Durham University

Durham E-Theses

A study of the poet Fuzuli (c.1480-1556) with special reference to his Turkish, Persian and Arabic divans.

Hamide Odelli

How to cite:

Odelli, Hamide (1970) A study of the poet Fuzuli (c.1480-1556) with special reference to his Turkish, Persian and Arabic divans. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/957/ is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the full Durham E-Theses policy for further details.

Academic Support Office, The Palatine Centre, Durham University, Stockton Road, Durham, DH1 3LE
e-mail: e-theses.admin@durham.ac.uk Tel: +44 0191 334 6107
https://etheses.durham.ac.uk

A STUDY OF THE POET FUZULI (c.1480-1556) WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS TURKISH, PERSIAN AND ARABIC DIVANS

The copyright of this thesis rests with the author. No quotation from it should be published without his prior written consent and information derived from it should be acknowledged.

BY

HAMIDE ODELLI

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Arts in the University of Durham for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

August 1970.

School of Oriental Studies,
Elvet Hill,
Durham.

TRANSLITERATION.

Arabic and Persian.

ا	a
ا	a
إ	i
آ	a
ا	a
أ	'
ؤ	'
ئ	'
آ	'
ب	b
پ	p
ت	t
ث	th
ج	j
چ	ch
ح	h
خ	kh
د	d
ذ	dh
ر	r

ز	z
ژ	zh
س	s
ش	sh
ص	ş
ض	ż
ط	ţ
ظ	ẓ
ع	ʿ
غ	gh
ف	f
ق	q
ک	k
گ	g
ل	l
م	m
ن	n
و	v
او	u
اَو	aw
ه	h
ء	a
ی	y, a
ـِ	I
ـَی	ay
ـا ـَآ	āI, āy

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PART ONE

CHAPTER I — Page

Preface. 1

1 - The geopolitical position of 'Irāq in FuẓūlI's time. 6

2 - The state of Oriental and Turkish literature in FuẓūlI's time. 11

CHAPTER II

1 - FuẓūlI's birth-place and date. 21

2 - His pen-name. 34

3 - His biography. 40

CHAPTER III

1 - FuẓūlI's nationality. 69

2 - His religion. 73

3 - His psychology. 81

4 - His language. 92

CHAPTER IV

1 - Influences on FuẓūlI. ... 104

2 - FuẓūlI's place in Islāmic Turkish ideology and literature. 119

PART TWO

CHAPTER V — Page

1 - A general view of FuḍūlI's works — 129

CHAPTERS VI, VII, VIII

FuḍūlI's works other than his DIVĀns.

CHAPTER VI

1 - FuḍūlI's Turkish works;

a. Bang-U BīDa ... 172
b. Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā ... 181
c. Laylā va Majnūn ... 186
d. Tarjuma-yi Ḥadīg-i Arba'In ... 206
e. Letters 210

CHAPTER VII

1 - FuḍūlI's Persian works;

a. Ṣihḥat-nāma 217
b. Anīs al-qalb 221
c. Rind-u Zāhid 230
d. Husn-U 'Ishq 237
e. Riddles 243

CHAPTER VIII

1 - FuḍūlI's Arabic works;

a. Maṭla'al-I'tiqād ... 247
b. Works attributed to FuḍūlI ... 254

PART THREE

Page

CHAPTER IX

1 - Fużulī's Turkish Dīvān. ... 257

CHAPTER X

1 - Fużulī's Persian Dīvān. ... 333

CHAPTER XI

1 - Fużulī's Arabic Dīvān. ... 406

CHAPTER XII

1 - Comparison of the Dīvāns and Conclusion 422

Bibliography 437

PART ONE

P R E F A C E

Well before FuẓūlI's time, a high AzarI literature had come into being in royal courts in AzarI-speaking districts; it had its origins in folk literature and was influenced by classical Persian literature, and also had connections with Ottoman and Chaghatāy literature. FuẓūlI is a representative of this composite type of literature. Taking his inspiration on the one hand from Chaghatāy and on the other from Persian literature, he developed to a high degree the art which he had inherited.

FuẓūlI's poetry is filled with emotion, sensibility, pathos, melancholy, sweet sorrow, and sombre reflection. He expresses the misery of mankind, the reign of chance and error, the lack of justice, and the tragedy of fate. A voice pure as moonlight, rich in sorrow, firm in truth sings in his odes and proves the potency of his passion. There are two FuẓūlIs: the poet and the man. The man, as he revealed himself in many of his poems, was a querulous person with a heart intolerably sad and lonely. But to this unhappy man was granted the poet's gift, a capacity for feeling so intense and an imagination so sensitive and lively that he could perceive meaning in the most common sights of daily life. The misfortunes of FuẓūlI were doubtless fortunate for his genius. Every classic

poet has his own romantic accent, corresponding with the scope of his intuition and the degree of harmony or conflict which the vision of the truth creates in his heart. For FuẑŪlI this vision was saturated with anguish; narrowed by it, no doubt, but not distorted. The white heat of his anguish burned all bitterness away and cleared the air. Beneath the monotony of the Arabian sunshine he saw the universal mutation of earthly things, and their vanity, yet also, almost everywhere, the beginning if not the fullness of beauty; and this intuition, at once rapturous and sad, liberated him from the illusions of the past and from those of the future.

Without doubt good literature is above all the product of an individual creator. I therefore first of all try to give a picture of Fuẑūlī's way of thinking and feeling, and in general of the inspiration of his literary art. I thought that this should be done mainly through investigation of his life story and his psychology and through study of the main institutional, social and political factors by which his work, like the work of all creative artists, was influenced. I have also tried to explain his works in the distinctive spirit of the time and place and intellectual atmosphere in which he lived, as this can throw much light

on their meaning. The terms in which these works speak to us are the terms of their age, and the genius of every age is different; but a well portrayed passion will be true in all periods and for all time.

All FuẑûlI's known works have been published, some of them quite recently. There is still a great hope that one day from the corners of the world's libraries, especially those in Turkey, a new work of FuẑûlI will come to light. A large number of articles have been written on his life, mainly on the place and date of his birth, but no complete study of his works has hitherto been undertaken. Dr. Mujgan Cunbur has published a bibliography of FuẑûlI which she has called "A Trial Bibliography of FuẑûlI", because, as she explains in her preface, most of the Turkish libraries have not yet prepared a catalogue and she was not able to examine all the manuscripts which she has listed. For this reason I devoted much of my research to examining mss. of FuẑûlI's works. Fortunately I had the opportunity to travel in Europe and in Turkey and to examine more mss. Professor Dr. Abdülkadir Karahan has written a book on FuẑûlI's life, and Professor Dr. Hasibe Mazioğlu has published a work "Fuzûli-Hâfiz" in which she compares FuẑûlI's Turkish ghazals with the Persian ghazals of Hâfiz. The English

scholar E. J. W. Gibb in his History of Ottoman Poetry has made some fine critical remarks on FuẓūlI's Turkish works but not on his Persian and Arabic works, because they were not known and also because it was beyond his scope. On some of FuẓūlI's works not even an article has been written. There is no commentary, or guide which can help us to penetrate the mind of the author of the passionate odes in the DIvāns as we can, for instance, from a study of his "Laylā va Majnūn". Appreciation of the individuality of each work can be deepened by the reading of the author's other works and can be aided by the knowledge gained by various means about the author's life. To find out all we can about this mind, as well as to know FuẓūlI's characters such as Majnūn, Rind or Zāhid, are obvious ways to understand his works better. In this study, while giving most attention to FuẓūlI's DIvāns, I try to describe his other works and to study passages or sections from them where the ideas seem to me to be integral parts of FuẓūlI's art and thought.

In the Bibliography I have listed the published works of FuẓūlI and works which have been written about him, and also other works which I have consulted.

To me the study of FuẓūlI has been a source of great strength and happiness.

I am deeply grateful to my supervisor Mr. P. H. C. Bagley who was kind enough to take pains in reading my work carefully and in helping and encouraging me in this study.

In the course of my research I have received encouragement and help from a number of my teachers in Turkey. Among them my sincere thanks go to Professor Ali Nihad Tarlan and Professor A. Karahan of Istanbul University, and to Professor H. Hazioğlu of Ankara University.

CHAPTER I.

The Geopolitical Position of ʿIrāq in FuẓūlI's Time.

The poet FuẓūlI was born and lived in ʿIrāq, by which is here meant the region known in the middle ages as "ʿIrāq-i ʿArab", or "al-ʿIrāq al-ʿArabI": i.e. the southern delta region of the Tigris-Euphrates river system limited on the north east by the Zagros mountains and on the south west by the Arabian desert.(1) The word ʿIrāq was also applied in the middle ages to a part of the IrānIan plateau lying east of the Zagros mountains and containing the cities of Hamadān, Iṣfahān and Rayy; this region was known as "ʿIrāq-i ʿAjam" or "al-ʿIrāq al-ʿAjamI". ʿIrāq-i ʿArab corresponded roughly to the former Ottoman provinces of Baghdād and Baṣra. FuẓūlI spent his whole life (c. 1480-1556) in the Baghdād province, at the towns of Karbalā, Najaf, Ḥilla, Kūfa, and Baghdād itself. Before ʿIrāq was

---

1 - a. Karahan, FuẓūlI, Muhiti, Hayati ve Şahsiyeti, The Geography and History of Iraq, Istanbul 1949, pp. 1-10.
b. George L. Harris, Iraq, New Haven 1958, p. 28.
c. Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Vol.I, Fasciculus 14-15, 1959, pp. 894-908.
d. ʿAbbās ʿAzzāvI, Tārikh al-ʿIrāq, Baghdād 1357/1939, Vol. III.
3. Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1950, Vol. V, pp. 668-678.

established as a nation, the region was generally known as Mesopotamia (al-Rāfiqayn). The name 'Irāq was adopted by the government in 1921.

During Fuḍūlī's time, 'Irāq was ruled by the White Sheep (Aq Qoyunlu) Turkmān dynasty, by the Ṣafavids (1508-1534), and by the Ottoman Turks.

In the early middle ages Baghdād had been the centre of Islāmic culture and Arabic literature in their great creative period. After the Mongol conquest in 1258, Baghdād had lost most of its former importance and glory, but had continued, as a provincial capital, to be a minor centre of learning, where not only Arabic but also Persian and Turkish literature were cultivated. The rulers were Mongols and Turks based in Irān and Asia Minor. In a popular song the Baghdādīs said: "Between the Persians and the Rūmīs (i.e. Ottoman Turks), what woe befalls us!"

In 813/1410 Baghdād had fallen into the hands of the Black Sheep (Qara Qoyunlu) Turkmān dynasty, who held it till 872/1467-8, to be followed by Aq Qoyunlu Turkmāns.

The beginning of the 16th century is one of the landmarks in the history of East and West in Europe. In western Europe a new era was inaugurated by the discovery of the sea route to India and the discovery of America, and by the emergence of Protestantism. In the Islāmic

countries, a situation crystallized which was to give to the East its look for centuries to come. In Iran, the young and ambitious IsmāIl ṢafavI rose to power. The Turks in the West, and those in the East where since 1400 the descendants of Taymūr had ruled in Afghanistan and Transoxiana, had both developed a splendid civilization. The Ottoman Empire had reached the zenith of its power, and in 1516/17 it was to snatch Egypt and Syria from the Turko-Circassian MamlūKs and take their place as custodian of the holy places of Mecca and MadIna.

In 914/1507-8 Shāh IsmĀ'Il ṢafavI took possession of BaghdĀd, which remained under Persian control for 26 years except for a short time in 936/1530, when a Kurdish chief named ZŪ'l-FaqĀr seized the city and announced his allegiance to the Ottoman Sulṭān Sulaymān.(1)

In 941/1534 BaghdĀd fell without resistance to an Ottoman army under the Grand VazIr IbrāhIm PĀshā, and Sulṭān Sulaymān entered the city, where he remained with the troops till the following spring. In the reign of Sulṭān Sulaymān I, (2) surnamed by Europeans "the Great or the Magnificent" and by Turks QĀnŪnI (the Lawgiver), Turkey attained the

---

1. For more detail see: The Last Great Muslim Empires, trans. F. R. C. Bagley, Leiden 1969, pp. 77-87.
2. SulaymĀn (Süleyman) was born in 900/1494, succeeded to the throne in 926/1520, and died in 974/1566.

pinnacle of her greatness as a conquering power; never before or since did the fame of the Turkish arms on land and sea stand so high. The Ottoman rule stretched from the heart of Europe to Persia, from the Crimea to the tip of the Arabian Peninsula, from Beirut to Algiers. Superior arms and organization assured uncontested victories. Turkish fleets sailed in Indian and Moorish waters, and Turkish armies reached Baghdād and the outskirts of Vienna.

The life and achievements of Sulṭān Sulaymān belong to the political, not the literary, history of the 16th century; but it is remarkable that by winning Baghdād for Turkey he rendered a signal service to the literary fame of his country, as it is by virtue of that conquest that Fuẓūlī comes to be reckoned among the Ottoman poets.

As E. J. W. Gibb observes, at no time in Turkish history was greater encouragement given to poetry than during this reign. (1) Sulṭān Sulaymān himself wrote very fair verses under the pen name Muḥibbī,(2) and well knew how to maintain the honourable traditions of his house with regard to literature, art, and science. Five of his sons are placed by the biographers among the lyric poets.

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman poetry, London 1904, Vol. III, pp. 4-5.
2. Muḥibbī means the "Lover" (of God), or "Friendly".

Sulaymān's efforts to foster literature and art were ably and energetically seconded by his grand Vezir Ibrāhīm Pāshā.

Fuẓūlī addressed qasīdas (panegyric odes) to Sulaymān, to Ibrāhīm Pāshā, and to other members of the Sulṭān's entourage in Baghdād.

When we are unfamiliar with the art of an epoch, all its products tend to seem alike. The historical approach, however, takes us towards the meaning and can explain much. Even so, the value of a poem does not lie in its power to tell us how men once thought and felt. It has an extra-historical life, which causes that which had significance, beauty, and meaning in its own age to have significance, beauty, and meaning now.

The state of Oriental and Turkish Literature in FużūlI's time.

The century and a half extending between the years 1450 and 1600 is described by Gibb as the second period in the history of Ottoman poetry and may here be called the period of FużūlI's poetry.(1) At this time the Perso-Arab poetic system influenced all the Oriental literatures. Since pre-Islāmic days, the Arabs had cherished poetry and developed the art of versification. Then this poetry had been adopted by the Persians, and Persian poetry had become the faithful mirror of the Oriental genius. The poetry of the Afghāns, of the Tatars, of Urdu-writing Indians, and of the Ottomans, is essentially Persian poetry written in other tongues. In the 15th and 16th centuries, Persian, along with Italian,(2) was the greatest living literature in the world, and it impressed itself indelibly on the Turkish poets. They made it their practice to select and incorporate into their works as many Persian and Arabic words and terms as they felt were necessary to fill up deficiencies in their native language. Since they naturalized these words and subjected them in every point to the rules of

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1900, Vol. I, p. 5.
2. Nuri Eren, Turkey Today and Tomorrow, London 1963, pp. 211-213; V. M. Kocaturk, Turk Edebiyati Antolojisi, Ankara 1965, p. 9.

Turkish speech, we can say that the Persian was turkicized, not the Turkish persianized. Persian ideas and rules were also adopted. In this period, it was permissible to use any word from the Persian and Arabic languages in a Turkish poem. The poets incorporated these borrowed materials from the two classical languages in accordance with their own tastes and the limits of their knowledge. The impact was such that the greatest foreign scholar of Turkish letters, Gibb, regarded "the Ottoman muse" as "a pretty Turkish girl in Persian garments."

Classical Persian poetry shows, within certain limits, extraordinary fertility of imagination and gracefulness of thought and expression. That is the nature of the poetry which Persia offered to the Turks. They accepted it in its entirety, although it was in many respects out of harmony with the Turkish genius. The distinguishing qualities of the Turkish race have always been courage and loyalty, essentially military virtues which form the characteristic of Turkish popular literature. The Turkish nature is simple, the Persian subtle. The objectivity of the Turkish popular songs is no less extreme than the subjectivity of Persian literary verse. The poetry of Persia is particularly subjective in the lyric and romantic forms, which were the most widely reproduced in Turkish.

The Turkish poets did not pause to consider whether or not this Persian culture was really in harmony with their own genius; they accepted it as a whole.(1)

The loves of the poets of this period are more or less mystical and transcendental and often quite unreal. Moreover the poets were far more alive to the details of a subject than to the subject taken as a whole. According to Gibb,(2) "the true Oriental is ever in the position of the man who cannot see the wood for the trees."

Theology, philosophy and mysticism shaped the religious and intellectual life of Turkish poets. Their verses therefore present ideas belonging to each of these three, and these are introduced side by side without any attempt at reconciliation. It follows that we must not take every statement and every allusion that we find in a poem as indicative of the poet's real intent.

Turkish literature was under the influence of Persian lyric and romantic poets, especially Ḥāfiẓ (d.c. 792/1390), and 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī (d. 906/1501), who wrote both in Persian and in Eastern (Chaghatāy) Turkish. Persian influence in Turkish romantic poetry shows itself most clearly in the mathnavīs with their themes such as Laylā and Majnūn, Khusraw and Shīrīn. Mysticism and allegory are also characteristic

---

1. Ahmed Kabakli, Türk Edebiyati, Istanbul 1966, pp. 170-1900.
2. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, Vol. VI, p. 27, London 1909.

of this period, the tendency being to reduce everything to allegory. The essentially allegoric nature of the poem sometimes stands at once revealed in the title, such as "Rose and Nightingale", "Beauty and Heart", etc.;[1] these are personified as human lovers and pass through a series of adventures suggested by the nature and usual conditions of the nominal subjects. Every character and incident is symbolic of man in his mystic love-quest.

Walter Leaf finds a fundamental resemblance between the influence of Sufism on Persian and of the Bacchic revival on Greek poetry.[2]

Sincerity of utterance is often lacking in Turkish and Persian lyric poetry, mainly because the poets have never experienced the emotions they try to portray. Every lyric poet in Turkish and Persian sings of love, but most of the poets never knew what love was. When Abū Sa'Id ibn Abi'l-Khayr[3] introduced mysticism into poetry, matters improved considerably, as many poets were mystics; but even in the domain of mysticism an atmosphere of unreality soon spread, because it is not given to all of us to appreciate or partake of mystical experiences, and the essence of all lyrical poetry is personality. Lyrical poetry written by poets with such a mentality was bound to be lifeless and ineffective. Moreover there is something unnatural about most of

---

1. In Fuzūlī; Beauty and Love or Health and Sickness.
2. Walter Leaf, Versions from Hafiz, London 1898, p. 17.
3. A celebrated Sufi (357-967-440/1049), reputedly author of Persian mystic rubā'iyat; but this is uncertain (Encyclopaedia of Islām, 2nd ed., pp. 145-147, article by H. Ritter).

the lyrical poetry; apart from the fact that there is a suffocating overbloom of feeling, the sentiments themselves are not such that a majority of readers can share them. For example: a sweetheart, according to the majority of the poets, is a tyrant, a tormentor, an unscrupulous and deceitful person. These are not the feelings which one would entertain towards an object of love. Yet the charm of the poetry of this period is irresistible and undeniable. The secret of this great charm lies in the beauty of language and vividness of imagery. Although the sentiments portrayed are in most cases unreal and in some cases unnatural, the beauty of the language is so overpowering that few pause to analyse the sentiments. FużulI himself in a poem claims that poets are liars:

گردیرسه فضولی که گوزللرده وفا وار
آلدانه که شاعر سوزی الیه یالندر (1)

And even should FużulI claim a loyalty and joy,
And, counting o'er his beauties, name the words he would employ,
Be not deceived, for ever he is caught the more he tries
To escape the net, and further, see, all
Poet's words are lies.

---

1. KullIyAt-i DIvAn-i FużulI, Istanbul 1891, p. 264; tr. Sofi Huri, Leylâ ve Mecnun, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.71.

It may be said that not just oriental poets of this period were insincere but also that most poets in any period admit to being insincere. Gustave Flaubert (1821-1881) tells us many times that he has written tender pages without love and burning pages without any fire in his blood; and he adds that "you may describe wine, love, women, or glory, on condition that you do not become a drunkard, a lover, a husband or a soldier. In the midst of life, you get a bad view of it; it either gives you too much pleasure or too much pain. The artist, in my opinion is a monster, an unnatural creature."(1)

However we find in the Sulaymānic age a great improvement in the style of poetry and development of poetry as an art. The reign of Sulṭān Sulaymān (1520-1566) is the golden age of the Romantic <u>maṣnavī</u>. There had indeed been a steady flow of works of this class ever since the <u>Khusraw va Shīrīn</u> of Shaykhī (d. c. 1451). The passion for writing poetry flashed through all classes of society, Sulṭāns and Princes, Vazīrs and Muftīs, and darvīshes. Previously poets had been unconnected with the court; but with the establishment of this connection a great change can be seen. It becomes the rule for the

---

1. <u>Le Correspondant</u>, Nouvelles Causeries du Samedi, Paris 1859, pp. 299-326.

Sultāns to take an interest in the poetic art, to encourage the poets, and even to write verses themselves. All the great poets had some relationship with a Sulṭān, a VazĪr or a VALI.[1] On the other hand, in those days Turkish literary poetry was a closed book to the mass of the people. Without a special education no man could hope to understand it. Poetry is, of course, before all things an art, and the merits of a work of art of any kind must be felt rather than described. The Turkish poets of the period are in the first place stylists. To explain beauties and subtleties of style to ignorant people seems impossible. The nineteenth century Viennese scholar Von Hammer-Purgstall considers the reign of Sulaymān I to be the culminating point of all Turkish poetry; in his great history of Ottoman poetry[2] he cites translated extracts from 2,200 different Ottoman versifiers. Poetry was held in such high intellectual esteem that two-thirds of the Ottoman monarchs figure among the Ottoman poets.[3] Gibb has compared some of the poems of Mehmet the Conqueror (886/1481) with those of Shakespeare. In one of his odes, Mehmet wrote:

---

1. VĦzIr (Minister), VālI (Governor).
2. Joseph Von Hammer-Purgstall, Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst, 4 vols., pest 1836-1838.
3. Nuri Eren, Turkey Today and Tomorrow, London 1963, pp. 211-213.

Even as thou sighest, Avni, shower thine
eyes with tears fast as rain,
Like as follow hard the thunder-roll the
floods in dread array.

A century later the English bard, in Act One, Scene Five, of "Twelfth Night", used almost similar terms:

With adorations, with fertile tears,
With groans that thunder, loves with sighs of fire. (1)

In this period the qualities needful to success as a good poet were that the poet should be of tender temperament, an excellent conversationalist, quick-witted and charming in manner, and a delightful companion. The qualities which can be seen in FuẑULI are sensibility, melancholy, pride, passion, will, good sense, judgment, fancy, glowing imagination and acute understanding. His good taste raises him above the spirit of his age. Although artificiality and conventionality were inseparable from the poetry of this time, no man could be more deeply in earnest than FuẑULI. The conventionality is traceable to the influence of Persian works, and was virtually inevitable when everyone used the same models. It is exceptional to find writers putting any of their own individuality, of their own personal feelings or experiences, into their

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, The Poets and Poetry of Turkey, London 1901, p. 46.

verses. They said only what their models had said, from time to time adopting new themes which the poets of Persia had brought in. The great danger of such imitation is that poets thereby cramp their own abilities, and by following earlier models too strictly fail to give full play to their own natural talents. No imitation, even of the best works of the greatest authors, can reach the height of the original. Nevertheless there are a number of imitators whose work sometimes deserves our applause. Moreover a poem should not always be dissected from the aesthetic point of view, but should be judged according to the effect or impression which it leaves in the human heart. Art is living only in so far as the poet or other artist has poured his heart into it. As Lord Houghton remarks, "the poet, if his utterances be deep and true, can hardly hide himself even beneath the epic or dramatic veil, and often makes of the rough public ear a confessional into which to pour the richest treasures and holiest secrets of his soul. His life is in his writings, and his poems are his works indeed."(1)

FuḍūlI, however, was one of the exceptional poets. He imparts his own sincere feelings and personal emotions into

---

1. Lord Houghton, Life and letters of John Keats, London, n.d. Preface.

everything around him. Indeed he seems never able to get away from himself. He can fuse emotion, imagination and thought into a fabric of exquisite beauty. As Gibb says, "The genius of Fuẓūlī, one of the truest poets that the East has ever born, would alone suffice to mark the Sulaymānic age for ever."(1)

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol. III, p. 2.

CHAPTER II.

FuḍūlI's Birthplace.

Although FuẓūlI was one of the earliest great poets in the history of Turkish classical literature, and was widely considered to be the most outstanding of them all, surprisingly little was written about him until very recent times. The contemporary biographers give no particulars of his life.

There is doubt as to the exact place and date of his birth. LaṭIfI (d. 1582) and 'AhdI (16th century) give him the title "FuḍūlI-yi BaghdādI", but do not specifically state that he was born at Baghdād. The Persian biographer Sām MIrzā (1517-1577), and the Ottoman Turks 'ĀlI (1541-1600), who himself is one of the most outstanding representatives of Turkish literature of the 16th century, and 'Āshiq ChalabI (1520-1572), say likewise in their Taẓkiras (Biographical Sketches) that FuẓūlI was a BaghdādI; and the British Museum Catalogue mentions the city of BaghdĀd as his birthplace. The Turk Ḥasan ChalabI (d. 1535) claims that it was Ḥilla, while the Turk RiyāḍI (16th century) says that it was KarbalĀ. From all this it would certainly

seem to have been somewhere in the valley of the lower Tigris, in the region known to-day as 'Irāq. All the early writers state FuẓūlI's life was passed mostly in the "DĀr al-Salām"[1] (i.e. the city of BaghdĀd), a remote and then recent acquisition of the Ottoman Empire.

LaṭIfI in his Tazkira, written in 953/1546, says:[2] "FuẓūlI-yi BaghdĀdI is one of the poets of the age. He has a strange but fascinating style, all his own."[3]

SĀm MIrzĀ in his Tuḥfa-yi SĀmI[4] writes that FuẓūlI is the best poet in the DĀr al-SalĀm (i.e. BaghdĀd) and that his poems are composed in Turkish and Arabic.

'AhdI[5] gives more definite information. 'AhdI himself was a native of BaghdĀd, and wrote his Gulshan-i Shu'arā in that city in the year 971/1563. In this work he speaks of FuẓūlI as a BaghdĀdI and adds that he was a good-natured savant and a charming conversationalist.

---

1. DĀr al-SālĀm (Abode of Peace) was the title given to BaghdĀd by Eastern writers. DĀr al-SālĀm is also the name of one of the eight paradises in the IslĀmic religion.
2. LaṭIfI, Tazkiresi, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi No. 546, pp. 265-266.
3. Strange here means unique and original.
4. SĀm MIrzĀ, Tuḥfa-yi SĀmI, written in 957/1550, published in Tehran 1315/1936, p. 136.
5. 'AhdI, Gulshan-i Shu'arā, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi T.Y. No. 2604, pp. 97-98.

'Ashiq ChalabI's information goes a trifle further. In his Mashā'ir al-Shu'arā (974/1566) he tells us that FuẓūlI was a native of Baghdād, and the master and senior of the poets of those parts.(1)

BayānI in his Tazkira (1000/1592),(2) 'ĀlI in his Kunh al-Akhbār (1002/1593-1006/1597)(3) and Ṣādiqī in his Majma' al-Khavāṣṣ (1016/1607),(4) all assert without producing any proof that Baghdād was FuẓūlI's birthplace and domicile.

RiyāḍI (16th century), however, in his Riyāḍ al-Shu'arā,(5) states that FuẓūlI was born at Karbalā, and as evidence that he dwelt at Karbalā quotes FuẓūlI's Persian stanza:

چون خاک کربلاست فضولی مقام من
ظلم بهر کجا که رود حرمتش رواست
زر نیست سیم نیست گهر نیست لعل نیست
خاکست غیر بنده ولی خاک کربلاست

---

1. 'Ashiq ChalabI, Mashā'ir al-Shu'arā, Istanbul Millet Kütüphanesi, No. 440, pp. 275-276.

2. BayānI, Tazkiresi, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 2568, pp. 66-67.

3. 'ĀlI, Kunh al-Akhbār, Istanbul 1269/1861 (Persian translation, Tabriz 1968), 5 vols; p.18. This is one of the most important Ottoman historical works.

4. ṢādiqI, Majma' al-Khavāṣṣ, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, No.4085, pp. 33-34.

5. RiyāḍI, Riyāḍ al-Shu'arā, Ibid., No. 3250, pp. 46-47.

"Since, my dwelling place is the soil of Karbalā,
My verse deserves respect wherever it goes.
It is not gold, nor silver, nor jewel, nor ruby.
No, your humble Servant's verse is dust;
But it is Karbalā dust." (1)

Ḥasan Chalabī in his Tazkira (994/1568)[2] is the first writer who states that Fuẓūlī was from Ḥilla. In later times, Mu'allim NĀJĪ (1849-1892),[3] Shams al-Dīn SĀMĪ (1850-1904)[4], and E. J. W. Gibb[5] state that he was from Ḥilla, but that he was resident at Baghdād when that city was taken by the Ottomans under Sulaymān.

Although most of the contemporary biographers say that Fuẓūlī was born at Baghdād, he himself, in some poems, speaks of Baghdād as a diyār-i ghurbat (strange land).

---

1. Karbalā dust is considered holy by the Shī'ites, because the martyred Imām Ḥusayn is buried at Karbalā. Tablets (muhr) made of it are sold in vast quantities to the pilgrims who come to visit the shrine of the Imām. The tablet is placed on the ground in ritual prayer so that the worshipper may touch it with his forehead.

2. Ḥasan Chalabī, Tazkiresi, Maarif Vekaleti Ankara Umumi Kütüphanesi, No. 97, pp. 221-222.

3. Lughati NĀJĪ, Istanbul 1308/1890, p. 571.

4. Qāmūs al-'Alam, Istanbul 1314/1936, Vol.5, p.3416.

5. History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol.3, p.707.

In a <u>qaṣīda</u> which he presented to Aydın Pāshā, he says that he left his home town because his poetry was not appreciated there, and went to a strange place:

هوای سیر قیلدم ارتفاع قدر ایچون نیرا
پرنده هر متاعك پست اولور الده مقداری
رواج مشق ویرمك قصدنه چیقدم دیارمدن
هنر ضایعدر اول کشورده کیم بوقدر خریداری
محبت قیلمغه اظهار غربت اختیار ایتدم
نه چاره بوی بو جنسك اولدیغنم برلرده بازاری (1)

Fuḍūlī thus implies that he was not born at Baghdād. Like other contemporary poets, he uses the words "<u>diyār</u>" or "<u>vaṭan</u>" for the place or land of a person's birth. In Turkish literature the word <u>vaṭan</u> was not used in the modern sense of the land occupied by a nation until the great 19th century poet Nāmiq Kamāl first introduced this new meaning.

There can be no doubt that Fuḍūlī was born either at Ḥilla or at Karbalā and went to Baghdād to present his <u>qaṣīdas</u>. In a <u>qaṣīda</u> which he presented to Mehmed Pāshā, he calls Baghdād <u>mulk-i ghurbat</u> (The strange kingdom).

سر افرازا فضولی بو ملك غربتده
سپهر ناموافق دوری جور بیشمار ایلر
اگر چه بیقرار ایتشدر اول بیچاره محنت
بولوب تسکین سنك لوی وصالکله قرار ایلر

---

1. <u>Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī</u>, Istanbul 1891, p. 53.

Sulaymān Nazīf, in his book on FuẓūlĪ published at Istanbul in 1925,[1] says that while he was at BaghdĀd he tried to obtain further information about FuẓūlĪ, but could not find any manuscript with even two lines of the poet's own handwriting.[2] He adds that FuẓūlĪ's date and place of birth are completely unknown. Although FuẓūlĪ is described as a BaghdĀdĪ, the province of BaghdĀd comprised a large number of villages. According to Sulaymān Nazīf, the following Persian poem by an unnamed poet of Ḥilla proves that Ḥilla was FuẓūlĪ's birthplace:

در حله دو شاعرند اکنون
فضلی پسر و پدر فضولی
هکس اند جمیع کار عالم
فضلی پدر و پسر فضولی

"There are two poets now at Ḥilla;
Faẓlī the son and FuẓūlĪ the father.
Everything in the world is topsy-turvy:
The father is learned (faẓlī) and the son is impudent (fuẓūlī).

Professor Abdülkadir Karahan, in his book written in 1949 about FuẓūlĪ's life, personality and background[3] concludes from various documents that FuẓūlĪ's birthplace

---

1. Sulaymān Nazīf, FuẓūlĪ, Istanbul 1925, p. 14.
2. Sulaymān Nazīf, was at one time the Turkish Governor in BaghdĀd.
3. Fuzuli, Muhiti, Hayati ve Şahsiyeti, Istanbul 1949, pp. 67-72.

"از من سود ازده توقع این لن عجب است که مولد و مقام عراق عرب است.
زیرا که بلده ایست از سایه سلاطین دور و بواسطهٔ سکان بیشعور نا معمور.
بوستانیست سروهای خرامانش گرد بادهای صرصر سموم و غنچه های ناشگفته اش
تبه های مزار شهیدان مظلوم. بزمگاهیست شرابش خون جگرهای پاره و نغمه اش
نالهای فریبان آواره. نه نسیم راحتی را بصحرای محنت نزایش گذاری و
نه بیابان پر بلایش را از سحاب رأفت امید تسکین غباری. در چنین ریاض
ریاضت غنچهٔ دل چگونه گشاید و بلبل زبان چه سراید. (1)

"It would be strange to expect me, who am a slave to love, to be an expert in the science of poetry. For the place where I was born and have lived is Arabian 'IrĀq. This is a place far from the shadow of rulers, and a desolate country because of the ignorance of its inhabitants. This place is a garden in which the swaying cypresses are dust columns lifted by the poisonous hot wind; its unopened buds are the domes (of the tombs) of the martyred victims of injustice. It is a banquet where the wine is the blood of suffering hearts and the songs are the laments of homeless strangers. No heart-gladdening zephyr turns its course toward this cruel wilderness. No rain from the clouds of mercy falls upon this grim desert to abate its dust. How can the heart's bud blossom and the soul's nightingale sing in such a garden of austerity (riyāḍ-i riyāḍat)?"

---

1. FużūlI, Persian DIvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara, 1962, p. 7.

was definitely Karbalā. He insists that the above poem does not mean that FuẓūlI was born at Ḥilla, but only that he had visited or lived for a short while at that town.

ṢādiqI in his Majma' al-Khavāṣṣ (which was written in 1016/1607 in ChaghatāY Turkish) speaks of FuẓūlI as mutavaṭṭin (domiciled)[1] at Ḥilla. The word means that FuẓūlI was not born at Hilla but later chose it as his vaṭan (domicile).

The IrānIan 'AlI Tarbiyat, in his book on the scholars of AẒarbāIjān,[2] states that FuẓūlI was born at BaghdāD or KarbalāA but gives no further information.

'Abd al-Haqq ḤamId, in his preface to SulaymāN NaẓIf's book on FuẓūlI, states that some poems by FuẓūlI are still being discovered and some are only known by heart, but unfortunately there is little information about his life.

FuẓūlI himself in the preface to his Persian DIvān says that he was born at Karbalā, and then describes Karbalā (the place of pilgrimage to "the tomb of the injured martyrs") in an imaginative and picturesque fusion.

---

1. متوطن

2. 'AlI Tarbiyat, Dānishmandān-i ĀẕarbāIjān, Tehran 1314/1935, p. 300.

From FuẓūlI's Turkish DIvān:

امید درکه اصحاب فصاحت و ارباب بلاغت مشاهده و مطالعه قلدقده
منشائ و مولدم عراق عرب اولوب تمام عمرمده غیر سلکظره سیاحت
قلمد یغمه واقف اولدقده بوعلتی موجب سقوط اعتبار بیلیه لر• و محله
و مقامه گوره رتبه استعدادمه حقارتله نظر قیلیه لر• زیرا اعتبار وطن
استعداد ذاتی قاهر ایتز • و طهراقده یاتمغله طلادن جلا گیتز ؛••
لله الحمد و المنه که خاک کربلا سائر ممالک اکسیرندن اشرف اولدیغی
معلومدر • و رتبه شعرمی هر یرده بلند ایدن حقیقته بومفهومدر • (1)

" It is to be hoped that when the men of eloquence come to know that I have never travelled in any country beyond the Arabian 'Irāq, where I was born and brought up, they will not count this a mark to my discredit."

In the Persian DIvān, FuẓūlI after mentioning his birth at Karbalā adds that he grew up in "the castle of the saints," by which according to Professor Karahan[2] he means Baghdād; though Professor Karahan cites no proof of this.

---

1. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 6.
2. Fuzuli, Hayati, Muhiti ve Şahsiyeti, Istanbul 1949, p. 71.

"واین نورسیدگان روزگار ندیده و این یتیمان فربت نشنیده که از خاک نجف و خاک کربلا سر بر آورده‌اند و در آب و هوای برج اولیا پرورده‌اند • " (1)

"These newcomers who are unaware of the outer world, these orphans for whom absence from home has no meaning, have sprouted out of the soil of Najaf and KarbalĀ, and have been fed and raised with the water and air of the province of those who are near to God." (2)

The Iranians, AmIn Ahmad RĀzI in his history Haft IqlIm[3] (composed in 1028/1619), and Lutf 'AlI Beg Azar (1123/1711-1195/1781) in his anthology Atashkada-yi Azar,[4] quote the following rubā'I by FuzūlI to show his relationship with KarbalĀ.

"آسودهٔ کربلا بهر حال که هست
گر خاک شود نمیشود قدرش پست
بر میدارند و سبحه‌اش میسازند
میگردانندش از شرف دست بدست • " (5)

---

1. FuzūlI, Persian DIvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1963, p. 15.
2. i.e. the Imāms 'AlI and Ḥusayn who are buried at Najaf and KarbalĀ.
3. AmIn Ahmad RĀzI, Haft IqlIm, Calcutta 1358/1939, pp.122-123.
4. Lutf 'AlI Beg Azar, Atashkada-yi Azar, Tehran 1340/1961, pp. 916-920.
5. FuzūlI, Persian DIvān, ed. H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 648.

" Anyhow, when the Karbalā-dweller becomes dust, he does not become worthless; people pick up his dust and make rosary beads from it."

No more precise or detailed information about Fużūlī's birthplace is available.(1) On this subject nothing can be added to what Professor Abdülkadir Karahan has written in his article "Fuḍūlī" (Fużūlī) in the new edition of the Encyclopaedia of Islam:

"He was born in Irāḳ at the time of the Ak-Koyunlu (White Sheep Dynasty) domination, probably at Karbalā, although Baghdād, Ḥilla, Nadjaf, Manzil and Hīt are also mentioned as his birth place."(2)

---

1. See also p. 410 below.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Vol. 2, Fasciculus 37, pp. 937-9.

Fużulî's Birth Date.

The exact date of Fużulî's birth is not mentioned either in his own writings or in the tazkiras of contemporary biographers, who in accordance with Islâmic literary tradition gave more importance to death dates than to birth dates. There is little or no evidence from which a probable date may be inferred.

Professor Karahan in his book about Fużulî's life inferred that he was born in 900/1495 on the following grounds. Sometime between 916/1510 and 920/1514 Fużulî dedicated his first mesnevî "Bang-ü Bâda" to Shâh Ismâ'îl Safavî who had captured Baghdâd from the White Sheep Turkmân dynasty in 914/1508. Professor Karahan estimated that Fużulî was then 18 or 20 years old. In his opinion, although "Bang-ü Bâda" is a short work, hardly any other Eastern poet in those days could have written such an interesting mesnevî. In that case Fużulî's birth date would be around 900/1495.

Later Professor Karahan changed his mind, and in 1953 wrote in an article in the Türk Yurdu Mecmuasi[1] as follows:

---

1. Türk Yurdu Mecmuasi, Istanbul 1953, Vol. II, No. 23, p. 744.

"FuẑûlI'n first known poem is a <u>qaṣîda</u> in praise of Alvand (Elvend) Bey, a grandson of Aq Qoyunlu Uzun Ḥasan, who was the ruler of BaghdĀd between 1498 and 1502. FuẑûlI addressed a Persian <u>qaṣîda</u> to him in that period. Persian was not FuẑûlI's native language. Even though FuẑûlI started writing poetry at a very early age, if he was born in 1495, how could a five-year old child have written such a <u>qaṣîda</u> in a foreign language? Therefore his birth date should be at least 20 years earlier, namely about 885/1480."

Both the date and the place of FuẑûlI's birth remain among the unsolved problems of Turkish literary history, and are much discussed, especially in literary reviews. Professor Karahan has written articles in "<u>Türk Yurdu Mecmuasi</u>" in 1953,(1) 1955,(2) and 1956,(3) and in "<u>Tasvir</u>"(4) in 1948. Unfortunately the matter has not progressed any further, and these articles have not arrived at a solution.

---

1. <u>Türk Yurdu Mecmuasi</u>, Istanbul 1953, No. 23, pp.744-748.
2. <u>Türk Yurdu Mecmuasi</u>, Istanbul 1955, No.251, pp. 436-440.
3. <u>Türk Yurdu Mecmuasi</u>, Istanbul 1956, No.252, pp. 494-498.
4. "<u>Tasvir</u>", Istanbul 1948, No. 903, p. 3.

Fuḍūlī's Pen-Name.

The poet's real name was Mehmed (Muḥammad) Ibn Sulaymān, and Fuḍūlī (Fuḍūlī) was his pen-name. Contemporary biographers call him Mawlānā Fuḍūlī or Fuḍūlī-yi Baghdādī. The earliest writer who mentions Fuḍūlī's name as Muḥammad son of Sulaymān is Kātib Chalabī (d. 1058/1651) in his encyclopaedia Kashf al-Ẓunūn.(1)

It has been stated, on uncertain authority, that his father Sulaymān was the Muftī(2) at Ḥilla.(3)

Fuḍūlī invariably used the pen-name (makhlaṣ) Fuḍūlī in all his verse and prose works. He liked originality in his verses and entered on a new path untrodden by any predecessor. In those days, the use of pseudonyms (takhallus) was an established custom among Turkish and Persian poets, who were always known by their pen-names. In the preface to his Persian Dīvān, Fuḍūlī explains why he finally chose the curious makhlaṣ Fuḍūlī; he says that he wanted a unique pen-name which no one else would desire to imitate. The following passage is quoted in full from his Persian Dīvān:

---

1. Kashf al-Ẓunūn, New Edition, Istanbul 1941, pp. 255, 645, 805.
2. Official expounder of Islāmic law.
3. Numūna-yi Adabiyāt-i 'Uthmāniya, Istanbul 1296/1879, p. 26.

حقاً که همین احتراز علت اختیار تخلص واقع شده . چرا که در ابتدای شروع نظم هر چند روزی دل بر تخلص می نهادم و بعد از مدتی بواسطه ظهور شریکی بتخلص دیگر تغییر میدادم. آخر الامر معلوم شد که یارانی که پیش از من بوده‌اند تخلصها را بیش از معانی ربوده‌اند . خیال کردم که اگر تخلص مشترک اختیار نمایم در انتساب نظم بر من حیف رود اگر مغلوب باشم و بر شریک ظلم شود اگر غالب آیم . بنابر رفع مظنت التباس "فضولی" تخلص کردم و از تشویش ستم شریکان بناء بجانب تخلص بردم و دانستم که این لقب مقبول طبع کسی نخواهد افتاد که بهم شرکت او بمن تشویش نتواند داد . الحق ابواب آزار شرکت را بدین لقب بر خود بستم و از دغدغه انتقال و اختلال رستم . (۱)

گرد بد نامی مرا از اختلاط خلق دور
مزلتم شد موجب مشغولی کسب هنر
منت ایزد را که شد تیغ آنچه بد پنداشتم
خار من گل خاک من زر گشت سنگ من گهر

فی الواقع تخلص واقع شد موافق هوای من و لقبی افتاد مطابق دعوای من بچندین وجوه اول آنکه من خود را یگانه روزگار می خواستم و این معنی درمن تخلص بظهور پیوست و دامن فردیتم از دست نهد شرکت رست. دیگر آنکه من بتوفیق همت استدعای جامعیت جمع علوم و فنون داشتم. تخلص یافتم متضمن این مضمون چرا که در

Fużūlī
1. Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, pp. 10-11.

لغت جمع فضل است بر وزن علوم و فنون. دیگر مفهوم فضولی باصطلاح عوام خلاف ادب است و چه خلاف ادب ازین برتر که مرا با وجود قلت معاشرت علماء عالی مقدار و عدم تربیت سلا طین نامدار مرحمت شعار و نقرت سیاحت اقالیم و امصار همیشه در مباحثه مقلیه دست تعرض در گریبان احکام مختلفه حکیاست و در مسائل نقلیه دامنه افتخار اصول اخطاف فقهاست و درین فنون سخن به استاد یک فنه هرفن مباحثه حسن مهارت و مناقشه لطف اداست. اگر چه این روش نشانه کمال فضولیست اما نشانه کمال فضولیست.

"I had to choose a pen-name. When I began to write poetry, I wondered for days what pen-name I should take. A little later I changed my pen-name, because mine was shared with someone else. If my pen-name were shared, it would be unjust either to me or to the other. For this reason, I chose "FużŪlī", a name which no one else would like. My pen-name fulfilled my wishes in many ways. I wished to be an individual in my time, and my pen-name confirmed this. I wished to gather all knowledge and the ancient sciences in one place, and this was granted, because FużŪlī is the plural of faḍl, like the plurals ʿulūm and funūn, which mean "sciences" and "arts". The other meaning of FużŪlī is "impudent" (khilāf-i adab). I do not live among learned men; I am

not patronised by Princes and I have not travelled, yet I dispute with scholars and raise objections to them. It shows my perfection as much as it shows that I do not know my limits."

The meaning of FuḍūlI in Persian is "meddler" or "busybody". Naim in his New Persian-English Dictionary explains it as follows:

"Fuḍūlī (فضولی) : 1 - Officiousness, meddling, impertinent interference, blabbing.

2 - A busybody; a meddler.

فضولی کردن : To meddle, to poke one's nose (in another's business). To blab, to talk unnecessarily, to make mischief. To act beyond one's scope.

Note : The original word for "officiousness or impertinent interference" is fuḍūl (فضول) and that for an officious fellow, busybody, etc. is fuḍūlī (فضولی).

Thus Sa'dI says چو کاری بفضول من برآید

"when an affair is adjusted without my interference." But in modern usage these renderings are reversed.(1)

---

1. Naim, New Persian-English Dictionary, Tehran 1960, Vol. 2.

As a matter of fact Fuẓūlī himself sometimes used the word with the meaning "impudent". At the end of "Banǧ Bāda he says:

چون فضولی در بنم لقبم
صهبا اولنز گر السه ادبم (1)

"Since, Fuẓūlī is my nickname,
It would not be surprising if I should be impudent."

Again in one of his ghazals we find this stanza:

گفتم ای شوخ فضولی بتو میلی دارد
گفت زین بی ادبیهاست که ایمش لقب است (2)

I said, "Saucy one, Fuẓūlī has a liking for you."
She replied: "Such impudences are why they call him Fuẓūlī."

However, as Sulaymān Naẓīf says in his book:(3)
"Fuẓūlī gave to an improper word a noble character. To-day his name reminds us of a dear and blessed man, of a saint."

Professor Karahan feels the same, and writes:(4)

"Whatever meaning his nickname may have, he will always remain in our minds as a lover and as a witty and mature man. As he says about himself:

---

1. Kulliyāt-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 99.
2. FuẓūlI, Persian DIvān, ed. by H. Kazıŏglu, Ankara 1962, p. 330.
3. Sulaymān Naẓīf, FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1925, p. 14.
4. FuẓūlI, Muhiti, Hayati ve Şahsiyeti, Istanbul 1949, pp. 67-72.

خوانند فضولی را گه عاشق و گه عارف
مشهور جهانست او هر جا لقبی دارد (1)

"Sometimes they call FużūlI a lover, sometimes a 'knower'. He is world-famous; everywhere he has the same nickname."(2)

1. FużūlI Persian DIvān, ed. by H. Mazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 396.

2. The word 'Ārif is sometimes used to mean "knower of God", sometimes to mean "learned scholar".

FużūlI's Biography.

As mentioned earlier it is difficult to unearth FużūlI's life and personality from the documents of his own and later times. The importance of a poet's biography may be judged in relation to the light which it throws on the poetry actually left by him to us; but we may also defend and justify the search for biographical data as intrinsically interesting in so far as it will enable us to study the moral, intellectual, and emotional development of the man of genius. Finally we may think of biography as affording materials for a study of the psychology of the poet and of the poetic process. In the case of many Western poets, biographical data are abundant, because these poets became self-conscious and thought of themselves as living in the eyes of posterity; they thus not only attracted contemporary attention but also left many autobiographical statements. Indeed, the biographical approach is invited and demanded by the Western poet of this type, especially the Romantic poet, when he writes about himself and his innermost feelings, or even, like Byron, carries the 'pageant of his bleeding heart' around Europe. Such poets did this not only in

private letters, diaries, and autobiographies, but also in their published verses. Altogether opposite was the attitude of most Eastern poets. They did not speak of themselves as often as Western poets did, and when they did they spoke in the language of literary tradition, not of reality. Thus it has always been a problem for the orientalist whether or not one should take the poetical expression of an oriental poet as a true reflection of his own experiences, or whether the traditional form has so completely veiled the writer's personal ideas and circumstances that there is no possibility of examining his "spiritual development" or of reconstructing his life from his works.

The well-known Ottoman journalist Abū'l-Ziyā Tawfīq (1848-1913) in his anthology "Numūna-yi Adabiyāt",(1) and Fā'iq Rishād (1851-1914) in his "Tārikh-i Adabiyāt-i 'Uthmāniya",(2) state without mentioning any reliable source that Fuzūlī first took to poetry when he fell in love with his teacher's daughter, and that his literary taste was formed by the poet Habībī. The already mentioned report that his father was the Muftī at Hilla likewise rests on uncertain authority. It can, however, be said with certainty that Fuzūlī came from an educated family and was

---

1. Abū'l-Ziyā Tawfīq, Numūna-yi Adabiyāt, Istanbul 1296/1879, p. 27.
2. Fā'iq Rishād, Tārikh-i Adabiyāt-i 'Uthmāniya, Istanbul 1308/1890, p. 340.

himself fully trained in all the learning of the age. His learning is attested by the titles of Mullā and later Mawlānā which were given to him. It appears that his education commenced at Karbalā and was continued at Ḥilla and Baghdād.

The poet himself, in the preface to his Turkish Dīvān, speaks of his innate artistic temperament and tells how his whole life was devoted to literature and especially to poetry. He also describes picturesquely the mixed school (maktab) which he attended as a little child, with its fair young scholars seated in rows and holding their books like flowers in their small hands.

" آفتاب حکمت جوهر طبعمه اثر تحصیل معارف صالوب رغبت کسب ادب تلدکده . وکل بختم کسب هنر هواسیله آچیلدقده . معدن جواهر اکتساب کمالم بردبستان جنت نشاندی که صحن لطیفی صفوف غلمان ایله شلد بریلدن خمر ومیوردی و مطالع اختر حصول اتهالم بر مکتب مهذب ایدی که فضای شریفی سر و قد صغار پرله جنان مؤده سن معمور ایدی. "

صحن لطیف و خوبان در وی نشسته صف صف (1)

دیدارشان مبارک همچون سطور مصحف

خورشید لوح چون مه هریك نهاده در پیش

پرك کتاب چون گل هر یك گرفته پر کف

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, Preface, p. 4.

" "This little company for years read nothing but poems telling of love; they studied ghazals in which the burning heart sighed forth its passion."

Fuzûlî has revealed secrets of his personality when he tells us that he felt an inborn urge to compose poetry, and that such suggestive studies, combined with the society of such sweet companions, soon began to influence his impressionable mind.

" بنم که صحیفه جهلتده بدایت روز ازلدن گلك قلمی صرف محبت نظم رقم قلمش ایدی. و سدیقه خلقتده بدایت فطرتدن تنم مودت و موزونیت اکلمش ایدی. اول مجمعك سحاب امتزاجندن نهال طبیعتم نم چکوب اظهار استعداد نظم ایتدی. و اول محفلك هوای اختلا طلدن گلهن جهلتم سر سبز اولوب مزرعه مزاجمده گل مداق شعر بتدی. (۱)

He became distraught like the nightingale, and found that his nature enabled him to warble to these roses. The crescent moon of poetry rose with the radiance of passion kindled by these sun-bright beauties, and waxed greater day by day until the light of its beams reached far and wide.

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuzûlî, Istanbul 1891, Preface, p. 4.

"لاجرم مذهب شیدا گهی سرمست اولدم و اول گلزه تارشو ترنم ایتمکه استعداد فطرتدن رخصت بولدم. افق طهمنده هلال موزونیت طلوع ایدوب اول خورشید وشلردن اقتباس نور شوق ایتمکمن گون گوندن بر فایقده متزاید اولدیکه آز مدتده اشعه انوار نظم ایله چوق شهرلر دولدی." (1)

He then adds that while his fame and reputation were ever on the increase, he realized that he must study to acquire all manner of learning and science; for poetry without learning is like a wall without a foundation. In order that he might adorn his poetry with the pearls of knowledge, he spent a considerable time learning the various sciences.

"زیرا که علمز شعر اساسی یوق دیوار گهی اولور. و اساسز دیوار قایمده بی اعتبار اولور. بایه شهرمی حلیه علمدن محرا اولمغی موجب اهانت بهلوب علمز شعردن تالب بی روح گهی تنفر قهلوب بر مدت نقد حیاتم صرف اکتساب فنون علم عقلی و نقلی و حاصل عمرم بذل اقتباس فوائد حکمی و هندسی قهلمغین مرور ایله لآلی اصناف هنردن شاهد نظمه بیرایه لر مرتب قهلدم." (2)

---

1. KullIyāt-IDIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, Preface, p. 4.
2. KullIyāt-IDIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 5.

In the preface to his Persian Dīvān, he again declares that although this passion for poetry was a desirable merit, yet acquisition of wide learning remained necessary.

"که چون در هنگام صبوت نظر اعتبار بکارخانه عالم انداختم و شاهد اکتساب معارفرا منظور و معشوق خود ساختم. در اثنای آن مشتغلی گاهی محرک شوق فطری بر روی استعدادم ابواب محبت نظم میگشود اما فیرت همت اکتساب معارف مانع می نمود که این جمله اگرچه مرغوبست چون مانع تحصیل کمال علم می شود نه خوبست." (1)

Fuḍūlī thus started writing poetry during his childhood while still at school, probably in Baghdād which was then a considerable centre of culture and learning. He had already won quite a reputation as a young littérateur and religious scholar when the Ṣafavid Shāh Ismā'īl captured the city in 914/1508. He dedicated to Shāh Ismā'īl his first masnavī, the Turkish Bang-u Bāda, thereby demonstrating his respect and allegiance to this Shī'ite ruler.

---

1. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazlo̍ğlu, Ankara 1962, p.4.

مجلس افروز بزمگاه خلیل
جم ایام شاه اسماعیل
آندن آسوده در غنی و گدا
خلد الله ملکه ابدا

The feast-brightener of the banquet-hall of
(God's) friend (i.e.Abraham)(1)
The Jam(shīd) of the age, Shāh IsmĀ'Il.
At rest through him are rich and poor,
May God perpetuated his kingdom to eternity. (2)

FuẓūlI then set to work and studied the IslĀmic and other sciences until, as he himself says, he was at length able to adorn his poems with the pearls of knowledge. 'AhdI relates that FuẓūlI was highly accomplished, being well versed in mathematics and astronomy. AmIn Aḥmad RĀzI in Haft IqlIm speaks of FuẓūlI being the most intelligent, learned and erudite of the recent poets.

When ShĀh IsmĀ'Il took possession of BaghdĀd, he reorganized the administration of the province, placing it under the authority of a governor (VĀlI or PĀshĀ), a Chief Fiscal Officer (DaftardĀr), and a Judge (QĀḍI). FuẓūlI enjoyed the patronage of the Ṣafavid VĀlI of BaghdĀd, IbrĀhIm KhĀn Mawṣillū, and dedicated qaṣIdas to him. During this period of FuẓūlI's lifetime, BaghdĀd

---

1. Q.2, Ṣūrat al-AnbIyĀ, verse 58.
2. Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol. III, p. 707.

was torn between two conflicting currents and became a battlefield between ShI'ites and Sunnites. When the Ottoman Turks entered BaghdĀd headed by the Sunnite SultĀn SulaymĀn in 941/1534, FuẓūlI did not find it strange. Evidently feeling no embarrassment at the change of administration, he did not hesitate to address a famous eulogy to SulaymĀn the Magnificent. At this time FuẓūlI met two poets who had participated in the Ottoman campaign, KhayĀlI (d. 964/1557) and TashlIjālI YaḥyĀ (d. 990/1582), and held literary discussions with them while they were in 'IrĀq.

