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# The Jewish *Hāfeẓ*: Classical New Persian Literature in the Judeo-Persian *Garšūni* Literary Tradition\*

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## Abstract

*The immensity of the corpus and diversity of genres of Classical New Persian in Judeo-Persian garb is remarkable, comprising a wide-ranging multitude of genres from translations of the Tanakh and rabbinic works to chronicles, lexicographies, religious poetry, translations of medieval Hebrew poems, and a large corpus of non-Jewish Classical Persian literature transcribed in Hebrew script. Yet, Judeo-Persian literary corpora remain incompletely catalogued as well as unsatisfactorily studied. While detailed studies of the genres of Judeo-Persian literature-in-transcription, as well as comparisons with literature in the common Perso-Arabic script, are still desiderata, this article aims to undertake a preliminary survey of the extant Judeo-Persian versions of the *Dīwān* of Šams od-Dīn Moḥammad Hāfeẓ of Shiraz (d. 792/1390) and address some contextual aspects of its popularity among Iranian Jewry.*

**Keywords:** Judeo-Persian Literature; Hāfeẓ; Judeo-Persian Manuscripts; Iranian Jewry, Šufism

צו] פי ביה כה אינה צאפ'סת גאם רא  
תא בנגרי צפאי'י מיי לעל פ'אם רא  
[מא רא] בר אסתאן'ו תו בסי חק כידמתסת  
אי כאגה [באז] בין בתרח'ם גילאם רא  
חאפ'ש<sup>1</sup>

The immensity of the corpus and diversity of genres of Classical New Persian in Judeo-Persian garb is remarkable. Persian-speaking Jews have contributed extensively to Persianate

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<sup>1</sup>Ms. Heb. 28°5088, fol. 4v.

literary production, both religious Jewish literatures, comprising a wide-ranging diversity of genres from translations of the Tanakh and rabbinic works to chronicles, lexicographies, religious poetry including translations of medieval Hebrew poems, as well as the large corpus of non-Jewish Classical Persian literature transcribed in Hebrew script. Jews started to write New Persian from its early periods. In fact, the earliest attestations of Early Judeo-Persian (8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> century) are at the same time the oldest known literary monuments of New Persian.<sup>2</sup> The literary contribution of Persian-speaking Jews to Persian literature thus began already with the advent of New Persian literature in general. Nevertheless, the *belles lettres* genre of the non-Jewish Judeo-Persian Garšūni literary tradition is attested a bit later, specifically from the period of Classical Judeo-Persian (14<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup> centuries) continuing up to the beginning of the period of Modern Judeo-Persian (19<sup>th</sup> to 21<sup>st</sup> centuries). Classical Persian poetry was a particularly fascinating and intriguing genre for Jewish audiences, which is evident in the extant Judeo-Persian manuscripts. Neither the special contents of these literary corpora are satisfactorily exploited, nor are the collections entirely catalogued.<sup>3</sup> Detailed studies of this literature-in-transcription, as well as a comparison with literature in the common Perso-Arabic script are still a desideratum.<sup>4</sup> This article aims to undertake a preliminary survey of the extant Judeo-Persian versions of the *Dīvān* ('Collected Poems') of the celebrated Persian lyric poet Šams od-Dīn Moḥammad Ḥāfēz of Shiraz (ca. 715/1315–792/1390) and address some contextual aspects of its popularity among Iranian Jewry.

### The Judeo-Persian Garšūni Literary Tradition

Jewish communities all over the world used to write a variety of languages other than Classical Hebrew in Hebrew script. This allographic tradition, which by no means is restricted to the Jewish communities, is known as 'Garšūnography', denoting the writing of one language in the script of another.<sup>5</sup> The diaspora Jewish communities of the ancient and pre-Modern eras, more specifically the educated members thereof, were mostly bilingual and broadly well-appointed to manage the multilingual and multicultural contexts in which the communities lived. These languages are conventionally named by means of the prefix 'Judeo-', for example the well-known Judeo-German (i.e. Yiddish) or Judeo-Spanish

<sup>2</sup>Cf. fn. 17.

<sup>3</sup>There are about 1162 catalogued Judeo-Persian manuscripts in international libraries and collections. There exists no information regarding private collections worldwide, especially those in Iran, the US, and Israel. Two comprehensive catalogues of the two main collections of the Judeo-Persian manuscripts are so far available; cf. Amnon Netzer, *אוצר כתבי היד של יהודי פרס במכון בן-צבי* [*Manuscripts of the Jews of Persia in the Ben-Zvi Institute*] (Jerusalem, 1985); Vera B. Moreen, (ed.), *Catalogue of Judeo-Persian manuscripts in the Library of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America* (Leiden, 2015), especially pp. 5–6.

<sup>4</sup>There have been a few 'experimental' though largely ignored approaches to such comparison, cf. Jes Peter Asmussen, 'Classical New Persian Literature In Jewish-Persian Versions', *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 8 (1968), pp. 44–53.

<sup>5</sup>On *garšūnī*, a term primarily applied to the practice of using Syriac script for other languages, prominently for Arabic texts, it usages, scopes and terminology cf. George Kiraz, 'Garshunography: Terminology and Some Formal Properties of Writing One Language in the Script of Another', in *Scripts Beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, (ed.) Johannes den Heijer, Andrea B. Schmidt, and Tamara Pataridze (Louvain, 2014), pp. 65–73.

(i.e. Ladino),<sup>6</sup> Judeo-Arabic,<sup>7</sup> Judeo-Hindi/Urdu,<sup>8</sup> Judeo-Georgian, Judeo-Persian,<sup>9</sup> and so forth. These ‘Jewish varieties of languages’<sup>10</sup> profuse with *aramaisms* and *hebraisms*, namely a syncretism of Judeo-Aramaic and Hebrew with the languages of the local non-Jewish population. The shared common feature of writing a local language in Hebrew script was definitely a favoured and widespread way of both internal communication and manuscript production. The prominent role of the Hebrew Bible and the rest of the sacred tradition transmitted in Hebrew script, not only for Jewish worship but furthermore as a religious identification marker, bestowed a special place to the utilization of the Hebrew script beyond religious contexts. Hebrew was maintained almost exclusively for liturgical purposes while the active usage of a natural spoken Hebrew gradually faded among most diaspora Jewish communities around the world, including Iranian Jewish communities, until its revitalisation as everyday language in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Like other diaspora communities, Iranian Jews continued to learn and study biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew<sup>11</sup> for religious purposes,<sup>12</sup> but wrote numerous varieties of Persian and other local languages and dialects in Hebrew script.<sup>13</sup> It was only beginning in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Iranian

<sup>6</sup>For a bibliography regarding Yiddish and Ladino cf. Johannes den Heijer, Andrea B. Schmidt, and Tamara Pataridze, (eds.), *Scripts Beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World* (Louvain, 2014), pp. xv–xvi.

<sup>7</sup>Norman A. Stillman, ‘Judeo-Arabic: History and Linguistic Description’, in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, vol. 3, pp. 53–58; Yosef Tobi, ‘Judeo-Arabic Literature’, in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, vol. 3, pp. 271–278; Geoffrey Khan, *Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Persian*, (ed.) Martin Goodman (Oxford, 2002), pp. 601–620.

<sup>8</sup>E.g. the unique Judeo-Urdu manuscript (Or.13287), a copy of the well-known Urdu theatrical work, the Indar Sabha (Urdu: اندر سبھا) composed by Aḡā Hasan, known as Amānat “امانت” (1815–1858), a Urdu poet at the court of Muḥammad Vājid ‘Alī Shāh of Avadh (Oudh) (1822–1887, r. 1847–1856), dated to 1887 and copied perhaps by a member of the Indian Baghdadi Jewish community, now kept in British Library and available online; cf. Nur Sobers-Khan, ‘A Unique Judeo-Urdu Manuscript, Or.13287’, *The British Library, Asian and African Studies Blog* (blog), 31 July 2017, <http://blogs.bl.uk/asian-and-african/2017/07/a-unique-judeo-urdu-manuscript-or-13287.html>. Furthermore Aaron D. Rubin, *A Unique Hebrew Glossary from India: An Analysis of Judeo-Urdu* (Piscataway, 2016).

<sup>9</sup>Above all see Shaul Shaked, ‘Epigraphical Judeo-Iranica’, in *Studies in Judaism and Islam, Presented to Shelomo Dov Goitein on the Occasion of His Eightieth Birthday*, (ed.) Shelomo Morag, Issachar Ben-Ami, and Norman A. Stillman (Jerusalem, 1981), pp. 65–82; and most recently Vera B. Moreen, ‘Judeo-Persian Literature’, in *Persian Literature from Outside Iran: The Indian Subcontinent, Anatolia, Central Asia, and in Judeo-Persian*, (ed.) John Perry, *History of Persian Literature*, IX (London, 2018), pp. 390–409.

<sup>10</sup>For ‘Jewish Languages’, its definition and varieties see Borjjan, ‘Judeo-Iranian Languages’.

<sup>11</sup>Persian Jews were mostly fascinated by *aggadic* and *halakhic* Midrašim, which had a prominent place both in Biblical *tafsīr*s, prayers, *drašot* (“sermons”), and prose stories, as well as in the verse and poetry of the great Judeo-Persian poets, such as Šāhīn, ‘Emrānī, Binyamīn ben Mišā‘el (Aminā), and others; cf. Amnon Netzer, ‘Judeo-Persian Communities ix. Judeo-Persian Literature’, in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, (ed.) Ehsan Yarshater, vol. XV (New York, 2012), pp. 139–156.

