A STUDY OF THE LIFE AND WORKS OF JAMES JUSTINIAN MORIER (1780-1849)

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INTRODUCTION:

1) Who is Morier?

James Justinian Morier (1780-1849) is known to us today as a writer of Eastern romances; he lived in an age when the interest in the East was great. He was lucky by his birth as he was born in Turkey and spent his early childhood in this country. Thus he obtained his knowledge about Easterners instinctively and by natural and direct ways. So Morier does not speak of the East from imagination and second-hand knowledge, as most of his contemporaries did. Thus he must be given the credit for being a true and faithful narrator of the East and its people. He tells us what he actually witnessed both in Iran and in Turkey. He is one of those Englishmen who tried to break down the barrier which separated the East from the West; he is one of the leading figures who attempted to abolish the feelings which had estranged these two parts of the world for centuries. However, Morier was quite realistic in his way of dealing with the East and so he did not try to describe the mystic beauties of the Eastern countries and their mystical and philosophical minded people with a feeling of wonder as some Eastern travellers had done. The East, when Morier was appointed a secretary to the English ambassador to Tehran in 1808, was not new to him. He had known another Eastern country, Turkey, before; and he did not naturally have the zeal and eagerness of many other travel writers who visited the same countries. Before going further, however, in explaining Morier's points of view about the East and his way of treating the Easterners it would be useful, in order to form a background for Morier and his works, to look back at the time when the relations between the West, particularly England, and the East, particularly Turkey and Iran were established for the first time.

2) A General Survey of the Beginning of the Relations between England and the Middle East.

For geographical reasons Turkey and Iran played an important part in the history of both the East and the West; so the relations between these two countries and the West go back to the time of the 16th century. English ships, however, penetrated into the Mediterranean in the last years of the 15th century. The Levant Company was founded in 1581, and the first English ambassador to the Porte was accredited in the following year. These were the beginnings of the English penetration of the Levant. There followed the resident merchants of the company, and the "intrepid" early travellers - "Sandys who climbed the Great Pyramid in 1611, and Lithgow, who got half way across Asia on foot. With the 18th century the scholars and pioneer archeologists - Dr. Shaw, Bishop Pococke - appeared and with them the more adventurous young men, who, like the Earl of Sandwich, extended the limits of the Grand Tour to include the Temple of Baalbeck or the ruins of Thebes. These early travellers regarded it as little less than a duty to record their impressions."(1) Thus, it is recorded that, "there are some forty English accounts of Cairo published before 1800, while of Constantinople, which is closer and more accessible, there must be twice as many."(2) Nearly all these accounts had one thing in common, their writers felt that they were "breaking new, or at least unfamiliar ground, and that therefore their records possessed an extrinsic value."(3) They were often right. Facts about the East were at that date what the West needed. It was of the greatest interest to learn the organization of the Sultan's Palace, the exact height of the Great Pyramid, or the precise stages of the journey to Palmyra. And in this category of travel notes we can put Morier's journals as they have the

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(1) Introduction to Eothen, Methuen and Co. London, 1948, p. xx

(2) Ibid. p. xx.

(3) Ibid. p. xx.

same didactic characteristics. But, as time passed, and "Englishmen travelling along the customary routes, or standing note-book in hand, before the major sights, became more and more frequent, there remained little to be said in the old vein. The era of the 19th century specialist was in sight - the Egyptologist, the Arabist, the natural scientist."(1)

As to Iran, particularly, its first relations with England were commercial. It was in the reign of Tahmasp that the first Englishman appeared at the Iranian court. Anthony Jenkinson, in 1557 visited Russia on behalf of the Company of Muscovy and was granted facilities by Ivan the Terrible to proceed as far as Khiva and Bokhara. However Jenkinson failed to achieve his purpose of securing a commercial agreement between the two countries. A second mission was sent to Qazvin in 1568: "for English traders were by no means disposed to be excluded from a market of which they had heard many remarkable accounts."(2) This expedition was conducted by Arthur Edwards and Richard Wills. It was more successful and resulted in a commercial treaty allowing English merchants to trade extensively in the Shah's land. However, the annihilation of the Spanish armada in 1588 opened the seas to English commerce and ended the necessity of using the land route to Iran. Thus Iran was open to the English. So the Englishmen who were interested in Iran and who were eager to satisfy the passion of their countrymen who were curious to know the East began to travel in and write their journals about this country. These journals were first didactic and were read not for amusement but for instruction. However, later on, travellers began to

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(1) Ibid. p. xx.

(2) Arthur J. Arberry, British Contributions to Persian Studies, Longmans Green, London, 1942. p. 7.

break down the classical limits and they became more individualistic in their observations of the country and its people. Yet Morier as is mentioned before, belongs to the first category of travel writers if some parts of his second journal can be excepted.

3) Literature of Travel, Travel Writers of the East and Morier's Place among Them.

The opening decades of the 19th century brought the "glorious far-off East" much nearer Europe than it had ever been. The establishment of the British Empire in India by the end of the 18th century, the French expedition to Egypt (1798-1800) and the continual rivalry between Britain and France for diplomatic influence with oriental monarchs or walis whose territory lay on the short overland routes to India, all resulted in an unprecedented increase in the number of English travellers to the East. The traveller whether soldier, diplomat, trader or young aristocrat on a tour of pleasure diligently took notes preparatory to producing the heavy quarto volumes of Travels invariably published on his return, and avidly consumed by a reading public, eager for any new information on the East.

Byron setting out on his tour of the Near East in 1809 pokes fun at his companion Hobhouse for his extensive preparations for producing a book of Travels on his return. Even before sailing from Falmouth he writes to a friend, "Hobhouse has made wordy preparations for a book on his return; 100 pens, two gallons of Japan ink, and several volumes of best blank is no bad provision for a discerning public. I have laid down my pen, but I have promised to contribute a chapter on the state of morals ...."(1)

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(1) Byron, Letters and Journals, Prothero, Vol. I, p. 226. Letter dated Falmouth, June 28, 1809.

On his return Hobhouse published his Travels in Albania in 1813, but Byron published the Turkish Tales, which gave more vogue to the East than could be given by a mere travel. "The Giaour", "The Bride of Abydos" and "The Corsair" (1813-14) caught the imagination of the readers, whose hearts were deeply stirred by the young poet. Byron, surprised by the response of the public attributed the great success of the Turkish Tales to the fact that the public was "orientalizing". "Stick to the East", - he told Thomas Moore, "..... it (is) the only poetical policy".(1) Thomas Moore stuck to the East more particularly when Longmans offered to pay him 3000 guineas "for a poem of the size of Rokeby upon some Oriental subject". They clung to the terms of this contract for almost three years, though "times were inauspicious for poetry"and thousands were encouraged by the fact that John Murray had in 1814 sold ten thousand copies of the "Corsair" on the day of publication.

The publication of Thomas Moore's Lalla Rookh in 1817 marks the peak of the Oriental vogue in English literature. This verse tale evoked the picture of a dream-land of no definite boundaries, India, Persia or Arabia, where the nights were warm and starry, the nightingales sing to the silver moon and the air was sweetly scented with the fragrance of rose bushes. All the romantic properties of the glamorous East were there: love, adventure, exaggerated passions and colourful rich scenery, with nothing reminiscent of the ugly and drab reality of Europe at the close of the Napoleonic wars.

The record of the success of this poem is astonishing, considering its poor quality. It was the romantic oriental tale at its highest; for the tide began to ebb immediately afterwards. Faint dissenting voices could already be heard to protest at the glowing picture painted in these tales:

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(1) Ibid, Vol. II, p. 255.

Commenting on Lalla Rookh, The British Review glanced sideways at Byron and his imitators:

"These miserable Turks and Greeks and Persians and Albanians make a figure only in the sickly pages of our epicurean poets; there is scarcely an individual among them whom an English gentleman of cleanly habits could endure by his side."(1)

It was the acquisition of two Oriental rogues by the colourful gallery of the picaresque novel, that finally undermined the splendid but shaky edifice of a romantic East, exploited by Byron, Moore and minor imitators. Though the picaresque, in its original Spanish form, is suspected by modern orientalists to have sprung from the Arabic Maquamat, the English travellers who first represented orientals in picaresque had no idea about such remote associations; they were only following the example of "a Spanish rogue in a French doublet", Gil Blas. They were travellers who could boast a more detailed first hand experience of one country or another of the falsely romanticized East. The information they had to impart was represented in a more imaginative way than the mere travel; they sent an imaginary Oriental on the route they had followed and let his adventures speak for themselves. The rascally Iranian who stepped into the Oriental tale in 1824 was modelled on a rascally Greek who made his entry in 1819, Thomas Hope's Anastasius. Anastasius was published anonymously in 1819. Greece, as part of the Ottoman Empire and of the Orient of the early 19th century was much in vogue after the publication of Byron's Turkish Tales. The hero ushered in, with all his make-believe, was no more an oriental than were Lord Byron's dark browed heroes.

The hero's highly coloured career took him into every walk of life in the vast Ottoman Empire and thus gave him

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(1) The British Review, X, (1817), p. 52.

a chance of describing in detail the lives of the subjects of the Sublime Porte, from the wretched inhabitants of the Bagno (Ottoman Jail) to the quaking rich Christian inhabitants of Pera and Galata, suburbs of Istanbul, where Western foreign ambassadors had their places and where the rich Christian subjects of the Sultan crowded their own mansions in the ambassador's protective neighborhood.

As so many English writers wrote about the countries they travelled in or imagined that they had done so it is not inappropriate to speak of a "literature of travel" in English literature. Here one can list Sterne's Sentimental Journey, Kinglake's Eothen, Borrow's Bible in Spain, etc. - books in which "the personality and literary power of the writer count for more than his theme, books which need not treat of anything new, but merely of something sufficiently unusual to provide an interesting topic for a writer who, in any case, would be interesting."(1) No one expects these travels described in such narratives to be historical or intrinsically remarkable. "Their value rather lies in this, that they provide a topic for literature. Their writers are known rather as authors than as travellers."(2) But such books seem to be relatively few. Among these books of travel where the literary power of the writer is stronger than anything else Morier's Hajji Baba of Ispahan deserves a place and it may as well be ranked with Borrow's Bible in Spain, which is considered a successful travel book of great literary power. As to Morier, he describes, in his Hajji Baba, Iran and a characteristic Iranian with such a graphic power and a vividness that one forgets to read the book with the purpose of learning something; the amusement which one gets from the book overbalances the instruction it gives.

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(1) "The Literature of Travel", The Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. XIV. p. 240.

(2) Ibid. p. 240.

"Most writers on travel are remembered today as travellers rather than as authors, and the value of their works lies not so much in revealing the personality and literary power of the writer as in successfully describing his journeys and discoveries; the travel accounts of such travellers had become obsolete as time passed."(1) The same doom was awaiting Morier if it had not been for his Hajji Baba. Morier, in his travel notes, which are mostly about Iran, is anxious to be faithful merely to the daily events of the time and to give exact knowledge of only what he saw and learned in this country with very imperfect knowledge and insufficient insight. He does not care about the natives as individuals; he does not bother to think about and to give his impressions about them. Despite the fact that his journals contributed a lot to his countrymen's knowledge of Iran and its people in his time they do not go beyond giving dry facts; however, his second journal may be exempted from this blame in some respects.

Morier's travels took place in the beginning of the 19th century. Yet his travel notes and his Ayesha have the same characteristics as the 18th century records of land travel in that they do not go beyond giving factual and didactic notes. Many travel books had been written in the 18th century. The characteristic travel book of that period was a heavy quarto or folio, finely printed, often beautifully illustrated, and conveying much leisurely information concerning monuments, customs and costumes; but, as a rule, these productions have about them little of the personal spirit, little of the literary touch which give vitality to travel books. However, as the 18th century passed into the 19th century many changes took place in literature. This "Romantic Revival", which transformed poetry and fiction, made itself gradually felt in the literature

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(1) Ibid. p. 240.

of travel also. Nevertheless, the solid and formal records, such as are characteristics of the 18th century, continued to appear down to about 1825. But narratives of a more natural and easy flow were already beginning to take their place. Although Morier wrote his travel books during the period of the Romantic Revival he followed the old-fashioned way and his travel books have the qualities of those of the 18th century. In many ways Morier was a conservative. It was natural then that he should keep to the old fashion, to the old tradition in writing down his travel notes. Better travel books deal less with monuments, museums, churches and institutions. Yet in Morier's travel books one often comes across descriptions of Iranian buildings, such as "pleasure houses", ruins, "medressehs", "kabob shops", "sweetmeat shops", etc.

However, some travel writers who lived and wrote about the time that Morier wrote his journals are still remembered today as their travel notes are superior to Morier's in their literary power and in their picturesque and lively style. Among these travel writers James Bruce can be mentioned. Bruce had something of a born traveller in him. He was endowed particularly with qualifications for Eastern travel. Besides, he had a strong self-confidence and a peculiar gift for mastering languages. After long travels in Barbary and Syria, Bruce left Egypt in 1769 for Abyssinia and made an extraordinary impression upon the people by his noble personality. His Travels to Discover the Sources of the Nile is very interesting and it is an exhaustive study of that particular part of the East.

E.D. Clarke is a contemporary of Bruce. He had all the high spirit and eagerness of a true traveller. His eager curiosity led him into various kinds of exciting risks; he was delighted in watching the eruption of Vesuvius, in surreptiously visiting the Sultan's seraglio in Istanbul, etc. Besides his travel book, Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa, he has diaries and letters which teach us a great deal about the East of that time.

Clarke's friend, J.L. Burchardt won an enduring fame by his extensive travels in Asia and Africa and by his faithful descriptions of Oriental life.

The tale of Oriental travel is continued by Sir John Malcolm, who published anonymously an account of his second journey to Iran in 1810 as envoy to the Shah from the East India Company. Malcolm knew Iranian when he went to Iran. So his information about this country and its people has insight and descriptive quality. He observes characters and renders eastern tales with much humour and insight. Having had the chance to speak with the people with their own language Malcolm increased the interest of his explanatory notes by quoting his conversations with the Iranians and the fables and anecdotes he had learned from them. His Sketches of Persia is a result of his stay as envoy in Iran. We can draw a parallel between Malcolm's travel book and Morier's journals. It is evident that Morier, in the suite of Sir Harford Jones followed Malcolm in his expedition to Iran:

"..... this gave rise to the mission of Sir Harford Jones, who, arriving at Bombay in April 1808, found that Brigadier - General Malcolm had been previously sent by the Governor-General to Persia. General Malcolm having failed of success, Sir Harford Jones proceeded."(1) These two men, Malcolm and Morier, followed the same routes in their travels in Iran; they lived almost the same life and they had the same experiences. Yet Malcolm has a kind of superiority over Morier as he was an expert in the Iranian language. He was often in contact with the people - speaking with them on any topic concerning Iran, asking questions when he was in doubt, trying to learn anything which aroused

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(1) Introduction to A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, Longman, London, 1812. p. xvi.

his curiosity. Consequently his Sketches is not only reliable and valuable but it also contains interesting and amusing anecdotes:

"I can truly affirm, that the sense, the nonsense, the anecdotes, the fables, and the tales, - all, in short, which these volumes contain, with the exception of a few sage reflections of my own, do actually belong to the good people amongst whom they profess to have been collected."(1)

In many respects Malcolm's travel book is much more interesting and readable than Morier's journals. While reading the former one feels plunged into the real life of Iran whereas in the latter one is quite apart from that life, only watching it from a distance. Another distinction between these two travel writers is that Malcolm is free from so many diplomatic concerns as Morier is concerned with. Besides, Malcolm is much more sympathetic to the Iranians than Morier is.

In Malcolm's wake comes Morier and tries to fill up the gaps that his predecessors had left. As a characteristic land traveller of the 18th century he faithfully describes the natural scenery around him and the particular ways of the Iranians as far as he knows about them. But from this lack of insight into the enduring characteristics of the people he wrote about and because of his dry and factual style, Morier's travel notes do not have the interest and the enduring quality of those travel books mentioned above.

George Borrow, the writer of the Bible in Spain (1843), writes as a wanderer, as the friend and companion of gypsies, vagabonds and thieves. His interest in the Spanish people is great and he would rather describe ordinary Spaniards than the aristocrats of Spain:

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(1) Introduction to Sketches of Persia, J. Murray, London, 1828, p. x.

"Le Sage has described them (aristocrats) as they were nearly two centuries ago. His description is anything but captivating, and I do not think that they have improved since the period of the sketches of the immortal Frenchman. I would sooner talk of the lower class, not only of Madrid, but of all Spain. The Spaniard of the lower class has much more interest for me, whether manolo, laborer, or muleteer. He is not a common being; he is an extraordinary man."(1)

From this point of view, Bible in Spain can be compared to Hajji Baba of Ispahan, which is written with as powerful a hand as that of Borrow. So while Morier's first written works which include his travel accounts bear the characteristics of the 18th century his Hajji Baba stories have in them all the human interest of a 19th century writer. Morier attempted to do the same thing in Ayesha, the Maid of Kars, his novel about Turkey; but he could not go far beyond inserting here and there some information about the then political situation and the geographical idiosyncrasies of Turkey.

In the year 1844 appeared two Eastern narratives, The Crescent and the Cross, by Eliot Warburton, and Eothen, by his friend Kinglake. Warburton's spirited and picturesque narrative had the greater success at the time; but Kinglake was far superior to Warburton in his description of the East. Eothen, above all, has fine literary and scholarly quality; it still holds its ground as a classic, and is known to be perhaps the best travel book in the English language. Kinglake rode from Belgrade to Istanbul, thence to Izmir, then by sea to Cyprus and Beyrout, whence he rode through Palestine and across the desert to Cairo - where he vividly describes the plague - then from Cairo to Damascus and Anatolia. From his saddle, he looks about him with something of an aristocratic aloofness (which trait of character

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(1) Bible in Spain, Murray, London, 1930, p. 175.

can be seen in Morier as well) but also with something of a scholarly and well-bred insight and sympathy. Throughout the whole book one travels in good company.

Almost all these good things may be said of The Monasteries of the Levant written by Robert Curzon. Between 1834 and 1837, Curzon visited Egypt, Syria, and Albania in order to examine and collect ancient manuscripts. As a contribution to oriental scholarship, his discoveries were by no means insignificant.

After Lord Curzon, in the list of successful travel writers of the East, comes Richard Burton. A man of cosmopolitan education and tastes and a linguistic, he has recorded the strenuous activities of his crowded life in many volumes recounting travels in Asia, Africa and South America. In 1833, Burton, disguised as a physician and assuming the name of Mirza Abdullah, made the pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, sharing all the experiences of his Moslem companions. Both Curzon and Burton excelled Morier in their portrayal of the East.

Besides Morier, many English poets and prose writers, keeping pace with the tendencies of their age, made use of certain aspects of the East in their subject-matter. Even in the 18th century there were writers who were inspired by the mystic and glamorous East; but they were limited and therefore insufficient. In 1759 Samuel Johnson wrote a didactic romance, called Rasselas, in which he tells of the advantures of an Abyssinian prince. But it is more of a philosophical satire than a story about a real Oriental. There is a touch of the fashionable Arabian tale of the 18th century in it, though much of the story is concerned rather with the traditions of classical antiquity. One can feel the same interest in the exotic Eastern countries even in Goldsmith's The Citizen of the World and in Swift's Gulliver's Travels.

Despite his imperfections Morier is, in many ways, superior to Johnson in his understanding of the East and

his extensive descriptions of Eastern characteristics.

Considering all his works together one can say that Morier is a remarkable person and one worth studying, as in his time he drew much attention from the English reading public. His works were popular at the time because of the general interest in the East in Europe. In Morier's time the Middle East was getting into the Western sphere of influence because of the changing political situation in Turkey and Iran.

So in this thesis, beginning with his travel books, Morier's other works will be dealt with; and I shall try to show how successful Morier was in his task of describing these Eastern countries and their people.

II. JAMES JUSTINIAN MORIER (1780 - 1849)

His Family and His Life.

James Justinian Morier was Huguenot on his father's side and Dutch on his mother's side. His father was Isaac Morier, who belonged to a Huguenot family, "which on the revocation of the edict of Nantes migrated to Château d'Oex, in the valley of Sarine, east of Montreaux in Switzerland, and where the name is still preserved."(1)

Some of the Moriers were engaged in commerce at Izmir; and there Isaac Morier was married in 1775 to Clara van Lennep, daughter of the Dutch consul-general and president of the Dutch Levant Company. One of Clara's sisters was married to Admiral Waldegrave, afterwards first Baron Radstock, and another to the Marquis de Chabannes de la Palice; "their sons became as distinguished in France as their Morier cousins in England."(2) The three sisters were all celebrated for their beauty, and "Romney painted portraits of each of them"(3) as was the custom among the nobility.

Isaac Morier was naturalized in England; but having lost his fortune in 1803, he was obliged to look for employment in the East and in 1804 was appointed the first consul-general of the Levant Company at Istanbul. When the company was dissolved in 1806 his post was changed into that of his Britannic Majesty's consul; besides, he was the agent for the East India Company; and he held these appointments till his death of the plague at Istanbul in 1817. He had four

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(1) Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. XIII, p. 947.

(2) Ibid. p. 947.

(3) Ibid. p. 947.

sons: John Philip, James Justinian, David Richard and William, and a daughter. His daughter was, later, married to Francis Vyvgan Jago Arundell, British Chaplain at Izmir in 1833. Arundell discovered the site of Pisidion Antioch and his natural tastes for archeology and Oriental studies were sharpened by contact with the Morier family. These four brothers were distinguished personages in their time in different fields; each of the three eldest ones left something in the way of written work.

To begin with, John Philip (1776-1853), and David Richard (1784-1877) were both diplomatists like their brother James. The former left a diary, including his impressions while accompanying the Grand Vizir in the Turkish expedition against General Kleber, whom Napoleon had left to hold Egypt. This, under the title of Memoir of a Campaign with the Ottoman Army in Egypt from February to July 1800, was published in London in eight volumes in the year 1801. The latter left two pamphlets which have to do with religion. One is called, What has Religion to do with Politics? (London, 1869). David Richard was also the father of Sir Robert Morier, ambassador at St. Petersburgh, who died on November 16th, 1893. With his death a distinguished line of diplomatists became extinct, as no male issue survived him. At the age of seventy three David Richard published his one novel, Photo, the Suliote, A Tale of Modern Greece, (London, 1857). This book is a picture of Greek and Albanian life in the first quarter of the century; and it is written with something of the graphic power of his more literary brother, the author of Hajji Baba.

As to William Morier (1790-1864), this youngest son of the brothers led an active life and distinguished himself in the navy.

JAMES J. MORIER

No full length biography of James Morier has ever been written; nor did he ever try to write an autobiography. Yet

his journals bring to light a certain part of his life, though in a very limited way. Once, indeed, his nephew, Robert Morier, began a short memoir of his uncle but it was soon left off because of the writer's illness and then his death put a stop to all his attempts.

James Justinian Morier was born in the year 1780 in Izmir, where his father was engaged in some mercantile affairs at that time. About his early years in Izmir no factual evidence can be found; but it is clear that when he reached a certain age his father sent him to England to be educated at Harrow. However, he returned to his family in Izmir in 1800 and was engaged in mercantile affairs. This is revealed by Morier himself in his first Journal.(1)

When Isaac Morier was appointed consul-general to Istanbul his son James accompanied him there in 1803. To judge from the introductory epistle prefixed to the author's Hajji Baba, James Morier seems to have been in Istanbul in the early part of 1807. In this same epistle Morier explicitly refers to a sojourn of some length which he made in Istanbul "sixteen years ago."(2) As the epistle is dated 1823, this visit to the Turkish capital must have taken place in 1807, and since Morier sailed from Portsmouth for Iran on October 27, 1807, in the early part of that year.

In the year 1807 Sir Harford Jones, who later became English Ambassador to the court of Iran, came to Istanbul with the purpose of bringing some political notes to the Foreign Embassy while James Morier was still there. In

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(1) A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 99.

(2) Introduction to Hajji Baba of Ispahan, Methuen, London, 1895, p. xiv.

Istanbul he met James, who was, at the time, twenty six years old and was living with his father. Young Morier had a strong desire to go back to England, and Sir Harford Jones took him to England as one of his political associates.

In England Sir Harford Jones was appointed ambassador to the court of Tehran, upon which he attached James Morier to the mission in the capacity of private secretary. The mission sailed from Portsmouth in H.M.S. Sapphire on October 27, 1807, and proceeded by way of Madeira and the cape of Good Hope to Bombay, where it arrived on April 26, 1808. Here Sir Harford Jones and his suite were detained for exactly five months, and it was not till October 13, 1808, nearly a year after their departure from England, that they finally landed at Bushire. In this least attractive of Iranian towns they were further delayed till December 17th, when, attended by Muhammed Zaki Khan as mihmandar, they finally set out for the capital. Besides Sir Harford Jones and Morier, the mission consisted of Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Bruce, Captain Sutherland, Cornet Willock, Dr. Jukes, and five European servants (two English, two Swiss and one Portuguese). They reached Shiraz on December 30th, visiting the interesting ruins of Shapour (which Morier describes fully in his journals) on the way, and quitted it again on January 31st. Here they remained but one week before continuing their journey to Tehran, where they arrived on February 14th, 1809. At the time General Gardanne, sent by Napoleon as ambassador to Iran, was also in Tehran. Both nations wanted negotiation with Iran. Fath Ali Shah was in suspense about the side he should take: the side of the French or that of the English. The rivalry between the French and the English ambassadors and their treatment by the Shah of Iran are sketched in the LXXVIth chapter of The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, a passage worth reading for its humour.

At last the English succeeded, and a treaty was signed between England and Iran.