FuẓūlI spent a large portion of his long life in employment at the shrine of the ImĀm 'AlI (al-'Atabā al-'AlIya) at Najaf. He was obliged to do so because he did not receive the appreciation which he deserved from the contemporary rulers; and this troubled him a great deal. His difficulties prompted him to write one of his best known letters, the ShikĀyatnĀma.(1) During SultĀn SulaymĀn's stay in BaghdĀd, FuẓūlI had been promised a pension payable from the vaqf funds, and he wrote this letter to the NishānjI PĀshĀ (head of the provincial chancellery) JalĀlzĀda MuṣṭafĀ ChalabI,

---

1. A. Karahan, Fuzuli'nin Mektupları, Şikayetname, Istanbul 1948, pp. 55-62. (Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyat Dergisi No.4).

protesting against the refusal of the local authorities to comply with the Sultān's instructions.

Fuḍūlī led a very peaceful and uneventful existence, keeping away from political and social involvements. He seems to have preferred the withdrawn existence of a man weary of the world's tumult and confusion. On the other hand he was keenly interested in problems of social life.

Although in his poems he speaks longingly of travel, he never in his life went beyond the limits of his native province of the Arab 'Irāq. In his youth he hoped to visit Tabrīz and in his mature age to go to India and Asia Minor. As he says in his Persian Dīvān:

بغداد را نخواست فضولی مگر دلت کاهنگ عیش خانه تبریز کردهٔ (۱)

"Fuḍūlī, your heart did not choose Baghdād;
It longed to enjoy life at Tabrīz."

Sometimes Fuḍūlī speaks of his loneliness and complains that there is no one to be near him and to take pity on him. The only known member of his family is his son Faḍlī Chalabī;(2)

---

1. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Naziočlu, Ankara 1962, p. 561.
2. 'Ahdī, Gulshan-i Shu'arā, Baghdād 971/1563, pp. 86-7;
   Ismail Hikmet Ertaylan, Azerbaycan Edebiyati Tarihi, Bākū 1926, Vol.2, pp. 146-153;
   A. Karahan, Fuzuli, Muhiti, Hayati ve gahsiyeti, Istanbul 1949, pp. 62, 69, 108, 137, 214, 279.

who lived in seclusion at BaghdĀd and also wrote in the three languages (Turkish, Persian and Arabic). He is not recorded as a great poet or man of letters.

'AhdI describes FużUlI as "a good-natured old man", and FużUlI himself mentions that he lived long.

شدهٔ پیر فضولی ز جهان کام مجو
زود بگذر که جهان جز بجوان نیست لذیذ (1)

"You have grown old, FużUlI! Do not seek joy from the world!

Pass on quickly, because the world's delights are only for the young!"

FużUlI often expresses pessimism about life and the world. He describes his own life from the beginning to the end in the following poem.

---

1. FużUlI, Persian DIVĀn, ed. by H. KazioğLu, Ankara 1962, p. 412.

اول عمرم که هنگام سرور و ذوق بود
عاری از علم و عمل در جهل و نادانی گذشت
از طفولیت چو بگذشتم اسیر غم شدم
بعض آن هم در خیال عالم فانی گذشت
آخر عمرم که ایام صلاح است و ورع
در ندامت صرف گشت و در پشیمانی گذشت
آه از بن عمری کزو ذوقی ندیدم هیچ که
غافل از کیفیت لذات روحانی گذشت

The start of my life was a time of joy and mirth,
Free from knowledge, free from toil, spent in ignorance and inexperience.
When I passed beyond childhood I felt captive to anxieties,
Some of which lay in the transient world's illusions.
In later life, which is the time for righteousness and piety,
I passed my time in remorse and regret.
Alas for this life, in which I have never seen happiness!
Alas that I have spent it without knowing the nature of spiritual delights!

---

1. Fuzûlî, Persian DIVÂN, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 630.

According to 'AhdI, FuẓulI died and was buried at Karbalā in 963/1556, at a time when a terrible plague epidemic was spreading death throughout 'Irāq. The year 970/1562 is given as the date of his death by QinalIzāda, but is likely to be erroneous.[2] 'AhdI wrote his biography of poets at Baghdād in 971/1563-1564, and QinalIzāda (1510-1571) wrote his book a few years later. The early biographers and critics find 'AhdI's information more reliable. (1)

In my research concerning FuẓulI's life, I have found no information about his mother or his wife. Being myself a woman, I would have liked to give an important place to this subject.

Some sources state that FuẓulI was in love with his teacher's daughter, but add nothing more. He himself says that he had a son called FaẓlI; but about the boy's mother, FuẓulI's life-partner, we know nothing.

FuẓulI never mentions his beloved's name, presumably because he would have counted such a mention immodest. As he says in one of his poems:

---

1. 'AhdI wrote FuẓulI's death date (درگذشت فضولی) as ثلاث و ستین و تسعمائه Various critics have mentioned that the phrase " درگذشت فضولی" is also the chronogram of 963. (Fā'izI, Zubdat al-Ash'ar and RIyāzI, RIyāḍ al-Shu'arā.)
2. QinalIzāda Hasan ChalabI, Tazkirat al-Shu'arā, Istanbul 994/1568, p. 186. (Izmir Ali Emirî Library No. 758).

طاشه چکمش خلق ایچون فرهاد شیرین صورتن

عرض گیلمش خلقه محبوبن عجب بیمار ایمش

FarhĀd carved ShIrIn's face for the people on a rock. How extraordinarly immodest he was to show people his beloved!

We likewise know nothing about the poet's mother. All the sources are silent on this subject. No doubt their silence is a sign of the importance, or rather lack of it, which the early biographers attached to women.

It seems possible, as we shall point out below, that at least some of FużūlI's poetry is inspired by women. Is there any connection between the women who inspired his poems and the woman who shared his life? Was his wife the inspiration of any of the poems we shall read? Here again we know nothing, as the information which we possess consists only of a few unsubstantiated rumours.

Although the claim that "literature is the mirror of social life" is to some extent true of old Turkish literature, it is not wholly true, because certain principles confined this literature within narrow boundaries. One of these was the principle of not speaking openly about one's real beloved.

---

1. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i FużūlI, 1891 Istanbul, p. 157.

In the above quoted poem blaming Farhād for having carved Shīrīn's face on a rock, Fuẓūlī reflects the contemporary Muslim attitude towards women. This had not been the attitude of the Muslim Turks in the early middle ages; for example, Turkān Khātūn, the Qarakhānid princess who was the wife of the Saljūq Sulṭān Malik Shāh, played a big part in state affairs, and the Salghurid princess Abish Khātūn (daughter of Sa'd son of the Atabeg Abū Bakr ibn Zangī) reigned as queen of Fārs from 1264 to 1284.

The Persian poet Niẓāmī (c. 1140-c.1209), who was one of Fuẓūlī's models, idealized the heroines Shīrīn and Laylā and the Seven Princesses of the Haft Paykar. By Fuẓūlī's time, however, the Turks also had adopted the contemptuous attitude to women apparent in the purported saying of the Caliph 'Umar, "They are deficient in their intellects" (nāqiṣāt al-'aql). In the 16th century A.D., Turkish women were secluded and veiled in just the same way as Irānian and Arab women.

Meanwhile Turkish poetry, under the influence of the Persian ṢūfĪ poets and of the mysterious Ḥāfiẓ (c. 1325-c. 1390), had adopted the convention of seeing in human beauty a reflection of the divine beauty, and of expressing the mystic's passionate love of God in the language of love

for a human beloved. God in the anthropomorphist view (tashbIh) was seen as masculine, and in the scholastic view (tanzIh) as without gender. The Persian language has no genders, and the Persian pronoun U (,l) may mean either "he", "she" or "it". Ingenuinely mystic poetry, the beloved could not be feminine, but could only be genderless or masculine. On the other hand, the mystic element in the love poem (ghazal) tended to become merely conventional, especially after the time of Hafiz. It is therefore possible that beneath the conventional Sufi veil the real purpose of a poem may often be to express the poet's genuinely felt human love, i.e. his love for a woman.

In a discussion of FuzUlI's works we may examine four aspects of his treatment of women:

1 - Women's position in society.

2 - Women as heroines of historical and religious works.

3 - Women as heroines of romances.

4 - The woman or women in the poet's emotional and love life.

Women's position in society. In early Islamic Turkish society women (as already mentioned) had held a high status. FuzUlI's work "HadIqat al-Su'adA recognizes that in the

time of the prophet Muḥammad the Arab women, too, had a fairly high place. This position was later lost owing to misinterpretations of Qur'ānic texts by Islāmic jurists and enforcement of these misinterpretations. The low position of women in Islām affected the women of peoples who later became Muslim; and as a result Turkish women began to lose their former position in society. The earliest Islāmic works written in Turkish show, however, that on the whole women at first retained their old, respected positions, or at least appear to show this.

For example, in the "Dede Korkut" (Dede Qorqud)[1] stories Turkish womanhood retains its old status. In this work there are many passages referring to Turkish girls who ride horses, wield the sword, and take part in tournaments and wrestling matches, as well as to compassionate and self-sacrificing Turkish mothers, faithful wives and respected ladies. But works like this are unfortunately very few.

The subject of women is very rare in the Turkish literature of Fuzūlī's day. When it does appear it is

---

1. Dede Korkut Kitabi, ed. by Muharrem Ergin, Ankara, 1958, Vol I and II. Dede Korkut is a Turkish collection of twelve tales in prose, interspersed with verse passages; it is the oldest surviving specimen of the Oghuz epic and one of the most remarkable monuments of the Turkish language. The imprint of Islāmic culture on it is superficial. The pre-Islāmic elements have strong common characteristics, in expression, style and content, with Anatolian and Central Asian popular literature.

treated in a negative way. Poets often described women as "accursed", "with long hair and a short intelligence", "deceitful", "liars", and "faithless". They compared women to snakes and scorpions, regarding them as evil creatures who torture men. In this they followed the example of Persian writers such as the Vazir Niẓām al-Mulk (408-1092),(1) the theologian Ghazzālī (1058-1111),(2) and the poet Sa'dī (d. 1092),(3) who mostly speak ill of women and only seldom well.

Sometimes Fuẓūlī, too, takes this negative attitude, as in the following epithet comparing woman to the firmament (falak), i.e. to the astrological influence of the stars which does not recognize "worth and value".

متصل معرفت اهلینی ایاقلاره صالوب — فلك سفله تهلور محنت و غم پامالی
اولکه جاهلدر ایدوب جمله مرادن حاصل — اعتبار ایله تهلور مسند قدرن عالی
بوسهدن بلورم کم بو جهان‌دورتدر — عورتك بویله در اقوالی ایله افعالی
اولو اولادی کسر سوددن و تادیب و هنر — سود هروب لطفله باظر بشیکه اطفالی
(4)

---

1. Ghazzālī, Naṣīhat ul-Mulūk, tr. by F. R. C. Bagley, Oxford 1964, p. 165.
2. Niẓām al-Mulk, Siyāsat-nāmeh, tr. by H. Darke, Chapter 42, p. 185. London 1960.
3. Sa'dī, Būstān, Kulliyāt, Tehran 1965, pp. 213-413.
4. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuzūlī, Istanbul, 1891, p. 217.

The firmament makes worthy and educated people lead a life of misery and pain and at the sametime grants the ignorant all their wishes and raises them in position and favour. Fuzûlî compares the firmament to a mother with two children, and then to a woman who lavishes every care on her small child but treats the elder child harshly, as though he were a grown man.

In Fuzûlî's Rind-u Zâhid[1] we find two opposite points of view on the problems of marriage and women's position in the family. One of the heroes of the work, Zâhid, is an optimist. According to him the institution of marriage brings order to the world; marriage with a beautiful, honourable girl brings happiness in this world and next. The heart and soul are comforted by a good wife.[2] Women ensure the continuance of the race.

Fuzûlî speaks these words through the mouth of Zâhid, and a little later gives this answer to Rind: "You imagine woman's love wrongly. Your thoughts about marriage are mistaken. If women are beautiful, it is impossible to keep their love; if they are ugly to talk to them is torture. Women destroy contentment, and divorcing them

---

1. Rind-u Zâhid, ed. b. Kemal Edib Kürkçüoğlu, 1956 Ankara, p. 40.

2. We find the same view in Sa'dî's Bûstân:
"A good, pious, obedient wife makes the poor man a king."
زن خوب و فرمانبر پارسا کند مرد درویش را پادشاه

brings blame. The man who loves a woman is a fool who nurses an enemy, because women are waiting for their own lives to continue and for the death of their husbands.'

In Rind-u Zāhid Fuẓūlī defends both of these two opposing views, and it is not clear from the work which view he supports. But we can deduce from a few couplets in "Laylā va Majnūn" that he was on the side of women. In these couplets, spoken by Laylā, he expresses woman's position in society with great sincerity.

بن گوهرم اوزگه‌لر خریدار
بنده دگل اختیار بازار
دوران که بنی مزاده صالدی
بلمن کیم ایدی صاتان کیم الدی
اولسیدی بنم بر اختیارم
اولماز ایدی سندن اوزگه یارم

(1)

"Thou knowest well that I am but the jewel
Within the market, haggled for by all.
Not mine the choice of market for my wares,
For fortune blindly still the auction holds.
Tis she, not I, who blindly makes the choice
Of buyer and of seller else, be sure
That none would purchase Leyla, saving thee.
If now an accusation harsh is made." (2)

---

1. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 304.
2. Leylā va Mecnūn, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p. 147.

In that age women were bought and sold against their will and with no say in the transaction, like an article of trade. In an age when society threw women into the background, there was great value in such an open expression of women's unprivileged andunfortunate position.

Women as heroines of historical and religious works.

In Fuźulī's works women sometimes appear as heroines of historical romances. In "Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā" the names of such woman and their adventures are frequently encountered. In some couplets he expresses his opinion of them, even though the words may be put in the mouths of others.

In the eulogy at the beginning of his Turkish Dīvān, Eve, the first woman to be created, is mentioned together with Adam.

حساب روزی تیلدش تمام بشرك هلوز آدم بیوند کلمد بن سوا

(1)

"Before Adam met Eve, He (God) calculated all man's livelihood."

Fuźulī also recounts the lives of Adam and Eve in the stories of the fall of men. At the beginning of "Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā" there is a speech in the mouth of the door-keeper of paradise, at the point where the beauty of love is presented to Adam in the form of the forbidden tree:

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuźulī, Istanbul 1891, p. 12.

ای آدم بو عروس زیبانك حلیه زینتی گوهر اشك چشم پر نمدر
وبو منظره رعنانك زیور بهجتی یاقوت شعله آتش آه دمادمدر
(1)

"Oh Adam, the adornments of this radiant bride are
the jewel-like tears flowing from her damp eyes.
The beauty in this woman's face is the light from
the fire of her perpetual sighs."

Later Fuẓūlī discusses the separation between Adam and Eve.

In the tale of Ibrāhīm Khalīlullāh (Abraham, the friend of God) and Ismā'īl", Fuẓūlī describes Hajar (Hagar) as a compassionate wife and mother. When relating how Ismā'īl was to be sacrificed by Abraham, he approaches the subject from the angle of a mother's sensibilities:

خلیل کاذب دگلدر فرمان آلله بو خصوصده صدور بولوب جانب حقدن
اشارت بویله اولدیسه زلال تیغ بلا چشمه آب بقادر و قطره خون
اسمعیل لاله گلزار عز و طادر .

جانلا بزدن اگر خشنود اوله جانانز جانه منّتدر آنك قربانی اولسون جانز
(2)

Since women are known for their compassion, and their patience and steadfastness are weak, Hagar would be grieved by the news she hears and prevent Abraham from setting out.

---

1 and 2. Fuẓūlī, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Istanbul, 1872, pp. 12,22.

He does not falter in recognising Hagar as a woman who trusts her husband's words, obeys the commands of God, and is not deceived by Satan. In reply to Satan she says: "Abraham is not a liar. If God wishes this and is pleased that we should give our life, let our life be sacrificed."

The first woman mentioned in the story of Joseph in Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā is Joseph's faithful sister, Dunyā. This girl saw her brother's fate in a dream, and tried to prevent his setting out. The second woman in the story is Zulaykhā (Potiphar's wife). Here the poet recounts Zulaykhā's passion for Joseph, and the punishments befitting him for rejecting her.

Mary, the mother of Jesus, is frequently mentioned in Fuzūlī's poems, and he refers to Jesus as 'Isā-yi Maryam (Jesus son of Mary).

قصد قتل عیسی مریم تلد یتی ساعت یهود ایلمشدی مضطرب آنی مبرد بیم جان
(2)

"When the Jews plotted to kill Mary's Jesus, she was terrified".

In the story of "Zacharias and John"(2) he mentions

---

1. Fuzūlī, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Istanbul 1872, p. 45.
2. Ibid., p. 47.

the beautiful but cruel woman[1] who wanted John's head as a fulfilment of her wishes.

Fuzūlī gives the place of honour in Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā to Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet.[2] The work is full of events involving her, not only in the section on her own life, but scattered throughout. He gives her these attributes: "The sun in the sign of chastity", the most virtuous of the women who will enter paradise, the mother of nobles. He speaks of Fāṭima at great length, of her virtues as a child, a wife and a woman, and her griefs and human feelings. In one place he writes:

کیدر آیا بوکه نوریله منور اولدی جهان
مه رخساره در دیدهٔ دوران نگران
اوزی سروری قد ی دلبر روشی جان پرور
اوتورر شمع دورر سرو یورر روح روان
(3)

"Who is this woman whose radiance lit the world? She is an angel, a great beauty whose movements touch the soul. When she sits she is like a candle, when she stands, a cypress, when she walks, a flowing soul."

---

1. Salome in the Christian legends.
2. Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet and wife of 'Alī, is a representative figure beloved by all Muslims, and in her simple and modest womanhood she becomes the model of the true Muslim woman. In Shī'ite piety she is dear to the Muslim from three points of view; as a daughter of the Prophet, wife of his most beloved cousin, and mother of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. Maryam (Mary) is dear to the faithful in connection with her son Christ.
3. Fuzūlī, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Istanbul, 1872, p. 101.

Women as heroines of romances.

ShIrIn and LaylĀ, the favourite heroines of Turkish MasnavI literature, are met with frequently in FuẒŪlI's works. They are usually mentioned in connection with their loves, for FarhĀd and for MajnŪn respectively.

For example:

قیل تاخر کیم سنك وار بنم تك عاشقك

لیلی نك مجنونی شیرینك اگر فرهادی وار
(1)

"If LaylĀ has her MajnŪn and ShIrIn her FarhĀd,
you too have a lover like me; be proud of it."

When praising BaghdĀd, FuẒŪlI says:

صحن صحرا سنده بیك لیلی و مجنون جلوه گر

کوهساری اوزره بیك فرهاد و شیرین باده خوار
(2)

"A thousand LaylĀs and MajnŪns are manifest in
its deserts; in its mountains a thousand
FarhĀds and ShIrIns drink wine."

It seems possible that these two women, especially LaylĀ, symbolize the woman FuẒŪlI loved. He writes in one poem:

---

1. KullIyyĀt-i DIvĀn-i FuẒŪlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 143.
2. Ibid., p. 26.

اسیر درد عشق و مست جام حسن چوق اما

بزر مشهور اولان لیلی سکا مجنون بکا دیرلر (1)

"Many are prisoners of love's grief, and drunk with the goblet of beauty. But we are the most famous; they call you Laylā and me Majnūn."

In his famous Turkish <u>maşnavI</u> "<u>Laylā va Majnūn</u>", FuẓūlI enlarges on his ideal of Laylā. In medieval Turkish literature the beloved is usually portrayed in such a way that it is not clear whether a man or a woman is meant. But the Laylā of FuẓūlI's works is a woman, with all the attributes of a woman. When describing this work (in Chapter VI) we shall explain how he portrays women's feelings in a quite realistic way, giving a place to descriptions of maternal feelings and woman's love.

<u>The woman or women in FuẓūlI's life</u>.

We have only rumours about the woman who shared FuẓūlI's life. According to Abū'l-ŻIyā (Ebū-s-ZIyā),(2) FuẓūlI was in love with his teacher's daughter, and wrote this beautiful and sincere quatrain for her:

---

1. <u>KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI</u>, Istanbul, 1891, p. 142.

2. Abū'l-Żiyā Tawfiq, <u>Numūna-yi Adabiyāt</u>, Istanbul 1879, P. 27.

پریشان حالك اولدم صور مدن حال پریشانم

نیکدن درده دوشدم قیلمدك تدبیر درمانم

نه دیرسن روزگارم بویله ن گچسون گوزل خانم

گوزم جانم افندم سودیگم دولتلو سلطانم (1)

"I became distraught for you. You did not ask about my distress. I fell into sorrow through grief for you. You did not care about my grief. May my life pass thus, O my beauty, my care, ruler of my soul, the Sulṭān whom I love."

Did FuẑūlI love a single woman all his life, or did many beauties rule him? We do not know. The information gleaned from his poems makes us hesitate. In some couplets he speaks of several beloveds.

من و عشق بتان تا زنده‌ام حاشا که بگذارم

طریق عاشقان و زاهدان خود نباشم (2)

"I will love idols as long as I remain alive. I will never abandon the way of lovers, never go the way of the pretended ascetics."

---

1. KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FuẑūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 210.
2. FuẑūlI, Persian DIvān, ed. by H. Vaziloğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 155.

Sometimes Fuḍulī tries to prove to us that he is a steadfast lover, for example when he says:

ز ازل در دل من بود فضولی غم عشق

فلك آشفته بدینسان نه کنون کرد مرا (1)

"From all eternity the grief of love has existed in my heart. Heaven has troubled me with love-griefs from all eternity, not just now."

In another couplet he seems to be in love again and says:

رسته بودم ز گرفتاری شیرین دهنان

باز لعل تو مقید بفسون کرد مرا (2)

"I had a rest from the griefs of love for sweet-spoken beauties. Your ruby lips enchanted me anew."(3)

Sometimes he suggests that he speaks of several beloveds because he does not want anybody to know his own beloved.

---

1. Fuḍulī, Persian Divān, ed. H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.255.

2. Ibid., p. 255.

3. In Fuzūlī's poems we come across epithets such as these for his beloved: idol = بت, sweet speaker = شیرین دهن, gay = شوخ, angel-face = پری چهره, rose-face = گلرخ

شمع من یاد تو تنها نیست دور از طعنه

می کنم ذکر بتان تا در میان گویم ترا (1)

"My candle does not burn just for you, no insult meant!
I mention idols so that among them I may speak of you."

Or in the following verse:

فضولی سوخت بر تن داغهای تازه سر تا پا

(2) که نشناسند در کوی تو از داغ کهن او را

"FużulI's body is scarred all over with new burns of grief,
So that the people in your street shall not recognise him by his old brands."

Maybe FużulI's beloved was a black-eyed beauty, as he says:

فغان که آرزوی وصل آن دو چشم سیاه

چو میل سرمه بخاک سیه نشاند مرا (3)

"Alas, my longing to win that black-eyed beauty
Is like a collyrium-pencil; it is plunging me into the black earth." (4)

---

1. FużulI, Persian DIvAn, ed. H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 257.
2. Ibid., p. 257.
3. Ibid., p. 249.
4. Collyrium is a salve used by Eastern women to impart a dark blue or black tinge to the eyelids. It was kept in a leather container having a shape thought to resemble the shape of the grave.

Passages such as these do not enable us to arrive at any exact conclusion about FuzūlI's mother, wife and beloveds. Although the words may be merely conventional and artistic, they seem to us more likely to be expressions of real feeling.

CHAPTER III

Fuẓūlī's Nationality.

Some writers, without adducing any proofs or sources, have claimed that Fuẓūlī was of Kurdish or Persian extraction. Rizā Tawfīq (Tevfik) (b. 1868) in a lecture at Istanbul University on 30 March, 1922 said that Fuẓūlī was Persian, and Huart[1] and Krimskiy[2] stated that Fuẓūlī's origin was Kurdish; but they did not substantiate their claims.

Fuẓūlī in his poetical works used three languages; Arabic, Persian and Turkish. In his day, Arabic was the language of science, and he was familiar with all the branches of science then known. The poetic language in 'Irāq at that time was Persian.[3]

According to his own testimony, his mother tongue was Turkish; and his Turkish origin is vouched for by reliable contemporary sources.

---

1. Encyclopédie de l'Islam, Paris 1927, Vol. II, p. 131.

2. Krimskiy, Turtsii i eya literaturi ot ratzsveta do nacala upadka, (Turkey and the History of Turkish Literature), Moskova 1910, p. 132. (M.Cumbur, Fuzûlî Hakkinda Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi, Istanbul 1956, p.133.)

3. The Persian satirical poet 'Ubayd Zākānī (d. 772/1371) spent much of his career at Baghdād in the service of the Jalā'irid Sulṭān Uvays.

Ṣādiqī (b. 1533),[1] who was a contemporary, in his biographical memoir of the poet, describes him as belonging to the Bayāt tribe, and thus leaves no room for doubt as to his Turkish nationality. Another contemporary biographer, Nidā'ī Chalabī (16th century),[2] describes Fużūlī as a member of the Aq Qoyunlu Turkmāns.

Old dictionaries, such as the Dīvān-i Luġhāt-i Turkī, Shajara-yi Turk, Lahja-yi 'Uthmānī, and Qāmūs, call the Bayāt tribe a Turkish tribe. Faruk Sümer has written articles in the Encyclopaedia of Islam[3] and the Türk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi[4] about this tribe, which, he says, is an Oguz (Turkmān) tribe. "There were Bayāt in Turkey and among the Türkmens in northern Syria. From the beginning of the 9th/15th century onwards, the Northern Syrian Bayāt began to figure in the activities of the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu. Bayāts went to Iran from Syria with the Aḳ Ḳoyunlu conquest." Sümer adds: "One of the clans of the famous Kādjār tribe was

---

1. Sādiqī, Majma'u'l-Khawāss, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 4085, 33-34.
2. Agah Sirri Levend, an article in Sadirvan, weekly review, Istanbul, April 1949, No.1, p. 5.
3. Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Leiden 1960, Vol. I, Fasc. 18, p. 1117, article Bayat.
4. Türk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi, Vol. IV, Istanbul 1952, pp. 373-398.

the Shām Bayāt. In fact, as shown by names of its clans, the Kādjār tribe has its origin in Turkey. Some Bayāt are also found in 'Irāḳ, particularly around Kirkuk. The castle called Bayāt south of Baghdād quite probably takes its name from them. This tribe produced a number of famous men; Korkut Ata (Dede Korkut), and FuẒŪLĪ were of this tribe."

However, it is preferable to speak of FuẒŪLĪ as we know of him from his own words. In the preface to his Persian DĪVĀN he says:

"گاهی با شعار عربی پرداختم و فصحای عرب را بفنون تازی فی الجمله محفوظ ساختم و آن بر من آسان نمود زیرا زبان مباحثه طبی من بود و گاهی در میدان ترکی سمند طبیعت دواندم و ظریفان ترک را بلطافت گفتار ترکی ممنون رسانیدم. آن نیز چندان تشویشم نداد. چون بسلیقه اصلی من موافق افتاد و گاهی برشته عبارت فارسی گهر کشیدم و از ان شاخسار میوه کام دل چیدم." (1)

"Sometimes I devoted myself to Arabic poems, and this seemed easy for me, because Arabic was my language of scientific discussion. Sometimes I rode the bay-horse of my own nature in the hippodrome of Turkish, and gave pleasure to the Turkish men of wit with the subtleties of the Turkish

---

1. FuẒŪLĪ, Persian DĪVĀN, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 9.

language; nor did this cause me much trouble either, because it accorded with my innate disposition. At other times I arranged pearls on the string of Persian phrases and gathered the fruit of my heart's desire from that orchard."

The expression "in accordance with my innate disposition" (bi-mallqa-yi aslI-yi man muvāfiq) which the poet uses in mentioning Turkish, is a clear indication that this was his mother tongue.

In the preface to his Turkish DIvān,(1) FuzūlI mentions that he attempted to collect "a dIvān consisting of the fragmentary lyric poems written in my boyhood." The fact that he wrote poems in Turkish in his early youth is another strong proof that his native language was Turkish.

FuzūlI not only did not neglect the Turkish language, but showed a devotion and respect for the Turks which he did not show for any other nation. For example, he says: "The highly valued Turkish men are the greatest element in the world's composition, and are the highest class of mankind."(2)

---

1. KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FuzūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 6.

2. FuzūlI, Hadīqat al-Su'adā, (The Garden of the Fortunate), Istanbul 1872, Preface, p.7.

FuḍūlI's Religion.

The Sunnite-ShI'ite division is almost as old as IslĀm itself. In 'IrĀq, Sunnism and ShI'ism have been long about equal in number of adherents. The rivalry between the two groups has given a special character to the country's history, and the division continues to complicate the social, economic, and political life of the nation.

After the death of the Second Caliph 'Umar and the political quarrels which came to a head in the time of 'UthmĀn, worldly power passed into the hands of Mu'Āviya and his successors of the Umayyad Arab dynasty. With the defeat and death of the Prophet's cousin 'AlI and the latter's son Ḥusayn, the Arabs under Umayyad leadership were able to keep the whole IslĀmic world under their domination for almost a century. The Persians, with an older civilization, gradually accepted IslĀm but determinedly defended their individual national identity. One way in which some of the Persians did this was through the medium of ShI'ism, which consisted essentially of loyalty to the Prophet's family and to the memory of 'AlI and Ḥusayn. Although the Umayyads, who had made Damascus and Syria their centre, fell in the year 750, giving way

to the more tolerant caliphate of the 'Abbāsids, who chose Baghdād for their capital in 762, Shī'ism remained alive through the following centuries as a strong force of religious and political opposition. Moreover, from time to time a number of dynasties adopted it as their state religion.

In Fuḍūlī's lifetime, we see Baghdād torn between the two conflicting currents and becoming a battlefield in wars between the Shī'ites of Irān and the Ottoman Turks who held to a kind of Islāmic internationalism. At the beginning of the 16th century, Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī, himself Turkish-speaking though claiming descent from 'Alī and Ḥusayn, seized the throne of Persia; and he supported the Shī'ites, thus becoming an adversary of the Sunnite Ottoman Sulṭāns. In the resultant wars, the Arab 'Irāq was one of the main battle zones. Fuḍūlī speaks bitterly of this unrest and endless trouble.

The dominant note in Fuḍūlī's works is discontent with his own time. He had no patience with unjust dealings, and always, throughout his life, condemned such acts whether they came from Shī'ites or Sunnites. While he evidently sympathized with the Shī'ite way of the Irānians in so far as they based their policy on devotion, we may surmise that

he disapproved of the unjust attitude taken by the Ṣafavīd régime towards Sunnites.(1) When the Ottoman Turks under Sulaymān the Magnificent entered Baghdād, Fuẓūlī did not find it strange. To dismiss the eulogy which he wrote for Sulaymān as prompted merely by fear or by expectation of worldly reward would be out of place; for Fuẓūlī was critical of the Ottoman administrators, and wrote a "Letter of Complaint" about them, the Shikāyatnāma.

E. G. Browne, in the fourth volume of his Literary History of Persia, from time to time discusses the religious and political position assumed by the Shī'a, and sums up Ismā'īl's reign as follows: "In his reign the sword was more active than the pen."(2) J. K. Birge finds the sentence impressive because it contrasts so absolutely with the situation as it appears from the Turkish point of view

---

1. Shāh Ismā'īl after entering Baghdād in 1508 destroyed the Sunnite shrines of Abū Ḥanīfa and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī, and ordered the building of a splendid shrine at the tomb of the Seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāẓim. When Sulaymān I entered Baghdād in 1534, he restored the shrines of Abū Ḥanīfa and 'Abd al-Qādir al-Gīlānī, and also ordered the completion of the shrine of Mūsā al-Kāẓim and visited Karbalā and Najaf. Towards the Shī'ites, the Ottoman policy was tolerant. (The Last Great Muslim Empires, tr. F. R. C. Bagley, Leiden 1969, pp. 79, 80).

2. A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times, Cambridge 1924, p. 81.

expressed by Bahā Sa'Id Bey's sentence "Ismā'Il's pen was mightier than SalIm's sword."(1) Birge observes that "SalIm prepared for his campaign against Persia by a systematic attempt to destroy every believer in the ShI'I heresy. The power of the spoken and written word, the power of a faith believed with enthusiasm, all the time was working against him. He himself was a poet who used for his verse the Persian tongue, the classic literary language of the Turkish court. But IsmĀ'Il used the Turkish of the common people.(2)

---

1. Türk Yurdu, Istanbul 1927, Vol.V, No. 28, p. 319.

2. Shah IsmĀ'Il wrote Turkish religious verse under the pen-name KhaṭĀ'I. It has been edited and translated into Italian by Turkhan Gandjei, Il canzoniere di Sah IsmĀ'Il HaṭĀ'I, Naples 1959. A copy of IsmĀ'Il's dīvān is in the Ali Emiri Library No. 167 in Istanbul. Most of his poems are about 'AlI, including a long poem which describes 'AlI's heavenly ascent, and about the Twelve Imāms.

Almost all of the books on the BektĀshI and ŞurūfI dervIshes contain some of IsmĀ'Il's poems, e.g. :

I - Bektaşi Şairleri by Sadettin Nüzhet, Istanbul 1930, pp. 134-169.

II - Tekke Şiiri Antolojisi by Vasfi Mahir Kocatürk, Ankara 1955, pp. 173-179.

III - Bektaşi Tarihi by Kemal Samancioğlu, Istanbul 1945, pp. 288-305.

None of these books contains any of FuẓūlI's poems.

SalIm's dīvĀn has been translated into Turkish by Professor 'Alī Nihat Tarlan and published in Istanbul in 1946.

His doctrines he expressed in a language which moved the heart. They spread his teaching as could no power of physical force."(1)

C. Wells observes that numerous Sultans did not think it beneath their dignity to become authors themselves, and delighted especially in the society of poets, historians, and other literati. He goes so far as to maintain that "It may justly be said that the Ottoman Sultans have been the most poetical royal family in the world."(2)

FuẓūlI was in truth a devout Muslim; but neither in his own works nor in other contemporary sources is there any definite statement that he was either a ShI'ite or a Sunnite. Thus some modern writers, such as SulaymāN NaẓIf(3) and IbrāhIm 'IshqI(4), regard him as a Sunnite, while others, such as the late Professor Fuad Köprülü (1820-1966)(5) and AbdülbakI GölpinarlI(6), think that he was a ShI'ite.

---

1. The Bektashi Order of Dervishes, London 1937, p. 62-68.
2. Charles Wells, The Literature of the Turks, A Turkish Chrestomathy. London 1691, pp. 11-12.
3. SulaymāN NaẓIf, FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1925, pp. 39-54.
4. IbrāhIm 'IshqI, FuẓūlI hakkinda bir iki söz, Istanbul 1920, p. 8.
5. Fuad Köprülü, FuẓūlI KullIyāt-i, Istanbul 1924, Preface, p. 16.
6. Abdülbaki Gölpinarli, FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1948, p.1.

FuẓūlI certainly seems to have been devoted to the Prophet's family; he felt great pain at the sad fates which they met with. He tells us that whenever he himself underwent great suffering, he took spiritual refuge in 'AlI, and adds:

"Although I have followed in the footsteps of the pilgrims and Supporters (Anṣar) whose lives were so closely linked with that of the Prophet, and have undergone troubles and afflictions similar to theirs, yet do I still follow in their way."(1)

In a eulogy of 'AlI, FuẓūlI says:

صبب يوق ايلسم اكراه اهل ايماندن
جميع زمرهٔ اسلامدن اولوب بيزار
تيقده باظليم حق خدمتنه كمر
كيدوب ترك ديارينه باظليم زنار (2)

"No wonder if I despise the faithful, and am tired of all Islāmic people. I would rather not gird myself to the

---

1. KulliyāT-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 20.
2. KulliyāT-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, (qaṣīd), Istanbul 1891, p. 20.

service of the people of Najaf, but go to the land of the Franks, and there wear the ropen girdle."(1)

It may be that personal poverty as well as the instability of the times was the root cause of FużūlI's negative attitude.

Although 'AhdI says in his Gulshan-i Shu'arā that FużūlI was a devotee of some sect, and although certain modern writers from time to time tell us in their articles that FużūlI was a BektāshI(2), a ḤurūfI(3) or a BāṭinI(4), we get no definite evidence either from them or from FużūlI himself.(5) Professor Karahan has therefore concluded that: "in spite of traditions to the contrary, it is unlikely that he was a BektāshI, a ḤurūfI or a BāṭinI. On the contrary, it would be right to consider FuzūlI as standing above sects and schools in his ṢūfI approach."(6)

---

1. The zunnār; a distinctive item of dress which non-Muslim zimmīs living in Muslim lands were required to wear in the middle ages. In Turkey it was formerly worn by Christian monks.
2. 'Alī Su'ād, Seyahatlarim, Istanbul 1330/1923, pp. 100-7.
3. 'Abbās al-'Azzāvī, Tārīkh al-'Irāq, Baghdād 1939, Vol. III, p. 246.
4. A. Gölpinarli, FużūlInin Batinilige temayülü, in Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi Mecmuasi, Istanbul 1932-33, No. 8-9, p. 265-278.
5. All the writers mentioned above agree that it is difficult to form definite ideas about the beliefs of Eastern poets.
6. Abdülkadir Karahan, FuzūlI, Muhiti, Hayati ve Şahsiyeti, Istanbul 1949, p.150 and Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Vol.2, Fasc. 37, p. 937, article Fuduli.

FuŽulI's works give the impression that although he believed in canonical law, he attached even more importance to social problems. He was not an unconventional person. In general his attitude to life was serious and even severe. He despised dry piety and hypocrisy, but felt equal contempt for free and easy unconventionality.

FuẑûlI's Psychology

FuẑûlI lived like a stranger, in the rough political climate of the sixteenth century, lonely and forlorn in a land which was the bloody battlefield of religious wars. Being a man of spiritual refinement and civilized in his inner life, he could not steal away from these disquieting events or from all the social pressures of his environment. It was not possible to run away into the desert and live a bedouin's life. His voice consequently acquired a note of sadness and of rebellion against the injustice, cruelty, instability, disorder and devastation in the country where he lived. His distinctive characteristic as a poet is pathos; a tender yet passionate tone pervades his works. His treatment of the themes of love, suffering, the impermanence of this world, the emptiness of worldly favours and riches, and the inevitability of death, attain to a lyricism and directness which no other Turkish poet has reached. He never fails to convince us of his perfect sincerity and of his real earnestness of heart. When we read those sweet sad lines so full of a gentle yet intense yearning, we cannot escape the feeling that we are in the presence of one who has seen the face of sorrow close at hand. He certainly succeeds in impressing the distinctive stamp of his personality on his works.

FuẓUlI's pessimism regarding the Arabian 'IrāQ and its wandering bedouins is vividly illustrated in some of his verses. He calls 'Irāq-i 'Arab[1] "a desolate and luckless desert", "a garden of starvation."

In the Persian DIvān he says:

من ضعیف روز ی که زادم از مادر
بنهر غصه ندیدم ز چرخ کج رفتار
فکند رامی حکمت مرا بجسم ضعیف
میانه عربان درشت و ناهموار
جماعت نجس و نحس ناپسند فعال
گروه بد روش و بد مزاج و بد اطوار
(2)

"Poor me, since I was born, I have received nothing but sorrow from perverse fortune's wheel. The Shepherd of wisdom has cast me into this fragile body, in the midst of rough, unruly Arabs. Theirs is a dirty, ill-omened and disreputable community; they are an ill-mannered, ill-tempered and ill-behaved lot."

---

1. See p. 28 above.

2. FuẓUlI Persian DIvān, ed. by N. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 67.

Another cause of FuẒULI's pessimism is the atmosphere of the 'IrĀqI cities which, as he says, were surrounded by the tomb-pinnacles of the martyred victims of injustice and were not refreshed by any heart-gladdening zephyr. In like manner Sir William Temple tried to explain the connection between the variable English weather and the odd humor of Englishmen(1), and Bishop Lowth in his De sacra poesi Hebraeorum tried to explain the particular character of Hebrew poetry by the influence of the surrounding objects of nature; he found traces of Palestinian landscape in the imagery of the Bible.(2)

FuẒULI's talent, however, was not impaired by this unfavourable environment.(3) He himself in the foreword to the Turkish DIvān says:

"A country does not affect an individual's aptitude, just as gold does not lose its sheen because it is lying in dust. A fool does not become wise merely through dwelling in a city, nor a wise man a savage through abiding in a desert." Then he adds these Persian verses:

---

1. Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, Oxford 1908-09, pp. 104-5.
2. Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews (De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum) tr. from the Latin by C. Gregory, London 1847.
3. The German poet Goethe believed that the true artist must ignore his public, just as the teacher disregards the whims of his children, the physician the desires of his patients, the judge the passion of the litigating parties. (Samtliche Werke, ed. E. von der Hallen, Stuttgart 1902-07, Vol.33, p. 100.

اگر صرها مردم بد سرشت
بود همدم حوریان در بهشت
در آن محفل پر صفا روز و شب
ز جبریل خواند فنون ادب
بر آن اعتقادم که انجام کار (1)
نگردد از و جز بدی آشکار
وگر سالها گوهر تابناک
فتد خوار بی قدر بر روی خاک
بر آنم که کمتر نشهد غبار
ز خاکش بر آئینه اعتبار
چو از خاک خیزد همان گوهر است
شهانرا برازنده افسر است (2)

"An evil-natured people will produce nothing but evil, even after a lifetime in paradise consorting with ḥūrīs and learning from Gabriel. For years a shining jewel may lie humbled in the dust; but it is still worthy of a king's crown."

Fuẓūlī often complains of loneliness and isolation. In a Turkish verse he says:

---

1. In a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, supplement No. 1370, Baghdād 1672, this line has been written as follows:

به آن اعتقادم سر انجام کار

2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.6.

ای فضولی کیمه حال دلی شرح ایده‌یم
یوق بنم کیمی یانن آتش هجران ایچره (1)

"O FużūlI, to whom shall I tell my heart's complaint?
There is no one afflicted as I am with the flame of
separation."

As Doç. Dr. M. Ergin remarks, if FużūlI had not been beset by endless troubles, he would not have become a FużūlI.(2) Perhaps this is why he has no forerunner or successor. His genius may justly be called higher in the intensity of its pathos.

Again, FużūlI's self-confidence and the steadfastness of his personality were not affected by this feeling of loneliness. He often declares his complete disinterest in worldly riches or power. His only wish is for peace and tranquillity in this world. He gives utterance to the pride which he felt in his poverty when he says in the Turkish DIvAn:

نه ملك و مال بكا چرخ ويرسه مغرورم
نه ملك و مالدن آزاده تهلسه محزونم (3)

---

1. KullIyAt-i DIvAn-i FużūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 192.
2. Tarih Mecmuasi, Istanbul 1968, No.2, p.18.
3. KullIyAt-i DIvAn-i FużūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 205.

"Should Fortune bestow on me wealth and worldly goods,
I would not be glad.
Were it to free me from all wealth and worldly goods,
I would not be sad."

The sensitive FuZULI experienced everything deeply and intensely. He has embraced everything and rejected it all as unworthy and trivial. There was nothing more for him to see, to experience, or to hope. Human life is woven of grief and tedium, and man only finds rest from one of these woes by falling into the other. Tedium invades all things. The intervals in human life between pleasure and pain are filled by tedium, which is also a passion, no less than suffering and delight. Not just for FuZULI, but for most Eastern poets, life was nothing. Yet they loved life and lived it intensely and were happy; by employing their imagination they veiled the ugliness of reality with beautiful illusions which made life for them worth living. Upon life, which was believed to be absolutely and necessarily worthless, they conferred an imaginary value by means of their ideals. Love in their poetry is a complete justification of life and makes the acutest pain worth while.

In FuZULI's opinion, love is the only reality which has permanent existence in this transitory world and is

the only solid thing in this fluid universe. In his desperate need for spiritual relief, he sought something outside himself to which he could completely surrender his very being, and he found it in his faith in love. When we read his love poems, we feel their naturalness, and can guess that maybe once there had been someone whom the poet loved and through his pure love invested with all that he could conceive of grace and beauty. Yet he always idealizes love, and in his account of the romance of Laylā and Majnūn he even causes the lover to become incapable of recognising the beloved. For him love is separation and suffering.(1)

Since Fuẓūlī was at the same time interested in problems of social life, it is unlikely that he was a mystic and nothing more. The mystical air which we sometimes sense in his works is rather an expression of his personal desire to keep away from active participation in worldly life.

---

1. A. M. D. Hughes points out that even if a poet was not in reality very susceptible to the physical charms of real women, he may rise in his poetry to a genuine romantic passion. In this connection, Hughes discusses the fact that psycho-analysts find a feminine element in the work of some artists such as Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Tchaikovski, and also of some writers such as Shelley. Referring to Shelley's melancholy and solitude, he surmises that if Shelley had lived a few more years, he would either have been driven into some serious and final neurosis, or would have become one of the greater mystics. (The Nascent Mind of Shelley, by A.M.D. Hughes, Oxford 1947, p. 264).

In a Turkish <u>qaṣīda</u> (eulogy) written for the Governor of Baghdād, Muḥammad (Mehmed) Pāshā, Fużūlī first tells how the people were divided into two classes, lower and upper; then, how prophets and rulers were sent so that no harm should come to the lower class from the upper; that without the existence of power, there would be no order in the world; and that if the man of power were to see that harm would come to the moth from the candle, he would snuff out the flame even though he himself should be plunged in darkness. Fużūlī frowned upon cruel rulers who, after wronging the people and seizing their money, turned and scattered favours and benevolences.(1)

Fużūlī regarded the pay which Sulṭāns gave their armies to conquer other countries as a bribe. In fortune's ever-changing rotation, he says, neither the country, nor the conquering armies, nor even the ruler himself, can hold on to anything permanent.(2)

---

1. <u>Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī</u>, Istanbul 1891, p. 215 and p. 68.

ظلم ایله آنچه‌لر آلوب ظالم ایلر انعام خلقه منّت ایله
یلمز آنی که ایتریکی ظلمه گو رجکدر جزا مذلّت ایله

2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 217.

پادشاه ملك دینار و درم رشوت ویروب فتح کشور تهلکه ایلر سپاه لشگری
یوز فساد و فتنه تحریکله هر کشور آلور اول دنی آثار امن و استقامتدن بری
گوستر ن ساعتده دوران ملك هر انقلاب هم اوزی فانی اولور هم لشگری هم کشوری

FuŝULI particularly disliked ignorant scribes, unskilled reciters, and envious detractors. The fact that men of learning could be instruments of cruelty was particularly repugnant to him. He would not admit the wicked to the sanctuary of true learning. To him iniquities of the learned were the greatest cause of the wickedness of the time.

ای معلم آلت تزویر در اشرار علم
قیله اهل ظلمه تعلیم معارف زینهار (1)

"O teacher, learning is an instrument of deceit for the wicked.

Beware, and teach not learning to men of cruelty."

Sometimes in his verses FuŝULI combines criticism with delicate and pleasing satire. Criticizing preachers in his Turkish DIVÂN, he says:

می مغنی ایلیوب شعار ای واعظ
دوشمك ره طعن عشق یار ای واعظ
ترك می و محبوب ایدرز جنت ایچون
شرح ایله که جنگه نه وار ای واعظ (2)

---

1. KULLIYÂT-I DIVÂN-I FUŝULI, Istanbul 1891, p. 213.
2. Ibid., p. 223.

"O preacher, your slogan is prohibition of wine,
You choose to censure love.
If for the sake of Paradise,
We do abandon the wine and our loved one
Tell us, what does go on in Paradise?"

From his Persian DIvān:

برندان از جهنم میدهد دایم خبر واعظ
مگر مخلوق ندیده در جهان جای دیگر واعظ (1)

"The Preacher is always giving information about Hell
to (us) reprobates;
Can he see absolutely no other place in the universe?"

FużulI often says that he did not write panegyric or invective, that he was in love, and that his only purpose was the purpose of a lover;

بندن فضولی ایسته اشعار مدح و ذم
بن عاشقم همیشه سوزم عاشقانه در (2)

Nevertheless we come to the conclusion that FużulI walked in the streets of his home town, loved, and suffered, had financial troubles and hoped for gifts from the great. His experience and his expression are within the framework

---

1. FużulI, Persian DIvān, ed. by H. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 436.
2. KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FuzulI, Istanbul 1891, p. 141.

of the time when he lived, and of its people and tastes.

What made Shakespeare so great a writer, Matthew Arnold thinks, "was not books and study; it was society, in the fullest measure, permeated by fresh thought, intelligent and alive. The poet lived in a time of glowing national energy and in a current of ideas in the highest degree animating and nourishing to the creative power."(1)

We therefore must not think of a poet as an abnormal person separated from his environment, living an inner life unrelated to the outside world, closing his eyes to his surroundings. However idealistic the poet, he cannot separate himself from the society in which he lives and the sensibilities of this society. The events around must have effects on his psychology; and this must be the reason why Fuźūlī became a melancholic poet.

---

1. Matthew Arnold, The Decline of English Romanticism, Criticism and Philosophy, Oxford 1962, p. 68.

FużUlI's Language

Linguistic theories can play an important part in the study of past and present poetry. The literary history of certain periods would gain by an analysis of the linguistic milieu at least as much as by the usual analyses of political, social, and religious tendencies and of the country and climate.

F. W. Bateson has argued that literature is a part of the general history of language and is completely dependent on it. "My thesis," he says, "is that the age's imprint in a poem is not to be traced to the poet but to the language. The real history of poetry is, I believe, the history of the changes in the kind of language in which successive poems have been written."(1)

FuŽUlI was a brilliant linguist. No fault can be found with the language and technique of his Arabic poems. Nevertheless in feeling these are overshadowed by his works in Persian and Turkish. It is true that his Persian poems in spite of their technical brilliance and richness of content cannot compete with the great master-pieces of Persian literature, in which FuŽUlI is ranked

---

1. F. W. Bateson, English Poetry and the English language, Oxford 1934, p.vi.

only as a better than average second class poet. That his standing in the Persian Parnassus is not high as it should be is due rather to the greater competition and standard of excellence prevailing there than to any lack of skill on his part in the use of the Persian language.(1) In Turkish literature, however, he ranks with the greatest.

FuzūlI's Turkish has the characteristics of literary AgarI and shows certain differences from Anatolian Turkish. This is true both of his grammar and of his vocabulary.

The word AgarI, which means "pertaining to AgarbāIjān",(2) has been used to denote various ethnic groups from the 10th century onwards. It was applied not only to the people of AgarbāIjān but also to the Turkish populations of Khurāsān, Astarābād, Hamadān and other parts of Persia, Dāghistān and Georgia.

AgarI Turkish has long maintained its identity as a literary language. According to the latest morphological classification of the Turkish dialects, it forms part of the "Southern Turkish" group, along with the Turkish of Anatolia, Türkmenistan, the Balkan peninsula and the Crimean littoral.

The differences between AgarI Turkish and Anatolian

---

1. Khanbaba Moshar, Mu'allifin-i Kutub-i Chāpi-ye Fārisi va 'ArabI, Tehran 1964, Vol. VI, p. 507.
2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Vol.I, Fasciculus 3 and 4, p. 192.

Turkish are slight. NasImI, the great mystic who was flayed alive at Aleppo in 807/1404, KhaṭA'I (the pseudonym of ShEh IsmA'Il the founder of the Ṣafavid dynasty), and FuẓUlI are the outstanding figures in early AzarI literature. They opened a new period by their endeavour to escape from the Perso-Arabic vocabulary.

Professor Fuad KÖprÜlÜ[1] regards FuẓUlI as common to both ĀzarI and Ottoman literature. Gibb[2] reckons him an Osmanli in a political sense, but adds: "But for SulaymAn's timely occupation of BaghdAd he would not have been reckoned among the Ottoman poets, and the literary history of the nation would have been the poorer by one great name which it could ill afford to lose."

According to Gibb, FuẓUlI's dialect stands between the Ottoman of Anatolia and the ChaghatAy of Central Asia. He praises the harmony of FuẓUlI's language. Although we frequently come across Persian idioms and constructions, this was because he could not wholly escape the spirit of his time;[3] but his work presents itself in a different light. His ideas, his plain-spoken poems, his unique style, and his dialect, mark him out from the mass of his

---

1. Fuad KÖprÜlÜ, Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1945, Vol.IV, pp. 686-699.
2. E. J. W. Gibb, History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, pp. 70-107.
3. Professor A. H. Tampinar, Fuzuli, Istanbul 1959, pp.18-32.

contemporaries. His verses are not adorned with words and phrases like those used by Istanbul court poets such as BÂqÎ (933/1526-1008/1600), because his world was so very different. BÂqÎ is an artist in words; his DÎvan is full of wealth, prosperity, precious stones, wine, flowers and spring. FuÛûlÎ's vocabulary mirrors poverty, suffering, and loneliness. In the preface of his Turkish DÎvÂn FuÛûlÎ writes:

" توقع بودر صوبا اهالی مز و امتاردن خصوصا بلغای روم و فصحای تاتاردن
که اگر شاهد حسن عبار تده اول دیارك الفاظ و عبار اطرندن زیور
اولسه و منذره نظم اول ملکرك لطایف و خوب المثالرندن زیب بولسه
معذور سورلر زیرا هر مملکتك اهلنه عاریتدن عار کلور . " (1)

"I hope that the notables and the prominent people, especially the eloquent persons of RÛm, and the rhetoricians of the TÂtÂrs, will excuse me if my verses are not adorned with the words and phrases of those realms, and bedecked with the witticisms and proverbs of those countries; for the people of every land look upon borrowing as a disgrace."

---

1. KulliyÂt-i DÎvÂn-i FuÛûlÎ, Istanbul 1891, p.6.

Professor H. Mazioğlu thinks that FuẒUlY's dialect gives his poems a special charm which is unique in Ottoman poetry. Later Ottoman poets were very fond of using his words in their poems and often took pains to imitate him.(1)

Professor A. Caferoğlu(2) states that after FuẒUlY, the course taken by writers of ĀzarY was towards the language and literature of the people. This new development continued through the 17th and 18th centuries. Classical (ĀzarY) literature began to develop side by side with the literature of the people in the semi-independent KhĀnates. Among the products of this folk-literature were romantic poems such as Kūr-oghlu, AslY va Karam. This genre, known as 'Āshiq literature, made great advances in ĀzarbĀYjĀn and formed a bridge between the classical literary language and the local dialects. The progress made by folk-literature had its effect on the development of the classical literature, as is particularly evident in the language of the 17th and 18th century (ĀzarY) poets ShIrvĀnY and Vāqif (1717-97). Some of them who were steeped in the 'Āshiq literature secured a large public for their poems among the broad mass of the people. Vāqif is considered the founder of the modern school. He chose his themes

---

1. Professor H. Mazioğlu, Fuzūli-Hāfiz, Ankara 1959, p. 354.
2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Vol.I, Fascicules 3 and 4, pp. 192-4, article ĀdharY by A. Caferoğlu.

from life and appears in his poems as a historian and a realist. The simplicity, sincerity and melodiousness of his sweet songs in praise of his beloved and other beauties, replete with the lyricism of the people, have won him a great and abiding fame among the AzarI people.

In a <u>qit'a</u> FuẓUlI says: "There is much Persian poetry, but to write fine poetry in Turkish is difficult. When the Turkish language accepts these verse forms, many words are stubborn and will not fit into the pattern. When spring comes, the rose appears from nothingness. If God grants me success, I too shall create from the void, and shall make the difficult task easy."

اول سهدن فارسی لفظیله چوقدر نظم کم
نظم تارک ترکی لفظیله ایکن دشوار اولور
لهجهٔ ترکی قبول نظم ترکیب ایلسه
اکثر الفاظی نامربوط و ناهموار اولور
بنده توفیق اولسه بو دشواری آسان ایلرم
نو بهار اولنجه دیکسلدن برك گل اظهار اولور
(1)

FuẓUlI fears lack of appreciation in the places where his poems circulate; he prays that God may keep them from

---

1. <u>KullIyät-i DIvän-i FuẓUlI</u>, Istanbul 1891, p. 218.

the glances of the ill-intentioned and of those who do not understand poetry. He wishes his poems to be protected from bad scribes, from those who do not know how to read poetry and who cannot distinguish poetry from prose. At the head of the preface of his Turkish DIvAn, he writes, in Arabic, Turkish and Persian couplets:

تحت يدا كاتبٍ لولا: ما ضَرِيت
معمورةٍ اُبِسَت بالعلمِ ولادبِ
اردىٰ من الخمر لى إلسادِ نُسْخَتِهِ
تَسْتَظْهِرُ العَمبِ تَنْمِيراً من العِنَبِ (1)

"Let the scribe's hands become immobile; but for him, science and culture would not be devastated. The harm which he does to writing is worse than wine, which changes the grape to vice."