<sup>12</sup>On the acquaintance of Iranian Jews with the rabbinical and Talmudic writings cf. Daniel Tsadik, ‘Jews of Iran and Rabbinical Literature: Preliminary Notes’, *AJS Perspectives* (Fall 2010), pp. 14–16.

<sup>13</sup>The Garšīni practice is also evidence for other Iranian languages: Christian Sogdian (Chiara Barbati, ‘The Emergence of the Allographic Phenomenon within the Christian Sogdian Tradition’, in *Scripts Beyond Borders: A Survey of Allographic Traditions in the Euro-Mediterranean World*, (ed.) Johannes den Heijer, Andrea B. Schmidt, and Tamara Pataridze (Louvain, 2014), pp. 257–278), Kurdish (Philip G. Kreyenbroek, ‘The Lawij of Mor Basilioš Shim’un: A Kurdish Christian Text in Syriac Script’, *Journal of Kurdish Studies* 1 (1995), pp. 29–35; Mustafa Dehqan and Alessandro Mengozzi, ‘A Kurdish Garshuni Poem by David of Barazne (19th Century)’, *Journal of Syriac Studies* 17/1 (2014), pp. 53–79), New Persian in Manichaean script, (Werner Sundermann, ‘Einige Bemerkungen zum Syrisch-Neupersischen Psalmenbruchstück aus Chinesisch-Turkistan’, in *Mémorial Jean de Menasse*, (ed.) Ph. Gignoux and A. Tafazzoli (Louvain, 1974), pp. 441–452; *id.*, ‘Ein manichäischer Bekenntnistext in neupersischer Sprache’, in *Études irano-aryennes offertes à Gilbert Lazard*, (ed.) Charles-Henri de Fouchécour and Philippe Gignoux (Paris, 1989), pp. 355–365; *id.*, ‘Ein manichäischer Lehrtext in neupersischer Sprache’, in *Persian Origins: Early Judeo-Persian and the Emergence of New Persian*, (ed.) Ludwig Paul (Wiesbaden, 2003), pp. 243–274.

Jews were becoming fully integrated into an Iranian middle class, that the use of Judeo-Persian has been gradually marginalized, above all under the homogenising pressure of modern school programmes using only the conventional Perso-Arabic script.<sup>14</sup>

### A typological survey of Judeo-Persian Garšūnography: Hebrew as the Target Script

As Jewish presence in Iranian lands dates back to the eighth century BCE, evidence of language contact between Iranian Jews and the members of other diaspora communities is not surprising. The Hebrew scroll of Esther, as well as other Aramaic fragments found in Qumran (e.g. 4QTales of the Persian Court, the so-called proto-Esther), indicate that a considerable amount of Persian already existed in the language of Iranian Jews as early as the Achaemenid period (549–330 BCE).<sup>15</sup> Utilization of Aramaic scripts for Iranian languages is attested from the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, when Imperial Aramaic gained the status of chancery language of the Achaemenid Empire. As a result, the Aramaic alphabet was adopted in many regions for writing local languages. Material evidence however is only attested from the Parthian period (ca. 210 BCE – 224 CE) onwards.<sup>16</sup> The allographic usage of Hebrew script for Persian, and to be more accurate for Judeo-Persian, is attested in the early periods of emergence of Early New Persian in the early Islamic periods.<sup>17</sup> It is a remarkable coincidence that the oldest written evidence of New Persian language is at the same time the earliest evidence of Judeo-Persian, in manuscripts and inscriptions containing texts of different genres, as well as memorial and tomb inscriptions, legal documents, biblical translations and commentaries, private and commercial letters, commercial notes, poetry, and historiographies from the eighth century onwards.<sup>18</sup> These texts originate from numerous Jewish centres in the Persianate world, from present day Iran and Afghanistan, to Central Asia and the Caucasus, and beyond up to Egypt, India, and China.<sup>19</sup>

The major bodies of Judeo-Persian corpora from the medieval up to the pre-modern periods can chronologically divided into three phases. The first period is between 11<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Borjian, 'Judeo-Iranian Languages', p. 240.

<sup>15</sup>Cf. Shaul Shaked, 'Qumran: Some Iranian Connections', in *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honour of Jonas C. Greenfield*, (ed.) Ziony Zevit, Seymour Gitin, and Michael Sokoloff (Winona Lake, 1995), pp. 277–281.

<sup>16</sup>All Iranian languages are written in various scripts directly or indirectly derived from Aramaic script, the only exceptions being Old Persian written in the Old Persian cuneiform script; for a good overview cf. Prods O. Skjærvø, 'Aramaic Scripts for Iranian Languages', in *The World's Writing Systems*, (ed.) Peter T. Daniels and William Bright (New York, 1996), pp. 515–535.

<sup>17</sup>The Early Judeo-Persian texts are from three general categories: inscriptions, legal documents and letters as well as *tafsīrs* and *halakhahs*. Among the earliest attestations are the three short rock inscriptions of Tang-e Azāo (TA/Ta), of today Afghanistan, dated 1064 AG / 752–53 CE, the two so-called Dandān Uliq letters (DU 1–2) of Khotan, dated to 8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> centuries, and the Ahwaz Law Report (L14/Lr) of Khuzestān dated 1020/21 CE as well as the two *tafsīrs* to Ezekiel (T6/Ez 2 and T7/Ez 1), dated ca. 11<sup>th</sup> century. For an overview and a complete list of published Early Judeo-Persian texts cf. Habib Borjian, 'Judeo-Iranian Languages', in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, (ed.) Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin, Brill's Handbooks in Linguistics 2 (Leiden, 2015), 239–242; Thamar E. Gindin, 'Judeo-Persian Literature. 1. Early Period', in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, (ed.) Norman A. Stillman and Phillip Isaac Ackerman-Lieberman, vol. 3, 5 vols (Leiden, 2010).

<sup>18</sup>For an overview of the genres and major works cf. Netzer, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup>The extant Hebrew writings of the Kāifēng Jewish community (modern Henan in China), most likely of Iranian origins, encompasses Judeo-Persian loanwords, passages, and translations, see Fook-Kong Wong and Dalia Yasharpour, *The Haggadah of the Kaifeng Jews of China* (Leiden, 2011).

centuries, during which Khuzestān, Fārs, and specifically Bukhara flourished as centres of Jewish theological studies, especially of the Tanakh. The end of this period coincided with the blossoming of Judeo-Persian poetry in Shiraz and central Iran, which lasted from the 14<sup>th</sup> to the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Subsequently Bukhara again became the flourishing core of Judeo-Persian literature around the 17<sup>th</sup> century, following the migration of many Jews from the borderline the Šafavīds and Šaibānīd borders, until the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>20</sup>

The Turco-Mongol invasion of Iran and the domination of Īlkhānīd Mongols over the Middle East during the 13<sup>th</sup> and 14<sup>th</sup> centuries CE, dramatically changed the situation of many Iranian religious minorities.<sup>21</sup> For example, the invasions meant an end for the existence of many Zoroastrian communities, especially in North and North-Western Iran.<sup>22</sup> Despite the early religious tolerance and the alleviation of sanctions towards the Iranian Nestorian Christians, already all voices and traces of Iranian Christians terminate soon after the conversion of the seventh Īlkhān, Ġāzān Khān (1271–1304 CE) to Islam in 1295, and the majority of the dioceses in Iran vanished after the 14<sup>th</sup> century. The Mongol Īlkhāns re-introduced a heavy head tax for the Jews, Christians and Zoroastrians after their accession to power, which economically destroyed the surviving minority communities,<sup>23</sup> besides inducing the destruction of Jewish, Christian, Buddhist and Zoroastrian temples throughout the empire.<sup>24</sup> Jews and Christians continued to be treated *ḍimmīs* “protected people”. But in contrast to Zoroastrians, who followed a policy of self-isolation and marginalisation to remain as inauspicious as possible, Iranian Jews did not disappear from the administration of the Mongol state and continued to be present at the Īlkhāns’ courts and regularly took part in the intellectual, cultural, social, and political life of the Muslim majority.<sup>25</sup>

The difficult financial and social conditions in the 13<sup>th</sup> century did not prevent the Jews from maintaining literary production. The corpus of Judeo-Persian literature from the period after the Mongol conquest of Iran is impressive, though barely studied. This is the time that

<sup>20</sup>Borjian, ‘Judeo-Iranian Languages’, p. 242.

<sup>21</sup>For an overview of the statuses of religions under the Mongols see Alessandro Bausani, ‘Religions under Mongols’, in *Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 5: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, (ed.) John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 538–549; Bertold Spuler, *Die Mongolen in Iran: Politik, Verwaltung und Kultur der Ilchanzeit 1220–1350* (Leiden, 1985), pp. 139–208; Šīrīn Bayānī, *Dīn-odolat dar irān-e ahd-e moğol [Religion and State in the Mongol Iran]*, 3 vols. (Tehran, 1367 [1988]–1375 [1996]); Judith Pfeiffer, ‘Confessional Ambiguity vs. Confessional Polarization: Politics and the Negotiation of Religious Boundaries in the Ilkhanate’, in *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge in 13th-15th Century Tabriz*, (ed.) Judith Pfeiffer (Brill, 2014), pp. 129–168.

<sup>22</sup>For the Zoroastrians under the Mongol and Īlkhāns cf. Shervin Farridnejad, ‘Death and Destruction: Zoroastrians during Turco-Mongol Invasions and in the Aftermath’, in *Central Asiatic Journal* 63 (forthcoming).