Morier's stay in the capital of Iran was somewhat less than three months, for, in company with Mirza Abu'l-Hasan, the Iranian Envoy Extraordinary to the English Court, he set out again on his homeward journey on May 7th, 1809, this day being deemed auspicious by the Iranians as being the anniversary of the detested Omar's assassination. He reached Istanbul, travelling overland by way of Tabriz, Erzurum and Amasya, and then Izmir on the 18th of July; he sailed from Izmir, in company with the Iranian ambassador, on September 7th, and finally landed in England on November 25th, 1809.

No long period of rest was granted Morier. Within eight months of his return (on July 18, 1810) he again sailed for Iran, attached to the mission of Sir Gore Ouseley, and accompanied by the Iranian ambassador, Mirza Abu'l-Hasan and his suite. The presence of the volatile Iranians relieved the monotony of the tedious and protracted voyage, and supplied Morier with plenty of good material for the second part of Hajji Baba. The two missions, after a sojourn of three weeks at Bombay, finally reached Bushire on March 1st, 1811. The constitution of the English mission was as follows: - Sir Gore Ouseley, his wife and child, Sir William Ouseley, the Hon. Robert Gordon, and Morier, with two clerks, three men-servants, and two maid-servants, all English.

The ambassador of Iran was accompanied by eight attendants. In Iran Sir Gore Ouseley carried through important negotiations with Iran, with which the English mission was entrusted. On Sir Gore Ouseley's return to England in 1814, Morier was left in charge of the embassy at Tehran. A year later, after a residence of more than six years in the country, he received his letter of recall. On December 17th, 1816, he once more completed the overland journey to Istanbul, from where he returned to London, and received a pension from the government.

Save for two years' special service in Mexico (1824-26) his diplomatic career was now at an end, and the remainder of his life was passed in literary ease. He remained for two years in Mexico and carried on negotiations for a treaty of friendship between Britain and Mexico. When a treaty was finally made in London on 26th December, 1826 he signed it as one of the plenipotentiaries for Britain. His second journal, A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople appeared in 1818, and was followed in 1824 by the Iranian, and in 1828 by the English, adventures of Hajji Baba. These were by far his best works, and on them rests his reputation as a writer of fiction, and an observer of men and lands. If we except Zohrab, the Hostage (1832) and Ayesha, the Maid of Kars (1834) it may safely be said that of the remainder scarcely even the titles are known, and though Morier lived for fifteen years after the publication of Ayesha, and during that time composed at least five other works of fiction, it is doubtful if his literary reputation was at all increased by them.

Though it is known that Morier married a lady named Harriet, daughter of William Fulke Greville, after his return to England from his Eastern travels, the exact date of the event is unknown. They had a son named Greville and a daughter, Mary Frances, who later married a Frenchman, John Gideon La Fontaine, who by the wish of his father-in-law became a naturalized British subject.

The latter part of James Morier's life was spent at Brighton where he died on 19th March, 1849.

An extract from Fraser's Magazine, 7:159 (February, 1833),[1] gives an idea of the author's personality:

"In other respects he lives in a very good style in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, pretty much as people of his class and order are accustomed to do, in a house almost as full of pretty things as that of our old friend Sam Rogers. He

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(1) The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature. Vol. III, Cambridge, 1940, p. 411.

does not by any means resemble his Mahometan heroes in an Islamite abhorrence of wine, being in that respect a most Orthodox Christian, nor has he any likeness whatsoever to the tyrant eunuch of his Zohrab in cruelty or any other particular. He is a good-looking, good-humoured Tory, now somewhat passed the 'mezzo cammin della nostra vita', but still fit for his work, and if we are not misinformed, very busy at his present writing."

Moreover it is added that Morier was very like his 'Persian' hero 'Hajji Baba' in many respects, e.g. in his buoyant and lively nature.

III. MORIER'S TRAVEL BOOKS:

1) His First Travel Book.

a) The Contents of the First Travel Book:

By profession a diplomat, Morier was by temperament an ideal traveller. This travel book was the result of his stay in Iran during the years 1808-1809. He went to Iran on political errands and in the capacity of private secretary to Sir Harford Jones. So his book follows faithfully the mission's travels and its procedure in Iran. It is important from two points of view: first, it is the first travel book written in English on Iran which gives a comprehensive picture of that country. Secondly, it gives an account of the English mission's procedure in Tehran which has great historical importance.

In order to understand the importance of this English mission one must return to the time when Napoleon had serious intentions concerning India. The English and the French struggled hard to win the Shah of Iran to their sides; however, the English succeeded at the end, and signed a treaty with Iran.

Before making a study of Morier's travel book it is necessary to remark that Morier could not speak the Iranian language during his first journey. He was fluent enough in Turkish, - a fact proved by his remark(1) that he made a very civil speech in that language; yet, though he reports the substance of the conversations conducted in Iranian (with which, however, he may have been subsequently made

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(1) A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 20.

acquainted by Sir Harford Jones, whose fluency in Iranian excited the admiration of Fath Ali Shah himself)[1] it is impossible to find in the narrative of the first journey any explicit statement that he was able to speak it at all. Indeed he expressly disavows any intimacy with it: "From the comparative shortness of my stay in Persia, I cannot presume to delineate the national character. I shall therefore spare the reader any general observations, which can be rendered of decisive authority only by the experience of years, and an intimate acquaintance with the literature and amusements, as well as with the administration of a country. The simple incidents of my journal, as they occur, may perhaps afford to every reader better materials for the illustration of the manners and society and government of Persia, than any systematic conclusions which he might have been able to extract from the same scenes and subjects."[2]

Morier, in the preface to the work, enumerates the merits of his journal and says that he actually noted down everything which struck him as possessing the characteristics of Iran. He depicted the country as he saw it.

From the references he gives, it is clear that Morier had read quite a number of travel books in French written on Iran before he went to that country. So he knew beforehand what Iran was like and he was not totally unfamiliar with its characteristics. These travel books were those of Chardin, Olivier, Niebuhr and Gardenne. At the end of this process, comparisons arose in his mind between what he saw and what he had read about Iran.

The travel book begins with a preface. It includes a description of the mission's route - "a hasty drawing", an acknowledgement of gratitude to Mirza Abu'l Hasan, the Envoy Extraordinary of Iran, (as he helped Morier to get

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(1) Ibid. p. 218.

(2) Ibid. p. 248

information about his country and his countrymen), and a list of the engravings and maps which Morier himself drew. He concludes the preface with his remark that extensive communication was going to be opened between Iran and England and finally predicted that "among other subjects of inquiry, its numerous antiquities, which have as yet been but imperfectly explored, will throw new lights upon its ancient history, manners, religion and language."(1) Morier's purpose in writing this travel book is to make the Englishmen of his time to get to know Iran, which was an object of curiosity as an Eastern country.

In addition to a preface Morier wrote an Introduction to his travel book, which sketches the recent history of Iran, that is, the period which begins with the death of Nadir Shah and ends with the accession of Fath Ali Shah.

The book mainly deals with Iran and its people at that time. Morier looks at Iran from different points of view, - geographical, zoological, natural, architectural, historical, political, etc. Yet, apart from his interest in Iran itself, he was interested in its people as well. He watched the peculiarities, characteristics and idiosyncrasies of the Iranians carefully. He writes about their superstitions, vanity, hospitality, ignorance, exaggerations and frivolity in detail. Moreover he gives much information about the customs of the people in Iran. However, one point is worth mentioning here: Morier mixed only with those Iranians who belonged to the Court. So his experiences are confined only to the Iranians of high rank. Writing in 1812 he felt that it would be presumptuous for him after so short a stay to pronounce upon national qualities.

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(1) Preface to A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. vii.

Having been born in a Turkish city, and consequently having got his first impressions of childhood in an Eastern country Morier was familiar with the East before he came to Iran. The result was that while walking around in Iran and watching everything that struck him as being purely Eastern, his early impressions returned to him: "The trades in Persia as in Turkey are carried on in separate bazars; in which their shops are extended adjacent to each other on both sides of the building."(1)

The Turcomans, a tribe living in the northern part of Iran, interested Morier very much. Consequently he got information about them from a native of Mazanderan, which he added to his account of Iran and Iranians. There is also a description of Morier's second visit to Shapour, where he went with the purpose of trying to find some kind of money which had been used in the old days.

Apart from casual hints all through the Journal Morier speaks of Turkey in two whole chapters of his work. These chapters are under such headings as "Arzroum to Amasia", and "Amasia to Constantinople". However, these are hasty observations of what Morier saw during his speedy journey from the East of Turkey to Istanbul. After Tabriz Morier's next stop was Erzurum. He arrived there on the 15th June, 1809, and he was in Istanbul on the 18th July 1809. The whole duration of his journey in Turkey was only thirty two days. And it was too short a time to reveal much about Turkey and the Turks. So Morier's notes on Turkey and Turkish people, are naturally incomplete and deficient.

The editor, Robert Harry Inglis, added some notes to Morier's memoranda in which he explains some words and terms in the language of Iran.

As an appendix, Morier gives a list which contains

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(1) Ibid. p. 273.

the value of money in Iran, with a sketch of the routes he had followed. Finally, with a meteorological journal and an index Morier closes his first journal.

b) Characteristics of Morier's First Travel Book.

This travel book of Morier has all the qualities of a characteristic 18th century travel book, both in appearance and in content. It is beautifully printed and illustrated with Morier's own drawings and sketches. It is quite a ponderous book in folio; it is mostly documentary than otherwise. Morier tries his best to be impartial, unprejudiced, and tolerant in the information he gives. He is accurate and fastidious in his descriptions, and is very anxious to be exact in his knowledge of the East. As he claims himself too his only aim in writing such a book is to give a plain and truthful account of Iranians and their country. One can see very easily on every page of the book how comprehensive and detailed his information is. In form it has the characteristics of a diary. Morier kept his journal every day, and noted down the specific events of each day from an entirely objective point of view. That a writer puts something of himself in his work is evident enough; looking at his work it is possible to arrive at the conclusion that Morier had strong religious beliefs. The amusing passages among his explanatory notes reveal his sense of humour. Again from the same book one finds out Morier as a young man of a very comprehensive mind - always ready to serve, energetic, active and healthy, a keen observer full of vigour and zeal. The following passage helps one to learn in what condition Morier stood spiritually and physically in his first journey to Iran:

> "Little sleep is necessary to the body: when I was awakened by my janizery, just at the dusk of the evening, I thought that it was the grey of the morning, and that I had slept through the night; and I upbraided him therefore with laziness, for not having preceded as we agreed the night before. I felt as refreshed with

> the three hours, as if I had slept undisturbed through a whole night, although I had taken no sleep since I had left Amasia except what had been forced upon me when on my horse. Though sleep will certainly overcome us in defiance of all our efforts, a few minutes suffice; and when the strongest paroxysm is over, refresh indeed as much as hours in bed. We are seldom aware how little sleep and how little food are necessary for health and strength."(1)

The style he uses in the book is simple, direct, clear, and straightforward. He kept some Iranian words as they are. In doing so he must have followed the following direction:

> "Never change native names, for there are Names in every nation God-given, of unexplained power in the mysteries."(2)

The book was translated into German and French. The plates which the English publication has are included in its French translation also. This French translation was done by a Frenchman, who gives only his initials: M.E. in 1813. Yet, before the publication of this translation, the book had been printed serially in a French newspaper by the same M.E. To the French translation the editor wrote a foreword in which he speaks in favour of the book; he says that since Chardin no travel book in French has come out about Iran except that of Morier. However some additions are made to the French translation. These are the travel notes of Beauchamp and Scott-Waring. In the introduction the translator wrote to the book he points out that many travellers had come to Iran on personal business. But they all came with prejudiced minds, excepting Scott-Waring

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(1) Ibid. p. 353-4.

(2) A Chaldean Oracle quoted by Ogden and Richards in The Meaning of Meaning, p. 136.

and Beauchamp, whose notes served as complementary to Morier's. Scott-Waring, as the translator admits, wanted to reflect Iran and its people as they really were at the time. However he had an advantage over Morier: He knew the language of the country. As to Beauchamp, his notes consist of information about the geographical and historical facts and further information about some towns and cities in Turkey such as Trabzon, Sinop, Inceburun and Amasra.

Before Morier there were, indeed, some travellers of Iran such as Otter, Le Compte de Ferrieres, Sauveboeuf, and Olivier. But none of them could give a fair picture of Iran. Ferrier left some notes on Iran but his travels were hasty and his notes, therefore, not complete and comprehensive. Oliver's notes may well be considered better. Yet it is Morier's work only which gives a complete picture of Iran, with the help of Chardin's notes. Morier accomplished his task wisely and systematically. He portrays the customs and traditions in Iran with the ability of a well-trained observor. M.E. explains also the behaviour and the attitude of the Iranian Court and Government to Sir Harford Jones.

It seems that Morier's travel book was quite popular in his time(1), as much attention in Europe was directed to the East in the 19th century. In the course of his travels in Iran, Morier pointed out the distinctions between his view and those of/other travellers. He was never influenced by their points of view. He tries to see everything in this Eastern country with unprejudiced eyes and he is quite successful in his attempt. He shunned superficiality, and although his work cannot be called a work of science, his descriptions of certain animals(2) that he saw for the first time in Iran, and of the historical ruins which he had the chance to examine, made his work more than that of an amateur.

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(1) The History of the English Novel, Vol. VII, Ernest Baker, Barnes and Noble, Inc., New York, 1950, p. 65.

(2) e.g. ahoo bareh (young antelope), siah sineh (black-breasted partridge), etc.

2) Morier's Second Travel Book:

A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, between the years 1810 and 1816.

a) Contents of the Second Travel Book.

There is as much difference between the two volumes of Morier's journals, in point of interest, as between the two visits to Iran which they describe. The first journey was, after all, a flying visit. In the short duration that Morier remained in Iran it was impossible to spend much time on his observations.

Morier's account of his first journey is instructive rather than amusing. With the narrative of his second journey the case is altogether different: Morier knew the Iranian language in his second journey. So he could converse with the Iranians on any topic that interested him, and thereby he had the chance to satisfy his curiosity. Thus the pages of the second journal have been enriched with entertaining anecdotes, interesting records, scraps of Iranian folklore and amusing reports on Iranians.

On his second visit to Iran Morier remained for nearly six years and this was time enough for a man to learn the ways of the Iranians and to understand their problems:

> "Here I was one day walking by myself, when a party of Persians, half drunk with wine, strolled in, the chief of whom, a young man of rank, came up to me, and evidently supposing that I did not understand his language, addressed me with a smiling face and much mock civility, in terms of the grossest abuse, which he thought I should take for politeness. Finding that he was mistaken in his supposition, he immediately fled and hid himself so effectually that he was not

to be found for several days after."[1]
That an Iranian called Mirza Baba[2] gave Morier lessons in the Iranian language can be seen in his second journal.

Morier, in his second journal, treated the same subjects as in his first - yet with deeper perception and broader knowledge; besides these, he treated other subjects in the second journal on which he had not touched in the first one. These were the political situation between Iran and Russia, and the relation between the Bible and the ways of life in Iran. To the latter, especially, he devoted great attention and several pages of the journal.

The Russians, in those days, were known to be the deadly enemies of the Iranians. Yet Morier's way of looking at the business is far from serious. He noted the mental and psychological attitudes of the Iranians more than anything else:

> "Fear of the Russians was their strongest feeling, and the great object of their politics with that power was to get a restoration of Georgia. The war that was carrying on between them, however, consisted more of predatory incursions on the part of Persia, such as the Scythians are recorded to have made, than of regular warfare. We had a specimen of this policy not long after our arrival at Tehran; for one morning, in great agitation, the grand-vizir's confidential secretary, attended by Mirza Abu'l Hasan Khan, came to announce to us a great victory gained by the Prince Royal over the Russians. Their account of it was, that the Persians had killed 2000, taken 5000 prisoners, and 12 guns, and had possessed themselves of the town of Shisheh. We soon after heard the real truth, which

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(1) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, Longman, London, 1818, p. 189.

(2) Ibid. p. 224.

reduced their account to 300 killed, 2 guns taken and 500 made prisoners. Upon questioning them why they exaggerated so much, when they knew how soon the falsehood must be discovered, they very ingeniously said, 'If we did not know that your stubborn veracity would have come in our way we should have said ten times as much. This is the first time our troops have made any stand at all against the Russians; and you would not surely restrict so glorious an event in our history to a few dry facts."(1)

The English mission played an important part in the negotiatings for peace between Russia and Iran. Morier gives a faithful account of the procedure.

He also touches on the Iranian-Turkish disagreements at the time:

"The position of affairs between Persia and Turkey became very critical about this time; and the whole of our influence was required, both at Constantinople and in Persia, to keep them from hostilities."(2)

In the beginning of the 19th century the world situation and great political changes in Europe drew the attention of those who ruled on the Continent to Iran. It was for this reason that the Shahs in Iran were always occupied, at this time, with foreign politics. This preoccupation was coupled with the effects produced by the liberal spirit which had spread in Europe and influenced the Iranian spirit, which had loved freedom from ancient times, and prepared the ground for the Constitutional Movement in Iran. Morier explains the general attitude, in Iran, toward Western Civilization in the following way:

"One of the most remarkable facts in the modern history of Asia, is the introduction of European discipline in

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(1) Ibid. p. 158.
(2) Ibid. p. 211.

> the armies of Persia. When we have seen such discipline entirely destroyed in one Mahomedan state, in spite of the efforts of the government to maintain it - when the prejudices of the Mahomedan religion are considered, and particularly the doctrine of predestination which it inculcates, it must remain a matter of surprise how it has commenced, maintained, and strengthened itself in Iran. It had not indeed Janissaries to oppose it, as in Turkey, but it was carried down by some of the Princes, and derided by many of the Nobles, and if it had not been for the personal exertions of Abbas Mirza, it must have fallen. Abbas Mirza, in fact, must be looked upon as the origin, the support, and the chief promoter of it, and consequently the benefactor of his country."(1)

As further information Morier notes the explanation he got from Abbas Mirza as to the motives which induced him to attempt the introduction of European discipline among his troops. Morier, also, tells about the military science of the country, and the modes of fighting, which are in accordance with the nature of the people.

Morier, in his second journal, also pointed out the resemblances between the anecdotes of the Holy Scriptures and the ways of life and characteristics of the East, as in the following quotation:

> "On the day that the child is to be weaned they carry it to the mosque, (in the manner perhaps that Hannah took Samuel to the House of the Lord, when she had weaned him, 1 Samuel, i. 29); and after having performed certain acts of devotion, they return home, and collecting their friends and relations, they give a feast of which they make the child also partake. The coincidence with Scripture is here

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(1) Ibid. p. 211.

> remarkable. 'And the child grew and was weaned, and Abraham made a great feast the same day that Isaac was weaned.'"(1)

By doing so he added a new kind of variety to his journal and also revealed the sources of some characteristics of the way of living in the East.

b) Characteristics of the Second Travel Book:

Like the first one, the second journal is printed in folio. There are beautiful colour plates in it as well as monochrome engravings, done by Morier himself. He dedicated it to Robert Harry Inglis and it was published in 1818 in London. It has, one might say, documentary value. Morier remained strictly faithful to facts in his portrayals. He watched Iran and its people with a particularly clear and keen perception, and thereafter made his observations with an unprejudiced and unbiassed mind. He is sympathetic as well as critical in the matters which he noted down with such scrupulous impartiality. His aim was to put down what he saw, heard and learned in Iran without giving much space to personal considerations. Yet there are passages in which Morier speaks of his own point of view, such as his likes and dislikes in Iran:

> "It would, perhaps, be impossible to give to an inhabitant of London a correct idea of the first impressions made upon the European stranger on his landing in Persia."(2)

Starting like this, Morier tries to give a picture of Iran from his point of view:

> "Accustomed, as his eye has been, to neatness, cleanliness, and a general appearance of convenience in the exterior of life, he feels a depression of spirits

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(1) Ibid. p. 107.
(2) Ibid. p. 41.

in beholding the very contrary. Instead of the houses with high roofs well glazed and painted, and in neat rows, he finds them low, flat roofed, without windows, placed in little connection. In vain he looks for what his idea of a street may be; he makes his way through the narrowest lanes, incumbered with filth, dead animals, and mangy dogs. He hears a language totally new to him, spoken by people whose looks and dress are equally extraordinary. Instead of our smooth chins and tight dresses, he finds rough faces masked with beards and mustachios, in long flapping clothes. He sees no active people walking about with an appearance of something to do, but here and there he meets a native just crawling along in slipshod shoes. When he seeks the markets and shops, a new and original scene opens upon him. Little open sheds in rows, between which is a passage, serving as a street, of about eight feet in breadth, are to be seen, instead of our closely shut shops, with windows gaily decked. There the vender sits, surrounded with his wares. In a country where there is so little apparent security of property, it is surprising how a man so easily exposes his goods to the pilfer of rogues. Comparisons might be made without end; but however distressing the transition from great civilisation to comparative barbarity may be, yet it is certain that first impressions soon wear off, and that the mind receives a new accession of feelings, adapted precisely to the situation in which it is placed."(1)

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(1) Ibid. p. 41-2.

In his second journal Morier still left a number of native words in the original.(1)

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(1) e.g. sanduk, bokara cara, mey, Jehan nemah, derwazeh, istakball, anderoon, bala khoneh, talkhee, haram-zadeh, ark, peygamber, hummum, maral, serdar, dewan khoneh, obah, chakcour, kah-gil, rishweh, deli chai, yapuncheh, rayat, aferin, mushtehed, ziareth, surmeh, fireng, mahal, ism, etc.

IV. MORIER AS A WRITER OF FICTION:

1) The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan.

James Morier published his first novel in 1824. It is called The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. English people accepted it at once with interest and enthusiasm as a mirror of the mysterious East. And they were not wrong in their judgement; because The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan was not only the product of Morier's imagination but it was also the product of his experience in the East.

Morier had stayed in the East, as the secretary of the English envoy to Iran, almost six years; he was a discerning man and a very careful observer of Eastern manners and customs.

For the first publication of the novel Morier wrote an introduction. It is, in fact, much longer than the majority of similar introductions. It was also more elaborately composed. The scene in which the traveller by chance meets an old Iranian friend, lying sick in a frontier town between Turkey and Iran, the minute description of the caravanserai, the traveller's mode of settling down and the ingredients of the meal which he was on the point of starting when he was called to the sick man, all tend to give the whole account, an atmosphere of vivid reality.

The condition of Mirza Hajji Baba lying sick and reduced almost to the point of death at the hands of a quack Italian doctor, and the great service which the English traveller rendered him by applying a dose of calomel, the recollection of his having been to England, all adequately prepare the reader for a willing suspension of disbelief at the gift he gives his saviour in return. The precious manuscript of his journal, the journal of an

Oriental who had nevertheless seen enough of the West to conceive the idea of keeping such a journal was the only adequate recompense he could offer the Englishman. This part of the Epistle has, however, attracted little comment. The earlier portions in which Morier reported his recollection of conversations with the alleged Swedish chaplain in 1808, have roused the interest of some writers. He told the chaplain:

"In particular I have ever borne in mind a conversation when one beautiful moonlight night, reclining upon a sofa of the Swedish palace and looking out of those windows which command so magnificent and extensive a view of the city and harbour of Constantinople ....."

A Swedish writer, writing in 1931, saw in the above passage too vivid an impression of actual recollection for the episode to have been an entire fabrication. However it will be explained below that there was such a person called Gustaf Ernest Sprinchorn whom the writer anagrammatizes as Dr. Fundgruben.

In his introduction Morier announced that he dedicated the novel to a Swedish chaplain. This was a significant act in itself. Morier came to know this chaplain in Istanbul. And they possibly had arguments as to whether a European could write anything which could portray Oriental people, their characteristics, manners and customs in their true light. It is evident from the text that the chaplain said: No. That is why Morier presumably thought fit to dedicate his work to this Swedish chaplain as it is a study, if nothing else, of an Iranian's characteristics and idiosyncrasies which formed itself into a picturesque novel.

Upon my inquiry about this Swedish chaplain the Swedish Embassy gave me the following information:

Ankara, 9 Aug. 1956

"Dear Sir,

With reference to your letter of the 8th May 1956, I have the honour to inform the following about Dr.

Fundgruben. His real name was Gustav Ernst Sprinchorn born on the 3rd May, 1780 in Örebro, Sweden. He was called chaplain of the Swedish Legation in Constantinople in 1805, which lasted until 1811. He died in Sweden in 1823. He is the author of 'Osmanernas Historia' (The History of the Osmanlis).

Yours truly,
(Börje Tharnell)
Chargé d'Affaires a.i."

Morier, further, attributes a work called Celebrated Mummies to the Swedish chaplain. Upon my request for further information upon the reliability of Morier's statement I got the following answer:

Ankara, 27 Nov. 1956

"Dear Sir,

In reply to your letter of October 24th I am sorry to inform you that it has not been possible to get information in Sweden about Gustav E. Sprinchorn. There are no records of a book by the title of 'Celebrated Mummies' written by Sprinchorn.

Yours truly,
Torsten Nylander
Secretary of the Legation"

So this 'Celebrated Mummies' must be a name made up by Morier; this is a kind of literary device he often uses to mislead his readers.

a) A Study of the Novel:

Morier intended his work to be a picaresque novel:

"I then suggested that, perhaps, if a European would give a correct idea of Oriental manners, which would comprehend an account of the vicissitudes attendant upon the life of an Easterner, of his feelings about his government, of his conduct in domestic life, of

> his hopes and plans of advancement, of his rivalties and jealousies; in short, of everything that is connected with the operations of the mind and those of the body, perhaps his best method would be to collect so many facts and anecdotes of actual life as would illustrate the different stations and ranks which compose a Mussulman community, and then work them into one connected narrative, upon the plan of that excellent picture of European life, Gil Blas of Le Sage."(1)

It is clear, then, that Morier knew what he was going to do before starting to write his novel. Consequently in reading Hajji Baba one can follow Morier's rules which he enumerates in the passage above and which he shows as indispensable in order to write a successful Oriental story.

