," dated 19 November 1977.
- 19 Jamshid Amuzegar, "Cable to the American PEN Society," dated 19 December 1977, translated into Persian and disseminated by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.
- 20 The Writers' Association of Iran, "Nameh-ye Sargoshadeh beh Aqa-ye Amuzegar" (Open Letter to Prime Minister Jamshid Amuzegar), dated 7 January 1978.
- 21 Rubollah Khomeini, "Statement Addressed to University Students," 1977 (no date). Cf. also Homa Nateq, "Sa'id Soltanpur dar Jonbesh-e Daneshju'i" (Sa'id Soltanpur in the Student Movement), *Sosializm ya Engelab*, No. 2 (December 1982): 28–36.
- 22 The Organisation of Students Affiliated with the Ehya Confederation News and Reports. No. 22 (April 1978), quoted in *ibid.*, p. 31.
- 23 "Mowza'e Kanun-e Nevisandegan-e Iran" [the Position of the Writers Association of Iran], ratified by the General Assembly on 21 April 1979.
- 24 "Darbareh-ye Shabha-ye She'r va Ta'liq-e Goruh-e Panj Nafari" [Statement of the Writers Association of Iran concerning the Poetry-Reading Nights

- and the Suspension of the Group of Five], dated 14 November 1979, printed in *Ketab-e Jom'eh*. No. 16 (22 November 1979:) 163–167.
- 25 “Nameh-ye Sargoshadeh beh Aqa-ye Abolhassan Banisadr” [An Open Letter by the Writers Association of Iran Addressed to Mr. Abolhassan Banisadr], dated 5 February 1980, *Andisheh-ye Azad*. No. 1, p. 1.
 - 26 “Bayaniyeh-ye Kanun ... darbareh-ye Daneshgah-ha” [Statement of the Writers Association of Iran Concerning the Universities], dated 21 April 1980, printed in *Andisheh-ye Azad*. No. 5, p. 1.
 - 27 “Nameh-ye Sargoshadeh-ye Kanun ... beh Aqa-ye Doktor Abdolhassan Banisadr ...” (Open Letter by the Writers Association of Iran Addressed to Dr. Abolhassan Banisadr, the President of Iran, concerning Censorship and Strangulation), dated 10 May 1980, printed in *Ketab-e Jom'eh*. No. 36, pp. 114–116.
 - 28 “Sarkub, Estebdad, Khafegan ...” (Repression, Despotism, Strangulation – A Statement by the Writers’ Association of Iran), *Bustan*, No. 1, p. 96.
 - 29 “Bayaniyeh-ye Kanun ... darbareh-ye Daneshgah-ha” [Statement of the Writers’ Association of Iran Concerning the Universities], dated 21 April 1980, printed in *Andisheh-ve Azad*, No. 5, p. 1.
 - 30 “Nameh-ye Sargoshadeh-ye Kanun ... beh Aqa-ye Doktor Abdolhasan Bani-Sadr ...” [Open Letter by the Writers’ Association of Iran Addressed to Dr. Abolhasan Bani-Sadr, the President of Iran concerning Censorship and Strangulation], dated 10 May 1980, printed in *Ketab-e Jom'eh*, No. 36, pp. 114–116.
 - 31 “Sarkub, Estebdad, Khafegan ...” [Repression, Despotism, Strangulation – A Statement by the Writers Association of Iran], *Bustan*, No. 1, p. 96.

Chapter 3 – Authors and Authorities

- 1 I would like to thank Professor Afsaneh Najmabadi, who read an earlier draft of this essay and made a number of very perceptive suggestions.
- 2 Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, “Censorship in Persia” in *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, ed. Ehsan Yarshater, vol. 5, fasc. 2, pp. 135–142, Costa Mesa, CA: Mazda Publishers.
- 3 Christian Metz, *The Imaginary Signifier: Psychoanalysis and the Cinema*, tr. Celia Britton et al. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), p. 254.
- 4 *Adineh* was first published in newspaper form for 10 issues. Beginning with number 11, which bears the date April 1987, it evolved into a varia journal