<sup>23</sup>For a general overview of the economic situation of Iran under the Īl-Khāns’, in *Cambridge History of Iran. Vol. 5: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, (ed.) John Andrew Boyle (Cambridge, 1968), pp. 483–537.

<sup>24</sup>Ġāzān’s hostile attitude against the non-Muslim religious communities is evident from the contemporary sources, among others Rašīd al-Dīn’s *Ġāmi’ at-tawārīḡ* give an eye-witnessed account; cf. Rašīd al-Dīn Faẓlollāh Hamedānī, *Ġāmi’ At-Tawārīḡ [Compendium of Chronicles]*, (eds.) Moḥammad Rošan and Moṣṭafā Mūsavī (Tehran, 1373 [1994]). For translation see Wheeler M. Thackston, *Rašīd Uddīn Faẓlullāh’s Jami’u’t-Tawārīḡ: A History of the Mongols* (Cambridge, 1998–1999), pp. 675–676, Bausani, ‘Religions under the Mongols’, p. 542.

<sup>25</sup>Aptin Khanbaghi, *The Fire, the Star and the Cross: Minority Religions in Medieval and Early Modern Iran* (London, 2006), p. 25; Michael Stausberg, ‘From Power to Powerlessness: Zoroastrianism in Iranian History’, in *Religious Minorities in the Middle East: Domination, Self-Empowerment, Accommodation*, (ed.) Anne Sofie Roald and Anh Nga Longva, (Leiden, 2012), pp. 175–177. The participation of a good number of prominent Jews and Christians in leading and powerful positions within the Mongol’s administration is known, among others Rašīd al-Dīn Faẓlollāh Hamedānī (1247–1318), the prominent official and historian, who was a converted Jew and vizier to Maḥmūd Ġāzān and his successor Öljeitü.

Classical Persian Poetry occupies an important place within Judeo-Persian literary production. The epic-style poetry especially flourished among the Jews and a number of famous Judeo-Persian poets, such as Šāhīn (14th century), ‘Imrānī (1454–after 1536), Bābāi b. Luṭf, Bābāi b. Farhād, and Binyamīn ben Mišā’el (Aminā) translated and versified largely Hebrew Tanakh and Midrašīm, as well as numerous philosophical and theological treatises and books. Just to mention one, the famous Pentateuch versification of Maulānā Šāhīn-e Šīrāzī, known as *tafsīr-e šāhīn ‘al ha-tūrā* is one of the earliest masterpieces of this genre.

### Classical New Persian Literature in Jewish-Persian Versions

The corpus of Judeo-Persian literature composed in the aftermath of the Mongol invasions of Iran in the 13<sup>th</sup> century is conventionally called ‘Classical Judeo-Persian’, which is in line with mainstream Classical Persian Literature, albeit in Hebrew script. Similar to the leading role of Classical Persian poetry in the medieval and pre-Modern Iranian literary tradition, the stature and significance of poetical genres, both epic and lyric is omnipresent within Classical Judeo-Persian literature. This is evident not only in the versified translations of the Tanakh, Midrašīm, and other religious works, but also in poetic historical narratives and most notably in the Judeo-Persian rendering of non-Jewish classical Persian masterpieces. There are a considerable number of Judeo-Persian manuscripts, mostly neither studied nor edited, which comprise collections of Persian poetry that is not specifically ‘Jewish’. A quick overview on these collections shows a wide variety of original compositions by Iranian Jews as well as partial and complete Hebrew-script transcriptions of major works of Classical Persian poetry. These corpora of individual classical Persian poems transposed by ‘transcriptions’ into Judeo-Persian have almost never been studied. Vera B. Moreen has recently introduced a Judeo-Persian manuscript of Ġalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī’s *Maṣnavī-ye ma’navī*, which remains a unicum pending the systematic cataloguing of the large collection of Judeo-Persian manuscripts at the National Library of Israel, Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup> The corpora of Judeo-Persian transcriptions of mainstream Classical Persian poetry comprise a wide range of literary canonical works, mostly dated from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Beside genuine Judeo-Persian mystical compositions, there are a moderately large number of transcriptions of popular Persian mystical epic romances. Among others, popular works are the narrative epic romance of *Ḥosro-o Šīrīn* by Neẓāmā Ganḡavī (1141–1209) and *Yūsef-o Zoleykhā* of the Šūfī poet Ġāmī (1414–1492). Very popular were also the *Dīvān* of Ḥāfeẓ, Sa’ dī’s *Golestān* “Rose Garden”, the *Dīvān* of Šā’eb of Tabriz (ca. 1592–1676), the *Dīvān* of Šāh Ne’matollāh Valī (d. 1431), founder of the *Ne’mat-ollāhī* Šūfī order), and poems ascribed to ‘Atṭār.<sup>27</sup> Moreover, the Judeo-Persian collections contain a good number of poems composed by unknown or less celebrated poets of Jewish or non-Jewish origin. There are also a number of poems ascribed to Ḥāfeẓ, ‘Atṭār, and other celebrated poets which do not appear in the standard editions of their collected works.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Vera B. Moreen, ‘Reflections on a Judaeo-Persian Manuscript of Rūmī’s *Mathnavī*’, in *Irano-Judaica VII: Studies Relating to Jewish Contacts with Persian Culture throughout the Ages*, (ed.) Julia Rubanovich and Geoffrey Herman, vol. 7 (Jerusalem, 2019), pp. 579–595.

<sup>27</sup>Jes Peter Asmussen, *Studies in Judeo-Persian Literature* (Leiden, 1973), pp. 67–109.

<sup>28</sup>Asmussen, ‘Classical New Persian Literature In Jewish-Persian Versions’; Moreen, ‘Reflections on a Judaeo-Persian Manuscript of Rūmī’s *Mathnavī*’, pp. 580–581.

This list reveals, besides the works which were of interest to the Jewish community as well as those which seem to be missing, that for the mainly urban Jewish community, access to certain major literary works of the non-Jewish Classical Persian poetry was part of their intellectual participations to the daily Iranian Muslim life. This is also certified by various historical accounts about the community. Jewish poets such as Šāhīn, ‘Imrānī, Bābāi ben Luṭf, and Bābāi ben Farhād, but also many others, were clearly literary agents of the Classical Persian poetical tradition and successfully tried their talent as Persian poets. So, it is actually not surprising that not only for them, but also for a good number of the Iranian Jewry who were familiar with the classical literature and poetry, the classical Persian poems were an important part of their intellectual affairs.

### Jewish Šūfīs and the Mystic Classical Persian Poetry

Šūfism exerted a significant influence on Islamic societies and most specifically from 9<sup>th</sup> century onwards centres of Islamic mysticism (*ḥānqāh*) gained currency all over the Iranian world. Variations of mystical views of the universe, life and truth became predominant and influenced Iranian philosophies and worldviews, which resulted a sort of preponderance of Šūfī expressions and terminology within Classical Persian literature. Already in the 13<sup>th</sup> century, the famous philosopher and mystic Abraham (Abū ‘I-Munā Ibrāhīm) ben Moses ben Maymon (1186–1237), son of the great Jewish legal authority and philosopher Moses Maimonides (1137–1204), tried, albeit unsuccessfully, to establish his own Jewish Šūfī *ṭarīqa*. Works of other Spanish Jewish philosophers and mystics, such as the Baḥya (Abū Ishāq) ibn Paqūda’s (1050–1165) Judeo-Arabic *Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā Farā’id al-Qulūb* “Guide to the Duties of the Heart” (usually dated 1081) played a direct role in the construction of Iranian Jewish mystical philosophy (see below).<sup>29</sup> He was a great admirer of Islamic Šūfism and introduced a series of innovations inspired by the Muslim tradition.<sup>30</sup> As already mentioned, at least one copy of the Judeo-Persian *Dīvān* of Šāh Ne‘matollāh Valī survives, which suggests a remarkable grade of fascination for the *Ne‘mat-ollāhī* order. The *Ne‘mat-ollāhī* Šūfī order (founded towards the end of the 14<sup>th</sup> century) enjoyed great popularity among other Iranian Šūfī orders and beyond. There is not much evidence to link Iranian Jewish Šūfīs directly with the *Ne‘mat-ollāhī* order, beside this manuscript. However, there is another hint which might support such connections even if indirectly, which I will discuss below with manuscript HEB. 28°5088. Both the *Ne‘mat-ollāhī* as well as *Sohravardīya* (founded by Šeyḥ Šāhāboddīn Soharvardī, d.1234) Šūfī orders were widespread in India as well and show interesting connections to Iranian Jewish Šūfism. Nevertheless, even if the Iranian Jewry never fully implemented Iranian Muslim Šūfism, however, certain aspects of Islamic mysticism which were in accordance with Jewish mysticism, and particularly Islamic mystic terminology, were quickly adopted in both intellectual and literary levels. Not to forget is that the sporadic participation of Iranian Jews in Šūfism was also part of the cultural complex of the acculturation of Iranian Jewry in the medieval and premodern periods.

<sup>29</sup>On Ibn Paqūda life and works cf. Joaquín Lomba, ‘Ibn Paqūda, Baḥya (Abū Ishāq) Ben Joseph’, in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, (ed.) Norman A. Stillman and Phillip I. Ackerman-Lieberman, vol. 3, 5 vols (Leiden, 2010).

<sup>30</sup>Shlomo Dov Goitein, ‘Abraham Maimonides and his Pietist Circle’, in *Jewish Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, (ed.) Alexander Altmann (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 145–167.