As, in a picaresque novel, the personality and the adventures of the hero are more important than anything else, Morier must have had much confidence in his knowledge of Eastern life to attempt such a task. Yet he had strong reasons to do so.

Morier had stayed in Iran long enough to understand the Iranians. He had come in contact with people in every rank. He had tried to understand them thoroughly. At the end he came into possession of a considerable number of anecdotes which are successful illustrations of Iranian manners, customs and the idiosyncrasies of the Iranian people. In order to bring these anecdotes together under one heading Morier was in need of an Iranian hero like the Spanish hero of Gil Blas. At last he created Hajji Baba to personify all the characteristics of the Iranians. Yet Morier wanted his readers to believe that Hajji Baba was not his own creation

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(1) Int. to The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. Methuen and Co. London, 1895, p. xviii.

but that he was one of his Iranian acquaintances who had given him his diary so as to furnish him with the materials necessary for the composition of The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. In doing so, Morier, being a conventional writer, wanted to perpetrate a hoax, which was a fashion of the literary world of his time. Otherwise it is impossible to explain the similarities and correspondence between the episodes and descriptions in his journals and those in The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan.

Nevertheless there are people who think otherwise. To name one, Müçteba Minovi, the Iranian professor, argues that Morier is not the author of the story in question.(1) In Panzdeh Goftar, he argues(2) that Morier made many mistakes in using the Iranian language and he points out some mistakes. Consequently, according to him, The Adventures of Hajji Baba, which gives true pictures of Iranian life, could not have been written by one who was not proficient in the Iranian language. Then, only an Iranian, Müçteba Minovi states, who had studied European languages and literature and who had been familiar with the forms of the novel that had been adopted by Europeans, could have written the adventures of a Hajji Baba and have possibly given a copy to Morier. He explains the incident in the following way: There was, indeed, a person called Hajji Baba, who had been trained as a doctor during his nine years' stay in England. When he returned home to Iran, he began to work with Dr. Mac Carniok, who was, then, the private doctor of Prince Abbas Mirza. When one Prince Hüsrev was appointed to St. Petersburgh on duty he took Hajji Baba with him. Then, after a while, on their return from Russia they met a group of Englishmen and Iranians near Tabriz. What the Professor means is that

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(1) Panzdeh Goftar, University publication, Tehran, 1954, p. 274.

(2) Ibid. p. 282.

Morier may have been one of those Englishmen that Hajji Baba met near Tabriz. So they may have become acquainted and Morier may, very well, have been presented with the Iranian's diary, which inspired him to write The Adventures of Hajji Baba.

Another suggestion that Prof. Minovi puts forth is this[1]: One Mirza Muhammed Salih Şirazi, with five other Iranians came to England. Mirza Cafer, who was later called Muşiru'd-devle, was among these Iranians and he remained in England for six or seven years. Morier came in contact with them during their residence in England and it is very likely that one of these Iranians may have written Hajji Baba's story; or Morier may have wished one of them to write the story in question for him under his control.

These are the Iranian professor's arguments about the authorship of Hajji Baba. But which of these possibilities can be held as truth, that the Iranian professor cannot decide.

On the other hand it is possible to draw parallels between the incidents in Hajji Baba and those in the journals.

In his second journey to Iran, Morier was invited to one of the religious ceremonies that took place in the month of Moharrem. He describes his experiences at the ceremony. By the way, he draws the picture of a water carrier who had a part in the ceremony:

> "After him a person of more strength, and more nakedness, a water-carrier, walked forwards, bearing an immense leather sack filled with water slung over his back, on which by way of bravado four boys were piled one over the other. This personage, we were told, was emblematical of the great thirst which

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(1) Ibid. p. 279.

Hossein suffered in the desert."[1]

Hajji became a water-carrier once in his life:

"I followed my friend's advice. I forthwith laid out my money in buying a leather sack, with a brass cock, which I slung round my body, and also a bright drinking cup. After having filled it with water, and let it soak for some time, in order to do away the bad smell of the leather, I sallied forth, and proceeded to the tomb, where I immediately began my operations."[2]

And then Hajji begins to show his skill as a water-carrier:

"In my exultation I invited several boys, who were near at hand for the purpose, to pile themselves upon my load, which they did, to the astonishment of the crowd, who encouraged me by their cries and applause."[3]

In his second journal, Morier relates a fight that took place between a group of Iranians and a group of Russians:

"Accustomed to their old modes of fighting, where every man, independent of the other, first took care of his own safety before he thought of killing his enemy, they did not relish our system. A Persian talking to one of our officers upon the subject, said very ingenuously, 'If there was no dying in the case, how gloriously the Persians would fight."[4]

Hajji, in the following extract, relates his experiences with the Russians:

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(1) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 180.

(2) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, G. Harrap, London, 1948, p. 60.

(3) Ibid. p. 60.

(4) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 214-5.

"We were parleying in this manner, when a shot from one of the Russians hit the chief executioner's stirrup, which awoke his fears to such a degree, that he immediately fell to uttering the most violent oaths. Calling away his troops, and retreating himself at a quick pace, he exclaimed, 'Curses be on their beards. Curse their fathers, mothers, their ancestry, and posterity. Whoever fought after this fashion? Killing, killing, as if we were so many hogs. See, see what animals they are. They are worse than brutes; brutes have feeling - they have none. Allah, Allah, if there was no dying in the case, how the Persians would fight!'"(1)

It is very significant that the last sentences in the two quotations are same.

The Iranians' belief in the evil spirit, the ghoul, is described in the Xth chapter of the second travel book in an amusing anecdote:

"The day following we passed over it without inconvenience, though the Persians were not without some apprehensions of the ghoul, a species of land mermaid, which they affirm entices the traveller by its cries and then tears him to pieces with its claws. They say that the ghoul has the faculty of changing itself into different shapes and colours; sometimes that it comes in a camel's form, sometimes as a cow, then as a horse; and when of a sudden we had discovered something on the horizon of the desert which we could not define, all the Persians at once exclaimed that it was a ghoule. Our spying-glasses, however, discovered it to be the stump of a high reed, which some of the Persians

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 238.

> still thought might be a finesse of the ghoul. With the gravest faces we were assured that on crossing this desert many had seen them; and we were informed of the spells by which they had kept them at a distance, the most efficacious of which they said was loosening the string of their Shalwars."(1)

In The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan there is a description of the feelings of the Iranians when ghouls were concerned:

> ".... one of our men, stopping his horse, exclaimed, 'Ya Ali, (Oh Ali) what is this?' pointing with his hand to the church, 'do not you see, there, something white?' 'Yes, yes' said another, 'I see it; it it a ghoul. This is the true hour; it is in search of a corpse. I dare say it is devouring one now.'
>
> "I also could see that something was there, but is was impossible to make it out.
>
> "We halted upon the bridge, looking up with all our eyes, everyone being satisfied that it was a supernatural being; one called upon Ali, another upon Hossein and a third invoked the Prophet and the twelve Imams. None seemed to approach it. But everyone suggested some new mode of exorcism, 'Untie the string of your trousers' said an old Iraki, 'that's the way we treat our ghouls in the desert near Ispahan, and they depart instantly."(2)

While he was staying in Iran Morier saw Koom, a city visited for religious purposes:

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(1) A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 168.

(2) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 193.

"As we travelled onwards we discerned the gilt cupola of the tomb of Fatmeh, at Koom, about five miles before we reached the village of Passengoon; and we were told, that on a clear day, when the rays of the sun strike bright upon it, it is to be seen from the caravanserai of Abshour, a direct distance of fifteen miles. Koom is remarkable for three things, its gilded cupola, its numerous priests and its ruins."(1)

He goes on describing Koom, and particularly the Shah's visit to this city:

"The King frequently visits the Tomb of Fatmeh and makes costly offerings there. By such acts he has acquaired among the priesthood a great reputation which, when at Koom, he keeps up by going about on foot, an act of great humility, where walking is part of the service exacted from servants, multitudes of whom are always attached to a prince and a man of consequence in the East."(2)

In The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, also, there is a description of Koom, and the Shah's visit to it:

"The King of Kings arrived the next day, and alighted at his tents, which were pitched without the town, I will not waste the reader's time in describing all the ceremonies of his reception, which, by his desire, were curtailed as much as possible, in as much as his object in visiting the tomb of Fatmeh was not to reap worldly distinctions, but to humble himself before God and men, in the hope of obtaining better and higher reward .....

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(1) A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 165.

(2) Ibid. p. 166.

"About an hour before the prayer of mid-day the Shah, on foot, escorted by an immense concourse of attendants, priests, and of the people, entered the precincts of the sanctuary. He was dressed in a dark suit, the sombre colours of which were adopted to the solemn looks of his face, and he held in his hand a long enamelled stick, curiously inlaid at the pommel. He had put by all ornament wearing none of his customary jewellery, not even his dagger, which on other occasions he is never without. The only article of great value was his rosary, composed of large pearls."(1)

Besides these corresponding episodes, there are other common things in his journals and in his Hajji Baba; in reading through the latter one comes across scraps of information about Iran and its people that Morier explained in his journals also. This information, however, forms a kind of background to the stage where Hajji plays his part as a typical Iranian.

In his first journal Morier gives a full account of the decorum that an inferior should keep before his superior.(2) As to Hajji, his behaviour before the Shah's physician is to the following effect:

"I bowed repeatedly as he spoke, and kept my hands respectfully before me, covered with the border of my sleeve, whilst I took care that my feet were also completely hid."(3)

This covering of the feet before a superior was one of the signs of good manners in Iran and we can see Hajji,

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 289-90.

(2) A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 286.

(3) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 102.

in more than one instance, in the same position as described above.

The 432th page of Hajji Baba of Ispahan summarizes the decorum that should be kept in the presence of the Shah; however, it also shows how dissimilar are the manners of Englishmen when they are before a Sovereign. The same information is included in his journals.

Morier, belonging to the English Embassy in Iran, was very often in the company of the Shah, whom and whose manners he had the chance to observe; besides, he noted the behaviour of his subjects to him. So in several chapters of Hajji Baba Morier uses his knowledge of Iran and its Shah in relating his story. For instance, Hajji is always employed by people who have some connection with the Sovereign of Iran. His masters were accordingly the Shah's physician, the mushtehed (a man of religion to whom the Shah pays the utmost respect), the chief executioner, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Grand Vizir, etc.-who were all, somewhat, connected with the Shah. In this way, Hajji, being the hero of the novel, comes in contact with his Sovereign several times and tells everything that is concerned with him. So he becomes Morier's mouthpiece; as we learn from his journals Morier was invited to a certain feast where the Shah was present and he gives a full account of the incident in his journals. In the case of Hajji Baba, Morier devotes chapters XXVIII, XXIX, XXX to the Shah's entertainment by one of his subjects, his retinue, his behaviour towards those around him, his attitude towards women; these are all vividly portrayed. Besides, the LXXVIIth chapter of Hajji Baba relates the ceremony that is performed at the reception of a European ambassador by the Shah, - a scene to which Morier himself was a witness, as we have seen in his journals.

In his Hajji Baba Morier uses another device to reveal the characteristics of Iran with which he was very well acquainted. For instance, there is a girl called Zeynep in the novel. By making her tell her life story to Hajji

Morier points out many peculiarities concerning Iran and its people, and he devotes one chapter to this explanation. (XXIV) Morier, thus, speaks of Iran, its Shah, his doings in Iran and the outstanding characteristics of this country with precise knowledge.

In his journals Morier comments on the vanity and love of flattery of the Iranians, and he gives some examples.(1) The same qualities of this people exist in Hajji Baba also:

The chief of an Iranian village wanted Hajji to make the chief executioner believe that he was telling the truth about his village. So he approached Hajji "with every manifestation of great friendship and began as usual by flattery. "According to him," Hajji says, "I was the most perfect of God's creatures."(2)

Once Hajji was in possession of some money; his feelings on this account are to the following effect:

> ".... but still the conscious dignity which the ninety five pieces of gold in my girdle gave me made it difficult for me to restrain that vanity of display so common to all my countrymen."(3)

Besides these examples, another can be given to show that Iranians, while praising someone, had to debase another to demonstrate their zeal:

> "'What a good king he is!' he exclaimed, 'how affable, how considerate! It is impossible to say how much kindness he shows to me. He gave abuse to the European doctor, all out of compliment to my abilities, and

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(1) A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 185.

(2) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 185.

(3) Ibid. p. 367.

said that he is not fit to hold my shoes.'"(1)

Morier, again, takes the problem of women in Iran in Hajji Baba as he had done before in his journals.(2)

Yusuf, the Armenian, protests against the Iranians' conception of women in the following terms:

> "Women, by you Mussulmans, I know, are treated as mere accessories to pleasure; but, after all, they are God's creatures, not made for the Serdar alone, as he seems to think, but given to us to be our help, our comfort, and our companions through life."(3)

Morier, in his journals, on several occasions, explains the attitude of the Iranians towards other nations such as Turks, Russians, Frenchmen and Englishmen. Since he was an English diplomat in Iran it was easy for him to be a witness to the reactions of the chief men of this country when a foreigner or a foreign country was concerned. Thus Morier, in his Hajji Baba, emphasizes an Iranian's dislike of the Turks:

> "'But those Turks, those heavy buffaloes of Turks', roared he, still screaming with laughter; 'praise be to Allah! I can see them now with their long beards, their great caps, and their empty heads, believing all that the sharp-witted madman of Persia chose to tell them, and they would have gone on believing, had they not been undeceived by a similar species of madman.'"(4)

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(1) Ibid. p. 115.

(2) A Journey through Persia, Armenia, and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 273.

(3) The Adventures of Hajji Baba, p. 227.

(4) Ibid. p. 414.

Upon seeing Istanbul the Iranians, who are in the company of Morier, are apparently indifferent though they belong to a nation which is "very keenly alive to the beauties of nature."(1) Morier accounts for their lack of interest before "the splendid foliage and rich vegetation of the Turkish dominions"(2) in the following way:

> "The splendour of the scenery, and the great novelty of every object about that city, did not seem to strike them with the surprise that I had expected. Few people are more sensible than they are to anything, that is new and extraordinary; and few more curious and inquisitive. I could therefore only attribute their apparent indifference to the downright jealousy which they entertain of the Turks."(3)

As to Hajji, his sensations, when he sees Istanbul for the first time, represent those of his countrymen:

> "I, a Persian and an Ispahani, had ever been accustomed to hold my native city as the first in the world: never had it crossed my mind that any other could, in the smallest degree, enter into competition with it, and when the capital of Roum was described to me as finer, I always laughed the describer to scorn. But what was my astonishment, and I may add mortification, on beholding for the first time this magnificent city!"(4)

When Morier was in Iran the relations of this country with the Russians were very critical. "The war that was carrying on between them, however, consisted more of predatory incursions on the part of Persia than of regular warfare."(5) In his first journal Morier gives some amusing

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(1) First Journal, p. 364.

(2) Ibid. p. 363.

(3) Ibid. p. 363.

(4) The Adventures of Hajji Baba, p. 383-4.

(5) A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to

incidents about the Iranians when the Russians were concerned, e.g.:

> "..... one morning, in great agitation, the Grand Vizir's confidential secretary, attended by Mirza Abu'l Hassan Khan, came to announce to us a great victory gained by the Prince Royal over the Russians."(1) And then the event is related in the way which is ten times more than its real worth.

In Hajji Baba, after an unsuccessful incursion on the part of the Iranians the Vizir calls to one of his secretaries; and, with firm language and dignity, tells him, "We are in want of a victory just at present; but, recollect, a good, substantial, and bloody victory."(2) Then they make up a story where they show themselves as lions.

All through the first journal there are hints, here and there, about the Frenchmen's struggle to take the place of the Englishmen; however, in the end the English win:

> "..... when the comparison was made between us and the French, the King said, 'they are haivans, beasts, wild men, savages. These are gentlemen.'"(3)

In the LXXVIth chapter of Hajji Baba this struggle between the French and the English to win the favour of the Shah is described with humour.

Morier, in his journals, talking about the characteristics of the Iranians, finds a resemblance between them and the French and calls them "the Frenchmen of the East."(4)

In Hajji Baba, Hajji becomes Morier's mouthpiece while

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(1) Ibid. p. 185.

(2) The Adventures of Hajji Baba, p. 241.

(3) A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 212.

(4) Ibid. p. 285.

commenting on the Frenchmen in the following way:

> "On the whole we liked them. We thought to discern many points of similitude between them and ourselves."(1)

Morier, in his second journal, tells about the introduction of vaccination against small-pox in Iran:

> "The surgeons, having procured the cow-pock matter from Constantinople, commenced their operations at Teheran with so much success that in the course of one month they had vaccinated three hundred children. Their houses were constantly thronged with women, bringing their offspring to them; and there was every appearance of a general dissemination of this blessing throughout Teheran, when of a sudden its progress was checked by the Government itself. Several of the King's ferashes were placed at the gate of the Ambassador's hotel, nominally as a mark of attention to His Excellency, but really to stop all women from going to our surgeons."(2)

The reason for this check of women was that the Iranians were jealous of their women and they wanted the fathers to bring their children to the surgeons; however, the fathers did not prove to be as anxious for their children's health as the mothers and so the eagerness for the vaccination stopped.

In Hajji Baba, Hajji relates an incident about vaccination in Iran, whose source is undoubtedly the corresponding event in the journal:

> ".... an infidel doctor, who, among other novelties in medicine, did his utmost endeavours to introduce in Persia a new mode of curing the small-pox. Since his

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(1) The Adventures of Hajji Baba, p. 430.

(2) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 191.

> day, the practice had been totally laid aside; our faculty continued to treat the disorder as our forefathers had done, and the usual quantity of children died as heretofore. A doctor was also attached to the suite of the present elchi, and he was impelled by more than common anxiety to do us good. His zeal to renew the practice of the cow medicine was unbounded, and the quantity of mothers whom he enticed to bring their children to him astonishing."(1)

However, this did not go on for a long time as the Iranians protested against the "general influx of women of the true faith into the dwelling of an infidel, be the object what it might;"(2) because it was "highly indecorous". Hajji goes on relating the incident: "I persuaded the Grand Vizir to place an officer of the police as sentry at the doctor's room to prevent the women entering. This very soon stopped his practice, and he was in despair."(3)

Moreover, in the journal, the English surgeons with their scientific knowledge are put in contrast with Mirza Achmed, the Shah's physician, with his ignorance. This Mirza Achmed is at the same time the prototype of the Shah's physician Mirza Ahmak (Doctor Pool) in Hajji Baba of Ispahan. Mirza Ahmak is also baffled before the medical knowledge of the English physician and the XXIth chapter is a very humorous account of Ahmak's anxious endeavours to get the English physician out of the Shah's favour.

Hajji, in his adventures in several parts of Iran and Turkey, describes some scenes which are directly connected with those in the journals; for instance, Hajji was, once,

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 439.

(2) Ibid. p. 439.

(3) Ibid. p. 439.

in Ashtarek, an Armenian village:

> "It was scarcely dawn of day when we reached the bridge of Ashtarek, still obscured by the deepest shade, owing to the very high and rocky banks of the river, forming, as it were, two abrupt walls on either side."(1)

Then he goes on telling about the situation of the village, its ruins which are "of a large structure, of heavy architecture", and its numerous churches "so frequently seen in this part of Persia."(2)

Morier, in his second journal, describes the same village in the following terms:

> "Accordingly, the next morning we went to a large Armenian village, called Ashtarek, situated on the borders of a considerable river, which, running through a very deep channel of rock, winds through the plain, and at length falls into the Araxes. Ashtarek bears all the marks of having been a place of consequence, for it possesses some buildings now entire, and others in ruins, which would do honour to the most civilized countries. There is a strong bridge over the river, the masonry and architecture of which are excellent. A ruined church, also built of excellent materials, and of a most finished workmanship, stands conspicuous on a height."(3)

Reading this explanation there is no doubt left that Morier made use of his knowledge of the East in writing his Hajji Baba.

Another piece of evidence that Morier is the real author of this work is that he talks about the Christians in the story with a mild tongue; whereas he is quite gruff

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(1) Ibid. p. 193.
(2) Ibid. p. 193.
(3) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 325-6.

in the descriptions of the Iranians. Because Morier, himself, was a good Christrian all through his life, for instance, Yusuf, the Armenian youth, "was the finest specimen of strength, activity and manliness."(1) And while the troop of Hajji was staying in an Armenian village "the good people of the village" served them "a light meal". On the other hand, the portrayal of the Iranian Serdar shows him to be a monster:

> "A man of a more sinister aspect was never seen. His eyes, which, in the common expression of his countenance, were like opaque bits of glass, glared terribly whenever he became animated, and almost started out of their old shrivelled sockets."(2)

And on the whole he was shaped in such a way that "never was the human form so nearly allied to that of the brute as in this instance."(3) What is more, the Armenian Yusuf forms a contrast to the Iranians as they are depicted in this novel when he utters the following:

> "Better live a swineherd in the Georgian mountains, naked and houseless, than ih all these silks and velvets, a despised hanger-on, be it even in the most luxurious court of Persia,"(4)

In short, Yusuf is much superior in nobility of character to his Mussulman companions.

It is clear that Hajji, being the hero of the novel, has something of the author, that is, in many cases he represents Morier's own feelings and opinions. However the

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 194.
(2) Ibid. p. 229.
(3) Ibid. p. 236.
(4) Ibid. p. 236.

author does it so skilfully that Hajji does not lose anything of his Iranian character. Yet it is significant that in the unhappy adventures of Yusuf among the Iranians Hajji takes the side of the former in preference to that of the latter.

There is another interesting point about Yusuf's story which takes a whole chapter (XXXVII) in Hajji Baba; Morier, in his second journal, relates a similar story based on facts, with only one difference, that the lovers are Georgians not Armenians.(1)

Morier came to know some dervishes while he was in Iran:

> "We were struck with the cry of a Dervish, who had taken post for a short time on the desert near to our camp, uttering his piercing exclamations of hak, and hou."(2)

In Hajji Baba, Hajji makes friends with the dervishes and he himself becomes one later:

> "I never omitted to rise at the first call; to make my ablutions at the cistern - using all the forms of the strictest Shiah - and then to pray in the most conspicuous spot I could find. The intonations of my Allah ho akbar were to be heard in each corner of the tomb, and I hoped they came to the ear of every inhabitant of it."(3)

Hajji's adventures as a dervish with his dervish friends show Morier to be very well acquainted with their manners and their way of living; and he caricaturized them in his Hajji Baba.

These coincidences in the journals and the Hajji Baba story provide proof that Morier had materials enough to be able to write a story of an Iranian.

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(1) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 320.

(2) Ibid. p. 44

(3) Hajji Baba, p. 260.

However, even if we acknowledge that Morier might have received assistance from an Iranian in writing his story, he did enough himself to be able to claim the work as his own. The humour in it, the material he uses, its gay and lively style, are completely Morier's own.

R.H. Kiernan, in the introduction he wrote to Hajji Baba of Ispahan published in 1948, comments on Morier in the following way:

> "Other writers, foreign and British, had tried to put themselves into the mind of an Oriental, and had failed because they knew next to nothing of the East or its peoples. Morier, in Hajji Baba, adopted with superb ease the outlook of a Persian in a Persian environment. The eighteen-century creators of Persian and Chinese philosophers would have been enlightened by the raw truth of Persian opinion of Europeans, which is occasionally sketched in Morier's dialogue! Morier had the widest experience of Persian manners, customs, speech and mentality. Every chapter of the story reveals his knowledge, insight, and observation. He was magnificently equipped for projecting himself into the Persian scene."(1)

I have given some reasons to support Kiernan in his judgement of Morier.

If The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan needs to be catalogued under one of the literary forms it undoubtedly belongs to the form of the picaresque novel.

One may define a picaresque novel as the prose autobiography of a real or fictitious person who describes his own experiences as an adventurer, and who satirizes the society which he has exploited.

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(1) Int. to Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 5-6.

Before Morier, several writers in English literature wrote picaresque romances such as Defoe, Fielding and Smollett; and Le Sage, in France, wrote his famous Gil Blas. However, with his intimate knowledge of Iranian life and thought, Morier was able to employ a far more exotic setting for his tale than Le Sage, Defoe, Fielding, Smollett, and the earlier writers of picaresque romances. Readers were accustomed to the Dons and Donnas, students, clerics, beggars, and bandits of the Spanish scene, and to the tougher, brutal, more vigorous English life of adventurers and heiresses, highwaymen, pickpockets, transporters, bawds, serving-maids, smugglers, inns, gaols, and men-of-war. Morier's field was desert and mountain, caravans, raiding nomads, Turcomans and Kurds, executioners, the bastinado, mosques, veiled women, cruel princes, dervishes, grand viziers, beggars and Islam.

With such a cast Morier could have written a romance or an addition to the Thousand and One Nights, but he chose to picture the unglamorous East. Like Swift in Gulliver's Travels, his purpose was deeper than the telling of a merry tale. Through his little people and giants, Swift commented sardonically on human-kind; Morier tried to reveal one section of it. He set out to draw a picture of high and low life in a Moslem community, and revealed the Iranian character as he saw it.