published monthly. *Donya-ye Sokhan* began publication as a biweekly magazine in February 1986, but was interrupted after six issues. When it resumed publication after nine months, it attempted repeatedly to dispel the thought that the journal's disappearance might have been related to government suppression. Cf. *Donya-ye Sokhan*, no. 7 (January 1987), p. 3; no. 8 (February 1987), pp. 2, and *passim*. *Gardun* appeared as a biweekly journal in December 1990, and is being published more or less regularly at present. In August 1991, the publication of a front cover and an essay depicting the problem of Iranian expatriates in its 15th issue caused a violent reaction among the Islamic fundamentalists who attacked the journal's office, manhandled its staff, and caused extensive damage to its archives. The episode was chronicled in the subsequent issues of the journal. Cf. *Gardun*, nos. 17–18 (August 1991), pp. 2, 8, 9, 10, and *passim*.

- 5 Khomeini's speeches, for example, are regularly published in fresh editions wherein new selections are made, certain references are deleted, and various other adjustments are introduced depending on the state's current preoccupations. Cf. *Dar Jostojuy-e Rah az Kalam-e Imam (Seeking the Path through the Imam's Words)*, vols. 1–19, 1982–1984. This book, like other works of this nature in the Islamic Republic, does not follow a coherent or consistent editorial policy.
- 6 Ruhollah Khomeini, *Payamha va Sokhanraniha-ye Imam Khomeini [dar sheshmaheh-ye avval-e 1359]* (Speeches and Messages of Imam Khomeini [March to August 1980]) (Tehran: Nur Research and Publishing Institute, 1980), p. 238. This is the first of a multi-volume series of books, each of which contains edited excerpts from the Ayatollah Khomeini's speeches and other writings or pronouncements. Once again, there is no explanation of the editorial policies or the criteria for inclusion and exclusion of certain speeches or passages therein.
- 7 The ghazals of the Ayatollah Khomeini were published posthumously in various journals and cultural organs of the Islamic Republic of Iran, always accompanied by commentaries which relate their content to religious or mystical beliefs.
- 8 "Chahar Nameh Piramun-e she'r va Honar-e Emruz-e Iran" (Four Letters on Iran's Art and Poetry Today), *Nameh-ye Showra-ye Nevisandegan va Honarmandan-e Iran* (Journal of the Iranian Council of Writers and Artists) 6 (Spring 1982): 10–22.
- 9 Ibid., p. 23.
- 10 Ibid., p. 15. For an analysis of the poetic discourse developed on the basis of

- such dichotomies see Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, "Revolutionary Posturing: Iranian Writers and the Iranian Revolution of 1979," *The International Journal of Middle East Studies* 23 (Autumn 1991): 507–531.
- 11 Ibid., p. 16.
 - 12 Ibid., p. 22.
 - 13 Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, "Protest and Perish: A History of the Writers Association of Iran," *Iranian Studies* 18 (1985): 189–229.
 - 14 Lev Loseff, On the Beneficence of Censorship: Aesopian Language in Modern Russian Literature, tr. Jane Babkol (Munich: O. Sagner, 1984).
 - 15 For a more comprehensive analysis of this play see Kaveh Safa, "Othello in the Islamic Republic," *Emergences* 2 (Spring 1990): 131–163.
 - 16 For an analysis of Sa'edi's literary output in his years of exile see Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, "Up from the Underground: The Meaning of Exile in Sa'edi's Last Short Stories," in *Iranian Refugees and Exiles since Khomeini*, ed. Asghar Fathi (Costa Mesa, CA, Mazda Publishers, 1992), pp. 257–279.
 - 17 Gholamhosein Sa'edi, *Pardeh-daran-e A'ineh-Afroz va Othello dar Sarzamin-e Ajayeb: Do Nemayeshnameh* (Mirror-Holding Chamberlains and Othello in Wonderland: Two Plays) (n.p., n.d.), p. 85. This volume was part of Sa'edi's writings published posthumously, presumably in Paris. Khomeini's use of medical analogies can be found in many of his speeches and pronouncements, particularly in reference to Israel and his own opposition forces.
 - 18 Amirhossein Arianpur, "Baztab-e Enqelab-i Eslami-ye Iran dar Honarha" (The Retlection of the Islamic Revolution of Iran in the Arts), *Nameh-ye Showra-ye Nevisandegan va Honarmandan-e Iran* (Journal of the Iranian Council of Writers and Artists) 6 (Spring 1982): 24–46.
 - 19 An analogous situation occurred even before the Iranian Revolution had succeeded. When the Ayatollah Khomeini made a statement in Paris to the effect that the revolution will "cut off the hands of those who had plundered Iran's wealth," the world was thrown into confusion over whether the statement is to be interpreted literally or metaphorically.
 - 20 Sa'edi, *Othello in Wonderland*, p. 85.
 - 21 Manuchehr Irani, *King of the Benighted*, tr. Abbas Milani (Washington, D.C., Mage Publishers, 1990). Manuchehr Irani is a pseudonym shared by several contemporary Iranian writers. The book is authored by Hushang Golshiri, one of Iran's best contemporary fiction writers.