Among others, a learned merchant Jew from Mashhad, Mollā Yeḥezqel (Ḥizqīl/Ezekiel, also known as Nāmdār), who was also a teacher of Torah and Talmud, is known to have had a Judeo-Persian copy of Ḡalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī's *Maṣnavī*, from which he taught his favoured students, alongside the regular Jewish religious literature.<sup>31</sup> The account goes back to the period eight years prior to the violent revolt and forced conversions of Mashhadī Jews in 1839, known as *allāhdād*.<sup>32</sup> This stands to reason that the popular attractiveness of the *Maṣnavī* based on its numerous of Ṣūfī stories made it as a useful didactic reading. The popularity of Ṣūfī poetry, literature, and concepts can be more elaborated when we trace Ṣūfī-Jewish relations back. Ṣūfī motifs as a literary *topoi* is closely connected to the Classical Persian literature. Ṣūfī terminology and concepts have affected the literary language insofar that a separation between 'genuine' Ṣūfī and non-Ṣūfī thoughts seems to be almost impossible. These can be easily traced in the vocabulary of the almost all known Judeo-Persian poets. But the attraction of Ṣūfism within the Iranian Jewish elite learned community, goes beyond simple literary *topoi*. The interaction between intellectual Iranian Jewry and Ṣūfism has a deeper intellectual background.<sup>33</sup> Specially the Mashhad was already turned to a centre of Jewish-Ṣūfī involvements since the Nāder Šāh partly resettled the Jewish community from Qazvin and Ḡīlān to Mashhad around 1746.<sup>34</sup> It is in this newly stabilised Jewish community that Yazdī Rabbi Simān-Ṭov Melammed (1823 or 1828), known by the pen name Ṭuvya, a prolific author, poet, philosopher, mystic and spiritual leader of the Jewish community in Mashhad flourished.<sup>35</sup> He composed many treatises, both in Hebrew and Judeo-Persian, among others *azharot* "exhortations" (1896), a multilingual treatise in Judeo-Persian, intermixed with verses in both Hebrew and Judeo-Persian, as well as a commentary to *Pirqé Abot*. But his major work, a mix of both Jewish and Ṣūfī philosophy and mysticism, is his philosophical-religious book *Sefer Ḥayāt al-Rūḥ* "The Book of the Life of the Soul" (1778),<sup>36</sup> a kind of commentary on the doctrine of Maimonides on the Jewish Diaspora and final salvation. Melammed conveys sincere respect and devotion to Ṣūfism in he repetitive refrain of his *tarǔḥ* 'band (strophic poem) in *Ḥayāt al-Rūḥ* entitled "פלת כ'אב ג'פלת כ'ידאר ו'צ' צ'פ'אן דינדאר" / *vaṣf-e ṣūfīyān-e dīndār-e vaz ḥāb-e ḡeflat bīdār* "Description of the Pious Ṣūfīs roused from the sleep of neglect" (Ms. HEB. 28°5760, fol.

<sup>31</sup>Hassan M. Balyuzi, *Eminent Bahá'is in the Time of Bahá'u'lláh: With Some Historical Background* (Oxford, 1985), p. 178; Moreen, 'Reflections on a Judaeo-Persian Manuscript of Rūmī's *Mathnavī*', p. 580 n. 4.

<sup>32</sup>The incident of March 27, 1839 (12 Nissan 5599/11 Muḥarram 1255) is described by Joseph Wolff in his travelogue in the year 1843–1845; cf. Joseph Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara, in the Years 1843–1845, to Ascertain the Fate of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly* (London, 1845), II, p. 172. On *allāhdād* and the converted Jews of Mashhad cf. Raphael Patai, *Jadīd Al-Islām: The Jewish 'New Muslims' of Meshhed* (Detroit, 1997), pp. 51–64.

<sup>33</sup>Vera B. Moreen, 'Mysticism/ Sufism (Iran)', in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, vol. 3.

<sup>34</sup>The account of the rise to power of Ṭahmāspqoli Khān (the future Nāder Šāh) is attested in the second versified Judeo-Persian chronicle *Kitāb-i Sar-Guzasht-i Kāshān dar bāb-i 'Ibī va Goyimī-yi Sānī* (*The Book of Events in Kashan Concerning the Jews; Their Second Conversion*), written by Bābā'ī ben Farhād, the grandson of Bābā'ī ben Loṭf. For the text and translation cf. Vera B. Moreen, *Iranian Jewry during the Afghan Invasion: The Kitāb-i Sar-Guzasht-i Kāshān of Bābā'ī b. Farhād* (Stuttgart, 1990).

<sup>35</sup>For his life and works cf. Amnon Netzer, *Montaḥab-e aš'ār-e fārsī az āsār-e yahūdīyān-e Īrān. gerd'āwārī-o taḥqīq-o taṣṭīḥ [An anthology of Persian poetry of the Jews of Iran]* (Teheran, 1352), pp. 51–52, 365; David Yeroushalmi, 'Melammed, Siman Ṭov', in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, vol. 3; Vera B. Moreen, (ed.), *In Queen Esther's Garden: An Anthology of Judeo-Persian Literature* (New Haven, 2000), pp. 260–262.

<sup>36</sup>First published already one century later; cf. Simān-Ṭov Melammed, *Ḥayāt al-rūḥ [The Life of the Soul]* (Jerusalem, 1898). Only some sections have been translated, cf. Netzer, *Montaḥab-e aš'ār-e fārsī*, pp. 365–368; Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden*, pp. 260–265. See also Amnon Netzer, 'מלמד פרסי-אפגאני וספרו חייאת אררוח', *Pe'amim* 79 (1999), pp. 56–95.

82r–82v). This work of approximately 8,000 lines (prose and verse) was deeply inspired by the aforementioned ibn Paqūda's *Kitāb al-Hidāya ilā Farā'id al-Qulūb* [*Ḥovot ha-Levavot*]. Melammed's mystical enthusiasm admiration reads as follows (Fig. 1):

<p>“Goodly and radiant like roses The Ṣūfīs are, the Ṣūfīs, Whose carnal soul is dead, Doused their desires, the Ṣūfīs.”<sup>37</sup></p>	<p>ונדה דל כש אב גל צופ'יאן אנד צופ'יאן מרדה נפס תאסידה חרץ צופ'יאן אנד צופ'יאן.<sup>38</sup></p>
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Less than a century later, we encounter accounts of the secret Jewish Ṣūfīs of Mashhad, mentioned firstly by Joseph Wolff (1795–1862), a Jewish Christian missionary,<sup>39</sup> who arrived in Mashhad in first week of December 1831 on his way to Bukhara.<sup>40</sup> He obtained an audience with Prince Aḥmad 'Alī Mirzā Rokn-ol-Molk (1804–1855), the governor of Khorasan in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, immediately after his arrival in Mashhad. Prince Aḥmad 'Alī Mirzā was the third son of the ruling King Faḥ-'Alī Šāh Qajar (1771–1834) and Maryam Khanūm Banī Isrā'īl (1770–1843), his thirty-ninth wife, who was of Jewish origin from Māzandarān and bore five other children.<sup>41</sup> Wolff was introduced by Aḥmad 'Alī Mirzā to Mollā Māših 'Aḡūn (perhaps a reduction of Maših Āqāḡān),<sup>42</sup> the chief of the local Jewish community, who was known as Mollā Mahdī by the Muslims and with the title Nasi (נָשִׁי) “prince, chief”) among the Jews. According to Wolff, the Jewish Ṣūfīs had followed the Muslim Mollā Moḥammad 'Alī Yshkapate/Ashkeputi (probably 'Ešqābādī) as their *moršed* “(spiritual) guide or teacher”.<sup>43</sup> He gives some details regarding the manuscripts in the possession of the Mashhadī Jews, among others copies of the Persian translation of the Pentateuch (*tora*) and Psalms (*sēfer tehillim*),<sup>44</sup> a Judeo-Persian copy of the *Yūsef-o Zoleyḡā* by Molānā Šāhīn, a Judeo-Persian *Dīvān* of Ḥāfeẓ, a Hebrew translation of the Quran,<sup>45</sup> as well as a copy of

<sup>37</sup>Moreen, *In Queen Esther's Garden*, p. 262.

<sup>38</sup>After Ms. Heb. 28°5760, Föl. 82r, the transcription is mine.

<sup>39</sup>Wolff visited Mashhad twice, for the first time in 1831 and then after returning from Bukhara 1844. The details of his journeys to Mashhad are recounted in his two travelogues of 1835 and 1845; cf. Joseph Wolff, *Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews, Mohammedans, and Other Sects* (Philadelphia, 1835); Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara*.

<sup>40</sup>Wolff, *Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews*, p. 147.

<sup>41</sup>Maryam Khānūm previously been married to Aḡā Moḥammad Khān Qajar (r. 1789–1797); cf. Solṡān Aḥmad Mirzā 'Azd-do-Dowleh, *Tārīḡ-e 'azodī*, (ed.) 'Abd-ol-Ḥoseyn Navā'ī (Tehran, 1355 [1997]), p. 33; Solṡān Aḥmad Mirzā 'Azd-do-Dowleh, *Tārīḡ-e 'Azodī: Life at the Court of the Early Qajar Shahs*, (ed.) Manoutchehr M Eskandari-Qajar (Washington, D.C., 2014), p. 16. For her other children cf. Dominic Parviz Brookshaw, 'Maryam Khanom', in *Encyclopædia Iranica*, (ed.) Ehsan Yarshater (New York, 2005), <https://iranicaonline.org/articles/maryam-khanom>. Two other Jewish wives of Faḥ-'Alī Šāh Qajar were his 76<sup>th</sup> and 156<sup>th</sup> wives, both known as Khādījeh Khānūm Banī Isrā'īl. The first one had two children, who did not survive infancy. The list of the spouses of Faḥ-'Alī Šāh Qajar can be found in *Tārīḡ-e 'Azodī* by Solṡān Aḥmad Mirzā 'Azd-do-Dowleh, compiled from *Nāsleḡ-ol-Tavārīḡ* by Sepehr.