He was aware that among the Iranians kindness and charity were not wholly absent, but his picaroon shares, and excels in, characteristics and practices that are so widespread as to be taken almost for granted as marks of the whole nation. As others would accept truth, honesty, and a reasonable amount of courage as a normal part of man's attributes, so Hajji Baba regards almost as natural to Iranians such weaknesses and vices as faithlessness to a friend, hypocrisy, lying, ingratitude, guile, fawning flattery, naive vanity, corruption, oppression of the poor, thieving, cruelty, and cowardice.

Morier, in the introduction to the first publication of the novel, acknowledges that his intention was to write a picaresque novel modeled on Le Sage's The Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane.

The form of most picaresque novels is that of autobiography. In the case of Hajji Baba this Iranian rogue delineates his experiences, tinging them with his particular Eastern philosophy of life.

As in all picaresque novels, in The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, the hero is the active element who acts upon the society he belongs to. Whereas the society is the passive element, - passive against the rogueries of a picaroon. This particular relationship between the hero and his society is the essence of such fiction. Yet the hero, as in the case of Hajji Baba, is sometimes caught by unfavourable circumstances and becomes the prey of society. Even his elusive and flippant character cannot help him to avoid unpleasant situations. He is like "a sparrow-hawk, who while he floats through the air in quest of the smaller game is himself perpetually exposed to be pounced on by some stronger bird of prey."(1) And this interests and amuses us. But he is clever, and cunning, and this special trait of his character enables him to extricate himself from such mishaps soon or late.

In all these respects, The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan is a picaresque novel.

b. Comparison between The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan and The Adventures of Gil Blas of Santillane:

As a picaresque novel Morier's work may be studied under the light of its relationship with Gil Blas, Hajji's European

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(1) Quarterly Review, XXXIX, p. 77.

counterpart.

There is a close relationship between the adventures of the Iranian Hajji and those of the Spanish Gil Blas. Both heroes are wayward adventurers exposed to the ups and downs of Fortune unprotected by any principles of morality. Because their way of living depends upon opportunities; they try to make the best of their respective lives. Their conscience hardly ever has any part in their doings.

Although these two novels belong to two different societies they are similar to each other in many respects.

First of all, Gil Blas as well as Hajji Baba is a hopeless rogue. They are almost devoid of morals and scruples of conscience . And especially this trait of their characters causes them to fall, by turns, on good and evil chance. They both come from modest origins and leave their families when they reach a certain age. They both fall in with robbers at the first stage of their adventures and dislike their company not because of their moral principles but because of their cowardice. Sir Walter Scott, in the Quarterly Review, XXXIX, dated 1829 writes about Hajji in the following terms:

> "... as in the case of Gil Blas, a private feeling of cowardice greatly aids the moral sense in rendering the profession disgusting to him."(1)

Gil Blas expresses his terror when he has fallen into the hands of highwaymen in the following way:

> "I now knew into what company I had fallen; and I leave it to anyone to judge whether the discovery must not have rid me of my former fear. A dread more mighty and more just now seized my faculties. Money and life; all given up for lost. With the air of a victim on his passage to the altar did I walk, more dead than alive between my two conductors, who finding that I trembled, frightened me so much the more by telling me not to be

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(1) p. 76.

afraid."(1)

When he succeeds in robbing a man according to the command of the chief of the robbers he meets with their favourable remarks. However, he is, at that time, far from happy:

> "In spite of the applause I had gained in the wood I felt an oozing sort of tremor come over me, with a chill in my veins and chattering in my teeth that seemed to bode me not good."(2)

As for Hajji, he appears to be a dauntless adventurer in comparison with Gil Blas, if one is deceived by his air. But Hajji also experienced terror when, with the caravan to which he was joined, he fell into the hands of the Turcomans who would rob and take captive passengers in Iran:

> "At length what we so much apprehended actually came to pass. We heard some shots, and then our ears were struck by wild and barbarous shoutings. The whole of us stopped in dismay, and men and animals, as if they see a hawk at a distance, huddled ourselves together into one compact body. But when we in reality perceived a body of Turcomans coming down upon us, the scene instantly changed. Some ran away; others, among them my master, losing all their energies, yielded to intense fear, and began to exclaim, 'O Allah! - O Imam! - O Mohammed, the Prophet; we are gone. We are dying. We are dead.'"(3)

Hajji once joined the Turcomans in one of their raids, but to incur so many dangers and risks did not appeal to him, and he decided as soon as possible to run away from his

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(1) Gil Blas of Santillane, Dent and Sons Ltd., London, 1810. p. 13.

(2) Ibid. p. 30.

(3) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, G. Harrap, London, 1948, p. 12.

captors. Yet he never loses his sense of humour even though he is face to face with real danger, and it is here where he differs from Gil Blas.

Each hero becomes, in turn, the prey of flattery and their own vanity. The following quotation is a soliloquy of Gil Blas;

> "If I had been master of ever so little experience I should not have been the dupe of his rhodomantade. I must have discovered him, by his outrageous compliments, to be one of those parasites who swarm in every town, and get into a stranger's company on his arrival, to appease the wolf in their stomachs at his expenses; but my youth and vanity tempted me to draw a quite opposite conclusion. My admirer was very clever in my eyes, and I asked him to supper on the strength of it."(1)

For all the penitent tone of this speech Gil Blas did not take a lesson from his unfortunate experience. He went on making mistakes by trusting those who flattered him.

As for Hajji, he too, none the less, suffers. Because this same defect of character, that is, vanity, possesses him too:

> "To see the crowd make way, look up, and lay their hands on their breasts as I passed - to feel and hear the fretting and champing of my horse's bit, as he moved under me, apparently proud of the burthen he bore - to enjoy the luxury of a soft and easy seat, whilst others were on foot - in fine, to revel in those feelings of consequence and consideration which my appearance procured, and not to have been intoxicated, was more than mere humanity could withstand, and accordingly I was completely beside myself."(2)

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(1) Gil Blas of Santillane, p. 7-8.
(2) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 398.

However, this vanity and this love of pomposity led Hajji to such misfortunes that he was not able to forget them. It was vanity that made him do dangerous feats before the Prince as a water-carrier, which ended with the sprain of his backbone; and, again, his vanity and love of pomposity caused him to be turned out of doors when he was the lucky and wealthy husband of a Turkish widow.

Hajji's vanity resulted in bad experience which corrupted his whole life. Yet it was not in its power to corrupt his lively humour. To the end of the story he remained light-hearted, and nimble witted. In the following passage we see Hajji laughing up his sleeve at the expense of his master, the Shah's chief physician:

> "He endeavoured to take the object of his search from me, but I kept it fast; and whilst I gave him to understand that I expected prompt reward, I made indications of an intention to swallow it unless he actually gave me something in hand. So fearful was he of not being able to answer the King's interrogatories concerning the pill, so anxious to get it into his possession, that he actually pressed a gold piece upon me. No lover could sue his mistress with more earnestness to grant him a favour than the doctor did me for my pill. I should very probably have continued the deceit a little longer, and have endeavoured to extract another piece from him; but when I saw him preparing a dose of his own mixture to ease my pain, I thought it high time to finish, and pretending all of a sudden to have received relief; I gave up my prize."(1)

This passage also testifies to Hajji's love of money; yet, as the passage is a proof, he gets more pleasure in

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 7-8.

making fun of the weaknesses of other men than in satisfying his own. The reason for this may be that Hajji has always sought his ease and comfort; whereas Gil Blas, when money was concerned, was ready to give up his peace of mind and to leave himself to the devastating power of ambition:

> "I bowed the bearer out; with an accumulation of fine speeches; and as soon as his back was turned, pounced upon the bag, like a hawk upon its quarry, and bore it between my talons to my chamber. I untied it without loss of time, and the contents; - a thousand ducats."(1)

Hajji Baba never pounced upon any property with so much greediness as Gil Blas. Nor did he reject it when it came to him in one way or other. Hajji hated to bother himself with anything, even with money which he seems to be fond of. Yet when any good chance put him into possession of some wealth he embraced it.

As to their treatment of women, it lacks respect and seriousness. They would rather look upon them as if they were playthingsthan otherwise. Nevertheless they are good, kind and tolerant to them. Once Gil Blas fell in love with a girl called Laura who was in the service of an actress. She was a girl of rather loose morals and although Gil Blas loved her he never made it a serious problem which would be to his disadvantage and discomfort:

> "Laura, after the example of these two illustrious partners, turned the fresh season of youth to the best advantage. She had told me that I should see strange doings. And yet I did not take up the jealous part. I had promised to adopt the principles of the company on that score. For some days I kept my thoughts to myself. I only just took the liberty of asking her the names of the men whom she favoured

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(1) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vol. I., p. 55.

> with her private ear. She always told me that they were uncles or cousins. From what a prolific family was she sprung! King Priam had no luck in propagation, compared with her ancestors. Nor did this precious abigail confine herself to her uncles and cousins: she went now and then to lay a trap for unwary aliens, and personate the widow of quality under the auspices of the discreet old dowager above mentioned. In short Laura, to hit off her character exactly, was just as young, just as pretty, and just as loose as her mistress, who had no other advantage over her than that of figuring in a more public capacity."(1)

This passage is significant as it shows Gil Blas' attitude towards a woman whom he loves, - playful and light.

Hajji, also, once fell in love. He loved a slave girl named Zeenab who, later, preferred being the Shah's mistress to being Hajji's devoted wife. Hajji, however, got over his first disappointment in love easily with the aid of his lively and sprightly nature:

> "As soon as she was gone I sat down on the same spot where we had been standing, and gave myself up to thought. 'So', said I to myself, 'so this is being two kernels in one almond? Well, if such be the world, then what I have been taken up with for these two last months is only a dream. I thought myself a Majnoun, and she a Leilah, and as long as the sun and moon endured we should go on loving, and getting thin, and burning like charcoal, and making kabop of our hearts. But 'tis clear that my beard has been laughed at. The Shah came, looked, said two words, and all was over. Hajji was forgotten in an instant, and Zeenab took upon herself the airs of royalty. Be it so: there

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(1) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vo. I., p. 190.

> are plenty of women besides in this world; but the best of it is, that Hajji has eaten the sweetmeat, whilst the Shah only gets the paper it was wrapped up in."(1)

Here Hajji's soliloquy, characteristically, reveals his peculiar common sense.

One would be totally mistaken to call Gil Blas and Hajji Baba cruel and malicious; they are, on the contrary, soft hearted and good natured. They never do mischief for mischief's sake; they are never against moral principles, they are only unaware of them; so both Gil Blas and Hajji Baba are only amoral. If either of them meddles in any dishonest affair it is his society that is to be blamed, which has corrupted his good heart. That is why we laugh at them good naturedly when they do any mischief. If the societies both heroes were born into had treated them honestly they would have been better fellows.

For instance, Hajji, after his father's death, was cheated by his own mother who did not give him his share of money left to him by his father; despite this unhappy event he behaved in a way that an honest man should do:

> "One duty I still had to accomplish, and that was to pay the expenses of my father's funeral. I do own that, cheated as I had been of my lawful patrimony, I felt it hard that such an expense should fall upon me; and several times had planned a departure from Ispahan unknown to anybody, in order that the burthen might fall upon the âkhon and my mother, to whom I had intended the honour of payment; but my better feelings got the mastery, and, reflecting that by acting thus I should render myself fully entitled to the odious epithet of peder suktéh (one whose

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 165.

> father is burnt), without further combat I went round to each of the attendants, namely, mollahs, mourners and washers of the dead, and paid them their dues."(1)

Once Hajji becomes an executioner and his feelings thereof put into light his good heart. Although he expresses himself in the following way at the beginning of his career later he gets disgusted by the cruelties he sees and gives up his horrible profession:

> "The first impulse of my nature was not cruelty, that I knew: I was neither fierce nor brave, that I also knew: I therefore marvelled greatly how of a sudden I had become such an unsainted lion. The fact is, the example of others always had the strongest influence over my mind and actions; and I now lived in such an atmosphere of violence and cruelty, I heard of nothing but of slitting noses, cutting of ears, putting out eyes, blowing up in mortars, chopping men in two, and baking them in ovens, that, in truth, I am persuaded, with a proper example before me, I could almost have impaled my own father."(2)

This passage also shows Hajji to be corrupted by those around him as he is possessed by an excitable nature.

Poor Hajji, though with all his good intentions to leave this life of deceit, roguery and hypocrisy, cannot keep his promise as the wickedness of the society he lives in over-balances his good intentions. When he becomes a witness to the cruel execution of his once beloved Zeenab he falls into a serious meditation:

> "'.... - I have lived long enough in vice, and it is time that I should make the tobeh, or renounce my

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 315.

(2) Ibid. p. 179-80.

wicked ways.'

"In short, this horrid event produced such an effect upon my mind, that had I continued in the sentiments it inspired me with through life, I might well have aspired to be placed at the head of our most holy dervishes."(1)

But Hajji, leaving aside being a real dervish, cannot even once "shine in honesty";(2) however, how could he in such a society where one day those who are princes the next day become beggars and vice versa? Even the mollah (a man of religion), in whom Hajji sought refuge from the corruption of this world, offers him a kind of job which consists in being a matchmaker; so he would make his fortune. Hajji's disappointment in the mollah is evident in the following passage:

"The mollah here finished speaking, in the expectation of hearing what I should say in answer; but I was so bewildered by this vast field of action that he had opened to my view, that it took me some minutes to recollect myself. I, who had expected to lead the life of a recluse, to sit in the corner all the day long, reading my Koran, or mumbling prayers - to frequent lectures in the medressehs (schools) and homilies in the mosques - I, in short, who in my master expected to have found a despiser of this world's goods and full of no other care than that of preparing for the next - of a sudden was called upon to engage more deeply in the business of life than before, and to follow the footsteps of a man who seemed to exist for no other purpose than to amass wealth, and acquire

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(1) Ibid. p. 250.

(2) Ibid. p. 374.

consideration."[1]

Yet Hajji was not a man of principles to feel disgusted when an unlawful business was concerned; so he would rather accept the mollah's offer than despise it.

As to Gil Blas, he is as innocent of any serious guilt as Hajji; he, even, proves to be conscientious on several occasions. For instance, when he had been already absorbed in the disorders and the dishonesty of the theatrical life he suddenly came to his right senses by the stinging voice of remorse:

> "Ah, wretch, said I to myself, is it thus that you make good the hopes of your family? Is it not enough to have thwarted their pious intentions, by not following your destined course of life as an instructor of youth? Need your condition of a servant hinder you from living decently and soberly? Are such monsters of iniquity fit companions for you? Envy, hatred and avarice are predominant here; intemperance and idleness have purchased the fee simple there: the pride of some is aggravated into the most barefaced impudence, and modesty is turned out of doors, by the common consent of all. The business is settled: I will not live any longer with the seven deadly sins."[2]

Hajji, also, remembers his parents at the time of adversity and feels sorry that he is not a good son:

> "'I have been a wicked son,' said I. 'When I was a man in authority and was puffed up with pride at my own importance, I then forgot the poor barber at Ispahan; and it is only now, when adversity spreads my path, that I recollect the authors of my being.'"[3]

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 323-4.

(2) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vol. I, p. 190.

(3) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 292.

Yet Hajji was not as scrupulous as Gil Blas in the problem of conscience; despite this, now and then, he thought about what is right and what is wrong.

For example, when the Turcomans robbed Hajji and his master of everything they possessed, Osman Aga's hat, under the lining of which he had hidden his money, was kept by one of the Turcoman ladies who took a fancy to the hat. Hajji ingeniously managed to get the hat and his thoughts afterwards ran in the following way:

> "I must confess that when I became possessed of the fifty ducats, a recollection of my poor former master, who was leading a melancholy life in the mountains with the camels, whilst I was living in comparative luxury, came across my mind, and I half resolved to restore them to him; but by little and little I began to argue differently with myself. 'Had it not been for my ingenuity' said I, 'the money was lost for ever; who therefore has a better claim to it than myself? If he was to get possession of it again, it could be of no use to him in his new profession, and it is a hundred to one but that it would be taken from him, therefore I had best keep it for the present: besides it was his fate to lose, and mine to recover it.' This settled every difficulty and I looked upon myself as the legitimate possessor of fifty ducats, which I conceived no law could take from me."(1)

One can see that Hajji is very clever and practical in his way of solving the problems of his conscience easily and always to his own advantage. He is also more full of animal spirits than Gil Blas and less considerate of virtue, than Gil Blas again:

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(1) Ibid. p. 37.

> "A surviving spark of honour and of religion, in the midst of so general depravity, made me resolve not only to leave Arsenia, but even to abjure all commerce with Laura, whom yet I could not cease to love, though I was well aware of her daily inconstancy. Happy the man who can thus profit by those appeals, which occasionally interrupt the headlong course of his pleasures. One fine morning - I made up my bundle; and without reckoning with Arsenia, who indeed owed me next to nothing, without taking leave of my dear Laura, I burst from that mansion, which smelt of brimstone and fire reserved for the wicked."(1)

So did Gil Blas take a moral step through the impulse of virtue. He felt strong enough even to leave the woman he loved. If one understands Hajji's character as represented by his own adventures, one can never think of him feeling in the same way as Gil Blas. Even, "a surviving spark of honour and religion" is alien to him. He would have gone on living with the Turkish widow in spite of his honour, - of which he had none at all, - had he not been discovered to be an impostor.

Gil Blas had a serious education in his early childhood under the control of his uncle Perez. Hajji, from the time of his birth, mixed with the world of advantage to which he was born and received no education which would furnish his mind with the principles which could enable him to control his animal spirits.

Gil Blas had the characteristic of being loyal to his masters and he worked devoutly for them. Whereas loyalty was unknown to Hajji, because he always thought of his own advantage; and those around him never inspired him with a sense of trust. Hajji was, once, offered as a bribe "a pair of trousers" in the village where he went with his friend

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(1) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vol. I, p. 191.

Shir Ali Beg, the chief executioner, to extract some provision from the poor villagers. Yet Hajji, with vanity and the feeling of importance which his profession as an executioner endowed him with, refused the prize as unworthy and with great anger and pomposity he said that he had expected something better. Upon this Shir Ali Beg interfered in the discussion and wanted to look at the trousers, which ended with their loss by Hajji, leaving him there cheated and hence mortified:

> ".... thus I, who had been anticipating such great advantages, lost even the miserable perquisite which I might have had, and only gained sufficient experience to know another time how to deal with my countrymen, and moreover, how to trust one who called himself my friend."(1)

Gil Blas, while leaving his master's service for ever, - and it was for his master's good that he did so - left a memorial, "containing an exact account of his receipts and disbursements during the time of his stewardship."(2)

Hajji would not care at all to do such an honourable deed. His morals sit rather easily upon him. He also serves his masters, but in a different way; that is, he thinks of his own advantage before anything else. He was once in the service of the Vizier, to satisfy whose desires was his "kebleh" - his aim:

> "The leading passion of the Vizier was the love of receiving presents. This was my kebleh in all transactions with the elchi, and my ingenuity was constantly exercised in endeavouring to extract something from him which would be acceptable to the Vizier, and serviceable to myself."(3)

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 188.

(2) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vol. II. p.1.

(3) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 436.

Hajji loved to satisfy his harmless inclinations; to him, to feel the importance of a duty is much more palatable than to perform it actually:

> "To all of this, and much more, I said, 'Yes, yes,' and 'No, no,' as fast as the necessity of the remark required; and I enjoyed the satisfaction of being looked upon as a man just come out of a battle."(1)

After having done with worldly advantages Gil Blas acknowledged that a virtuous, silent life is superior to all the shining honours of the busy world:

> "The reverses of this chequered life, replied I, have brought me down to the level of the more modest virtues; I have taken a lesson in the school of adversity to enjoy the possession of a good stud without riding the great horse."(2)

As to Hajji, he is content with the reverses of life as long as they are followed by good chance and happy incidents; and he never loses his hope for a better future. In this way he manages to remain amiable and affable to the end of the story in spite of his little vices. Moreover he is very quick to adapt himself to any situation: He takes up a new profession after he loses his money; he becomes a saka, a water-carrier; his self confidence is very strong, even though he is at the beginning of his career:

> "Nature, in fact, seemed to have intended me for a saka."(3)

He is, once, bastinadoed through his dishonesty. Yet he does not feel sorry for himself nor does he moralize. The only thing he does is to determine to leave Meshed, the scene of his misfortune. All these things happened to him because, he thinks,

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(1) Ibid. p. 241.

(2) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vol. II. p. 325.

(3) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 60.

he entered it, "at an unlucky hour". "Once my back had been sprained", he complains, "and once I had been bastinadoed".(1) So he puts all the blame on his entering the town at an unlucky hour. His nimble wit is always ready to get him out of any difficulties.

One other characteristic common to both heroes is their belief in Fate or Fortune. Hajji calls it "takdeer".

They are both unaware of the responsibilities that are due to them. They never feel any kind of responsibility either to themselves or to other people. So when something goes wrong, instead of seeking who is responsible for it, - themselves or others, they find fault with destiny.

After cheating his former master by making him marry a widow, whose face was, according to her new husband, "more wrinkled than a camel" Hajji gets out of his difficult position by his ingenious remarks about destiny:

> "I got out of the scrape as well as I was able, by assuring him that she had once been the flower of the royal harem, and reminded him that nothing had so much to do with marriage as destiny."(2)

As to Gil Blas, he blames Fortune as the cause of all his miseries:

> "I am born to be the mere whipping-top of fortune".(3)

After the death of the chief priest in the bath his men mistook Hajji, who was there at the time, for their master in the darkness; and in a minute he was put in the chief priest's place. He did not try to correct the mistake as an honourable man should do; on the contrary he was flattered by this sudden change in his fortune:

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(1) Ibid. p. 79.
(2) Ibid. p. 332-3.
(3) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vol. II. p. 9.

"I could not do otherwise than follow my destiny, which has clothed me with the garments of the chief priest, enriched me with his money, and mounted me upon the finely caparisoned steed of the executioner in chief. That same destiny compels me to fly my country."(1)

Gil Blas complains about the fickleness of Fortune:

"It would seem as if fortune, wearied out with the schoolgirl's tricks she had been playing me, was contented at last to leave me as she found me. But she still had her skittish design upon me, as will be seen in the sequel."(2)

Hajji's optimism takes its source from his boundless faith in destiny:

".... and the same powerful destiny which has led me on step by step through the labyrinth of life will doubtless again take me by the hand, and perhaps at length safely land me where I shall no longer be perplexed respecting the path I ought to pursue."(3)

And especially when to his faith in destiny are added his beliefs as a Mussulman Hajji appears philosophical indeed:

"However I was delighted to hear that my case was not so desperate as I had imagined; and, seated on the carpet of hope, smoking the pipe of expectation, I determined to await my fate with that comfortable feeling of predestination which had been so wisely dispensed by the holy Prophet for the peace and quiet of all true believers."(4)

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 359.

(2) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vol. II. p. 10-11.

(3) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 415.

(4) Ibid. p. 288-9.

Both Gil Blas of Santillane and Hajji Baba are novels of society. They reflect the characteristics of two different societies. In both novels society is treated from a satirical point of view. To begin with, there are satirical hints at the men of law and religion both as to their virtue and divinity. The simplicity and open-heartedness of both heroes cause them to fall into the snares of cunning people, and the experiences they have had make them mock their respective societies and cynical towards the morals they have assumed:

> ".... when I reflected how little innocence would avail to extricate me from the clutches of the law, the thought was dead. I panted for my subterraneous paradise. Take it for all in all, said I, there were fewer grievances than in this dungeon. I was hail fellow well met with the banditti. I bandied about my jokes with the best of them, and lived on the sweet hope of an escape; whereas my innocence here will only be a passport to the galleys."(1)

Here, we see Gil Blas preferring the company of robbers to that of the men of law. And what is important he is right in his judgement.

A similar instance happened to be Hajji's lot as well: When Hajji was robbed by the men of a Prince, he thought of no one but the Prince himself to whom he could turn to ask for help in order that he might get his money back. A Prince, after all, was a man in high rank and supposed to be responsible for the security of the rights of his countrymen; however, he was able to have the thieves captured:

> "They were immediately seized, and when their feet were in the air, strongly tied in the noose, and after receiving a few blows, they confessed that they had

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(1) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vol. I. p. 46.

taken the money, and produced it. It was forthwith carried to the Prince, who deliberately counted it over, and, putting it under the cushion upon which he was reclining, released the culprits, and said in a loud voice to me, 'You are dismissed.' I stood with my mouth open, hoping to see the money handed over to me, when his master of the ceremonies took me by the shoulders and pushed me away. I exclaimed, 'And my money, where is it?' 'What does he say?' said the Prince: 'Give him the shoe if he speaks again.' - When the master of the ceremonies, taking off his high green slippers, struck me over the mouth with the heel of it, shod with iron, saying, 'Do you speak to a king's son thus? Go in peace, and keep your eyes open, or you'll have your ears cut off' - and so I was pushed and dragged violently away.

"I returned in utter despair to my muleteer, who appeared not in the least surprised at what had happened, and said, 'What could you expect more? After all is he not a prince? When once he or any man in power gets possession of a thing, do you think they will ever restore it? You might as well expect a mule to give up a mouthful of fresh grass, when once it has got it within its mouth, as a prince to give up money that has once been in his hands.'"(1)

Both Hajji and Gil Blas, having had such experiences and received injustice when justice was their due, had no other alternative than becoming rogues. However, they are both pleasant and likeable in spite of all their roguery, because they never do any mischievous deed for evil's sake. They do it either for self-defence or through their ignorance of behaving better. They are good and simple at heart, their respective societies only are responsible for their tricks,

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 58.

deceits and hypocrisies.