Chapter 4 – Of Hail and Hounds

- 1 In October 1977, the Writers Association of Iran, which for a decade had been fighting unsuccessfully for greater intellectual and artistic freedoms, conducted a series of nightly lectures and poetry readings in which a growing number of young audiences from all over the country participated and many leading writers and poets came into direct contact with their audiences. The event was viewed as an early sign of the crack in the repressive system of secret police surveillance, and constitutes a decisive turning point in the history of intellectual contributions to the Iranian revolution.
- 2 Because newspapers and periodicals were paralysed by massive strikes, these works were photocopied on xerox machines and distributed among the people demonstrating in the streets.
- 3 Cf. Mehdi Akhavan-Saleh's "My Grove" in *An Anthology of Modern Persian Poetry*, (Westview Press; Boulder, CO, 1978), p. 89.
- 4 Mahmud Azad, "Fragments from the long poem 'Faith Is Always a Mystery,'" *ibid.*, p. 141.
- 5 M.A. Sepanlu, "Tomorrow, to Iran," in / *Take the Pulse of My Country*, Tehran: Zaman Publications, 1978, p. 78.
- 6 A particularly illustrative example of this tendency occurs in Tahereh Saffarzadeh's long poem entitled "Salman's Journey" in her fifth collection of poetry, *The Fifth Journey*, Tehran: Ravaq Publications, 1978.
- 7 Ahmad Shamlu, "The End of the Game," *Little Homesick Songs*, Tehran: Mazyar Publications, 1980. The poem is dated 16 January 1979.
- 8 Esma'il Kho'i, "People are Forever Right," *Andishe-ye Azad* [Free Thought], No. 4 (15 April 1980): p. 33.
- 9 Ahmad Shamlu, "Morning," *Little Homesick Songs*, *op. cit.*
- 10 Ahmad Shamlu, "In this Blind Alley," *Taranehha-ye Kuchek-e Ghorbat*, *op. cit.* pp. 30–32.
- 11 The play was first published in *Ketab-e Jom'eh* (Friday Journal), No. 15 (15 November 1979), and later in book form. My views are based on the earlier version and I am not aware of any changes in that.
- 12 The Writers' Association of Iran, "Report of the Executive Board to the General Assembly," dated 14 March 1969, quoted in *ibid.*, p. 22.
- 13 Asghar Vaghedi, "Elegy for Poetry and the Fatherland," *Andishe-ye Azad*, No. 2 (5 March 1980): 20.
- 14 Hushang Golshiri, "Fathnameh-ye Moghan" [The Magi's Victory- Chronicle], *Kargah-e Ghesseh* [Fiction Workshop], No. 1 (undated), pp. 1–6. Only one issue published. The story is dated November- December 1980.

- 15 Javad Mojabi, "Giahist Kamelan Ma'muli" (It's a Perfectly Common Plant), *Cheragh*, No. 1 (Autumn 1981), pp. 53–69. The story is dated March–April 1981.
- 16 Mohammad Mokhtari, "October Nights," *The Journal of the Writers Association of Iran*, No. 4 (Special issue on the war, Autumn 1979).
- 17 Earlier versions of this article were presented as lectures in the spring of 1984 at Princeton University, The University of California at Los Angeles and the University of Pennsylvania.