<sup>42</sup>On Mollā Mahdī and his role as British agent during the first Afghan War cf. Myron M. Weinstein, 'A Hebrew Qur'an Manuscript', *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 10/1–2 (1971), p. 44, n. 10–11. Furthermore, the Persian name of the Hidden Twelfth Šīyī Imam and promised redeemer “Mahdī” for “Messiah” (Wolff: “Meshiakh”), reveals the dominantly messianic expectations of the time among both Jews and Muslims. Not to forget is that Seyyed 'Alī Muḥammad Šīrāzī Bāb (1819–1850) has revealed his religion in 1844 and Mirzā Ḥusain-'Alī Nu'ī Bahā' Allāh (1817–1892) in 1863, both declared themselves as the promised redeemers. Many Jews converted to Bābī and Bahā'ism between 1877 and 1880; cf. Mehrdad Amanat, *Jewish Identities in Iran: Resistance and Conversion to Islam and the Baha'i Faith* (London, 2011).

<sup>43</sup>Wolff, *Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews*, p. 128.

<sup>44</sup>The Judeo-Persian translations were prepared under the supervision of the famous Isfahānī Rabbi Bābā'ī ben Nūr'el at the behest of Nāder Šāh (1736–1747) and later transcribed into the Perso-Arabic script; cf. Walter J. Fischel, 'The Bible in Persian Translation', *Harvard Theological Review* 45/1 (1952), pp. 3–45.

<sup>45</sup>For this specific Hebrew Quran cf. Weinstein, 'A Hebrew Qur'an Manuscript'.

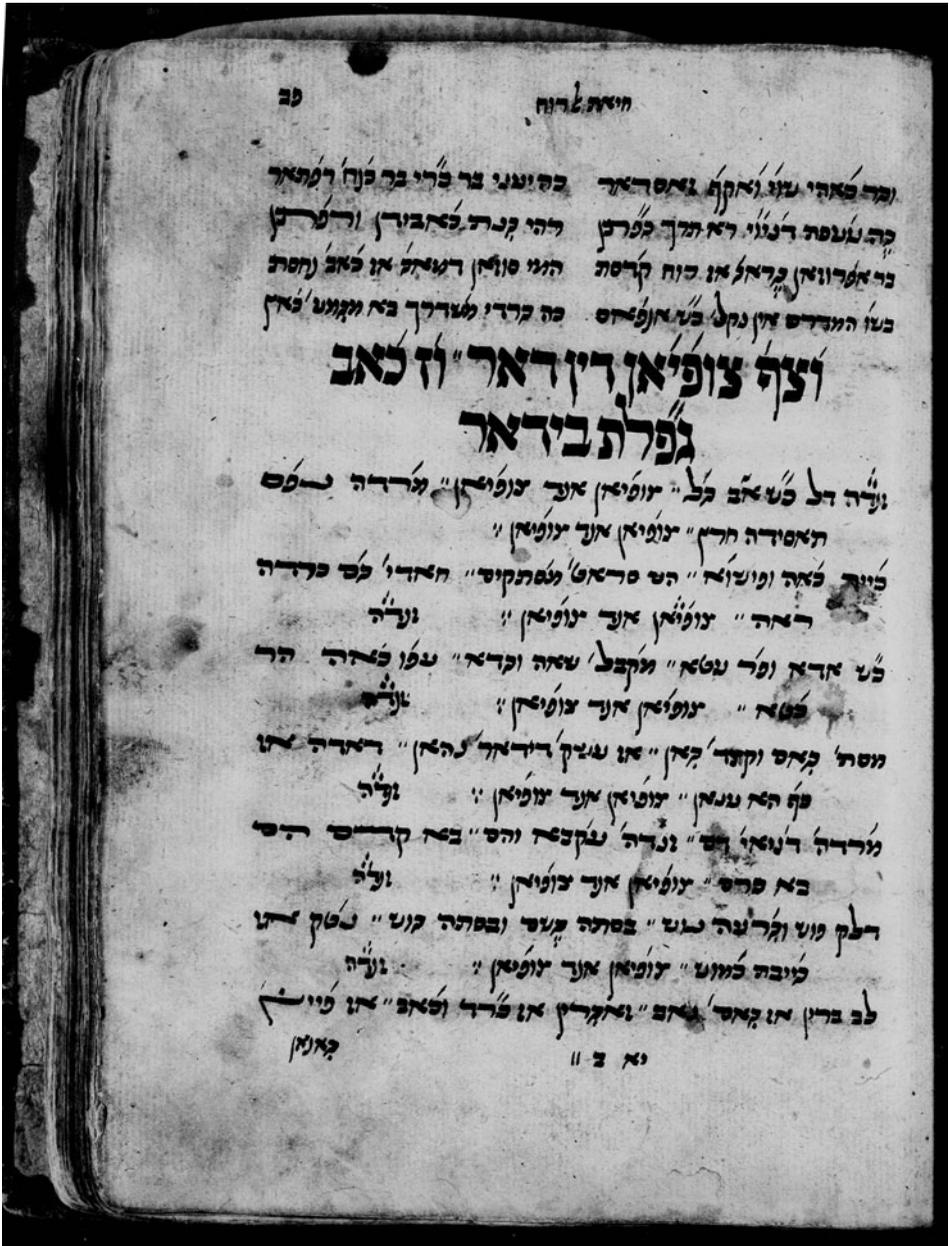


Fig. 1. The strophic poem of Simān-Ṭov Melammed entitled "וְצַף צוֹפִיאַן דִּינְדָּאָר " וְז' כ' אָב ג' פֶּלַת בִּידָאָר " / *vaṣf-e ṣūfiyān-e dīndār-e vaz ḥāb-e ḡeflat bīdār* "Description of the Pious Ṣūfīs roused from the sleep of neglect", from *Ḥayāt al-Rūh*, MS. HEB. 28°5760, Fol. 82r. Courtesy of The National Library of Israel

Ferdōs's *Šāhnāme* and a copy of Rūmī's *Maṣnavī*.<sup>46</sup> It not specifically mentioned whether the latter two are Judeo-Persian transcriptions of the *Šāhnāme* and *Maṣnavī*, or manuscripts

<sup>46</sup>Wolff, *Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews*, p. 129; Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara*, pp. 8–9, 398.

in Perso-Arabic. Despite Wolff's generally uncritical interest in manuscripts, I am inclined to suggest that again here Judeo-Persian manuscripts are meant. Wolff mentions the Jewish Ṣūfīs of Mashhad and the importance of the poems of Ḥāfeẓ and Rūmī among them in his both travelogues. In the report of his visit to Mashhad in 1831 he mentions how the Mashhadī chief Rabbi Mollā Maḥdī presented him with a mystical interpretation of Ḥāfeẓ's poetry:

The wine, Mullah Meshiakh [i.e. Mollā Maḥdī] observed, of which Hafiz sang, is the mystical wine of truth. Mullah Pinehas, Mullah Eliahu, Mullah Nissin, Abraham Moshe, and Meshiakh Ajoon [i.e. the same above-mentioned Mollā Maḥdī], belong to the Jewish Sooffees.<sup>47</sup>

And again, in the account of his second visit to Mashhad in 1844 as follows:

On my second arrival I heard more fully the history of the massacre [i.e. *allāhdād*] of the Jews. The Jews for centuries had settled there from the cities Casween, Rasht, and Yazd. They were distinguished advantageously by their cleanliness, industry, and taste for Persian poetry. Many of them had actually imbibed the system of the Persian Suffees. We heard them, instead of singing the Hymns of Zion, reciting in plaintive strains the poetry of Hafiz and Ferdousi, and the writings of Masnawee.<sup>48</sup>

Beside all these historical accounts, a quick look through the extant Judeo-Persian manuscripts clearly testifies the admiration of the Iranian Jews for Ṣūfī poetry. The affiliation of not only the Jewish Ṣūfīs, but Iranian Jewry in general, with poems of Ḥāfeẓ is in this context unsurprising.

### Judeo-Persian Manuscripts of the *Divān* of Ḥāfeẓ

There are a good number of Judeo-Persian transcriptions of Classical Persian poets, which do not appear in their common standard editions. Even if most of the extant manuscripts seem to be too young to be valuable for critical editions, the edition and analysis of these 'ghosts' together with the clearly ascribed poems have never been undertaken, it remains open if and how the variations rendered in the transcription, might help to supplement the current editions of classical Persian poetry. The understudied Judeo-Persian Ḥāfeẓ tradition does not make an exception. Jes Peter Asmussen (1928–2002), one of the most prolific scholars of Jewish Persian literature, devoted a brief chapter of six pages in his *Studies in Judeo-Persian Literature* (1973) to a short comparative analysis of four poems from the two Judeo-Persian manuscripts Or. 4745 (now at the British Library) and Add. 16 in Det kongelige Bibliotek, Copenhagen.<sup>49</sup> In the following section, I trace the footsteps of Ḥāfeẓ poems within some Judeo-Persian collections. This overview is by no means an exhaustive list and is just a first step towards future studies.