Once Gil Blas was a captive of highwaymen; their chief decided one day to take him out on one of their excursions and consequently he was charged with robbing a priest who was passing by the forest they were hidden in. A little later Gil Blas returned with the bishop's purse, and the remarks the highwaymen made at this instant on the bishop are remarkable indeed:

> "They each of them shot their bolt at me, and the captain said: 'Faith, Gil Blas, I would advise you as a friend not to set your wit a second time against the Church: the biter may be bit; for you must live some time longer among us, before you are a match for them.'"(1)

And again, when the little chorister wanted to help Gil Blas, who had to go to Burgos and had not the means necessary for this journey, he gave his purse to him, apologising at the same time:

> "Take my purse: it is rather thinly lined, to be sure; but you know a chorister's dividends are not like a bishop's'."(2)

In Hajji Baba of Ispahan, as well, there are satirical references to "cadis" who were responsible for setting right every wrong according to the principles of the Moslem religion.

In the following scene the chief of the Turcomans inquires about the professions of his captives so as to judge how much money he can get from them:

> "'I am a poor cadi', answered the other. 'How came you to sleep in a fine bed, if you are poor?' said the interrogator. 'You father of a dog, if you lie, we'll take your head off. Confess that you are rich. All

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(1) Gil Blas of Santillane, Vol. I. p. 30.

(2) Ibid. p.48.

> cadis are rich; they live by selling themselves to the highest bidder.'"(1)

Besides men of law, men of religion are cuttingly satirized in Hajji Baba of Ispahan. "Dervishes" of the East were known by their devotion to their religion; Morier devotes a whole chapter (XI) to their description. Hajji, once, falls into the company of three dervishes; and he becomes very friendly with them. One day one of them asks Hajji:

> "Why do you not turn dervish like us? We hold men's beards as cheap as dirt; and although our existence is precarious, yet it is one of great variety, as well as of great idleness. We look upon mankind as fair game - we live upon their weaknesses and credulity; and from what I have seen of you, I think you would do honour to our profession."(2)

But poor Hajji, comparatively innocent before his more cunning and more deceitful friends, cannot understand how such a being as himself who is both ignorant and unexperienced can be a dervish. Upon this, one of the dervishes' answer is very significant:

> "'Ah my friend', said Dervish Sefer, 'little do you know of dervishes, and still less of human-kind. It is not great learning that is required to make a dervish; assurance is the first ingredient. With one fifth part of the accomplishments that you have mentioned, and with only a common share of effrontery, I promise you, that you may command not only the purses, but even the lives of your hearers. By impudence I have been a prophet, by impudence I have wrought miracles, by

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(1) Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 46.

(2) Ibid. p. 64.

impudence I have restored the dying to health - by impudence, in short, I lead a life of great ease and am feared and respected by those who, like you, do not know what dervishes are.'"(1)

Yet, deeply as his satire cut, it cannot be said that Morier has painted an altogether unkind picture of Iranian life. The Iranians of Hajji Baba of Ispahan may be cunning, dishonest, faithless, unreliable, and thieving, but they are not altogether bad. Their faults are rather those of people lacking any security or decent government; they are not malicious, cruel or evil for evil's sake; they are anxious mainly to fill their pockets or their stomachs, or to advance in life.

c. Humour in Hajji Baba of Ispahan:

Hajji Baba of Ispahan is worth study as a humorous story. Although Morier, in this novel, reveals the defects of the Iranians as a whole nation, he, yet, does it with humour. One can feel him laughing good humouredly at the little vices of this people all through the book. Moreover there are two kinds of humour in Hajji Baba of Ispahan.

First, Hajji deliberately enjoys himself at the cost of others; he is gifted with a sense of humour. He describes a "chaoush" who made one of the caravan's escorts who are bound for Meshed, in the following terms:

"He enjoyed a great reputation for courage which he had acquired for having cut off a Turcoman's head whom he had once found dead on the road."(2)

Whenever Hajji was involved in an absurd and difficult case that required his tact, he took it lightly. For example, while Hajji was describing the particular event when their

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(1) Ibid. p. 65.

(2) Ibid. p. 415.

caravan was attacked by the Turcomans, the picture he drew is far from anything that is the production of a frightened man's imagination: his portrayal of his master and of himself during the event has nothing to do with the seriousness of the occasion. Hajji describes it as if it were an amusing adventure:

> "My master had rolled himself up between two bales of goods to wait the event, but was discovered by a Turcoman of great size, and of a most ferocious aspect, who, taking him at first for part of the baggage, turned him over on his back, when (as we see a woodlouse do) he opened out at full length and expressed all his fears by the most abject entreaties. He tried to soften the Turcoman by invoking Omar, and cursing Ali, but nothing would do, the barbarian was inexorable, he only left him in possession of his turban, out of consideration to its colour, but in other respects he completely stripped him, leaving himself with my master's comfortable cloak and trousers before his face. My clothes being scarcely worth the taking I was permitted to enjoy them unmolested, and I retained possession of my case of razors to my no small satisfaction."(1)

Besides these innocent plays of wit, Hajji laughs "at the beards" of his countrymen by taking advantage of their weaknesses. The rogue in Hajji who makes fun of the credulity of the people is evident in the following passage:

> "The water which I had a moment before drawn from a filthy reservoir I extolled as having flowed from a spring created by Ali in person, equal to the sacred well of Zem Zem, and a branch of the river which flows through Paradise. It is inconceivable how it was relished, and how considerable was the money I received for giving

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(1) Ibid. p. 30.

it gratis."(1)

With his clever mind Hajji invented all sorts of devices to deceive his countrymen; and also his humorous character helped him to enjoy his work. Once he became a tobacco seller; and while he was uttering words seriously about the great value of his tobacco his eyes were shining with laugher at his success at the expense of his countrymen:

> "My tobacco was of various sorts - Tabas, Shiraz, Susa, and Damascus. It is true that I was not very scrupulous about giving it pure; for with a very small quantity of the genuine leaf I managed to make a large store, with the assistance of different sorts of dungs. I had a great tact in discovering amongst my customers the real connoisseur, and to him I gave it almost genuine. My whole profits, in fact, depended upon my discrimination of characters. To those of the middling ranks, I gave it half-mixed; to the lower sort, three-quarters; and to the lowest, almost without any tobacco at all. Whenever I thought I could perceive a wry face, I immediately exerted my ingenuity in favour of the excellence of my tobacco. I showed specimens of the good, descanted on its superior qualities, and gave the history of the very gardener who had reared it, and pledged myself to point out the very spot in his grounds where it grew."(2)

Hajji bounds from one place to another to deceive his friends:

> "A looking-glass was necessary to my toilet: a mirza, sick of the jaundice, looked at himself in one which he possessed, and was horror-struck at his colour.

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(1) Ibid. p. 60.

(2) Ibid. p. 63.

I assured him that it only proceeded from a defect in the glass, for that in fact he was as fresh as a rose. He threw it away, and I took it home with me."(1)

The second kind of humour in the story does not belong to Hajji. He ceases to be humorous and becomes the butt of the author's humour in his ignorance. In this way Morier satirizes both Iranian society and Hajji, accepting him as a typical member of that society; the following passage pictures a scene where Morier points out a social defect of the Iranians, - bribery; but in his satire he chooses to be mild rather than otherwise:

"'Now,' said he, 'the Shah has threatened if I permit the elchi to leave Persia dissatisfied, that my head shall answer for it; and at the same time I and my brother plenipotentiary are half persuaded that his majesty will never accede to the demands of England. What is to be done?; 'Could he not be bribed?' said I, with all humility, and looking as if I would give another meaning to my words.

"'He be bribed?' said the Vizier; 'in the first place, whence could the bribe come? and in the second, these people are such fools, that they do not know what a bribe means.'"(2)

Hajji's conversation with the English doctor shows him to be ignorant and very funny in his ignorance:

"In cases of extreme necessity, perhaps a doctor might be permitted to feel a woman's pulse, but then it must be done when a veil covers the hand.

"To which the Frank replied, 'In order to judge of my patient's case I must not only feel the pulse, but see

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(1) Ibid. p. 173.

(2) Ibid. p. 437.

the tongue also.'

"'Looking at the tongue is totally new in Persia', said I; 'and I am sure you could never be indulged with such a sight in the seraglio, without a special order from the King himself; a eunuch would rather cut out his own tongue first!"(1)

The Iranians' ignorance of Europe or "Frangistan" caused them to make funny mistakes about it; all through the novel it is possible to see many amusing remarks made by the Iranians concerning Europe:

"'In the name of Allah,' taking my pipe from my mouth and putting it into his, 'tell me something respecting them. This Frangistan, is it a large country? Where does its king reside?'"(2)

Thus, all the novel, from beginning to end, is full of satirical sense of humour. Every page in the book is imbued with the author's sometimes mild sometimes quite severe humour. What other motive than a strong sense of humour could drive Morier to make the poor Osman Aga, once a merchant, but then the captive of the Turcomans, to ask of Hajji, who decided to run away from his captors, such a favour:

"There is only one favour I beg of you, which is, to inquire what is the price of lamb-skins at Constantinople."(3)

After many years of adventure Hajji happens to be in Bagdad; and one day while he was strolling in the streets he is struck by the words:

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(1) Ibid. p. 108.

(2) Ibid. p. 421.

(3) Ibid. p. 39.

"'In God's name, what may be the price of lamb skins at Constantinople?' 'Oh, for once,' said I, 'I cannot be mistaken! You can be no one but Osman' - and immediately made myself known to him."(1)

Through almost every line of The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan it is possible to feel the silent and good-humoured laughter of Morier.

d. How Hajji Baba was Accepted in its Time and its Comparison with Anastasius:

When The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan was published for the first time in 1824, it came out with a pseudonym, Peregrine Persic. Its second publication had both the pseudonym and the author's name. It was received favourably and several editions (in 1828, 1835, 1851, 1855, 1965, 1868, 1892, 1895, 1923, 1927, 1937, 1948, 1949, etc.) have since been called for.

"It has long been ranked amongst standard English novels, nor is it likely to be displaced so long as the English nation is able to appreciate good literature,"(2) says Edward Granville Browne in the introduction to The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, which was published in 1895.

In the July 22, 1949 copy of The Times Literary Supplement Morier's work is commented on in the following terms:

"Within a few weeks two editions of The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan have been issued to remind us that it is a great novel and that its popularity lasted long enough into the Victorian era for James Morier to be regarded as on an equality with Dickens and Thackeray, as he was

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(1) Ibid. p. 329.

(2) Introduction to The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. ix.

counted the peer of Scott when Hajji Baba took the stage in 1824."(1)

In France Count de Gabineau thought very highly of Morier. He starts the introduction to his collection of Nouvelles Asiatiques, with:

> "Le livre, le meilleur qui ait été écrit sur le tempérament d'une nation asiatique, c'est assurement le roman de Morier, intitulé: Hadjy-Baba. Il est bien entendu que les Mille et une Nuits ne sont pas en question: elles demeurent incomparables; c'est la verité même: on ne les egalera jamais. Ainsi, ce chef-d'oeuvre mis a part, Hadjy Baba tient le premier rang. Son auteur était secrétaire de la legation britannique à Teheran, à un moment au tout ce qui appartenait au service de la Compagnie des Indes brillait d'une valeur indiquant l'age d'or. Morier a bien vu, bien connu, bien pénétré tout ce qu'il a decrit, et dans ses tableaux, il n'a fait usage que d'un dessin precis et de couleurs parfaitement harmonieuses."(2)

So in, at least, one of his Nouvelles Asiatiques, Gabineau was inspired by the little barber from Ispahan; "La Guerre des Turcomans" is based on an episode in Hajji Baba.

The character of the cowardly lying barber's son had so stamped itself on Western minds as the Iranian stereotype that even Americans who had had no dealings with the Iranians as yet fully accepted it. W.C. Brown writing in 1938 could speak unreservedly of, "The Persian's craftiness and prevarication, his cowardice and credulity, his vanity and

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(1) The Times Literary Supplement, p. 473.

(2) Gabineau, Comte de, Nouvelles Asiatiques, Nouvelle Edition, Paris, 1913, p. 1.

mobility, his alacrity in making a compromise with conscience - these traits were attested by every one who came in contact with the race."(1)

When The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan was published for the first time the romantic period was in its full reign in England. The Hajji Baba story was romantic enough to satisfy the prevailing taste, and it added qualities less known to its school: the picture was made credible by freshness of style and actual knowledge of the scene, "Persia was getting into the news at that time as a 'sphere of influence,' and the public wanted its romance spiced with veracity."(2)

Morier met the public want and his veracious as well as romantic work gratified it.

The Quarterly Review, Vol. XXXIX, on page, 73 comments on the novel in the following way:

> "There are few of our readers, probably, who have not perused this lively novel, which may be termed, the Oriental Gil Blas."

The real precursor of Hajji Baba of Ispahan is considered to be Anastasius. Thomas Hope had collected the material for this picturesque, "memoirs of a Greek at the close of the XVIIIth century," during eight years of travel in the Levant.

Hajji Baba of Ispahan, being a picture of Oriental manners, had a severe trial to sustain by a comparison with the then recent romance of Anastasius. But the public found appetite for both; and, indeed, they differ as comedy and tragedy. The deep passion and gloomy interest of Thomas Hope's work are entirely different from the light and lively turn of Hajji's adventures. However, once, it was supposed

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(1) Brown, Wallace Cable, "Prose Fiction and English Interest in the Near East," PMLA, LIII, 1938, p. 835.

(2) The Times Literary Supplement, p. 473.

that Thomas Hope was the author of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. A critic comments on this in the following terms:

> "But if it excited wonder that Mr. Hope should on the sudden have become the author of Anastasius, it will be found quite surprising, that the author of Anastasius should ever have written Hajji Baba."(1)

The German scholar Karl Zeidler, in his work, called, Beckford, Hope und Morier als Vertreter des Orientalischen Romans, compares, in a few lines, Hajji Baba to Anastasius. He argues(2) that they are like each other in form and content. In so far as Karl Zeidler means that both novels are written in the autobiographical form and both deal with the East he is right. Nevertheless, these two books are different from each other in their essence, as nothing is more unlike the philosophical mind of Anastasius than the vain, idle mind of Hajji. Unlike Anastasius, whose turn of speech was strictly English, Morier contrived to imitate the Eastern style and imagery so cleverly that no English idiom jars on the ear or breaks the illusion of the hero's nationality. Anastasius had not only expressed himself like an Englishman but had also thought in the manner of an Englishman. Morier's hero would never even dream of the parallel English system of which he was naturally ignorant.

When the book was translated into Iranian many Iranians who read it insisted that the Iranian was the original. They were understandably furious when they realized that the work had been written by a foreigner. He had not only mastered the Iranian turn of speech, but had managed through the chequered career of his inglorious hero to present the readers with a cross section of Iranian society from the Shah to the meanest of his subjects, in very unflattering

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(1) Blackwood's Edinburg Magazine, Vol. XV. p. 51.

(2) Beckford, Hope und Morier, Leipzig, 1909, p. 74.

colours. In the introduction to The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England, Morier describes the mortification of the Iranians when this book is concerned.

e. The Literary Qualities of Hajji Baba of Ispahan:

The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan is Morier's only novel which can be said to have any literary merit. It is interwoven with many episodes as usually a picaresque novel is; but these episodes are elaborated with such skill that they are fused into one another to draw finally a marvellous picture of Iranian life. In dealing with his episodes the writer has such ease that one can obviously see he has a wonderful gift for telling stories. By the very conversations he writes down one would think that he is as interestingly loquacious as his Iranian hero is. In the novel there are not long descriptions which might have bored the reader. However, when he describes any scene he creates an atmosphere where his story fits in dramatically: "The night was dark and lowering, and well suited to the horrid scene about to be acted. The sun, unusual in these climates, had set, surrounded by clouds the colour of blood; and, as the night advanced, they rolled on in increasing thunders over the summits of the adjacent range of Albors. At sudden intervals the moon was seen through the dense vapour, which covered her again as suddenly, and restored the night to its darkness and solemnity. I was seated lonely in the guard-room of the palace, when I heard the cries of the sentinels on the watch-towers, announcing midnight, and the voices of the muezzins from the mosques, the wild notes of whose chant floating on the wind ran through my veins with the chilling creep of death, and announced to me that the hour of murder was at hand!"(1)

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(1) The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, p. 247.

As this extract shows Morier deliberately draws a picture of nature where an awful incident can take place. In doing so he wants to increase the impact that the incident should have on the reader.

Although every episode in the novel gives some information as to the life in Iran the author describes them so skillfully that it is impossible for the casual reader to perceive these episodes have documentary value as well. Instead of long descriptions there are long and amusing conversational passages which make this novel light reading though a certain serious purpose is hidden underneath. It is superfluous to give any examples as the whole book is full of such conversations.

The characters in these episodes help the development of the story. They do not appear, perform their functions, and disappear. On the contrary they all come round Hajji this way or another and help him go on with his adventures; and they appear several times in the novel when suited to the purpose of their writer; for example the Khanum's appearance again, towards the end of the book, where Hajji marries him to Osman Aga.

All the episodes, however, are united to make a whole by the very presence of Hajji. In Hajji Morier does not describe a species but an individual. Although this Persian rogue has all the traditional characteristics of his own countrymen, yet, when we think of him we do not remember just an Iranian but the whole wit and the idiosyncracies of Hajji Baba appear in front of our eyes. Despite the fact that Hajji is the only chief hero there are other characters which add colour and novelty to the subject matter of the story. The sedate, serious Osman Aga, with his "never failing chibouk", Mirza Ahmak, the Shah's physician, his wife, the Khanum, the ambitious Mollah Nadan are all vividly described and portrayed. From these portrayals of characters one can conclude that Morier was capable of drawing Oriental types of men successfully.

1. The Style:

Morier's style, in this novel, is direct, unaffected, the product of a mind stored with knowledge of Iran and its people. He is always driving a point home with an apt Iranian proverb, with a quotation from the men of letters of this country. And he sometimes does not fail to put down Iranian expressions as well:

> "'Ruft ke ruft. He is gone and doubly gone,' said the young delikhan; 'we shall never see him again'."(1)

This device of using Iranian terms of speech makes his novel real to life.

> "Then the cooks, a numerous and most despotic band, arrived with such accompaniments of pots, pans, braziers, and boilers, that the doctor, out of all patience, inquired of the head of the kitchen, 'what this meant; whether it was intended that he should feed all the city, as well as the King.' 'Not quite all,' was his answer; 'but perhaps you will recollect the words of Saadi:
>
> If from the peasant's tree, the king an apple craves,
> Down with it root and branch, exclaim his ready slaves;
> And should he, in dainty mood, one single egg require:
> Lo! thousand spitted birds revolve before the fire.'"(2)

The passage above shows that Morier was well acquainted with the literature of Iran as well. By quoting freely from the men of letters of Iran Morier adds exotic colour to his novel.

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(1) Ibid. p. 224.

(2) Ibid. p. 152.

2. Unity of Structure and Characterization in Hajji Baba:

Although Hajji Baba contains a story the plot in it is not important or it rather lacks a plot. What it really matters in this novel is Morier's invention of episodes around Hajji. Hajji is first described for us as the only son of a barber. Then he goes out into the wide world of adventures to seek his fortune. He adopts many professions such as trade, medicine, and law and he becomes a "dervish", an executioner and finally a secretary to the Iranian ambassador. Thus the Iranian hero passes through many vicissitudes of life and all his adventures are brought to form an adventureus story of Hajji Baba. However, to call Hajji, a puppet of the writer will be injustice to his character. He is not all together a puppet forcibly pushed from one situation to another - to provide the author with a chance for introducing a new scene. There was always a good reason for his changing his occupation or his abode and the episodes are closely kint together by more than the mere presence of the hero. Such changes often resulted from his own knavery, the discovery of which would again plunge him into adversity, induce him to make numerous decisions of mending his ways and after sufficiently belabouring himself to appease his conscience, he would seek a new occupation, naturally in a new place and soon forget his previous good decisions. Yet more than he his society is to be blamed for this forgetfulness. Hajji Baba, it is a known fact, entered into the services of men of different professions with always good intentions; he tried his best to learn something, to do something good "to shine" in his profession, yet with the examples before him he could not go too far; he was soon corrupted and lost all his good purposes. Once he was robbed by his friend in whom he put his utmost confidence. Once all his money was taken away by a prince whom he thought highly of in matters of honour. Once he joined his friends in one of their raids but is treated

by his best friend as a fool.(1)

These examples are enough to make Hajji a knave too. Hajji Baba, who is baffled by his countrymen, learns to deal with them as they really deserve, at the end. His knavery can be a unifying element in the story itself. He ends up with all his professions with a certain sort of knavery. He has to do so; otherwise he is exploited by his own countrymen.

Besides the narration of Hajji's adventures there are some episodes in the story which teach us something of the ways in Iran. In addition to their didactic quality these episodes have another virtue which makes the story go on and develop in a certain way.. For example, in the story of Yusuf, all the intrigues of the Serdar's household are revealed. By the narration of this episode one side of Hajji's character, that is, his merciful and generous heart is made known to us, also. So by the narration of every episode we learn something more of the hero as well as we get familiar with the customs and habits in Iran.

Although the unity of structure is not very strong we cannot say that it is completely lacking in this particular novel of Morier. There is surely unity of place. (Aristotle's Poetics, unifying themes,) as the whole story takes place in Iran except that a small part develops in Turkey.

While reading Hajji Baba our curiosity is always sustained. The question, "What is going to happen to Hajji Baba next?" is always vivid in our minds. Yet an intelligent reader of the novel can feel that there is no clever device as to the technique of the story. The element of surprise or mystery which is of great importance in a plot is lacking in Hajji Baba. The reader is never surprised by the adventures of the hero though his curiosity is constantly excited. Hajji runs from one adventure to another and before the narration of

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(1) Ibid. p. 188.

one adventure is over we already know that this is not the last one; he is, anyway, going to incur some more exciting happenings.

There is no sense of mystery in the novel, either; that is, part of our minds is not left behind, brooding, while the other part goes marching on. One need not brood over the adventures of Hajji. They are spread before our eyes realistically and with all their limitations and virtues. We may laugh at Hajji's adventures but we can never ponder about them. Because even when Hajji is used as a means to show the morally bad side of the society he lives in he deals with it in such a lively way that the matter loses its seriousness and becomes a light subject. For instance, to get something of value from his master, the physician, Hajji tells all sorts of lies to him and does not give up the medicine immediately which he took from the English physician. He makes all kinds of pretences to get a gold coin from his master. In this same chapter the Iranian physician's ignorance in his own field is dealt with such liveliness that the satire lying underneath is not obvious at first glance.

"When once he had got possession, he looked at it with intense eagerness, and turned it over and over on his palm, without appearing one whit more advanced in his knowledge than before. At length, after permitting him fully to exhaust his conjectures, I told him that the Frank doctor had made not secret in saying it was composed of jivch, or mercury. "Mercury, indeed!' exclaimed Mirza Ahmak - 'just as if I did not know that. And so, because this infidel, this dog of an Issauvi, chooses to poison us with mercury, I am to lose my reputation, and my prescriptions (such as his father never even saw in a dream) are to be turned into ridicule. Who ever heard of mercury as a medicine? Mercury is cold, and lettuce and cucumber are cold also. You would not apply ice to dissolve ice? The ass does not know the first rudiments of his profession. No, Hajji, this will never do; we must not

permit our beards to be laughed at in this manner."[1]

The method applied by Morier throughout the whole novel to satirize Iranian society is such a one that one can hardly discover that the writer's whole aim is really to point out the vices of this Eastern nation. He is gay, light hearted and vivacious rather than harsh and severe in his treatment of the Iranians. That is why we laugh at them rather than take them seriously.

3. Conveying of Information through Narration, and Dialogue as Opposed to Direct Description:

Whenever Morier wanted to inform his readers about the customs and habits of Iranians he did not plunge himself into long descriptions which might have made his novel boring. Although there are descriptions in the book they are not long and they are told vivaciously by the gay Hajji. Yet the writer uses another device to give information to his readers: When he wishes to introduce episodes or descriptions of places which the hero could hot have seen, the tale within a tale is always handy. A companion on the road would tell Hajji his own history, which would provide an insight into the life of a section of Iranian society where he himself does not move. As he himself has no chance in the early career to see the inside of a grandee's harem and observe the regulations by which it is run, the fair Zeenab, the slave of his master, the doctor, gives him the necessary information in a most natural way. She tells him of her mistress, the Khanum, who was once one of the Shah's favourites, but falling under his displeasure, the doctor was ordered to marry her: ".... and she therefore holds her present husband as cheap as the dust under her feet, and keeps him in a most pitiful state of subjection. He dares not sit down before her, unless she permits him, which she very seldom does; and she is moreover

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(1) Ibid. p. 109-10.

so jealous, that there is no slave in her harem who does not excite her suspicions."(1)

To explain to her friend her own position in the harem Zeenab gives a fully detailed account of the occupation of every slave:

"'We are five in the harem, besides our mistress,' said she: 'there is Shireen, the Georgian slave; then Nur Jehan, the Ethiopian slave-girl; Fatmeh, the cook; and old Leilah, the duenna. My situation is that of hand-maid to the Khanum, so my mistress is called: I attend her pipe, I hand her coffee, bring in the meals, go with her to the bath, dress and undress her, make her clothes, spread, sift, and pound tobacco, and stand before her. Shireen, the Georgian, is the sandukdar, or housekeeper: she has care of the clothes of both my master and mistress, and indeed of the clothes of all the house; she superintends the expenses, lays in the corn for the house, as well as all the other provisions; she takes charge of all the porcelain, the silver, and other ware; and, in short, has the care of whatever is either precious or of consequence in the family. Nur Jehan, the black slave, acts as ferash, or carpet-spreader: she does all the dirty work, spreads the carpets, sweeps the rooms, sprinkles the water over the courtyard, helps the cook, carries parcels and messages, and, in short, is at the call of everyone. As for old Leilah, she is a sort of duenna over the young slaves: she is employed in the out-of-door service, carries on any little affair that the Khanum may have with other harems, and is also supposed to be a spy upon the actions of the doctor.'"(2)

In describing the beauty of his mistress Hajji Baba indirectly informs the English reader of the Iranian ideal of female beauty:

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(1) Ibid. p. 123.