قلم اولسون الى اول كاتب يد تحريرك
كه فساد رتس سوزمز ى شور ايلر
گاه بر حرف ستوطله تهلور نادر ى نار
(2) گاه بر نقطه قصوريله گوز ى كور ايلر

---

1. KullIyAt-i DIvAn-iFuḍUlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 7.
2. Ibid.

"Let the hands of the bad scribe become as immobile as the pen, because the harm which he does to letters changes our pain to fury. Sometimes by dropping of a letter he changes rare (nādir) to fire (or pomegranate, nār), sometimes by omitting a dot he changes eye (gōz) to blind (kōr).

باد سرگشته بسان قلم آن بی سر و پا
که بود تیشهٔ بنیان معارف تلمش
زینت صورت لفظست خطش لیك چه سود
پردهٔ شاهد معنیست سواد رقمش (1)

"Let that errant scribe become a vagrant like the pen (which wanders over the page). His pen is an axe which strikes at the base of knowledge. His script adorns the appearance of the word; but what use is this when the blackness of his writing obscures the beautiful form of the meaning?"

FuẓūlĪ's cry is well founded. When we examine manuscripts, we see how varied their language is. Sometimes the scribes changed words according to their own dialect under the impression that they were making them conform to the metre. In different manuscripts of one of FuẓūlĪ's

---

1. KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 7.

works, we can find words written in several different ways, and since there exists no copy of the DĪvĀn or any other work in FuẓūlĪ's own hand, it is difficult to say which manuscripts are more correct. This much is certain: FuẓūlĪ's language, as we stated above, shows characteristics of the AzarĪ dialect. AzarĪ varies from district to district, and the differences increase the further one goes from AzarbāIjān. In FuẓūlĪ's day 'IrāQ passed first to the Persians and then to the Ottoman Turks, and this certainly left a mark on the language. There can be no doubt that FuẓūlĪ was writing in AzarĪ before 'IrāQ came under Ottoman rule; the old manuscripts of "Bang-U Bāda" show this. Afterwards, when the Ottoman language and culture predominated in BaghdĀd, FuẓūlĪ's language shows an inclination towards the Ottoman dialect. In the qaṣIdas which he wrote for the Ottoman Sulṭān and statesmen, he naturally conformed to the language of the dominant culture. It is not possible to establish with any certainty what were the morphological and phonetic peculiarities of AzarĪ Turkish in the 'IrĀqI region at that time. The existing manuscripts are not to be trusted, since scribes changed them according to their own language, or more precisely, dialect. We find, for example, that the same word is

written sometimes as Azarī, sometimes as Persian, and sometimes as Chaghatāy. This we have established from the examples given below:

Anatolian Turkish	Azarī	Chaghatāy	Fużūlī	Meaning
بن	من	منی	بن — من	Me
کا	کا	کنگا	کنگا — کا — کا	to me
بنم — بنوم	منم	منینگ	بنم — منم	my
سنك — سنوك	سنك	سنینگ	سنك — سنوك	your
خلقك	خلقك	خلقینگ	خلقك — خلقینگ	people or of people
بلور	بلر — بلور	بلر	بلور — بلر	he knows she

We do not know which of these Fużūlī actually used. He could, according to his contacts, have used them all. He had studied Persian literature carefully, and in the masnavī he followed Niẓāmī Ganja'ī, Amīr Khosraw, Jāmī and Hātifī, in the ghazal Sa'dī, Salmān and Ḥāfiẓ. He had read the Chaghatāy writers Luṭfī and Navā'ī, the Azarī poets Nasīmī and Ḥabībī, and he may be presumed to have also read the Ottoman poets. He met the poets Khayālī and Yaḥyā who came to Baghdād with Sulṭān Sulaymān's army. Dr. Zeynep Korkmaz, in her article on Fużūlī's language, writes that as a result of his environment Fużūlī was influenced by Turkish-Islamic elements; but again from the circumstances of his

environment, some of his works were submitted to the ShEh of IrAn and some to the Ottoman Sultan, and this produced differences in the language as great as in the contents. According to Dr. Korkmaz, FuzUlI used the classical language of poetry and prose adopted by the enlightened classes of the 16th century, consisting of a mixture of Turkish, Arabic and Persian.(1)

We have already indicated the difficulties of examining FuzUlI's language when there are no manuscripts in his own hand. The late Professor Ahmet Ateş found among the Persian books in the Istanbul University library a specimen of hand-writing signed "FuzUlI" on a copy of the BUstAn of the famous Persian poet Sa'dI (numbered F.Y.367). This manuscript book was written by a certain PIr QAsimoghlu 'IvaZ of BaghdAd and completed on the 8th June 1543, that is, during FuzUlI's lifetime. In the couplet shown below, which was added to the end of the book, the scribe tells us that he wrote this "BUstAn" in his own hand.

سوی بازدم یادگار اولسانچون

ایشبدلر بر دعا ایلسانچون

In an article in the review "Türk Dili", Professor Ateş(2) gave us his opinion that the scribe, after copying the

---

1. Dr. Zeynep Korkmaz, and Dr. Selahattin Olcay, Fuzulinin dili hakkinda notlar, Türk Tarih Kurumu, Ankara 1956.
2. Professor Ahmet Ateş, Fuzulinin el yazisi in Türk Dili Mecmuasi, Ankara 1956, Vol.V, No.57, p.545.

BUstHn, would have brought it to FuzUlI, a renowned poet of the time, and would have asked him to write a few lines as a memento. On the margin of the last page is written:

هزاران درود و هزاران سلام
ز ما به محمد علیه السلام
مولا محمد فضولی کمینه العبد

"A thousand salutations from us to Muḥammad, a thousand salutations and praises. The slave of Muḥammad, FuzUlI, wrote this." Professor Ateş claims that since no other dIvAn poet took the pen-name FuzUlI, and since it is unthinkable that anyone else should have used FuzUlI's signature, it can definitely be established that this is FuzUlI's handwriting.

CHAPTER IV

Influences on Fużūlī.

To appreciate a poet, we must know the tradition in which he was brought up and the influences by which he was shaped. As in geology, each of the great epochs of poetic history corresponds to one of the great phases of civilization. In a sense, the original poetry may be the life of the surrounding world and the poet may only express the general thought of his time. Often the real individual is the community, nation, or tribe, while the poet is the voice of this collective individual and nothing more.

The Qur'ān, the holy book sent down in Arabic, has always been and still is the first and last book of the Muslim faithful. As a result, the study of Arabic became the cornerstone of the education of every Turkish poet. Cultured Turks also read other Arabic books, e.g. those of Ibn Khaldūn, the Arab Herodotus, of Bayżāvī, the great Qur'ān commentator, and of Ḥarīrī, the popular Arab poet. The use of Arabic words and expressions, intermingled with Persian, was considered a high mark of proficiency by Turks aspiring to literary fame.

At the same time, the works of famous Persian poets, such as the witty Sa'dī and the lyrical Ḥāfiẓ, were the constant companions of all Turks with a taste for literature, from the Osmanli Sultans downwards. The influence of Persian poetry, especially that of Ḥāfiẓ, greatly exceeded that of Arabic poetry. The Turkish poets were entirely carried away by the ideas of the poets of Shirāz and Khurāsān, which they felt were more in harmony with their own idiosyncrasy and genius.

Expression was the idol of the poets. A poet might be a mere parrot of the Persians, without a single idea in his head which which he had not borrowed from Ḥāfiẓ or Jāmī; but so long as he paid due reverence to expression, that is to the mass of artificialisms and affectations then in vogue, his work was applauded, expression being considered the one thing needful and excellence therein the true measure of poetic genius. For this was a period of Turkish and Persian literature in which it was natural to all authors, whether they wrote in prose or verse, to seek out ingenuities of fancy and curiosities of expression. English literature in the "euphuistic" period of the 16th and 17th centuries showed a similar tendency.

It is therefore no wonder that this tendency influenced Fuẓūlī when he began to study the art of Turkish

as well as Persian and Arabic versification. Willingly or unwillingly he has let the effects of these studies appear in many of his works. A man of his powers would soon make himself familiar with the literary paraphernalia of the Persians, and being persuaded that such things were necessary adjuncts of lofty verse, he would freely adorn his poems with novel and striking combinations of the old stock materials. In spite of these trivialities, FuẒUlI's poetry remains poetry. Notwithstanding the evident consciousness and no less evident pleasure with which he introduces his subtle fancies and far-fetched imagery, he maintains perfect sincerity; and here he differs widely from his contemporaries. FuẒUlI did not get inspiration from the pages of any poet, Turk or Persian; he found it in himself. He thus, through his writings, endowed Turkish literature with a new lustre. In them he gives free rein to his own passionate feelings and pours out his ardent heart, sometimes even forgetting the canons of the schoolman and the rhetorician. It is this that forms his true title to our affection and esteem, and has won for him the high position which he holds in the literature of the East.

Early biographers such as LaṭIfI[1] (16th century) and QinalIzāda (16th century), and contemporary writers such as

---

1. LaṭIfI Tazkiresi, Istanbul 1529, p. 265-6. (Manuscript).

Professor Gölpinarli[1] and Professor Ali Nihat Tarlan,[2] are agreed that the most powerful influence on FuẒūlī was that of the Chaghatāy poet NavĀ'I.

MIr 'AlI ShIr NavĀ'I, who was the vazIr and close friend of the TYmūrid Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqara, and who died at Harāt in 906/1501, gained a lasting renown in Turkish literature under his pen-name NavĀ'I. Although he wrote much and well in the Persian language, his best and most important works are in the East-Turkish dialect known as ChaghatāY. It has been claimed for NavĀ'I, and perhaps justly, that he was the first great poet who wrote in Turkish. At least it is certain that notwithstanding the difference of dialect his work was long looked upon as a model by the Ottoman poets.

The mystic atmosphere which in earlier years had enveloped Nearer Asia had by this time to some extent dispersed, and men were eager to make a start in some fresh direction.

Well before the Ottoman dialect definitely emerged from the welter of local patois as the West-Turkish literary medium, the purely mystic period had been left

---

1. Gölpinarli, Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1948, p.XLII
2. Ali Şir Neva'i, by Professor Ali Nihat Tarlan, Istanbul 1942, p.19.

behind in Persia. Literature in that country was now in the hands of lyric and romantic poets who gathered round the court of Yusayn Kayqara. At the head of the lyric group stood Nava'I.

During the next century and a half the poetry of Nava'I, either directly or through the works of his Persian followers, was the main source of inspiration to Ottoman lyric writers.

Shaykh Ghalib (1757-1799), the great poet of the later Ottoman period, has written:

آیین نوائیده فضولی بولمش سخنه ره وصولی

استانبولزده نوعی زاده ایتمش تك و پویلی پیاده

اولماز بلی لطف طبعی انکار آنك کبی دخی نیچه لر وار (1)

In the style of Neva'I did Fuzuli
Find the way to attain eloquence.
In our Istanbul, Nev'i-zade
Travelled along it at a foot's pace.
The elegance of his genius may not, indeed, by denied,
Yet are there very many like unto him.

---

1. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol.III, p. 237.

According to Gibb, the reason why the Ottoman critics compared FuẕUlI with NavẔ'I was merely, it would seem, that both wrote in an eastern dialect of Turkish. He thinks that the resemblance which the biographers find between FuẕUlI and NavẔ'I is the mere superficial resemblance of an unfamiliar dialect.(1) In fact, anyone familiar with the Ottoman dialect, especially in its earlier stages, will have no trouble in reading anything written by FuẕUlI, but will hardly be able to understand much of NavẔ'I without some previous special study.

Professor Gölpinarli, however, finds a number of parallels between FuẕUlI and NavẔ'I.(2) In his book he quotes the following lines:

From NavẔ'I

اول ملك سیما پری کیم خلق آنك سرادر

جانلر آشوب ولی آشنه جانم جاندر

That angel-faced fairy, whom the people are so crazy about;
She unsettles their souls, but she is the soul of my unsettled life.

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, p. 707.
2. Gölpinarli, Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1948, p. XLVI.

From FuẑûlI

اول پری وش کیم طلعت ملکنك سلطانیدر
حکم آنك حکمیدر فرمان آنك فرمانیدر (1)

That fairy-like one, who is the queen of beauty-land;
The decision is her decision, and the command is her command.

The comparison which 'AhdI makes between FuẑûlI and the Persian poet SalmÂn SÂvajI is in Gibb's view no more than a conventional compliment; but Professor Gölpinarlı sees a resemblance between the following lines of FuẑûlI and SalmÂn:(2)

From FuẑûlI

بن گدا سن شاهه یار الق بوی اما نیلیم (3)
آرزؤ سرگشته فکر محال ایلر بنی

زاهدا سن قیل توجه گوشه محرابه کیم (4)
قبله طاعت خم ابروی دلبردر بکا

ای خوش اول کیم عشق سوزن بر دخی تکرار ایدم (5)
حشر دیوانده گورگج نامه اعمالی

---

1. KulliyÂt-i DIvÂn-i FuẑûlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 147.
2. Gölpinarlı, Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1948, p. XXXVIII.
3. KulliyÂt-i DIvÂn-i FuzûlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 197.
4. Ibid., p. 125.
5. Ibid., p. 196.

I am a beggar and you are a king.
I ought not to be your lover, but what can I do?
My giddy hope breeds absurd notions in me.
O puritan, you turn your face to the altar-niche, (while)
My direction of worship is the curve of the charmer's brow.
Sweetheart, I will speak again of love
When I see the record of my deeds in the resurrection-day scroll.

From Salmán

من کیستم تا واشوم سودای دیدار شما
ایئم نه بس‌که آید بمن بوی زگلزار شما
قبله ما نیست جز محراب ابروی شما
دولت ما نیست الا در سر کوی شما
روز محشر در جواب پرسش سودای کفر
هیچ دست آویز ما را نیست جز موی شما

Who I am that I should again vainly crave to see you?
For me, will not a breath of perfume from your rose-garden be enough?
My only direction of worship is the niche of your eyebrow.
My only wealth is the gate at the top of your street.
On the judgement day, when I am questioned about this infidel passion,
My only plea will be your hair.

Salmān Sāvajī (d. 1376) is a poet whose eminence has been attested by the great Ḥāfiẓ. He was essentially a court-poet and panegyrist, and was attached during the greater part of his long life to the Jalāyirid (or Īlkhānī) dynasty, founded in 1336 by Shaykh Ḥasan Buzurg with its capital at Baghdād. Salmān, attracted by the fame of this ruler's generosity to men of letters, made his way thither, probably soon after the cruel and violent death in 1336 of his earlier patron Ghiyāṯ al-Dīn, the vazīr of the Īlkhān Abū Sa'īd. The general conclusion seems to be that Salmān deserves to be ranked among the greatest panegyrists and qaṣīda-writers.

Professor Gölpınarlı finds resemblances between another Persian poet, Kātibī, and Fużūlī. Kātibī (d. 838/1434-5) was born at a village near Turshīz (or Nīshāpūr). He moved from Khurāsān to Astarābād, to Shirvān, where he attached himself for a time to the Amīr Shaykh Ibrāhīm, and next to the court of the Black Sheep Turkmān ruler Iskandar Ibn Qara Yūsuf in Āẕarbāījān. He wrote qaṣīdas, ghazals and and romantic maṯnavīs, and was famous for his plays on words.

From FużUlI

(1) نقد جان تاراج غمدن صاقلق دشواردر

عشق تا سنگ ملا متدن حصار اینمز بکا

پادشاهلر فرهاد و مجنون مست جام عشق اولوب

ای فضولی بز اولر پادشهچه صحبت بکلرز (2)

Defending life against grief-raids will be difficult

Unless love builds me a castle of disrepute-stone.

FarhAd and MajnUn fell asleep, drunk with wine from love's goblet;

O FużUlI, we look for company while they sleep.

From KAtibI

با با وجود سنگ ملامت سلامتیم

گویا که سنگهای ملامت حصار ماست

گه منم و دشت و دره، گه منم و کوهسار

قصه مجنون مراست قصه فرهاد هم

In spite of the disrepute-stone, we are safe,

Safe, even though disrepute-stones form our castle.

Sometimes I wander in deserts and valleys, sometimes on mountains.

MajnUn's story and FarhAd's sufferings are mine.

---

1. KullIyAt-i DIvAn-i FużUlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 123.
2. Ibid., p. 153.

As for parallels between FuẕūlI and NiẓāmI of Konya, a youthful Turkish poet of the 15th century, Professor Gölpinarli states that he could cite a large number, but that he deems a few examples sufficient, e.g. : (1)

From FuẕūlI

(2) آشیان مرغ دل زلف پریشانکه‌در

قنده اولسم ای پری گونلم سنك یانکه‌در

"My heart is a bird whose nest lies in your unkempt hair.
O fairy, wherever I am, my heart is with you."

From NiẓāmI of Konya

اول پری پیکر که دل زلف پریشانکه‌در

آیه حسن لطافت اول پری شانکه‌در

"That fairy-figure in whose unkempt hair lies my heart;
There is a miracle of beauty and charm in her dignity."

NiẓāmI of Konya (15th century), was born in Karaman near Konya, and became famous as a composer of ghazals at the early age of eighteen.

Mehmed (Muḥammad) the Conqueror's Grand Vazir, Mahmud Pāshā, praised the young writer to his master so enthusiastically

---

1. Gölpinarli, Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1948, p. XXXV.
2. KulliyāT-i DIwān-i FuẕūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 146.

that Muḥammad sent a message to Konya bidding NiẓāmI to come to his court at Istanbul. The poet died on his way to Istanbul still very young. He was highly skilled in Persian also, and his Turkish poems are pure and natural.(1)

Professor Gölpinarli then passes to a similar comparison between FuẓūlI and Sa'dI (d. 691/1291-2). Naturally FuẓūlI would be influenced by Sa'dI's writings. As Browne says, "these are a microcosm of the East, alike in its best and its most ignoble aspects, and it is not without good reason that, wherever the Persian language is studied, they are, and have been for centuries, the first books placed in the learner's hands."(2) Sulaymān NaẓIf thinks that the second line of the following verse of FuẓūlI is an exact translation of one of Sa'dI's verses.(3)

From FuzūlI

گورمه مشد ر گر چه کیمسه جان بدندن گیدیکن
ایشته بن گوردم که شهد ی کندی جاندر گیدن

Although no one has observed the soul's (jān) departure from the body,

I have observed that my sweetheart (jān) is departing right now.

---

1. Murat Uraz, Turk Edip ve Şairleri, Istanbul 1939, pp.148-9.
2. E. G. Browne, Literary History, Vol.III, p. 532.
3. Sulaymān NaẓIf, FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1925, p. 144.

From Sa'dI

در رفتن جان از بدن گویند هر نوعی سخن
من خود بچشم خویشتن دیدم که جانم میرود (1)

They speak all sorts of words about the soul (jān) leaving the body.

Look! with my own eyes I have just seen my sweetheart (jān) leaving.

Professor Hasibe Mazioğlu has written a book comparing FużūlI with the immortal Persian poet Ḥāfiẓ (d.1389). The fame of Ḥāfiẓ was so great in FużūlI's time that no contemporary poet was unacquainted with his <u>dīvān</u>. Mrs. Mazioğlu finds many parallels between them.

From FużūlI

روی میتابد ز من گر ماه تابان گویمش
میرود از پیشم ار سرو خرامان گویمش (2)

She turns her face from me if I call her a "shining moon".

She runs away from my side if I call her a "graceful cypress".

From Ḥāfiẓ

چون شوم خاک رهش دامن بیفشاند ز من
ور بگویم دل بگردان رو بگرداند ز من (3)

---

1. <u>KulliyāT-i Sa'dI</u>, Bombay 1912, <u>TayyibAt</u>, p. 40.
2. FużūlI, Persian <u>DIvAn</u>, ed. by M. Mazioğlu, Ankara, 1962, p. 433.
3. <u>DIvān-i Ḥāfiẓ</u>, ed. by M. QazvInI and Q. GhanI, Tehran 1340/1961, p.277.

If I make myself dust for her path, she shuns me, flouncing her skirt,

If I ask her not to shift her heart from me, she shifts her eyes.

As we said above, any poet, to develop his own talents, must read the works of his predecessors, and his work will naturally show the influence of previous writers. Moreover, before the days of printing, attitudes to imitation and "plagiarism" were not the same as today. Although manuscripts of the works of earlier poets were copied, patrons and readers often preferred new versions of old poetic themes expressed in the language, style, and spirit of their own age. For example, JāmI (817/1414-898/1492), who was the mostly highly esteemed poet of his age, took NizāmI, Sa'dI, 'IrāqI and AmIr Khusraw DihlavI as his models. The Turkish and Persian poets of Fużūlī's age likewise produced works similar in their subject matter, metres, literary forms and interpretations; what was important was that they should express the already existing themes with a particular style and in a more perfect form. The style and form, however, reflect the poet's own personality; and for this reason his writing under the influence of great predecessors need not necessarily be a

defect. Professor Kazioğlu compares the Turkish ghazals of FuẑûlÎ with the Persian ghazals of Ḥâfiẓ, and comes to the conclusion that FuẑûlÎ, with his strength of feeling and sincerity of emotion, is a very personal and original poet. To this she adds that "in comparison with Ḥâfiẓ, FuẑûlÎ's poetry is narrow. Ḥâfiẓ's poetry is a garden where the sweetest and most beautiful flowers of every kind grow. FuẑûlÎ's ghazals are like a garden where only roses grow; but all its roses are brilliant red and sweetly scented."

Fużūlī's place in Islāmic Turkish Ideology and Literature.

The ideas which we find when reading Fużūlī's works lead to the conclusion that he must have been no less high-minded as a man than he was great as a poet. In his poems he shows us the road to human perfection, and teaches us to be of good character and of service to humanity. A good man, he thinks, should not occupy himself with the empty ambitions of this temporary life.(1) He compares the accumulation of wealth to the ever growing toil of a porter whose burden is increased. He exposes the evils of oppression and bribery, and mocks those who after acquiring money in this way do charity in the hope of entering heaven. A man should be judged according to his worth as a man; aristocratic birth in Fużūlī's view has never ennobled anyone. The essential good qualities in a man are honesty, liberality, selflessness and charity. It is also desirable that a man should keep secrets, show tolerance, and not be censorious of the faults of others. In his poems, Fużūlī condemns hypocrisy and teaches modesty and humility. His own embodiment of these noble qualities gives him a great humility; he shows pride only in the face of those who do not recognise

---

1. See Chapters IX and X below.

his art, and of the ignorant who claim to be learned. Fuẓūlī is convinced that the acquisition of knowledge will bring a man to virtue and perfection. He therefore attaches great importance to learning, and emphasizes its part in a man's moral development, as well as its role in art. "Poetry without learning," he says "is like a wall without foundations."(1) From his own works we can see that he devoted his whole life to the acquisition of knowledge, and that he was a man with wide-ranging ideas who considered all the problems of the age. He also explains, in a beautiful verse,(2) that the only profit to be gained from this short life is to win the favour and get the consent of the friend.

Fuẓūlī's ideas are, of course, not entirely new. Sa'dī likewise had stressed contentment (qanā'at), kindness, modesty, tolerance, and sincerity, and had condemned hypocrisy and looking for faults in other men instead of one's self. For the Ṣūfīs also, life's purpose is to attain to the vision of the Friend. But

---

1. See p. 44 above.
2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 206.

کم اوله دوست رضاسی همین سکا حاصل

رضای دوستدر انجق بتتع ای فائل

as we have explained,[1] by Fuzûlî's time the morality and the mysticism of the poets had generally become conventional and artificial. Fuzûlî, on the other hand, convinces his reader that he sincerely means what he says. He has a high moral concept which gives value only to human character and cares nothing for worldly success. Although we know so little of Fuzûlî's private life, we cannot help feeling that besides teaching his ideal he must have tried to practise it, not sanctimoniously, but with modesty and good humour. This is why his philosophy of endurance in the face of suffering, and virtue in the face of error, was novel and daring in his own time and never loses its freshness in any age.

A writer is not only influenced by society; he influences it. Art not merely reproduces life but also shapes it. The graph of a book's success, survival, and recrudescence, or of a writer's reputation and fame, is mainly a social phenomenon. Usually the fame and reputation are measured by the actual influence of a writer on other writers, by his general power of transforming and changing the literary tradition.

Fuzûlî's fame and influence, already marked in his lifetime, have not ceased to grow in the Muslim Turkish

---

1. See Chapter I, pp. 11-20.

world. He has always been the most popular poet in all the countries inhabited by Turks.

According Professor Karahan,[1] FuẓūlI's works influenced many classical Turkish writers, such as RūḥI, Nav'I-zāde 'Aṭa'I, Nā'ilI, NābI, Shaykh GhālIb and NigārI. Such writers wrote imitations (nazIras) of his poems, and amplifications (tekhmIs and tasdIs) of his ghazals.

Traces of FuẓūlI's influence also occur in modern (post-TanzImāt) Turkish literature, as well as in verses written for musical settings (sāz). Many of his poems have been set to music, from the 17th century onwards. Even today, some of his ghazals are chanted by khānandas (singers) and are occasionally recorded.

Fuad Köprülü in his article on FuẓūlI in the Islām Ansiklopedisi says:[2] "In the four centuries since his death, in all the Turkish world from Tashqand to Qāzan, from the Crimea to Bosnia and Hungary, from Baghdād to Cairo, from Tabrīz to Bukhārā, and from Istanbul to the Adriatic coasts, he has been one of the poets who have reached out to the people. His verses have been put to music and sung in all kinds of gatherings. His influence has been widespread. He exerted great influence on

---

1. Professor Karahan, Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Vol.II, Fasc. 37, pp. 937-9.
2. Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1945, Vol.IV, pp.686-699.

Ottoman poets of the 17th-19th centuries such as RūḥI, Nav'I-zāda 'Aṭa'I, Ḥalāchahirli NigārI, Mu'IdI, FaṣlI, DānishI, Nā'ilI, QadIm, Sayyid VahbI, NābI, FaṣIḥ, ChalabI-zāda 'Āṣim, AnIs Dede, NiyāzI-i MiṣrI, Shaykh Ghālib, Asrār Dede, 'Izzat Mawla, 'Ākif, Sarmad, Sayyid NigārI, Qoyali SāmI, SānIḥ, GhulāmI, Nash'at, NawrasI Jadīd, etc.

In the post-Tanẓīmat period, men such as KāẓIm Pāshā, Ashraf Pāshā, Nāmiq Kamāl, Rajā'I-zāda Akram, Mu'allim NājI, 'AlI RūḥI, ĀṣafI, NabIzāda NāẓIm, IsmA'Il ṢafA, greatly appreciated FuẓūlI. He was called Shā'ir-i A'ẓam (greatest poet) for the first time by 'Abdul Ḥaqq ḤamId in the following stanza:

بر شاعر اعظم بو همران ایتش بیلرم بویله نالان

"The greatest Poet, who was saddened by separation."

The influence of FuẓūlI has also made itself felt on Turkish folk-poets such as GawharI, 'Āshiq 'Umar and DardlI.' Finally, Köprülü shows that FuẓūlI's influence was especially potent on Āzarī, Turkmān and ChaghatāY literature.

Gibb thinks that FuẓūlI excels by virtue of the originality of his genius in Eastern literature, while BāqI (d. 1600), the most gifted of the Persianizing poets of the

Ottoman period, shines with a borrowed light. He adds:

"There is no greater name in all Turkish literature than FuḍūlĪ of BaghdĀd. Appearing like a glorious meteor on the eastern horizon of the now far-extending Empire, he flooded for a space all the distant sky with a strange unwonted splendour, and then sank where he had arisen, leaving none to take his place."

'AhdĪ (16th Century) says:(2) "FuḍūlĪ composed with equal ease and elegance in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, his Turkish poems being highly favoured by the critics of RŪm, his Persian dĪvĀn being the delight of the poets of every land, his Turkish pieces being recited by the Mughals, and his Arabic verses being famous with the eloquent among the Arabs."

The judgments of certain other early critics on FuzūlĪ are likewise wholly favourable. Laṭīfī(3) (16th century) speaks of his strange heart and bewitching style, and considers him an originator with a manner of his own, something which 'AhdĪ also was able to perceive. QinalI-zĀde finds his unique style curious but ingenious, and his poetry highly ornate, but possessing dignity and power as well as delicacy.

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol.III, pp 707.
2. 'AhdĪ, Gulshun-i Shu'arĀ, BaghdĀd 971/1563, pp. 86-7.
3. LaṭĪfī, Tazkiresi, Istanbul 1529, pp. 265-6.

On the other hand, a number of the early critics perceived in Fuẓūlī's poetry something new and strange. They clearly failed to appreciate the greatness of his genius, or to see that in his verses they had the sweetest words yet sung by any poet in the Turkish language. They did not appreciate him because his ways were not as their ways, the sweetness and simplicity of his poems being altogether unlaboured and free from artificiality. For them and their compeers, laboured metaphors and far-fetched conceits were all that mattered. They had no glimmer of the love which in its passionate ardour becomes oblivious of self. Simple language of a tender soul, words which flow from the lips because the heart is full, meant nothing to them. They had deliberately shut the door in the face of true and natural feeling when they contemptously turned away from the songs and ballads of their own Turkish people, wherein, if they had but deigned to look, they could have learned a lesson of simplicity, tenderness and manhood which all the poets of Irān were powerless to teach.

As Gibb observes,(1) the conventional and Persianizing Bāqī was acclaimed as the "King of the Poets" (Sulṭān al-Shu'arā) of Turkey, while Fuẓūlī, in many of whose ghazals

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol.III, p. 707.

there is more real poetry than in the whole dîvân of this "King", was dismissed by the critics with a few lines of perfunctory approval.

It has been reserved for the moderns, who are much more in sympathy with Fuzûlî's spirit than were his contemporaries, to appreciate in full the genius of this gifted poet and to perceive the unique position which he occupies in Turkish literature.

Hasan Ali Yücel, in an article about Fuzûlî's Leylâ ve Mecnûn,(1) says: "Fuzûlî is one of the most outstanding personalities of Turkish literature. Had his works been translated into other languages and had he been known to a larger world, I feel sure that the same thing would have been said of him in world literature. Fuzûlî's importance lies in the fact that he represents his own times faithfully and with the skilfulness and emotion of a profound artist."

According to Yücel, Fuzûlî was not only a versatile poet, but also a thinker; he realized his own superiority, and as he felt deeply the lack of worthy companionship, he led an unhappy life.

Today Fuzûlî's prestige is greatest and his influence most profound among the Turks. In his native 'Irâq, where

---

1. Hasan Ali Yücel, Leylâ ve Mecnun, Istanbul 1959, UNESCO, p.1.

knowledge of Turkish has now declined, he is not much appreciated;(1) while in Irān, his Persian poetry is still considered unimportant. Nevertheless so original a poet cannot be ignored.

The 400th anniversary of the poet's death was celebrated in Turkey and in the Azarbāijān Soviet Republic between 1956 and 1958. Conferences were held, and there were also exhibitions of FuẓūlI's works, and plays representing his life. At Bākū a statue of FuẓūlI has been erected in front of the municipal theatre; its pedestal is ornamented with reliefs illustrating scenes from FuẓūlI's Laylā and Majnūn.(2)

M. Gulizade observes that from the 18th century up to today more attention has been given to FuẓūlI than in earlier times.(3)

Doç. Dr. M. Ergin, in an article on Turkish history, says that FuẓūlI's influence in its every aspect has been so potent and so lasting that its effects are operative even to the present day.(4)

---

1. C. Özulus, Fuzulinin kendi topraklarinda bir inceleme, Niğde 1948.
2. Hayat Mecmuasi, Istanbul 7th December 1967, No.50, pp.6-8.
3. Azerbaycan Edebiyati Tarihi, Bākū 1960, Vol.I, pp.351-442.
4. Tarih Mecmuasi, Istanbul 1968, No.2, p. 18.

Fużūlī himself sometimes seems undisturbed by the fact that he was not appreciated in his lifetime, for instance when he says:

سعادت ازلی قابل زوال اولمز
گونش یر اوسته گر دوشسه پایمال اولمز

Eternal happiness cannot be perishable,
The sun is not trodden under foot though it may fall upon the ground.

---

1. Kullıyāt-ı Dīvān-ı Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 206.

PART TWO

CHAPTER V

A general view of FuzÛlI's works.

In FuzÛlI's works there can usually be found a combination of religion, eroticism and art. He has, in our opinion, shown how erotic and artistic factors can play an important part in the development of mystic and transcendental religious feelings. He also displays a scholarly and literary bent such as is common in great artistic geniuses. His themes are usually defeated rebellion, shattered illusion, and human emotions, especially love. Qualities such as endurance, patience, self-sacrifice, renunciation of worldly goods, praise of poverty, withdrawal from human company, solitude, grief, melancholy, and retreat into self, appear side by side in his poems with opposite feelings such as pride and conceit. We see the reflections of a spirit enduring the constraints of knowledge, intelligence, and social life, and outwardly preserving its calm, but inwardly burning. FuzÛlI is a romantic-lyric poet who extols both love and affliction. At the same time we find a pleasantness of disposition and a charming naturalness, together with elements of

humour and satire. The Shikāyatnāma gives the clearest example of FużūlI's wit and of his capacity for mordant humour.

Many different moods are expressed in FużūlI's poems. Sometimes we see him supremely self-confident, sometimes worn-out and hopeless; sometimes we see him between the two poles of seeming to possess the world and of wanting nothing; and then we see him raised above worldly interests, living in a state of mystic intoxication. FużūlI was an artist who made impartial use of his intelligence, his feelings, his will and his conscience. We find sincerity and deception, intelligence and emotion, cleverness and enthusiasm, all united in a single artistic whole. There are frequent manifestations of a clash between his personality and the outside world. While possessing a stoic pride, he occasionally shows signs of being a querulous and irascible person; but we shall see that at the end of his inner struggles he was a man of high attainment. He was able to relegate the pains and pleasures of this world to second place, though he never entirely closed the door to the transient feelings of everyday life. He was clearly influenced by worldly events and interests, and wrote about them in various forms. We never find pure mysticism in FużūlI's works. He embraced mysticism with the mind rather

than with the heart, and perceived it and wrote of it with the mind. His dīvāns are not full of mystic odes, like those of other contemporary poets; but he deftly brings into some of his ghazals and love ditties a pondered mystic note. Mysticism in one form or another was the bread of life to all the Eastern poets of his time. FuẓūlI found ways to express it through his capacity for platonic love. Although he perceived his goals through learning, he never entirely devoted himself to learning. His principal theme is beauty. Religious mysticism is seldom the main theme of a poet who feels a boundless passion for beauty. Only Mawlānā Jalāl al-DIn RūmI occupies the exceptional position of equal attainment in both.(1)

Finally FuẓūlI is a human being, with faults and virtues, feelings, joys, and disillusionments, singing in happy moments like a nightingale, or struggling in the face of disasters. There are thus some inconsistencies in his ideas, since these reflect his life and development.

This much is certain, that FuẓūlI was one of those exceptional men who attained the happiness of conceiving

---

1. Mawlānā Jalāl al-DIn RūmI, founder of the MawlavIya order of DarvIshes, which was named after him, was born in September 1207 in Balkh, and died in Konya in 1273. He was a passionate lover of God who expressed his feelings in a poetically unorthodox, volcanic way, thus creating a style which is unique in Persian literature.

desires which the material world cannot satisfy, and that the works which he has left to us reflect this. He calmed the storm in his spirit by writing, and expressed his grief and his inward debates in poetry which is the highest manifestation of language.

The pathetic themes of Laylā va Majnūn and Ḥadīqat al-Sua'dā were well suited to his genius. By the magic of his treatment he made these familiar stories his own, giving them the same tone of sadness, patience and compassion which pervades almost all his writings.

In the introductions to his Persian and Turkish dīvāns, FuẓūlI tells us how he began to write poetry and to devote himself to learning. Along with displays of wit and artistry, he gives a hint of the changes in his spirit which led him to acquire a love of learning, an addiction to poetry, and a feeling for beauty. He sees poetry as a beloved, with fine expressions as her ornaments, and beautiful people as her lovers, e.g. in the verse below:

(1) شعر بر معشوقدر حسن عبارت زیوری
جان و دلدن نازنین محبوبلر عاشقلری

He esteems himself inferior to the latter. Many beauties like Laylā had come together in our poet's mind

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p.4.

to listen to poetry as Majnūn did, and they had forced him to become a poet too. He could write poetry now, because he had finally acquired sufficient learning. He mentions this poetically in the prefaces to his dīvāns, and says in a ghazal:

(1) اولیان غواص بحر معرفت عارف دگل
کیم صدف ترکیب تندر لؤلؤ شهوار سوز

"He who is not a diver in the sea of knowledge cannot know; a man's body is mother of pearl, and his words are pearls."

In the preface to his Persian dīvān he writes:

"بدانکه فضیلت شعر نیز علمیست به استقلال و نوعیست معتبر از انواع کمال که بعضی که انکار این کار نموده اند از ذوقش واقف و به تصرفش قادر نبوده اند (2)

بی ذوق و سرور را باقی — جز سخن نیست در جهان ساقی
سخنی نیست در بقای سخن — اوست باقی و بی بقا باقی (3)

"Poetry is a distinct and valid form of learning. Those who deny this do not enjoy its pleasures. Poetry is the only

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.153.
2. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Nazlioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.4.
3. Ibid., p.6.

cupbearer in this world offering eternal joy and the wine of delight. There is no doubt as to poetry's imperishability. It is the only (thing) that does not perish; all else is transient."

When discussing the subject of "words"[1] (i.e. poetry) in Laylī va Majnūn, Fużūlī sometimes boasts how fond he was of writing ghazals, qaṣīdas and maṣnavīs, and how skilfully he could do this in every language.

سوزدر که صرف ایدوب فراست املاکه بولمشم ریاست
که طرز قصیده ایلرم ساز شهبازم اولور بلند پرواز
که داب غزل اولور شعارم اول دانه روان وبحر قرارم
که مثنویه اولوب هوسناك اول بحردن ایسترم در پاك
هر دلده که وار اهل رازم مجموع فنونه عشق بازم
پرکار گرم هزار پیشه جانلر چکوب ایسترم همیشه
دکانم اوله رواج بازار هر ایستدیکن بوله خریدار (2)

The word and its meaning, intelligence fine
Has mastered, and now all its virtue divine
Is tuned to my purpose, now music is known.
My falcon soars high, never drops like a stone.
And now the gazel is my aim and desire
And constancy still gives it passionate fire.
At times with the mesnevi's coupletted lines
I find that my muse in its fancy inclines,

---

1. Fużūlī takes söz (word) = sukhan as meaning poetry.
2. Kullīyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 241.

And then in the sea of the mesnevi fine
I seek the bright pearls that in radiance shine.
'Tis thus in each language, where men of the art
Love science and beauty with passionate heart,
I am a craftsman of arts manifold
Drawing souls evermore, their delights to be told.
'Tis thus I desire a rich market to find
That each may therein find his wishes enshrined. (1)

At the end of the same work he explains the importance of poetry in these words:

سوزدر گهر خزانه دل — اظهار صفات ذات قابل
جان سوزدر اگر بیلورسه انسان — سوزدر که دیرلر اوزگه درجان
بالله بویمانیدر که حالا — امواتی سوزیله قیلدك احیا
مجنونله لیلی بی قیلوب یاد — ارواحلرنی ایلدك شاد (2)

Is never easy found, for words are jewels
Close guarded in the heart's dear treasury.
That still to all the herd is closely locked.
The door once opened, personality
With all its attributes made manifest
The poet only knows. The soul remains
For those who have the wisdom to observe
A lonely word, and only foolishness
Can deem the soul may show a difference.
And thus, invoking God's so dreaded Name,

---

1. Leylâ ve Mecnun, tr. by Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.27.
   We find this translation more mystical than the real meaning of the original. The translator has rendered "qaṣīda" in in the second bayt as "music".
2. KulliyÂt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 347.

Fuzuli asks what evil may be found
In words that make the dead to live anew,
Or where the sin that makes the world rejoice
In telling o'er the sad unhappy tale
Of Leyla fair and Mecnun nobly mad? (1)

At the beginning of his Persian work "Anîs al-Qalb", he writes as follows about poetic language:

دلم درجی ست اسرار سخن درّهای فلطانش
فضای علم دریا نیض حق باران نیسانش (2)

"My heart is a chest of pearls, the secrets of language are the unbored pearls within it. The world of learning is the sea. The grace of God is its April rain."(3)

---

1. Leylâ ve Mecnun, tr. by Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p. 234.

2. Anîs al-Qalb, Istanbul 1944, p. 1.

3. The concepts of "April rain" and "pearls" have many implications in Eastern literature, and we often meet them in FuzûlI's works. In another poem, addressing his beloved, he says:

من بر صدفم سن ابر نیسان وبر قطره و آل درّ فلطان

"I am a shell of mother of pearl, you are a cloud in April. Give a rain drop and take a rounded pearl."
(KullIyÄt-i FuzûlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 239).

The couplets at the end of "Haft Jām" are in the same tenor:

مشو غافل از نطق حکمت بیان — که در جسم انسان جز او نیست جان
چنین است ظاهر بر ارباب هوش — که زنده است گویا و مرده خموش
نمی ماند از هیچکس نام نام — سخن گوی تازنده باشی مدام
ولی آن سخن گوی که انجام کار — نباشی ز تکرار آن شرمسار (1)

"Do not neglect to utter words of wisdom, because if there is a life within the body, it is this and only this. The wise man sees that he who speaks is alive, and that he who stays silent is dead. Mortal man lives on in this world only in his name. Write poetry so that you may always remain alive; but choose words which you will never blush to hear repeated." (2)

---

1. Fuẓūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.13.
2. The idea that man can gain an immortality in this world by leaving a good name in it is probably of pre-Islāmic Persian origin; the most commonly cited example is King Khusraw Anūshīrvān's undying reputation for justice. Ṣūfīs regarded the quest for a good name as worldly and irreligious. Some extreme Ṣūfīs such as the Qalandars deliberately sought a bad name through blameworthy behaviour (malāmat), hoping thereby to gain a better prospect of salvation in the next world. As Ḥāfiẓ says:

از ننگ چه گوئی که مرا نام ز ننگست — وز نام چه پرسی که مرا ننگ ز نامست

(Dīvān-i Ḥāfiẓ, ed. by M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, Tehran 1340/1961, p. 33.

In the preface to his Turkish dīvān, Fuẓūlī describes poetry as a product of skill and temperament,[1] and explains that learning is necessary to develop the temperament and to create poetry because poetry without learning will remain soulless. In Anīs al-Qalb he writes:

(2) الا ای آنکه زیب شاهد گفتار می بندی
خدارا از لباس معرفت مگذار عریانش

"O you who adorn the lovely person of poetry, do not, for God's sake, leave it bare of the vesture of learning."[3]

In the preface to his Persian DĪvān,[4] Fuẓūlī writes that his nature inclined him to write qaṣīdas and mu'ammās (riddles), and that he did not at first think of writing ghazals. In the preface to his Turkish DĪvān, he speaks of munsha'āt (letters or essays), mu'ammās, maṣnavīs and qaṣīdas, and at the same time of Persian ghazals and Arabic rajaz (declamatory verses). In both dīvāns he informs us that he only began to write ghazals later. He accepts the ghazal as the form which best shows a poet's skill in versification. In commending a fine ghazal, he says:

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 5.
2. Anīs al-Qalb, Istanbul 1944, p.1.
3. Ma'rifat. This may mean knowledge or learning, but may also mean the mystic's insight into the truth.
4. Fuẓūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 13.

فزلدر صفا بخش اهل نظر　　فزلدر گل بوستان هنر
فزال فزل صيدی آسان دكل　　فزل منكری اهل عرفان دكل
فزل بلديرر شاعرك قدرتن　　فزل آرتورر ناظمك شهرتن
گوكل گرچه اشعاره چوق رسم وار　　فزل رسمن ايمت جمله دن اختيار
كه هر محفلك زينتدر فزل　　خردمندلر صنعتدر فزل
فزلدی كه مشهور دوران اوله　　اوتومقده پازمقده آسان اوله　(1)

"The ghazal is the form which adorns the assemblies of the men of understanding; which is on the tongues of the merry-makers and of the pure hearted; which gives men pleasure and is quickly understood."

The ghazal was regarded as the oldest and most primitive genre of poetry, for it was thought to have preserved its original characteristics: lively metaphorical language, deep feeling, pathos, rapture, a loose composition, and a musical verse. Above all it was supposed to be nearest to the language of the heart and thus to the poetry of unspoiled natural man. It was thus a very suitable genre for Fuẓūlī.

There are few passages in Fuẓūlī's ghazals which cannot be fully understood. He recognises, however, that the

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 6.

pleasures of poetry are quite different from other pleasures, and that comprehending the two worlds with poetry is difficult.(1) He himself, so he tells us, became a poet in spite of the difficulties of poetry. He believes in his own poetic talents, and mentions at the beginning of the Turkish DIvĀn(2) that he won fame while still young. In a Turkish stanza he says:

مدعی ایلر بکا تقلید نظم و نثرده
لیک نا مربوط الفاظ و مکدر ذاتی وار
پهلوانلر پادپالر سگردنده هر بکا
(3)
طفل هم جولان ایدر اما آتاجدن آتی وار

"I have imitators in both verse and prose, just as champions compete and hold horse-races, and children imitate them with horses made of wood, (Yet nobody can imitate FuzŪlI) he is the only one."

---

1. KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FuzŪlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 217.
مذاق شعر هم بر اوزگه عالمدر حقیقتده ایکی عالملری سهر ایلمك قابیده مشکلدر

2. KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FuzŪlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 4.
صیت فصاحت ایله سوزم دوتدی عالمی بن مهد اعتباردہ طفل زبون هنوز
بوی خوشله اولدی معطر دماغلر بن نافه وجوددہ بر قطره خون هنوز

3. KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FuzŪlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 218.

FużūlI says that through his poetry he is the ruler in all climes:

(1) تیغ زبان ماست که عالم گرفته است ما فتح کشوری به سپاهی نکرده‌ایم

"We have not conquered the land with armies. It is the sword of our tongue that has subdued the world."

In another stanza he says:

هر سوزم بر پهلواندر کیم بولوب تایید حق عزم قیلدقده دوتر تدریج ایله بحر و بری
قنده کیم عزم ایتسه مرسوم و مواجب ایستز قنغی ملکی دوتسه دیمز کیمسه‌یه شور و شری
پایمال اتمز آنی آسیب دور روزگار ایلمز تاثیر آنا دوران چرخ چنبری
تیلسون دنیاده سلطانلر بنا تکلیف جود بسدر باشمده توفیق قناعت انسری
هر جهتدن نارغم عالمده حاشا کیم اوله رزق ایچون اهل بنا اهل دنانك چاکری (2)

"Every word of mine is a champion, backed by God, who when he sets out slowly subdues the sea and the land. Wherever he goes, he demands no tribute; whichever land he seizes, no evil from him touches anyone. The changes of time do not trample him underfoot; and the turning sphere does not influence him. Let not Sulṭāns assume a duty of generosity to me in this world. The crown of contentment

---

1. FużūlI, Persian DIvān, ed. by H. Mazioglu, Ankara 1962, p. 478.

2. KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FużūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 217.

on my head suffices me; I have needed nothing in the world. Does it befit people of eternity to be slaves of people of transience for the sake of daily bread?" This poem expresses Fuẓūlī's whole philosophy very well.

As we mentioned before, Fuẓūlī is not one of the poets who embraced ṢūfIsm and he is not a complete mystic. Although his poems convey a feeling of the mystic's love, we cannot find any verses expressing the ṢūfI doctrine of the unity of existence. For FuẓūlI, the slave or worshipper and God are always separate. At the same time love is the basic principle in his art, and the strongest element in his lyricism. He sees it as a quality which pervades the earth; the heat in wine, the fervour in the voice of the flute, all such things come from it.(1) Love is a gift of God. It is the road which leads to God and on which there is no distinction between prince and pauper. As we shall see when we examine FuẓūlI's ghazals, love for him is a passion which has no cure. Death is the best remedy for this grief.

---

1. KullIyāt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p.119.

عشق در اول نشه کامل کیم آندندر مدام بیده تکویر حرارت بیده تأثیر صدا

MawlānA RūmI likewise in his poem "The song of the reed" says:

آتش عشقست کاندر نی فتاد جوشش عشق است کاندر می فتاد

Tis the fire of love that inspires the flute,
Tis the ferment of love that possesses the wine.
(MasnavI-yi Ma'navI, tr. by E. H. Whinfield, London 1898, p.1.

FuẑūlI is enamoured of all beautiful people. It may be assumed that he was in love with beauty itself, and it is unlikely that his beloved was a single beautiful person who captivated him to the end of his days. More probably there were many whom he encountered at various times. Another possibility is that in his youth FuẑūlI experienced an extremely passionate love-affair which influenced him deeply, and that this love, according to the customs of the time, could not find physical expression, but grew within him, and as it was imprisoned, ceased to have any material connection and was transformed to a divine love. Although the concept of love is sometimes a secondary theme in his works, it is always present, and is the reason for the beauty and effectiveness of his verse. The voice heard throughout the seven hundred and more ghazals of his Turkish and Persian Dīvāns is the laughing and weeping cry of love.

There is nevertheless a connection between FuẑūlI's philosophy and the mystic way of thought. Mystic modes of interpretation based on idealistic pantheism are one of the important sources of his inspiration and part of the basic fabric from which his art is woven. The love which is consecrated and sung in his spiritual ghazals and in his masterpiece "Laylā va Majnūn" never has a profane quality.

FużūlI does not extol physical urges, but sings of a self-sacrificing, divine love, which finds LaylĀ in the lover's own heart; that is, of an absolute and platonic love. Thanks to FużūlI's success in harmonizing of his own emotional tendencies with his education in ṢūfI thought, this absolute love, which many ṢūfI poets reduced to an insipid formalism, ceases in his works to be an intellectual concept and takes on a living and elevated form. Absolute love, distinguished by qualities such as sincerity and depth, self-denial and resignation, lived in his spirit together with a lyrical melancholy and imparted life to his works. When our poet leaves aside his inner emotions and gives expression to his thoughts in qaṣīdas, we see him as a master of his art and a skilled manipulator of ideas; but the reason why his works have maintained the same freshness and aesthetic value for many centuries must be sought in his philosophy, that is, in the ideal and divine love which he experienced and expressed.

FużūlI is most eloquent when he laments historical and legendary tragedies where love is transformed into compassion or bitterness. If faced with impossible situations, he seeks the beauty of patient renunciation and endurance. It is this absolute love which shows him that the pleasures and goods of the world are empty and

transient ornaments. Again it is this love which assuages his anger, quietens his defeated rebellions, and reconciles his conflicts with his environment. He has the psychology of the oppressed and not of the oppressor. He believes that: "The sigh of the oppressed affects even a stone."

In his Turkish work Ḥadiqat al-Su'adā, FuẓūlI stands out as one of the foremost elegiac poets who have lamented the Imām Ḥusayn; and we may attribute this to his seeing Ḥusayn as a symbol of the unjustly oppressed. His lament is partly for all victims of oppression in this world, and partly also for himself.

FuẓūlI sees himself as superior in love, suffering, grief and constancy to the romantic heroes of Islāmic literature. When he compares himself to Majnūn, Farhād or Vāmiq, he feels that his love, his faithfulness, and the griefs which he has suffered, are even greater than theirs.

Although FuẓūlI's mental outlook certainly suited him to the writing of elegies and eulogies, and he was probably also impelled to do this by the literary conventions of his time.

Professor Karahan has written:(1) "Love burned FuẓūlI like the desert sun, but it sweetened his poems like the dates of Baghdād."

---

1. Bilgi Dergisi, Istanbul 1956, No. 107, p.15.

Hasan Âli Yücel believes that FuzûlÎ found a refuge for himself in love, and remarks:[1] "Old FuzûlÎ could not fully live up to his own way of thinking. Had he been able to do so, he would have become like the Majnûn of his story; but such a thing was beyond him, and because he could not become like Majnûn, he searched for a refuge from this very state of mind. Just as the young Goethe found his salvation by killing Werter, so the aged FuzûlÎ sought relief for his soul by giving utterance in story to the love which had been the ideal of his life throughout the years. The most suitable venture for this purpose was, as in all the classical literatures of the world, to select one of the existing romances. So FuzûlÎ chose the story of Leylâ and Majnûn."

FuzûlÎ's prose does not have the same outstandingly high quality as his verse. Nevertheless, his Shikayâtnâma and his Hadiqat al-Su'adâ prove that he was a powerful prose-writer, possessing the same artistic skill and literary talents which are manifest in his poetry. The ShikâyatnÂma is an excellent example of elegance and satire, and the Hadiqat al-Su'adâ of emotional religious expression.

FuzûlÎ wrote his works in the three important Islâmic languages and in the literary genres current in his time.

---

1. Leylâ ve Mecnun, Preface, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.11.

His Turkish and Persian Dīvāns, his few short maṣnavīs, his Laylā va Majnūn and his Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā were widely diffused and have for centuries been famous in Turkish-speaking regions. This will be shown more clearly when we discuss the works separately. There are very few poets who have exerted such a wide and lasting influence on various fields of Turkish literature as FuẓūlI. After NasImI and 'Alī Shīr Navā'I, only FuẓūlI's works have spread to all parts of the Turkish-speaking world and have been read, loved and imitated. When 'Irāq came under Ottoman rule, FuẓūlI tried to write as much as possible in the Ottoman dialect, and his works were highly appreciated in Ottoman circles as well as in the Āzarī group to which he belonged. Since the Turks of Irān and the Turkmāns of Khurāsān were in close contact with Khvārizm and Transoxiana, his influence on Chaghatāy literature was also important.

As a help to our understanding of FuẓūlI's poetry we may compare him with his contemporary, the Ottoman Turkish poet BāqI.(1)

---

1. BāqI (Maḥmud 'Abd al-BāqI), a Turkish poet famous for his ghazals, was born in Istanbul (1526-1600). He was a court poet and received the title Sulṭān al-Shu'arā. Earlier in his career he was a QāẓīAskar (Army Judge). The easy and happy life of the upper classes of 16th century Istanbul, the colourful landscape, the gay and picturesque resorts in and around the capital, are vividly reflected in BāqI's poems.

For FuẒŪLĪ, poetry is the means of giving form to his emotions. He sees poetry as an adventure of the heart alone, and sees grief as the only climate in which the poet can live. (He says this in the introduction to his Persian DĪvān, though in the same introduction he also says that his nature is better suited to the writing of qaṣīdas and mu'ammās.)

BāqĪ, on the other hand, escapes from the inner world. For him, poetry is more a means of giving a form to outward events. When we read the works of these two poets who lived in the same century and wrote in the same language, we cannot fail to be struck by the great difference between them.

In FuẒŪLĪ's poetry we touch on the themes of grief and human destiny, and we feel that he must have embraced the language and fashions of the old Turkish poetry in order to express the problems of his own life. It may be asked how we can have any certainty that FuẒŪLĪ expressed his own problems or emotions in his works. In reply to this question we have to admit that we cannot cease to belong to our own 20th century when we engage in judgements of the past; that we cannot forget the associations of present-day language, or the attitudes which we have acquired through the impact of later centuries; and that we cannot become contemporary

readers of Bāqī or Fuẓūlī. There must always be a decisive difference between imaginative reconstruction of a past point of view and actual participation in it; but an attempt at such reconstruction must be made if we are to appreciate and enjoy the literature of times and places other than our own.

Although a poet's work may be a mask or a conventionalization, it is frequently conventionalization of his own life and experiences. When we read Bāqī, Ḥāfiẓ, Dante, Goethe or Tolstoy, we know that there is a person behind the work. There is an indubitable distinctive affinity between the writings of each author. As Caroline Spurgeon remarks of Shakespeare's Troilus and his Hamlet:(1)

"Did we not know it for other reasons, we could be sure from the similarity and continuity of symbolism in the two plays that they were written near together, and at a time when the author was suffering from a disillusionment, revulsion, and perturbation of nature such as we feel nowhere else with the same intensity." Here Caroline Spurgeon is assuming not that the specific cause of Shakespeare's disillusionment can be located, but that Hamlet expresses disillusionment and that this must be Shakespeare's own disillusionment. He could not have

---

1. Caroline Spurgeon's essay is reprinted in Anne Bradby's Shakespeare Criticism, 1919-35, London 1936, pp. 18-61.

written so great a play had he not been sincere.

FuẓūlI in his works creates a kind of personal legend resting on a psychological basis. Although in some poems he too longs for joy and happiness, we still see him suffering grief, which he feels and expresses with such force that we can almost observe his open mouth and tensed muscles like Laocoon's.

BāqI is FuẓūlI's opposite. He remains calm and balanced in the face of worldly events. He is a pleasure-lover who wishes to enjoy all the world's blessings without devoting himself too much to any one of them. He is a "Grand Seigneur" in the full sense of the word. He has no knowledge of suffering, but sometimes feels a gentle, measured sadness.

Religion also is treated differently by the two poets. FuẓūlI writes more often about religious subjects, and his dīvāns are full of tawḥīds (professions of God's unity) and eulogies of the Prophet. His hands are constantly in prayer; even love and the beloved appear to him as a kind of divinity. In BāqI's works we cannot find a single truly religious poem; his themes are basically secular and social. Again there is contrast between the attitudes of these two poets towards death. For FuẓūlI death is like a shadow, or like the echo of life's orchestra resounding in his ears. He does not wish for death, neither does he forget it. For

BāqI, death is eternity. He believes in men and in human memory. He does not wish his name to be eradicated from human memory, and is confident that in men's memories his life will be eternal.(1) Thus he says:

(2) باقی قلن بو قبّه ده بر خوش صدا ایش

"What remains in this dome eternally is a sweet voice."