Chapter 5 – A Well amid the Waste

- 1 *Kayhan-e Sal* (Annual Kayhan), vol. 8 (1969), p. 156. All prose and poetry translations in this essay are mine.
- 2 Quoted in *Kahyân*, 10 January 1973, p. 8.
- 3 Jalal Ale-Ahmad, *Moshkel-e Nima Yushij* (The Problem of Nima Yushij), Tehran, Mash'al va Danesh, p. 21.
- 4 These are the opening lines of "She'ri Ke Zendegi-st" (Poetry that is Life). The poem was first published in 1957 in *Hava-ye Tazze*h (Fresh Air). It has since been anthologised extensively.
- 5 From the poet's introduction to *Ham chun Kucheh-i Bi-Entaha* (Like an Endless Alley), an anthology of modern non-Persian poetry, Ahmad Shamlu, ed. Tehran, 1973, p. 6.
- 6 "Lowh" (Tablet) was written, according to Shamlu, in 1962. It was published in 1965 in *Aida, Derakht, Khanjar va Khatereh* (Aida, Tree, Dagger and Memory). My version of the poem comes from *Ârash*, vol. 2, no. 3 (October 1965), pp. 25–31.
- 7 These are the opening lines of the title poem in *Aida dar Ayineh* (Aida in the Mirror) Tehran, NIL, 1965. My version of it, however, comes from *Az Hava va Ayeneha* (From the Air and the Mirrors), an anthology of Shamlu's love poems, Tehran, Ashrafi, 1967, p. 215. Aida is Shamlu's wife and, in many of his poems, the source of inspiration in the poet's search for beauty.
- 8 This is the second and final stanza of a short poem entitled "May my Prison have no enclosure ...," published in *Shekoftan dar Meh* (Blossoming in the Fog), Tehran, Ketab-e Zaman, 1970, p. 14.
- 9 "Pariya" (The Fairies) was first published in *Havaye Tazeh* (Fresh Air) in 1957. Since then it has been anthologised in numerous places. My version comes from an underground anthology entitled *Majmu'eyi Az Ash'ar-e*

- Moteraqi-ye Iran* (A Collection of Progressive Poetry of Iran), printed in New York, pp. 15–17.
- 10 *Andisheh va Honar* (Thought and Art), vol. 5, no. 2, p. 146.
 - 11 “Taraneh-ye Tarik” (The Dark Song) appears in Shamlu’s latest volume of poetry, *Ebrahim dar Atash* (Abraham in the Fire), Tehran, Ketab-e Zaman, 1973, pp. 36–37.
 - 12 This poem, “Nameh” (Letter), is dated 1944. However, it is published in one of Shamlu’s latest collections, *Shekoftan dar Meh* (Blossoming in the Fog), pp. 7–12.
 - 13 “Shekaf” (The Gap) was one of Shamlu’s most recent poems, as yet unpublished at this writing. It was published in 1977. See *Doshneh dar Dis* (Dagger in a Plate), Terhan: Morvarid Publications, 1977, pp. 48–50.

Chapter 6 – Up from the Underground

- 1 Edward Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, Harvard University Press, Boston, 1983, pp. 5–9 and 17–30.
- 2 The expression of this feeling is an ever-present feature of Sufi lamentations in medieval Persian poetry. The most illustrative example occurs at the opening of Rumi’s *Spiritual Couplets* where the reed’s song is depicted as its lament for being separated from the reedbed from which it has been cut off.
- 3 Of these stories, only one, “The Black Wagon,” has been translated into English under the title of “The Black Boxcar.” See *Iranian Studies* Vol. XVII, nos. 2–3 (Spring-Summer 1984): 257–277.
- 4 For a general survey of this kind of separation from the homeland see Michael Beard and Hasan Javadi, “Iranian Writers Abroad: Survey and Elegy,” *World Literature Today*, Volume 60, No. 2 (spring 1986), 257–262.
- 5 Ahmad Shamlu, unquestionably a leading Iranian modernist poet, travelled to the United States in 1976 at the invitation of the American PEN club to participate in the PEN-Princeton Conference on Near Eastern Literatures. He stayed for two months before going back to Iran. Then in February 1977 he returned to the U.S. and lived near Princeton in N.J. until the summer of 1978 when he moved to London to assume the editorship of *Iranshahr*. He returned to Iran a few days after the February 1979 insurgency which toppled the Iranian monarchy and has lived there through the turmoil of the last decade.