(2) Ibid. p. 124.

"Her eyes were large and peculiarly black, and fringed with long lashes, which, aided by the collyrium with which they were tinged, formed a sort of ambuscade, from which she levelled her shafts. Her eyebrows were finely arched, and nature had brought them together just over her nose, in so strong a line, that there was no need of art to join them together. Her nose was aquiline, her mouth small, and full of sweet expression; and in the centre of her chin was a dimple which she kept carefully marked with a blue puncture."(1)

The absence of the other ladies of the house gives Hajji the chance to enter his master's anderun and describe the Khanum's own appartment.(2) Zeenab prepares a rich meal (described in detail) and the lovers feast and sing in the absence of their master and mistress:

"Nothing could be more delicious than the meal which she had prepared: there was a dish of rice, white as snow, and near it a plate of roast meat, cut into small bits, wrapped up in a large flap of bread; then a beautiful Ispahan melon, in long slices; some pears and apricots; an omelette warmed from a preceding meal; cheese, onions, and leeks; a basin of sour curds, and two different sorts of sherbet: added to this, we had some delicious sweetmeats, and a basin full of new honey."(3)

In the passage quoted above one learns the favourite dishes of an Iranian.

Turning the pages of the book one is confronted on every page with a lively scene which gives detailed information of one aspect of Iranian life or another and the information provided for English readers drop so naturally that they are almost imperceptible. Having arranged a marriage between the Khanum, the widow of his dead master, the doctor, and his former

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(1) Ibid. p. 119.
(2) Ibid. p. 128.
(3) Ibid. p. 129.

master, the Turkish merchant Osman, Hajji describes the marriage ceremony in faithful detail. The bridegroom's preparation before he is introduced to his bride is amusing indeed; nevertheless it explains a particular custom of the Iranians:

"Accordingly, he went to the bath, his grey beard was dyed a glossy black; his hands received a golden tinge; and his mustachios were invited to curl upwards towards the corners of his eyes, instead of downwards into his mouth, as they usually had done.

He then arrayed himself in his best, and followed me to the house of the mollah Nadan, where, owing to this change in his appearance, he very well passed off for a man at least ten years younger than he was in reality.

As soon as the parties came in sight of each other, an unconcerned bystander would have been amused with their first glances - he, the bridegroom, endeavouring to discover what he was about to espouse - she, the bride, making play with her veil in such an artful manner as to include his belief that it concealed celestial charms."(1)

With this device of the writer one learns much about Iran and the customs and the ways of living in this country.

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(1) Ibid. p. 332.

2. THE ADVENTURES OF HAJJI BABA OF ISPAHAN IN ENGLAND

a) A Study of the Novel:

Morier's second work as a piece of fiction is The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England. It was published for the first time in 1828. It is an adventure story describing the adventures of the Iranian Hajji in England. Itis still written in the autobiographical form. Hajji, who keeps a memoir, draws vivid sketches of his striking adventures in England, which is a kind of wonder land for an Oriental such as Hajji. He puts down his impressions of this country in his own peculiar way; - with his Iranian loquacity. So many an amusing incident rises out of the contrast between the conceptions of the Iranians and those of the English.

The amusing results which arise out of such contrasts have suggested to many writers besides Morier, at different periods, that they may, with a striking and agreeable tone, investigate the intrinsic value and rationality of social institutions by writing critical remarks upon them in the assumed character of the native of a primitive country.

Gulliver's Travels was written with the same aim as The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England. So Morier is not an original writer in his work. Many writers before him have attempted this specific kind of fiction. Oliver Goldsmith, for instance, wrote The Citizen of the World in 1762, imitating Montesquieu, who began his literary career with Les Lettres Persanes, a device for commenting with the requisite detachment upon morals and customs in Europe.

In the preface to Les Lettres Persanes, Montesquieu declares that he had some Iranian friends in Paris who let him read the "lettres" they had received from their acquaintances and friends in Iran. Montesquieu copied these

letters and Les Lettres Persanes was the outcome. Before accomplishing his work Morier may have read Les Lettres Persanes, though there is no direct hint to this effect in any criticism of his work.

The Citizen of the World, like Montesquieu's Persian Letters, is formed of letters written by a Chinese philosopher in England to his friend in China. In these letters the Chinese philosopher, Lien Chi Altangi, describes the customs, beliefs, morals and peculiarities of Englishmen. So Goldsmith, with a critical eye, comments on the peculiarities of this English nation.

Consequently, The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England is like both Les Lettres Persanes and The Citizen of the World. The heroes in these three books belong to primitive countries, and they criticize cuttingly another country far superior to theirs in civilization. This seems, however, a device in favour of the civilized people who, indeed, look upon those who have not yet been instructed and who are still the children of nature as barbarians. Yet it is they, in reality, who are criticized cuttingly by these barbarians.

Sir Walter Scott relates a joke which explains the matter very clearly:

> "An old acquaintance of ours, as remarkable for the grotesque queerness of his physionomy, as for the kindness and gentleness of his disposition, was asked by a friend where he had been. He replied, he had been seeing the lion, which was at that time an object of curiosity - (we are not sure whether it was Nero or Cato) - 'And what,' rejoined the querist, 'did the lion think of you?' The jest passed as a good one, and yet under it lies something that is serious and true."(1)

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(1) Quarterly Review, Vol. XXXIX, p. 73.

Thus, there is another aspect of the matter in hand, which is, what kind of an opinion these barbarians may have very possibly formed of them. Are they disposed at all to respect these civilized people more than they do the primitive ones? These three books give a very well-deserved answer to this question. Morier, however, based his novel on a different form from that of the two authors mentioned above, that is, he did not compose his work in the form of letter-writing but in the form of autobiography.

Hajji, from an Iranian's point of view, criticizes English society, laughes at it when it differs from Iranian society, and finds Englishmen with their simplicity and quietness not worthy of being on the same social level as the Iranians, whom he describes as being superior to Englishmen in many respects, with their black mustachios, long beards and magnificent appearance, which are Hajji's unchangeable standards of value for striking and respectable personages.

Neither Montesquieu nor Goldsmith was at all qualified to sustain the character he assumed, as Morier was with his hero. Usbeck and Lien Chi Altangi are scarcely different from Europeans in their language, views and ideas. They have respectively their Iranian caftan and Chinese gown, yet they still lack the Iranian and Chinese habitual modes of thinking, in as much as their creators are ignorant of the languages of the respective countries of these heroes. It is particularly in this difference that The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England is superior to the works mentioned above. Hajji Baba, unlike Usbeck and Lien Chi Altangi, writes, thinks and speaks and acts much more like an Oriental than an Englishman. What is more, Hajji is not an Oriental only but he is one of a particular class and character - an Iranian, and as different from a Turk as a Frenchman from a German.

Morier, having been in the diplomatic service in 1808-9 and again in 1810-16 at Tehran, started naturally with a great advantage over Goldsmith. He did not, however, pursue

it with quite the liveliness and power he had shown in his earlier work - as, in the second instance, Morier's possibilities of making his work interesting were more limited: England did not offer a field for exciting adventures as much as the Iran of Morier's day. Yet Morier did a good job, as he made Hajji expose his Eastern mind by way of commenting on the English people. Then, no doubt, Morier's intention was satire - satire, not so much directed against English society as against the Iranian Hajji.

Hajji Baba is a simple-minded and unsophisticated soul in comparison with the philosopher Lien Chi Altangi, who is a man of thought and devoted to Confucius. Hajji, without any principles of good education, makes his remarks at random with his vain, superior, bombastic and condescending air; he becomes the prey of/the English society without his being aware of it, and he occasionally falls into difficult situations.

The following passage is a very good example of one of the mistakes which Hajji usually made in talking with his English acquaintances. It also reveals one of the characteristics of the author's style:

> "'Where is your papa?' said I to the beautiful Bessy. The mamma answered, 'He is gone into the city, he attends to his business every day, and returns in the evening.' 'Ah! then,' said I, 'he is merchant - same in my country: - Merchant sit in bazar all day, at night shut up shop, and came home - What he sell, ma'am?'
>
> "'Mr. Hogg,' said the lady, with some dignity, 'does not keep a shop, he is an East India Merchant'.
>
> "'Then perhaps he sell ham,' said I, thinking that his name might be a designation of his trade as it frequently is in Persia.
>
> "'Sells hams!' exclaimed the lady, 'What an odd custom. Hogg is an old family name and has nothing to do with the animal. There are Hoggs both in England and

Scotland.'"[1]

Hajji, anyway, gets out of this difficult position quickly, owing to his peculiar ways.

Morier exposes his Iranian hero cruelly in his naked ignorance. So he makes Hajji a laughing stock rather than a critic of the Englishman's characteristics. Whereas Lien Chi Altangi, Goldsmith's Chinese hero, finds quite good reasons to speak against the English nation and as a reasonable and a sensible critic comments on the particular habits, ways of thinking, acting, and living of the Englishmen, and his criticism has substance and weight.

Unlike Goldsmith and Montesquieu, Morier does not let his hero meddle with politics, and Hajji never mentions anything about the political situation of England, nor does he care about the political situation of Iran.

Once the Iranians in England were visited by the English representatives of India. It was a visit of political importance; however, Hajji looked at it from an entirely different point of view, characteristic only of an ignorant and fanatical Asiatic:

> "When they were well off we all sat mute, only occasionally saying, 'Allah, Allah! there is but one Allah!' so astonished were we. What? India! that great, that magnificent empire! - that scene of Persian conquest and precious stones! the seat of shawls and kincobs! - that paradise sung by poets, celebrated by historians, more ancient than Iran itself! - at whose boundaries the sun is permitted to rise, and around whose majestic mountains, some clad in eternal snows, others in eternal verdure, the stars and the moon are allowed to gambol and carouse! What! is it so fallen, so degraded as to be

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(1) The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England, S. Jast, London, 1942, p. 202.

> swayed by two obscure mortals, living in regions that know not the warmth of the sun? Two swine eating infidels, shaven, impure, walkers on foot, and who by way of state, travel in dirty coaches filled with straw! This seemed to us a greater miracle in government than even that of Beg Jan, the plaiter of whips, who governed the Turcomans, and the countries of Samarcand and Bokhara, leading a life more like a beggar than a potentate. But we were in the country of miracles, not a day - no, not an hour passed without our hearing or seeing something which all the grand-fathers of Persia ever had or might have had never seen even in a dream."(1)

Hajji, as seen above, was heartily amazed how a magnificent country like India could be governed by two simple-mannered (which was one of the greatest defects of character according to the Iranians), and "swine eating infidels", who were moreover "shaven", "impure" (as they were Christians), and walkers on foot like an ordinary man.

In his The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England Morier tried as much as he had done before to show the characteristics of the Iranians. However, the case with this work is a little different as he explains their characteristics here in two different ways: first, he directly describes them by giving examples; for instance, to evince an Iranian's love of ornamenteven in speech and letter writing, Morier gives the following example which is part of the letter written to the English king by the Shah of Iran:

> "'When the flower-garden from which the sweet-smelling flowers of this letter have been culled shall be refreshed and watered by the oscillations of your majesty's eyes, beaming good fortune, and when their fragrance shall have risen in soft incense into the inmost chambers of your understanding, at that auspicious moment may you be seated on the throne of

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(1) The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England, p. 142.

health, and reposing under the canopy of a well organized brain."(1)

The second way is that Morier contrasts Iranian customs with English customs so as to bring out the peculiarities of the Iranians:

"But there appeared to us a total want of police; no ferashes with sticks to keep the mob at a distance; not a blow was struck, not a foot turned up. Had the English been laughed at for having no beards as much as we were for having them, there would have been no end to the stripes inflicted; but not a thing was done either to control the looks or words of the infidels, and they laughed as much at their ease as if there was no retribution at hand."(2)

This passage shows us the difference of keeping people in discipline in two different countries.

Once the Iranian ambassador and his suite were invited to an English dinner; the following passage is not only a description of this dinner distorted through the eyes of Hajji, a characteristic Iranian, but it is also a representation of the Iranians in an awkward and ridiculous situation where any civilized person should manage to behave properly:

"When it is remembered how simple are the manners of our board, where nothing is seen upon the cloth, save the food placed in various sized bowls and dishes, and spoons of different denominations for taking up the liquids, no one will be astonished when I say that we were quite puzzled at what we saw upon an English table. It absolutely bristled with instruments of offence. We

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(1) Ibid. p. 44

(2) Ibid. p. 93

> saw knives, with long glittering blades of all sizes and descriptions, sufficient in number to have ornamented the girdles of the shah's household as well as a variety of iron claws, looking like instruments of torture for putting out eyes, or running into criminals' bodies. To these were added pincers, trowels, scoops, spoons of all shapes and contrivances so numerous that it would take up a whole life to learn their use, and for what purpose? Merely to transfer the food from the dish to one's mouth. It is to be imagined that we were very awkward when we first adopted this new mode of eating, we who had been accustomed from our childhood simply to take everything up in our fingers, and carry it with comfort and security to our mouths, without the dangerous intervention of sharp instruments. The ambassador, however, determined from the beginning to persevere, and so did I, in order not to have the daily mortification of being laughed at by the infidels, which they always seemed very ready to do whenever they discerned anything in our habits of life that differed from theirs. Our first essays were rather disastrous, for my chief, in wielding his knife, had nearly cut off one of his fingers; and I, forgetting the claw which I held in my hand, eating for a moment as usual with my fingers, almost put out my eye by running the horrid instrument into my face."(1)

And it goes on like this; however, this long passage gives an idea also of some of the characteristics of the Iranians.

There is, however, another way of exposing Iranian peculiarities; that is, when Hajji feels himself at a loss to explain any European peculiarity, he tries to explain it by the help of the customs of his own country; in the

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(1) Ibid. p. 84-5.

following passage Morier describes the English ships which find their right way by means of the compass:

> "They all seemed to be going the same way, as if impelled by one mind, although we could discover no visible mark in the heavens by which they could direct their course. The difficulty was explained when we found that the Franks had a kebleh as well as ourselves; and that they were guided to it by means of an instrument which, in some measure, answered the purposes of our kebleh nemah, by which, with the blessing of Allah, every true believer can find the straight road to Mecca."(1)

Morier plays with his Iranian characters as a puppet player plays with his puppets. He either exposes them with their striking Iranian characteristics in order to make a laughing stock of them; or he puts them in contrast with the English for the same purpose; to give an example of the first case, the feelings of the Iranians upon hearing that Gibraltar was once owned by Islam are noteworthy:

> "Pressing him to tell us more on this subject, he said that one Tarik ben Zeyad, a famous devourer of iron, a general of one of our early caliphs, had taken this place from the infidels of those days, and that it had been called Gibel Tarik, or Tarik's Mount, after him. We curled up our whiskers, and girded up our loins, upon hearing this history; and forthwith endeavoured to impress our friends on board with more extended ideas of the prowess of Mussulmans."(2)

As an example for the author's second way of ridiculing his Iranian characters Morier could not select a better subject than that of women:

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(1) Ibid. p. 86.

(2) Ibid. p. 87.

"Our house was thronged with the women of London, and with those tongues of theirs, which as Saadi saith, 'make the heart to talk, and the foot to walk, without the mehmandari of the head', they set on foot a sort of pilgrimage to the shrine of this unfortunate maiden. But in so doing, Allah! Allah! wonderful sights did they exhibit to us poor sons of the faithful. Marvellous eyes! without mercy, without compassion were they! I really saw some beauties among them, before whom our blessed king of kings (upon whom be mercy and peace!) would be happy to creep on his hands and knees. They, however, cared so little about being seen, that it never occurred to them once to throw a veil over their faces. Poor Franks! thought we, to be restricted only to one of them for life! If our divine Prophet had set up his staff here, instead of the Blessed regions of Mecca, he would have given his followers six instead of four. For my part, I died daily; and as for our ambassador, we all saw how it would be! His heart would become roast meat before another moon was over, and he would soon be reduced to the veriest 'Majnoon' that ever got thin upon cheek nurture and eye food."(1)

Some characteristics of the English became the object of Hajji's attention in England; however, it is their women which attracted him most and many pages of The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England are devoted to Hajji's experiences with the English women. Yet, on the whole, this book is not so much the narration of Hajji's adventures as Hajji Baba of Ispahan. For this reason Hajji Baba in England is devoid of Hajji's peculiarly vivid experiences; thus the lack of the active personality of Hajji takes away much of the charm and colour of the story. His most exciting experiences, however, are

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(1) Ibid. p. 145-6.

with an English family, the Hoggs; he fell in love with one of the Misses Hogg and his sensations, disappointments, anger and mortification thereof took much of his time in England. Nevertheless his Iranian mind was at work during his relations with this family. He thought of nothing but "furthering" his opportunities, as this is the first thing an Iranian should accept as a rule of life:

> "I expressed my surprise at this, when the mother assured me that since we had met at the show-house, her daughters had thought of nothing but me. That Mary's only wish was to make me a Christian; that Bessy had already learnt much of the Persian grammar; and that Jessy had done nothing but pore over the history of Persia.
>
> "This intelligence gave me the greatest satisfaction, and encouraged the hopes I had formed of furthering my fortunes by this acquaintance."(1)

Besides Hajji, who has not a very important part in the book, there are the ambassador of Iran and other Iranians who have their respective experiences with the English. For instance, Mohamed Beg, a Mahommedan priest, tries to find a reason for the difference of writing between the Easterners and the Westerners; his logic runs in the following way:

> "Mohamed Beg, who pondered deeply upon this subject, after a due consideration of such contradictory habits, came to a conclusion that all people who sit upon the ground, such as Persians, Turks, and Arabs, must write from right to left; whereas all those who use tables, such as Europeans, must use the pen in the other direction."(2)

The Iranians in the ambassador's suite were once abused by the English for having taken a bath in a piece of water in the Green Park; as they thought their deed to be one of great

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(1) Ibid. p. 204.

(2) Ibid. p. 84.

innocence they could not understand where their fault lay. Seid, the black slave, tells their unfortunate experience in the following way:

> "'What do I know?' said Seid. 'Taki, carpet-spreader; Feridoon, barber; and I, were going on our road, when we saw some water. The weather was very hot, as hot as at Ispahan. Taki said he had not bathed since we left Turkey, and as the water looked inviting, he proposed that we should go in. I saw no harm in his proposal, and he went in first. 'Tis true that he had no loongeh, bath-wrapper; but we said, 'what do the infidels know of loongehs? so he stripped, and went into the water. He had no sooner plunged than the mob came round: they abused us; they called us Jews; they rolled me on the ground. I thought they would have killed us; and they were taking us away by force to the butcheries, as we believed, when a Frank gentleman interfered, and set us free; but I have lost my knife, and Taki his sash. That is all, and I have said it."(1)

The most amusing incidents take place when the Iranians think of England as if it were Iran.

Morier could be equally severe on his own countrymen only when it came to trifles; the Hogg family, vulgar nouveau - riches of the East India Company, or the shopkeeper and his old maidish daughter who tried to blackmail Feridoon, the barber of the mission for a breach of promise. In general, however, the institutions of England were sacred to any satire. The author did not even allow Hajji to continue his narrative in the first person but took upon himself the office of relating his hero's adventures. Some writers have wondered at the change in the character of Hajji Baba, ".... Hajji Baba so changes in England that he seems a different person. He

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(1) Ibid. p. 285.

loses aplomb, and his talent for shaping events to his ends is twarted by English conditions."(1)

Morier was probably careful not to offend those who had warned him against bringing his rascally hero into their midst. Hajji Baba in England has survived, however, mainly because it is a sequel to the ever-living Hajji Baba itself.

b) How Morier Came to write The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England:

Morier wants his readers to believe that he was led to write The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England when he received a letter from one of his friends in Iran who got angry at the story of The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan. In order to pacify his friend the writer would write another novel in which he would criticize the Englishmen as well as the Iranians. Yet this can be nothing but a kind of device, a hoax, which Morier likes to use. Above all, he himself gives a hint at the end of The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan that he is going to write a sequel to the book that has already been written:

> "And here, gentle reader, the humble translator of The Adventures of Hajji Baba presumes to address you, and profiting by the hints afforded him by the Persian story-tellers, stops his narrative, makes his bow, and says, 'Give me encouragement and I will tell you more. You shall be informed how Hajji Baba accompanied a great ambassador to England, of their adventures by sea and land, of all he saw, and all he remarked, and of what happened to him on his return to Persia.'"(2)

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(1) Stewart, C.W. Editor's introduction to Hajji Baba World's Classics, ed. cit., p. xiii.

(2) The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan., p. 446.

It seems that Morier had in mind to write a sequel to his first work if he were to get enough "encouragement" from his readers. And, as Walter Scott remarks, he had no reason to complain of want of attention: Hajji Baba met with a universal good reception by the public: "The novelty of the style, which was at once perceived to be genuine Oriental by such internal evidence as established the value of real old China - the gay and glowing descriptions of Eastern state and pageantry, the character of the poetry occasionally introduced - secured a merited welcome for the Persian picaroon."(1)

Besides, there is evidence that Morier made use of his experiences with the Iranians who accompanied him to England in writing his The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England. He ends his first journal with an account of the Iranians who were to accompany him; and he begins his second journal in the following way:

> "Among the few circumstances which can now give novelty to a voyage to the East Indies, may be reckoned the company of a Persian Ambassador and his suite; and, therefore, though I did not obtrude on the public the details of my first voyage with English passengers, I should not be justified in withholding all notice of an expedition undertaken with companions so different and so uncommon.
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> "The Persian Ambassador, whom I had conducted to England by Turkey and the Mediterranean in 1809, and who was known here by the name of Mirza Abul Hassan, to which has since been added the title of Khan, was now to return to his own country."(2)

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(1) The Quarterly Review, XXXIX, p. 77.

(2) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 1.

In the appendix of the same journal Morier writes about some of the experiences of the Iranians and the Iranian ambassador and this description takes four pages; what is more, all the incidents that are told in the appendix have direct connection with those in The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England. To give a few examples, Morier explains the ambassador's restlessness in an English hotel in the following terms:

> "The good folks of the inn, who like most people in England, look upon it as a matter of course that nothing can be too hot for Asiatics, so loaded the Ambassador's bed with warm covering, that he had scarcely been on bed an hour, before he was obliged to get out of it; for having during all his life slept on nothing but a mattress on the bare ground, he found the heat insupportable, and in this state he walked about the greatest part of the night, with all the people of the inn following him in procession, and unable to divine what could be his wishes."(1)

There is a corresponding event in The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England, described, of course, with Hajji's peculiar style:

> "The night was passing on very successfully, when I was awoke by the ambassador's voice somewhere in the house. I got up as well as I could in the dark, and found him apparently in great distress, walking about in dishabille, followed by the master and mistress of the caravanserai and all their servants. The parties could not understand each other. The infidels were looking quite aghast, wondering what the ambassador could mean; whilst he was venting his rage in a strange mixture of

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(1) Ibid. p. 401.

Persian and English words. As soon as he perceived me, he exclaimed, 'I'm dead, I'm dead; they have killed me! May their houses be bankrupt; may they all go to Jehanum! Upon inquiry it was found that the people of the caravanserai, conceiving we must always be cold because we came from a hot climate, had so heaped the ambassador's bed with coverings, that no sooner had he got in amongst them than he began to smother. He escaped as if from certain death, and taking refuge in the passage, by his noise and exclamations gathered around him all the caravanserai."(1)

It seems that the Iranian ambassador was much offended with the English as, he thought, he was not received by them with the necessary ceremonies due to his rank:

"..... but he grew very anxious as we proceeded, and seemed to be looking out for an Istakball, or a deputation headed by some man of distinction, which, after the manner of his own country, he expected would be sent to him. In vain we assured him that no disrespect was intended, and that our modes of doing honour to Ambassadors were different from those of Persia: our excuses seemed only to grieve him the more; and although to a foreigner the interest of the road greatly increased as we approached the city, yet he requested to have both the glasses of the carriage drawn up, for he said that he did not understand the nature of such an entry, which appeared to him more like smuggling a bale of goods into a town, than the reception of a public envoy."(2)

In The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England, Mirza Firouz, who represents Abul Hassan Khan, becomes his mouthpiece too:

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(1) The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England, p. 100.

(2) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor, p. 402.

"Mirza Firouz was much mortified that no person, great or small, had been sent by the government to meet him at his landing. No one had said the khosh amedeed, 'you are welcome', to him, which a Persian says even to a Jew when he has passed his threshold; much less had any one inquired whether his brains were in good order, or whether his spirits were well wound up. The Istakbal, that commonest of ceremonies, which is always performed in Persia towards a stranger, was here totally omitted."(1)

Morier, in the appendix to his second journal, portrays the Iranians in an English theatre:

"The first night he (the ambassador) went to the opera, evidently the impression of surprise which he received on entering his box was very strong, although his pride made him conceal it. His servants had been sent to the gallery, and upon going up to hear what was their conversation, they were found wrangling amongst themselves, whether or no the figures that they saw upon the stage were real men and women or automatons. He was taken to see King Lear, and the story, which is likely to affect one whose natural respect for majesty is so profound, brought tears from him in great plenty, although he did not understand the language in which it was acted."(2)

In The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England, Hajji draws a funny picture of the same incident:

"The first night of our appearance at a great show-house, we saw the representation of a story, well calculated to excite our feelings. Although we did not understand what was said, yet the acting was sufficient. An old shah, white and decrepit with age, was thrust from his

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(1) The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England, p. 96.