He means that what will endure in this world, which he compares to a dome, is good poetry.

Literature, so it seems to us, is bound to represent life; and life is, in large measure, a social reality. The poet himself is a member of society. De Bonald(3) goes so far as to say that "literature is an expression of society." A writer inevitably expresses his own experience and his own conception of life; but it would be manifestly untrue to say that he expresses the whole of life, since he is only representative of his own age and society. Thomas Warton,(4) the historian of English poetry, argues that literature has the peculiar merit of faithfully recording the features of the time, and of preserving the most picturesque and expressive representations of its manners.

---

1. Sometimes FuzūlI has the same thought; see p. 134 above.
2. BāqI DIvāni, Istanbul 1860, p.137.

آوازۂ بو عالمه داود کبی صال باقی قلن بو قبّه ده بر خوش صدا ایش

3. H. Smith, Relativism in De Bonald's Literary Doctrine, London 1934, pp. 193-210.
4. Thomas Warton, History of English Poetry, London 1774, Vol.I, p.1.

Few will dispute the theory, propounded in the 19th century by the French thinker Hippolyte Taine,[1] that a poet or writer should be studied in the light of his period, his domicile, and his national origin. As regards FuẓūlI and BāqI, the difference of abode of these two men, who lived in the same century and came of the same nation, shows clearly in their works. BāqI lived in a great and magnificent palace at the centre of an empire whose expansion and glory were growing and accelerating every day. For this reason his poems are a harmony of colour and light, and his lines are full of precious ornament like the treasuries of ancient Egypt. He did not write about suffering, since suffering is something that should not be shown in a palace. A palace is, above all, a place of etiquette and ceremony.

FuẓūlI lived in 'Irāq, and in some of his qaṣīdas he wrote about its social and economic defects. Furthermore, 'Irāq, with its memories of the martyrs of Karbalā and Najaf, was a land of weeping and lament. This is the starting point for FuẓūlI's grievous love and for the attraction which martyrdom held for him. Whether he praises

---

1. Hippolyte Taine, French critic, philosopher and historian; his new critical theory was set out in full in the introduction to his Histoire de la litterature anglaise, Paris 1863. He was the founder of a sociological "science" of literature, formulated in his doctrine of "race, milieu, moment".

God or a ruler or a beloved, these feelings constitute the framework of his imagery.

A ghazal from FuẓūlI:

دوست بی پروا فلك بی رحم و دوران بی سكون
درد چوق همدرد یوق دشمن قوی طالع زبون
سایهٔ امّید زائل آفتاب شوق گرم
رتبهٔ اد بار عالی پایهٔ تدبیر دون
عقل دون همت صدای طعنه پرپردن بلند
بخت كم شفقت بلای عشق گون گوندن لزون
من غریب ملك راه وصل پر تشویش و مكر
من حریف ساده لوح و دهر پر نقش فسون
هر سحر تد جلوه سن بر سهل طوفان بلا
هر هلال ابرو قاشی بر سرخط مشق جنون
یلده برگ لاله تك تمكین دانش بی ثبات
صوده عكس سروتك تاثیر دولت وارگون
سرحد مطلوب پر محنت طریق امتحان
منزل مقصود پر آسیب راه آزمون
شاهد مقصد نوای چنگ تك پرده نشین
سافر عشرت حباب صاف صهباتك نگون
نقره حاصل طریق ملك جمعیت مخوف
آه بیلم نیلم یوق بر موافق رهنمون
چهرهٔ زردمن فضولینك طوتوبدر اشك آل
گور آگاه رنگلر چكمش سهر نیلگون (1)

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 182.

Friends are heedless, spheres are ruthless, Fortune is
inconstant quite;

Woes are many, friends not any, strong the foe, and weak
my plight.

Past away hope's gracious shadow, passion's sun beats fierce
and hot;

Lofty the degree of ruin, lowly is the rank of right.

Little power hath understanding, louder aye grows slander's
voice,

Scant the ruth of fickle Fortune, daily worsens love's despite.

I'm a stranger in this country,(1) guile-beset is union's path;

I'm a wight of simple spirit, earth with faerie shows is dight.

Every slender figure's motions form a steam of sorrow's flood,

Every crescent-brow's a head-line of the scroll that madness
hight.

Learning's dignity's unstable as the leaf before the wind;

Fortune's workings are inverted, like the trees in water bright.

Sore desired the frontier, fraught with anguish lies the road
of trial;

Yearned for is the station, all the path of proof beset with
fright.

Like the harp's sweet voice, the longed for beauty bides
behind the veil;

Like the bubbles on the wine, reversed the beaker of delight.

Separation is my portion, dread the way to union's land;

Ah, I weet not where to turn me, none is here to guide aright.

Tears of cramoisie have seized on FuẔULI's sallow cheek;

Lo, what shades the Sphere cerulean maketh thereupon to light.(2)

---

1. The world.

2. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol.III, p. 92.

A ghazal from BāqI:

غزل

ازلدن شاه عشقك بندهٔ فرمانبوز جانا — محبّت ملكك سلطان عالی شانبوز جانا (1)
سحاب لطفك آبن تشنه دللردن دریغ اتمه — بو دشتك بغری یانمش لالهٔ نعمانبوز جانا
زمانه بزده گوهر سزدوکمچون دل خراش ایلر — انکچون بغرمز خوندر معارف کانبوز جانا
مگر قلمسون گرد کدورت چشمه جانی — بلورسن آب روی ملکت عثمانبوز جانا
جهانی جام تنلم شمر باقی کمس دور ایلر — بو بزمك شمدی بزده جانی دورانبوز جانا

From all eternity the slave of Sultan love are we, O life.(2)

Of passion's mighty realm are we the king of haught degree, O life.

Forbid not thirsting hearts the water of the cloud of thy dear grace;

The core-brent tulip of this dreary wilderness we be, O life.

Fortune is ware that pearls in us are bid, and so she rends our heart,

And thus our vitals bleed; we are the mine of wit, perdie, O life.

Let not the dust of sorrow ever cloud the fountain of the soul;

We are, thou know'st, the glory of the Ottoman Empire, O life.

Like BāqI's poetry, that bowl, my verse, doth circle all the earth;

So now the JāmI(3) of the age at this fair feast are we, O life.(4)

---

1. Bâkî's Dîwân, ed. by Dr. Rudolf Dvorák, Vol.I, GhazalIyāt, Leiden 1908, p.1.

2. The life (jan) addressed in the radIf of this ghazal may be the beloved, human or divine; or possibly, the poet's own soul.

3. JāmI, the great Persian poet, derived his name from his native town Jām in Khurāsān; but JāmI may also be taken to mean "He of the Bowl". There is a TajnIs between this word and the jām (bowl) in the preceding line.

4. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London, 1904, Vol.IṬI, p. 156.

It could be claimed that FuẓŪlī's poetry contains nothing fresh for today's reader. Although there is a widespread assumption that poetry ought to be the product of a creative spirit, we personally believe that the essence of true poetry, which is eternally fresh, is that it should evoke the poet's inspiration in the reader's mind. The poet must be sincere, and his poems must contain sensibility, spontaneity and originality. FuẓŪlī's verse lacks none of these qualities, because even though he used familiar themes and forms, he imparted a new life to them. When a poet's inspiration can pass from person to person and from one society to another down to the present day, the reason must be that his poetry contains these qualities. When we read FuẓŪlī's poetry we can understand its true meaning, and can feel that the verse is the harmonious song of an inner world. Moreover his art is such that he spreads before us the life of his own age, from the richest to the poorest communities, from Sulṭān to peasant.

From the time of 'Alī-Shīr Navā'ī[1] and probably earlier, the influence of Persian and Arabic styles is very obvious in Turkish poetry, in the forms of the lines, the subject matter and the imagery. For this reason it is difficult to find a distinctive view of nature, understanding

---

1. 'Alī-Shīr Navā'ī, see Chapter IV, p. 107.

of art, or aesthetic appreciation, in any great Turkish poet. On the other hand, although one should look for the influence of a poet's religious attitude on his work, this is not necessarily as important as it is in some European poets. In an Eastern poet one should not always expect the same qualities as one finds in many great Western poets, for instance in those who took over the inspiration and thought, the artistic models and the form and spirit, of antiquity and its culture, thus creating a pagan art and an artistic world separate from the religious world. But just as there are European poets like Leopardi(1) and Young(2) whose sorrows have reached us through the centuries, so too is FuzûlI a sincere poet who has penetrated the secrets of art and can still convey his message to us. He came to the conclusion that suffering is fundamental to mankind, and made this his poetic theme. Even if he was in fact happy in his own life, about which we know so little, his poems arouse our feelings of sorrow and make us believe in the sincerity of his grief. The fascination of his art must spring from this; and it is a virtue found only in true poets.

---

1. Giacomo Leopardi (1798-1837), one of the greatest Italian poets.

2. Edward Young (1683-1765), English poet, known for his poem "The complaint lamenting the death of his wife."

As the great English poet John Keats[1] said, "the genius of poetry is to escape from the commonplace." This aesthetic principle is indeed the foundation of all art. While it does not necessarily call for abandonment of old forms, it certainly allows introduction of new emotions and themes in new ways. FuẓūlI was not a pioneer bringing a new voice from another world; he did not open new paths or create new genres. He took the subject of his Turkish Laylā va Majnūn from the great Persian poet Niẓāmī,[2] and its form and style from the contemporary Persian poet Hātifī.[3] But we shall see that he worked out the subject in a different way. This was a great achievement, and it explains why among the many versions of Laylā va Majnūn existing in Turkish literature FuẓūlI's work became so famous. No work of art can be wholly "unique", since it then would be quite incomprehensible. In fact we find that every literary work contains "particular" parts and "general" or "universal" parts, and that besides possessing individual characteristics it shares common properties with other works of art. FuẓūlI's works reflect not only his

---

1. John Keats (1795-1821), The letters of John Keats, ed. by B. Forman, London 1895.
2. Niẓāmī Ganja'ī; (1140/41-1202/3), the first and greatest Persian romantic poet, had brilliantly inaugurated the mystic-romantic poetry of the East with his famous Khamsa, a work, or rather series of works, which many subsequent poets tried to emulate, both in his own and in other lands.
3. Hātifī (d. 1521) was the nephew of Jāmī, but unlike his uncle who was a Sunnite, he was a Shī'ite.

his personality but also the individuality of his period and of his national literature. His works are not the products of a great creative genius, and are not in that sense great masterpieces. They cannot be compared with the works of great poets like Homer, Virgil, Dante, Baccaccio, Milton, Goethe, Hölderlin, Firdawsî, Khayyâm, or Rûmî, who created great epics, or great and eternal poetry, from mythology and legends, or from the incidents of life, or who sang of the world with a new philosophy. Such poets are like seas or great rivers, constantly throwing up novel ideas which reveal secrets. Fuzûlî is not a poet who reached this height of genius. For all that, a reading of even a few of his poems shows what a valuable service he performed. He sought to infuse the freshness of spring into the Turkish language and Turkish poetry, and in so far as this could be done through the medium of his own poems, he was successful. For centuries he has held a place in the heart of the Turkish nation, and he is still counted as one of the greatest Turkish poets.

We have already said that Fuzûlî was a poet with opposing ideas. We must not forget that artists too are human, and can look at life and society with different eyes at different times, and can see them in different aspects. We must remember that they, too, have moods of rebellion, fear, hopelessness, and bewilderment, and that they often feel such emotions more strongly than other people do. A

person can think what he likes whenever he likes, but he cannot always say exactly what he thinks. Even if the law allows the greatest possible freedom of thought and expression, the artist remains subject to the pressures of religion, morals, upbringing and custom. The more varied and strong these pressures are, the less he can express his true self in his works. Fear of external pressures obliges him to keep hidden those of his feelings and thoughts to which people are not accustomed and which could be considered dangerous. The unlucky fate of the Eastern artist was an increasing exposure to such pressures, which lasted for many centuries longer than in the West. This was one of the reasons why every literary work had to be more or less a copy of a previous one. The writings of Eastern thinkers and artists consequently express the ideas and personality of the author, and the outlook of the time in which he lived, with far less clarity than do the writings of authors in countries where there was more freedom of thought and publication. The lines of the old Turkish poets give us the feeling that they are hesitant in expressing or not expressing their wishes. The suppressed thoughts and feelings of the poet find a place in the depths of his spirit, and seek a way of expression, sometimes openly, and sometimes by means of symbols and allusions. Sometimes they are concealed, and this concealment helps them to be

understood. When examining the works of artists from places and times with no freedom of speech, one should study what they did not say openly in addition to what they apparently said. In the period when Fuẓūlī lived, ʿIrāq was conquered and reconquered several times, and as a result its people fell into a state of poverty and misery. One of the reasons for Fuẓūlī's feelings about the meaninglessness and misery of life must be sought in this fact. Moreover in the ʿIrāqī environment several races, languages and religions co-existed. Fuẓūlī's situation was, from every point of view, unfortunate for a poet. In his day a poet could live comfortably only if he were supported by powerful dignitaries of the state. The conquerors of ʿIrāq, however, were not in a position to think of literature. In the period following Qānūnī Sulṭān Sulaymān's conquest of ʿIrāq, Fuẓūlī lived far from the notice of the ruler in Istanbul and could not win the esteem which he desired. In the Sāqī-nāma of his Laylā ve Mecnūn, Fuẓūlī says that in former times Turkish, Arabic and Persian poets had been protected by the sovereign; the Caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd had patronized Abū Nuwās, and the Shāh of Shirvān had patronized Nizāmī. In his own day, however, since there were no more sovereigns like this, the poets were silent.

اول بر نجه همدم موافق — یعنی شعراك روز سابق
تدریجله گلدیلر جهانه — تعظیمله اولدیلر روانه
دوران اولاری معظم ایتدی — هر دور برین مکرم ایتدی
هر برینه حامی اولدی بر شاه — ذوق سخنندن اولدی آگاه
ترك و عرب و عجمده ایام — هر شاعره وبر مشهدی بر کام
شاد ایتشدی ابی نواسی — هارون خلیفه تك عباسی
بولمشدی صفای دل نظامی — شروان شاهه دوشوب گرامی
اولمشدی نوائی سخندان — منظور شهنشه خراسان
سوز گوهرنه نظر صالانلر — گنجینه ویروب گهر آلانلر
چون تالمدی تالمدی فصاحت — ارباب فصاحت ایچره راحت (1)

In days long dead, the poets in their pride
Had friendships all congenial, all well tried,
As, one by one, they entered in the world
And, honour crowned, passed on, their pages curled.
The time was ripe, each epoch brought a name
That lived esteemed and honoured, died in fame.
To each was granted a protector proud,
A King, who merit to their word allowed.
The Turks, the Arabs, yea the Persians, too,
All from their poets inspiration drew.
Harun the Caliph, famed both far and wide,
Made happy Ebi-Nûwas in his pride.
The King of Shirvan brought Nizâmî joy,
While Kirami rejoiced in his employ.

---

1. Kulliyyât-i Dîvân-i Fuzûlî, Istanbul 1891, p. 239.

In Khorasan, the King of Kings himself
In Novai's verses found a joyous wealth.
All cast their glance o'er all the jewelled word
And gave their treasure for the treasure heard.
But now no more of eloquence remains,
No more fall poets lines as summer rains. (1)

In the introductory passage to Laylī va Majnūn, Fuzūlī exclaims bitterly that all the poets are dead, that the realm of poetry has collapsed, and that he is alone in his age. He adds that this state of affairs is not confined to Baghdād, but that India, Fārs, Khurāsān, Rūm, Persia, Syria and Shirvān are in the same situation.

هم جنسلرم تمام گیتمش — سوز ملکدن نظام گیتمش
بو بزمده قالمشز سن و بن — بو بزمی گل ایدهلم مزین
سن وبر باده بن ایلهم نوش — بن نظم اوتویم سن آکه طوت گوش
بر دوردهام که نظم اولوب خوار — اشعار بولوب کساد اسعار
اول رتبهده قدر نظمدر دون — کم کثر اوتنور کلام موزون
بر ملکدهام که گر بولدوب تان — مضمون عماره چکوب جان
بیک رشته یه طرفه لعل چکسم — بیک روضه یه نازنین گل اکسم
قیلمز آنا هیچ کم نظاره — دیرلر گله خار لعله خاره
انجق دیمزم که خاک بغداد — آلایش نظمدندر آزاد
یوقدر بر ملک بو زمانده — کم نظم رواجی اوله آنده
نه هند نه فارس نه خراسان — نه روم و عجم نه شام و شیروان
اولسیدی بر نده بر سخن سنج — البته همان اولوردی اول گنج (2)

---

2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuzūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 238.
1. Leylâ ve Mecnun, tr. by Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p. 25

All those I knew have faded far away,
While order has forsaken all my words.
'Tis thou and I alone remain conjoined.
Come, therefore, let the orgy be increased:
Give now the cup that I may deeply drink
And, haply, while my verses I recite,
Thou wilt in kindliness incline thine ear.
How wretched are these days when all about
The fire of poetry no market finds:
How low in sad esteem, are verses fall'n,
That all blaspheme to hear the rhymed word
So sadly am I fall'n, low in fame
That though in suffering I spent my soul,
And poured my very life blood in my lines,
Or strung red rubies on a thousand threads,
Or planted thousand gardens with the rose
Of poetry, not one would deign to glance
Upon a line I wrote. My splendid rose
A thorn, in vulgar spite would be miscalled,
And all my rubies rare be termed base rock.
Yet 'tis a fallacy that fair Baghdad
With all its fertile soil no nurture gives
To poet's art and poem's linked word.
Though sadly this confession must be made
That not a land, not Hindustan itself,
Nor Sham, nor Shirvan, current value give
To verses magic. Did a muse exist
Then surely would his treasure public be. (1)

.....

After this, he praises the Ottoman Sulṭān Qānūnī Sulaymān.

---

1. Leylâ ve Mecnun, tr. by Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p. 23.

On the other hand, it may have been a gain to FuẐûlî's art that he lived in a city far from the patronage and possible oppression of the Ottoman Sulṭâns of Istanbul. A man who is not the centre of attention will naturally feel himself more free. In certain stanzas where FuẐûlî tries to explain his own situation, he says:

بس که جام می کبی خوش مشرب و صاف دلم
حرمتم واجب توتار هرکم بیلر کیفیتم
معتبر در غرور اهلی بن آندن نارغم
اعتبارا چوق دگل نابل حقر هیچتم (1)

"Because I am sweet-natured and pure like a wine-glass, those who understand me find me worthy of respect. Proud men are respected, but I am not like that; my unostentatious being does not command respect."

In another poem he says:

ایلیوب نادانه هر فضل و اظهار هنر
شرمسار ایتمك عطا آلمق ندر ظلم صریح
سن بیلورسن محمل آندن نه آلورسن ولی
بیلمز اولکم آلدیغی سندن حسندر یاتیح
ظاهرا صاتمق هنر آلمق عطا بر بیحدر
حقل نادانه بیورمز شرع آنك بیعن صحیح (2)

---

1. KulliyyÂt-i Divân-i FuẐûlî, Istanbul 1891, p. 178.
2. Ibid., p. 215.

"To expect a reward for presenting knowledge and displaying skill to the insensitive is an obvious injustice. You know well what you are getting from him; but he does not know whether what he is getting from you is good or bad. Selling skill and buying a gift is a commercial transaction. But the man without understanding is a child. The laws of religion do not regard the transaction as legal."

اگر ہمن نبود پادشاہ را لطفی
نمی کنم کہ کان ہم نشان شفقت اوست
ز ضعف تالب من واقع است می داند
کہ بار فاقہ سبک تر ز بار منّت اوست

"I do not complain if the King shows no kindness to me, because this (unkindness) is a sign of his mercy. He knows the weakness of my frame, he knows that I carry the load of poverty more easily than the load of obligation to him."

We may assume that the writer of these lines was not an opportunist or a seeker of favours. This characteristic of the poet may have been one of the main reasons for his lack of fortune, because great men of state who read such words would hardly have been willing to patronize their author.

---

1. Fuzûlî, Persian Dîvân, ed. by H. Kazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 636.

The prosody ('aruż) used by FużūlI.

When FużūlI states in the preface to his Turkish DIvān that it is difficult to write Turkish poetry, he must mean that it is difficult to make Turkish conform to the rules concerning metre laid down by the Arabic and Persian theorists of 'aruż.(1) FużūlI's knowledge of Persian and Arabic and ability to write poetry in those languages, and his first-hand acquaintance with the works of Persian and Arab poets, meant that the linguistic and grammatical rules of Arabic and Persian made a deep imprint on his own AzarI Turkish language, as they did on the language of all Ottoman poets. There are many couplets and lines which show how easily he could fit the Turkish language to the 'aruż metres, without affecting the naturalness of what he wrote. In FużūlI's poetry the AzarI dialect finds its most fluent and unaffected expression. Similarly in the Turkish Ottoman

---

1. The first Arabic writer on 'aruż is said to have been the grammarian and lexicographer KhalIl ibn Ahmad (d.176/791). The celebrated grammarian and Qur'ān-commentator ZamakhsharI (d.538/1143) wrote an important book on this subject. Persian 'aruż in theory follows the Arabic system, but in practice mostly uses different metres; the oldest surviving treatise is by Shams-i Qays of Shirāz (early 13th century). The earliest Turkish poetry is in folk-metres. The Persian system of 'aruż was adopted for Turkish poetry in and after the 14th century; it is not well suited to the Turkish language, which has no real long vowels.

literature, metre and rhyme were two definite forms to which poets had to make their verses conform. They would choose a definite model and try to adapt their poem strictly to it. In FuẒūlī's works, however, we do not find such great concern for form. He evidently attached greater importance to the lyricism and contents of the poem. He uses a small number of 'aruḍ metres repeatedly, rather than a great variety of metres; he generally uses the simpler metres; and he does not appear to have had any pretensions to virtuosity in this respect. The metres which he prefers are:

Ramal muṣamman maqṣūr

فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلن

– ◡ – – / – ◡ – – / – ◡ – – / – ◡ –

Ramal musaddas mākhbūn maqṣūr

فعلاتن فعلاتن فعلن
فاعلاتن

– ◡ – – / ◡ ◡ – – / ◡ ◡ –

Less frequently he uses the following metres:

Hazaj muṣamman

مفاعيلن مفاعيلن مفاعيلن مفاعيلن

◡ – – – / ◡ – – – / ◡ – – – / ◡ – – –

Hazaj musaddas maqṣur

مفاعيلن مفاعيلن فعولن

⏑ – – – / ⏑ – – – / ⏑ – –

Kuẓiri' mugamman akhrab makfūf maqṣūr

مفعول فاعلات مفاعيل فاعلن

– – ⏑ / – ⏑ – ⏑ / ⏑ – – ⏑ / – ⏑ –

Kujtagg mugamman makhbūn maqṣūr

مفاعلن فعلاتن مفاعلن فعلن

⏑ – ⏑ – / ⏑ ⏑ – – / ⏑ – ⏑ – / ⏑ ⏑ –

Hazaj mugamman akhrab makfūf maqṣūr

مفعول مفاعيل مفاعيل فعولن

– – ⏑ / ⏑ – – ⏑ / ⏑ – – ⏑ / ⏑ – –

Khafīf

فعلاتن مفاعلن فعلن

فاعلاتن

– ⏑ – – / ⏑ – ⏑ – / – – ⏑

The magnificence of form is not always supported by a corresponding grandeur of thought. The uniformity of subject, and the harmony of contents can keep the attention enlivened, the fancy amused, even the feelings awake. FuẑûlÎ proves that a work lives not by its form, as was commonly thought at that time, but by the merit of its content. He himself says in a verse:

(1) اصل معنیست نه تزیین کلام سخن آنست که فهمند عوام

"The main point is (meaning) not flowery speech. Poetry is what common people understand."

In his use of rhyme, too, FuẑûlÎ remains within the established bounds of the contemporary literature, using Arabic and Persian rhymes even in his Turkish poetry. To widen the classical bounds, he occasionally also uses Turkish rhymes, and in this he shows his complete mastery of the Turkish language; however, out of 324 ghazals in Turkish, only 8 have Turkish rhymes. We give as an example one of his famous distichs:

---

1. FuẑûlÎ, Rind-u Zâhid, Ankara 1956, p.7.

As the Prophet said: كلموا الناس على قدر عقولهم

"Talk to people with language which they can understand."

منی جاندن اوصاندردی جلادن یار اوصانسزمی (1)
تلکر یاندی آهدن مراد، شمعی یانزمی

"My beloved has made me weary of myself; has not she too become weary?

My sighs have seared the heavens; will not the candle of my desire now shine?"

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 195.

CHAPTER VI

FuẓūlI's Turkish works.

Bang-ū Bāda.

Bang-ū Bāda is a short narrative poem in Turkish, describing a contest between wine and the narcotic bang (Persian bang or shāh-dāna; Arabic banj or hashIsh), which is prepared from the seeds of cannabis (Indian hemp). The poem is a masnavI of about 444 couplets, in the khafIf metre. It is one of FuzūlI's earliest works, for although the year of composition is not given, its dedication to Shāh IsmāʻIl ṢafavI fixes it as being somewhere between 914/1508, when Shāh IsmāʻIl took Baghdād, and 930/1524, when he was succeeded by his son Tahmāsp. It is certain that Bang-ū Bāda was written after Shāh IsmāʻIl's victory over the Uzbak Khān ShaybānI near Marv in 916/1510,[1] since FuẓūlI touches on this subject in the work. The language of the work, particularly in the older mss., shows distinctive characteristics

---

1. In this battle Shāh IsmāʻIl's force of 17,000 QizilbāSh troops utterly defeated 28,000 Uzbaks by means of a successful ambush. ShaybānI Khan fled to an enclosure by the River Murghāb, and upon the capture of his place of refuge he was killed attempting to jump his horse over the wall. His head was cut off and taken before the victor, by whose order it was mounted in gold and set with jewels to serve as a goblet.

of the ĀzarI dialect.

In old Turkish and classical Persian literatures, there are a number of works in the genre called munāẓara (disputation), where two opposing figures are made to speak and express the poet's thoughts on a particular subject, and at the end a moral conclusion is frequently reached. Works in this genre may be comic, moral, or mystic, or may take themes which the poet can use in order to write in a particular style, or to show his facility and mastery of his art. Bang-U Bīda is a work of this kind, which FuẓūlI wrote in his youth, probably as a literary experiment.

Nearly all the mss. of FuẓūlI's Turkish DIvān in the libraries of Turkey also contain Bang-U Bīda at the end of the manuscript. Other copies are in the British Museum (London) Add. 19,445, Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris) no. 1370 Supplément, Königliche Bibliothek (Berlin) no. 406, Bodleian Library (Oxford) no. 2133, and KitābkhāNa-yi Majlis-i MillI (Tehran) no. 987.(1)

---

1. One line containing ShāH IsmĀ'Il's name is omitted in some copies; according to Gibb, because the Ottoman scribes were loath to admit that a poet whom they reckoned as one of theirs should have inscribed a book to the heretical sovereign who had dared to withstand the grim SultĀn SalIm.

   For other copies, see the catalogues of Leipzig, nos. 325, 327; Dresden, no. 412, S. Petersburg no. 540, and Vienna no. 679.

   Bang-U Bāda has been translated into German by Prof. Necati H. Lugal and Dr. O. Reşer (Rescher) (Des Türkischen Dichters Fuzûlîs poem "Leylâ-Mejnûn" und die gereimte Erzählung "Beng u Bâde" (Hasig und Wein) Istanbul, 1943. It has also been translated into Persian by KhayyāmpUr, Tabriz 1327/1948

Like all <u>masnavIs</u>, this begins with a <u>tawḥId</u>, after which comes a <u>na'ṭ</u>.(1) FuẓūlI's prayers to God, and eulogies of 'AlI and the Prophet, are here similar to those in his later works. He then begins with a description of his own distress and ignorance, and implores God for help in those words:

یارب افسرده‌ام بن نا اهل — حددن اوتدی خمار دیدهٔ جهل
تویمه افسرده و پریشان حال — مشق اودندن یکا حرارت صال
بزم مشق ایچره صون یکا بر جام — لیك جامی که نقصم ایده تمام
تملم آثار معرفت اظهار — اوله مفتاح مخزن اسرار
نه شرابی که عقلی زائل ایده — گوکلمی طاعتکده غافل ایده
اوله مطلق فساد دین سبب — بوله آندن زوال شرع نبی (2)

"Oh God, I am dejected and ignorant. Give a cup which will perfectly complete my fervour in love's fire. Make good my deficiencies in the feast of love, so that I may create masterpieces and cross the gates of mystery. But the wine in this cup must not cloud my mind or make my heart heedless of God; nor must it vitiate religion, or bring the Prophet's Holy law to nothing."

Later FuẓūlI says in praise of ShEh IsmĀ'Il:

---

1. A <u>tawḥId</u> is a poem praising God and a <u>na'ṭ</u> is a poem praising the Prophet Muḥammad.
2. <u>KullIyĀt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI</u>, Istanbul 1891, p. 81.

جام می صون که تا دلیرانه　　مدح ایدم پادشاه دورانه
اول صفا بخش جام جم که مدام　　تخت نیرینه در چو باده حرام
اولکه پاشلر زمانده بزم فراغ　　پادشهلر باشندن المر ایاغ (۹)

"Give me the wine-glass, so that I may bravely praise the Ruler of the Age. It is he who gives delight to the cup of Jam.(2) Like wine, the throne is unlawful to all but him. He is the Jamshid of the Age, and has made cups from the skulls of rulers."(3)

After the eulogy of Shāh IsmĀ'Il, FuẓūlI begins to tell the story.

According to E. J. W. Gibb,(4) 'the poem is a phantasy conceived in the same spirit as LĀmi'I's munāẓara between Spring and Winter, but written wholly in verse. When FuẓūlI wrote, the use of the narcotic bang had become very prevalent in the East, especially among the doctors and men of learning, many allusions to whose fondness for it are to be found in the poem. It was proving a formidable rival to wine for the suffrages of the devotees of pleasure, and FuẓūlI figuratively

---

1. KulliyāT-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 82.
2. The magic world-seeing cup of the mythical Irānian King Jamshid or Jam, who is also said to have invented wine.
3. FuẓūlI means the skull of Shaybānī Khān; see p. 172, footnote 1, above.
4. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol. III, p. 77.

describes the competition between them as a struggle between two kings."

King Bāda (wine) is sitting surrounded by his courtiers 'Araq (arrack), Ḥabid (grape-juice) and Būza (zythum; malted millet), when the sāqī (cup-bearer) arrives and tells how he has been at the court of King Bang, who boasts himself lord of all and master even of King Bāda. The latter takes counsel of those present and determines to send Būza on an embassy to Bang, demanding his submission. Bang naturally scorns such a course. He talks the matter over with his friends Afyūn (opium) and Ma'jūn (electuary, i.e. a narcotic confection for eating). Then he sends Ma'jūn to King Bāda with a counter-demand. The result is that they go to war, and eventually Bang is defeated.

Lāmi'ī (d. 938/1531-2), to whom Gibb refers, wrote a disputation between Spring and Winter,[1] and another Ottoman poet Fażlī (Muḥammad, d. 969/1562-3) wrote a Rose and Nightingale;[2] both are munāẓarāt, more or less similar in form to Fuzūlī's Bang-ū Bāda. Lāmi'ī's work describes in allegorical from the contest of the seasons; spring and winter are represented as two great rival kings, while summer

---

1. Bahār-ū Shitā.

2. Gul-ū Bulbul.

is but the friend and ally of the former, and autumn the harbinger and herald of the latter. Flowers are made to represent spring, as branches of his service. They start to fight, and at the beginning spring's army advances and captures some important places; but at the end winter with his soldiers of frost reconquers from spring all the territory which he had lost.

Fażlī was a secretary at the court of the Ottoman Prince Muṣṭafā, Qanūnī Sulaymān's eldest son, who was put to death in 960/1553; he dedicated his Rose and Nightingale to this Prince.(1) In it, one series of incidents, where the recurring seasons are personified as hostile kings, has the same fundamental ideas as Lāmi'ī's disputation between spring and winter.

J. von Hammer thinks that Fużūlī wrote Bang-ū Bāda solely as an account of the joys of drugs and alcohol;(2) and Sulaymān Naẓīf thinks that Fużūlī wrote the work merely to entertain and ingratiate himself with the drunken ruler Shāh Ismā'īl.(3)

According to H. Gulizade, Fużūlī intended through his use of mystic language to point out the evils of wine and

---

1. Ṣāliḥ-i 'Uthmānī, 1890-3 Istanbul, Vol. III, p. 215.
2. Hammer, Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst, 1837, Vol. II, p. 112.
3. Sulaymān Naẓīf, Fużūlī, Istanbul 1925, p. 68.

narcotic drugs, and through his descriptions of treason, double-dealing, insincerity, bellicosity, ostentation and palace intrigue, to give advice to kings.(1)

On the other hand, Tahir Olgun, in an article in the journal "Yücel", claims - without positive evidence - that Bang-ü Bāda is neither bacchic nor mystic, but symbolizes the Ottoman Sulṭān Bāyazīd II and the Ṣafavid Shāh Ismā'īl. Although there is no clear indication in the work itself, it could be taken that King Bāda represents the young IsmĀ'Il while King Bang represents his contemporary, the ageing Bāyazīd. There is evidence that IsmĀ'Il really loved wine, and that Bāyazīd in his advanced age abandoned wine for the pleasures of drug-taking.

According to Tahir Olgun, the use of narcotic drugs (opium and cannabis) was at that time widespread throughout the Middle East.(2)

---

1. Azerbaycan Edebiyati Tarihi, Bākū 1960, Vol.I, pp. 390-95.
2. These drugs had been known since ancient times and throughout the Islāmic period; see Encyclopaedia of Islām, 2nd ed., articles Afyūn and Ḥashīsh. E. G. Browne in his book A Year among the Persians, London 1893, 3rd ed. reprinted 1959, p. 569, note 1, states that one of the odes of Ḥāfiz beginning Alā yā ṭūṭī-yi ġūyā-yi asrār ("O secret-telling parrot") is really addressed to the drug ḥashīsh, because ṭūṭī-yi asrār ("parrot of mysteries") is a Persian euphemism for ḥashīsh.

It is recorded in historical sources that Mehmed the conqueror was angered by his son and successor BāyazId's addiction to drugs; and Tahir Olgun shows that not only BāyazId but also many other rulers and holders of high positions were tarred with the same brush. Shāh Ismā'Il's son Tahmāsp I, who died in 984/1576 at the age of 65, took both opium and alcohol, and himself wrote in a rubā'I that he had been an addict but later repented:

یك چند بی زمرّد سوده شدیم یك چند به یاقوت تر آلوده شدیم
آلودگی بود به هر رنگ که بود شستیم بآب بتوبه آسوده شدیم

"For a time we pursued the crushed emerald (i.e. probably hashIsh);(1) for a time we polluted ourselves with the liquid ruby (wine). No matter what the colour, both are unclean. We washed them with the water (i.e. tears) of repentance, and regained peace of mind."(2)

When FuzUlI speaks in the work about embassies between King Bang and King Büda, he could in Olgun's view be alluding to embassies between BāyäzId and Ismā'Il. Wine's attempts to ambush Bang could likewise refer to such attempts between the two rulers. Again, the words bang and bädä are not in Olgun's

---

1. Browne, loc. cit.
2. Yüsel Mecmuasi, Istanbul 1935, Vol. II, pp. 97-99.

view used at random. The word "bāda" was applied to new wine, and could be meant as a reference to Shāh Ismā'Il's youth; while it was then customary only for old people to take drugs, and this could refer to Bāyazīd II's age.

The conclusion of the story is thus unfavourable to the Ottoman Sulṭān, meaning that the young and lively Shāh Ismā'Il defeats the aged and weary Bāyazīd.

The fact that Bang-U Bāda is dedicated to Shāh Ismā'Il gives weight to Tahir Olgun's interpretation; and he may well be right in thinking that FuẓūlI's authorship of the work explains why Sulṭān Sulaymān did not patronize him after the Ottoman conquest of Irāq.

Kürkçüoğlu remarks in the preface to his published edition that the language of the work is witty, the words cleverly devised, and the expressions well chosen; but he does not have a high esteem for the literary value and peculiarities of the work.(1)

In Gibb's opinion, this little work is interesting because it throws light upon certain byways of life in those days; but its poetical value is of the slightest. "There is in it," he thinks, "no trace of FuẓūlI's proper style, nor so far as I can see, any promise of his distinction; its interest is merely that of a curiosity."

---

1. Bang-U Bāda, ed. by Kürkçüoğlu, Istanbul 1955.

As Gibb has said, Bang-U Bāda pales beside Fużūlī's other works; but it should not be forgotten that it is a work of his youth. Its stylistic qualities point from behind an unostentatious exterior to Fużūlī's future greatness as a poet. Its style and manner foreshadow the great works of the future, and show that it is by the hand of the same author. One reason why it remains a work of secondary importance is that the subject does not give the poet an opportunity to express his feelings; he can only tell a story of the confrontation of cannabis and wine.

Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā.

This book, whose title means "The Garden of the Blessed," is a history of the holy martyrs of the Prophet's family in Turkish prose and verse.

There are 77 manuscripts of Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā in libraries in Turkey and two in private hands. There are also four mss. in the British Museum (London), eight mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), and twelve mss. in the other libraries in Europe. The oldest one is in the Library of Nuruosmaniye (Istanbul) no. 2806/3282, dated 970/1562-3.

The work has been printed three times in Egypt and six times in Turkey. The most recent edition was published in Turkey in 1956 under the supervision of Kemal Edip Kürçüoğlu.

Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā deals chiefly with the sufferings and martyrdoms of the Imāms Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, and is classed by its subject-matter as a maqtal (description of the tragedy at Karbalā). Abū Mikhnaf Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā (d. 157/774), a Shī'ite traditionist, is reported to have written a Kitāb maqtal al-Ḥusayn as early as the second century A.H.; and the well-known Persian prose-writer Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn Wā'iẓ Kāshifī of Sabzavār (d. 910/1504-5), who was a preacher (wā'iẓ) in

Harāt, wrote the Rawżat al-Shuhadā ("Garden of the Martyrs"), which is devoted largely to the martyrology of the Imām Ḥusayn and became the most popular maqtal in the Persian language.(1) Fużūlī's Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā is an amplified translation of Kāshifī's Rawżat al-Shuhadā in prose interspersed with verses. Its contents are a preface, ten chapters and an epilogue.

In the preface, Fużūlī discourses on the tribulations with which God in His love has ever tried His Prophets and saints, above all the Imām Ḥusayn, and on the rewards promised to those who grieve and mourn for the martyrs of Karbalā. Whilst the Arabs and Persians could read the history of the martyrs in their own languages, the Turks possessed no such record, and Fużūlī felt called upon to supply that deficiency. The standard books on the subject were the Maqtal al-Ḥusayn of Abū Ḥanīf and the Miqraʿ al-Tā'ūsī of Riyāż al-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī b. Mūsā b. Ja'far al-Ṭā'ūsī, both in Arabic, and the Persian Rawżat al-Shuhadā of Mawlānā Ḥusayn Vā'iẓ. Our poet resolved to follow the latter work, while adding to it curious details from other books.

---

1. He also wrote a Persian treatise on ethics, Akhlāq-i Muḥsinī, which he dedicated to the Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqara of Harāt, and Anvār-i Suhaylī, a florid and verbose Persian rendering of the animal fables Kalīla va Dimna.

The work is divided, like the Rawẑat al-Shuhadā, into ten chapters (bābs) as follows:

1 - Tribulations of some of the Prophets.

2 - Ill-treatment suffered by Muḥammad at the hands of the Qurayshites.

3 - Death of the Prince of God's Envoys (Sayyid al-Mursalīn), i.e. Muḥammad.

4 - Death of Fāṭima.

5 - Death of 'Alī.

6 - Tribulations of the Imām Ḥasan.

7 - Journey of the Imām Ḥusayn from Medina to Mecca.

8 - Martyrdom of Muslim b. 'Aqīl (cousin of the Imām Ḥusayn).

9 - March of the Imām Ḥusayn from Mecca to Karbalā.

10 - Martyrdom of the Imām Ḥusayn and journey of the women of the Prophet's House to Damascus.

In the epilogue, Fuẑūlī mentions Qanūnī Sulṭān Sulaymān as the reigning Sulṭān and praises Mehmed (Muḥammad) Pāshā, the governor of Baghdād,[1] to whom he dedicated the book.

Fuẑūlī in this work narrates in an affected style a series of ancient stories, about Prophets and other persons mentioned in the Qur'ān, about the Prophet Muḥammad himself, and about the most distinguished of his contemporaries and immediate successors, especially his son-in-law 'Alī and grandsons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn.

---

1. See Chapter IX, pp. 289-290.

The verses quoted below are from a tarkīb-band lamenting the martyrdom of Ḥusayn entitled the "Elegy for the Family of the Cloak" (Āl-i ʿAbā); they are a good example of Fużūlī's brilliance as a linguist.

تدبیر قتل آل عبا قیلدك ای فلك — فكر فلك خیال خطا قیلدك ای فلك
برق سحاب حادثه دن تیغلر چكوب — بر بر حوالهٔ شهدا قیلدك ای فلك
عصمت حریم سراسنه عزّت روا ایكن — پامال خصم بی سر و پا قیلدك ای فلك
صحرای كربلاده اولان تشنه لبلره — ریگ روانی سهل بلا قیلدك ای فلك
تخلیف قدر شرمدن اندیشه قیلمدك — اولاد مصطفیه جفا قیلدك ای فلك
بر رحم قیلمدك جگری قان اولنلره — قربتده روزگاری پریشان اولنلره (۹)

The family of the Cloak[2] thou went'st about to slay, O Sphere.
Right foul the plan and vile the shift thou didst display, O Sphere.
From mong the lovins of the clouds of haps thou drew'st thy darts,
And hurledst them midmost the Martyrs' blest array, O Sphere.
What while all reverence was due to virtue's harem-tent,
Prostrate aneath the foeman's foot thou didst it lay, O Sphere.

---

1. Ḥadīqat al-Suʿadā, Istanbul 1872-3, p. 354.
2. The "Family of the Cloak" means the Holy Family of Islām consisting of Muḥammad, his daughter Fāṭima, her husband ʿAlī, and their sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. They are so called because on an occasion in 10/631 the Prophet sheltered these members of his Family under his cloak.

For those whose lips were parched with thirst on Kerbala the plain, (1)
Thou mad'st the drifting sand the stream of all dismay,
O Sphere.
Thou hast not spared to treat as naught the honour of the law;
Due to the sons of Mustafa thou mad'st thy sway, O Sphere.
No ruth hadst thou on those sad ones whose hearts were turned to blood
On those whose fortune was o'erthrown in dreary strangerhood.(2)

Here he shares the gloomy possimism and even personal despair of many men who felt grief for the tragic destiny of the Martyrs of KarbalÄ. Poems in this work show much technical progress, but none of them reaches the heights of FuÛûlÎ's poems in his great works, and none has their delicate beauty, depth and enthusiasm.

---

1. Husayn and his followers were killed on the plain of KarbalÄ, not far from KÛfa, on the 10th Muharram 61/10th October 680.
2. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol. III, p. 105.

Laylā va Majnūn.

Twenty-three manuscripts of Fuẓūlī's Laylā va Majnūn have been found in Turkish libraries. The oldest one is in the Topkapi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, No. 852 dated 1579. Other mss. are in the British Museum (London), in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), and in libraries at Munich, Dresden and Uppsala.(1)

Laylā va Majnūn has been published in Turkey five times by itself alone and several times together with Fuẓūlī's Turkish Dīvān. According to Professor Karahan(2) and Professor Köprülü,(3) it has been published in Turkey and in Persia not less than 25-30 times in all. H. Arasli has published the text of Fuẓūlī's Laylā va Majnūn with some of his other works, in 1960 at Bākū, in Cyrillic Azərbāijānī characters. It has been translated into German(4), English,(5) and Russian.(6)

---

1. For details, see Dr. Müjgân Cunbur, Fuzûli Hakkinda Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi, Istanbul 1956, pp. 50-57.
2. A. Karahan, Fuzuli, Kuhiti, Hayati ve Sahsiyeti, Istanbul 1949, p. 266.
3. Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1945, Vol. IV, p. 694.
4. N. Lugal and O. Reşer, Des Türkischen Dichters Fuzûlis Poëm "Leylâ-Medjnûn" und die Gereimte Erzählung "Beng u Bâde" (Hasis und Wein), Istanbul 1943.
5. Translated by Sofi Huri and published by the Turkish National UNESCO Committee, Istanbul 1959.
6. By Nikolay Kulak, see Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1945, Vol. IV, p. 694. Apparently was never published.

Laylā va Majnūn is the story of the love between two children from the Arabian desert who owe their unhappy fate to the foolishness of their parents. Actually this is a very old theme derived from folklore.(1) The heroine Laylā is the daughter of a Beduin chief, and the hero is a pre-Islāmic Arab poet Qays, who is driven mad (majnūn) when her father frustrates his love. The various sources for Qays's life present different accounts.(2) Qays's unconnected ghazals, which are said to have been gathered into a dīvān by a certain Abū Bakr al-Wālibī, gave rise to a simple love story which was later to become an important subject for masnavīs(3) in Persian

---

1. J. Rypka, History of Iranian Literature, Dordrecht 1968, p.211.

2. The best and most detailed source is the Kitāb al-Aghānī (Book of Songs) compiled by Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967); Kitāb al-Aghānī, Cairo 1927, third ed., Vol.II, pp. 1-95.

3. The masnavī, or "double rhyme", is a poem made up of rhyming hemistichs or "couplets". Each of the couplets is a complete unity in itself. It is a rule that a long masnavī should open with a canto in praise of God and that this should be followed by one in honour of the Prophet. The next canto is generally a panegyric on the great man (such as the reigning Sulṭān) to whom the work is dedicated. This again is most often followed by a section bearing some such heading as "The reason for the writing of the book", in which the poet narrates the circumstances which induced him to begin his work, generally the solicitations of some friend. After all this comes the story itself. The work is divided as a rule into a number of sections, and is properly brought to a close by an epilogue, in which the date of composition is frequently mentioned. Fuẓūlī's masnavī follows all these rules.

and Turkish literature, mainly under the influence of the work of the great Persian poet of Āzarbāījān, Niẓāmī (535/1141-600/1203).

In Arabic literature the story is treated realistically, in Persian and Turkish literature romantically; for the Arabs it is a simple tale of separation. In contrast to the Irānians and the Turks, the Arab was not attracted to epics. Not until the Irānian poet Niẓāmī took it in hand did the disjecta membra of the little story of Laylā and Majnūn become a really integrated work of art.(1)

This unhappy love story became very popular as early as the 11th century. The first ambitious version in polite literature comes from Niẓāmī. Until then the Arabs themselves evidently did not possess any major poetic versions of this tale. Although the theme most probably dates back to the end of the 7th century and could look back in Niẓāmī's time onto nearly 500 years of remarkable development, the history of its evolution even among the Arabs is somewhat obscure and enigmatical. In the view of the late J. Rypka, great credit is due to Niẓāmī for having introduced into the epic the living language, the same vocabulary which had long before penetrated into the court lyric. By so doing he

---

1. J. Rypka, History of Iranian Literature, Dordrecht 1968, p. 211.

delivered a decisive blow to the ancient epic tradition, particularly because it was no longer sufficiently comprehensible as a result of its negative attitude towards arabizing trends.(1)

Fużūlī completed his Laylā va Majnūn in 1535 and presented(2) it to the Beylerbeyi (Governor-General of Baghdād) Uvays Pāshā.(3) The poem is probably one of his latest compositions, since he refers to himself in the epilogue as one whose life is nearly spent:

بو فتلت ایله کچوردم ایام بیلم که نولور ایشم سر انجام
سرمایهٔ عمر کیتدی الدن سود ایتدم ایتدیگم ملدن (4)

... ... Let thy mercy sweet incline,
For all my days in slumber wrapped.
I lately passed, not knowing how 'twill end.
The capital of all my life is spent.
My hand is empty; none of profit stays
Of all the dealings of my lengthy life. (5)

---

1. J. Rypka, History of Iranian Literature, Dordrecht 1968, pp. 212, 632.
2. Gölpinarli, Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1948, p. CXLII.
3. Uvays Pāshā, see Chapter IX, p. 289.
4. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 346.
5. Leylā va Mecnun, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p. 231.

In a short preface, in prose and verse, to his Laylā ya Majnūn, Fużūlī prays to God that his poem may be successful and become as world-famous as the story of Laylā's constancy and Majnūn's divine affliction. Then he adds that on the pretext of telling this story he will be speaking of his own real faith and love.(1)

طوتسم طلب حقیقته راه مجاز　　انسانه بهانه سیله عرض ایتسم راز
لیلی سیله و صفك ایتسم آغاز　　مجنون دیلی ایله ایتسم اظهار نیاز (2)

Of Truth distorted, pouring forth my heart
Upon excuse of using feeble art
... ...
By Laylā's reason, and my voice upraise
In Majnun's language, setting forth my plea. (3)

The praises of God and the Prophet are followed in the usual way by panegyrics of Sulṭān Sulaymān and Uvays Pāshā. Fużūlī extols Sulṭān Sulaymān as the "King of Kings" and the "Great Pādshāh" (though without mentioning him by name), and says:

---

1. According to Shelley, poetry presents the ideal hero, on whom we are to model ourselves. (Poetical Works of Shelley, ed. by Thomas Hutchinson, Oxford 1909, Preface.)
2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 228.
3. Leylā ve Mecnun, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.3.

مستحفظ دین پناه اسلام　　مخدوم زمان ملاذ انام
ابر استحسان و برق کینه　　شاهنشه مکه و مدینه
مستلزم حق مخل باطل　　سلطان مراد بخش عادل
ارباب هنر امید گاهی　　تُرک و عرب و عجم پناهی　　(1)

Protector of the Faith, the refuge sure
For all of Islam, Mecca sings his praise,
Medina knows him, lightning of revenge,
Protector of the right, dread foe to wrong;
O great Sultan, thine alone is the gift
Of justice, and to every man of art,
The Turk and Arab, and the Persian too,
Sure hope of refuge and the shelter sure.　(2)

He also praises Uvays Pāshā's knowledge and justice, asking:

مستلزم سکا امیر کامل　　سردار زمانه ویس عادل
اولبحر عطا و کان الطاف　　کیم شانه گدی عدل و انصاف
سردار معظم و مکرم　　جانانهٔ ملک و جان عالم　　(3)

Is not the Prince, the general of the time,
Our Sultan Uwais[4] a patron great enough?
An ocean is his generosity,
His kindness deep as is the deepest mine.

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 241.
2. Leylā ve Mecnun, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.28.
3. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 244.
4. Fuẓūlī here likens Uvays Pāshā to the second of the Ilkhānid or Jalāyirid kings, Sultān Uvays, who reigned over 'Irāq, Arabia and Āzarbāījān 757/1356-776/1374.

His attributes are justice, mercy sweet,
And thus earns honour and esteem of all.
The people name him soul of all the world. (1)

These panegyrics are followed by the section called the Şikâyetnâme,(2) in which Fużûlî complains bitterly of not being appreciated.(3)

In the section headed "The occasion of the writing of the book", Fużûlî relates how the subject of the poem was urged upon him by some literary friends from Rûm (i.e. Anatolia or Rumelia),(4) who remarked that the tale of Majnûn and Laylâ, of which there were so many versions in Persian, had not yet been told in the Turkish language:

لطف ایله دیدیلر ای سخن سنج — فاش ایله جهانه بر نهان گنج
لیلی مجنون همده چوقدر — اتراکده اول فسانه یوقدر
بحریه گتور بو داستانی — قیل تازه بو اسکی بوستانی (5)

"O thou, great weigher of the mystic word,
Use then thy craft to tell, that Turks may read.
Of Mejnun's saddened end, of Leyla's love.

---

1. Leyla ve Mecnun, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.32.
2. Not to be confused with Fuzûlî's separate work which is also called Şikâyetnâme; see Chapter VII, pp.217-220
3. See Chapter V, p.161
4. They may have been the poets Khayâlî and Tashlîjâlî Yahyâ who were companions of Sultan Sulaymân during his conquest of Baghdâd; see Chapter II, p. 47.
5. Külliyât-i Dîvân-i Fuzûlî, Istanbul 1891, p. 243.

This legend oft in Persian has been told:
By Turks well known, in Turkish yet unwrit.
Come, vivify for us this deathless love
Come, let us hear this tale in numbers told." (1)

Much against his inclination Fuẓūlī consented; for it is a story born in sorrow and ended in pain, telling of a love which gives no joy to either thought or fancy. Otherwise many of the talented (among the Turks) would have handled it before.(2)

Scattered throughout the story are many *ghazals* in which Fuẓūlī puts his most lyrical and passionate poetry into the mouth of either Laylā or Majnūn.

Although much has been written about this valuable work, its contents have not previously been analysed.(3)

The story falls naturally into three parts; the exposition, the knot (*'uqda*) or crisis, and finally the dénouement.

---

1. *Laylā ve Mecnun*, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.28.
2. FuẓūlI's statement may be historically true, as are similar statements in many poetical works; or it may not. Niẓāmī tells us that only with reluctance did he obey the wishes of the ShIrvānshāh, for he had heard that this essentially simple popular theme (of Laylā and Majnūn) would not provide sufficient material for an epic. (Niẓāmī Ganja'I, *Laylā va Majnūn*, Tehran 1313/1934, ed. by Vahīd Dastgirdī, pp. 24-28.)
3. According to M. Gulizade, L. E. Lazarev in 1862 wrote a thesis on FuẓūlI's Laylā va Majnūn, but unfortunately it has been lost. (*Azerbaycan Edebiyati Tarihi*, BAKU 1960, p. 360.

Most of the action comes in the first part, the exposition. It relates how Qays, the son of an Arab Amīr, grows up and begins school, and then falls in love. The love story is idealized, so that nothing in it is commonplace or mediocre. Qays, from his birth, is outstanding, and in his perfection Christ-like; already he cries and weeps because he knows that in the future he will suffer the pains of love. Fuẓūlī thus raises Qays above the material world, and makes of him a symbol.

التصه عدمدن اولدی پیدا — پر طفل مذکر و مذکا
خورشید بگی کماله تابل — عیسی گبی طفل لنگه کامل
اولدمکه بو خاکدانه دوشدی — حالینی پیلوب فغانه دوشدی
آخر گونن اول ایلیوب یاد — آتدی سرشك و قیلدی فریاد (1)

For perfect in childhood, on that happy morn,
Like Jesus himself, our small hero was born.
But soon as he entered this world dry and drear
He cried full and loud for his sorrows were near;
He knew, without telling, that sorrow and grief
Would both be his portion, or ere, like a leaf
He fell, old and wearied, and maddened in death.
Of his end did he think in that moment of birth,
With tears from that moment he watered the earth. (2)

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 246.
2. Leylā ve Majnun, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.39.

Of LaylÎ we see only her beauty. This is what is essential to her, and it is in this that her role consists; but of course she also is in love. FuzûlÎ, from time to time describes her feelings, her uneasiness or grief:

یعنی روش وفاده محکم　　لیلی صدف جواهر غم
گیرشدی حماره گنج مانند　　اورشدی ایانه پندن بند
نه بر فرحی نه بر نشاطی　　نه کیمسه ایله بر اختلاطی
بیزار آنادن و آنادن　　بیگانه جمیع آشنادن
... ...
نه ایکنده نه ایهکده میلی　　مژگانه دوکردی اشك سیلی
تیزلر تیلوب آرزوی زیور　　گر رشته یه چکسه لردی گوهر
اولدخی چکردی ایلیوب رشك　　تار بدنینه گوهر اشك
مجنوندن ایدی جنونی افزون　　لیلی دیه نه دیردی مجنون

(1)

Full firm and steadfast in her loyalty
Was Leyla, pearly mother of the gems of grief,
And like a treasure in a fortress housed,
Was self imprisoned by advices sad.
No joy was there, no cheering comradeship,
Indifferent to father, mother, friends.
... ...

---

1. Kulliyât-i Dîvân-i Fuzûlî, Istanbul 1891, p. 274-5.

No more she joyed in needle or in silk,
But every day poured forth in flooding spate
The tears that drowned the lashes of her eyes,
And, of the tears, an envious ornament,
A pallid jewelled necklace, sadly strung,
She wore as other girls may gaily wear
The brightest stones upon a silken thread.
Indeed, in madness she surpassed that
Of maddened Majnun who for Layla called. (1)

The other characters are completely subordinate; Majnūn alone is the hero. The pains of true love in its successive phases are the basic theme of the work. Since separation causes the heart to bleed, separation seems and is inevitable. Laylā is taken from school and married to another. Although love is fearless and unconditional, the lover is bound to become an object of scorn:

چون بر نیچه مدت اول ایکی پاك — اوتات گچوردیلر طرپناك
عشق اولدیغی پرده مخفی اولماز — عشق ایچره اولان قرار بولماز
عشق آشنه بودر ملامت — کیم باش چکه شعلهٔ ملامت

... ...