- 6 In the text of the story, there are several instances where the Iranian writer has erroneously remembered or recorded the names of people and places. The most obvious, of course, is A.J. (instead of J.A. for J. Alfred) Prufrock. Names of English places, written in the Latin alphabet within the Persian text, also contain errors and inconsistencies, although we cannot determine whether these originate with the writer or with press people.
- 7 Sa'edi's playful presentation of this catalogue cannot be fully described here. Besides such contrasts as that between food and books and death and wedding, etc., there are linguistic plays as well, like the latent one between "Holly Rose" and *The Holy Book*. Such plays on foreign words were a constant feature of Sa'edi's conversation as well [cf. my memorial essay in Persian, "Sugyad-e Marg-e Sa'edi" (The Sad Remembrance of Sa'edi's Death), *PAR Monthly Journal*, Vol. I, no. 1 (January–February 1986): 16–17.]. What such games signify is, of course, open to speculation. I think they are somehow related to Sa'edi's simultaneous fascination with foreign languages and his inability to master any.
- 8 The most illustrative instances of such uses, I think, are those related to the character of the American sergeant in "Dandil" (Dandil) and the description of blood-givings in "Ashghalduni" (The Rubble Heap) (Cf. Sa'edi: 1981). See *Dandil* (four stories), Tehran, 1966; tr. Hasan Javadi et al. as *Dandil: Stories from Iranian Life*, New York, 1981.
- 9 "Dar Aghaz-e Safar" was published in the first issue of *Arash*, fifth series, a literary and cultural journal published under the supervision of Simin Daneshvar and Gholamhosein Sa'edi. The journal ceased publication a few months after the latter went into exile.
- 10 "Dar Saracheh-ye Dabbaghan" was first published in Tehran in the summer of 1981 in *Bustan*, a journal that lasted only a single issue. It was reprinted in the second issue of *Alefba*, the journal which Sa'edi had resumed in Paris, in spring 1983.
- 11 In the interview, Sa'edi uses the French / English word allegories / allegory as well as its more traditional Persian equivalent "tamsil." Gholamhosein Sa'edi, "Dar Saracheh-ye Dabbaghan", *Bustan*, 2nd Series, no. 1 (June–July 1981): 54.
- 12 Ibid, p. 54.
- 13 Ibid, pp. 56–57.
- 14 For an analysis of this story in the context of Iranian writers' attitudes towards the Iranian revolution see Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, "Poetry against Piety: The Literary Response to the Iranian Revolution", *World Literature Today*, Volume 60, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 251–256.

- 15 The trilogy, published in the first issue of *Alefba*, contains two new episodes and the reprint of a third already published in Tehran in 1981.
- 16 Gholamhosein Sa'edi, "Seh-ganeh" (The Trilogy), [1. "Talkhabeh" (The Bittern)], *Alefba*, New Series, no. 1 (winter 1983): 132.
- 17 It is noteworthy in this regard that in ordering the stories into a trilogy, Sa'edi has discarded the chronological order in which they had been written to return to them the chronological order of the three religions treated in the trilogy. As a result, in the Parisian trilogy the order of the stories conforms to the order of the historical appearance of the religion criticised.
- 18 Gholamhossein Sa'edi, "Seh-gaeh", op. cit., 2. "Jarukesh ...", *Alefba*, New Series, no. 1 (winter 1983): 133–134.
- 19 Significantly, Sa'edi seems to have preoccupied himself in his remaining years primarily with non-fictional writings. Cf. "Farhangkoshi va Honarzoda'i dar Jomhuri'ye Eslami" (The Murdering of Culture and Eradication of the Arts in the Islamic republic), Sa'edi: *Alefba*, New Series, no. 1 Winter, 1983: 1–8.
- 20 "The BBC Radio Interview with Dr. Gholamhossein Sa'edi," *Alefba*, 7 (autumn 1986): 6–11.
- 21 For an analysis of this story in the context of Iranian writers' attitudes towards the Iranian revolution see my essay "Poetry against Piety: The Literary Response to the Iranian Revolution", *World Literature Today*, Volume 60, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 251–256.