(2) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 403-4.

> kingdom by his own children, and driven to the utmost verge of desperation. We all shed tears, reflecting what might be the fate of our blessed shah in his old age, beset as he is with such a numerous and hostile family of sons. We eagerly inquired from the mehmandar how it was possible to get one so old to personify the character, when almost immediately after, a young and handsome man came to pay his respects to Mirza Firouz, and was introduced as the unfortunate king who had just been driven from his kingdom. We could scarcely restrain ourselves from touching him, as with one voice we all exclaimed, 'La illaha illallah!' He seemed quite delighted with our astonishment, and assured the ambassador that his approbation was the greatest eulogium which could be passed upon his performance."(1)

From all these examples one can conclude that Morier made use of his experiences with the Iranians to write his The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England.

Morier was in close association with the ambassador, instructed him in the English language, and accompanied him to his first audience, through streets packed with sightseers, when the civil and military display was equal to that of 1814, when the Allied Sovereigns were received. Moreover, it is a fact that Morier kept ih his memory everything which struck him as to the Iranian ambassador's behaviour in England. Besides the examples quoted above, there are quite numerous instances told in The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England which had been explained before in the journals. Yet how far Morier made a literal use of his opportunities, and how far he exaggerated for the purpose of his story, must be a matter of conjecture.

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(1) The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England, p. 182.

Morier assumes the point of view of an idealist in writing his The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England:

> "Touch but their vanity, and you attack their most vulnerable part. Let them see that they can be laughed at, you will make them angry. Reflection will succeed anger; and with reflection, who knows what changes may not be effected?"(1)

He, further, argues that irritation will lead to reflection, reflection to amendment, because he thinks highly of the Iranians in talent and natural capacity to become a great nation. "To fix, therefore, the attention of the leading men of the nation on the leading faults of the national character, may have on them so powerful an effect, that the name of Morier may be remembered as the first who led the way to the illumination of Iran by the introduction of English literature into the pavilions of Tehran."(2)

However, Sir Walter Scott was one of the first who protested against Morier's intention to edify the Iranians by way of introducing English literature into Iran; what is more, he seems quite reasonable in his protest:

> "Before the Persians can profit a great deal from British literature, the extirpating hoes of criticism, to use their own figurative language, must root out a great variety of many-coloured flowers from the garden of eloquence, and they must learn to call the spade of the aforesaid or any other, garden, by its proper name of spade. Their present eloquence is a debauched style of exaggeration, which communicates its character to thought and action and is no more consistent with an improvement in taste, than cotton in the ears, or musk crammed into the nose, is compatible with the accurate

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(1) Int. to Hajji Baba in England, p. 23.

(2) Quarterly Review, XXXIX, p. 79-80.

exercise of these organs."(1)

Finally, Morier expresses his chief purpose in writing this novel:

> "The one idea of illustrating Persian manners by contrast with these of England has been my kebleh, the direction of my Mecca."(2)

To do justice to the author, he accomplishes his task, as a Turk or an Iranian would say, with "a white face."

c. Style in The Adventure of Hajji Baba in England:

In The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England Morier uses a style specifically corresponding to Hajji's lively and gay character. Yet, here and there, it lacks the vigour and clever turns of speech of his first work, owing to the scarcity of interesting and exciting adventures which England could offer to the Iranians. For all this, Morier's style is simple, descriptive, graphic, figurative and flowing as ever: he does not seem to be embarrassed, at all, as to how he should go on with his work. He writes easily and fluently.

Yet one of his weaknesses is to make puns:
Hajji, upon the question of an English lady whether he would not turn into a Christian, gives the following answer:

> "'Yes' said I, 'to be sure', hazarding an English latifeh, or joke, 'we think much of our true souls, but more of the soles of our feet.'"(3)

- meaning the possibility of being beaten on the soles which was the never-falling way of punishment of the East.

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(1) Ibid. p. 80-81.
(2) Int. to The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England, p. 26.
(3) The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England, p. 203.

d. How The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England was Received by the English Public:

The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England had a tolerable reception when it was published in 1828. Yet it could never become as popular as the first volume which contains the relation of Hajji's adventures in Iran. In those days an anonymous critic commented on Morier in the following terms:

> "... it is admitted, even by the Persians themselves, that the sketches of character, habits, thoughts, feelings of their countrymen, in Mr. Morier's novels, are perfection. As we are nothing if not critical we must say that we think the first part of Hajji Baba, while he is confined to the East, is far superior in its details and conception to that part in which the hero is brought into England. The burlesque mistaking of our customs by a foreigner is bizarre and amusing at first, but it tires at last, and, besides it has been often done before. The author is far more at home when he is abroad, and the Earth from which he receives his strength is not his natural, but his adopted mother. Let him, therefore, give us constant new editions of the Persae - not in the manner of Aeschylus, but Hajji. He will find materials enough to occupy him for the remainder of his life."(1)

This critical essay, more or less, gives an idea how Morier's novel was accepted by the English of that time.

As to Sir Walter Scott, he reviewed the work and wrote his comments in its favour:

> "The English reader, however, as he is politely called, who is ignorant of all save what his own language can

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(1) Fraser's Magazine, VII, p. 37.

convey to him, might have been at some loss to trace the merits of such a work, particularly as differing from those of other Oriental nations."(1)

Although the other works of Morier are, nowadays, out of print, - Hajji Baba of Ispahan excepted, - Hajji Baba in England can still be found for sale and this may perhaps be accounted for by the merits of this work.

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(1) Quarterly Review, XXXIX, p. 75.

3) AYESHA, THE MAID OF KARS:

a. A Study of the Novel:

Ayesha, the Maid of Kars is the only novel in which Morier comments extensively on Turkey and Turkish people. Above all, it pretends to be a love story about an Englishman and a supposed Turkish girl. The scene of the story is the East of Turkey, which Morier was very well acquainted with. The story of Ayesha, the Maid of Kars is very simple in itself; and it does not go further than telling a kind of simple Oriental tale. The hero of the novel is Osmond, a noble Englishman full of idealistic enthusiasm, and the heroine is Ayesha, a virtuous, lovely, young girl. Their first meeting took place by pure chance: Osmond falls from his horse and Ayesha runs to his help. Osmond is struck at once by her beauty and his passion is equally answered by her. Her readiness to help a stranger and, what is more, a man makes Osmond feel suspicious of Ayesha's real personality. Besides, she had something which separated her from other Turkish girls:

> "... all his observations were so just, and her exclamations so full of genuine feeling, that every time he gazed upon her and heard her speak, his conviction increased that she was not the person she appeared to be."(1)

The author means that Ayesha could not be a Turkish girl with all her perfections. Though she is dressed like a Turkish girl and calls a Turk father; all through the novel Osmond is doubtful of her being really a Turk. At the end his foresight comes to be true; after many adventures between the

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(1) Ayesha, The Maid of Kars, Bentley, London, 1937, p. 235.

dauntless hero and the Turks, treated satirically by Morier, Osmond finds Ayesha to be an English girl called Mary, kidnapped when she was a baby by a Greek woman; and they marry and live happily ever after.

The author handles the story as a conventional writer, in those days, would do. To begin with, love at first sight, - which is a conventional device in a story, especially in an Oriental story - springs in lovely Ayesha's breast when she sees Osmond for the first time in her life:

> "Zabetta found Ayesha seated in a corner of the apartment, in a musing attitude; her cheek resting upon her hand, whilst her eyes wandered over the expanse before her, her thoughts, however, were occupied with the occurrence of the morning, and sensations to which she had hitherto been a stranger filled her breast. Since her first meeting with Osmond, whom she had then taken for one of her own countrymen, she had never ceased to dwell in idea upon his expressive countenance, his commanding person, and more than all, upon the courtesy and deference of his manner ... a net of such close texture had been worked round her heart, that it was enslaved ere she knew how."(1)

The secrecies about the real personality of one of the characters in a novel and at the end the explanation of these secrecies, are another device of a conventional novelist. Such a writer excites the curiosity of his simple reader by alluding, now and then, to some hidden truth:

> "Ayesha, too, remained perfectly motionless, her eyes fixed upon Wortley: whether from the consciousness that he was her Osmond's friend or from some other motive, she seemed to be taken up with him alone, and heedless of the presence of all else."(2)

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(1) Ibid. p. 38.

(2) Ibid. p. 268.

Ayesha felt in the way described above because Wortley was her brother, though neither knew anything about it.

Yet her feelings are revealed better in the following passage:

> "..... during his (Wortley's) stay her (Ayesha's) eyes had been riveted on his features under a degree of fascination for which she could not account. She felt that she loved him, and still nothing told her that love was unpermitted."(1)

Revealing a secret on a death bed is another device used by conventional novelists:

> "She (Zabetta) then requested Wortley to kneel down, which having done, to his astonishment, the wretched woman, whom he thought to be on the very verge of dissolution, arose, and leaning her head on her hand, her breath, which at first had apparently forsaken her, again returned, and she spoke."(2)

So Zabetta, before she breathed her last, revealed the secrets surrounding Ayesha.

Ayesha swoons often, in the manner of a romantic and conventional heroine. The following scene is one of these romantic, and none the less artificial, scenes:

> "The noise he made caused the object of his attention to look up; and when the full face was disclosed to him, he started with an emotion almost amounting to terror. She, upon seeing him also reflected in the glass, suddenly stood up, trembled from head to foot, put her hand to her temple, and, uttering one long, thrilling, searching cry, fell down senseless on the floor. - In another second, Osmond was at the feet of his long-lost Ayesha."(3)

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(1) Ibid. p. 271.
(2) Ibid. p. 293.
(3) Ibid. p. 314.

It is the romantic encounter of two romantic lovers. The novel ends in just the way an Oriental tale would end, that is, with the description of the ceremonies of a very happy wedding.

The characters, in the novel, are not lifelike; they are described superficially. Besides, Morier, as a conventional story teller would do, intrudes when he is least expected:

> "..... we need not inform the gentle reader that both parties left the terrace, to use a common expression on so auspicious an occasion, over head and ears in love with each other."(1)

In creating Osmond Morier could not have thought of anything else than creating a mouthpiece for his own purposes. Thus Osmond represents the author's own feelings, emotions and ideas. Consequently we understand him to be a man of sense, religious, a philosopher, an idealist, and fond of antiquities and travel.

As a zealous Christian Morier knew how to resign himself philosophically to the decrees of Providence; from this point of view the following passage is noteworthy:

> "He (Osmond) could not forget that the decrees of Providence are inscrutable, that in spite of man's short-sighted endeavours to dispose of events according to his own wishes and for his own purposes, there is an intelligence beyond his reason which holds the scales of justice and promoted his well-being, in spite of his puny efforts."(2)

As Morier had strong faith in the moral strength of Christian principles, one of his ideals as a young man in

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(1) Ibid. p. 50.

(2) Ibid. p. 166.

the East was to teach the principles of Christianity to the Mahommedans so that they might be elevated morally and spiritually. There are passages in his journals which reveal this purpose of the author. Once he mentions a Reverend Henry Martin, an Englishman, who translated the New Testament in the Iranian language; and he writes about the success of the translation and his thoughts on this particular incident in the following way:

> ".... we may infer from this circumstance, that if in addition to the scriptures, some plain treatises of the evidence of Christianity, accompanied by strictures upon the falseness of the doctrines of Mahomed, were translated into Persian and disseminated throughout that country, very favourable effects would be produced."(1)

Morier was serious in his idea of diffusing the principles of Christianity among the Mahommedans. With such a serious and high aim, Morier qualifies Lord Osmond with the necessary high principles and attributes to him all the zeal, ardour and generosity of heart which would enable him to fight his cause as the champion of Christianity among the Mahommedans.

The intensity of his zeal, sometimes, makes Morier forget that he is writing a love and adventure story, not a religious treatise:

> "During his early studies, Osmond had paid great attention to everything which had reference to the East, and in particular to the religion of Mahomet, and to the extraordinary fact, that so large a portion of the human race should be living under the delusion of a false faith, subjecting themselves to its laws and influencing their hopes of futurity by its false promises. His mind, accustomed to embrace large and

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(1) A Second Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 224.

extensive views of the schemes of Providence, did not view Mahomet merely in the light of a designing adventurer, an artful fanatic, or an ambitious chieftain; but he referred to the unalterable truths of prophecy recorded in the sacred Scriptures, to expound the difficulties which existed in his mind concerning the sway his doctrines had acquired throughout Asia."(1)

This explanation of the falseness of Mahommedanism is followed by the quotations from Forster's Mahometanism Unveiled, to which the author frequently resorted and which are given as a part of Osmond's speech to the Turks to persuade them that they believe in a false religion.

Apart from directly given explanation about the superiority of Christianity to the Moslem religion, Morier draws vivid pictures in which he exposes his Christian and Moslem characters to particular circumstances which call for their religious sentiments:

"The difference between Osmond's feelings and those of the Mahommedans as being saved was striking; he acknowledged and felt in the highest degree, the hand of Providence had mercifully interposed between them and a premature death, and his first impulse was to vent his gratitude in prayer and thanksgiving; the feeling of the Mahommedans was a cold acquiescence in the decrees of predestination."(2)

This religious side of Osmond overbalances his other sides. He preaches like a priest all through the novel.

As to Ayesha, this girl represents what Morier likes to see in women. She is not a real girl true to life; she is rather a statue than flesh and blood:

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(1) Ayesha, the Maid of Kars, p. 89.

(2) Ibid. p. 231.

"Upon this all at once appeared before Osmond, who was not in the least prepared for such a vision, the enchanting Ayesha in all her loveliness. She stood before him the personification of virgin modesty; lowly in her bearing, though dignified in look and manner, blushing though still unembarrassed, she seemed to throw an atmosphere of purity and enchantment around her. To see her thus, none could do otherwise than gaze in admiration, and remain silent for fear of offending."(1)

Taking into consideration all these characteristics of the novel one cannot say that it is a successful piece of work. Yet it would certainly have been better if Morier had been satisfied with telling only his story; on the contrary he went further and loaded the story with the description of the Turkish people which do not show his power of perception. He deliberately selected the East of Turkey as the background of his story. Morier must have preferred this part of Turkey for two reasons: 1) He was enchanted by the beautiful scenery of Ağrı Dağ, which endowed him with a sense of mystery and awe; so no place could be more suitable as a background of his romantic story. 2) Morier knew this part of Turkey better than any other part except Izmir and Istanbul. In his days Izmir and Istanbul were cosmopolitan cities, and thence he must have wanted to select a place purely Turkish so that he might have put his hero in the midst of a group of "uncivilized and uneducated Turks" to form a striking contrast.

These are very well-thought out designs in themselves to produce a successful piece of travel literature. Yet Morier's work cannot reach this point. His description of any Turk cannot go beyond a superficial description, thrusting in here and there some hints and remarks as to the characteristics of the Turks in general. It is not possible to tell

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(1) Ibid. p. 30.

one of his Turks from another. They are all the same - of one pattern. It is certain that Morier got some impressions about the idiosyncrasies of the Turks when he was among them; yet he did not try to pierce into the real character of a Turk; he could not penetrate into his real personality: that is why he could not create a real, immortal Turk. He rather gives general information about the Turks:

> "Turks in general esteem quiet as the greatest of blessings - they hate noise: - a seat in their corner of their couch, listening to the plashing of the never-ceasing fountain, smoking their soothing chibouk, and watching the smoke which emits into the air until it dissolves into nothing, or listening to the conversation of a friend which may afford some little excitement, is the sort of recreation they most relish; and to obtain this they will show powers of endurance to be surpassed by no Stoic. Once put them in a fury, they instantly go to extremes - they kill or are killed; to cut a matter short, they order execution right or wrong, and then return to their pipe or their fountain, as if nothing had happened."(1)

Morier drew some of his Turkish characters from real men. For instance, his Mustafa is not fictitious; Morier was acquainted with him when he was in Istanbul:

> "Who that has ever been at Constantinople and entered the gate of the English embassy, but must be acquainted with Mustafa, obliged to him for his kind services ...."(2)

Besides, Lieut-Colonel Stuart confirms what Morier acknowledges about Mustafa:

> "The identical Mustafa whom Morier quizzez so unmercifully in Ayesha, and who has long been in Mr. Cartwright's

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(1) Ibid. p. 41.

(2) Ibid. p. 5.

service came at 8 o'clock to escort us round the walls of Constantinople."(1)

It is in this Mustafa that Morier tried to show the real Turk as he is:

"The first object he saw on entering the room was Mustafa, who had just risen from his heavy sleep seated in an attitude of hopeless inactivity, in the very self-same clothes in which he had laid himself down, his eyes unopened, his mouth pregnant with yawns, and an apparent torpor in his whole person, which spoke emphatically of the woeful evils attendant upon much vile and much roasted lamb. At length a low moan issued from the torpid man. 'Bogos, you Armenian, you, bring coffee, - and such desire will be found at the bottom of every Turk's throat, be he in the last throes of despair, or in the height of the greatest joy. The exhilarating drug was soon brought when Mustafa opened first one eye, and then the other, and straightway began to fill his pipe. With such preliminaries the day's work began; and soon after he was wide awake."(2)

As to Cara Bey, the tyrant of the novel, his prototype may well be Timur Beg, whom Morier portrays in his first journal(3); what is more, the description of Cara Bey's castle in the novel corresponds entirely to that of Turpah Caleh where Timur Beg resided.(4)

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(1) Journal of A Residence in Northern Persia and Turkey, Bentley, London, 1854, p. 37.

(2) Ayesha, the Maid of Kars, p. 23.

(3) A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor to Constantinople, p. 313-4.

(4) A Journey through Persia, Armenia and Asia Minor, p. 313-4.

We, further, learn from Morier that the inhabitants of Kars are "a race of bigoted Mussulmans, intermixed with Armenians."(1) Thieves, "marauders", "Kurds and Yezidies" infest the place and "render a visit to Kars disagreeable and even dangerous."(2)

From the examples given up to here it is easy to see that Morier made use of his experiences in the East to write his Ayesha, the Maid of Kars. Thus it is possible to find some descriptions in Ayesha, the Maid of Kars which correspond to those in his journals. During his land travels from Iran to Turkey Morier passed by Ağrı Dağ, which fascinated him and led him to describe it fully; the same interest shows itself in this novel too:

> "A waning moon still shed sufficient light to exhibit the sublime forms of the mountain, with its snow-capped summit, its undefined protuberance of crags and rocks, its mysterious and shadowy declivities of land-scapes, to those who stood within the court-yard; the arch of the gate forming as it were the frame of the picture. A covering of snow extended not only over all its great cone, but spread itself although in later tints even to the limits of the plain, subduing its inequalities, and apparently increasing its dimensions. At this solemn and still hour, it reared its head into the skies, like the apparition of some giant mountain, increasing in the mind of the beholder the natural awe which would be inspired by the sacred character of its history, by the fabulous traditions attached to it, and by the lawless and dangerous character of its present possessors."(3)

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(1) Ayesha, the Maid of Kars, p. 18.

(2) Ibid. p. 18.

(3) Ibid. p. 18.

By describing such scenes as that quoted above Morier makes the reader feel that he is reading a travel book not a novel; in fact these travel notes take up much more space than the story as it is; and they are records of documentary value. For instance, in the quotation below Morier shows himself to be anxious to give an exact picture of Kars where his romance took place:

> "Kars, although its origin be of remote antiquity, is at the present day a place of comparatively little importance, and is principally remarkable for being the extreme frontier town belonging to Turkey on the northeast. A castle upon a steep rock, in a picturesque and commanding position, overlooks it; and its dark towers, which are now ruinous and running into decay, give it an appearance at a distance of more strength than it really possesses. The ground by which it is surrounded forms itself into a sort of amphitheatre, behind which runs a deep valley, precipitous on all sides, through which winds the river. A stone wall, with square turrets at stated intervals, encompasses it on every side, and it is furnished with gates, which according to Asiatic custom, are closed at sun-set and opened at sunrise."(1)

The particular thing about this passage is that if it were inserted among his travel notes in his journals it would not be out of place.

Morier also gives explanations of Turkish customs, habits and particularities and treats these subjects thoroughly giving examples of each.

Morier was in Turkey during the reign of Mahmut II (1808-1839); and the events in Ayesha, the Maid of Kars take place during this Sultan's reign. This gave Morier

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(1) Ibid. p. 18.

the opportunity of speaking about the political situation of Turkey. In his letter to his friend Osmond, Wortley, another character in the novel, refers to Mahmut II, the then emperor of the Ottoman Empire, and to the state in which the empire stood:

> "You know the hopeless situation of this empire, which for the present is left without an heir, and which is likely to fall in reversion to some vagrant of a Tartar, who, seated on his rug in some corner of Cathai, is thinking more upon the means of getting a meal than of acquiring a throne. The capitan pasha, it is said, has cut his eyes on your blooming Turquessa as a fit subject to present to his sovereign; who, poor man, having a whole continent of women at his command, is still hoping for an heir. His character has not yet been defined. Some think him weak and frivolous, others look upon him as the sternest of Mahomedans - as one likely to revive the days of the Suleimans and the Othmans. He puts in practice the old custom of Caliphs, of going about in disguise, and it is said, knows more of the manners and habits of his subjects than any other individual in his capital. Probably he may one of those days turn his knowledge to account, considering how much there is to reform in the horrid abuses incidental to this form of government."(1)

As is obvious in this passage also Morier is cynically humorous in his treatment of the Turks.

Morier gathered all his knowledge of Turkey in this book. It includes his impressions and observations of Turkey on a large scale. Consequently he dedicated it to the travellers of the East, and wished them good luck in their adventures in the exotic countries of the East:

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(1) Ibid. p. 288-9.

"You have come from the East, and therefore I may be allowed to call you 'Wise Man'; but although you are such, yet I conclude that, adopting an Eastern custom, you must occasionally have mounted on a house-top to take the evening air, and consequently have very probably seen an Ayesha on your neighbour's terrace. You have also, no doubt, been attended by your Mustafa and your Stasso, to warm you of your danger; and may yourselves have been placed in some awkward predicament, Giaours as you are, with the Turkish authorities.

"I imagine also that you may have felt much of the enthusiasm and ardour with which I have endowed my hero, in the pursuit of the investigations which led him to adopt the imprudent conduct of which I have made him culpable; and should you have been involved in one of the hair-breadth scraps which befell him, I sincerely hope that the same kismet, or fate, which befriended him was equally your position."(1)

Morier may have, very probably experienced the same feelings and more or less the same adventures as his hero, as he mentions above the possibility of it for every traveller in the East.

b. Satire in Ayesha, the Maid of Kars:

Morier satirizes the Turkish people severly in Ayesha, the Maid of Kars. His satire is cynical rather than humorous. Although Morier satirized the Iranians in the person of Hajji he could not help making his hero a lovable person at the same time. With all his defects of character Hajji is an amiable person and does not give any sense of abhorrence to

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(1) Ayesha, the Maid of Kars, "Dedication to the traveller in the East", p. ii.

the readers. We rather smile at his rogueries than shrink back from them. Whereas in Ayesha, the Maid of Kars every Turk that is described arouses either a sense of disgust or some feelings of antipathy or ridicule. Osmond, the personification of every virtue, idealism, goodness of heart, and honesty is thrust among a group of ignorant and fanatical people. Thus Morier wanted to create a strong contrast in order to make his satire more bitter. His Osmond is like Gulliver; and his Turkish people are nothing else than the Lilliputians.

After Osmond had run away from his prison the Pasha of Kars, the mufti and the imam, who had been the judges to try him, wanted Bogos, the Armenian, in whose house Osmond had stayed for a while, to bring all the property of Osmond which he had left behind. The admiring astonishment of these men who gazed at Osmond's belongings was great, although they were only the necessary things of any civilized man in the world. It is a ridiculous scene and gives an idea of the nature of the author's satire:

> "First the contents of the portmanteau were exhibited. It principally contained Osmond's clothes. In succession were displayed waistcoats, neckclothes, shirts, drawers, and stockings, which drew forth the astonishment of all present, for they wondered what one man could possibly want with so many things, the uses of most of which were to them incomprehensible. They admired the glittering beauties of a splendid uniform jacket, which its owner carried about to wear on appearing at courts and in the presence of exalted personages; but when they came to inspect a pair of leather pantaloons, the ingenuity of the most learned amongs them could not devise for what purpose they could possibly be used. For, let it be known, that a Turk's trousers when extended look like the largest of sacks used by millers, with a hole at each corner for the insertion of the legs; and, when drawn

together and tied in front, generally extend from the hips to the ankles. Will it then be thought extraordinary that the comprehension of the present company was at fault as to the pantaloons? They were turned about in all directions; inside and out, before and behind. The mufti submitted that they might perhaps be an article of dress, and he called upon a bearded chokhador, who stood by wrapped in doubt and astonishment, to try them on. The view which the mufti took of them was that they were to be worn as a head-dress, and accordingly that part which tailors call the seat was fitted over the turban of the chokhador, whilst the legs fell in serpent-like folds down the grave man's back and shoulders, making him look like Hercules with the lion's skin thrown over his head.

"- Barikallah-Praise be to Allah, said the mufti; I have found it; perhaps this is the dress of an English pasha of two tails.

"- Aferin - Well done, cried all the adherents of the law. But the pasha was of another opinion; he viewed the pantaloons in a totally different light; inspecting them with the eye of one who thought upon the good things of which he was fond.

"- For what else can this be used? exclaimed the chief, his dull eye brightening up as he spoke, what else, but for wine? This is perhaps the skin of some European animal. Franks drink wine and they carry their wine about in skins, as our own infidels do. Is it not so? said he, addressing himself to Bogos, the Armenian.