عشق ایله ریا دکل موافق — رسوای گرك همیشه عاشق
دلدن دله دوشدی بو فسانه — فاش اولدی بو ماجرا جهانه (2)

---

1. Leylā ve Mecnun, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.39.
2. KullIyāt-1 DIvān-1 FuẒūlI, Istanbul 1891, pp. 250-251.

And so these two, long happy days together spent their
childhood hours.
Two things are sure; love ne'er is secret: he who loves may
have no rest.
The sign of love's sweet fire is noted when the gossips first
begin
Calamity of love is beauty; sorrows strengthen love's cement.

... ...

Secrecy cannot exist where affection
On two loving heads its soft finger-tips lays;
Hypocrisy leads but to lovers' dejection
Ignominy pressed on the shoulders of Qays.
From tongue to tongue the tale went forth
That Qays and Layla, both,
Were fall'n in love: (1)

An Arab Amir called Nawfal reads and likes Majnūn's *ghazals*, and requests that he may take Laylā from her father and give her to Majnūn. When her father Sa'd refuses, Nawfal goes to war against him and defeats him. During the battle, Majnūn prays for the success of Laylā's father, despite all his faults. But Nawfal, despite his victory, cannot take Laylā since she is a married woman. Nor does death of Laylā's husband, Ibn Salām, please Majnūn; and when at last he meets Laylā, he no longer seeks her hand. He craves not for union with his beloved, but that his love may become

---

1. Leylâ ve Mecnun, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, pp. 45-46.

eternal. The focal point of the story begins when Qays, because of his wanderings, receives the name Majnūn. The events are simple and independent of one another, united only in that the same characters re-appear. Fużūlī describes not only the lovers' faces but also their feelings and their actions. Moreover he tries to depict the differences between the young generation and the narrow-minded old people of those days. When Laylā's mother hears the story, she becomes furious and starts scolding her daughter:

اودلاره دوطوشدی یاسه باغدی اول قنچه دمانه دل اوزاغدی
یانر اود اولوب چکوب زبانه اول گل رخه دیدی یانه یانه
کای شوخ ندر بو گفت و گولر قیلمق سکا طعنه عیب جولر
نیچون اوزگه زبان ایدرسن بخشی آد وکی یمان ایدرسن (1)

... ... her mother's wrath
Did tax her with her troth.
The mother's face became inflamed,
It shone as liquid fire,
As Layla, utterly unshamed
Withstood her mother's ire. (2)

---

1. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 251.
2. Leylā vo Mecnun, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p. 47.

"Thou bold and saucy shameless one, what naughty tale is this?
What wicked secrets do I hear censorious neighbours hiss?
These wicked tongues will blacken fast the proudest maiden's name,
And once thy name is gossipp'd o'er, 'twill never be the same.

The first meeting of the two lovers in a garden is portrayed with poetic imagination; Laylā is a coquettish beloved, Majnūn a weeping lover whose whole heart is focussed on the person of Laylā. When his mental equilibrium finally breaks, he seeks solitude so that he may think only about Laylā. This solitude is symbolized by Majnūn's retreat into the desert - an idea coming from the Arab imagination.(1) In the desert Majnūn meets Laylā for the second time; but by now his love has taken on a purely spiritual quality. If we analyse the episode of Majnūn's visit to the Ka'ba, we feel still more that his love has become spiritual and even divine. Majnūn is taken to the Ka'ba to find a cure for his love-affliction and is ordered by his father to pray for relief.

---

1. The Persian and Turkish epics which deal with the tragic figure of Majnūn in search of his beloved Laylā, the story of Farhād wandering through the mountains in search of his lost beloved Shīrīn, and numerous other examples show how familiar the Islāmic world was with this motif of the eternal journey which is a means, and indeed the only means, of limitless spiritual development. Often the poets and mystics call this the journey towards God and into God.

Instead he prays that his affliction may be increased and multiplied:

تهل منده بنای مشتی دائم　　مانند اساس کعبه قائم
صال گوکلومه درد مشتدن غم　　هر لحظه و هر زمان و هر دم
عشق ایچره مدام شوقم آرتود　　شوقله همیشه ذوقم آرتود (1)

Distil Love's sorrows for my grieving heart,
Each moment, every breath I draw, let art
Increase my ardour that my love may grow
And growing thus may greater pleasure know.
Whorever in the world Thou findest pain,
To that sweet pain my aching heart enchain,
And banish from me every show of sense,
And closely bind me to a love intense. (2)

Thus Majnūn finally has no wish for union,(3) and the

---

1. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 270.
2. Leylā ve Macnun, tr. Sofi Nuri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p.82.
3. B. Batiman in an article "FuẓūlI and Faust" observes that Goethe in his Faust has idealized love and exalted it from human love to divine love just as FuẓūlI has done in his Leylā ve Majnūn. (Istanbul Universitesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi, 31 May 1948, Vol. II.)

Professor Mazioğlu remarks that at the beginning of the story Majnūn's love for Laylā is not divine, since FuẓūlI describes their actions. (H. Mazioğlu, Fuzuli-Hafiz, 1956 Ankara, p. 104).

M. Gulizade believes that Majnūn's love is not divine love, because in mysticism the lover while still physically alive dies a spiritual death for the sake of his beloved, whereas neither Laylā nor Majnūn die spiritual deaths but both die physical deaths, at the end of the story. (Azerbaycan Edebiyati Tarihi, Bāku 1960, pp. 420-4.)

story comes to a luckless and unhappy end. This is natural, if we consider the spirit of the time. People then wanted strong effects and fierce or violent sensations. Their favourite subjects were terrible and singular misfortunes, unique characters, unnatural passions.

Majnūn's efforts to save the gazelles from the hunter is a favourite theme from the romance of Majnūn and Laylā, which deserves close attention. Fużūlī in his treatment of this theme seeks to emphasize that it is love that makes a true man. In the same way, Fużūlī himself feels a deep love and respect towards his fellow humans. In his Laylā and Majnūn all the characters are good, and all the troubles spring from the good intentions of good men. The worst characters are the hunters who kill so that they may feed their dependents, and the beggars who have recourse to frauds so that they may arouse pity for themselves; but even these, when their material needs are satisfied, turn from evil to good. There is very little of the fairy-tale element in the story; there are no true villains.(1)

---

1. Fużūlī is a good-hearted poet; he wishes even slaves to be treated like children, as he says:

ای خواجه گر قولگدن او ظلق مراد ایسه

شلتت گوزیله یای کی دائم اوغول گبی

(Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 216).

Another theme worthy of examination is Nawfal's war against Laylā's father. Fuḍūlī, when he wrote this section, probably had several intentions. By describing the war he created a variation in the tale, and proved himself capable of treating heroic themes. Since the story is idealistic, he portrays Nawfal as the perfect knight and hero. Majnūn's support for the enemy in this war makes a very effective antithesis. Fuḍūlī shows that even battle and victory cannot alter fate, and that the fate of these two tragic heroes is separation. Fate brings calamity, distress and death to man.

It seems to us that the <u>leitmotif</u> of the whole story is the mental state of not knowing one's own wishes, the loss of desire's value when the desire is attained, and the ultimate meaninglessness of union. The tone of the work is not varied, but uniform; it is everywhere dominated by Fuḍūlī's sadness. This becomes clearer when we read Niẓāmī's <u>Laylā va Majnūn</u>. Although Niẓāmī used the Arab tale as raw material, the Arab element in his work, with the exception of certain desert episodes, is less pronounced than in Fuḍūlī's version. It could be that Fuḍūlī's living in an Arab environment was the reason for his accent on Arab themes. Fuḍūlī's <u>Laylā va Majnūn</u> is not, as some have claimed, a translation of Niẓāmī's; although the events are the same, their order is different, and there are many

fundamental differences. For example, each author at the beginning of his poem says that Qays's father at first had no son and only came to have a son after much prayer and supplication. Unlike Fuẓūlī, however, Niẓāmī wishes to prove that there was good in this; for by telling us that it was a favour of God not to grant a son to Qays's father,(1) he points to the trouble which Qays would cause his father in future. Niẓāmī's work is more detailed. His poem is in 4,600 couplets,(2) while Fuẓūlī's is in not more than 3,200. Niẓāmī slightly modified Majnūn's pure and lofty love in accordance with the ideas of 12th-century Persia in which he lived. Thus he interspersed his poem with didactic passages, which sometimes interrupt the pure pleasure which the work can give. In spite of this, he has fulfilled his

---

1. Niẓāmī, Laylā va Majnūn, ed. by V. Dastgirdī, p. 58.

هر چه آن طلبی اگر نباشد از صلحتی پدر نباشد
هر نیك و بدی که در شمارست چون در نگری صلاح کارست

2. Niẓāmī tells us that he wrote his Laylā va Majnūn in less than four months, and that he would have completed it in fourteen nights if he had been freed from all other occupations. (Niẓāmī Ganja'ī, Laylā va Majnūn, ed. by V. Dastgirdī, pp. 275-7.

promise in the section on "the reason for composing the book" that he would write a complete and sensitive work.(1)

In Gibb's opinion, "FuzûlI's Leylî va Mejnûn is without doubt the most beautiful mesnevI that has yet been written in the Turkish language, and it is very questionable whether it has ever been surpassed."(2)

Hasan Ali Yücel in his introduction to FuzûlI's Leylî Va Mejnûn observes:

"In fact there are about thirty versions of Leylî and Mejnûn in Turkish classics. Even had FuzûlI seen these works, he would have neither lost anything nor gained much by it. He had seen the works of Persian poets and liked them; but although he preserved the plot common to them all, he differs greatly in the way he felt and related this well-known event."(3)

---

1. I have been able to read only parts of the versions by Amir Khusraw Dihlavi, Jâmî, and 'Alî Shîr Navâ'î, which may be characterized as follows: Amir Khusraw exaggerated the story more dramatically; Jâmî's work is closer to the Arab original, but full of symbols and difficult to understand; Navâ'î's work is more poetic, and shows a more perceptive understanding of Mejnûn's love, but its descriptions are rather ornate.

2. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol. III, p. 87.

3. Leylâ vo Mecnun, tr. Sofi Huri, UNESCO, Istanbul 1959, p. 11.

Professor Ahmed Hamdi Tanpinar in an article on FuẔŪLĪ has this to say:

"LaylĀ is not simply an instrument, allowing MajnŪn to undergo his shattering experience. Even if she is like an enclosed garden in moonlight, she makes her presence felt at every moment."(1)

Resulzade thinks that "NiẒĀmĪ has poeticized MajnŪn, while FuẔŪLĪ has MajnŪn-ized the poetry"; and he concludes that each work is in its own way original.(2)

Rypka remarks that "NiẒĀmĪ's Laylā and Majnūn later was imitated by FuẔŪLĪ in a treatment of the same material in the language of ĀẒarbāIjān, one of the highest achievements in the poetry of that area."(3)

The Ukrainian Orientalist A. Krimski wrote that "FuẔŪLĪ in his work does not simply imitate NiẒĀmĪ, but develops the same theme and produces a creative masterpiece."(4)

---

1. A. H. Tanpinar, "Fuzuliye dair", Cumhuriyet gazetesi, Istanbul 14 February 1957, No. 11694.
2. M. E. Resulzade, Azerbaycan Şairi Nizami, Ankara 1951, p. 143. Resulzade was President of the independent republic of northern ĀzarbāIjān 1918-1920.
3. History of Iranian Literature, Dordrecht 1968, p. 213.
4. Krimski, Istoria Persii yeya literaturi i dervişskoy filosofii sufizma. (The story of Persia, Persian Literature and darvish Sufism). Moscow 1906-1912. Vol. II. (M. E. Resulzade, Azerbaycan şairi Nizami, Ankara 1951).

Tarjuma-yi Ḥadīṯ-i Arba'īn

The Translation of Forty Traditions.

Five mss. of this work has been found in Turkish libraries;[1] one in the Leningrad Museum, No. 1561(540); and another in Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Dānishgāh-i Tehrān, No.63.

Professor Karahan edited the first published version of the work which was printed in Istanbul in 1948.[2] It was published again in 1951 by the Turkish Education Ministry, with textual corrections by K. E. Kürkçüoğlu.

In Islāmic literature, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797) was the first who wrote an essay on the Forty Traditions. Hundreds of similar works were produced in Arabic, and in later times translations of these works into Persian and Turkish became popular. Perhaps this was because the Prophet is reported to have said:

(3) ومن حفظ عنّی شیئا فلیحدث

"If anyone has learnt something from me by heart, let him tell it to others."

---

1. A mss. in the Izmir Millî Kütüphanesi No.11/517 contains first JāmI's and then FuẓūlI's translations.
2. Selamet Mecmuası, Istanbul 1948, Nos.57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 66.
3. Concordance et indices de la Tradition Musulmane, by A. J. Wensinck et J. P. Mensing, Leiden 1936, Vol. I, p. 434.

The Traditions (Ḥadīs) of the Prophet acquired even greater importance as the source of the theology and religious law of Islām.(1)

Fuẓūlī's work is a translation of the famous Persian poet Jāmī's Ḥadīs-i Arba'īn into Turkish. The contents are a prologue, forty qiṭ'as and an epilogue. Fuẓūlī translated each Ḥadīs in a single qiṭ'a. He himself states in the prose prologue, after the praises of God and the Prophet, that he made the translation from Jāmī's work. The qiṭ'as are in the khafīf metre, and the language is simple and natural in tone.

Two examples of Traditions and Fuẓūlī's translations are shown below.

خصلتان لا تجتمعان فی مؤمن البُخل و سوء الخلق

"There are two qualities which do not accord in a True Believer: miserliness and ill-nature."

---

1. A Ḥadīs, usually called in English a "Tradition", is a saying of the Prophet Muḥammad handed down from one or more of his Companions. When the true speaker is God, and the Prophet is but the voice, the Tradition is called a Ḥadīs-i Qudsī or "Divine Tradition"; when the Prophet is at once speaker and voice, it is a Ḥadīs-i Sharīf or "Blessed Tradition".
Irānian writers also used the term Khabar (pl. Akhbār) for "Tradition".

قبل كرم خويلو بلمان ايتمه

كه سكا ديمك اوله مومن بلك

الز البته اهل ايماندة

مجتمع خوى زشت ايله ايسلك

"Be kind, not ill-tempered, so that you may be called a True Believer. Miserliness and ill-temper do not accord in a True Believer."

الله الله يحبّ سهل الطلعه

"God loves those of cheerful mien."

زنهار اولمه اهل عالم ايله

منقبض طبعلى بلمان سوزلو

طاتری اول بنده سن سوركى

مدام اوله خوش خويلو گولر يوزلو

"Beware, do not be ill-behaved and ill-spoken with this world's people; for God loves the worshipper who is always good-tempered and smiling."

Professor Karahan remarks that this work adds nothing to our knowledge of FuẓūlI's personality, since it is a simple translation.(1)

It seems to us that it is impossible to preserve in any translation the haunting beauty and charm of an original saying or of a poet's verses. As Diderot has said, "translating is wellnigh impossible. Even the best translation will lack the suggestive sounds which depend on the distribution of long and short syllables, and of vowels between consonants."(2)

---

1. A. Karahan, Islam-Türk Edebiyatinda Kirk-Hadis, Istanbul 1954, p. 169. In this work Professor Karahan gives examples of translations of Traditions by various Turkish and other Muslim writers.

2. Eleanor H. Walker, Towards an Understanding of Diderot's Aesthetic Theory, in Romanic Review, No.35, 1944, p. 277.

FużūlI's letters.

Shikāyatnāma

(Letter of Complaint)

This is in the form of a petition in Turkish addressed by FużūlI to the NishānjI Jalālzāda Muṣṭafā ChalabI. There are nine mss. of the work in libraries in Turkey, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale Supplément no. 1370, and one in the Leningrad Asiatic Museum no. 1561.

Printed editions have been published many times at Istanbul, and also once at Tashkent in 1893 together with FużūlI's Turkish DIvān and once in 1960 at Bākū.(1)

In this petition, FużūlI complains to the NishānjI Pāshā about the action of the local authorities who had refused to comply with the instructions contained in the Sulṭān's order granting him a pension, and goes on to request the Pāshā's assistance. The letter is the best example of FużūlI's Turkish prose which is written in the Ottoman dialect.(2)

---

1. Arasli has published the Shikāyatnāma in his Cyrillic edition of FużūlI's works printed at Bākū in 1960. See Bibliography.
2. See p.211. [Footnote].

Although Fuẓūlī had presented panegyric qaṣīdas to the Sulṭān and the Pādshāh, this had not made much difference to his life and fortune. He still led a humble life, and the withholding of his pension by the local authorities' action matched his sensitive and melancholy mood.

Footnote 2, page 210. Mushfiqī (942/1538-996/1587-8), a Persian (so-called Tājīk) poet of Bukhārā, similarly addressed a qaṣīda with the name "Shikāyat al-Ẓulm" (complaint about injustice) to the Uzbek ruler 'Abd Allāh Khān (991/1583-1006/1598). He complains about the misery and poverty of the common folk, and puts the blame on an irresponsible vaẓīr who ignores the welfare of the people and devotes himself only to gluttony. (Probably 'Abd Allāh Khān had promised Mushfiqī a pension). See J. Rypka et al., History of Iranian Literature, Dordrecht 1968, p. 501.

The Persian poet Mullā Vaḥshī of Bāfq (d. 991/1583), a poet no less deep and passionate than Fuẓūlī, may have been influenced by Fuẓūlī's Shikāyatnāma; for when a pension was promised but not paid to him, he expressed his complaint in these words:

نوشته حضرت آصف برات من بکی

که هیچ حاصل از آن نیست غیر انفعام

بقدر وجه براتم درید کفش و نشد

که یک فلوس ز وجه برات بستانم

"His Excellency the Vaẓīr wrote a pension order for me to someone; but nothing has come of it except sighs and suffering. I have worn out as many shoes as I could get with the pension money."

The sentence below from the Ghikāyatnāma has become well known among the Turks as an example of proverbial wisdom:

"سلام ویردم رشوت دگلدر دیو آلمدیلر"

"I greeted them, but seeing that it was not a bribe, they refused to accept my salutation."

This is how FużūlI reports his interview with the officials:

دیدم — یا ایها الاصحاب بو نه فعل خطا و چین ایرو ؟

دیدیلر — متصل بزم عادتز بودر .

دیدم — بنم رعایتی واجب گورمشلر و بکا برات تخلد ویرمشارکه اوندن همیشه بهره مند اولم و پادشاهه ترافتله دعا قیلم .

دیدیلر — ای مسکین سنك مظالمکه گیرمشلر و سرمایهٔ تردد ویرمشلر که مدام فائده سز جدال ایده سن و تامارك یوزلر گورو ب تاملایم سوزلر ایشیده سن .

دیدم — حساب آلهلر بو سلوکدکرك فسادی بولنور .

دیدیلر — بو حساب قیامتده آلنور . (1)

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i FużūlI, Istanbul 1891, pp. 100-103.

I said to the officials, "What misguided work is this? What sort of a mishap is it?"

They replied, 'This is our custom."

I said, "Wishing to support me, they gave me a pension, so that I might be one who prays for the Sulṭān."

They replied, "They did you an injustice, wishing you to struggle in vain, to see unlucky faces, and to hear harsh words."

I said, "If, one day, the account is called for, the course of your evil will become clear."

They replied, "The reckoning will come on the Judgement Day."

The corruption, the negligence, the ugly episodes, according to the author himself, are all there in order to create the illusion of real life. This is realism with a serious moral tinge. Moreover FuẔūlī must have seen that this kind of letter was admirably suited for satirical and comic effects.

Although humour and satire are never FuẔūlī's main themes, the Shikāyatnāma shows his talent in this field. In the lines quoted above we can see that he had a strong sense of humour.

Tahniyatnāma

(Letter of congratulation)

There is one manuscript of this letter in Süleymaniye Library at Istanbul, no. 3790, and one in the Asiatic Museum at Leningrad, no. 1561(540). It has been published together with three other Letters of FuzūlI by Karahan in Fuzulinin mektupları, Istanbul 1948.(1)

In this letter addressed to the QāżI 'Alā al-DIn, FuzūlI praises the QāżI's justice and wishes his children long life and good fortune.

'Ubūdiyatnāma

(Letter of homage)

One manuscript of this letter has been found at Istanbul in the Veliyuddin Library, No.2735. It has been published by Professor Karahan in Fuzulinin mektupları.

The letter is to Ayās Pāshā. FuzūlI, after addressing laudatory words to the Pāshā, says that although he is so far away he remains deeply attached to him. Like FuzūlI's

---

1. Fuzulinin Mektupları, Istanbul Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi, Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi, Istanbul 1948, No.4.

other letters, this is short and written in Turkish, but interspersed with Persian verses which give full play to the romantic phraseology of the time and to the convention which permitted a very great warmth of expression between friends.

Ishti'Aqnama

(Letter of Nostalgia)

Two mss. of this letter have been found in the Turkish libraries. It was published in 1945 by K. E. Kürkçüoglu, and again in 1948 by Professor Karahan.

Fuzuli in this letter to Mir Livâ (i.e. Brigadier-General) Ahmad Beg Mawçillu eulogizes him and wishes the prolongation of his term in office and of his good fortune.

Nâma-yi Javâbi

(Letter of Reply)

One manuscript of this letter has been found in the Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Library at Ankara. It has been published by Professor Kazioglu.(1)

---

1. H. Kazioğlu, Fuzuli'nin bir maktubu, in Akara Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, 1948, Vol. VI, p.3.

The letter is addressed to the Ottoman Prince Bāyazīd. From it we can infer that FużūlI had been communicating with this Prince for some time. He says that he wishes to see the Prince in Istanbul, but that lack of means prevents him.

As yet, only the texts of the letters have been published and no study of their contents has been made. Although they were written to persons in high positions, they have the character of letters written to ordinary close friends and show that FużūlI was a proud man who did not humble himself before rank or power. They have undeniable value, both as literary documents and as sources of historical information. They are also to be counted among the best examples of early Turkish prose.

CHAPTER VII

FuẐULI'S Persian works

SHAH-NĀMA

(Epistle to the Cupbearer)

In most of the mss., this Persian MASNAVI poem by FuẐULI is entitled HAFT JĀM (Seven Cups), probably because it is divided into seven sections. Moreover, in the prologue FuẐULI himself says:

ز سیر کواکب مشو تلخ کام مخور جز می کام ازین هفت جام

"Do not be embittered by the revolution of the stars. Only drink the wine of aspiration from these Seven Cups" (HAFT JĀM).(1)

All the mss. of FuẐULI'S Persian DIVĀN in the libraries of Turkey contain the SHAH-NĀMA. Outside Turkey there are two mss., one in the British Museum, Or.4911, and one in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal at Calcutta. It has been printed in Turkey many times together with FuẐULI'S Turkish DIVĀN and in literary journals; the latest

---

1. FuẐULI'S Persian DIVĀN, ed. by Hacibe Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 675.

edition is that by Professor Mazioğlu at the end of her edition of the Persian DIvĀn (Ankara, 1962).

A Turkish translation of the work by Professor A. N. Tarlan has been appended to his translation of the Persian DIvĀn. A poet of Khiva, Muḥammad Rasūl MIrzĀ, translated it into ChaghatĀy and added it to the end of his dIvĀn called MarghŪb al-MuḥsirIn.(1)

The work is a conventional SHQI-nĀma, undoubtedly modelled on those of earlier poets. The Persian poet SalmĀn SĀvajI (d. 778/1376) may be accounted the founder of the genre;(2) ḤĀfiz also wrote one, but after SalmĀn. FuẓŪlI's SHQI-nĀma is entirely classical in style and very Persian in character, with a mystic tone in harmony with the fashion of his day. It is in the mutaqĀrib metre.

---

1. KhwĀrizm MŪsIqI TŪrIkhchesI, Istanbul 1925, p. 43.
2. FuẓŪlI compares himself with SalmĀn in his Persian DIvĀn:

در مرای عرب امروز منم سلمانرا
بصفای سخن و حسن فصاحت ثانی

"Today I am the Second SalmĀn in the Arab IrĀq, in clearness of word and eloquence of language."

(FuẓŪlI's Persian DIvĀn, ed. by Hasibe Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 141).

In FużūlI's time the genre acquired a considerable amount of popularity among Turkish poets. The British Museum possesses a manuscript Add. 7925, which contains a collection of six ṢāqI-nāmās of the period, by Yaḥyā EfendI (d. 1053/1643), ḤālatI (1041/1631), ShaykhI EfendI (d. 1043/1633), 'Aṭā'I (d. 1044/1634), RiyāżI EfendI (d. 1054/1644) and Jam'I (d. 1075/1664). The longest of these with 1561 couplets is 'Aṭā'I's ṢāqI-nāma, and all are in Turkish, while FużūlI's ṢāqI-nāma is in Persian.

In the mss. and published editions it consists of 327 couplets, and is divided into a prologue, seven sections, and an epilogue. In the prologue FużūlI explains to us how he met the priest of the Magians (Pīr-e Mughān) and related his grief, and how the priest told him that his intelligence ('aql) had caused his grief, but if he were to drink all the time he might get away from intelligence and be set free from the grief.(1) So FużūlI asks for the fiery-tempered water which is wine, and says:

(2) می ده کزو شرع گیرد نظام نه آن می که در شرع باشد حرام

"Give me the wine which brings order to the Law, not the wine which is legally prohibited."

---

1. According to the doctrines of Ṣūfism, the further a man departs from intelligence (or reason), the nearer he approaches to God.
2. FużūlI's Persian Dīvān, ed. by Hasibe Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 677.

In the ensuing sections, the work deals with all matters connected with carousel: the qualities of wine in highly coloured descriptions, the merits of various musical instruments, the characteristics to be desired in guests, and numerous other similar matters. In the closing epilogue, FuẔULI, in accordance with the maxim that "moderation in all things is best", asks the cupbearer to gather up the cups.

The composition of so long a poem on such subjects shows that FuẔULI possessed a good knowledge of music, IrÂnian mythology and ṢUfism. It is apparent that his own ideas considerably influenced the work by heightening the emotional intensity of all that he has to say in it. While reiterating old themes, he has sought to set them in a wider context of thought and feeling. In this work we reach the heights step by step with the poet, following the same path as he has traversed; his poem is far greater in its total effect upon us than any of its separate parts or the sum of its finest parts.

Anīs al-qalb

This qaṣīda, which Fużūlī wrote for Qānūnī Sulṭān Sulaymān, was never an independent work, but only one of the qaṣīdas in his Persian Dīvān. We discuss it separately because it has been published separately.

In a couplet towards the end of the poem, Fużūlī tells us that he "called this beauty Anīs al-qalb" because he wished it to circulate for ever in the assemblies of wise men.(1)

The Turkish encyclopaedist Kātib Chalabī (d. 1058/1651) in his Kashf al-ẓunūn was the first to make known that Fużūlī had written a qaṣīda called Anīs al-qalb.(2)

A very valuable manuscript in the Selimiye Library at Edirne (No.1441) contains Fużūlī's Anīs al-qalb, together with the Bihār al-abrār of the Persian poet Khāqānī (d. c. 1199/1595), to which it is a parallel (naẓīra), and qaṣīdas by Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī (Mir'āt al-ṣafā and) Jāmī (Jalā-yi rūḥ). The mss. is not dated. It is known only, from a note at the end, that it was donated to the library by a certain Ḥājjī Aḥmad of Yanbulu in July 1328/1911.(3)

---

1. Fuzūlī's Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.31.
انیس القلب کردم نام این محبوب و میخواهم که هر ساعت دهم در بزم اهل فهم جولانش

2. Kātib Chalabī, Kashf al-ẓunūn, New edition, Istanbul 1961, Vol.I, p.169.

3. Other mss. are in the Millet Kütüphanesi, Istanbul No.857, in a Jung (anthology) called Majma'al-laṭā'if Sandūqat al-ma'ārif, and in the Süleymaniye Library No. 1912.

   Anīs al-qalb was published for the first time at Istanbul in 1944, ed. by S. C. Erkiliç; for the second time, together with the rest of Fużūlī's Persian Dīvān, in 1962, ed. by Nasibe Mazioğlu.

Jāmī and Khusraw Dihlavī had previously written parallels to Khāqānī's Dihār al-abrār. Fuẓūlī, too, wrote parallels, which in the East were a form of literary competition. If we compare Fuẓūlī's qaṣīda with those of the three great Persian poets, we can see that he is their equal.

Khāqānī's Dihār al-abrār has 111 distichs, and its maṭla' (opening verse) is:

دل من پیر تعلیمست و من طفل سبقخوانش
دم تسلیم سر عشق و سر زانو دبستانش

"My heart is the priest of teaching and I am his pupil.
My last breath is the beginning of love, and my knee-cap its school."

Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī's Mir'āt al-ṣafā has 220 distichs with the maṭla':

دلم طفلست و پیر عشق استاد زباندانش
سوادالوجه درس و مسکت کنج دبستانش

"My heart is a pupil and the priest of love his language-teacher.
His lesson is disgrace; the corner of his school is poverty."

Jāmī's Jalā-yi rūḥ has 124 distichs with the maṭla':

معلم کیست عشق و کنج خاموشی دبستانش
سبق نادانی و دانا دلم طفل سبقخوانش

"Who is the teacher? Love. His school is the corner of silence;
Whether or not my heart knows the lesson; it is his childish pupil."

Fuẓūlī's Anīs al-qalb has 134 distichs with the maṭla':

دلم درجیست اسرار سخن دُرّ های فلطانش
فضای علم دریا فیض حق باران نیسانش

"My heart is a casket of pearls, the secrets of eloquence are the unbored pearls within it.
The expanse of knowledge is an ocean, the grace of God is its April rain."

Later Fuẓūlī writes:

سه رکن خانه بود از خسرو خاقانی و جامی
من از بغداد کردم سعی در تکمیل ارکانش
چنین داد آنرا جامی آنکه جانب بغداد
فرستاد از برای خادمان شاه مردانش

"The house had three pillars, Khusraw, KhūqānI and JāmI. I toiled in Baghdād to complete its pillars. JāmI polished that mirror and sent it as a gift to the Servants of the King of Rem" (i.e. of 'AlI).(1)

This long qaṣīda is a naṣīḥatnāma (letter of advice) of the type usually written for Sulṭāns. At the end of the poem FuẓūlI states in these words that he dedicates it to QānūnI Sulaymān:

بدست پاکبازان امانت بپشه بسپارم
فرستم سوی دار العدل روم از ملک ایرانش
بامیدی که در عالم ستانی و جهانگیری
رسد طاهر فتح از دولت سلطان سلیمانش (2)

"I entrust it to fair-minded men who will honour the trust. I send it from the land of Irān to the centre of Justice, the land of Rūm, in the hope that, through the influence of Sulṭān Sulaymān's victorious empire, it will conquer the world and spread to every part."

---

1. FuẓūlI here refers to JāmI's qaṣīda Jalā-yi rūḥ (The Polish of the Soul).
"Servants of 'AlI" probably means the keepers of the shrine at Najaf, among whom was FuẓūlI himself. See Chapter II, p.47 above.
2. FuẓūlI's Persian Dīvān, ed. by Nasibe Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, pp. 17-31.

The qaṣīda advises the Sultan how to act, and how best to serve the people. It explains, in what were for the age very advanced terms, the proper relations between the people, the Sulṭān and the government, and describes very candidly how an oppressive ruler stands in the eyes of the people.

In his advice to the Sulṭān, FuẓūlI says:

ترا فی نیست اهل حرص را زیرا اگر شخصی
شه ایران شود البته باید ملك تورانش

"For the greedy peace is impossible. When a man is Shāh of Irān, he wishes to become Shāh of Tūrān as well."

خلایق را ترا فی نیست در دور شه ظالم
بلای گوسفند ست اینکه باشد گرگ چوپانش

"In the reign of an oppressive Sulṭān, the people have no peace. If the shepherd is a wolf it is a disaster for the flock."

مزن از بی توجه تخت ای حاکم ظالم
به نخلی کز بی نفع تو پرورد دهقانش

"Oh. oppressive ruler, the peasant has planted a palm-tree so that you may take advantage of it. Do not cut it down to make yourself a throne."

چه بسازی چنان تختی که خواهد رفت چون کشتی

بآن آبی که می ریزد فقیر از چشم مژگانش

"What use is a throne that floats away like a chip on the water streaming from the eyelashes of the poor."

تو در اموال دهقان چون شریکان بهره داری

بشرط آنکه از هر آفتی باشی نگهبانش

"You are the peasant's partner, you have a share in his property; but on the condition that you protect him from every disaster."

ترا باید کشیدن وقت نوت مال او تاوان

تو چون آفت شدی بر مال او برکیست تاوانش

"If the peasant's property is damaged, it falls to you to pay compensation; if you damage it, who will pay then?"

The poet shows great courage in writing these words. He then speaks of his own love for the peasants, the class on whom every élite group and every city, old or new, depend; and he adds:

گل تر ب سلاطین راست خار از چوب دربانان

بس ارزد امید گنج بیم زهر نعبانش

"Oppressive Sulṭāns have doorkeepers with cudgels. If to be close to them is to be close to a rose, then the cudgels are the thorns. The hope of treasure is not worth the fear of snake-poison."

Next he speaks disapprovingly of those connected with the palace:

ره دیوان سلطان هر که بشناسد مخوان مردم
که مردم را نه رسم است این که باشد رفق دیوانش

"Do not count those who know the way to the Sulṭān's court as gentlemen; for it does not become a gentleman to associate with his courtiers."

Finally he says that servility to rulers is useless:

چرا باید نهادن سر بتعظیم کی و کسری
چرا باشد کشیدن منّت از فغفور و خاقانش

"Why bow your head to honour Kay and Kisrā? Why suffer the taunts of Faghfūr and Khāqān?"(1)

---

1. Kay and Kisrā (=Khusrew) are names of Irānian rulers, Faghfūr is the Chinese ruler, and Khāqān the Turkish.

He remarks that men remember God only when they are in difficult situations:

کسی تا غم ندارد یادی از ایزد نمی آرد

خدا جوی ار بُود کس بهتر از شادیست اندوهش

"The man with no grief does not bring God into his mind. For the God-seeker, grief is better than joy."

Of those who are pious only in appearance, he says:

نه از بهر خدا تعمیر مسجد میکند زاهد

برای خودفروشیهاست این تزیین دکانش

"The ascetic does not repair the mosque for God's sake. He decorates his shop only to sell himself."

The language of the poem is stronger than that of the usual "advice" literature, and has almost the qualities of a revolutionary manifesto directed against the Sulṭān and palace, who represented the government and high officials of the age. It was presumably sent to Istanbul, since Fuẓūlī himself says that it would be delivered into the hands of "fair-minded men who would honour the trust, and sent to the land of Rūm."

Fuẓūlī nowhere says whether or not he received help or patronage from the Sulṭān, either in the poems written when Qānūnī Sulaymān was at Baghdād, or in those written after his return to Istanbul. Fuẓūlī seems to have been pleased by the Ottoman conquest of Baghdād, as he wrote verses eulogizing the Sulṭān and the men about him, expecting their patronage. But Qānūnī could not have looked favourably on Fuẓūlī who, in his poems, had praised 'Alī, the Shī'ite Imāms, and Shāh Ismā'īl and his governor Ibrāhīm Khān. We may be sure that in fact the Sulṭān did not bestow any largesse on Fuẓūlī.

Rind-u Zāhid

The Rake and the Ascetic

This moral mystic work shows Fużūlī's outlook on Ṣūfī philosophy and gives ethical advice. It is in Persian prose and verse and is about 80 pages long. The most ancient manuscript of this work has been found in Turkey in the Süleymaniye Library, no.1912; it was written in 1590-1. There are five other mss. in the Turkish libraries, three in the British Museum, two in the Kitābkhāna-yi Shūrā-yi Millī (Tehran), one in the Asiatic Museum (Leningrad), one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), and one in the Königliche Bibliothek (Berlin).

Three hundred years ago Kātib Chalabī (known also as Ḥājjī Khalīfa; d. 1058/1651) in his encyclopaedia Kashf al-Ẓunūn mentioned that Fużūlī left a book called Rind-u Zāhid. Although Professor F. Köprülü in his article in the Islam Ansiklopedisi[1] states that an edition of this work was lithographed at Tehran in 1860, no copy of that edition has yet been seen. The work was printed for the first time in Turkey in 1956 under the editorship of Kemal Kürkçüoğlu. It has also been translated into Turkish by Uskudarli Muṣṭafā Salīm in 1805; this was published in 1869. Although

---

1. Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1945, Vol.IV, p. 686.

the original is written in a very clear Persian style, SalIm Efendi's Turkish translation is confused and obscure.

Rind-u ZAhid demonstrates FuzUlI's mastery of the Persian language and his knowledge of SUfism and IslAmic pantheism. Cast in the form of a dialogue between an ascetic and his libertine son, it expresses in philosophical terms FuzUlI's view of the world, the universe and the purpose of life.

After praising God and the Prophet, FuzUlI begins the story thus:

"There lived in IrAn an ascetic (ZAhid) who had withdrawn from the world's affairs and devoted himself to prayer, and had won the respect of great men. He had a son, the progeny of his sixtieth year of age, who had not yet tasted the bitterness of life, or seen decline, or felt the cold and heat. ZAhid admonishes him, bidding him to study the SharI'a, and assuring him that to be obedient, to fast and lead an austere life, to beware of worldly ambitions and be content with one's lot, to avoid anxiety and withdraw from desire, are work and gain for a man. But the son Rind (the Rake) maintains that a man must be happy and that he is naturally disposed towards pleasure.

ZAhid fears that his son will remain ignorant and live recklessly. Rind, however, wishes to be free from all

restraints. Unable to agree on any point, father and son decide to set out on a journey, Rind to learn the ways of the world, his father to be his helper on this path. After going some way along the road, they see a building, a mosque. When Rind asks him about it, Zāhid replies:

ای رند این خانهٔ خداست و معبد صوفیان با صفا ابلیس را درین خانه گذر
نیست و ساکنان این خانه را از و خطر نیست
مسجد حصار امن و امان است خلق را
از فتنهٔ شرارت ابلیس صبح و شام
آسوده دل کسیست ز ابلیس و شرّ او
کاوراست در حصار چنین روز و شب مقام (1)

"This is the house of God. It is the pleasant place where the Çūfīs worship. Satan has no access to it; there is no danger from him to those who dwell in it."

"The mosque is a fortress of safety and kindness, where day and night men can escape the harrassment of Satan's evil. Those who live day and night in such a castle are far from Satan and his wiles; they enjoy peace of mind."

Later they come to another building, a tavern. Zāhid describes the drunkards in the tavern to his son:

---

1. Rind-u Zāhid, Ankara 1956, p.52. (ed.by K.Kürkçüoğlu)

این طایفه از رحمت حق دورانند
از فیض خدا و خلق مهجورانند
راهی که نمود حق نمی پیمایند
یا مردم سخت پشم یا کورانند (1)

"These men are far from Allāh's mercy; they are cut off from God's grace and man's favour. They do not tread the road that God has shown; they are either short-sighted people, or blind."

Finally Rind goes in, wishing to try the wine, and Zāhid waits for him at the door. When his son does not return, Zāhid goes in and finds him drunk and out of his mind. Nevertheless Zāhid comes to realize that his son, too, is right; and their disagreement finally results in concord.

At the end of the work, Fużūlī concludes:

در کوی فنا عاقل و دیوانه یکیست
در قعر محیط سنگ و دردانه یکیست
هر گاه که اعتبار نیکی و بدی
خیزد ز میان مسجد و میخانه یکیست (2)

---

1. Rind-u Zāhid, Ankara 1956, p. 55.
2. Ibid., p. 80.

"In the Immaterial Realm the sane and the mad are one; in the depths of the ocean, the pearl and the stone are one; when the conception of good and evil cease to exist, the tavern and the mosque are one."(1)

The poet stresses the mysterious effects of sincere prayer as the pole of a man's life.

Rind in drinking forbidden wine shows disrespect for God, and he goes too far in saying: "We are sinners who are not ashamed to sin."(2) Yet he is a faithful lover, intoxicated by the cup of Eternal Beauty. His insolence is a trait often to be found in deeply religious people. The extreme nearness to God which such a person feels in this ultimate experience of prayer often leads him to a boldness of expression bordering on impiety or blasphemy (shaṭḥ). According to mystical belief, God has inspired every created being to praise Him in its own language. Shaykh 'AṭṭĀr and MawlĀnĀ RŪmī tell many stories of people who spoke insolently to God. Ergun tells of some saints who reached the level of nĀz (coquetry), and scolded God without being punished.(3)

---

1. Rind-u ZĀhid, Ankara 1956, p. 80.
2. Ibid., p. 72.

ما اهل گناهیم و گه زیور ماست — عاری شدن از گه کجا درخور ماست
ما را ز گه نیست چندان عاری — این شیوه شعار پدر و مادر ماست

3. Bektaşi Şairleri ve Nefesleri, by Ergun, Istanbul 1944.

RūmI in his parable of Moses and the Shepherd points out that so long as a worshipper is inspired by love of God, the words in which he expresses his devotion are quite immaterial. He says: "Fools exalt the mosque, and ignore the true temple in the heart." Man is saved, in RūmI's belief, not by reciting God's epithets accurately, or by worshipping with "fair rites", but by heartfelt love and earnest endeavour to please God. In every nation, the man who loves God and follows God's will according to his own lights is accepted of Him.(1)

According to the well known ṢūfI Maḥmūd Shabistarī of Tabrīz (d. 720/1320):

"The tavern is the abode of lovers,
The place where the bird of the soul rests."(2)

In FużūlI's Rind-u Zāhid, the ascetic father finds his son drunk with ecstasy. The whole of ṢūfIsm rests on the belief

---

1. Masnavī-yi Ma'navī, tr. E. H. Whinfield, London 1898, p.XXXIV.
In the parable of Moses and the Shepherd; Moses once heard a shepherd praying as follows: "O God, show me where you are, that I may become your servant. I will clean your shoes and comb your hair, and sew your clothes, and fetch your milk." When Moses heard him praying in this senseless manner, he rebuked him, saying, "O foolish one, though your father was a Moslem, you have become an infidel. God is a Spirit, and needs not such gross ministrations as, in your ignorance, you suppose." The shepherd was abashed at his rebuke, and tore his clothes and fled away into the desert. Then a voice from heaven was heard, saying, "O Moses, you have come to draw men to union with me, not to drive them far away from me."

2. The Secret Rose Garden of Sa'd ud-din Mahmud Shabistarī, tr. by Florence Lederer, London 1920, p. 54.

that when the individual self is lost, the Universal Self is found. The highest happiness of any being consists in the most perfect realization of itself. The human soul realizes itself most perfectly in Union with the Divine Soul, wherein lies its supreme felicity. This union can be achieved in the state called "ecstasy" (ḥāl), i.e. the state of being able to pass from the physical world into the spiritual world.

In attempting to assess Rind-u Zāhid, we have to consider the value of the ideas along with the poet's success in giving it a poetic rendering. Fuẓūlī has certainly achieved success in his poetic rendering, while the background of his ideas has quickened his emotional fervour and has also enriched his art. Here we see Fuẓūlī as a teacher and a moralist, trying to impart a higher potency and value to the realities of life and conduct. His passionate eloquence gives the work a richness of effect which is most impressive, in spite of the simplicity of the language. There is no laboured effort to show the oppositeness of Rind's and Zāhid's ideas, each utters his thoughts in language which is perfectly natural. The poet treats his characters, irrespective of their religious views, with complete objectivity, and expresses their ideas with equal facility in verse and prose.

Ḥusn-ū 'Ishq, yā Ṣiḥḥat-ū Maraż

Beauty and Love, or Health and Sickness

Copies of this short tract in Persian prose are not rare. There are about 10 mss. in libraries in Turkey, three in the Kitābkhāna-yi Majlis-i Millī (Tehran), two in the British Museum, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), and one in the Asiatic Museum (Leningrad). It was printed for the first time at Tehran in 1939 in an edition prepared by Muḥammad 'Alī Nāṣiḥ.(1) It has been translated into Turkish three times: first into Ottoman Turkish in 1856 by Muḥammad Labīb Efendī,(2) secondly the same translation with small modifications published in 1909 by Aḥmad Ḥamdī,(3) thirdly a translation into modern Turkish published in 1940 by Professor A. Gölpinarli. It has also been translated into German in 1943 by Necati Hüsnü Lugal and Dr. O. Rescher,(4) and summarized in French at the end of Professor Gölpinarli's edition.

---

1. Majalla-yi Armaghān, Tehran 1930, Vol. XI, pp. 418-424, 505-517.
2. Istanbul 1272/1856, reprinted Istanbul 1282/1865.
3. Trabzon, 1327/1909.
4. In Des Türkischen Dichters Fuzûlis Poem "Leylâ-Medjnûn" und die Gereimte Erzählung "Benǧ-u Bâde", "Magis und Wein", Istanbul 1943, pp. 1-14.

Ḥusn-ū 'Ishq, the hero of which is Rūḥ, the human soul, has different names in different mss., such as Ḥusn-ū 'Ishq (Beauty and Love), Ṣiḥḥat-ū Maraḍ (Health and Sickness), and Safarnāma-yi Rūḥ (The Soul's Itinerary).

Ḥusn-ū 'Ishq shows that Fuḍūlī, like certain other contemporary authors, had a knowledge of medieval medicine. He was far from being the first Muslim writer who introduced medicine into belles-lettres. Abū 'Alī ibn Sīnā (370/980-428/1037), the great physician, natural scientist, philosopher, and author of Arabic and Persian poetry, wrote a philosophical allegory in Arabic called Ḥayy b. Yaqẓān (Alive, son of Awake), describing the progress of the active intellect as it rises above the senses.(1) In Persian, Muḥammad Yaḥyā b. Sīyāk of Nīshāpūr known as Fatḥī (d. 852-3/1448-9) was one of the first writers of a Ḥusn-ū 'Ishq or Ḥusn-ū Dil (Beauty and Heart) dialogue. His poem Dastūr-i 'Ushshāq also deals with problems of mysticism by personifying parts of the human body and various human qualities.(2) After Fuḍūlī, the Turkish poets Nav'ī in his Ḥasab-u Ḥāl (Nobility and Good), and Shaykh Ghālib (1171/1757-8 - 1213/1799) in his Ḥusn-ū 'Ishq, wrote romantic poems in the same sense.

---

1. Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., articles Ḥayy ibn Yaqẓān and Ibn Sīnā, both by A. M. Goichon.

2. Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., article Fatḥī by J. Rypka.

The work is in two parts: the first is concerned entirely with medicine, the second is on the theme of psychological and mystic love and is poetic in manner.

The first part begins:

"پاك نهادی بود روح نام،لطافت تمام مولدش عالم جبروت منشأش فضای لاهوت. روزی بسرش هوای سفر افتاد قدم بعالم ناسوت نهاد. خوش قطعه دیاری دید بدن نامش عبارت از هفت کشور هفت اندامش مالکان آن ملك خوم چهار برادر شریك باهم: اوّل خون دوّم صفرا سوّم سودا چهارم بلغم. در مخالفت بدیع الاشتراك در موافقت عدیم الانفكاك." (1)

"A pure-natured being named Soul, born in the celestial kingdom and inhabiting the spiritual world,(2) one day visits the land of Body and likes it. Four brothers, Blood, Bile, Spleen, Phlegm, reign in that

---

1. Majalla-yi Armaghān, Tehran 1930, Vol.XI, pp. 418-424, 505-517.

2. According to Ṣūfism there are Five Worlds ('Avālim-i Khamsa), which are in fact five different planes of existence. They are the World of Godhead ('Ālam-i Lāhūt), the World of the Fixed Prototypes ('Ālam-i A'yān-i Sābita), the World of Might ('Ālam-i Jabarūt), the World of Similitudes ('Ālam-i Miṡāl), the World of Man ('Ālam-i Insān).

city."(1)

The story continues: "They never oppose one another or part company."

It seems clear that FuẓūlĪ could not have written this work without an extensive knowledge of medieval medicine.

In the second part, Soul during his stay in the land of Body is involved in a new adventure. He meets Friendship, Beauty and Love. Then Love begins to praise Soul and upholds the necessity of his existence. Soul, pleased with Love's

---

1. The "four humours" (akhlāṭ-i arba'a) of the early physicians were choler, i.e. bile (safrā), phlegm (balgham), blood (dam), and spleen or melancholy (sawdā). The last of these, which was sometimes called "atrabile" or "black bile", was an imaginary thick black fluid, supposed when in excess to be the cause of the feeling of depression which is still named from it "melancholy." Food was supposed to be converted into these four humours by a process of "cooking" that went on in the liver. What answered to the froth on a pot of soup boiling on the fire was changed into choler or bile; what corresponded to the half-cooked rice or vegetables floating on the surface became phlegm; what represented the good wholesome soup itself became blood; while what took the place of the sediment at the bottom of the pot was turned into melancholy. Health was regarded as the result of the proper relationship of those humours to one another; when this relationship was disturbed, disease ensued. By their relative proportions, moreover, a person's physical and mental qualities were held to be determined.

speech, warms towards him and says: "From what I have heard, you are in love with someone called Beauty and cannot stay in any place without her. Explain her qualities to me."

Love perceives that Soul is ignorant, and to enlighten him explains that "Her abode is in the vale of poverty"and that"the way to find her is through separationfrom self."

"ای سیاح جهان گرد بشنوم که بحسن نامی گرفتاری و بی او در هیچ جا

قراری نداری از کیفیت او مرا حکایت کن و بمعرفتش هدایت

او را مقام در وادی بی توائیست و وسیلهٔ ملاقات او از خود جدائیست

The second part was a particular source of inspiration for Shaykh Ghālib, who took Fużūlī's theme and worked it up with great skill in his own Ḥusn-ū 'Ishq. Gibb sees certain resemblances between this allegorical maṣnavī by Shaykh Ghālib and Fużūlī's Laylā va Majnūn; he did not know that Fużūlī also has left a work called Ḥusn-ū 'Ishq. Shaykh Ghālib in his own work tells us of his admiration for Fużūlī.(1)

Muḥammad 'Alī Mūṣih, in his article presenting the text in the review Armaghān, speaks highly of Ḥusn-ū 'Ishq. He

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol.I, p.108 and Vol.IV, p.182.

considers that it is an outstanding example of Persian prose, and that Fuzûlî by producing such a work in his own century performed a miracle in the revival of Persian literature.(1)

---

1. Majalla-yi Armaghân, Tehran 1930, Vol.XI, p. 418.

Risāle-yi Mu'ammayāt

(Book of Riddles)

There is a manuscript of Fużūlī's Persian mu'ammās in the public library of Bursa (Turkey), no. 19/1241, and one of his Turkish mu'ammās in the library of Istanbul University, no. 5548. The manuscript of Fużūlī's Küllīyāt in the library of the Leningrad Asiatic Museum, no. 1561(540), contains both his Persian and his Turkish mu'ammās. The Turkish mu'ammās were first published by H. Arasli at Bākū in 1946[1] and later by Professor A. Karahan in Turkey in 1948.[2] The Persian mu'ammās were published in 1949 by Kemal Edip Kürkçüoğlu.[3]

A mu'ammā is a versified conundrum incorporating a more or less fantastic description of an object or person, from which the answer may be guessed. It generally consists of two lines. Sometimes it is complicated, and the answer may be a proper name. The answer is arrived at by the manipulation of some of the words and letters of the mu'ammā in accordance with certain conventions.

---

1. Edebiyat Məcmuəsi, Azərbaycan S.S.I.R. Ilimler Akademiasi, Nizami Enstitüsu Nəşriyati, Bākū 1946, Vol.I, pp. 27-34.
2. Tasvir Gazetesi, 23 December 1948, Muamma Edebiyati ve Fuzuli'nin muammalari.
3. Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol. VII, No.1, Ankara 1949.

Here are a few examples of FuẐûlî's Turkish and Persian mu'ammĀs:(4)

امام – ایستدی مژده نثار مژده تشریف یار
جوهر اخلاص خاک پاینه قدم نثار

"Imām - Asked for a present, for the dispatch of good news of my sweet-heart's coming.
I scattered jewels of sincerity on her way (the dust of her feet)."

سلام – چون غم پنهانم اثباتده آهدر گواه
دوستلر عیب ایلمك گر آشکار ایلرسم آه

"Salam - My sigh is the witness of my hidden grief.
O friends, do not blame me if I sigh!"

امام – دریاست دو چشم تر من آن گل رعنا
دریابد گوهر اگر آید سوی دریا

"Imām - My wet eyes are a sea. My graceful sweet-heart will find the pearl if she comes towards the sea."

پاشا – گر عدالت پیشه سازد پادشاه نامدار
محصل ماند از و نام نکو در هر دیار

"Pāshā - If a far-famed king always practises justice,
His good name will endure in every land."

---

1. Dil-Tarih ve Corrafya Fakültesi Derrisi, Ankara 1949, Vol.VII, No.1, pp. 70 and 83.

Many theoretical treatises on the composition and solution of riddles were in existence in FużūlI's time. Lu'ammĀ writing had been cultivated by a large number of poets and often formed a special chapter in their dIvĀns. The Persian poet JĀmI has left four essays on riddles, of which the most highly valued is his RisĀla fI'l-mu'ammĀ. 'AlI ShIr NavĀ'I also wrote mu'ammĀg in Persian and in Chaghatāy Turkish. The invention of the mu'ammĀ is attributed to KhalIl b. Aḥmad, the inventor of prosody, while the Persians of course attribute it to 'AlI b. AbI ṬĀlib.(1)

Arasli writes in his preface that FużūlI's riddles gained fame wherever Turkish literature was known, both in his own and in later epochs.

Kürkçüoğlu explains that it was considered a defect in a poet if he did not write riddles, and that for this reason FużūlI, too, went in for this genre.

FużūlI himself has written:

لله الحمد از فنون شعر در هر فن که هست
امتلا جستم ز فیض حق بر آمد کام من
در بنای جامعیت تا نباشد رخنهٔ
در معما نیز میخواهم بر آید نام من (2)

---

1. For details, see Encyclopaedia of Islam, 1st ed., London 1936, Vol.III, p.616, article Mu'ammĀ by Moh. Benchoneb.
2. Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Ankara 1949, Vol.VII, No.1, p.78.

"Praise be to God, I wished to excel in all the
poetic arts,
And through His grace my wish has been fulfilled.
I wish that my riddles, too, may bring me fame,
So that there be no breach in the building of
Universality."

As we see from the examples, from the poetical point of view his riddles are good specimens of this style of composition.

CHAPTER VIII

FuẓūlI's Arabic Works

Maṭla' al-I'tiqād
fI
Ma'rifat al-Mabdā' wa'l-Ma'Ād

The only known copy of FuẓūlI's Maṭla' al-I'tiqād is to be found in a manuscript of his collected works (KullIyāt) preserved in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad, no. 1561(540), pp. 322-373. Although it bears no date, Professor Muḥammad b. TāvIt al-TanjI thinks that it was written in the 16th century.

This Arabic work was first published in a facsimile edition by Hamid Araslī, which appeared at Bākū in 1958. Araslī presented the work with a short introduction, but did not correct any of the copyist's numerous errors. The edition is thus a mere duplicate of the original without any scholarly value.

Araslī in his introduction writes that FuẓūlI was equally well acquainted with the writings of both Near Eastern and Greek Philosophers, and that the work reflects his own philosophical ideas.(1) Against this, it is a fact

---

1. Maṭla' al-I'tiqād, Baku 1958, p.4.

that in the work FuẓūlI never puts forward his own views, but simply states and compares the theories of various philosophers. Professor al-ṬanjI thinks that ArasIl is essentially ignorant of the philosophy and ideas current in FuẓūlI's lifetime, and that he published the work after studying it only superficially.(1)

Maṭla' al-I'tiqād was published for the second time in 1962 by the Theological Faculty at Ankara.(2) Professor Muḥammad b. ṬāvIt al-ṬanjI prepared a critical edition of the text, while Esat Coşan and Kemal Işik produced a Turkish translation. Professor al-ṬanjI took considerable trouble over this task. He indicates in footnotes the sources of all FuẓūlI's ideas, and by showing the copyist's mistakes in parenthesis he helps in the correct understanding of the text. He has added a fairly detailed introduction in Arabic. The book is, in all, 104 pages.

According to Professor al-ṬanjI, FuẓūlI simply adopted his themes from certain Greek and Islāmic philosophical sources, and furthermore remained on a quite superficial level. In preparing the work he used only the books taught in the madrasas in his time, and not the basic works of either the Greek or the Muslim philosophers. There are many mistaken

---

1. Maṭla' al-I'tiqād, Ankara 1962, pp. 10-11.
2. Ilahiyat Fakültesi.

ideas, some of which stem from errors by the Arab translators of the Greek works, and some of which arise from FużūlI's own misunderstandings of the Muslim works which he copied.