There are many selections or single Judeo-Persian renderings of Ḥāfeẓ poems scattered throughout Judeo-Persian mixed collections and miscellanea. Vera B. Moreen records five manuscripts containing poems of Ḥāfeẓ out of 198 Judeo-Persian manuscripts of the Library

<sup>47</sup>Wolff, *Researches and Missionary Labours among the Jews*, p. 129.

<sup>48</sup>Wolff, *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara*, II: p. 172.

<sup>49</sup>Asmussen, *Studies in Judeo-Persian Literature*, pp. 60–66.

of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, namely MS. 1365.8; MS. 1423.32; MS 1453.18; MS. 1478.2 and MS. 5551.1, dated variously from 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries from Iran and Central Asia (Bukhara):<sup>50</sup>

- MS. 5551 (ENA II 76),<sup>51</sup> which is a Judeo-Persian rendition of *ġazals*, mostly by Ḥāfeẓ and Ġāmī, dated to 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> century, Iran, 13 leaves. Paper (light beige); 14.5×9.7 cm.<sup>52</sup>
- MS. 1365 (Acc 57458), a collection of various Hebrew and Judeo-Persian poems, dated 18<sup>th</sup> or 19<sup>th</sup> century (?) 240 leaves. Paper (mostly dark beige and some blue); very worn and stained at the deckle; 11.5×16.2 cm. In fol. 161r–161v, it contains a Judeo-Persian transcription of a poem by Ḥāfeẓ, titled הפיו כיוגיה “[A selection of] Ḥāġe Ḥāfeẓ” (fol. 161r) not found in standard editions, followed by a quatrain.<sup>53</sup>
- MS. 1423 (ENA 185), another collective manuscript, dated 1891? [Iran], 103 leaves. Paper (light beige); heavily stained; 10.5×16.7 cm, which in fol. 97r–98r contains a vocalized Judeo-Persian transcription of a *ġazal* by Ḥāfeẓ, entitled אין ג״זלי כונה הפיס.<sup>54</sup>
- MS. 1453 (ENA 496), a Haggadah, containing Hebrew and Judeo-Persian texts, dated 19<sup>th</sup> century [Iran], 24 leaves. Paper (dark beige); water damage; ruled with ruling board; fol. 24 bound upside-down; 10.5×20.5 cm. Contains in fol. 24r a Judeo-Persian transcription of a *ġazal* by Ḥāfeẓ, entitled ג״זל הפט׳.<sup>55</sup>
- MS. 1478 (ENA 673), a collection of rabbinic narratives and Jewish Iranian tales, dated 19<sup>th</sup> century [Iran], 65 leaves. Paper (beige and blue); extensive damage; different sizes; ca. 22×17 cm. In fol. 4r–5r and 8r/v contains three *ġazals* by Ḥāfeẓ, titled ג״זל הפט׳ at the front matter.<sup>56</sup> MS. 1490 (ENA 1387 b 36), a mixed Judeo-Persian and Persian collection, dated 19<sup>th</sup> cent.? [Bukhara], 185 leaves. Paper (thick, beige); water damage; 17.2×10.4 cm. In fol. 139r–139v contains a Judeo-Persian imitation of a famous poem by Ḥāfeẓ. Furthermore it contains a Judeo-Persian rendering of a *qaṣīde* in form of *baḥr-e ṭavīl* by Zeynabī Samarqandī (fols. 140r–148r), as stated in the heading צמרקנדי בהרי טביל מו זינבי צמרקנדי, imitating a famous poem by Ḥāfeẓ.<sup>57</sup>

Beside the occasional selections or single Judeo-Persian rendering of Ḥāfeẓ poems within the miscellanea, there are also a remarkable number of survived copies of the whole *Dīvān* of Ḥāfeẓ. Moreen mentions four copies of Ḥāfeẓ’s *Dīvān*, kept at the *Jewish National and University Library*, Jerusalem.<sup>58</sup> The enlisted manuscripts are MS. HEB. 38°5106, possibly from the 16<sup>th</sup> century, MS. HEB. 28°5088, dated to the 18<sup>th</sup> century and MS. Heb. 28°3418 as well as MS. HEB. 38°5645, both from the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> centuries.

Putting aside the main texts contained in the manuscripts for a moment, though they certainly deserve an independent investigation, I want to take a closer look at two manuscripts

<sup>50</sup>Moreen, *Catalogue of Judeo-Persian manuscripts*.

<sup>51</sup>ENA = Adler-Stroock/Stroock-Adler Collection, acquired by JTSA.

<sup>52</sup>Moreen, *Catalogue of Judeo-Persian manuscripts*, p. 23. The following details are taken from her catalogue.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 121, 134.

<sup>54</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 176, 181.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*, 257, 261.

<sup>56</sup>*Ibid.*, 297, 298.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, 314, 319.

<sup>58</sup>Moreen, ‘Reflections on a Judaeo-Persian Manuscript of Rūmī’s *Mathnavī*’, p. 580.

of *Hāfez's Dīvān* from rather a different point of view, using another kind of data available, namely the notes, colophons and material traces left by patrons, scribes, owners, and readers. Investigation of these sometimes arbitrary paratextual elements may allow us to reconstruct different facets of the production, circulation, and consumption of these manuscripts. In this perspective, the most interesting manuscript among the Judeo-Persian *Hāfez* manuscripts from various collections is without doubt the manuscript HEB. 28°5088.

### Ms Heb. 28°5088

MS HEB. 28°5088 is a 18<sup>th</sup> century *Dīvān* of *Hāfez*, with the heading דיואן כאגה האפט רחמת אאה עליה אל סלאמ in 138 pages and the format of 15v20 cm, is written on Western paper (inside watermark date 1792) and holds decorative motives of *bote-ḡeḡe* (curved-top Cedar designs), flanked by two motives of *Ḥoršīd-Ḥānūm* “Lady Sun” on the initial page (fols. 1v-2r, [Fig. 2](#)). The manuscript comprises eighteen multilingual folios (124v to 138r) at the end of the manuscript, directly after the closing phrase תמת אל כתב, which are mostly *secundo manus* and relate to the various owners. The marginalia and back matter are in Hebrew, Judeo-Persian, Persian, and two ‘Indian’ scripts, and comprise selections of poetry and personal notes. The notes and selected poems added at the end of the manuscript give an interesting impression of the cultural background of its owners, and the geographical and intellectual exchange of the Judeo-Persian manuscripts of this genre. Among others the *monāḡāt-nāme* ascribed to ‘Aṭṭār, described as מנאנאת נאמה הורת מוצא עליה סלאמ דר כוח טור / *monāḡāt-name ḥaẓrat mūsā ‘alayhe salām dar kūh-e tūr*<sup>59</sup> “The intimate conversation of Moses, peace be upon him, in Mount Tūr” (fol. 126r, [Fig. 3](#)). Evidently the scribe uses the title of ‘Aṭṭār’s *maṣnavī* from ‘*Elāhī-nāme* “Book of the Divine”, referring to the biblical Moses narrative. However, according to my knowledge, the poem is not to be found within the canonical collections of ‘Aṭṭār’s works. The scribe reveals his identity by using the title צעיר “young”, usually used for means of false humility by great Rabbis:

תמ. נוישתם אז בראי רוז גאר / גר מן נמאנם אין דת [...] במאנד יאד גאר ... צעיר אשר ... באוואלפור ... שנת...  
“Finished! [I’ve] written for the sake of vanity, this script [...] will outlive me and remain as my commemoration, [written by] the young man, who [...] Bavalpur [...] Year [...]”.

The poetic formulation here is a well-known cliché of Persian colophons. Unfortunately, the year and the name of the scribe are illegible, but not of less importance, the location of the then-owner of the manuscript is clearly stated: the princely state of British India Bahawalpur in the Punjab province, today Pakistan. Bahawalpur state was founded in 1727 CE by the Muslim Navāb Ṣādīq Muḥammad Khān ‘Abbāsī I (1715–1742). The town and surrounding region, specially the neighbour historic city of Uch (Uch Sharīf “Noble Uch”), which came under the control of the Bahawalpur princely state in 1748, is known for its Ṣūfī affairs and contains numerous tombs of prominent *ṣūfis*.<sup>60</sup> Uch is also closely connected with Sayyid Ḡalāl al-Dīn Bohārī, known as Sorḥpūš (595/1198–690/1292), the

<sup>59</sup>Written *monāḡāt-name ḥaẓrat mūsā ‘alayhe salām dar kūh-e tūr*.

<sup>60</sup>For the *Sohravardīya* order in Uch cf. Hasan Ali Khan, *Constructing Islam on the Indus: The Material History of the Suhrawardi Sufi Order, 1200–1500 AD* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 199–244.