Chapter 7 – Poet of Desires Turned to Dust

- 1 For a general introduction to modern Persian poetry see *An Anthology of Modern Persian Poetry*, Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, ed. & tr., Boulder, Co., Westview, 1978.
- 2 For the details of the poet's biography, especially in the early part of his life, I have relied on private communication from Ebrahim Mokalla, Akhavan's longtime friend and associate. I would like to thank Mr. Mokalla for the patience and care with which he has made this information available to me. Naturally, I remain responsible for the accuracy of the details of Akhavan's life as they appear in this essay.
- 3 The poem bears the date of Dey (December 1955-January 1956). My version comes from a selection of the poet's early poetry and prose published under the title *Behtarin Omid* (The Best Hope), Tehran, Agah, 1969, pp. 166–167.

My translations here and elsewhere in this essay are deliberately literal, designed to be an instrument for a discussion of the poem's words and images.

- 4 This is the closing line of a poem entitled "Bagh-e Man" (My Grove). For an English translation of the poem see *An Anthology of Modern Persian Poetry*, p. 89.
- 5 This is the closing line of a poem entitled "Chavushi" (Caravan Song), dated April 1956.
- 6 Akhavan, *Behtarin Omid*, pp. 221–222.
- 7 Mehdi Akhavan Saless, *Az In Avesta* (From This Avesta), Tehran, Morvarid, 1965, pp. 154–155.
- 8 Mehdi Akhavan Saless, *To Ra Ay Kohan Bum o Bar Dust Daram* (I Love You, O My Ancient Habitat), Tehran, Morvarid, 1990, p. 225.
- 9 It is worth mentioning that Marxism, having been introduced to Iran earlier in the form of Soviet Stalinism, was being increasingly subjected to re-examination in the aftermath of the 1953 coup, an event in which the pro-Soviet Tudeh Party was widely perceived as having turned its back on the national desire for freedom and justice. At the same time, two young Iranian intellectuals, the philosopher Dariush Ashuri and the poet Esma'il Kho'i, were translating Nietzsche's *Thus Spake Zarathustra* into Persian.
- 10 For a discussion of this point see Sorour S. Soroudi, "The Iranian Heritage in the Eyes of the Contemporary Poet Mihdi Akhavan Salis (M. Omid)," in *Toward a Modern Iran: Studies in Thought, Politics and Society*, Ellie Kedourie and Sylvia G. Haim, eds., London, Frank Cass, 1980, pp. 132–154.
- 11 The statement occurs towards the end of "The Story of the City of Stone" and is spoken by the prince-hero of that poem. See *Behtarin Omid*, p. 263.
- 12 The allusion occurs at the end of a famous early poem entitled "Miras" (Inheritance). See *Behtarin Omid*, p. 205.
- 13 Akhavan's latest statement on the creative process occurs in an interview with a literary magazine two years before his death: "Bara-ye Cheh Minevisid?" (Why Do You Write?), *Donya-ye Sokhan*, 17 (March-April 1988), pp. 6–16. Akhavan's statement occurs on page 7.
- 14 See, for instance, Reza Baraheni, *Tala dar Mes* (Gold in Copper), Tehran, Zaman, 1968, pp. 413–448.
- 15 Akhavan, "The Story of the City of Stone," p. 256.
- 16 Mehdi Akhavan Saless, *Dar Hayat-e Kuchek-e Pa'iz dar Zendan ...* (In the Small Yard of the Autumn in Prison ...), Tehran, Bozorgmehr, 1989, p. 20. This is a reissue of three of the poet's books in one volume. It includes, in

- addition to *Pa'iz dar Zendan* (Autumn in Prison), *ZEndegi Miguyad ...* (Life Says ...) and *Duzakh Amma Sard* (Hell Yet Cold).
- 17 For the text of the poem see *Dar Hayat-e Kuchek-e Pa'iz dar Zendan*, pp. 71–83.
 - 18 For the text of the poem see *Dar Hayat-e Kuchek-e Pa'iz dar Zendan*, pp. 84–88.
 - 19 Mehdi Akhavan Saless, *To Ra Ay Kohan Bum o Bar Dust Daram*. I owe the information on this book to Majid Roshangar, founder of Morvarid Publishing House and a longtime friend of Akhavan.