The late Fuad Köprülü, in his article on FużūlI in the Islam Ansiklopedisi, suggested that if the work Maṭla' al-I'tiqād came to light, it might prove that FużūlI was a ShI'ite.(1) In fact, however, the poet merely presents unoriginal ideas culled from different sources and never mentions his own sect.

ṬanjI also discusses FużūlI's language in the work, claiming that it is no different from the language of anyone educated in the religious sciences but never reaches the level required of an Arab poet or littérateur. He considers FużūlI's Arabic style mediocre and not free from the influence of Turkish. The manuscript which he examined was complete and in order, but often so full of copyist's errors as to be quite incomprehensible.

FużūlI entitled this work "The beginning and end of Creation: the birth and appearance of True Belief." His themes are the Truths of the Creation, and the Origin and Destiny of Man. The work is divided into four "pillars", and each pillar into several chapters.

---

1. Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1945, Vol.IV, pp. 686-699.

In the preface, after praising God and saluting the Prophet, Fuẓūlī writes that every man of intelligence ought to know whence he came and whither he is going; that men of the same type are distinguished from one another by the degree of their knowledge; and that people of various beliefs have based their faiths on four pillars.(1) The first pillar is learning and knowledge, the second pillar is the state of the Universe, the third is God's self-subsistence, and the fourth is prophecy.

In the first section Fuẓūlī discusses the nature of knowledge. In the chapters of the second section he discusses the origin of the Universe, its parts and divisions, and the humans and jinns who inhabit it. In the third section he discusses God's existence, His qualities and acts, the world's beauty and ugliness, and its good and evil. In the fourth "pillar" he discusses the Prophet and the Imāms, and the state of the soul before and after death.

With regard to the origin of the Universe, Fuẓūlī gives short accounts of the ideas of Greek philosophers such as Thales, Plato, Anaxagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Pythagoras, Plutarch, Socrates, Democritus, Aristotle.

With regard to the Imāms, after demonstrating the necessity of there being an Imāmate, Fuẓūlī remarks that

---

1. Maṭla' al-I'tiqād, Ankara 1962, pp. 3-5.

each sect has a different doctrine on the subject. He then outlines the ideas of the Sunna, ShI'a, Mu'tazila, Muḥakkima, IbkhtEriya, Zaydiya, ImEmiya, Isma'iliya, and BAṭiniya sects, but does not give his own opinion on the question which of these doctrines is more logical.

He says:

قال أهل السنة: إن الامامة ثابتة بالإجماع دون النص و التعيين و الأئمة هم الخلفاء الأربعة على الترتيب المتعارف. (1)

"According to the Sunna sect, the identity of the ImAm is known and proved by general consensus, not by written designation or appointment. The ImAms are the four caliphs in the well-known order." (i.e. 'Umar, AbU Bakr, 'UgmAn and 'AlI).

قالت الاثنا عشرية الإمامة لعلي وأولاده و هم: الحسن و الحسين و العابد و الباقر و الصادق و الكاظم و الرضا و النقي و التقي و العسكري و المهدي المنتظر. (2)

"According to the Twelver ShI'a sect, the ImAmate belongs to 'AlI and his descendants al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, al-'Abid,

---

1. Maṭla' al-I'tiqAd, Ankara 1962, p. 75.
2. Ibid., p. 76.

al-Bāqir, al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāẓim, al-Riżā, al-Taqī, al-Naqī, al-'Askarī, and al-Mahdī whose emergence is expected."

On the Nature of God, Fuẓūlī writes:

و اختلف الناس فی معرفة ذاتِهِ ·
فمنهم من قال : لا طریقَ إلی معرفة ذاتِهِ للعقل مُطلقا ، لوجهین :
الأول : أن المعرفة لاتُتصوَّر إلا بالحَدِّ و الرَّسم و هما یقتضیان الترکیبَ فی الحدود و المَرسُوم، و هو بَسیط من کل الوجوه · والآخَر : أن العقلَ مخلوقٌ و مسبوقٌ بذات المُوجِدِ و هو متأخر عن مُوجِدِه ؛ فهو إنما یُدرِكُ ما بَعدَهُ دون ماقبلَهُ · و مِنهم من قال : إن المسمّی هو اللّه، و استدلّ بإحیاء الموتی، و هم بعضُ النصاریٰ·
و منهم : من جَوّز له الحلولَ فی الأبدان، و هم الحلولیة و الغُلاة·
و منهم : من قال بالنار و استدّل بأن الخلیل إذ وَقَعَ فیها عظُمَتْه و ما أحرَقَتْه، و هم بعضُ المجوس ·
و منهم من قال : إن الدَّهر هو اللّه، و هُم الدهریون ·
و الظاهر أن الحق هو الرأی الأول، بدلالةِ قوله : "ما عَرَفناك حقَّ معرفتك"·
(1)

"When men try to know God's nature, they fall into dispute. Some of them claim that for two reasons, human intelligence is wholly incapable of knowing God's nature. The first reason is that knowledge may be conceived only with limits and forms, and both of these necessitate that the objects thus limited and formed be compound; but He is,

---

1. Maṭla' al-I'tiqād, Ankara 1962, p. 49.

in all aspects, simple. The second reason is that intelligence is created, since the Creator's nature preceded it, and it came into being after the Creator; but intelligence can perceive only what came after it, and not what preceded it. Some people consider that the Messiah (Jesus) was God himself, and that the proof of this is that he raised men from death; some of the Christians believe this. Some people consider it admissible and possible that God may enter men's bodies; these are the HulUlIya and the GhulAt. Others say that Fire is God, and adduce as a proof the fact that when Abraham was cast into the fire, it exalted him and did not burn him; these are certain Magians (MajUs). Some say that God is Time (Dahr); these are the DahrIyUn (fatalists or materialists).

As the Qur'Anic words 'We cannot understand You in a form worthy of You', have proved, the first opinion is manifestly the closest to reality."

From the above passages it can be seen that FuzUlI did not show much fanaticism in religious matters, and that he was a calm, upright and virtuous man.

Works attributed to FuẓūlĪ

on doubtful grounds.

Shāh-ū Gadā

In Turkish literature there are a number of works called Shāh-ū Gadā (The King and the Beggar) or Shāh-ū Darvīsh (The King and the Darvīsh). The best-known one is the Shāh-ū Gadā of Tashlijali Yahyā (d. 1587); Agah Sirri Levend in an article in Türk Dili says[1] that this is a naẓīra to the Shāh-ū Gadā of the Persian Poet HilālĪ (d. 935/1528-9), whereas Gibb finds nothing in common with HilālĪ's Shāh-ū Gadā except a similarity of title.[2]

A reference in ṢidqĪ's Tazkire[3] is our only evidence that FuẓūlĪ also wrote a Shāh-ū Gadā. No manuscript of it has yet been found. It was formerly thought that there might be a copy in the Konya Museum Library in Turkey; but Professor Mazioğlu and Professor Necati Lugal after lengthy research found out that the manuscript is not Shāh-ū Gadā. The other Shāh-ū Gadās which exist in the libraries in Turkey are copies of Tashlijali Yahyā's work.[4]

---

1. Türk Dili Mecmuasi, Ankara 1954, No.35, pp. 655-656.
2. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol.III, p. 122.
3. Majma'al-Khawāṣṣ, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 4085, pp. 33-34.
4. Fuzūlī Hakkinda Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi, Istanbul 1956, p. 102.

Turkish-Persian Dictionary

In 1958 Professor Fahir Iz found in the Punjab University Library at Lahore a versified dictionary for Persian-speakers wishing to learn Turkish. The dictionary is in seven sections, each of which has been composed by a different poet. It is recorded that FuẓūlĪ wrote the third section. Professor Iz gives examples from this section, and says that orthographically and dialectically the work is consistent; but he cannot decide definitely whether or not it is by FuẓūlĪ.(1)

Ḥubbat al-Aṣmār

This is an allegorical poem 200 distichs long, in Persian. Emin Abid first attributed it to FuẓūlĪ,(2) and more recently M. Gulizade has repeated this claim.(3) In the opinion of F. Köprülü and A. Karahan, this work has nothing in common with FuẓūlĪ's style.(4)

---

1. Fuzûlî Hakkında Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi, Istanbul 1959, p. 103.
2. Article in Hayat Mecmuası, Istanbul 1927, Vol.I, No.16, p. 314.
3. Azerbaycan Edebiyatı Tarihi, Bākū 1960, Vol.I, pp. 351-442.
4. Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1945, Vol.IV, p. 697.

Jumjuma-nāma

This is another work which has been attributed to a poet called Fuzūlī by Olearius in his Book of Travels.(1) Professor Köprülü and Professor Karahan feel uncertain about this claim.(2)

---

1. Relation du voyage de Moscovie Tartarie et de Perse. Paris 1656, pp. 460-461. Adam Olearius (A.D. 1636-1638); his Voyages and Travels, originally written in Latin, were translated into French and then by John Davis, into English. (See E. G. Browne. A History of Persian Literature in Modern Times, Cambridge 1924, pp. 114-115).

2. Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1945, Vol. IV, p. 697. Fuzuli, Muhiti, Hayati ve Şahsiyeti, Istanbul 1949, p. 22.

PART THREE

CHAPTER IX

FuẑûlI's Turkish DIvān

Dr. Mujgan Cunbur in her Bibliography of FuẑûlI's works[1] established that there are 70 manuscripts of FuẑûlI's Turkish DIvān in libraries in Turkey and 10 in private hands. She also located 4 mss. in the British Museum (London), 5 mss. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), one mss. in the Vatican Library (Rome), one mss. in the Kaiserlich-Königliche Hofbibliothek (Vienna), two mss. in the Königliche Bibliothek (Berlin), one mss. in the Herzogliche Bibliothek (Gotha), 3 mss. in the Universitätsbibliothek (Uppsala), one mss. in the Stadtbibliothek (Breslau - now Wroclaw), one mss. in the Maria Magdalenenbibliothek (Breslau), one mss. in the Bibliotheca Regia Dresdensi (Dresden), one mss. in the Hof- und Stadtbibliothek (Munich), one mss. in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Calcutta), one mss. in the Bodleian Library (Oxford), 3 mss. in the Asiatic Museum (Leningrad, formerly St. Petersburg).

---

1. Dr. Mujgan Cunbur, Fuzûlî Hakkında bir Bibliografya Denemesi, Ankara 1956, pp. 5-45.

In the Turkish libraries, manuscripts of FuẔŪLĪ's Turkish DĪvĀn are more numerous than those of any other Turkish poetical work. The number of manuscripts alone suffices to show how far his fame spread in Turkish-speaking countries.

Even if there is a remote possibility of finding a copy of the Turkish DĪvĀn written or corrected in FuẔŪLĪs own hand, no such copy is known to exist. The facts that many copies differ considerably from one another, and that in a single manuscript the Ottoman and AzarI dialects may be seen side by side, are difficulties in the way of establishing an accurate text. The oldest known manuscript is one copied in 979/1571, now in the Istanbul University library (catalogue No. T.Y. 5465). Other old editions are one in the library of the Mevlana Museum at Konya (No.404) copied in 984/1576, and one in the Public Library of the Ministry of Education at Ankara (No. 101) also copied in 984/1576. Among the manuscripts which we have seen in Turkish libraries, the one in the Konya library (No. 404), written twenty-one years after the Poet's death, is particularly valuable, as it retains AzarI spelling and all the peculiarities of this dialect; it was copied by a scribe with the name Ḥusayn b. GulshanI.

Among the mss. which we have seen in the British Museum, Or. 406 is written in neat nasta'liq with two 'unvāns (rubrics) and gold-ruled margins; it has no transcription date but is apparently from the 16th century. Add.19, 445, written in neat nasta'liq script with a rich 'unvān, gold-ruled margins and gold ornaments, dates from the year 1041/1631. Although this copy is relatively recent, the preface is lost with the exception of the last line. Add.7917 has an interesting item, in which a former owner states in a Persian note on the first page that he received the manuscript at Qandahār from Ilyās Khān, Governor of Farāh, and made a present of it to his son Ja'far Qulī.(1) Besides Add.19,445, Add.7916, Add.7917 and Or.406, the British Museum possesses two other mss. of Fuzūlī's Turkish Dīvān, Or.7101 and Or.7102 dated 1061/1651, which are nicely written and neat.(2) There are also Add.11,525, Add.7939, Add.7937, Add.5977, Add.7827, Sloane 2691, Add.7831, and Or.9822, which are junūn (miscellanies) of poetry containing poems by Fuzūlī.

Of the five manuscripts of Fuzūlī's Dīvān in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No.394 and No.1370 are the best for

---

1. This small note is another indication of the popularity of Fuzūlī's Dīvān.
2. Surprisingly Dr. Cunbur has not mentioned these two mss. in her Bibliography.

completeness and clarity. No.394[1] dated 1838 was written at Erzurum by the interpreter of the local Russian consulate for an unnamed person who had found a small DIVĀN of FuẓūlI. No.1370 dated 1672 was written at BaghdĀd by Quṭb al-DIn al-KirmānI. Mss. Nos. 244, 290, 294, 302, 240, 373, 673, 675, 1122, 1984, 1987, 2005, 518 are Junks containing poems by FuẓūlI which are overlooked in Dr. Cunbur's Bibliography.[2]

H. Arasli states that the Academy of Sciences of the AẓarbāIjān Soviet Republic possesses a manuscript No.2062 of FuẓūlI's Turkish DIVĀN, which is about 65 pages long.[3] It was copied by Maḥmud ibn DĀvūd 'UlūyavI, and has two transcription dates in which the scribe states that he

---

1. No.394 lacks the preface, whereas Dr. Cunbur writes that it contains a prose preface as well as various poems. (op. cit., p.38).

2. Professor Karahan in his article in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (New Edition, Vol.II, pp.937-9) says that he has in his possession a manuscript copied during the poet's lifetime; but neither he nor Dr. Cunbur have mentioned it in their books about FuẓūlI. In the same article Professor Karahan states that his book Fuzuli, Muhiti, Hayati Ve Şahsiyeti gives particulars of manuscripts of FuẓūlI's Turkish DIVĀN, whereas in fact it enumerates only a small number of mss. in the libraries of Turkey. On the other hand, Dr. Cunbur's Bibliography is comprehensive and valuable.

3. H. Arasli, Fuzuli Eserleri, Baku 1958-61, Vol.I, pp. 8-16.

started the copying in 979/1572 and finished it in 980/1573. Arasli remarks that this manuscript is particularly valuable not only because it is one of the oldest, but also on account of the correctness of its language. He compares some of its verses with those in one of the Leningrad Museum mss. dated 997/1589 and in various printed editions of the DIvAn.

FuzulI's Turkish DIvan has been printed 27 times: 18 times in Turkey, and the rest in Iran, Egypt and Russia. The last edition in Turkey was printed in 1958 by the Iş Bankasi.(1) This was prepared by collating 68 mss. from libraries in Turkey; but it can be seen that many of the versions which were used are identical and that much more work is required. Better results could have been obtained by collating a few early mss. Moreover, making a critical edition does not consist only of mechanically collating mss. and establishing where they differ, as the Iş Bankasi did, but should also involve ridding a poet's work of accretions from different times and environments, and bringing to light its true features. This is particularly true in the case of a poet such as FuzulI, whose work has been altered by various hands in various lands. In the Iş Bankasi edition no attempt is made to establish the correct original text; the variants in the different versions are noted at the foot of each page, and only in a few cases are obvious mistakes indicated.

---

1. Iş Bankasi (Labour Bank), ed., Fuzuli Divani, Ankara 1958.

For example, in the ghazal on page 397, the rhyme bela occurs twice; but on its first occurrence it is shown as yefa, which does not conform with the sense of the verse. In our opinion, the best printed text is Professor Ali Nihat Tarlan's critical edition.(1) The editor,(2) who knows AgarI well, demonstrates that the mss. show a definite tendency away from AgarI towards the Ottoman dialect, and explains how Ottoman copyists must have ottomanized the text. For example, in the sixth couplet of the ghazal on p. 2, the rhyme is given in many mss. as gana-bana; Professor Tarlan makes this bana-bana, which in AgarI would be mana-mana and would conform with the sense. He also alters words which are inconsistent with the rhyme-scheme as well as with the meaning.

Apart from the editions printed in Turkey, FuzulI's Turkish DIvAn has been printed in Iran 5 times, in 1827, 1831, 1849, 1854, and 1856.(3) M. Hartmann states that it was printed 5 times at Tashkent on the basis of the Istanbul printed edition of 1870.(4)

Editions were printed in Egypt in 1838 and 1840, and in Russia in 1893(5) and in 1944; the most recent one is a

---

1. Ali Nihat Tarlan, ed., Fuzuli divani, Istanbul 1950.
2. He himself is originally an AgarI from Caucasia.
3. Millet Library, Ali Emiri - Catalogue of verse works, No.337.
4. Mitteilungen des Seminar für orientalische Sprachen VII,1904.
5. The British Museum catalogue states that FuzUlI's DIvan was printed in 1840 at BUlAq and in 1868 in Istanbul. As we have mentioned above, a few copies of earlier printed editions still survive.

critical edition prepared in 1961 at BAKU by Hamit Araslı.(1)

The late Mehmet Fuat Köprülü in his article on FUZULI in the Islam Ansiklopedisi wrote that the DIVAN was first printed in 1840 at BULAQ (Cairo). However, in the Millet Library in Istanbul, there is a copy printed at Tabriz in 1244/1827,(2) and there are also copies printed at Tabriz in 1831 and at BULAQ in 1838.

Dr. Cunbur in her Bibliography mentions 25 printed editions. She writes that she was not able to examine the Tabriz edition of 1827, nor the Iş Bankası edition which had not yet appeared; her book came out in 1956 and the Iş Bankası edition in 1958. The first edition using the Latin alphabet was prepared by Professor Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı and printed in Istanbul in 1948.(3)

After studying a number of the manuscript copies and printed editions, we can say that the variations in the text of Turkish DIVAN must have been introduced by scribes who wished to make the text accord with the taste of the specific public by whom the particular copy or edition would be read. Evidence to this effect could be accumulated by further study of the various manuscripts and editions.

---

1. This contains the text of the Turkish DIVAN with some of FUZULI's other works, and is in Cyrillic AZARBAIJANI characters.
2. Millet Library, Ali Emiri - Catalogue of verse works, No.337.
3. Professor Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, Fuzuli divanı, Istanbul 1948. There is a copy in the Oriental Library at Durham, No. PL.258.

The fame of FuḍūlĪ rests above all on his Turkish DĪvān. The volume, which contains his collected Turkish poems, has features characteristic of literary custom in the 10th/15th century. Like the DĪvāns of the ChaghatāY poet Navā'Ī,[1] and other contemporary Turkish poets, it is introduced by a preface in prose interspersed with verses. The poems are likewise grouped in categories such as: tawḥīds (praises of the Divine unity), na'ts (praises of the Prophet), qaṣīdas (panegyrics), musammaṭs (poems arranged in stanzas), ghazals (love-poems), qiṭ'as (fragments), and rubā'īs (quatrains).

FuḍūlĪ's preface begins with praise of God in these words:

دیباچه فضولی

حمد بیحد و ثنای بیعد اول متکلم نطق آگرینده که سفینهٔ امید سکّان
بحار بحور نظمی موّج استغرای ...

FuḍūlĪ goes on to speak of the many years which he spent in the cultivation of poetry and pursuit of learning. Then he tells how a beloved friend represented to him that he alone had written prose and verse with equal facility and elegance in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, and that

---

1. See Chapter IV, p. 107, above.

while his Persian ghazals and his Arabic rajaz were a source of delight to many, it was unfitting that men of Turkish speech should be left unprovided for. The poet, although he was engaged on an important task,(1) yielded to his friend's entreaties and hastened to collect the Turkish verses of his youth.(2) He hopes that the fact of his never having left his native land, 'Irāq-i 'Arab, will not lower him in the esteem of Turkish readers. The preface closes with a prayer that God, whose grace has guided those dear children, his poems, from the narrow strait of nonentity into the pleasant field of existence, may accompany them to whatever land they go, making their advent a blessing and their presence a delight; and that He will shield them from all who would do them wrong, and especially from those three cruel foes, the ignorant scribe, the unskilled reciter, and the envious detractor.(3)

The contents of the complete DĪWĀN of FuḍūlĪ are as follows:

Preface

Qaṣīdas 40 or 44(4)

---

1. It is not known what this task was.
2. Again it is not known when FuḍūlĪ made the collection.
3. The preface is the most important source of the little knowledge which we possess about FuḍūlĪ's life and personality (see Chapter II).
4. In some mss. there are 40, in others 44.

Ghazals 305 (in alphabetical order of the rhyme-syllables).

Musammaṭs 13

Qiṭ'as 42 or 44

RubĀ'Is 72 or 84 (in alphabetical order of the rhyme syllables).

Both FuḍūlY's artistry and his learning are apparent in almost every page of the Turkish DIvān. From many passages, penetrating thought and wide scholarship leap to the eye, and particularly from the tawḥId in the form of a qaṣIda at the beginning of the DIvān. Other qaṣIdas reflect the political and social life of FuḍūlY's time, while the ghazals express his personal philosophy of life and sense of art, and the qiṭ'as and rubĀ'IyĀt express his ideas about social and moral matters.

The qaṣIda, in its original Arabian form, theoretically should contain not less than thirty and not more than ninety-nine distichs. Its proper subject was the eulogy of some great personage, a Sulṭān or Vezīr or Shaykh al-IslĀm. The Turkish qaṣIdas are constructed in two parts: the naṣīb (exordium) and the maqṣid (purpose, usually panegyric). In the naṣīb the poet explains the occasion on which the poem has been written and presented to the patron to whom it is dedicated. Usually the Turkish poets do not mention the

name of the great man in whose honour they write until the end of the maqṣid; but sometimes the name of the patron is introduced near the beginning of the maqṣid, while the writer's own name is mentioned at the end. The couplet in which the poet moves from the nasīb to the maqṣid is called the gurīz (transition).

Innumerable poets have started their poems with invocations of God and praises of the Prophet, and Fuḍūlī has done the same. Muslims regard God as the only perfect being, of which He has given proof through the Qur'ān. He is the Lord of the worlds, the Beneficent, the Merciful. He is the Author of Beauty, and Love for this Author of Beauty is the highest form of love both in quality and in results. Tawḥīd; the belief that there is one God, is the fundamental basis of the religion of Muslims. Their faith may be expressed through affirmation of doctrines in a didactic way, or through praise of the beauties of nature in a descriptive poem. In poetic devotion sometimes the subject of description is not God, but the works of God.

The concepts of Fuḍūlī's tawḥīds can be traced to the Qur'ān and the thought of Muslim thinkers. Their basis is the essential word of the Muslim creed - that God is One, that His being is perfect, and that his power of creation

is infinite. Love of God is the highest stage of the soul's progress, as the Qur'An tells us in many passages, e.g.:

"Say (O Muhammad, to mankind): if you love God, follow me; God will Love you and forgive you your sins. God is Forgiving, Merciful."(1)

'Say; "Obey God and the Messenger." But if they turn away, verily God does not Love the disbelievers."(2)

In FuḍūlI's Turkish DIvAn there are two tawḥIds. The best known is the one at the beginning of the DIvAn which starts with the following distich:

(3) هوا هر ایمن گلزار اولدی چهره گشا بهار گلشنه گلدردی حلة خضرا

The second tawḥId starts with:

(4) آفرین ای صانع تن پرور و جان آفرین خالق الاشیا آفتاکسرش رب العالمین

In the first TawḥId, FuḍūlI skillfully displays his great knowledge of the classical sciences of kalAm (IslAmic theology), fiqh (IslAmic jurisprudence), astronomy, logic, geometry, and chemistry (or alchemy). The madḥ (praise of God) in this

---

1. Qur'An, III, 31.
2. Qur'An, III, 32.
3. KulliyAt-i DIvAn-i FuḍūlI, Istanbul 1891, p.10.
4. Ibid., p.71.

famous tawḥīd is as sincere in its beauty as the naʿt is masterly in its art. In the naʿt Fuḍūlī says:

رموز حکمتن الهی بیان مراتب اله جمیع حال بشر خواه فقر و غنا
شریف ذاتنه اوج اتحادندن وسیله شرف قرب اولور نزول بلا
خسیس فطرته کسب الفاتدن مزید ملت ادبار اولور و نور عطا
(1)

"God's wisdom is endless; the state of all men, both rich and poor, declares His wisdom. It belongs to His wisdom to make those whom He loves suffer and to pour pain and trouble onto them, so that He may always hear their voices. Those whom He does not love, He drowns in the delights of the world and satisfies all their worldly desires, so as not to hear their voices; He turns His back on them."

In Fuḍūlī's opinion God is a reality, one, Eternal Omnipotent, and Wise. His wisdom is demonstrated by His works; "He it is Who created for you all that is in the earth."(2) As regards the vicegerency of God, it is clear from the Qur'ān that man with all his faults is meant to be God's representative on earth. The boundless mercy of the Omnipotent and Omniscient God has bestowed on us the gift of life. "He it is Who has placed you as viceroys of

---

1. Külliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.1ff.
2. Qur'ān, II, 29.
3. Qur'ān, VI, 165.

the earth and has exalted some of you in rank above others, that He may try you by (the test of) that which He was given you."(1) The idea that God tests man because He longs to hear man's voice in prayer is found also in Sarrāj's Kitāb al-Luma',(2) and in a nice story in Mawlānā's Maṯnavī; from the Divine Sea comes an uncaused and undeserved mercy in a blessed hour to a man whose heart was troubled.(3) The Prophet is reported to have said: "When God loves His servant, He sends tribulations, and when He loves him most He severs his connection from everything."(4)

After depicting God's greatness and infinite mercy and wisdom in this way, Fuzūlī in the last three couplets of the nasīb utters a prayer and a supplication. The belief in the "tortures of the Resurrection" worries him, as it does all good Muslims, and he expresses his fear in the verse below:

عذاب روز جزا و هم ایله شام و سحر بر اضطراب و عذاب ایجره‌م بن رسوا (5)

While burning with anguish, Fuzūlī at no time loses hope. God has clearly shown the greatness and high rank of the believer, when He says (in the Qur'ān): "Call unto Me and I

---

1. Qur'ān, XL, 60.
2. Kitāb al-Luma' fī'l-Taṣawwuf of Abu Naṣr al-Sarrāj, ed. R. A. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, Chapter LXV.
3. The Maṯnawī of Jalālu'ddīn Rūmī, ed. with commentary by R. A. Nicholson, Leiden 1925-40, Vol. VI, p. 217.
4. Nawāb 'Alī, Teaching of Al-Ghazzālī, Baroda 1920, p. 152.
5. Kulliyāt-i Dīvānī Fuzūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 13.

will answer your prayer![1] The poet accordingly believes that his prayer will be answered, and says:

امیدوار که آیینه ضمیرمدن — همیشه صقال احسانك اوله وبك زدا
امیدوار که لطفکدن اولیه نومید — دل لولی آشفته حال بی سروپا (2)

"Tarnish on the mirror of the heart, coming from the evils of the soul, can be purified with God's grace.[3] Fuḍūlī, let not your troubled heart abandon hope of God's grace."

Fuḍūlī is guided by the voice in his heart, which tells him not to despair of God's mercy. He reveals himself as a man who believes in God's unity and greatness, who feels his own unimportance in the face of God's mighty power, and who trusts in God's compassion for the humblest created being. As he says in the following verse:

یسر اولہ اکا شاهراه مشکده — دوام حسن قبول و ثبات رسم وفا (4)

In both the first and the second tawḥīds the theme is Fuḍūlī's wish to take refuge in God so that he may escape from his sins to follow God's path, and thus attain peace and

---

1. Qur'ān, XL, 60.
2. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.13.
3. According to Ṣūfism, the heart is like a mirror which can only reveal the reality of things by being polished. (Book XX of al-Ghazzālī's Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn, tr. by L. Zolondek, Leiden 1963, p.12).
4. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.13.

bliss. Has not God said in the Qur'An, "Those who, when they do an evil thing or wrong themselves, remember God and implore forgiveness for their sins - and who forgives sins save God?"(1) At the end of the second tawḥid Fuḍūlī says:

طلعك ايلر لسولى طالت اولدتمه ولى

حرصله نه روضهٔ رضوان ديلر نه حورعين

حور عين و روضهٔ رضوان هواى نفسدر

نفسدن گچمشدر اول سلدن رضا ايستر همين
(2)

"I am not one of those ascetics who worships because he thinks of heaven. My worship is not for the Garden of Paradise and the Black-eyed Huris. Such things are for the pleasure of the self; I worship to please God."

According to the Qur'An, God's satisfaction with man precedes man's satisfaction with God, as the following verse shows:

"God promises to the believers, men and women, gardens underneath which rivers flow, wherein they will abide forever - delightful dwellings in Gardens of Eden. And - greater, far - acceptance from God. That is the supreme triumph."(3)

---

1. Qur'An, III, 135.
2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.72.
3. Qur'An, IX, 72.

Acceptance from God, or pleasing God (riḍā or riḍwān) is the last of the stations on the ṣūfī path and is followed by the mystical states.(1) Ghazzālī enterpreted it as follows: "Riḍā or joyous submission to God's Will is one of the highest stages to which the soul of true devotees can aspire." He tells several stories of saints, showing how they patiently bore pain to please God.(2)

The first human being whom Fuḍūlī praises is the Prophet Muḥammad. He has left four ġazīdas in praise of Prophet, which start, respectively, as follows:

(3) نه کیم صحیفهٔ دیده مثل ایدر سطور

صافلمك انی اولور اولمز اولمین مقدور

(4) چکر بن رحمتر مانده هر ساعت زبان خضر

گناهم ثابت ایلر اولمگم خاطر نشان خضر

(5) آب لوحی اوزره چکش موجدن مسطر صبا

سیره دن نقل ایتمکه وصف خط دلبر صبا

---

1. Kitāb al-Luma' fī'l Taṣawwuf of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, ed. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, p.16.
2. Nawāb 'Alī, op. cit., p. 173.
3. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.14.
4. Ibid., p.16.
5. Ibid., p.18.

صاچمه ای گوز گوکلده‌کی اولدلاره صو (1)

کم بو دکلو دوشان اولدلاره قیلز چاره صو

FuḍūlĪ says (in outline) that he praises Muḥammad because the Prophet is the reason for mankind's creation, the man in whom the world can take pride, the noblest of human beings. He has a deep respect for the Prophet and a firm attachment to the Holy Law. His praises of the Prophet clearly spring from a heart-felt devotion. In his na'ts he shows himself a truly religious man, hoping for the Prophet's intercession. In almost all his poems he expresses devotion to the Prophet; as long as he lives, he says, he will have no other goal.(2) According to FuḍūlĪ, the universe was created so that the Prophet might exist. It is the Prophet who will intercede for Believers on the Day of Resurrection. FuḍūlĪ's qaṣīda entitled "Water" is one of the most successful examples of the na't in Turkish literature, and may fittingly be examined here.

---

1. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i FuḍūlĪ, Istanbul 1891, p.15.
2. Ibid., p.15.

مرور صرصی ثنای رسول اکله کهورم

اولدده ایدم آنی ارمغان اهل قبور

قصیده در نعت حضرت نبوی

صاچمه ای کوز اشکدن کوکلمده‌کی اودلاره صو
کم بودکلر دوشان اودلاره تیلمز چاره صو

آیکوندر کیمه دوار رنکی یاشلزم
یا سحط اولمش کوز ومدن کیمه دواره صو

ذوق تپمکدن عجب بوق اولسه کوکلم چاک چاک
کم مرور ایله پراکنده رخنه‌لر دیواره صو

وهم ایلن سویلر دل مجروح یکانك سوزن
احتیاط ایله ایچر هر کیمده اولسه یاره صو

صویه ویرسون باغبان گلزاری زحمت چکسون
هر گل آچیلمز بورك تك ویرسه یك گلزاره صو

مارضك یادیله نطك اولسه بوگانم نوله
صایح اولمز گل تماشه ویرمك خاره صو

نم گوزی ایتمه دل بیمار دن تپمك دریغ
خیردر ویرمك قرانلق گیمه ده بیماره صو

ایسته یکانك گوکل همرنده شوقم ساکن ایت
صوسزم برکز بو صحرا ده یتیمون آره صو

من لیك مشتاقیم زهاد کوثر طالبی
نه کم سنه من ایچمك خوش گلور هشماره صو

روضه‌کوینه هر دم دور صوب ایلر گزار
عاشق اولمش غالبا اول سرو خوش رفتاره صو

صویولن اول کویدن طهرانی اولوب دوشم گرك
چون رقیبدر دخی اول کویه قویمن واره صو

دستبوسی آرزو ایله اولورسم دوستلر
کوزه ایلك طهرانم صونك آنکله یاره صو

سرو سرکشلك قیلور قمری نیازندن مگر
دامنن دوشه ایاغنه دوشه یالواره صو

ایچمك ایچون یلمك قانن مگر بر رنکله
گل بودانمك مزاجنه کیره قورتاره صو

طینت پاکمی روشن قیلمش اهل حالمه
اقتدا قیلمش طریق احمد مختاره صو

سید نوع بشر دریای در اصطفا
کم سپهردر معجزاتی آتش اشراره صو

بیم دوزخ نار غم صالمش دل سوزانمه
وار امدم ایر احسانك بیه اول یاره صو

یمن نعتکدن کهر اولمش لئولی سوزلری
ایر نیساندن دونن تك لؤلؤ شهواره صو

اومدوغم اولدرکه روز حشر محروم اولیم
چشمهٔ وصلك ویره بن تشنهٔ دیداره صو

"Oh eye, do not pour the water of your tears into the fire in my heart; for water does not extinguish fires which are so fierce. I wonder[1] whether the turning dome (of the sky) is the colour of water, or whether my tears have covered the face of heaven.

Do not be amazed when my heart is shattered from delight at your sword-sharp glance; for water flowing from a wall cuts channels. The wounded heart fears to speak of your eyelashes sharp as the tips of arrows; the wounded man drinks water with caution. The gardener should not tire himself needlessly, for if he floods the garden with water, or waters a thousand rose-gardens, there is still no chance that a rose as beautiful as your face will bud. If my eyelashes get moist remembering your cheeks, what does it matter? No, it is not useless to water a thorn, wishing for a rose.[2]

---

1. To show how much he weeps, the poet says that the tears flowing from his eyes have covered the face of heaven; this is the literary device called mubālagha (exaggeration). Then he pretends not to know why the sky is blue; this is tajāhul-i 'ārif (pretence of ignorance by one who knows). Finally he says that the blue of the sky comes from his tears covering it; this is husn-i ta'lil (assignment of a fictitious but artistically elegant cause).

2. Here there is a comparison between cheek and rose, eyelash and thorn. The poet means: in the same way as the gardener waters even the thorn to produce a rose, I too weep to reach your cheek, which is like a rose, and I water my thorn—like eyelashes.

On the day of grief do not withhold your sword-sharp glances from my sick heart: it is a good deed to give water to a sick man on a dark night.(1) The heart longs for the beloved's arrow-like glances; when I am separated from them, assuage my grief. I am thirsty; in this desert of love, seek water for me once. I feel a strong desire for your lips; the sufi longs for Kawsar,(2) the drunkard drinks his wine, the sober his water.

Water flows continually to the village of the beloved, and the village becomes a Garden of Paradise. Perhaps it too has fallen in love with the beauty whose movements are graceful as a cypress.(3) I must stop the water flowing to the place where my beloved is, for the water is my rival; I cannot let it go there. O my comrades! If I die without fulfilling my desire to kiss her hand, make a pitcher from my earth, and give her water.(4) The cypress is unmoved by

---

1. In contrast to the "day of grief" in the first couplet, there is a "dark night" in the second. The poet is comparing the day of grief to a dark night. After the comparison between "water" and "sword", the contrasting expressions are "give water to a sick man" and "do not withhold the sword from my heart". The poet is explaining how in the hour of grief he will feel joy and happiness from the sharp glances of his beloved.
2. Kawsar (Turkish Kevser) is the name of a river in Paradise.
3. In classical Turkish literature, as in classical Persian literature, a tall and beautiful person was always compared to a cypress. The flow of water twisting around the base of a cypress tree gave poets the image of the water's falling in love with the cypress.
4. i.e., so that I may reach her lips in this way.

the dove's pleading; let the water twist around the cypress's garments, let it plead, let it force the cypress to abandon its stubbornness. The branches of the rose drink the nightingale's blood (by trickery), wishing to take on the hue of the rose. Let the water enter the veins of the rose-bush and plead to save the poor nightingale.(1)

Water follows the road of the Prophet, and shows mankind the purest nature.(2)

---

1. In old Turkish poems, the belief that the rose takes its colour from the nightingale is very frequent; from night to morning the nightingale sings fine-worded songs, until finally it dies, and thus in the morning a red-rose opens. The poet's meaning here is that if the water is mixed with blood, the blood becomes lighter in colour and its redness decreases.

   We find the same theme in Oscar Wilde's The Rose and the Nightingale (London 1888). "The branch of the rose explains to the nightingale how the red rose can be open; "You must build the red rose out of music by moonlight, and stain it with your own heart's-blood, you must sing to me with your breast against a thorn. All night long you must sing to me, and the thorn must pierce your heart, and your life-blood must flow into my veins, and become mine." (p.25).

   Professor Annemarie Schimmel gives the terminology of rose and nightingale in şûfîsm. (A. Schimmel, Rose und Nachtigall, in Numen, Vol.II, 1958).

2. This couplet is the gurîs verse of the qaşîda. The previous verses constituted the nasîb, and the panegyric on the Prophet begins from this point. For the transition between the nasîb, which contains descriptions unessential to the purpose of the poem and the real subject-matter, the poet needs some vehicle. Since purity of heart is a fundamental principle of Islâm, Fuzûlî means that water, with its transparency and purity, has the qualities of a perfect Muslim.

   Water also symbolizes Muḥammad. He is the reason for the existence of the universe; if he were not, the spheres would not have been created.

Muḥammad is the noblest of men, the ocean's Pearl of Distinction,[1] whose miracles pour water onto the fire of evil and extinguish it.[2] The fear of hell has scattered fire into my burning heart; my hope is that the cloud of your (Muḥammad's) favour will sprinkle water and extinguish that fire. By praising you, FuḍūlY's words have become pearls, like the drops of water which fall from April's clouds and become pearls.[3] My hope is that on the Day of

---

1. Since Muḥammad is the most favoured of men in God's sight, FuḍūlY calls him the "Pearl of Distinction". (He is not content with this description, however, but also makes him the Sea of the Pearl of Favours.)

2. FuḍūlY here may be referring to the Qur'ān, "Muḥammad is not the father of any man among you, but he is the messenger of God and the Seal of the Prophets (Khātim al-NabīyīN). (Sura XXXIII, 40).

   As Sa'dI says:

   سنّد سید سارات عالم چراغ و چشم چشم انسارا

   (KulliyāT-i Sa'dI, ed. by M. A. Furūghi, Tehran 1963, p.816).

   There are many books by Muslim writers which relate miracles by the Prophet, especially on water; e.g. Ibn Sa'd's Tabaqāt, al-Sarrāj's Kitāb al-Luma', Muslim's Ṣaḥīḥ - Kitāb Faḍā'IL, al-Bukhārī's Ṣaḥīḥ - Kitāb Manāqib.

3. According to ancient beliefs, the pearl-producing oyster closes its shell when a drop of April rain falls onto it, and the drop confined between the living mother-of-pearl of the shell becomes a pearl. If there is more than one pearl within the shell, each will be small; but if there is only one, it will be large and round, and of greater value. In poetry such large round pearls were called shahwār (regal). Here FuḍūlY compares the Prophet to a "regal" pearl.

Resurrection, I shall not be denied the sight of your face. I thirst for this, and when I reach you I shall be happy, like a man who has drunk water."(1)

For the Prophet's nephew 'Alī, Fuḍūlī feels a great love. Not only in gaẓīdas written specially in honour of 'Alī, but also in other poems, he praises 'Alī, frequently calling him in Persian "Shāh-i Vilāyat", "Shāh-i Mardān", and "Haydar-i Karrār".(2) In like manner he praises 'Alī's wife, the Prophet's daughter Fāṭima, and also 'Alī's martyred son Ḥusayn, and the Shī'a Imāms descended from him. In one gaẓīda he says that he whose master is the "King of Men" (i.e. 'Alī) may endure great hardship but will in the end achieve his heart's desire:

بوز مشقت چکسه کام دل طاهر انجام کار (3)
هر کیمك مالده مولاسی شه مردان اولور

Again in another gaẓīda:

دم اورم اوصاف اولاد طهدن نیه کیم
مادح آل علی مستوجب غفران اولور (4)

---

1. Fuḍūlī is comparing the devotee who reaches the Prophet on the Resurrection Day to a parched man who thirstily drinks from a spring.
2. "The King holding legitimate authority" (i.e. in succession to the Prophet), "The King of Men" (i.e. of the brave men), "Intrepid Lion"; all epithets of 'Alī used by the Shī'ites.
3. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.21.
4. Ibid., p.22.

"I describe the qualities of the children of 'Alī because the eulogist of 'Alī's line will deserve forgiveness of his sins."

FuẓūlĪ also writes of other Prophets such as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Joseph and Jesus, and their miracles. He describes how Adam was the first of mankind, how his body was created from dust, and how the angels worshipped him. He mentions Noah for the length of his life and for the flood, and Abraham for his great love of God. He describes various miracles of Moses; in particular how Moses, when Pharaoh was pursuing him and his people, struck the Red Sea with his staff, and how the sea then divided into two, leaving Moses to cross with his people, while Pharaoh remained on the other side. FuzūlĪ uses this event in a ghazal where he compares the figure of his beloved to the staff of Moses, and his own tearful eyes to the divided waters of the Red Sea:

(1)
ایکی گوزدن روان ایتش سرشکم تابٹ شوقی
عصای معجزی گور کم ایکی بولنش بو دریامں

Solomon is mentioned for the extent of his kingdom, and for the way in which all creatures obeyed his seal. Even

---

1. Külliyāt-i Dīvān-i FuẓūlĪ, Istanbul 1891, p.194.

Solomon, however, lived in this transitory world; and FuŝûlI reminds us that although no man could escape Solomon's decree, death overtook Solomon too and fate destroyed his vast kingdom.

Whether FuŝûlI's subject is contemplation, philosophy or love, he often uses Jesus's life and miracles to illustrate it. For example, he says that the lips of the beloved make the love-sick well and raise them to life, just as Jesus's breath cured the sick and raised the dead.

جان بافشاردی لبك اظهار كتار ایلیوب

اورمدن عیسی لب جان بخشلكدن دم هنوز (1)

None of classical poets could procure a livelihood without seeking the patronage of powerful or wealthy persons. To achieve the comfort necessary for his art, to receive encouragement, to find a place in literary assemblies, and to win fame for his works, a poet needed a patron. The position was similar in contemporary Europe, where during the Renaissance there arose a comparatively unattached group of writers, the Humanists, who sometimes wandered from country

---

1. Kulliyât-i Dîvân-i FuŝûlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 151.

to country and offered their services to different patrons. Thus FuḍūlI wrote qaṣIdas in praise of rulers, statesmen, and wealthy patrons of art. In the early years of ShāH Tahmāsb!s reign (930/1524-984/1576), he presented two qaṣIdas[1] to IbrāhIm KhāN MawṣillU,[2] one of the ṢafavId governors of BaghdāD, whom he called "the greatest KhāN of the KhāNs." As a result of these qaṣIdas, FuḍūlI earned IbrāhIm KhāN's favour, until this patron was executed as a result of the treachery of his nephew Ẓu'l-Faqār MawṣillU, who hoped to gain the governorship of BaghdāD by defecting to the Ottoman SulṭāN.

FuḍūlI presented four qaṣIdas to SulṭāN SulaymāN.[3] In them he praises QāNūnI SulaymāN as King of the land and the sea, and as successor of the (successors of the) Prophet. Well known books of advice written in the East, such as the QābūS-nāma,[4] NaṣIhat al-MulūK,[5] and the SiyāSat-nāma,[6] explain the position of the ruler according to Islamic traditions as "God's Shadow on Earth" or "the Divine Shadow",

---

1. KulliyāT-i DIvān-i FuḍūlI, Istanbul 1891, pp. 43 and 44.
2. Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1950, article BaghdāD, pp. 195-212.
3. KulliyāT-i DIvān-i FuḍūlI, Istanbul 1891, pp. 22, 24, 26, 72.
4. QābūS-nāma of the ZiyārId 'Unṣuru'l-Ma'ālI KayKā'us, tr. by R. Levy, London 1951.
5. NaṣIhat al-MulūK of GhazālI, tr. by F.R.C. Bagley, Oxford 1964.
6. SiyāSat-nāma of NiẓāM al-Mulk, tr. by H. Darke, London 1960.

appointed by God to hold together the estates of society which constitute its order. Niyazi Berkes in his book on The Development of Secularism in Turkey[1] explains the Sultan's rank at the top of the social hierarchy as follows: "He was the direct representative or shadow of God in the world. The title Khalifa (Caliph) was understood in this sense; in other words, it did not imply successorship to the Prophet who was never imagined as a ruler. The Ottoman ruler did not claim divine nature or any prophetic attribute; but he was viewed as being different from other mortals since he held the highest position in the divine arrangement of the world."

The Ottoman army, without meeting any resistance, seized Baghdād in 941/1534, and Sulṭān Sulaymān remained in 'Irāq until the following year, passing the winter in the city.[2] After the conquest, Fuḍūlī wrote the famous "Baghdād" qaṣīda describing the city. It is clear from it that he expected but did not receive favours from the Sulṭān.

---

1. Niyazi Berkes, The Development of Secularism in Turkey, Montreal 1964, p. 13.
2. Islam Ansiklopedisi, article Bagh(d)ād, pp. 195-212.

تهلشم ترتیب صحن صدفه بیك درّ ثنا

بولمزم فرصت که درگاهه تهلهم بر بر نثار

بندن اول غافل آکا بن روز شب اهل دعا

بندن اول فارغ آکا بن متصل امیدوار (1)

"I arranged thousands pearls of praise in the courtyard of loyalty, but I find no opportunity to scatter them one by one at his threshhold. He no longer cares about me, and I am always in hope. He is neglectful of me, and I pray for him day and night."

In the "Rose" qaṣīda, which Fuḍūlī also wrote in honour of Qānūnī Sulaymān, he again complains of not being appreciated and says:

گرچه بوقدر اعتبارك یوقسن ایت اظهار کم

عادت دور زمانه در خاره ویرمك بار گل (2)

"(O Fuḍūlī), though you have no value, praise him; for it is the custom of the time that the rose grants audience to the thorn."

Between 953/1535 and 963/1545 Fuḍūlī wrote four qaṣīdas[3] for Ja'far Bey,[4] the Viceroy (Beylerbeyi) of Baghdād, in

---

1. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 28.
2. Ibid., p. 24.
3. Ibid., pp. 54, 58, 63 and 67.
4. See M. Sūrayyā, Sijill-i 'Uthmānī, Istanbul 1890-93, Vol. II, p. 70.

which he complains that his worth passes unnoticed and that he has no friend who cares about his distress.

He wrote one <u>qaṣīda</u>[1] in honour of Jalālzāda Muṣṭafā Chalabī, who was <u>Ra'īs al-kuttāb</u> (Secretary in Chief)[2] during Qānūnī's Baghdād campaign and was one of the best Turkish prose-writers of the age, author of many important works, and at the same time a poet. This <u>qaṣīda</u> has <u>qalam</u> as its rhyme. In it Fuḍūlī speaks of the respect and admiration he feels for this talented man's pen.

(ع) (ك)

وير وب نظام جهان آصف و نظام الملك كه دوب جهانده سكا تالدى يادكار قلم

سنك مدايحك اكر اولسيدى اولمزدى سواد اعظم خط ايچره شهريار قلم

آلنش آنچه ايله بر تولكدرر مقبول باشن اكر كسه‌لر ايلمز قرار قلم

سپهر منزلتا اول فضولى° زارم كه حال زارمى بارنجه اولدى زارقلم

---

1. <u>Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī</u>, Istanbul 1891, p. 48.

2. His services in Egypt after the revolt of the governor, Aḥmad Pāshā, were rewarded with the post of <u>Ra'īs al-Kuttāb</u>. Just after the conquest of Baghdād in 941/1534 he was promoted to the office of <u>Nishānjī</u> (Registrar), which he held for 23 years. Fuḍūlī wrote his famous letter <u>Shikāyat-nāma</u> to him. See Chapter VIII, p. 210.

3. Āṣaf (b. Barakhyā), the name of the alleged Vazīr of King Solomon, was sometimes given as a title to <u>vazīrs</u> (ministers)

4. Niẓām al-Mulk, the celebrated minister of the Saljūqid Sulṭāns Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. The <u>Siyāsat-nāma</u> was written by him in 484/1091 and completed at a later date by the Secretary Muḥammad Maghribī.

"Aqsar and Nigam al-Mulk ordered the World and departed (from it).
The pen remains in the World as a memorial of you.
If th pen did not obey you, how it could be the king of writing?
It is a slave, acceptable to you, bought with money.
If its head is cut, it does not run away.
You are as high in rank as the heavens, while I am poor
Fuzûlî, whose pen became mournful when I wrote about my sad condition."

In a qaṣîda[1] written for the Qâżî-'asker[2] Qâdir Chalabî[3] who accompanied the Sultân during the Baghdâd campaign, Fużûlî describes him as a learned, virtuous and generous man, and a proficient poet, and also tells how fate caused him (Fużûlî) much suffering.

Fużûlî presented two qaṣîdas[4] to Ibrâhîm Pâshâ,[5] who was married to Qânûnî Sulaymân's sister and was Sar'asker (Minister of War) in the Baghdâd campaign while at the same time holding the office of Ṣadr-i A'ẓam (Grand Vezir).

Ibrâhîm Pâshâ was with the Sulṭân when the city was conquered. He remained in Baghdâd that winter, going to Tabrîz in July 1935, and from there returned to Istanbul. Fużûlî made the

---

1. Kulliyât-i Dîvân-i Fużûlî, Istanbul 1891, p. 49.
2. The Qâżî-'asker was the Chief Army-Chaplain, and Vice Vice-Chancellor of the Islamic legal institution. There were two Qâżî-'askers, one for Rumelia and one for Anatolia.
3. M. Sûrûrî, Sijill-i 'Uṯmânî, Istanbul 1890, Vol. II, p. 345.
4. Kulliyât-i Dîvân-i Fużûlî, Istanbul 1891, pp. 69 and 70.
5. M. Sûrûrî, Sijill-i 'Uṯmânî, Vol. II, p. 78.

acquaintance of this influential statesman while he was in Baghdād and wrote the two qaṣīdas in praise of his courage, authority, virtue and generosity.

In 952/1545 Fuẓūlī presented eight qaṣīdas to Ayās Pāshā,[1] who had been appointed Governor of Baghdād. During his term of office, this Governor collected troops and conquered Baṣra and Southern 'Irāq. Fuẓūlī's qaṣīdas, written before and after these conquests, praise the Pāshā and his victories. We learn from one of these qaṣīdas that Ayās Pāshā visited 'Alī's mausoleum in Najaf, and that he was the fourth Ottoman Governor in Baghdād:

خلاف غیر نصیب اولدی سن حکم سکا زیارت حرم پاك حیدر کرّار

کیم اول خلیفهٔ رابعدر و مناسبدر سکا که حاکم رابعسن اکا ترب جوار [2]

"Unlike other (governors), it has been your lot during your governorship to visit the holy sepulchre of 'Alī, who is the fourth Caliph. For you, who are the fourth Governor, it is an opportunity to draw near to him" (i.e. to 'Alī).

Significantly, Fuẓūlī here speaks of 'Alī as fourth Caliph rather than first Imām, thereby implicitly accepting the

---

1. M. Ṣurrīyā, Sijill-i 'Uṯmānī, Istanbul 1890, Vol.II, p. 447.

2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 53.

Sunnite view of the legitimacy of 'Umar, AbŪ Bakr and 'UsmĀn.

Three qaṣīdas[1] are addressed to Uvays PĀshĀ, who in 941/1534 became Governor General of Aleppo and BaghdĀd, and was the second Ottoman Governor of BaghdĀd. FuḍŪlī in these qaṣīdas praises wine and alludes to the Governor's love of it. From them it can be inferred that he enjoyed this Governor's patronage.[2]

Another Grand VazIr, Rustam PĀshĀ,[3] is the object of praise in one qaṣīda,[4] written in 951/1544; it is not known whether this was sent to Istanbul, or presented to the Grand VazIr when he was in the East dealing with IrĀnian affairs. While the fact that FuḍŪlī wrote only one qaṣīda for Rustam PĀshĀ suggests that he did not enjoy this Grand VazIr's favour; Rustam's dislike of poets is well known.[5]

In two qaṣīdas[6] which he wrote for the QāḍI (IslĀmic Judge) of BaghdĀd, Sayyid Muḥammad ChĀzI, FuḍŪlī again complains that his worth is not recognised. He does the same in four qaṣīdas[7] to one or more patrons with the name Muḥammad; Professor Karahan has identified two of them as

---

1. Kulliyāt-i DIVĀn-i FuḍŪlī, Istanbul 1891, pp. 30, 39, 46.
2. FuḍŪlī presented his famous maṣnavī Laylā ve Majnūn to Uvays PĀshĀ.
3. M. SurūrīyyĀ, Sijill-i 'UthmĀnī, Istanbul 1890-93, Vol.II, p.337.
4. Kulliyāt-i DIVĀn-i FuḍŪlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 42.
5. Rustam PĀshĀ was a DĀmĀd (son-in-law of the SultĀn), being married to QĀnŪnī's daughter.
6. Kulliyāt-i DIVĀn-i FuḍŪlī, Istanbul 1891, pp. 58 and 56.
7. Ibid., pp. 19, 51, 62, 68.

Shāh Tahmāsb's last Governor of Baghdād, Muḥammad Khan, and an Ottoman Governor Muḥammad Pāshā,(1) but has not been able to determine which qaṣīda was addressed to which patron. In In another poem in the Dīvān called Shitā'iya (Winter poem) Fużūlī gives us a private narrative of his own griefs.(2)

The four months between the conquest of Baghdād on 30 November 1534 and the Sultan's departure on 2 April 1535 were the most productive period of Fużūlī's qaṣīda-writing. Concerning this branch of Fużūlī's art, E. J. W. Gibb observes:(3)

"Fużūlī's qaṣīdas are for the most part panegyrics on Sultan Sulaymān and certain Ottoman officials, probably connected with the government of Baghdād. Poetry of this kind was altogether alien to the genius of Fużūlī, so that nothing very remarkable can be looked for here, and as a matter of fact his qaṣīdas are surpassed by those of several of his contemporaries. Very different are the ghazals, some three hundred in number, in which Fużūlī pours out his heart, and sighs and smiles by turns."

---

1. Fużūlī presented his Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā to Muḥammad Pāshā, the Ottoman Governor of Baghdād.
2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 40.
3. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol.III, p. 83.

Usually the qaṣīda represents the poetry of the court, and Fuḍūlī lived very far from the Ṣafavid and Ottoman courts. The ghazal springs from the cultural life of the town, and its invariable theme is love, to which other topics may or may not be added. It is almost a rule that the main subject of a ghazal be the beauty of a loved one, the sufferings of the lover, the charms of spring, or the delights of wine. It requires a poet of exceptional originality to compose three or four hundred of these poems on the same subject without repetition of expression or sentiment, and without borrowing from the works of previous writers.

Fuḍūlī in all his ghazals sings of love, sometimes physical, sometimes platonic. The various intellectual themes which we find in the qaṣīdas and qiṭ'as, and sometimes in the rubā'īs, are very rare in the ghazals; where they occur, they have been chosen for particular reasons, and fundamentally they remain secondary themes. The ghazal may be the most difficult kind of poetry to produce, and may represent a combination of more nicetics of poetic art; but no other poetry contains so much of the true poetic loveliness and magical cadence which seems to remove us from the sordid surroundings of this earthly existence and

---

1. The first distich of a ghazal is called the maṭla', and the last distich into which the poet introduces his name is called the maqṭa'.

to lift us to a higher plane. As a writer of ghazals, FuḍūlĪ shows his poetic power and originality at the best in his expression of emotional themes. The domain of art is beauty, which artists see in many things. Beauty ennobles human life by creating desires, which in their turn engender love. The aim of all art is to express beauty, and this aim is achieved by idealisation. In idealising thoughts and actions, artists raise them to a higher plane. Thus FuḍūlĪ idealises love with great intensity of feeling, so much so that the strength of his emotion leads him to take pleasure in suffering. Although sometimes he longs for Union, more often he shies away from it, fearing that his emotion would then be extinguished and his love would come to an end. These feelings ultimately raised the poet's love from the level of human emotion to an ideal plane, so that it became a love which was peculiar to himself. He expresses it with the deep sincerity which distinguishes his poetry. When he tells us about his faithfulness in love and the degree of his pain and suffering, when he praises his beloved so highly and describes his own worthlessness so humbly, we feel that he speaks from his heart; and it is this sincerity which gives charm to his ghazals. At the same time his basic

theme, the development of love, gives a unity to his ghazals, which was regarded by the Turks and Persians as a virtue (called yak-ahangI, i.e. "harmony"), and which is also congenial to modern tastes. Most of the old school of poets disregarded thematic unity and brought up different subjects in each distich, on the Persian model of Hafiz.