Fig. 2. Judeo-Persian *Dīwān* of Ḥāfez, Ms. Heb. 28°5088, Fols. 1v-2r. Courtesy of The National Library of Israel

renowned Central Asian Ṣūfī mystic, who migrated from Bukhara to Uch in 1244–1245, under Mongol rule. He was a Ṣūfī saint and missionary and a follower of Bahā-'od-dīn Zakarīyā' (577/1182–661/1262), Ṣūfī saint, scholar and poet who established the *Sohrwardīya* order of Baghdad in medieval South Asia.<sup>61</sup> Another note (124v) mentions also Multan, a city and capital of Multan Division located also in Punjab, today Pakistan. Like the nearby city of Uch, hosting a large number of Ṣūfī shrines, Multan was also a 'City of Saints', attracting congregations of Ṣūfī mystics from the 11<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> centuries onwards. The note (fol. 124v, Fig. 4) mentions a certain Rabbi Reuben Cohen ראוּבֵן כּוֹהֵן in Multan. Here again the title צעיר "young" is used for false humility, which suggests that the owner of the manuscript was a great Rabbi and probably a high-ranking community leader:

נוישתה שוד דר מולתאן ה' אייר שנת ת"קע"ד צעיר ראוּבֵן כּוֹהֵן  
 "Written in Multan, 5<sup>th</sup> of Iyar 5574 (April 25<sup>th</sup> 1814), the young Reuben Cohen"

The notes at the end of these manuscript here show remarkable connections to both major Ṣūfī orders of *Ne'mat-ollāhī* (mostly in Deccan)<sup>62</sup> as well as *Sohrwardīya* (in Punjab).

<sup>61</sup>Amina M Steinfelds, 'The Travels and Teachings of Sayyid Jalāl Al-Dīn Husayn Bukhārī (1308–1384)' (PhD Dissertation, Yale University, 2003), p. 47.

<sup>62</sup>Ġavād Nūrbaḡh, *Pīrān-e ṭarīqat [The Spiritual Guides of the Path]*, Motūn-e 'Erfānī 64 (Tehran, 1358 [1979]), p. 48.

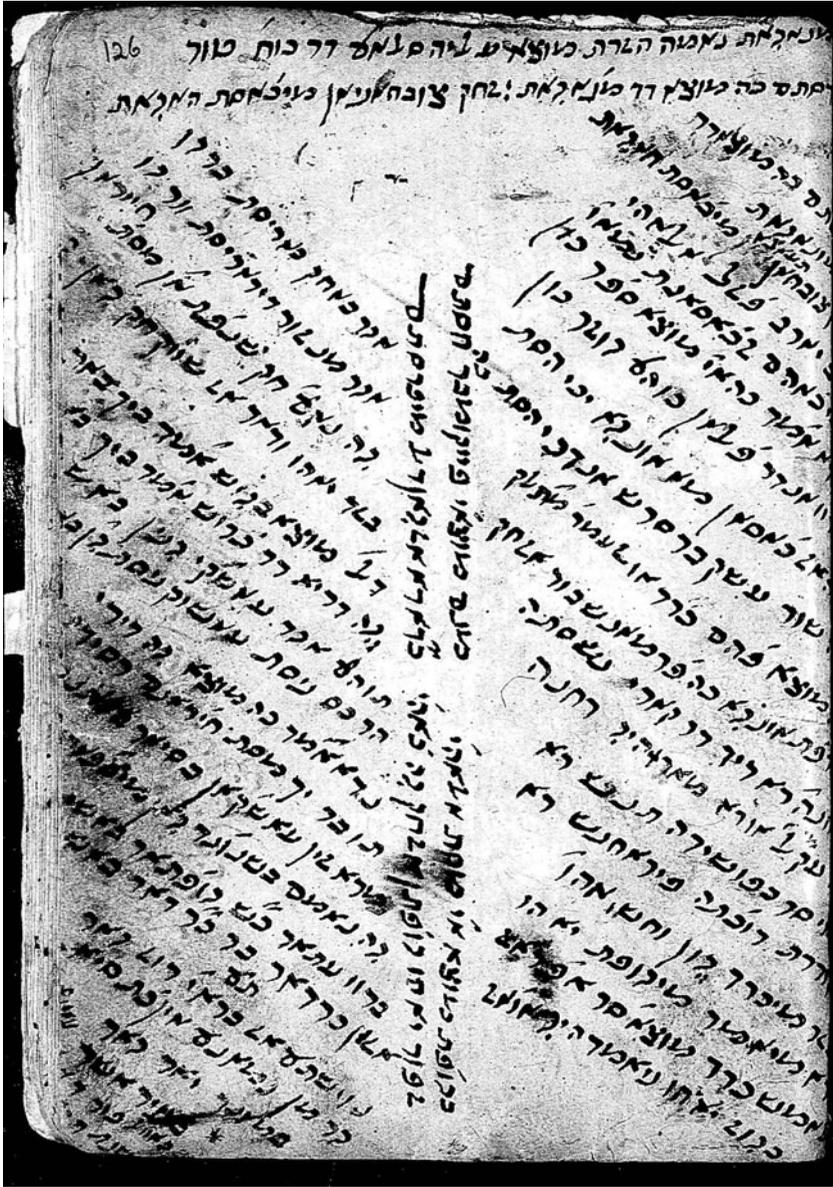


Fig. 3. Judeo-Persian *Divān* of Hāfez, Ms. Heb. 28°5088, Fol. 126r. Courtesy of The National Library of Israel

Interestingly enough, the manuscript contains two notes in two different ‘Indian’ scripts (fol. 129r, Fig. 5). The first line seems to be in Landa, an old italic that was common in what is now Pakistan and is the basis of the script of the second note below, which could be an italic Gurmukhi (for Punjabi) or Khudabadi script, the pre-Arabic script for Sindhi. It shows clearly that at a certain time the manuscript was in circulation among



Fig. 4. Detail from the Judeo-Persian *Divān* of Ḥāfez, Ms. Heb. 28°5088, Fol. 124v.

Courtesy of The National Library of Israel

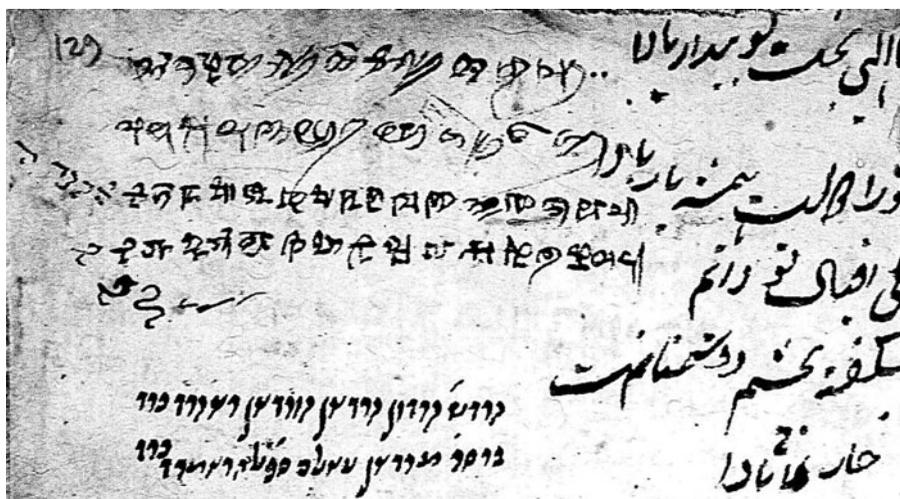


Fig. 5. Detail from the Judeo-Persian *Divān* of Ḥāfez, Ms. Heb. 28°5088, Fol. 129r.

Courtesy of The National Library of Israel

Persian-speaking Šūfī Jews in the region of Punjab, where Šūfī connections were already present.

Furthermore, beside the mention of the Bahavalpur in Punjab there are numerous other poems written both in Persian and Hebrew scripts which are signed as *از يد علی شاه / ze yad-e 'Alī-Šāh / az yad-e 'Alī-Šāh* “[written by the] hand of ‘Alī-Šāh” (fols. 128r, 130v, 131r-132r). The scribe’s name recalls again clearly the honorific titles of the masters of the *Ne‘matollāhī* Šūfī order. One of the cited poems (fol. 130v) bears a date, which is not very eligible, but eventually can be read as “تاریخ ده شعبان سنه ۱۲۱۱” “the date of 10<sup>th</sup> (?) of the Ša‘bān, of the year 1211 [AH]”, corresponding to 8<sup>th</sup> February 1797. Just to give an impression of the colourful variety of the poems noticed at the back matter of the manuscript, I render one of the very last ones in Persian script (Fig. 6) which bears the

aforementioned date, namely the two opening verses of a *gāzal* by the Persian poet of Turkish origin Molānā Badr-od-Dīn Helālī Ġaġatāhī (ca. 874–936/1470–1529):

<p>“So cruel and merciless is the heart of my beloved, How could they have mercy with my bereaved Heart-sore? O sincere friend and faithful minister! In vain you advise me to forget them, I am the one obeying the command of my heart; when was my heart obeying me?”</p>	<p>اینچنین بیرحم و سنگیندل که جانان منست کی دل او سوزد از [داغی] که بر جان منست ناصحا بیپوده میگوید که دل بردار ازو من بفرمان دلم کی دل بفرمان منست</p>
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Helālī, a faithful representative of the classical Persian poetry in Ḥāfeẓ’s poetry style was well-known in Ḥorāsān and Central Asia. The mystical contents of his works, specially his *maṣnavī* of *Šāh-o darviš* (also called *Šāh-o gedā*) “the King and the Dervish/Beggar” made him an admired poet, even outside of the Persian-speaking boundaries.<sup>63</sup> Mentioning his poems here suggests not only the circulation of this manuscript, but also the likely place of its production in north eastern Iranian regions. The scribe, the same aforementioned ‘Alī-Šāh, added an interesting note to the cited poem as follows (Fig. 6):

در پشت کتاب دوستان خط بنویس، به یادگار بگذار، شاید که بدین بهانه روزی خطت نگرند، یادت آرند.  
از يد علیشاه

Write a note at the back matter of the friend’s books, leave them there as [your] commemoration, let’s hope that by its mean, oneday s/he will look at your note and remember you. Written by the hand of ‘Alī-Šāh.