"- So it is, answered the dyer, it is even as your highness has commanded.

"- Well, then, this skin has contained wine, continued the pasha, pleased with the discovery, and by the blessing of Allah, it shall serve us again. Here, said he to one of his servants, here take this, let the

saka sew up the holes, and let it be well filled; instead of wine it shall hold water.

"And true enough, in a few days after, the pantaloons were seen parading the town on a water-carrier's back, doing the duty of mesheds. But it was secretly reported that not long after they were converted to the use for which the pasha intended them, and actually were appointed for the conveyance of his highness's favourite wine.....

"The various contents of the dressing-case were next brought under examination. Everyone was on the look-out for something agreeable to the palate the moment they saw the numerous bottles with which it was studded.

"One tasted eau-de-cologne, another lavender water, both which they thought might or might not be Frank luxuries in the way of cordials. But who can describe the face which was made by the pasha himself when, attracted by the brilliancy of the colour, he tossed off to his own drinking the greater part of a bottle of tincture of myrrh. The mufti was a man who never laughed, but even, on seeing the contortions of his colleague, could not suppress his merriment; whilst the menials around were obliged to look down, their feet reminding them of the countenance they ought to keep, if they want to keep themselves free from the stick.

"Whilst this was taking place, the imam of the mosque, whose mortified looks belied his love of good things, quietly abstracted from the case a silver-mounted box, which having opened, he there discovered a paste-like substance, the smell of which he thought was too inviting to resist; he therefore inserted therein the end of his forefinger, and scooping out as much as it could carry, straightway opened wide his mouth and received it with a smack. Soon was he visited by repentance: - he would have roared with nausea had he not been afraid of exposing himself - he sputtered - he spat;

"- What has happened? said one with a grin.

"- Bak - see, roared the pasha, who was delighted to have found a fellow sufferer. Bak - see, the imam is sick.

"The nature of the substance which he had gulped soon discovered itself by the white foam which was seen to issue from his mouth: then other feelings pervaded the assembly; they apprehended a fit, they feared madness; in short such was the state to which the unfortunate priest was reduced, that he was obliged to make a rapid escape from the assembly, everyone making way for him, as one who is not to be touched. The reader need not be informed that he had swallowed a large dose of Naples soap."(1)

This funny description of the Turkish dignitaries goes on and on. Thus Morier makes them look foolish and absurd in their ignorance.

c. Style in Ayesha the Maid of Kars:

Morier's style in Ayesha, the Maid of Kars is in harmony with the subject of the novel; that is, it is solemn, grave and dull, which epithets can be applied to his Turks as they are dealt with in this novel.

In Ayesha, the Maid of Kars, the writer could not use a lively, sprightly and witty style as he had done before in The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan; because the nation which Hajji belonged to is entirely different in nature and character from the one which Ayesha belonged to.

Morier sometimes becomes showy, ostentatious and high-sounding, especially in Osmond's arguments on the superiority of Christianity to any religion in the world.

He also, occasionally, uses a story teller's turns of speech:

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(1) Ibid. p. 119-121.

> "Who can venture to describe what followed. Surprise was the feeling which principally filled the breast of Osmond, when first he saw before him one whom he firmly believed to be shut within the walls of the seraglio."(1)
>
> (the italics are mine)

Morier, in Ayesha, the Maid of Kars, made use of the art of simile as copiously and abundantly as he could; the kind of simile he used is seen in the following passage:

> "No sooner had those words escaped from his lips, than a scene ensued which words cannot describe: the agitation of the sea in a storm, the rocking to and fro of a forest, or any other usual simile, are but poor figures to illustrate what took place."(2)

Naturally the copious use of this kind of simile made Morier's style heavy, dull and artificial.

Morier, as we have seen before, was fond of making puns and this is a particularity of his style. In Ayesha, the Maid of Kars, the hero's name is Osmond. This name must have been deliberately chosen by the writer as its pronunciation is very similar to that of the Turkish name, Osman:

> "- What is your name?
> - My name is Osmond, at your service.
> - Osman, said the Turk, in an inquiring tone, how can that be? - you a Frank, and called Osman; that can never be."(3)

Out of such misunderstandings ridiculous incidents came to happen.

One other characteristic of Morier's style in Ayesha,

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(1) Ibid. p. 314.

(2) Ibid. p. 97-8.

(3) Ibid. p. 73.

the Maid of Kars is that he kept some Turkish words and expressions as they were. He may probably have thought that these words and expressions peculiar to Turkey would lose their actual meaning and expressiveness if he translated them. So he left them as they were; and his most important achievement in doing so was to add a new word to the English vocabulary. This Turkish word is: "bosh" (written in Turkish as "boş"), which means "empty" or "vain" in Turkish. The Oxford Dictionary gives the following explanation of this word:

> "Bosh, slang or colloq. (a. Turk. bosh, empty, worthless; the word became current in English from its frequent occurrence in Morier's novel, Ayesha, 1834, which was extremely popular, especially in the 'Standard Novels' edition 1846) 1. Contemptile nonsense, 'stuff'; thrash; foolish talk or opinion."(1)

Morier used this word "bosh" in Ayesha, the Maid of Kars not less than five times:

"All bosh."(2)

"Bosh der - he is nothing."(3)

"This firman is bosh - nothing."(4)

"They are bosh - nothing."(5)

"Charts are bosh - nothing."(6)

Here is another Turkish expression which Morier partly translated into English:

"We do not care a para for him."(7)
("Para" is the kind of money which has the least value.)

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(1) The Oxford English Dictionary, Vol. I, p. 1007
(2) Ayesha, The Maid of Kars, p. 7.
(3) Ibid. p. 75.
(4) Ibid. p. 75.
(5) Ibid. p. 279.
(6) Ibid. p. 222.
(7) Ibid. p. 179.

d. Popularity of Ayesha, the Maid of Kars:

When this novel was published for the first time in 1834 in Europe there was a very great interest in the Eastern countries. Every European was curious to know something about the East. So Morier's Ayesha, the Maid of Kars became popular as soon as it was published. There is no reason why this should not be so, as it satisfied his countrymen with its explanation of Turkey and Turkish people, one of the peoples of the world which then drew the attention of the English people because of its political situation. Later, the novel lost its popularity because of the many changes which took place both in Turkey and in England.

4) MINOR WORKS OF MORIER:

James Morier's minor works consist of Zohrab, the Hostage (1832), Abel Allnutt (1837), An Oriental Tale (1839), The Adventures of Tom Spicer (1840), Mirza (1841), Misselmah (1841), Martin Toutrond, A Frenchman in London (1849).

None of these works is significant now. Nor are they available at all. Except for the worthless poem, The Adventures of Tom Spicer, and the two novels, Abel Allnutt and Martin Toutrond, the other four works were performed under Oriental influence. Even in Abel Allnutt, which is a reflection of Victorian England, there are passages suggestive of the East. As to Martin Toutrond, it follows the example of The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England. Martin experiences almost the same funny adventures as Hajji does in England.

Zohrab, the Hostage is a pure Eastern romance. It is based on a certain period of Iranian history. In writing this story Morier kept pace with the literary taste of his time. With Sir Walter Scott, writing historical romances became a vogue in English literature. After he died in 1832, those who had some literary inclinations chose him as their leader and followed in his footsteps. Morier knew the East, had read its history, and had some inclination to write romances; if he was not a great writer, he was endowed with the necessary qualities to satisfy the contemporary literary taste. Moreover he was already aware that there was a great interest, among his countrymen, in these Eastern countries. So the whole merit of Zohrab, the Hostage lies in its representation of life in the East:

> ".... my object has been to place before the reader a succession of personages, whose manner of speech, whose thoughts and actions, and general deportment, are

illustrative of Persia and the East."(1)

History in Zohrab, the Hostage has a very small share. Only the chief character, the tyrannical king of Iran, belongs to history. His name is Aga Mahomed Shah. Morier, in the novel, tells us the cruelties of the Shah in detail.

As to Mirza, it is a collection of popular Iranian stories. They have the merit of being told directly to the author by an Iranian. Besides these Iranian stories, Mirza consists of the talks that took place between Morier and the Iranian Prince who told the stories. So, in compliment to his Iranian friend, Morier called the book, "Mirza", which means "Prince" in Iranian. Every story in Mirza deals with a peculiarity of Iran or the Iranians. Yet it is not only a collection of Iranian stories. It includes also Morier's observations on the state of Iran and the Iranians as they were then, as well as on their possible future development. In this, he proved perspicacious, and the problems he treated were important ones. He usually discussed these problems concerning Iran with the Mirza. He seems to be deeply interested in the reformation of Iran, in the solution of its problems. And his last pages are full of hope for a better future for the Oriental world.

Now whether Morier, as a matter of fact, had a friend who was really an Iranian Prince or whether he invented this character to serve his purpose, it is difficult to say. In any case, Morier wants his readers to accept Mirza as a real person who indulged his interest in learning the characteristics and the peculiarities of his own countrymen. A German scholar, Karl Zeidler, in his doctorate thesis, Beckford, Hope und Morier als Vertreter des Orientalischen Romans (1908), suggests that Morier might very possibly have gathered these Iranian stories from the common folk, as they were all popular stories among the Iranians. Yet his claim is not substantiated to any degree. Even if there was such an Iranian as Mirza,

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(1) Preface to Zohrab, the Hostage, Bentley, London, 1937, p. vii.

however, it is doubtful that the conversations between him and the author were as Morier gives them.

Morier closes Mirza by remarking that he would go on with accounts of his visits to his Iranian friend if the public was willing to hear them. It seems that the public was not over-anxious, for Morier attempted to tell no more such stories.

a. Style in Mirza:

Morier tells the stories in Mirza in simple and clear English, avoiding the prolixity with which they would have been told to him. He does, however, keep some characteristic Iranian words as they are used in the Iranian language.

An Oriental Tale was printed for sale in 1839 in aid of the Sussex County Hospital. It is rather a repetition of Morier's explanation of the characteristics of the East than otherwise. The story takes place in Tartary. A gentle civilized Englishman is put into contrast with the ignorant and barbarian Tartars.

In the preface to the story Morier states that this tale was suggested upon reading Lieut. Burne's Travels into Bokhara. "The journey which he performed with so much sagacity and success, I conceived might have been attempted by one less gifted; hence my hero."(1)

Misselmah is an Iranian tale which is written in the manner of a conventional Oriental tale. It appeared in 1841 anonymously. It was not published, but was printed in Brighton for sale in aid of the Irish charities.

It starts in the way that a conventional Asiatic tale does, but it ends with the conventional Western ceremony of a happy marriage.

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(1)Preface to An Oriental Tale, Brighton, 1839, p. i.

Many stories of this kind have been written in the East, such as, Leyla ile Mecnun, Ferhad ile Şirin, Yusuf ile Züleyha, and Kerem ile Aslı. Any young or old person in the East knows these love stories, which are full of bad luck, misfortunes and hardships for the lovers, but only a few end their adventures with a happy union.

In the preface to the story Morier points out that Misselmah is founded upon an anecdote related by a French traveller in Iran. Morier calls him,"Sir John Chardin".(1) Later he gives the anecdote as it was in an appendix.

Martin Toutrond, A Frenchman in London is a novel that deals with the adventures of a Frenchman in England. It is like The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan in England. The heroes in both novels tell their own experiences and impressions in a foreign country. And as they are filled with the prejudices and national characteristics of their respective countries they judge England and its people not impartially, but through their prejudiced minds. Yet while doing so they fall into grotesque mistakes. So they amuse us rather than move us to take seriously their criticisms and comments.

After Morier had already completed The Adventures of Hajji Baba in England in 1828, he must have taken a fancy to this mode of fiction, because Martin Toutrond followed it in 1831. Morier was clever, patient in observation, very quick and just in perception, so it seemed to give him pleasure to bring to light and contrast the different characteristics of two different countries. Yet his merits as a man of careful observation are not displayed in this book.

In A Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters, Daniel Maclise and Dr. Maginn comment on Martin Toutrond in the following way:

> "In 1849 was reissued by Bentley, a sort of novel entitled, Martin Toutrond or The Adventures of a

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(1) Preface to Misselmah, Brighton, 1847, p. i.

Frenchman in London. To this work, which appears to us wholly destitute of merit, the publisher prefixed a statement to the effect that he was permitted by the family of Mr. Morier to announce that it was originally written in French, but never published, and was translated by the author himself into English."(1)

It was followed, in the same year but after the author's death, by another edition, this time with the author's name attached.

As to Abel Allnutt, it is Morier's first work where he derives his subject mainly from outside the East. It followed Zohrab, the Hostage in 1837. The atmosphere and the characters are wholly English. Yet there is one chapter which is entirely devoted to the explanation of the ruins of Persepolis and of their similarity to the temple of Solomon in general characteristics. It seems that Morier could not get over the impression that the East made on his mind as long as he lived. Even in such a novel as Abel Allnutt where everything is English, he could not help creating, as a hero, an Eastern antiquary and this character became Morier's mouthpiece in expressing his delight and enthusiasm over the ruins of ancient times.

Abel Allnutt is an allegorical novel. The author expresses his morals by means of allegorical characters: Morier named a pack of dishonest, spoiled and vain people "Woodby". This is a mechanical device. As long as one can estimate a human being according to the real values of human nature one can claim that the Woodbies are nothing and they are going to be nothing in the future as well. But if one takes their own estimate of themselves, one learns that they think highly of each other. Their chief desire is to be mixed with the nobility and they always hoped to be one of them. They are "would-be" nobility.

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(1) A Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters, p. 36-7.

Another allegorical device is that an honest man who has strong moral principles is named "Abel". With all his virtue and good principles he is "able" to withstand the evils and the vain pleasures of the world. That is why the book is named after him in spite of the fact that there are more imposing characters than Abel Allnutt in the novel.

In Abel Allnutt Morier treats his characters in the way of a conventional novelist. He attributes to them certain qualities; that is, they have no spiritual existence and they remain unchanged to the end, without showing the least sign of development. So the characters in Abel Allnutt are created to serve the specific purposes of the author. They are not real, living human beigns; but they are automatons.

To begin with, Abel is nothing but a collection of morals and principles.

Mary, Abel's niece, is a divinity, rather than flesh and blood.

Tom Woodby is the representation of vice. Mr. Woodby personifies self-importance, dishonesty and vanity and ill-humour.

Thus Morier moulds his characters out of certain abstract qualities of human nature, and these constitute their identities.

Abel Allnutt includes also Morier's personal ideas on the particular subjects of his time. In the following quotation, describing Mary, he reveals his likes and dislikes about a woman's dress:

> "We wish that those who daily go into crowds openly and unblushingly with their persons presented to the gaze of whoever chooses to look upon them, could have seen this beautiful maiden as she stood thus exposed, expressing in her abashed looks the true feelings of modesty which nature has implanted in woman, both for her protection and to increase her attractions -: they would have received a lesson which would have thought

> them how responsible is the prevailing fashion of their dress. Let them be assured, that if it be intended to secure the attention of man, the object fails, for what is common is no longer observed; and that, be he libertine or otherwise, far from admiring he is the first to deride and contemn."(1)

Morier was a man of moral principles, for the sake of which he stops the current of events in the novel and gives moral lessons to the reader:

> "When a man is totally without principle, by which we mean religious principle (for what other can there be?) his mind is fearfully open to temptation."(2)

The Moriers were well-known in their time for their great interest in antiquity and for their literary tastes. Being aware of this fact, no one will doubt that Morier is describing his own tastes and interests in the following extract taken from Abel Allnutt:

> "They had all been collectors in the various departments of antiquity; so much so, that the family mansion, Oldbourn Hall, was more like a museum than a living house. Ancient armour, Roman vases, cabinets of coins, bas reliefs, bronzes, marbles, and every species of remains were deposited throughout the house in conspicuous places and formed the pride and delight of the family."(3)

These articles are more or less the same things as many travellers are interested in; so it is evident that this is the work of a traveller. In a copy of Fraser's Magazine, however, there is a remark that confirms the possibility that Morier may have possessed some antique works in his

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(1) Abel Allnutt, W. Galignani, Paris, 1837, p. 49.

(2) Ibid. p. 198.

(3) Ibid. p. 238.

house:

> "In other respects he lives in very good style in Charles Street, Berkeley Square, pretty much as people of his class and order are accustomed to do, in a house almost as full of pretty things as that of our old friend Sam Rogers."(1)

On the whole Abel Allnutt is but a collection of Morier's moralistic views and an account of some of his experiences in the East. The subject is a simple love story, treated conventionally by the author. Both lovers suffer a great deal; but at the end happiness awaits them as their reward for virtue and fidelity. Mary faints as often as a conventional heroine does; Edwards confesses his love for Mary in the purely conventional fashion: - kneeling before her and adoring her.

Abel Allnutt was neither as popular nor as competent as the author's oriental novels were.

Morier, in his literary activities, also made an attempt at poetry, which is called The Adventures of Tom Spicer who Advertised for A Wife. It is the burlesque account of the funny adventures of a silly man, monotonous in rhythm, having neither strong imagery nor melody. It is composed of 54 stanzas of ballad metre. It is as didactic as his poorer novels, for Morier's chief weakness is to moralize and to preach. These weaknesses are, however, less evident in his best-known, and more successful works.

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(1) Fraser's Magazine, Vol. VII, p. 159.

V. CONCLUSION:

A General View of the Dominant Tendency in English Literature in Morier's Time and His Contribution to This Tendency.

At the time that Morier was active in his literary career Sir Walter Scott was the most prolific as well as the most renowned writer of the time. Besides, he became a pioneer in the field of historical novels. As is the case in such instances, this popular writer was imitated by his contemporaries who had not any individualistic way of expressing themselves. So this period is marked by the characteristics of Scott's works. Before he died, in 1832, some writers such as G.P.R. James, Fenimore Cooper, Bulwer Lytton and Captain Marryat were already following in his footsteps. "At times, half the annual output of fiction consisted of historical romances or historical novels, all modelled on the Waverleys, except those who preferred the Shakespearian example and dramatized great and famous episodes with historical personages as the protagonists."(1) Historical fiction became a favourite with writers and readers now that such a satisfactory pattern was available. Because this age was deeply interested in history. Hume, Gibbon and Robertson had been followed by Milman, Roscoe, Sharon Turner, Hallam, Thirlwall, and Lingard, and these were succeeded by Carlyle and Macaulay, Kinglake and Froude, men of letters as well as scholars. Nevertheless the effect of Scott's impetus can be traced also in more miscellaneous and nondescript sorts of historical fiction or fictitious history. Thomas Hope, the

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(1) The History of the English Novel, Vol. VII, p. 62 Barnes and Noble, New York, 1936.

traveller and connoisseur and Morier, the diplomatist, instead of putting all their experience into books of travel or historical surveys, formed a kind of feigned history. Trelawny produced a feigned autobiography; Eliot Warburton told the story of the projector William Paterson in his Darien, or the Merchant Prince (1851). Marryat's shipmate Edward Howard, in Sir Henry Morgan, the Buccaneer (1842), and G.W. Thornbury, in The Buccaneers, or Monarchs of the Main (1855) recounted facts in the colourful guise of fiction; and Colonel Meadows Taylor, officer to the Nizam, in his Confessions of a Thug (1839), wrote in the form of a novel what was history at least in substance. Their examples have been followed frequently enough down to the present day. "There was at this time a prevalent idea, partly due to the friendly relations between fiction and history, but originating in a desire on the part of readers as well as writers to find a respectable pretext for what others branded as a frivolous pastime, that the true underlying object of fiction was to show how other people lived."(1) The idea was supported by reviewers who approved seriousness and disliked triviality. That Morier embraced this prevalent idea is evident enough in his works. He mainly shows himself to be interested in history in his such works as Hajji Baba of Ispahan, Hajji Baba in England, Zohrab, the Hostage, and Ayesha, the Maid of Kars; nor does he appear less of a moralist whose chief aim in writing a novel is not to amuse his readers but to speak to them seriously about life; this side is more conspicuous in Abel Allnutt than in his other works.

The conviction was widespread and ineradicable that accurate recording of the manners and characters and social conditions of classes and occupations which were little known to the rest of the world had its part in the diffusion

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(1) Ibid. p. 63.

of knowledge, and thus some good might come even out of a circulating library. So any variety, any curious aspect of human life needed its novelists, whose business was to give a veracious report, introduce it with all its singularities, likenesses and unlikenesses to the normal and familiar, to readers eager to learn not about themselves but about those as different from themselves as possible. Such an idea encouraged writers to produce fictitious history inspired with little of Scott's profound humanity, and presently gave encouragement and approval to novelists who reflected some certain sections of the community which they thought had been neglected. Naturally, the life of strange races and the occupations of extraordinary individuals were very fertile subjects. That is why Hope, Morier, Trelawny and other painters of the outlandish and bizarre were welcomed so heartily by everybody. The public accepted these writers warmly not for their literary merits but for their qualifications as first-hand authorities on subjects far from the beaten track. It is significant that Hope, Trelawny, Hackley, W.D. Arnold and Richard Cabbold were each men of one novel, and were best known in other ways than as novelists; the novel was just such a digression from their main work as the Eothen of Kinglake. Although Eothen is supposed to be a travel book its literary merit is far superior; the portrayal of some incidents and some characters is convincing as well as picturesque; so Eothen is still read with relish and interest though it draws the picture of some parts of the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century. With this book Kinglake contributed much to his readers' knowledge of the East.

Morier wrote several other novels after the brilliant success of Hajji Baba of Ispahan; but he was first of all the traveller and diplomatist, who took it into his head to put some of his experience and reflections into a novel. James Morier was an authority, in his day, on the East; and

he did his best to teach his contemporaries all he knew about the East. With his travel books he became a pioneer for his countrymen who, later, went to Iran. He encouraged them to give accounts of their impressions and their experiences in that country.

Lieut-Colonel Stuart, as a result of his travels in the East, wrote the Journal of A Residence in Northern Persia and the Adjacent Provinces of Turkey in 1854, in the preface to which he acknowledges Morier's encouraging advice:

> "It is at the recommendation of the late James Morier, the gifted author of Hajji Baba, who perused my journal and advised its publication, that I now present it to the public.
>
> "Circumstances prevented me at that time from following his advice, but public attention being now so much directed to the East, it is probable that notes on Persia and the adjoining provinces of Turkey may be found acceptable."(1)

Besides Lieut-Colonel Stuart other writers took Morier as their model: In 1824, W.B. Hockley of the Bombay Civil Service returned home to England. The success of Anastasius and the example of Hajji Baba of Ispahan induced him to try to do for India what Morier had done for Iran. In 1826 he published Pandurang Hari; or Memoirs of a Hindoo, the story of a young adventurer of noble birth, told in the first person, whose life is a series of unfortunate adventures. Traces of Hajji Baba of Ispahan are seen in more than one instance in this book.

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(1) Journal of A Residence in Northern Persia and the Adjacent Provinces of Turkey, Bentley, London, 1854, p. i.

In his Confessions of A Thug Meadows Taylor acknowledged Morier and Hockley as his models. His activities in the campaign for suppressing Thuggee in India some years earlier had given him great opportunities not only for observing the external "manners and customs" of Indians, but for penetrating deeply into that dark abyss of crime by which English readers were fascinated and which most of them suspected to lie behind the impenetrable faces of their "subject race".

History comes only indirectly, and seen distortedly through Iranian eyes, into Hajji Baba of Ispahan; but this is at least as knowledgeable a presentment of a strange race as was the recent novel of Thomas Hope. Anastasius, indeed, was too much a reflex of its author's philosophical cogitations to be thoroughly true to time, place and people. Morier, keeping more faithfully to the precedent of Gil Blas, managed to embody the Iranian genius in the Spanish mould without doing violence to either. Hajji Baba of Ispahan is pure comedy; the satire, of which there is plenty, is good-humoured laughter. And it is not merely the peculiar racial humour of the Orient; it is the same universal comedy of human follies, errors and infirmities as fills so much space in the Arabian Nights. But the world of the Arabian Nights is a fantastic world; Hajji Baba of Ispahan is a reality. After his Hajji Baba of Ispahan and Hajji Baba in England, Morier turned his acknowledged familiarity with the East to further profit in a historical novel, Zohrab, the Hostage (1832), a sentimental romance, Ayesha, the Maid of Kars (1834) (Morier dedicated this novel to the "Travellers in the East, whom the author - one of themselves - considered the best judges of his book"), in The Mirza (1841), and Misselmah (1847). Only a rare spark of the humour of Hajji Baba of Ispahan appears in these. This one brilliant work of the author is translated into German, French and Turkish; and it has also been filmed by Hollywood. As to the first Iranian translation of the novel it was done by one Mirza Habib of Ispahan, an accomplished writer of the

time.[1] He translated The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan from French into Iranian literally, with especial regard to the preservation of those local and characteristic peculiarities and idioms which mark the speech of the common people of Ispahan and other Iranian towns, thus giving a living representation of the customs of the Iranians. He wanted to print it in Istanbul; but the censor of the press did not allow him to do so. Then an Iranian friend of E.G. Browne wrote a letter to him in which he asked Browne's help in order that they might have the book printed in London. Browne could not help his friend and his sentiments thereof are described below:

> "Unfortunately I was not in a position to take advantage of this offer, an inability which I much regretted, for Hajji Baba in Iranian would be perfectly delightful, and ought to eclipse entirely 'Huseyn, the Kurd', 'The Mouse and the Cat', and the 'Thousand and One Night'."[2]

To sum up, Morier's romances of the East were popular in his day, and for a short time between the death of Scott and the rise of Dickens and Thackeray he shared with Lytton a leading position among English writers.

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(1) Int. to The Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan, Methuen, London, 1895, p. xxi.

(2) Ibid. p. xxii.

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