Sincerity must be the keynote to all artistic expression. When sincerity attains sufficient depth, it develops into realization, and it is this realization which reveals the secrets of life to the artist's eye; and he then gives to his revelation an artistic expression. There is no human breast which does not beat with joy over success in life, or get depressed over failures, and we like to see such experiences sung by poets in beautiful and musical language. Fuzuli sings in purest form of emotions which comprise love, fear, joy, anger, hope and devotion. He blames himself for having fallen a victim to love and for not listening to his friend's advice; but he is innocent, his heart shows a weakness for love, and he falls as deeply in love as ever. He wishes that no one else may fall in love and taste its pain as he does.

مشکم صالدم من بنی پند آلمیوب بر دوستدن

(1) هیچ دشمن ایلمز آنی که ایلدم من بکا

"Disregarding a friend's advice, I plunged into love. No enemy does to me what I did to myself."

(2) دوشدم بلای عشقه خردمند عصر ایکن

(3) ایل شدی پندن آلدیغی پندی بکا ویرر

"I fell into the distress of love, even though I was the wise man of the age. Now people give me advice which they used to take from me."

---

1. KullIyÂt-i DIvÂn-i FuḍUlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 122.
2. The blending of mystical and profane meanings, the wilfully used ambiguity of symbols, the stress on pessimistic aspects of life, the endless expressions of anguish, the hopeless sighs of the frustrated lover, were features of classical Persian and consequently Turkish poetry which were still in vogue in FuḍUlI's time. Each literature developed a long list of symbols which were used again and again, and which every poet elaborated and sublimated according to his personal taste.

   The mystical poetry often tried to sing the ineffable mystery of Union in words were used also in non-mystical poetry.

   According to mysticism, the spiritual lover, who follows the path of Divine Love, gains the goal of Union, which cannot be reached by the exercise of the intellectual faculty; hence the antithesis between the khiradmand (rational man) and the dIvÂna (madman) or mast (drunkard), i.e. the irrational lover.
3. KullIyÂt-i DIvÂn-i FuḍUlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 150.

(1)
عقل یار اولسیدی ترک عشق یار ایتمزمیدم
(2)
اختیار اولسیدی راحت اختیار ایتمزمیدم (3)

"If I had intelligence, would not I give up loving my sweetheart? If I were able, would not I choose rest?"

ایشتمدکمی (4) کوکل عشق مشکل اولدیمنی

سکا یو مشکل ایش کیم دیدیکه بنیاد ایت (5)

"O my heart, have not you heard that love is difficult? Who told you to start such a difficult occupation?"

---

1. In the world's eyes, reason ('aql) is superior to love ('ishq); but in mysticism, reason (the intellectual faculty) is inferior to love (the spiritual faculty). Knowledge of God can only be gained by spiritual illumination ('ishq) and not by logical reasoning ('aql). Only through 'ishq can one shake off the illusion of the apparent reality of the sensible world.

2. The traveller on the path of Divine Love cannot find rest. He will find it only in Union with the Truth, which is his final goal.

3. Kulliyát-i Diván-i Fuzúlí, Istanbul 1891, p. 179.

4. The Heart is rather a transcendental spiritual subtlety, which is connected to the physical heart. This subtlety is the essence of man, which comprehends, learns and knows; and it is this which speaks, opposes, censures, and holds to account.
(Al-Ghazálí's Ayyuhá'l-Walad, Chicago 1930, p. 115).

5. Kulliyát-i Diván-i Fuzúlí, Istanbul 1891, p. 131.

(1)
گتوردی عجز گوروب عشق مشکل اولدیغنی

(2) تو هزلره استاد گوردیگ گوکلم

"My heart, which was skilled in all the arts, was baffled when it realized the difficulty of love."

(3)
یم ط میچ کم زار و پریشان اولسون یارب

اسیر درد عشق و داغ هجران اولسون یارب
(4)

"O God, let no one ever becomes mournful and distressed as I am! O God, let no one ever fall captive to love's pain and separation's woe!"

If FuźûlY had known that beauties are such faithless creatures he would not have fallen in love.

خوبلر عاشقه میل ایتدیگن بیلسه ایدم

(5) اوزومی مشکله رسوای جهان ایتز ایدم

"If I had known that the beautiful ones lack sympathy for lovers, I would not have disgraced myself before the world."

---

1. The path of the mystic is beset with trouble and disappointment, and the ultimate goal of Union can only be won by the exercise of endless patience. FuźûlI finds the difficulties of love too great for his limited powers of endurance.
2. KullIyÂt-i DIvÂn-i FuźûlI, Istanbul 1891, p.176.
3. Means also distracted in mind.
4. KullIyÂt-i DIvÂn-i FuźûlI, Istanbul 1891, p.126.
5. Ibid., p. 172.

يار بيلن سكا صالمزسه فضولى نه عجب

نيچه سيل ايتمك اولور سن كبى بر رسوايه (1)

"O FuŝULI, no wonder that your sweetheart has no sympathy for you. For one so disreputable as you, how could sympathy possibly be felt?"

FuẑULI's own sad condition had become for him a prison in which he was enclosed. His resentment against life, for all that it had denied him, gradually took the form of a doctrine of suffering and the vanity of regret. In his unhappy state he resorted to an idea which had long been a basic theme of classical oriental literature: the idea that life consists of pain, unrest and suffering. FuŝULI's beloved does not care about him and does not ask about his state of health. If one day she were to ask, FuŝULI would have no answer; for how could he explain the state of his aching heart?

تهلدى زلفك كبى پريشان حالى حالك سنك

بر گون اى بيدرد صورمزسن بدر حالك سنك (2)

"Your state has made my state as ruffled as your hair. O callous beauty, will not you one day ask how I am?"

---

1. KulliyyÂt-i DIvÂn-i FuŝULI, Istanbul 1891, p. 192.
2. Ibid., p. 163.

(1)
اولدی اول ماهه روشن یاندیغم حیران گونی
(2) (3)
یاندیغن شب ط سر شمعك نه بیلسون آفتاب
(4)

"My flame on the day of parting did not become visible to that moon. How can the sun know that the candle will burn from night until morning?"

یار سؤال ایتسه که حالك ندر

خسته فضولی نه ویرسن جواب (5)

"Sick FużûlI, were the loved one to ask "how are you," what would be your answer?"

FużûlI speaks of the joy of union and of his desire to see his beloved again.

---

1. In mystic phraseology "the day of parting" is the period during which the adept's soul is enveloped in gloom through the occultation of the Beloved by the veil of phenomena.

2. Night is the period when the vision of the Divine beauty is veiled from the mystic's sight, and morning denotes the illumination of his heart by God's grace.

3. FużûlI compares himself to a candle. In classical literature, the wick of the candle symbolized the human life. Here he compares his beloved's bright face with the sun.

4. KullIyÂt-i DIvÂn-I FużûlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 129.

5. Ibid., p. 127.

ای فضولی مالک گوردم نه دیه سطرین

هیچ لذت گوردم دیدار دلبرک قدیه (1)

"O Fuḍūlī, I tasted all sorts of joys in the world; but I did not taste any joy like meeting my sweetheart."

(2)

جنت لیقون منع ایدن عاشقلری دیدار دن

یاشاسین کیم جنتی عاشقلرك دیدار اولور (3)

"Whoever in hope of paradise forbade lovers to meet, did not know that the lovers' paradise is their meeting."

---

1. Külliyāt-i Divān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 127.
2. Mystics had never cared for paradise or houris, for the reason expressed in a quatrain attributed either to 'Umar Khayyām (d. 517/1123) or more probably to the Ṣūfī Shaykh 'Abdallāh Anṣārī (d. 481/1088):

بر من تو بهشت اگر بطاعت بخشی

این مزد بود لطف و عطای تو کجاست

"If you give me paradise in return for obedience, it will be a wage; where is Your generosity?"

3. Külliyāt-i Divān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 144.
The idea that paradise will only be a prison and veil for the true lovers was expressed by many poets. The mystic paradise is Union with the Divine Beloved, and this does not continue throughout the remainder of the mystic's earthly life, but is only a sudden glimpse of celestial bliss. The body does not die in that moment and the flesh reassumes its dominion over the spirit inhabiting it. The lover is separated a second time from his Beloved, and spends the rest of his days yearning passionately for renewed, eternal union.

(1)

وصل قدرین بیلدیم، فرقت بلاسن چکدن

ظلمت هجر ایتدی چوق تاریك ایشی روشن بکا (2)

"I did not know the value of union until I tasted the pain of parting. The darkness of separation made many obscure things clear to me."

(3)

بیلمشم بولم و صالك لیك بو امّیدله

گاه گاه اور خاطر ناشادی شاد المرم (4)

"Although I know that I never will unite with(the Loved One), sometimes I gladden my sad heart with that hope."

Like other great poets of his own and the preceding centuries, FuḍūlI follows the mystic current of the time. He compares his sighs with fire or lightning which comes from his burning heart, his tears with flood or rain which comes from the fountain of his eyes.(5) The pathos which

---

1. The return to continued existence will be a source of trial and affliction for the mystic if he still remains apart and veiled from God. "Darkness" means evil passions which veil the Beloved from the mystic lover's eyes.
2. KullIyÄt-i DIvÄn-i FuḍūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 122.
3. Love means not only that we yearn for a desired object but also that beneficence and beauty, whether perceived or conceived, equally attract our hearts. Mystics recognise three stages of love; Yearning, Vision, Absorption.
4. KullIyÄt-i DIvÄn-i FuḍūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 175.
5. Fire and flood, which are two threats, sometimes cancel each other out.

he describes in his poems is represented by the portrait of a human face on which the particulars of countless griefs are outlined. He translates the pain of his own experience with clearness and simplicity into terms of a universal pathos. There is in them fertility of thought and luxuriance of imagination, an originality in the style, an expansion of sentiment. In the following verses it seems that he could see no landscape except that of his own mind:

برق و باران صانه کم گوردکچه آه و اشکی

یلمزم بلدر بنم آظار بکا یاغر سحاب (1)

"Whenever you see my tears and sighs, do not suppose them to be lightning and rain. I do not know what has happened to me, now that the clouds burn and weep for me."

سرشکم گور بنم ای ابر اورکدن کم خیال ایمه

هوای عشقله یمك سنمه اشك انشانلنم واردر (2)

"O cloud, do not assume that my tears are no wetter than yours. Driven by love's passion, I have shed a thousand times more tears than you."

---

1. Kulliyyāt-i Diyān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 127.
2. Ibid., p. 147.

گرد راهك ویرسه گور ماشه تسكین بوله

دوعك اولز بویله سیلابك بولن طوراقلن (1)

"If she does not give dust of her path to subdue my tears, never mind. Such a flood cannot be stopped with dust."

(2)

هر گوزم بر موج بر دریادر اول دریا اوزره

هر قاشدر موجدن بر سرنگون اولمش گمی (3)

"Each of my eyes is a stormy sea, and each of my eye-brows is a ship overturned in that sea by the storm."

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 185.

2. The sea denotes the spiritual experiences through which the mystic passes on his journey to God, and the ship is his means of crossing that sea. The ship may be overturned and may even sink.

   Niffarī,[a] wandering darwīsh who died in Egypt in the latter half of the tenth century, said: "Those who instead of voyaging cast themselves into the sea take a risk; in taking the risk there is a part of salvation."

   Those beneath the wave are they who voyage in ships and consequently suffer shipwreck. Their reliance on secondary causes, casts them ashore, i.e. brings them back to the world of phenomena whereby they are veiled from God.

   (See R. A. Nicolson, The Mystics of Islam, London 1914, p. 76).

3. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 199.

اولدی ابر دود آهم پرده رخسار ماه

(1)

آه کیم الز جمالندن هنوز اول مه نقاب (2)

"The smoke of my sigh has become a cloud veiling the face of the Moon. Alas that this fair Moon does not strip the veil off hor beauty!"

شعلهٔ آهله یاندردم دل سر گشته‌یی

بر اود اولدم چرخمن چورمده او لنزمی کباب (3)

"I have ignited my dizzy heart with the flame of my sigh. I have become sheer fire, are not the things on me and around me going to be roasted?"

کوکل غم گولزمین تنها گچورمه اسه بر همدم

(4)

اجل خوابندن اناللر چکوب سلوتی بیدار ایت (5)

"O heart, do not spend sad days alone! Seek a companion! Wake Majnûn from the sleep of death with your moans!"

---

1. In mystic phraseology, the niqâb is the veil of phenomena which obscures the spiritual vision and prevents Union with God. The Beloved's beauty remains hidden from the votaries by the veil of phenomena.
2. Kulliyât-i Dîvân-i Fuzûlî, Istanbul 1891, p. 129.
3. Ibid.
4. In mystic phraseology, sleep means contemplation. Natural sleep produces in the sleeper unconsciousness of his surroundings; but when the mystic loses his personal consciousness, he becomes absorbed in the contemplation of God's Beauty, and this is the spiritual life.
5. Kulliyât-i Dîvân-i Fuzûlî, Istanbul 1891, p. 132.

بکا جمع اولور قنده کیم وار بر غم بنم ملك غم ایچره مجنونه وارث (1)

"Wherever there is grief, it gathers in me. I am Majnūn's heir in the land of grief."

سوردی مجنون نوبتن شمدی بنم رسوای عشق

طوقری دیرلر هر زمان بر عاشقك دورانیدر (2)

"Majnūn's turn is over; now it is I whom love has made infamous. They are right when they say that every epoch is the scene for a different lover."

(3)

دشت طوتق عادتن اویشدی مجنون عشقه

شهره شهر اولمغین رسمن بن ایتدم اختراع (4)

"Majnūn, mad in his love, set the custom of living in the desert. I have invented the custom of becoming notorious in the city."

---

1. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 133.

2. Ibid., p. 147.

3. The mystic's desert is the desert of Absolute Being in which the phenomenal world is like a mirage. Whoever lives in this desert adopts a life of seclusion, and devotes himself to God.

4. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 160.

بنم تك اوله بلمز شهره شهر بلا مجنون

تهول المرمى اول رسوالنى هر كمسه ماظدر (1)

"Majnūn, unlike me, cannot win notoriety in the city of misfortune. Does anyone who is sane accept such infamy?"

بلادر شهرلرده بن كبى رسواى خلق الك

نه خوش فرهاد و مجنون منزل اتش‌كوه و صحرالر (2)

"It is a misfortune to be infamous among the people in cities. How pleasant it was for Farhād and Majnūn to make mountains and deserts their lodging!"

ديرلر كه وار واثق و مجنون مجب دكل

داغلمش اوله آتش مشتعل شراره‌سى (3)

"They say there once lived Vāmiq and Majnūn. No wonder the sparks from my love's fire are scattered."

---

1. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 147.

2. Ibid., p. 147.
   Fuḍūlī, in another distich, uses the same theme:
   "Farhād rejoiced in carving her face and Majnūn in wandering through the desert. Everyone is at ease, only I am in trouble." (p.189).

3. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 200.

خواهشك جان ایدی خاك رهگه طاپشوردم

بندی اول خود بریده شدی ندر فرمانك (1)

"Your desire was for my life, which I committed to the dust before your door. That having been done, what is your command now?"

حاصلك اوّل غم جاناندر آخر ترك جان

برایمش قسمت (2) فضولی خواه آله خواه گول (3)

"First grief for my sweetheart, then death, lie in store for me! That is your fate, FuḍūlI, whether you weep or smile."

ای اجل جان طلمك ایتمه فضولیدن کم

بر کمان ابرویه چوقدان آنی قربان ایتدی (4)

"O death, do not ask FuẓūlI for his life. He sacrificed it long ago to a beauty with arching brows."

---

1. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 165.

2. Qismat, (part or share), was often used with the meaning of qadar (predestination), and became one of the catchwords of Islamic fatalism, reflecting a pessimistic and negative view of human life. This was one of FuẓūlI's sentiments. Like the ṢūfIs, he felt that man is absolutely powerless against the assaults of Fate; but at the same time, like the ṢūfIs (and unlike 'Umar Khayyām) he always kept hope in God's mercy.

3. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 171.

4. Ibid. FuẓūlI in another distich says:

"O FuẓūlI, you have squandered the cash of your life in love for an idol. If you are called to render an account, woe betide you." (p.128).

يتيوب وصلينه سن ليلى و شك بر مجنون

بن گبى مجنون اولوب صحرايه دوشدى آفتاب (1)

"The Sun, having failed to win union with you, O LaylĪ, became a mad lover (Majnūn) like me and set out into the desert."

In these poems it seems that FuẓūlI loved, as no other man has ever loved before, with a hopeless and one-sided love which was never noticed by the person he loved. This despairing but unquenchable passion makes his poems all the more intense and ardent. His failure to find pleasure in concrete experience led him to seek pleasure in the abstract. Sometimes we feel that his poems are not addressed to his beloved but to his abstract idea of love. Thus, even in the midst of his misery, he was nevertheless happy. At one moment, seeing his misfortunes, he is filled with despair; then, on second thoughts, he is filled with hope, which is the spring of joy in life. The love of lover for beloved does not cease to be his main theme, and the most powerful of all his passions. He continues resolutely to follow the path of love:

گوكل يتدى اجل اوق رخ دلدار يتزمى

آنردى موى سر سودای زلف يار يتزمى (2)

---

1. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 128.

2. Ibid., p. 202.

"O my heart, the alloted span is near its end, stop yearning for the sweetheart's face! Your hair has turned grey, stop languishing for the sweetheart's curls!"

ای فضولی چهره جان چهرم طریق عشقدن

رهگذار اهل عشق اولوره قیلمه مدفن بکا (1)

"O FuḍūlI, if I die, I shall not leave the path of love. Put my grave on a passage-way where lovers wander!"

حاصلم رخسار و لعل و چشم و غمزك اولسه (2)

سیر بر آن بر زمان بر لحظه بر دم اولسون (3)

"If I cannot see your face, your ruby lips, your eyes and your loving glance, I do not want to live one moment, one minute, one instant."

اویله مستغنا گوزلسین کیم سکا یوقدر بدل

سندن ای جان منقطع قیلمز بنی الا اجل (4)

"O Sweetheart, your beauty is so exceptional that it can have no equal. O beloved, nothing can separate me from you except death."

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i FuḍūlI, Istanbul 1891, p.122.
2. In old Turkish literature the beloved's face is described as bright as the sun and her figure as graceful as the cypress.
3. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i FuḍūlI, Istanbul 1891, p. 186.
4. Ibid., p. 169.

ای فضولی ایلزم ترک طریق عشق کم

بو فضیلت داخل اهل کمال ایلر بنی (1)

"O Fuẓūlī, I will never leave the path of love, for with this virtue I will reach the ranks of the perfect."

کسه ی بلدن سر کویند، آزارین رقیب (2)

ای فضولی نیجه جنت ایچره یوق دیرلر عذاب (3)

"O Fuẓūlī, while I was wandering in the Sweetheart's quarter, my rival tormented me. How can they say, "There are no torments in paradise?"

سن ای رقیب حذر قیل شرار آهمه کم

بو شعله دن سنی یاقمه بر زبان بتر (4)

"O Rival, beware of my sigh's spark, for a single tongue of this flame is enough to burn you."

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.197.
2. Fuẓūlī here may refer to the guardian of Beloved's street. In mysticism by guardian or rival are meant the obstacles that hinder the mystic's upward Path, and prevent his access to the divine Beloved. This may often be taken to mean worldly thoughts and evil influence, which distract the mystic's mind from contemplation of the Divine Beauty.
3. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.129.
4. In mysticism, flame means the light kindled in the heart by the Beloved.
5. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.139.

In the view of the mystics, the soul separated from its Beloved must suffer before it can return to the Beloved. Another view is that the Lover should seek worldly consolation; although he cannot possess all this world's treasures, he should nevertheless enjoy life on earth and overcome grief. FuẓūlĪ in his ghazals constantly tells us that love has made him drunk or that he has taken refuge in the tavern. Like Ḥafīẓ, he reckons the "drunkards" more religious than the "sober" and prefers the tavern to the mosque. The ambiguity of the poetic symbolism leads the reader into ever new and unexpected dimensions. Nevertheless FuẓūlĪ offers a striking illustration of what the oriental, because of his recognition of the uncertainty of life, is able to accept in all placidity. One must learn the art of disregarding worldly misfortunes. It is true that the habit of reflection often removes the capacity for action and even for enjoyment. An excess of the inner life always pushes a man towards the outer one, but at the same time renders him incapable of dealing with it:

(2) صالدی ایاقدن قم عالم بنی ویر بکا قم دفعیله ساقی شراب (1)

"The world's troubles have knocked me flat. O cup-bearer, give me wine to dispel this grief."

---

1. The word "wine" was used by Muslim mystics to denote spiritual knowledge, the "wine-seller" meant either the spiritual guide, or sometimes God Himself, who intoxicates all creatures with the rapture of Divine Love.
2. Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 127.

غالبا بر اهل دل طپرانیدر درد شراب (1)

کیم تهلوب سرمت بنالر طوتش اوستنده سحاب (2)

"The wine-dregs are mostly dust of lovers' bones, while the bubbles are domes placed over them with reverent care."

نه گوردی باده ده بیلمن که اولدی باده پرست

مرید مشرب زهاد گوردیکك گوکلم (3)

"I do not know what my heart has discovered in wine to make it so besotted - this heart of mine which used to follow the way of the devout."

Among the Muslim mystics, Abū Sa'Id ibn Abī'l-Khayr (357/968-440/1049) seems to have been the first to use the symbolic language which characterizes all subsequent mystic poetry in Persian and Turkish.(4) The ghazals of Ḥāfiẓ, which are considered the best expression of this style,(5) have been

1. The drug-drinkers in mystic language are those who drain to the full the cup of Divine Love. The Ahl-i Dil are those whose hearts are inspired by Divine Love.
2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 127.
3. Ibid., p. 176.
4. This language is explained in the Gulshan-i Rāz, a masnavī poem written c. 717/1317 by the Persian poet Maḥmūd Shabistarī of Tabrīz. Concerning Abū Sa'Id, see p.14, note 3.
5. The poems of Ḥāfiẓ (c.719/1379-c.793/1390) have been extolled as unsurpassable models of supreme literary beauty and brilliant style, and have been imitated by thousands of poets. In the West he is the best known Eastern master of lyrics, who inspired not only Goethe but also many second and third class poets of Germany and neighbouring countries. (H. H. Schaeder, Goethes Erkenntnis des Ostens, Leipzig 1938).

interpreted in the course of time in different ways, either as plain love-poetry, or in a purely mystical sense. E. J. W. Gibb remarks that "the classical Oriental poet was most often a mystic, and the mystic most often a poet";(1) and he goes on to point out,'that most of the poets played with mystic ideas and mystic phrases. When poets took over this poetic system from their forerunners, they found these ideas and phrases ready to hand."

A poet's motive for composing a ghazal or similar poem is seldom known and usually difficult to deduce from the content. The reader remains in doubt whether the imagery does or does not conceal other thoughts; whether the sweetheart is a beautiful girl or the Divine Beloved; whether the wine is made of grapes or is a symbol of the intoxication of Divine Love. It may frequently be probable that the poet hid his real thoughts behind the mystic veil because contemporary society would not have tolerated their expression in an undisguised form. The mystics believed that the first lessons of Divine Love must be learnt through a merely human passion. Human love is the bridge across which the pilgrim on the road to the Truth must pass. D. B. Macdonald surmised that "all thinking religious Muslims are mystics," and that "all too, are pantheists, but some do not know it."(2)

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Literature, London 1904, Vol.I, p. 14.
2. R. A. Nicholson, The Mystics of Islam, London 1914, p. 23.

In some of the commentaries which have been written on the Dīwān of Ḥāfiẓ, every one of his poems is interpreted in this spiritual fashion. Most of the modern scholars, however, doubt whether he or any other poet ever systematically wrote on such lines. E. H. Whinfield thinks that "Ḥāfiẓ played with this mystic symbolism, and used it in equivocal senses, and this has led some writers to represent mystic doctrine as mere lawless pleasure-worship, and mystic poetry as a mere counterpart of the poems of Anacreon and Moore." In Whinfield's opinion, the mysticism of the Persian poets is the same as that of the Platonists. "In reading Ṣūfī books," he says, "we are constantly confronted from this time forward with the technical terms of Greek, and especially Neoplatonist, philosophy."(1)

Some philosophers like Plato taught that the whole truth and meaning of any earthly thing lies in the reference which it contains to a heavenly original. Thus in essence Dante's love for Beatrice was love for a symbol, not for a woman. G. Santayana thinks that "the history of our loves is the record of our divine conversations. All mortal loves are tragic, because never is the creature we think we possess the true and final object of our love; this love must ultimately pass beyond that particular apparition."(2)

---

1. RŪmī, Maṣnavī-yi Ma'navī, tr. E. H. Whinfield, London 1898, Introduction pp. XXIV-V.

2. G. Santayana, Interpretations of Poetry and Religion, London 1901, p. 65.

A. J. Arberry remarks that "there are those who take every reference to the crimson cup as intending spiritual intoxication, and others such as 'Aṭṭār, RŪmī and JĀmī, who were wholly innocent of this dangerous imagery and did not refer to a literal as well as a metaphorical drunkenness." He adds that there is also a third kind of intoxication, the intoxication of the intellect, which he calls the "philosophy of unreason."(1)

We do not know to which of these categories FuẓŪlī belonged; indeed he may not have belonged to any of them. He may have felt the emptiness and purposelessness of his daily life, and have wondered what the purpose of life can be if it brings no lasting happiness. Sometimes he may have felt that earthly existence must be considered as nothing, that all suffering must be endured, and all difficulties overcome. At other times he may have felt that one must forgot all the gloomy forebodings and enjoy such transitory happiness as life on this earth can offer.

---

1. A. J. Arberry ed., Sufism, an account of the mystics of Islam, London, 1950, p. 116. Fifty Poems of Hafiz, Cambridge 1947, pp. 28-32.

گاه معمور قیلور باده بنی گاه خراب[1]

گوریکز گاه مایوب گاه یقن معماری[2] (3)

"Wine sometimes mends me, sometimes ruins me. Look at the architect, who sometimes builds and sometimes demolishes."

زاهد سؤال ایدرسه که بیدن نه در مراد

بزده صادر آنده کدورت جواب آنا (4)

"If the ascetic asks, 'What is the purpose of wine?' Answer him, 'For us pleasure, for him displeasure.'"

ای خوش اول مست که بیلمز غم عالم نه ایش[5]

نه چکر عالم ایچون غم نه بیلور غم نه ایش (6)

"How lucky is drunkard, for whom the world's troubles mean nothing! He neither grieves for the world, nor knows what grief means."

---

1. According to the Persian mystics, wine destroys the foundations of reason and ruins the earthly life.
2. It seems that Fuẓūlī has the same idea as a modern English ecclesiastic who writes: "Though God may exist without a world, it is difficult to imagine any reason why He should choose to create a world for a period only, and then destroy it." (Dean) W.R. Inge, God and the Astronomers, London 1933, p. 29. Khayyām's quatrains often express this idea.
3. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 196.
4. Ibid., p. 122.
5. The "drunkard" symbolizes the mystic who loses the consciousness of self in the contemplation of the Divine Beauty and ceases to pay attention to the external world.
6. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 156.

(1)
فضولی بولدی گنج سعادت میخانه کنجنده

(2) یارك ملکدر اول ملك ویران اولمسون یارب

"FużūlI has found the treasure of happiness in the corner of the tavern. O God, it is a blessed place, do not let it be demolished!"

ای اولن ساکن مسجد نه بولوبسن یلمن

(3)
(4) بوریاسنده آنك بوی ریادن غیری

"O, you who lodge in the mosque, what[d]o you find on its mat (būriyā) except the odour of hypocrisy (bū-yi riyā)?" (5)

---

1. The "tavern" (maykhāna) means the place and time in which the wine of Divine Love inebriates the Pilgrim. The word was also used by Ṣūfīs to denote the Unity of God, which erases all relationships and which can only be apprehended by those who are freed from self.

2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 126.

3. Fużūlī refers to hypocritical devotees who make a show of observing the outward form of religion.

4. Fuzuli Divan Istanbul 1950, p. 158. (ed.by A.N.Tarlan)

5. This form of pun is called tajnīs-i muzdavij (coupled homonymy).

(1) (2)
گل خراباته نظر ساته قیل کیم موقتور

(3) روح صاف و می صافنده صافدن غیری

"Come to this ruined place (the tavern), and look at the cup-bearer! See how there is nothing impure in his pure spirit and his pure wine!"

(4) گوکل تا وار اکنده جام می تسبیحه ال اورمه

نماز اهلیله اویمه آنلر ایله طورمه اوطورمه

"O my heart, as long as you hold the wine-cup, do not touch the rosary! Do not follow the worshippers or mix with them!"

---

1. Kharābāt ("ruins") as used by the poets means the "tavern", i.e. the place where reason and also worldly respectability are ruined. In Ṣūfī language the tavern symbolizes the Unity of God. Shabistarī often uses the word kharābāt in this sense. c.f. p.13, note 7 and Chapter VII, p.235 above.

2. Nagar signifies both physical sight and spiritual insight.

3. Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1950, p.159. (ed.by A.N.Tarlan)

4. Ibid., p.151. (Most of mss. and printed editions (especially the old ones) do not contain the last three distiches; presumably the scribes omitted them because they considered them irreligious).

We find the same ideas and phraseology in the poems of famous poets by whom FuẓūlĪ was doubtless influenced, such as ShabistarĪ or al-Ma'arrĪ. ShabistarĪ asks "What is pure wine?" and answers, "It is self-purification."(1)

Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrĪ, the blind poet of Aleppo (362/973-448/1058), criticizes especially the 'ulamā, the legal and religious authorities in the Muslim state. For example, he says:

"There are robbers in the desert, camel-riders,
Robbers too in Mosque and market may be seen;
And the name of these is notary and merchant,
While the others bear the name of "Bedaween!"(2)

R. A. Nicholson, in his Discussion of al-Ma'arrĪ's works, gives the following interpretation:

"History shows that many freethinkers (zindīqs), not daring to express their thoughts freely, have sheltered themselves behind a religion in which they disbelieved. Such was Euripides, and such was Ma'arrĪ. In the works of both we find three elements:

a - Orthodox religious beliefs;
b - Rational doubts as to the truth of these beliefs;
c - Philosophical views inconsistent with these beliefs."(3)

---

1. The Secret Rose Garden of Sa'd ud-dIn M. ShabistarĪ, tr. by Florence Lederer, London 1920, p. 58.
2. R. A. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Poetry, Cambridge 1921, p. 109.
3. Ibid., pp. 146-7.

L.R. Farnell has drawn the following character-sketch of Euripides:

"Being by nature a great poet, he had also something of the weakness of the 'polymath' or the 'intellectual'; he had not the steadiness of brain or strong conviction enough to evolve a systematic philosophy or clear religious faith. His was, in fact, the stimulating, eager, critical spirit, not the constructive. His mental sympathies and interests shift and range from pole to pole."(1)

The writing of irreligious, or at any rate unorthodox poems, became a rooted tradition in Persian and also in Turkish literature. As to its source, Professor A. Gölpinarli observes that "these conceptions originated in Indo-Iranian, Greek and Neoplatonist philosophy, which was spread more and more widely among the Muslims through the agency of the Ismā'Ilis, who were the first to adopt these ideas."(2)

If it is true that Ma'arrI was an Ismā'Ili,(3) Professor Gölpinarli's opinion gains additional weight.

As regards FuzûlI, Professor Gölpinarli thinks that he was never a mystic poet and that he only played with the mystic symbolism in his poems.

---

1. Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, Vol. VI, p. 414.
2. A. Gölpinarli, Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1948, p. LXXXII.
3. L. Massignon, Mutanabbi devant le siècle ismaëlien de l'Islam, Beyrouth 1936, p. 6.

Fużūlī's Turkish Dīvān contains thirteen musammaṭs.[1] Three of them are mukhammas, in which Fużūlī again treats of human love. One of these is famous; it starts as follows:

ای سویر ایچره تلك مطلق بلّور ایچره گلاب
کوکسك آب روشن اول آب اوزره دو کنکر حباب

اویله زیبا سنکه یوق نظاره که عالمده تاب
وای اگر ترجك چیقوب سر یوب لچك صالسن نقاب

(2) جمع شك یوق کیم سنی گور کج اولور عالم خراب

"Thou whose body silky-clad is attar within crystal clear,
Gleaming water is thy breast, thy buttons shine the bubbles here;
Thou'rt so bright earth hath no power to gaze upon thy beauty sheer;
Naked did'st thou rise and cast the veil and coif from thee, my dear,
Ne'er a doubt whene'er it saw thee, earth were ravished far and near."(3)

There are two musaddas which are nazīras,[4] poems written

---

1. The musammat is a poem consisting of stanzas in which all the lines of the first stanza have the same rhyme, and all except the last lines of the subsequent stanzas have a new rhyme, while the last line of each subsequent stanza repeats the rhyme of the first stanza.
2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 209.
3. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904, Vol.III, p. 97.
   This mukhammas is good example of the arts of euphuism, especially tashbīh.
4. The nazīra (parallel) must be in the same metre and have the same rhyme and radīf (penultimate syllable) as the emulated poem. It should moreover be conceived in a similar spirit. The above nazīra on Ḥabībī has a recurring hemistich with the same ending (dedim-dedi).

in emulation of poems by another poet - actually Ottoman poet Ḥabîbî. One of them begins with the following stanza:

دون سایه صالدی باشه بر سر و سر بلند
کیم تدی دلربا ایدی رفتاری دلپسند

گفتاره گلدی تا که آچوب لعل نوشخند
بویسته گوردم آنده دوکر ریزه ریزه قند

صوردم مگر بودرج دهندر دیدم دیدی
بوغ بوغ دوای درد دهانکرر سنك (1)

"A stately Cypress yesterday her shade threw o'er my head;
Her form was heart-ensnaring, heart-delighting her light tread;
When speaking, sudden opened she her smiling rubies red,
There a pistachio I beheld that drops of candy shed.
"This casket can it be a mouth? Ah, deign!" I said; said she:
"Nay, nay, 'tis balm to cure thy hidden smart; aye, truly thine." (2)

. . . .

In Fuẓûlî's Turkish DÎvân, besides these mukhammas and musaddas, there are three murabba's, two tarkîb-bands and three tarjî'bands. One of the tarjî'bands is addressed to

---

1. KullîyÂt-i DÎvân-i Fuẓûlî, Istanbul 1891, p. 206.
2. E. J. W. Gibb, op.cit., Vol. III, p. 89.

Ayās PāshĀ on the occasion of his conquest of Baṣra, and consists of eleven stanzas; the other, consisting of five stanzas, is addressed to IbrāhĪm Khān Mawṣillū. One of the tarkīb-bands is in praise of SultĀn SulaymĀn and has seven stanzas, each with a different number of couplets.

FuẓūlĪ wrote a takhmīs[1] on a ghazal of the ChaghatĀy poet LuṭfĪ which begins:[2]

ای ازلدن تا ابد جانم گرفتارین سنك

چاره قیل کیم بولدی جانم زار و افکارین سنك

A well known characteristic of Eastern, and in particular Persian, classical poets, is their predilection for imparting advice on morals and manners. Every poet preaches in his own fashion, and FuẓūlĪ sounds his most didactic note in his qiṭ'as.[3] In them he appears as a mature and upright but kind-hearted man, giving advice to those who envy the ignorant and to tricksters and liars, and warning them against the uncertainty and instability of all things in the world. He

---

1. This is one of FuẓūlĪs mukhammas poems. This genre was often used for a poem built by a writer on the foundation of another writer's earlier poem. He did this by prefixing three distichs of his own to each distich of the adopted poem; the practice was called takhmīs.
2. LuṭfĪ was a poet at the court of the TaymūrId Prince Ulugh Beg (murdered 905/1449) who ruled at Samarqand and gained renown as an astronomer.
3. The qiṭ'a is supposed to be a fragment of a qaṣīda or ghazal, and usually consists of only two or three distichs but is sometimes longer.

see in them a strong aversion to worldly wealth traceable to early Islam and to ṢūfIsm.

The belief that accumulation of worldly possessions is displeasing to God is a frequently recurrent theme in Muslim literature for which there is ample authority in the Qur'ān, e.g.: "The present life is but a sport and a diversion, an adornment and a cause for boasting among you, and a rivalry in wealth and children" (Q.LVII,20), and "Wealth and sons are the adornment of the present world, but the abiding things, the deeds of righteousness, are better with God in reward and better in hope" (Q.XVIII,46). Al-GhazzālI (d. 505/1111) in his Iḥyā', al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) in his al-Luma', and HujvIrI (d. 465/1073) in his Kashf al-Maḥjūb, take the Prophet Muḥammad's saying "Poverty is my pride" as the watchword of ṢūfIsm, and accept the view that the founder of Islām lived plainly and humbly all his life, without changing his austere habits when great power and increasing riches accrued to him in the later years of his mission. In these and other books there are many stories showing how poor or destitute people are God's best beloved and how Muḥammad rejected the proffered riches. The Prophet is reported to have advised one of his companions, Abū Zarr al-GhifārI, to love the poor and not to care for the rich.(1)

---

1. Aḥmad AmIn, Fayḍ al-khāṭir, Cairo 1938-1955, Vol.III, p. 184.

Poverty was also one of the attributes of the Prophet's cousin 'Alī. According to al-Sarrāj, after 'Alī's murder his son Ḥasan stated that the entire wealth which 'Alī had left behind was only 400 dirhams.(1)

Through these precepts and examples, together with the influence of later mystic tendencies, poverty acquired a positive value in Islam. For the Ṣūfīs, the way of truth and salvation was to shun worldly wealth and power and material pleasure, and to devote their lives whole-heartedly to God's service. As al-Sarrāj explains, poverty was considered to be one of the preparatory stages on the mystic way; often it was understood in a literal sense as "possessing nothing", but it was also spiritualized to mean the state of "him who does not possess any (worldly) thing and whom no (worldly) thing possesses".(2) The Ṣūfī authors emphasize that true poverty is not merely lack of wealth, but also lack of desire for wealth; not only must the hand be empty, the heart also must be emptied of all thoughts except love of God. Such was the spiritual state of the Prophets, who devoted themselves exclusively to God's service.

Fuḍūlī in one of his qiṭ'as warns against pride in worldly

---

1. Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, Kitāb al-Luma' fī 'l-Taṣawwuf, ed. by R. A. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, p.37.
2. Ibid., p.108 (Arabic text).

possessions and voices the ŞūfI belief that poverty's virtue is to encourage abstemiousness and stimulate trust in God:

چوق تناخر قیلمه جمع ماله سن ای خواجه کیم
سیم و زر جمعیتی اهل فرور ایلر سنی

بارگاه قربدن جمعیت اسباب و مال
هر نه مقدار اولسه اول مقدار د ور ایلر سنی

گر چه نعمت چوق گلیکدر تجاوز قیلمه کیم
امتلا بار بدندر بحضور ایلر سنی (1)

"O wealthy man, do not take pride in your wealth, for the accumulation of gold and silver will make you vain. The more your money and possessions increase, the further you will be from God's presence. Although you have plenty, do not over-eat, for surfeit prevents access (to the Friend)!"

In another <u>git'a</u> he says: "O you who spend day and night worrying so much over wealth and comfort, you will find that as your wealth increases your comfort will decrease. Do not accumulate wealth, but beware of it; for the heavier the burden, the harder will be the porter's toil."(2)

In the following <u>git'a</u> he tells us something about his own life and attitude:

---

1. <u>KullIyāt-i DIvān-i Fużūlī</u>, Istanbul 1891, p. 212.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p. 213.

صرف نقد عمر ایدوب بن کسب عرفان ایتشم
اهل دنیا هم کمال جهلله تحصیل مال

دهر بر بازاردر هر کس متاعن عرض ایدر
اهل دنیا سیم و زر اهل هنر نضل و کمال

کیمکه بندن نفع بولمز ایستمن نفعن آنك
اولکه بوق نفعم آکا نفعن بکا اولمز حلال

ایستمن نادان بکا گر ویرسه گنج سیم و زر
کیم موجب ماله ناداندن ضرردر وبال (1)

"While worldly people are making money, I spend my life acquiring insight ('irfān).(2) The world is a market where everybody offers his goods; a worldly man gold and silver, a craftsman quality and perfection. If nobody gains profit from me, I seek no profit from anybody; for such profit would not be honestly acquired. If an ignorant man gives me treasures of gold and silver, I do not want them; for money taken from the ignorant without recompense is equivalent to sin."

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 215.
2. While ordinary knowledge is denoted by the term 'ilm, the mystic knowledge peculiar to the Ṣūfīs is called ma'rifat or 'irfān. The classical poets, however often used the word 'irfān for all sorts of knowledge and science. The fully developed gnostic ('ārif) had to undergo a long course of discipline and pass through many grades of knowledge. In Fużūlī's view, gold and silver do not constitute anybody's wealth, the real wealth being virtue and knowledge.

Fuḍūlī, like Sa'dī, thinks that a man should conceal whatever he may learn about other men's faults, and that he should not seek merit through the borrowed credit of birth and wealth. As he says in this qiṭ'a:

پرده چك همه ظلمت گهی خلقك دائم
گر دیلرسن كه نصیب اوله سكا آب حیات

تهلمه خورشید گهی هیب تعالق كه فلك
پرده صالمایه سنی بعد علو درجات

جهد قیل ذاتك اوله مظهر آثار قبول
تهلمه اول جاهه تفاخر گیم اوله مانع ذات

فضل اولور صانمه سكا منزلت اصل و نسب
جاه اولور صانمه سكا كثرت اسباب جهان

طاریتدن اوزكا تهلمه قمرتك زینت
غیردن طاریتك نور ایسه گر یازیه آت (1)

"If you hope for the Water of Life, always draw the curtain of darkness over the faults of other men! Do not, like the sun, throw light on people's faults, for perhaps then the stars will not cast you from high rank down to the ground! Try to be acceptable through personality, and do not be proud of your

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.213.

high rank, for such pride detracts from the personality! Aristocratic birth does not ennoble you, nor does wealth exalt you. Do not adorn yourself with borrowed finery like the Moon! Even if you have raised a loan of light, throw it away!"

The well-known "Mirrors for Princes" such as the Qābūs-nāma, the Siyāsatnāma and Naṣīhat al-Mulūk, and the very widely read Būstān and Gulistān of Sa'dī (d. c. 691/1291), show us how fashionable it was in those days to give advice to high-ranking persons and to warn them against wrong doing and unjust conduct. When political powers were centred in a few hands, the rulers proudly claimed a peculiar excellence and superiority over other men. Fuḍūlī finds such pride meaningless and preaches that a minister or a judge should act justly and obey the Law:

"O Vazīr, whom the Sulṭān has chosen from among the people to order the affairs of the country, you are the Caliph's deputy, responsible for solving the people's problems. Beware, do not be intoxicated by wine-cup of power! You have been chosen to render justice, do not associate with the wicked and do not maltreat the believers, do not destroy the prosperous lands of Islām (by wrong commands)! If you do, although you

are the highest of the world's people, you will one day be the lowest of the dwellers in hell."(1)

ای قاضی خجسته لقا کیم حق ایلمش صاحب سریر مسند حکم قضاسنی

جهد ایله کیم ملاحظهٔ نفع دنیوی حکم قضاده ایتمیه اهل خطاسنی

مقبول خلق قیلمش ایکن علم و معرفت
مردود خالق ایلمیه ارتشاسنی (2)

"O auspicious qāḍī, who have been chosen to sit on the throne of judgement, do not err under the influence of worldly gain when passing sentence! People esteem you for your knowledge; beware lest bribe-taking may make you inacceptable to God!"(3)

Fużūlī, again like Sa'dī, ridicules the hypocrisy of so-called ṣūfīs who make a vain pretence of spiritual knowledge and use false piety as a cloak for their sins. The following qiṭ'a is an example:

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.213. (qiṭ'a).
2. Ibid., p.214.
3. Ma'arrī has an outspoken poem on this subject:

   What man was ever found to be a qadi
   and to refrain from giving judgements
   like the judgement of Sadūm? (Sadūm [Sodom] denotes both the city and its wicked judge)
   Things insensible bear no burden of calamity;
   does it trouble rocks that they are hewn with an adze?

   (R. A. Nicholson, Studies in Islamic Poetry, Cambridge 1921, p.109).

صدای نی حرام اولسون دیدك ای صوفی سالوس

یله ویردك خلاف شرعله ناموس اسلامن

بو اندام ایله وجدیله‌ندن دم اورمق ایسترسن

آلهی نی کمی سوراخ سوراخ اولسون اندامك (1)

"O hypocritical Sufi, by saying that flute-playing is illegal,(2) you have acted against God's Law and dishonoured Islām. With such a bodily form you boast of ecstasies; would to God that your body might become as full of holes as a flute!"

FuẓūlI tells us in another <u>qit'a</u> how advancing age made him feel that it was time for penitence. The theme is not a new one, and for FuẓūlI, it becomes a sort of elegy on the passing of youth with its hopes and illusions. He compares the vanishing of joy from a man's life with the loss of colour from his hair as the end draws near:

"O my heart, instead of praying, you have spent your life loving fairy-faced beauties. Your hair goes grey, now is the

---

1. <u>Kulliyyāt-i DIvān-i FuẓūlI</u>, Istanbul 1891, p.217.
2. Some of the mystics believed that music awakens in the soul a memory of celestial harmonies heard in a state of pre-existence, before the soul was separated from God. HujvIrI says that "music is a divine influence, which stirs the heart to seek God". (<u>Kashf al-Mahjūb</u>, tr. Nicholson, p.65).

time to cover up time's mirror; come and spend your remaining moments in penitence!"(1)

The DIvAn is closed by a section of rubA'Is (quatrains).(2) In one rubA'I, FuzUlI expresses his loneliness and his longing for a companion. Doubtless a habitual attitude of rebellion against life tends to make a man peevish, unless it is counterbalanced by a genuine love of his fellows; and no peevish man can expect to make or keep friends.

بوق دهرده بر موافق طبع سریك کم صحبتی دلکشا اوله طبعی ظریف

فریاد که تاجدن حاصلیر ایله بی فائده ضایع اولد ی اوقات شریف (3)

"There is no pleasant, good-natured company in this world. Alas that I waste my valuable time with ignoble companions!"

In another rubA'I, FuzUlI compares himself with favourite heroes of Eastern romances:

---

1. KulliyAt-i DIvAn-i FuzUlI, Istanbul 1891, p.217.

2. The rubA'I is a self-sufficient short poem of four lines, which may deal with any subject but is most often used to convey a philosophical or moralistic point or merely a witty epigram. The Persian poet 'Umar KhayyAm (d. 517/1122) is world-famous as a writer of rubA'Is.

3. KulliyAt-i DIvAn-i FuzUlI, Istanbul 1891, p.225.

مجنون اوده یاندی شعلهٔ آهله پاك

وامق صویه باتدی اشکدن اولدی هلاك

فرهاد هوسله یله ویردی صرمن

خاك اولدیلر آنلر هم ایندی اول خاك (1)

"Flames of sorrow burnt Majnūn, and a sea of tears drowned Vāmiq. Farhād in his passion cast his life to the winds. They became dust; now I am the same dust."(2)

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 224.

2. In Islamic philosophy the first manifestation of Specific Form (ṣūrat-i Naw'iya) is in the "Four Elements" - Fire, Air, Water and Earth. Fuḍūlī's words are probably an allusion to this theory. Majnūn, Vāmiq and Farhād are the heroes of the well-known Persian love-stories Majnūn va Laylā, Vāmiq va 'Aẕrā, and Farhād va Shīrīn.

CHAPTER X

FuḍūlĪ's Persian DĪvān

Manuscripts of FuḍūlĪ's Persian DĪvān are very scarce. None of them contain his Persian qaṣīdas, but otherwise they have more or less the same contents: preface, ghazals, tarkīb-bands, qiṭ'as, and rubā'īs. In some of them the preface is lost. The Persian qaṣīdas are found on the margins of a manuscript of FuḍūlĪ's Turkish "Laylā wa Majnūn", and some of them also appear in anthologies.(1) The best copy of the Persian DĪvān is one in the Muradiye library at Manisa(2)(Turkey); it was written by Ḥabībullāh Iṣfahānī at Baghdād in 959/1552, when FuḍūlĪ was still alive, but unfortunately the preface is lost. Among the known copies, only the mss. in the Istanbul University Library, the Millet Library at Istanbul, and the Ankara University Library, contain the preface. Altogether there are in the Turkish libraries five copies of FuḍūlĪ's Persian DĪvān, none of which is perfect as regards the contents, and four anthologies which include some of

---

1. Cunbur, Fuzûlî Hakkında bir bibliyografya denemesi, Istanbul 1956.
2. Manisa Library, Muradiye Section, No.2668.

Fuḍūlī's Persian poems. The British Museum possesses two mss. of the Persian DĪVĀN, Add.7785 and Or.4911. Add.7785, which was copied in nasta'līq handwriting in 1217/1803 by Niẓām al-Dīn b. Shaykh 'Alī b. Shaykh Ibrāhīm, contains ghazals in alphabetical order with a considerable lacuna extending from ج to ل , and also qiṭ'as. Or.4911, copied in plain nasta'līq at Istanbul 1036/1627, contains part of the preface, ghazals, qiṭ'as, and rubā'īs. A manuscript of Fuḍūlī's KULLIYĀT (collected works) in the Asiatic Museum at Leningrad includes his Persian qaṣīdas[1] and ghazals. In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, there are mss.[2] of a jung (anthology) compiled by a certain NIHĀNĪ SHIRVĀNĪ,[3] of another jung compiled by an unknown author probably called 'INĀYĀT,[4] and of a few more jungs, all containing some of Fuḍūlī's poems.[5] On the margins of a manuscript of Fuḍūlī's LEYLĀ VA MAJNŪN in the Süleymaniye Library[6] at Istanbul, 47 of his 49 qaṣīdas have been copied; for a long time no one noticed them.

Although the British Museum catalogue states that

---

1. 28 qaṣīdas, see Araslı, Fuzuli Eserleri, BAKU 1958-61, Vol.IV, p. 180.
2. Dr. Cunbur has missed these items in her Bibliography.
3. Bibliothèque Nationale, Anthologies Poétiques, No.1984 (mss.)
4. " " " 1987
5. " " " 2005
6. Süleymaniye Library, Catalogue No.1912.

FuḲULI's Persian DIVĂN was printed at Tabriz, no copy of the edition has yet come to light.(1) Until recently the DIVĂN existed only in manuscript. In 1962, however, the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography (Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi) at Ankara printed the complete Persian DIVĂN for the first time on the 400th anniversary of the Poet's death, using a critical text prepared by Professor Hasibe Mazioğlu. It was she who in this edition first included the Persian gagidKs in the DIVĂN. Earlier, in 1958, Professor Hamit Araali had printed and published some selections from the Persian DIVĂN at BĂkU. The preface had first been published in Turkey in 1906, in a brochure entitled "FuḲULI's unprinted poems." Some of the Persian poems have also appeared from time to time in literary journals.

A Turkish translation of the Persian DIVĂN, with the exception of the gagIdas, was made by Professor Ali Nihat Tarlan and published in 1950.(2) It was translated into Turkish again and published at BĂKU in 1961.(3)

FuḲULI's Persian DIVĂN is larger than his Turkish DIVĂN. Although the Persian poems have obviously been appreciated

---

1. Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts, Vol.II, p.659, ed. by Charles Rieu.
2. Ali Nihat Tarlan, Fuzuli Divaninin Terc̃umesi, Istanbul 1950.
3. Araali, Fuzuli Eserleri, 1958-61 Baku, Vol.III and IV (in Cyrillic AzarbAIjanI characters).

for a long time, they have never been as popular as the Turkish.

The contents of the complete Persian DIVAN are:

Preface

Qaṣīdas 49

Ghazals 410 in alphabetical order of rhyme.

Musammaṭs 3

Qiṭ'as 46

Rubā'īs 106

The introduction to the DIVAN begins with these sentences explaining the language, purpose and importance of poetry:

"الٰهی الٰهی چه خزانه ایست معانی که از ابتداء خلقت اشیاء اصحاب شرایع و اهوا باختلاف مذاهب و آرا در احکام صواب و خطا بمراد و مدعا از آن صرف می‌نمایند. و چه ملکیست کلام که درهای آن خزانه را دانه دانه چنان بسلسله ضبط کشیده که هیچ معنی بی آن صورتی نمیگیرد." (۱)

"My God! My God! The treasure-house of meanings is so rich that it has not become exhausted since the creation of all things, in despite of all that people have spent from it in expressing the disputes of men of law and men of fancy in

---

1. Fuḍūlī, Persian DIVAN, ed. by H. Masioğlu, Ankara 1962, preface, p.1.

in matters of doctrine and opinion, and in passing judgement on those.

My God! What fine materials are words! The pearls of this inexaustible treasury take their place one by one in that embroidery, and without them no meaning can assume a form."

Later on FuẒULI says that good poetry has three uses:

" اوّل آنکه قایل را بی تاسف زر و تالم خسارت مال فرحهای گوناگون بدل می رساند.

دوّم آنکه بواسطه آن نام قایل بر صفحه عالم باقی می‌ماند.

سوّم آنکه نظم او غیر را نیز شهد طرب می چشاند." (1)

1 - Poetry pleases the writer's heart in many ways, without causing him sorrow. He does not have to regret parting with money, as at the end of other pleasures.

2 - Thanks to poetry, the writer's name spreads all over the world and becomes eternal.

3 - The delights of poetry are not confined to the writer, but give pleasure to others also.

Later, in one of the poems, of the DIVĀN, FuẒULI says:

---

1. FuẒULI, Persian DIVĀN, ed. by H. Vaziogˇlu, Ankara 1962, preface, p.6.

نه بیداری که باشد ذوق در گفتار بیدردی
که نه دردی درون دل نه داغی بر جگر دارد
نمی بخشد سخن را ذوق عیش و عشرت و راحت
سخن کز محنت و اندوه و غم خیزد اثر دارد (1)

"Painless poetry gives no joy; you will not derive pleasure from a heart ignorant of grief and pain. Only poetry which springs from suffering makes an impression."

He goes on to say that his own poems would certainly make an impression, since he lived in a land soaked with the blood of martyrs. Then he adds that it would be strange to expect him to be an expert in the technique of poetry, because 'IrÂq, where he lived, lay far from the protective shadow of rulers. He explains how he used three languages in his poetical works, and then why he had chosen the pen-name FuḍūlÎ, the reason being that he wanted to be unique and knew that no one else would wish to adopt such a name. He then states, no doubt truthfully, that he made this collection of poems (in Persian) to comply with the desire of a fair youth who had no taste for his Turkish and Arabic compositions.

At the end of the preface, FuḍūlÎ expresses confidence

---

1. FuḍūlÎ, Persian DÎvÂn, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.8.

that his poetry will everywhere be appreciated since it has been written in a place as sacred as KarbalĀ. His own words are: "Wherever my verse goes, it is bound to be appreciated. This slave's poetry is not gold, silver, pearl or ruby, but dust - dust from KarbalĀ."(1)

The recipients of FuẓūlĪ's praise in the Persian qaṣīdas are on the whole the same persons as in the Turkish ones. The first qaṣīda in the Persian DĪvĀn is the famous Anīs al-qalb written in praise of the Ottoman Sulṭān QānūnĪ Sulaymān. Since this has been printed as a separate work, we have discussed it separately.(2)

The second qaṣīda is a tawḥīd. In it, as in his Turkish qaṣīdas, he shows deep religious and poetic feeling; but he also (like so many classical poets)(3) exhibits his

---

1. FuẓūlĪ, Persian DĪvĀn, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.15. On the subject of KarbalĀ dust, see p.24 above.

2. See Chapter VII.

3. To write what would be considered a real poem, the poet of classical times was obliged to submit unquestioningly to all the prescribed rules. There could be no question of writing solely according to his emotions. To be a poet was therefore at the same time to be a scholar, in fact even more. He should be versed in all branches of learning: theology, philosophy, jurisprudence, natural sciences (including astronomy and mathematics), and medicine, besides of course the literary disciplines such as grammar, poetics and rhetoric. In addition to this he was obliged to have read through tens of thousands of Arabic, Persian and Turkish verses and to know several thousand by heart, in order, as it were, to get into the closest possible touch with the approved patterns. Thus the art of poetry fell into the categories of a branch of knowledge and a scholarly profession, and as such it necessitated an extensive training.

knowledge of the various contemporary sciences, such as etymology, accidence, syntax, theology (kalĀm), mathematics, astronomy, hypothesis etc. In what to us may seem obscure arabicized language, he says:

مله تهمت هندسی بر کواکب که آن از چه بازغ شد این از چه آفل
مکن داب طومیم را آلت کذب خلاف از حساب بروج و منازل
مکش همچو خورشید سر زوالی بگنج فکن بستر امن چون ظل
که نتواندت یافت هر چند گردد فلک گرد عالم بهندین شامل (1)

"Do not impute geometry to the stars, asking why that one has risen and this one has set. Do not make the calendar's process an instrument of falsehood, contrary to the computations of the signs of the zodiac and the mansions of the moon." (By this he means "Do not abandon astronomy for astrology"). "Do not fear a setting like the sun's, but spread the carpet of security like a shadow in a corner; so that however often the firmament revolves with all these torches (stars) round the world, it may not find you."