Chapter 8 – A Storyteller and His Times

- 1 Almost all Persian-language newspapers published in the US have given extensive coverage to the unfolding event. However, *Khavarān*, a weekly newspaper published in San Francisco, has been exemplary in its precise and comprehensive treatment. In this essay all reports of events ensuing from Sirjani's arrest come from *Khavarān* unless otherwise indicated.
- 2 'Ali-Akbar Sa'idi-Sirjani, *Ay Kutah Astinan*, Costa Mesa, CA / Bethesda, MD, Mazda / Iranbooks, 1991, p. 204.
- 3 Ibid., pp. 8–27.
- 4 See *Divan-e Hafez*, Parviz Natel-Khanlari, ed., 2nd ed., Tehran, Kharazmi, 1983, p. 868.
- 5 These are *Suz o Saz* [Burning and Bearing], 1951; *Akherin Shararehha* [The Last Sparks], 1953; *Afsanehha, Dastan-e Manzum* [Fables: A Verse Story], 1963; *Khakestar* [The Ashes], 1964; and *Zir-e Khakestar* [Under the Ashes], 1965.
- 6 'Ali-Akbar Sa'idi-Sirjani, *Ashub-e Yadha; Yaddashtha-ye Safar* [A Motley of Memories: Notes on Travels], Tehran, Ziba, 1977.
- 7 The best-known version of the story has come to us in 'Attar's celebrated *Manteq al-Tayr*. See Farid al-Din 'Attar, *The Conference of the Birds*, Afkham Darbandi and Dick Davis, trs., Penguin, 1984, pp. 57–108.
- 8 'Ali-Akbar Sa'idi-Sirjani, "Shaykh San'an," reprint of a series of episodes originally published in 1980 in *Negin*, Sazman-e Farhangi-ye Sharq, comp., n.p., n.d., p. 10.
- 9 'Ali-Akbar Sa'idi-Sirjani, *Dar Astin-e Moraqqa'*, Tehran, Novin, 1984, pp. 15–16.
- 10 On the details, scope, and effects of the ban see *Guardians of Thought: Limits*

on *Freedom of Expression in Iran*, New York, Human Rights Watch, August 1993, pp. 78–80.

- 11 ‘Ali-Akbar Sa‘idi-Sirjani, ed. & comm., *Sima-ye Do Zan: Shirin va Layli dar Khmaseh-ye Nezami*, Tehran, Nashr-e Now, 1989. This was the last edition of the book before the ban took effect.
- 12 ‘Ali-Akbar Sa‘idi-Sirjani, ed. & comm., *Zahhak-e Mar-Dush*, 3d ed., Los Angeles, n.p., 1990. This is a pirated edition published in the United States. In Iran, the book went through two printings within three months (January–March 1989) before the ban took effect later that year.
- 13 I have not seen this work, but Sirjani refers to it in his letter to Khameneh‘i.
- 14 ‘Ali-Akbar Sa‘idi-Sirjani, *Zahhak-e Mar-Dush*, p. 146. It would be illuminating to contrast this reading of the myth with that proposed by the poet Ahmad Shamlu. Such a comparison would shed important light on the strategies of resistance to the Islamic Republic devised by the two main factions of Iranian elites, the modernist and the traditionalist intellectuals. For an analysis of the latter see Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak, “Political Posturing: Iranian Writers and the Iranian Revolution,” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 23:4 (November 1991), pp. 507–531.
- 15 ‘Ali-Akbar Sa‘idi-Sirjani, ed. & comm., *Bichareh Esfandiar*, Bethesda, MD., Iranbooks, 1992. The book, a retelling of an episode from the *Shahnameh*, was offered as a gift to those who would contribute at least fifty dollars to a fund to pay back the publishers in Iran affected by the ban on Sirjani’s works.
- 16 ‘Ali-Akbar Sa‘idi-Sirjani, letter to “Your Excellency Mr. Khameneh‘i,” undated xerox copy. In all likelihood, the letter was written late in 1990.
- 17 ‘Ali-Akbar Sa‘idi-Sirjani, *Dar Astin-e Moraqqa‘*, pp. 5–10.
- 18 *Ibid.*, p. 10.