The close and friendly relationship between Iranian Muslim Šūfīs and their Persian speaking Šūfī Jews is evident.

### Ms Or. 4745

The last known complete Judeo-Persian Dīvān of Ḥāfeẓ belongs to the rich collection of the Judeo-Persian manuscript collection of British Library.<sup>64</sup> Ms Or. 4745 contains 470 *gāzals*, alongside of other poems including the *Sāqī-nāme*. The 18<sup>th</sup> century manuscript is dated to 5499 of the Hebrew calendar (corresponding to 1739 CE) and is written in 120 folios (+ 1 unfoliated paper flyleaf at the end) in quires of mostly 8 leaves each, with a page size of 215 x 160 mm (written area 175 x 140 mm).<sup>65</sup> It has a fragile brown and black leather binding (post-1600) with Islamic end bands and spine piece from leather and tidemarks at edges and stains within the text block from liquid and usage. It has a uniform layout with 21 written lines per page in Persian semi-cursive script of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and larger square initials. The manuscript contains marginal notes and additions, as well as catchwords (*rekābe*) on every verso. It was purchased from its former owner S. J. A. Churchill by the British Museum on 14 February 1894. Though in general there is a lack of information regarding

<sup>63</sup>Jiří Bečka, ‘Tajik Literature from the 16th Century to the Present’, in *History of Iranian Literature*, (ed.) Jan Rypka (Dordrecht, 1968), pp. 500–501.

<sup>64</sup>However, several folios unfortunately are missing, whereas the opening and last folios are there.

<sup>65</sup>For complete descriptions cf. George Margoliouth, ‘Persian Hebrew MSS. in the British Museum’, *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 7/1 (1894), p. 119; Glyn Munro Meredith-Owens, *Handlist of Persian Manuscripts 1895–1966* (London, 1968), p. 41; George Margoliouth, *Catalogue of the Hebrew and Samaritan Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 4 Vols (London, 1899–1935), vol. 3, p. 273, no. 948.

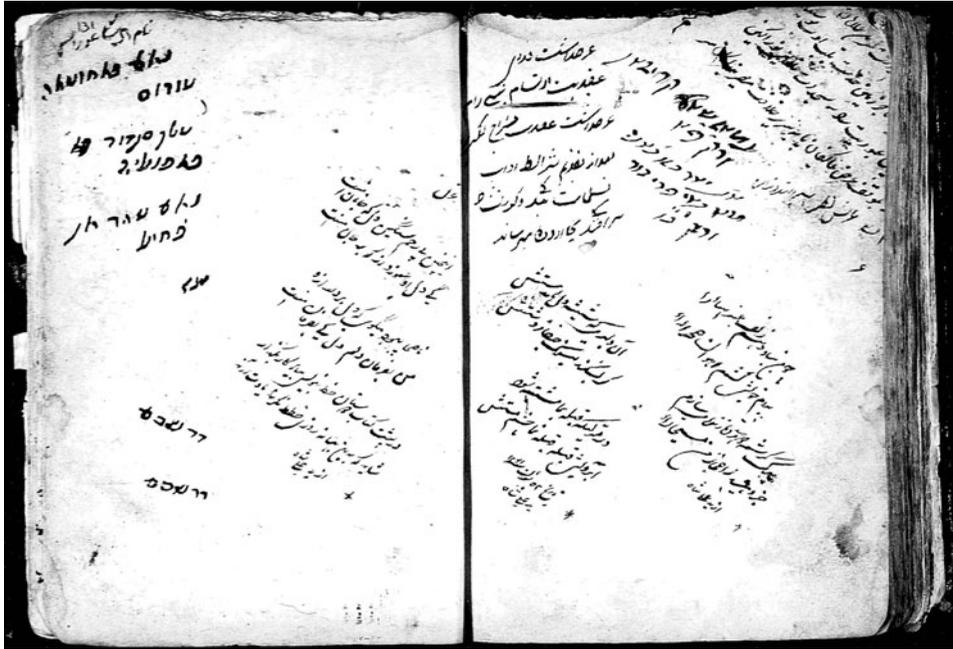


Fig. 6. Judeo-Persian *Dīwān* of Ḥāfez, Ms. Heb. 28°5088, Fols. 130v-131r. Courtesy of The National Library of Israel

the production and circulation of Judeo-Persian manuscripts, Or. 4745 fortunately has an extant colophon. The complete colophon (fol. 120v, Fig. 7) reads as follows:<sup>66</sup>

∴  
תם

נושתם אין תא בראייד רוזגאר  
מן נמאנם כ׳ט במאנד יאדגאר  
זאן כס כה נמאנד יאדגארי  
נאייד פס מרג דר שמארי

תמאם שוד אין כ׳וגסתה כתאב אז מערפ׳ית מלך. א שוערא כ׳אגה האפ׳יט שיראזי רחמת  
אלאה עלייה דר רוז ה׳ שנביה ח׳ אום אילול שנת התצט ליצירא על יד פ׳קיר חקיר (sic)  
אל בט׳אעת בנדה כמתרין משה ה׳מ׳ אברהם מולי אז גהת האח היקר הבחור כ׳א׳  
מיכאל ה׳מ׳ מורדכ׳י בכ׳אג אומיד כה מבראך באד בר נויסנדה ובר כ׳אנדה ובר  
ובר צאחב כתאב אמן נצח סלה מעתה ועד עולם הללויה.

קרין רחמת יודאן בראן באד כה כתאב רא באחמדי כונד יאד.

∴.Finished!

I wrote this so when the time comes,  
When I will not remain, this script will remain as commemoration;  
All those, who don't bequeath any commemoration from themselves,  
They won't be remembered after they death (lit. they won't be counted any more).

<sup>66</sup>Margoliouth, *op. cit.*; the colophon without any translation is only partly rendered there.



Fig. 7. Closing Page and the Colophon of the Judeo-Persian *Divān* of Hāfez, Ms OR. 4745, fol. 120v. Courtesy of The British Library

[Writing down of] this auspicious book of the poet laureate, the venerable Hāfez of Shiraz, requiescat in pace, is finished on Thursday, the 8<sup>th</sup> of [the month of] Elul of the year 5499 of the creation of the world, by the hand of this poor fellow of scanty means, the most humble lowly servant Moshe [...?] Abraham Muḥī (?), for the sake of his dear brother, the young man,

Mikā(e)l [...?] Mordechai [...?], in the hope it brings prosperity upon the scribe, and upon the reader, and upon the owner of this book, peace and eternity from now on, and forever, hallelujah.

May the one who would remember the scribe by reciting an 'al-*Ḥamd* [=the *Fātiḥa*] be loaded with God's mercy".

Not even if the colophon reveals the place of the production of this manuscript unfortunately. Though, it contains some valuable stylistic information. The colophon has a fair mixed Hebrew-Judeo-Persian vocabulary. Both names of the scribe and the owner, which manuscript was written either as a commission or as a gift are in place. A certain Moshe Avraham has copied the *Dīwān* for a Mikā(e)l Mordechai, who is addressed in Hebrew as *האה היקר הבהור* "dear brother and young man". It is remarkable that the scribe hoped for a certain merit by copying the *Dīwān* in his closing prayers by uttering the wish for eternal peace and prosperity for himself as well as the owners and readers of the manuscript. Though, such closing prayers are not surprising, by having them here in Hebrew formulation, rather than the expected Judeo-Persian, it seems that the scribe saw a kind of 'religious' or maybe better to say 'spiritual' merit in fulfilling his task. He refers to himself with humble and traditional devotional formula of self-abasement as *כמתרין אל בט'אעת בנדה כמתרין* "the poor and insignificant lowly servant" (*faqīr ḥaqīr al-baḏā 'at bande-ye kamtarin*), which denotes a certain commitment to the general *Ṣūfī* milieu. Using the very last formula of remembering the scribe by reciting a 'al-*Ḥamd* (referring to the first *sūra* of the Quran, *al-Fātiḥa*), traditionally recited in Muslim funeral services and by each recalling the name of the belated ones, signifies a deep acculturation of Iranian Jewry into the Islamicate Iranian environment and most specifically into its scribal traditions.

### Conclusion

One more aspect that could not be treated here is certainly the relation between Jewish Kabbala and mysticism to Iranian Muslim *Ṣūfism*. It is fair to suppose that the preoccupation with Jewish kabbalistic issues was a fact that cannot be neglected by talking about the Iranian and Persian-speaking Jewish tendencies towards the influence of Persian *Ṣūfī* literature. The lack of any systematic study of the manuscripts regarding this issue is a serious desideratum, which still must be undertaken. In the lack of any certain knowledge regarding either kabbalistic groups arose within the Iranian Jewish community or less conceivable influence by the European Hassidic streams, though, it can in so far be observed, that such a relation between the two mentioned metaphysical movements could indirectly be promoted by the popularity of the *aggadic* and *halakhic* *Midrašim* among Iranian Jewry and within Judeo-Persian literature.<sup>67</sup> Persian-speaking Jews were able to adopt the dominant *Ṣūfī* symbolical language and terminology alongside its mystical elements in the expression of their own, Hebrew Bible-derived, theology and philosophy.

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<sup>67</sup>On this issue cf. also Netzer, 'Judeo-Persian Communities ix. Judeo-Persian Literature', most specifically the section "Kabbala and mysticism".