In the arrangement of the cited terms Fużūlī, makes use of literary device of congruity (murā'āt-i naẓīr).(2)

---

1. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Masioğlu, Ankara 1962, pp. 34-35.
2. Murā'āt-i naẓīr means literally "observance of the similar," i.e. intentional accumulation of homogeneous images or concepts in one distich. It was frequently combined with a more or less complicated tropes such as amphibology (words capable of two meanings).

At the end of this tawhīd, when praising God, FuḍūlI says:

چنان کن تصبم که گردم عبادت　　زبانی تسبیح زبانی تهلل

چو این عزت عاجل آید به آخر　　مکن نا امیدم ز مأمول آجل

امیدم چنانست کاخر بر آید　　امیدی که دارم ز فضل مفضل (1)

"Help me to remember You and to say, sometimes 'Praise be to God', sometimes 'There is no God but God.'(2) When this transient glory (life) comes to an end, do not deprive me of hope for the future. I am confident that my hope of bounty from the Bounteous will in the end be fulfilled."

God created His servants (worshippers) for the purpose of worshipping Him. Did not God command "Remember Me, I will remember you"(3) or, "Remember your Lord much, and praise (Him) in the early hours of night and morning."(4)

---

1. FuḍūlI, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.35.

2. He refers to Islām's witness to God's unity "Lā ilāha illā 'llāh" (I bear witness that there is no God but God). "No" here is a negation which strengthens the meaning of the affirmation. According to Ṣūfism, negation is the first stage in spiritual evolution, and affirmation the highest stage of spiritual development.

   Muhammad himself used to say: "God be praised, O God, I testify in praising Thee that there is no God but Thou", (Abū Dā'ūd, Sunna, Cairo 1354/1935, Vol.IV, p. 256.)

3. Qur'ān, II, 152.

4. Qur'ān, III, 41.

The third gaṣīda in the Persian DĪvān is a na't[1] in praise of the Prophet, which has 50 distichs. In the introductory distichs, FuẓūlĪ explains in mystic terms how the universe is a single manifestation of God and will finally return to that Absolute Being; how intelligence alone is incapable of comprehending this world; and how man must escape from the bonds of temporal things and attain to the True Being. He himself has become drunk with a love which does not arise from pain or pleasure; this love is love for the Prophet. FuẓūlĪ then begins to praise the Prophet, and says that God created the world by reason of His love for the Prophet.

The simple faith of Islām is based on two propositions; that God is one, and that Muḥammad is the last in the line of those divinely inspired men who have appeared from time to time in all countries and all ages to guide mankind to the right way of living. Most of the Muslim poets have emphasized the human personality of the Prophet Muḥammad. In contrast with the Christian concept of Jesus as Son of God, Muḥammad is mentioned by millions of tongues every day as Rasūl Allāh (God's Apostle, or Messenger) in the

---

1. FuẓūlĪ, Persian DĪvān, ed. by H. Mazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 38.

formula of the shahādā (profession of faith). As such, he is not only the model of personal behaviour but also the divinely guided leader of the community of the faithful. He it is who with the key of religion opened for this world the door to the absolutely right way. The Prophetic Tradition (Hadīṯ qudsī) "But for you, verily I had not created the heavens", has become in mystical literature and poetry a widely used epitome of the Prophet's pre-eternal glory. This mystical theology was crowned by the idea that Muhammad was the Insān-i Kāmil, the perfect man, the central point in which the human and divine spheres meet. We find these ideas, for example, in the works of Sa'dī and of Mawlānā Rūmī.

Thus Sa'dī has said:

(1) ای چشم و چراغ اهل بینش مقصود وجود آفرینش

"O source of light from which the lights of the other Prophets emerged! O reason for the being of creation!"

Mawlānā Rūmī says of the Prophet Muhammad:

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Sa'dī, ed. by M. A. Furūghī, Tehran 1342/1963, p. 866.

گر نبودی او نبایدی فلک گردش و نور و مکانهای ملک

گر نبودی او نبایدی جهان بی عطا رزقهای بیگمان (1)

"If he had not existed, Heaven would not have gained rotation and light and lodgement of the angels. If he had not existed, the world would not have gained boundless provision without asking."

Jesus is said to have foretold the coming of Muhammad. Moreover the breath of Jesus was supposed to possess a healing influence and power to resuscitate the dead.(2) The authors of the Tafsir al-Jalalayn(3) state that Jesus cured in one day fifty thousand persons, and that he raised Lazarus ('Azar) from the dead, also Shem, the son of Noah, who had been dead 4,000 years.(4) Thus Mušulī after praising Muḥammad adds:

---

1. Kulliyāt-i Mathnavī-yi Ma'navī, ed. by Furūzānfar and M. Darvīsh. Tehran 1342/1963, p. 98.
2. c.f. Qur'ān, III, 49.
3. A widely used Qur'ān commentary written in Egypt by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Maḥallī (d. 864/1459) and his disciple Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505); whence the name Tafsīr al-Jalālayn.
4. T. P. Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, London 1896, p. 231; Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden 1953, article Lazarus.

حیات چون ندهد مرده را دم عیسی ز لعل لعلت مژده است عیسی دم

سر از متابعت خضر چون کشد موسی براه پیرویت می نهاده خضر قدم (1)

"Jesus spoke of the grace of your ruby lips. Does not his breath give life to the dead? Khiżr followed in your footsteps and went your way; how could Moses not follow Khiżr?"

Finally FużūlI seeks the Prophet's intercession and says:

شها رسولی ما گر چه هست محض خطا خطاست گر بدل آریم با وجود تو لم

امید هست که از لطف تو پذیرد عفو معاصی خلق و رسولی ما هم

تویی که روز جزا چون شفیع خلق شوی بجراحت همه را از تو مرهم مرهم (2)

"O Prince of the Prophets, even if FużūlI has done nothing but sin, it is sinful to grieve, because you are there. There is hope that all people's sins, and FużūlI's too, will with your grace be forgiven (by God). It is you who will intercede for all people on the Judgement Day, you from whom all will find balm for their wounds."

In two other Persian <u>gazIdas</u> (Nos 23 and 33),[3] FużūlI

---

1. FużūlI, Persian <u>DIvān</u>, ed. by Hasibe Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 42. p.12
2. <u>Ibid</u>.,
3. <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 115 and 171.

again praises the Prophet; but in the Persian DIvān he has much more to say in praise of 'AlI, to whom over ten qaṣIdas are addressed. These emphasize FuḍUlI's love for 'AlI, and by recalling what the Prophet said about him they exalt 'AlI's spiritual position. FuḍUlI says that 'AlI in the eyes of the Prophet is as Aaron in the eyes of Moses. He sometimes even speaks of 'AlI in terms which should be reserved for the Prophet himself. For example, in the two distichs shown below he says:

علی کیست که در عزم قرب حق جبریل

براه مانده از و همچو خاک ره گرست

چه سان برابر جبریل دارم و گویم

علی میان خدا و نبی پیام برست (1)

"'AlI is closer to God than Gabriel; he is an apostle midway between God and the Prophet."

امیر المؤمنین حیدر علی ابن ابی طالب

ز هر فاضل بفضل افضل ز هر عالم بعلم اعلم

ز هی نبض وجودت مدعا از خلقت هستی

بنای هستیش را رتبهٔ تقدیم بر عالم

اگر سر رشتهٔ مهرت نبودی در کف دوران

فرو میریخت نظم هستی این سلسله از هم

---

1. FuḍUlI, Persian DIvān, ed. by Hasibe Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 128.

تو بودی صاحب معراج را مونس چه غم دارد

کسی کورا چراغ ره تو باشی در شب مظلم

....

پیمبر بابا معراج فضل وحی قرب حق

همه دارد چنان نبود که دارد چون تومی بن عم

خدا را از ظهور خلقت اشیا تومی مقصد

نبی را در حریم قرب او ادنی تومی محرم (1)

"O Ḥaydar 'AlY, son of Abū ṬAlib, Commander of the Faithful, in virtue the most virtuous of the virtuous, in knowledge the most knowledgeable of the knowledgeable! The radiance of your being explains why the universe was created. Your being had priority over the existence of the world. Had it not been for the imprint of your love on the hand of time's rotation, this pearl-chain of the ages would have snapped and been scattered. You were the friend and companion of "the Prophet of the Mi'rāj";(2) how can anyone be afraid on a dark night when he has a torch like you? The Prophet's Mi'rāj, the virtue of his inspiration, his closeness to God, came from his being uncle to a nephew like you. It was with you in aim that

---

1. FuḍūlY, Persian DYwān, ed. by H. Masioglu, Ankara 1962, p.148.
2. The Mi'rāj, or Laylat al-Isrā, i.e. Muḥammad's nocturnal journey to Heaven under the guidance of the Angel Gabriel, is said to have taken place in the twelfth year of the Prophet's Mission. It is referred to in Sūra XVII, 1 of the Qur'ān.

God created material things. You are the Prophet's closest confidant."

We see here the central concept of love which often contains the idea of love for the Prophet, or love inspired by the Prophet. The language of the Beloved, and many allusions to holy places and praises of the holy family, gain their true significance in the light of FuŠūlī's devotion to Muḥammad. 'Alī was the one of the first believers in Muḥammad's mission. He was cousin-german to Muḥammad who adopted him as his son, and then son-in-law of the Prophet. It is said that 'Alī occupied the Prophet's bed on the night when the latter left Mecca for Madina.(1) He was defender of Muḥammad and took part during Muḥammad's lifetime in almost all the expeditions. He displayed a courage which later on became legendary, a symbol of the spiritual power which also strengthens human personality. 'Alī is surnamed by the Arabs Asadu'llāh or Ḥaydar, and by the Persians Shīr-i Khudā (Lion of God);(2) he was the fighter against the unbelievers of Khaybar. In Shī'ite piety he became a model of the perfect man. Arberry observes that some

---

1. Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, London 1959, Vol.I, Fascicules 6, p. 381.

2. T. P. Hughes, Dictionary of Islam, pp. 13 and 370.

Shi'ite extremists went so far as to identify 'Ali with God.(1)

In his <u>qaṣīdas</u>(2) Fuḍūlī speaks proudly of his service at 'Alī's shrine (<u>'atabā</u>) in Najaf.(3) At the end of one of them he says:

هزار شکر که در سلک خادمان توام همین سعادت من بس که قدرم این قدراست (4)

"Thanks be to God a thousand times, that I am one of those who serve you. It brings me great happiness that my worth should be so great."

From another <u>qaṣīda</u> we learn that he served at the shrine for a long time.

شکر لله ز ابتدای صبا تا غایت مرا روضه خاك در شاه ولایت منزل است

ساحلی دارم چو دریای بهك بهر نجات غم ندارم ز آنکه گرداب حوادث هائل است

تا ثوابت ثابت و دور فلك مستعمل است با ریم در خاك این درگاه روزی کن ثبات (5)

---

1. A. J. Arberry, <u>Revelation and Reason in Islam</u>, London 1957, p. 19.
2. Fuḍūlī, Persian <u>Dīvān</u>, ed. by H. Vasıoğlu, Ankara 1962, pp. 24-32 and 34.
3. These <u>qaṣīdas</u> give us information that Fuḍūlī was employed with a salary at 'Alī's Mausoleum.
4. Fuḍūlī, Persian <u>Dīvān</u>, ed. by H. Vasıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p.129.
5. <u>Ibid.</u>, p. 153.

"Thanks be to God that, from my life's beginning to its end, my stopping place is the dust of the garden of the King of the Succession.(1) For refuge I have a shore, like the lake of Najaf.(2) I do not fear the maelstrom of events. Oh my God, grant me constancy in the dust of this court; as long as the fixed stars stand, and the mighty firmament turns."

Again, in another <u>qaṣīda</u>:

یا امیرالمؤمنین شد مدت پنجاه سال کز جناب حق بمدح تو فضولی ملهم است
لیک نی مانند مداحان دیگر هست دور محصل خاک درت او را مطاف و ملثم است
نامش بشکست بیری لیک دارد شکرها ز آنکه فرق او درین درگاه خاک مقدم است
دایم از خوان تو ادرار مقرر می برد روز و شب با چاکران آستانت همدم است
پیر شد در خاک درگاه تو و پیر همین قامت او زیر بار منت دوران خم است (3)

"Oh Commander of the Faithful, for fifty years God has granted Fuḍūlī the inspiration to praise you. But he is not far from you, like other poets who praise you; he continually circumambulates and kisses the dust of your gate. Age has bent him, but praise be to God that in this court his head is

---

1. <u>Shāh-i Vilāyat</u>, i.e. 'Alī, see Chapter IX, note 2, p. 280 above.
2. This probably means the Bahr al-Najaf, a salt lake in a depression near Najaf which in some years receives flood waters from the Euphrates.
3. Fuḍūlī, Persian <u>Dīvān</u>, ed. by H. Haxioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 145.

the dust of your footstep. He always has a livelihood from your table; he is a friendly colleague of those who serve night and day at your shrine. FużūlI has grown old on the dust of your threshold; he is bent under the burden of gratitude to destiny."

FużūlI's great devotion is well expressed in another of the <u>ghazIdas</u> addressed to 'AlI:

اگر سلطانی عالم دهندم کی پسند الند پسند است اینکه در گاه ترا کمتر گدا باشم

چنان بود که با خدّام در گاهت شوم همدم اگر با قُدسیان در بارگاه کبریا باشم (1)

"If they were to give me the Sulṭānate of the world, I should not be glad. I wish only to remain a humble beggar at your court. If I had the company of angels in Almighty God's court, it would not make me as happy as friendship with the servants of your court."

In his poems eulogizing 'AlI, FużūlI also praises Fāṭima, daughter of the Prophet, wife of 'AlI. She became the object of great veneration by Muslims. This may be because she lived closest to her father, and through her sons gave him numerous descendants, who spread throughout the Muslim world; or it may be because there was reflected upon her, besides the greatness

---

1. FużūlI, Persian <u>DIvAn</u>, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 157.

of her father, the historical importance of her husband and her sons; or because, as time went on, the Muslims attributed to her extraordinary qualities.(1)

FuḍūlI praises Fāṭima's sons Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, as well as the other Imāms of the ShI'a and the various Prophets. He extols Ḥusayn as the noblest of Fāṭima's line and best of 'AlI's close companions.(2) Ḥusayn is famous because of his revolt which ended tragically at Karbalā. A number of traditions (Ḥadīs) mention the affectionate phrases which Muḥammad is said to have used of his grandsons: "Whoever loves them loves me, and whoever hates them hates me", or "Al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are the Sayyids of the youth of Paradise."(3) There was among all Muslims a strong sympathy and high regard for Ḥusayn; it has been said that the Qur'ān, XLVI, 15 and 16, refers to him.

Although the devotional poems in the Persian DIvān reflect ShI'ite beliefs, it cannot be said for sure that FuḍūlI was a positive adherent of the ShI'a. It was the fashion among Persian poets in the early 10th/16th century (who no doubt were FuḍūlI's models) to compose hymns to the glory of God, the Prophet and the Imāms, and especially of

---

1. Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, London 1959, Vol.II, Fasciculus 36, p. 84.
2. FuḍūlI, Persian DIvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, Qaṣīda no.35 is addressed to Ḥasan, nos. 36, 38, 48 to Ḥusayn, and no.37 to 'AlI al-Riḍā.
3. Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, London 1959, Vol.III, Fasciculus 49-50, p. 609.

'Alī, whose praises had not been sung to any great extent in Persia up till then. Under the Ṣafavids the qaṣīda in particular came to be transformed into a pious hymn in praise of the Imāms.

The Muslim religio-political system in Fużūlī's time predicated the unity of all human beings, and was a corrective to nationalism. It was a system in which state and religion could not be separated. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Mu'taman remarks how in the Ṣafavid period the religious motif became the axis on which the whole system of thought revolved, and how this fixation is reflected in the poetry of the time. He relates that the Persian poet Muḥtasham of Kāshān (d. 996/1587-8) composed qaṣīdas in praise of the Safavid Shāh Ṭahmāsp, but Shāh Ṭahmāsp was displeased and said: "I do not like poets to praise me. They should write qaṣīdas in praise of the Shāh-i Vilāyat and the Imāms." So the poets in accordance with the Shāh's will turned to praising 'Alī and the Imāms of the Shī'a. Some of the poets went so far as to compose dīvāns wholly filled with religious poems.(1)

Jan Rypka, in his History of Iranian Literature, well explains the situation during the Ṣafavid period, in the early part of which Fużūlī wrote most of his Persian poems. Rypka observes:(2)

---

1. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Mu'taman, Shi'r va adab-i Fārsī, Tehran 1968, sec. ed., p. 38.
2. History of Iranian Literature, J. Rypka, Leiden 1968, p.292.

"The literature of the Ṣafavid period is usually regarded as a literature of decline ... The first Ṣafavids had other things to occupy themselves with than only the fostering of poetry. Their cultural interest was concentrated on propaganda and on the consolidation of the state religion. This was effected partly by encouraging the study of theology and partly by stimulating the composition of religious poetry, both of course in the spirit of the Shī'a. We must not ignore the fact that until this dynasty came into power a by no means inconsiderable portion of the population adhered to the Sunna. Of course the Shī'ite standardization of literature, a necessary consequence of the harsh Shī'ite policy, could not be accepted by Central Asia or by Afghanistan and India, all of which were and remained Sunnite countries." Rypka adds that "although Turkish was the language spoken by the Ṣafavids in their homes, Persian did not lose its importance. On the contrary, thanks to the fact that the rulers did all in their power to promote the spread of the Shī'a throughout the empire and even beyond the frontiers, in order that it might pervade the population rapidly and effectively, the Persian language also gained ground in matters of religion that had hitherto been dealt with exclusively in Arabic. In other respects Ṣafavid prose followed the patterns of the foregoing period. Secular panegyric and lyric poetry is replaced by

hymns in honour of the Prophet and 'Alī, or threnodies on the Imāms; but otherwise there is a palpable lack of interest in the poets, their works and their burial-places. All the more striking is therefore the interest in the imām-zādas, descendants of the (sacred, almost deified) Imāms, and in their mausoleums, also known as imām-zādas, though the latter are not always authentic."

The earliest of Fuẓūlī's eulogies of patrons and contemporary great men is addressed to the Aq Qoyunlu Prince Alvand (Elvent) Bey.(1)

---

1. Alvand b. Yūsuf b. Uzun Ḥasan of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty ruled in Western Irān, Diyār Bakr and 'Irāq from 1500 to 1502 and at Diyār Bakr until his death in 1504. The Aq Qoyunlu (White Sheep) federation of Turkmān tribes, which rose in the region of Diyār Bakr after the collapse of the Ilkhānid empire in the 14th century and lasted till the first decade of the 16th century, consisted of various Oghuz (Turkmān) tribes, including the Bayāt to which Fuẓūlī belonged, Doger, Čapni, and others. The Aq Qoyunlu were hampered in their expansion by the rise of the rival federation of the Qara Qoyunlu in the first half of the 15th century, but came again to the fore with Uzun Ḥasan, who conquered the whole of Western Irān and 'Irāq but failed to contain the eastward expansion of the Ottomans; he ruled at Tabrīz, which he made his capital, from 1469 to 1478. After his death the Ṣafavids began to sap the position of the Sunnite Aq Qoyunlu by their Shī'ite propaganda among the Turkmān tribes. In 1502, in a pitched battle at Shurūr near Nakhchuvān, Shāh Ismā'īl Ṣafavī decisively defeated Alvand b. Yūsuf b. Uzun Ḥasan.

In this <u>qaṣīda</u>,[1] which has a plaintive tone, he says that he has experienced only faithlessness and trouble from men, and has no friend apart from his own flute-like lamentation. At the beginning of the <u>gurīzgāh</u>,[2] he writes that one night when he was weeping with grief, a soft voice spoke these words to him:

که ای ستمزده دربیکس مشو نومید بشکر کوش که آمد مربّی فقرا

رسید آنکه ترا بر گرفته بود ز خاک رسید آنکه ازو دیده هزار عطا

"O you who are oppressed, do not despair in your loneliness, but give thanks at the coming of one who provides for the poor. He who raised you from the dust (of indigence) and bestowed a thousand gifts on you has come." The <u>qaṣīda</u> tells us that Alvand Bey came to FUẒŪLĪ's home town and that this was the second time he had come. He had met FUẒŪLĪ previously, and the poet was glad at his return and presented this <u>qaṣīda</u> to him. He introduces Alvand Bey's name, calling him the 'rose in the garden of the states", "the flower in the rose-garden of fortune", "the springtime in the garden of politeness" (<u>adab</u>), and "the lofty guide on the road of politeness". Then he describes the woeful days of their

---

1. This <u>qaṣīda</u> is important in establishing the date of FUẒŪLĪ's birth. See Chapter II, p.33, above.
2. FUẒŪLĪ, Persian <u>DĪVĀN</u>, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 85, <u>qaṣīda</u> 14.

separation and his joy at their reunion:

شها فضولیٔ بیدل جدا ز خاك درت به تنگ آمده بود ازتمامئ دنیا

تو آمدی ز دلش رفت غصهٔ عالم کشیده شاهد غم چهره در نقاب خفا

"O prince, when the disconsolate FuḍūlI was separated from the dust of your gate, he became tired of everything in the world. You came and the sorrow of the world went from his heart; but the fair witness (of his love) put on the veil of concealment."

There is no qaṣīda in honour of Shāh Ismā'Il the Ṣafavid, who conquered Baghdād in 1508. To Ismā'Il FuḍūlI presented only "Bang-U Bāda" (in Turkish), which we have already discussed.(1.)

The Ṣafavid governor eulogized by FuḍūlI is the Vālī of Baghdād, Ibrāhīm Khān Mawṣillū.(2) The Ottoman poet Ṣādiqī in his Tazkira Majma'al-Khavāṣṣ states that Ibrāhīm Khān brought FuḍūlI to Baghdād. This must mean that Ibrāhīm Khān brought FuḍūlI from Ḥilla, Karbalā, or Najaf, to Baghdād, and took him under his patronage. FuḍūlI writes in this qaṣīda:

---

1. See above, Chapter VI, p. 172.
2. See above, Chapter IX, p. 283.

بدرگاه تو رو آورد شد از غیر مستغنی (1)

فقیری بر سر خوان خلیل آلله مهمان شد

چنین امید دارم کان چنان من هم شوم از تو

که از محمود فردوسی و سلطان ویس سلمان شد

دهد مدح تو نظم را و نظم من شود شهرت

که هر کس هست از فیض سخن مشهور دوران شد

"Fużūlī turned his face away from others and towards your court; this humble one was a guest at the feast of Abraham. I hope that I may receive from you what Firdawsī received from Sultan Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and what Salmān received from Sultan Vays.(2) I hope that my verse will become famous from the qaṣīda I have written for you."

In another qaṣīda,(3) Fużūlī eulogizes the Turkish founder of the Quṭb-Shāhī dynasty at Golconda in India,(4) namely Sulṭān Qulī Quṭb al-Mulk, who ruled independently from 924/1518 to 952/1545; but it is not clear when it was written. The qaṣīda shows that this ruler was a Shī'ite:

---

1. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 62.
2. This refers to the Persian poet Salmān Sāvajī (700/1300-778/1376), who was patronized by the Jalāyirid Sulṭān Uvays, ruler of Baghdād 757/1356-776/1374.
3. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 207.
4. He had previously been governor of Golconda under the Bahmanī Sulṭānate since 900/1494-5. Golconda became world-famous for its diamond mines. The Quṭb-Shāhī dynasty lasted from 924/1518 to 1098/1687. The town of Golconda was replaced in 997/1589 by the neighbouring city of Ḥaydarābād (Hyderabad).

هر شهنشاهی که دارد صدق با آل علی در نظام ملک او راهی ندارد اختلال

هر سر افرازی که باشد بندهٔ این خاندان آفتاب دولت او را نمی باشد زوال

"When the ruler is loyal to 'Alī's family, disorder will not penetrate his kingdom; when he is proud to be a slave of this house, the sun of his dominion will not set."

Later Fuḍūlī mentions that the Quṭb-Shāhī ruler had sent money to Najaf and Karbalā.

آنکه طاووس صفای رایش از هندوستان بر سر سکان صحن کربلا گسترد بال

آنکه طوطئ طراز نامه‌اش آمد ز هند شد بدلداری سکان نجف شیرین مقال

آنکه هم در کربلا هم در نجف خدام را گر نبودی لطف او بودی رفاهیت محال

"His wisdom, as brilliant as á peacock, has spread its wing from India over those who dwell in the precincts of Karbalā. His letter, beautiful as a parrot, has spoken sweetly to captivate the hearts of the people of Najaf. Were if not for his favour to the servants of (the shrines at) Najaf and Karbalā, they could not live in ease."

Afterwards he adds this:

نقد گفتار فضولی نقد مدح چون تو نیست گر نگوید نیست ذوق گفتگو بروی حلال

"If Fuẓūlī does not praise you, it means that the pleasure of words is not licit for him."

In a qaṣīda written to Ja'far Bey,[1] Fużūlī says:

گهی در فقر با خود نقش عزم روم می‌بندد گهی از فاقه سودای ره هندوستان دارد

(2)

"Sometimes in my poverty I plan to leave for Rūm, sometimes in my distress I long to go to India." Thus his interest in India and desire to go there can be understood. Fuzūlī wrote five qaṣīdas to Ja'far Bey[3] In the one mentioned above, after praising this patron and describing his distress when separated from him, he says:

خداوندا فضولی روزگاری شد که دور از تو

فراغ از دانش و بینش ملال از جسم و جان دارد

همیشه بی تردد در مقامی ساکنست اما

بیاد خاک پایت متصل اشک روان دارد

نه بهر چاره جستن میرود ره سوی هندردی

نه بهر راز گفتن همزبان میهمان دارد

نه در سلک فقیران میتواند یافت تمکینی

نه پیش صاحبان مسند و منصب مکان دارد (4)

---

1. See Chapter IX, p.285 above.
2. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Karatoğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 51.
3. Ibid., pp. 48, 52, 58, 219, 235.
4. Ibid., p. 51.

"O master, for a long time FuẓŪLĪ has been far from you; he has retreated from knowledge and experience, he is weary in body and soul. He has always stayed in one place, and been nowhere else; but when he remembers the dust of your feet, he always sheds tears. He does not seek relief by finding a fellow-sufferer; he has no friend speaking the same language to whom he may tell his secret. He cannot find repose among the poor, and he holds no place beside the men of rank."

These lines are followed by the verse telling how in his distress he longed to go to Rūm (Asia Minor) or India.

In another of these qaṣīdas, he praises Ja'far Bey's just actions and says that his justice has given brilliance to the world. In another he describes how Ja'far Bey helped the people and showed great compassion and kindness, and ends by expressing his own attachment to Ja'far in these words:

شها فضولی زارم که در طریق وفا ز سایر فقرای در توام ممتاز
بس بروم ز تو هلک ملکه تا هستم کما روم تو سخن فهم و من سخن پرداز (1)

"O Prince, of all the humble men at your gate, I, this lamenting FuẓŪLĪ, am the most distinguished in faithfulness. So long as I live, I shall not break my connection with you. I am a poet, and you are a poetry-lover; how can I leave (you)?

---

1. FuẓŪLĪ, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 60.

Again, in another qaṣīda, after praising Ja'far Bey's justice at great length, he tells in these words how Ja'far had patronized others, but had withheld assistance from him:

بحرای عرب از روم رسد دریاس　　نرسد بر لب خشک من از آن دریا نم

از فضولی چه فضولی شده باشد صادر　　که نشد مستحق لطف و سزاوار کرم (1)

"An ocean(2) comes from Rūm to 'Irāq, but not a drop of moisture from it reaches my dry lips. What nuisance (fuḍūl) has Fuḍūlī committed that he has become unworthy of your favour and generosity?"

In the last of these qaṣīdas he writes:

همه از واصل شادند چه واقع شده است　　که فضولی الم محنت هجران دارد

همه از فیض تو جمعیت خاطر دارند　　او چرا حال بد و روز پریشان دارد

همه جا گشته بعماریٔ عدلت معمور　　او چرا حال خراب و دل ویران دارد (3)

"Everyone rejoices, having been able to reach you; what has happened that Fuḍūlī must suffer the ordeal of separation? Everyone's heart is reassured by your gracious kindness; why must Fuḍūlī be sick and his days distraught? Every place has become prosperous through your justice; why is Fuḍūlī ruined and heart-broken?"

---

1. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Kazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p.221.
2. This refers to Ja'far's great generosity.
3. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Kazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p.239.

In a qaṣīda praising Ayās Pāshā, Fuḍūlī first says that his justice and virtue are above all other men's, and then wishes that God may preserve his noble being which protects the world and cares for the people. At the end of the qaṣīda, Fuḍūlī complains of his own ill-luck:

(1) دریغ نیست ز من شفقت تو لیک چه سود مراست بخت پریشان و طالع ناساز

"Your compassion is not withheld from me; but what use is this when my luck is out of joint and my horoscope is unpromising?"

Although it is not absolutely clear for whom the Persian qaṣīda no.10 was intended, it may be inferred from the following verse[2] that it was for Ayās:

(3) بفتحهای پیاپی گرفت بخت تو زیب بصورتی که ز گلهای گونه گون بهار

"Your fate is adorned by successive conquests, just as spring is adorned by various flowers."[4]

Fuḍūlī wrote two qaṣīdas and one musaddas for the Qāḍī of Baghdād, Sayyid Muḥammad Ghūzī.[5] In one of them he tells

---

1. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.230.
2. Ibid., p.66.
3. Ibid., p.70.
4. Fuḍūlī in the Turkish qaṣīdas praises Ayās Pāshā for his conquest of Baṣra and Southern 'Irāq. See Chapter IX, p. 288 above.
5. See also Chapter IX, p. 289 above.

of his own hardships and of his hopes of favours. In the second, which he wrote after the QĀŠĪ had temporarily left and then resumed the office, he tells how glad he and his companions were at the QĀŠĪ's return. He also explains how he travelled to BaghdĀd in order to present this qaṣīda to the QĀŠĪ:

شکرلله نیز شریک نشاط افزای او دشمنان را کرد محزون دوستانرا کرد شاد

قطع ره تا کرد طوف کعبهٔ وصل ترا چون بنازاید به بخت خود فضولی اعتماد

تا بنای دهر را باشد اساس استوار بر سر اهل حقیقت سایهات ممدود باد (1)

"Thanks be to God that your joy-increasing visit has made your friends glad and your enemies sad. FuḍūlĪ has travelled the road so that he may circumambulate the Ka'ba (i.e. achieve the goal) of reunion with you. FuḍūlĪ's trust in his luck has increased. As long as nature's structure deserves credit, may the shadow of your protection be extended over the seekers of truth."

FuḍūlĪ wrote three Persian qaṣīdas[2] to an unidentified patron with the name 'Abd al-RaḥmĀn. In each of them he praises 'Abd al-RaḥmĀn's pen and writings, comparing his pen to a cypress in the rose-garden of purity, as percipient as an angel and as lofty as the sky.

---

1. FuḍūlĪ, Persian DĪvĀn, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.93.
2. Ibid., pp. 94, 101, 109.

In a <u>qaṣīda</u> eulogizing a doctor called Rukn al-Dīn 'Izzat, FuḍūlĪ compares him to the sage Luqmān and the philosophers Aristotle and Bū 'Alī Sīnā (Ibn Sīnā). It can be inferred that this was written in thanks to a doctor who had saved FuḍūlĪ from an illness.

سعی نار تنظیم ترکیب فضولی کم مکن در علاج درد او سعی از تو بهبود از خدا
(1)

"Do not spare your zeal in repairing FuḍūlĪ's frame; from you zeal, from God cure."

He appears to have been a palace doctor:

پادشا را دخل در کار نظام عالم است حکمت را دخل در ذات شریف پادشاه
(2)

"The ruler's business is to arrange the world; the business of your wisdom (or medicine) is the noble persons of rulers."

In writing a <u>qaṣīda</u> to a certain AmīrzāDa 'Alī, also[3] unidentified, FuḍūlĪ eulogizes this person's noble blood and his moral accomplishments and generosity.

In a <u>qaṣīda</u> which he sent to Muṣṭafā Chalabī[4] at Istanbul, FuḍūlĪ praises this patron's knowledge, accomplishments and pen, and also addresses his own pen:

---

1. FuḍūlĪ, Persian <u>Dīvān</u>, ed. by H. Māzioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.84.
2. <u>Ibid</u>., p.82.
3. <u>Ibid</u>., p.211.
4. See Chapter IX, p. 286 above.

شنیده‌ام که ز بابل سر سفر داری — بعزم روم بی اکتساب فضل و کمال

چو هم دیار منی حال من تو میدانی — نیازمندی خود با تو میکنم ارسال

خدایرا چو بدان بقعهٔ شریف رسی — شوی مقرب ارباب دولت و اقبال

دران محال که خوان سخن کسی بنهان — کنی میان سخن گر نفد بقدر مجال

سیاه بختیٔ من شرح ده مشو غافل — شکستهٔ حالیٔ من عرض کن مکن اهمال
(1)

"I have heard that you intend to leave Babel,[2] and will go to Rūm to gain learning and skill. Since you are from my land, you know my condition; I send my entreaty with you. For the love of God, when you reach that noble land and approach the men of state and fortune, if you have occasion to speak at a generous man's table, do not forget to speak of my black fate, do not neglect to explain my destitute condition."

This shows that FuẓūlI was seeking the interest of men of fortune in Istanbul. Towards the end of the <u>qaṣīda</u> he writes:

سیٔ احمد مختار مصطفی جلبی — گل ریاض هنر سرو باغ جاه و جلال (3)

.....

توسن بتاج سخن گوهری به استعداد — توسن بملک هنر والیٔ به استقلال (4)

---

1. FuẓūlI, Persian <u>DĪVĀN</u>, ed. H. Mazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p.74.
2. i.e. Babylon, or Babylonia, meaning 'Irāq.
3. FuẓūlI, Persian <u>DĪVĀN</u>, ed. H. Mazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p.75.
4. <u>Ibid</u>., p.75.

"Lofty and exalted Mustafa Chalabi, chosen of the Prophet, rose of the garden of accomplishment, cypress of the grove of glory and honour, you are the jewel of talent on the crown of words; you are the sole governor in the kingdom of accomplishments."

The <u>gaglda</u>, being court poetry, has as its primary motive praise, or indeed flattery, of the great. Turgidity and ingenuity are characteristics of the typical <u>gaglda</u>. Whether FuŝULI was sincere or not, he wrote <u>gagldas</u> to please not himself but his patrons. Yet as we can see, his <u>gaglda</u>s are not filled, like those of the court poets of the age, with excessive rhetoric and flattery.

In one Persian <u>gaglda</u> FUŜULI gives advice to his son FaŝLI. He compares himself to a tree, his son to a fruit, and the world to a garden, then he tells us that FaŝLI has grown up and it is time for him to leave home.

صرف تو شد تمامیٔ نقد حیات من　　حالا که سر ز کهر کشیدی بر آسمان

در من نماند طاقت بار بلای تو　　زان رو که من ضعیف شدم بار تو گران

قدرت چو یافت پیمهٔ شاهین بمید خوشی　　بهتر همان بود که پرد ز آشیان

کامل چو گشت لعل درخشان بآب و رنگ　　حکم طبیعت است که بیرون فتد ز کان
(1)

1. FuŝULI, Persian DIVAN, ed. H. Vaziloğlu, Ankara 1962, p.99.

"All the cash of my life has been spent on you. Now that you proudly raise your head to heaven (i.e. are young and strong), my strength is gone; I have grown weak and no longer have strength to bear your heavy load. When a falcon's child acquires skill in hunting, it is time for him to leave the nest. It is nature's rule that when a bright ruby becomes perfect in complexion, it is taken out of the mine."

FuḍūlI has left 410 ghazals in the Persian language. They are often attractive but are not considered equal to those of the great Persian masters of the ghazal[1] before his time, such as Sa'dI (d.691/1292), AmIr Khusraw of DihlI (d.725/1325), and ḤāfIẓ (d.792/1390), or of Ṣa'ib (d.1088/1677) after him.

The almost invariable theme of the ghazal is love, whether human or religious, and its imagery and metaphor are limited to what the old masters used with such consummate grace.

The first ghazal in FuḍūlI's Persian DIvān opens by mentioning God's name and is a tawḥId. After praising God, he passes to a prayer, and implores God in an Arabic verse

---

1. The first master of the ghazal was RūdakI (d.329/940); but his dIvān is lost. The poet 'UnṣurI (d.431/1039) declared that in the ghazal RūdakI had no rival.

غزل رودکی وار نیکو بود غزلهای من رودکی وار نیست

to give him sufficient power to praise Him.

تد شرحت الصدر فاحلل من لسانی عقدة　　نعمة اطبتها تم بتوفیق الثنا

افضل الالطاف ادراك المعانی فی الکلام　　احمد الله الذی اعطی فضولی ماعنا

"You have opened men's hearts, loosen my tongue and complete the blessings which You have bestowed by enabling me to praise You! The greatest of favours is to understand the meanings of words. All praise be to God who has given FuḍūlI the ability to say what he means."

He goes on to express his love of God and trust in God in these words:

"Oh God! What delight it gives us to remember You![1] It is the adornment of our tongue. May this tongue in our mouth not hesitate to remember You! We always remember, You always forgive, because Your divinity makes this necessary. Our fate is to commit sins. Only You can see and take pity on our condition, because You know our hidden secrets."[2]

Then he praises God's greatness and power of creation, and speaks of the shame which we shall feel before God on the Resurrection Day: "Oh God! Your knowledge[3] ties our tongues,

---

1. FuḍūlI, Persian DIVĀN, ed. H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.245, couplets 1, 3, 4.
2. These couplets express FuḍūlI's fundamental belief.
3. FuḍūlI, Persian DIVĀN, ed. H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, pp. 245-6, couplets 1, 2, 3, 6.

we lack nothing from You. You know our condition, what need have we to tell it? Night and day images of Your creative power are formed in the workshop of our dreams and imaginings. Yet imagination cannot perceive Your truth. Why this desire? Why is imagination powerless? O God, in that moment when we are powerless to speak, give us strength, enable us to remember You."

In three ghazals[1] FuḍūlI praises Muḥammad, whom he calls Prince of the Prophets. In the first of these he declares:

(2) طالب لطف تو فضولی نومید یا نبی نیست ز لطف تو نصولی نومید

"O Prophet, FuḍūlI does not despair of your grace; he needs only a drop of water from your vast sea."

Then in another ghazal he says; "To praise the Prophet[3] will suffice to save you on the Resurrection Day, O FuḍūlI, even if your sins are boundless; since you, O Prophet, will be our saviour on the Day of Judgement, therefore we do not fear our sins."

In another religious ghazal with "Ya Murtazā 'AlI" as radīf, he praises 'AlI:

---

1. FuḍūlI, Persian DIvān, ed. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, pp. 342, 547, 565.
2. Ibid., p. 342, couplet 7.
3. Ibid., p. 547, couplet 7, and p. 565, couplet 4.

ورد منست نام تو یا مرتضی علی من کمترم غلام تو یا مرتضی علی (1)

"O 'AlI, with whom God is pleased (murtaḍā)! I constantly recite your name. Who am I? I am your slave." Then he continues: "O Murtaḍā 'AlI, to escape from the torture of Hell each man must respect you as he worships God. Wherever you may be, that place is like the Ka'ba, a temple for men and angels."

It was customary in the classical Oriental literatures for poets to compare the beauty of the beloved with surrounding objects. Each poet used these artistic patterns in accordance with his personal imaginative and emotional powers, and formed his own ideal of beauty in terms of which he described his beloved.

FużUlI in his Persian, as in his Turkish ghazals, expresses feelings of delight in beauty, and of hope, love, misery, and passion. We discern in them the emotional force of his excitements, joys and griefs. Rich in fancy, powerful in imagination, and full of a glowing grandeur and sadness, his Persian verses convey the emotions of a lover whose beloved may be terrestrial or celestial. Like a nightingale FużUlI stays awake in the darkness and sings to cheer his own solitude with sweet sounds. He describes his love as even more

---

1. FużUlI, Persian DIVĀN, ed. by H. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 570.

intense than the loves of legendary heroes; and when he reads love stories he finds in them himself and his own beloved. He says that every lover ought to gather fame, because the aim of all life is to win a name in this world. As for himself, FuḍūlĪ tells us that he was famous, but mad. After he had become famous as a 'mad lover', there was no one who did not read his love-stories. His madness even surpassed that of the 'maddened' lover Majnūn. When FarhĀd saw FuḍūlĪ, he gave up his love and followed another course. All who saw FuḍūlĪ's love knew that they could not be his rival. In himself he united the tragedies of Vāmiq, Farhād and Majnūn. The "sermon of the kingship of love (khuṭba-yi salṭanat-i 'ishq)[1] was read in his name;" that is to say, he himself was "the king of the lovers."

گذشتم سر بسر بر ماجرای لیلی و مجنون بیان حسن تو شرح بلای خویشتن دیدم[2]

"I read through the tale of Laylā and Majnūn, and I saw in it a description of your beauty and an explanation of my misfortune."

---

1. The Friday sermon in the mosque begins with a prayer for the legitimate ruler.

2. FuḍūlĪ, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 459.

(4) نشانی از خود و تمثالی از تو یافتم هر جا کشیده صورت شیرین و نقش کوهکن دیدم

"Wherever I saw faces of ShIrIn and the Rock-carver portrayed, I found a symbol of myself and an image of you."(2)

(3) نخواند خواند کس افسانهٔ فرهاد و مجنون را اگر شرح غم خود را من آواره بنویسم

(4) "No one would read the stories of FarhAd and MajnUn, if I the wanderer described my grief."

(5) قصهٔ فرهاد و مجنون را فضولی کس نخواند تا بر آمد نام در عالم بشیدایی مرا

"FuzUlI, no one has read the story of FarhAd and MajnUn since I became world-famous as one deranged with love."

(6) بلای وامق و فرهاد و مجنون جمع شد در من فلك را دانهٔ چندی پریشان بود خرمن شد

"I have suffered the combined misfortunes of Vamiq, FarhAd and MajnUn. Fate's scattered seeds are gathered in me."

(8) چو من نبوده کسی را ز عشق بد نامی همیشه خطبهٔ این سلطنت بنام منست

"No one has had such a bad name for love as I have; the sermon of the kingship of love has always been preached in my name."

---

1. FuzUlI, Persian DIvAn, ed. by H. KazioğIu, Ankara 1962, p.459.
2. This verse alludes to the story of FarhAd and ShIrIn. FarhAd, the mason who was the lover of ShIrIn, is one of the favourite heroes of Persian romance. He received a promise from King Khusraw ParvIz that he might marry ShIrIn if he cut through the rock of BIsitUn and brought a stream which flowed on the other side of the hill into the valley. Just as he was completing this colossal task, he received a false report of ShIrIn's death and hurled himself to destruction.
3. Sa'dI likewise says that people will no longer take interest in the love-story of Khusraw and ShIrIn now that they can hear the story of the mad passion between him and his beloved:

شوری که در میان منست و میان دوست بر ماجرای خسرو و شیرین قلم کشید

(KullIyAt-i Sa'dI, ed. M. A. FurUghI, Tehran 1963, p.580).

(Cont'd)

Fuẓūlī's universe is like his own soul, a meeting place of beauty, passion, joy and infinite suffering. The pain of his love was deep and oppressed him cruelly. His sighs and his blood-stained tears upset the world; his groans made the heavens echo, his eyes were a fountain whence tears ever gushed. His tears filled the seas, and the floods pouring from his eyes swept around him. He did not know where he could go or how. His tears undermined the edifice of heaven, bringing down stones of reproof upon his head. His heart shed tears of blood, and when he died it could not be placed with him in the tomb, as the blood would have flowed from his grave. His sighs wounded the sky, whose redness of the sky was not the dawn but his blood. His sighs penetrated even

---

(Cont'd from page 373)

4. Fuẓūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 493.

5. Ibid., p. 266.

6. Fuẓūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 366.

7. According to Sa'dī, in the religion of lovers, good reputation is a disgrace. (Kulliyāt, p. 573).

دگر بخلیه نسایدم شراب و ساع که نیکنامی در دین عاشقان ننگست

8. Fuẓūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 298.

the dome of the sky, and burned its rims; they could burn even his own soul had it not left his body:(1)

مانند بنایی که دهد عکس بآواز آید بفغان گنبد گردون ز فغانم (2)

"Like an echoing building, the heavens start to moan because of my moaning."

قطرهٔ اشك مرا خوار مبین ای زاهد حذر ای مور(3) چه زمن قطره که بحریست عمیق(4)

"O ascetic, do not despise this tear-drop of mine! Beware of this drop, O ant, for it is a deep sea!"

مراست هر طرف از سیل اشك در دریایی(5) کجا روم چه کنم ره نمی برم جایی (6)

"All around me is the sea, made by the flood of my tears. Where shall I go? What shall I do? I do not know my way."

---

1. The more a man loves, the more he suffers. The sum of possible grief for each soul is proportionate to its degree of perfection. Suffering is necessary for the maturing of the personality.

   In the mystic terminology love and pain are synonymous. He whose heart is consecrated to God's service must bear without flinching all the pain and suffering which this service may bring.

   As Balzac has said "A poet is condemned to suffer because he is a slave to a higher will; he has no character of his own because he is accustomed to make his soul a mirror in which the whole universe is reflected." (H. de Balzac, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Marcel Bouteron, Paris 1912, pp. 351-355).

2. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.519.
3. The ant typifies feebleness and weakness.
4. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, Ankara 1962, p. 444.
5. In mysticism, the sea means the sea of Divine Love and is unfathomable - the love of the mystic who has completely surrendered to the Divine Will. It also denotes the spiritual experiences through which the mystic passes on his journey to God.
6. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.585.

هر سر هزار سنگ رسد هر زمان مرا گویا که بخت از نم اشکم بنای چرخ (1)

"Every minute I receive a thousand stones on my head, as if the damp of my tears has destroyed heaven's foundation."

با دل سپارید بناکم دم مردن تا خون نزند موج و مزارم (3) نگشاید (2)

"When I die, do not bury my heart with me, lest my blood should rise in waves and open my grave."

شده از ناوك آهم دل گردون مجروح رنگ خون است شفق نیست که بر گردون است (5)

"Heaven's heart has been wounded by the arrow of my sigh; the sky's bosom is coloured with blood, not twilight."

اختر برگشته‌ام را سوخت آخر برق آه آه از من محنت که برق آهم از اختر گذشت (6)

"The flash of my sigh finally ignited my unlucky star. Alas! My anguish has passed beyond the stars."

---

1. Fuzûlî, Persian DIVAN, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 345.
2. In mystic terminology, the heart is a mirror in which every divine quality is reflected. It is also the hearth of the burning fire of love which is kindled by the Beloved.
3. We find the same idea in Ḥafiẓ:

   "Open my grave when I am dead,
   and thou shalt see a cloud of smoke rising from out of it;
   then shalt thou know that the fire still burns in my dead heart."

   (The Rubá'iyát of Ḥafiẓ, rendered by L. Cranmer-Bing, London 1919, p. 22).
4. Fuzûlî, Persian DIVAN, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.405.
5. Ibid., p. 305.
6. Ibid., p. 322. This line is also a good example of the literary device of Radd al-'Ajz ilā'l-Ṣadr.

ز برق آه دل نالل مباش از سینه‌ام ای جان (1) برون کش رخت خود امشب که این ویرانه می سوزد

"O my soul, do not be heedless of the flash of my sigh. Remove your baggage tonight, because this ruin is burning."

آه و اشکم دو گواهند که در دعوی عشق می دهد از پی هم بر سخن من تصدیق (2)

"My sigh and my tears both attest my claim to be in love, and successively confirm my statement."

نیست در سینه دارم شمع را کی سوز من باشد ندارد جسم او جانی چه باك از سوختن اورا (3)

"I hold grief for you in my breast. When did a candle ever have so much pain? Its body has no soul, so why should it fear burning?"

امشب بسال زارم می‌کرد شمع گریه (4) گویا که در دل او سوز دلم اثر کرد (5) (6)

"Tonight the candle was weeping at my sad plight; you might think that my heart's grief was making an impression on its heart."

---

1. Fużulī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.398.
2. Ibid., p. 444.
3. Fużulī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.254.
4. Night in mystic phraseology means the period when the vision of the Divine beauty is veiled from the mystic's sight.
5. The candle here symbolizes the lover burning and weeping for the beloved. On that night Fużulī's grief surpassed even the candle's grief.
6. Fużulī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.386.

Fuẓūlī calls his beloved "my heart, my soul, my beloved, my most gracious king, the candle which lights the assembly, the moon, the chief of the beauties, the idol." He wants to see none but this beauty. His beloved is unique in the world; there is none more lovely than she. She is the rose, while all other beauties are the thorns. If Laylā were to see her beauty, she would become infatuated (majnūn). Alas that she is cruel and faithless; for all beauties are faithless, so much so that the faithfulness of all of them would not satisfy a single lover. Fuẓūlī's beloved has many lovers. The worth of a beloved person increases with the intensity of her lovers' passion, not with the amount of her worldly belongings.

گر ترا حسن رخ از گلها فزاید دور نیست (1) در حقیقت گل توئی گلهای دیگر خار تست (2)(3)

"No wonder that the beauty of your face increases more than that of the roses! In truth, you are the rose and the other roses your thorns."

---

1. The rose for mystics is the manifestation of the Divine beauty and also the symbol of Union with the Beloved. It is contrasted with the thorn.
2. The thorn symbolizes separation from the Beloved and typifies the evil passions which veil the Beloved from the mystic's heart.
3. Fuẓūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 311.

بتی (1) که شیوهٔ خوبی به از تو داند نیست پری وشی که ز دست توام رهاند نیست (2)

"No idol has more loveliness than you; you are so fairy-like that there is no deliverance from you."

داری آن حسن که گر پیش تو آید لیلی نتواند که ترا بیند و مجنون نشود (3)

"Your beauty is such that Laylā is bound to go mad (majnūn) if she sees you."

چون ندیدم صد جفا از یار می‌خواهم وفا چیزی از محبوب می‌خواهم که در محبوب نیست (4) (5)

"I have not suffered hundreds of injustices from my love; but I ask for a fidelity unknown in loved ones."

کمست مهر بتان آن قدر که گر همه را کند جمع یک کس وفا نخواهد کرد (6)

"Idols show so little affection that even if it were all added together it would not be faithful to one lover."

---

1. The idol for mystics means every object of worship other than God; but sometimes it is used to indicate a manifestation of the Divine Beauty, to worship which is the same as worshipping its creator.
2. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.307.
3. Ibid., p. 373.
4. The cruelty of the beloved may sometimes be a sign of love, and need not imply any desire for separation; in any case, the lover is not discouraged by such cruelty. The mystic idea is that even if God inflicts cruel tribulations on the worshipper's soul, He is not driving it away from Him but drawing it towards Him. (JināS-i Lāhiq [contiguity] between jafā and vafā).
5. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.313.
6. Ibid., p. 397.

کی نمودی تو که هر سو فتنه بالا نشد کی گشودی رخ که از هر گوشه افغان برنخاست (1) (2)

"When have you shown your figure without intrigues springing up on every side? When have you uncovered your face without sighs arising from every corner?"

دوست میدارد ترا هر کس که باشد درجهان برفضولی رحم کن کاو را جهانی دشمن است (3) (4)

"Everybody in the world loves you; have pity on Fuzuli, to whom all the world is an enemy!"

نالها سهل است بردر جها دلبارا کز دل گم شده ما خبری پیدا نیست (5)

"Grief for you has so often washed away lovers' hearts, that there is no novelty in the spectacle of my lost heart."

---

1. Sa'dI has a verse with the same meaning: intrigue arose when his beloved came out of doors and adorned the market place.

دیگر نشنیدم چنین فتنه که برخاست از خانه برون آمد و بازار بیاراست

(Kulliyat-i Sa'dI, ed. by M. A. Furughi, Tehran 1342/1963, p. 564).

2. Fuzuli, Persian DIVAN, ed. by H. Vasioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.324.

3. Sa'dI has the opposite idea and says that he loves everybody because everybody loves his beloved:

بجهان خرم از آنم که جهان خرم ازاوست عاشقم برهمه عالم که همه عالم ازاوست

(Kulliyat-i Sa'dI, p. 586).

4. Fuzuli, Persian DIVAN, ed. by H. Vasioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.302. Tazadd [antithesis], between dust and dushman.

5. Ibid., p. 303.

ز عاشق می نزاید قدر معشوق نه از بسیاری جاه و تجمل (1)

"The beloved's value increases with the (intensity of the passion) of the lover, not with the degree of the beloved's dignity and splendour."

Love is supposed to be strengthened by jealousy. When an imaginative and warm-hearted man feels that no beautiful object which he sees and admires belongs to him, he experiences the same grief as a lover who sees his beloved with others. FuẓULI is jealous, and when others love his sweetheart, he is sad; he cannot endure seeing the sweetheart's favours given to others. He does not even wish to believe that this can happen, that his beloved will ever roam in the rose garden with strangers or give them private conviviality. He is only glad to see his rivals when they are out of the running.

چند در کوی تو باشد همنشین من رقیب (2) برق آهم کاش یا او را بسوزد یا مرا (3)

"How long is the rival going to accompany me in your quarter? Would that the flash of my sigh might burn him or me."

---

1. FuẓULI, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 454.

2. In mystic phraseology, the "rival" (raqīb; a word which FuẓULI uses in his poems very frequently) means the obstacles which block the mystic's upward path and prevent his access to the Divine Beloved.

3. FuẓULI, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 262.

(1) دیدن هر واقعه سهل است لیك سخت بلاییست بلای رقیب

"To watch any event is easy; but the worst calamity is to have a rival."

(2) جور و جفای تو برای منست مهر و وفای تو برای رقیب

"On me you bestow injustice and unkindness. Your affection and loyalty go to my rival."

(3) رقیب از مهربانیهای آن بت میزند لافی در واقعیت این مگر وسم بتان را من نمیدانم

"The rival boasts of my idol's affection. His words are lies. Do not I know the ways of idols?"

(4) ای رقیب از دیدنت هرگز مرا ذوقی نشد مثل این ساعت که از جانان جدا دیدم ترا

"O rival, I never rejoiced so much on seeing you as when I saw you separated from my beloved."

To be in love causes endless pain and anxiety. Fuzuli knows this, and yet is in love; for there is no other course open to him. No one has shown the same patience as he; for only with patience can the goal be attained.

---

1. Fuzuli, Persian Diydn, ed. by H. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 289.
2. Ibid., p.289.
3. Ibid., p. 505.
4. Ibid., p. 278.

فضولی رهگذار عشقبازی صد خطر دارد (1) شروع این طریق صعب را باید با دلها (2)

"Fuzûlî, the traveller on the road of love faces hundreds of dangers; setting out on this rough road needs thorough deliberation."

نیست بی درد غم و محنه فضولی نفسی (3) خسرو کشور عشق است سپاهی دارد (4)

"Fuzûlî, there is no griefless, painless moment. Love is the King of the country and (this King) has an army."

غم و درد و بلا و محنت و اندوه و رسوایی همیشه عاشقان یک جهت را هست این هر شش (5)

"Grief, pain, calamity, suffering, sorrow, and disgrace; these six always burst upon whole-hearted lovers."

ما نمی گوییم کاری نیست غیر از عاشقی (6) هست صد کاری دگر اما نمی‌دانیم ما (7)

"We do not say that there are no occupations except being in love. There are hundreds of others; but I do not know about them."

---

1. The Sufi who sets out to seek the Beloved calls himself a "traveller". Since the goal is Union with the Beloved, he who devotes himself to this quest must be prepared to face the trials which it entails. Attainment of anything involves danger and difficulty. The person who cannot endure the burden of the Beloved's cruelty is unable to appreciate the value of love.
2. Fuzûlî, Persian Dîvân, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.259.
3. Fuzûlî means that sorrows accompany love and compares sorrows with the army of a king.
4. Fuzûlî, Persian Dîvân, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.387
5. Ibid., p. 428.
6. Fuzûlî is willing to bear grief for love's sake. In another verse he says: "O my heart, do not be ashamed of loving. As long as there is love, busy yourself with nothing else." (Persian Dîvân, p.542).
7. Fuzûlî, Persian Dîvân, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara, 1962, p.280

عاشقم هز عاشقی کاری نمی آید ز من هست خوی کار دشواری نمی آید ز من
(1)

"I am in love, there is nothing else I can do except to be in love. Piety is a hard task, I cannot do it."

(2)
شد دلم صد پاره ناوردم شکایت بر زبان محنت و صبری که در من هست در ایوب نیست
(3) (4)

"My heart is torn to pieces, yet I never complained. The suffering and patience that are mine were unknown even to Job."

Fuẓūlī suffers the sorrows which love brings at every moment and spends his days in greater grief than ever he could have envisioned; yet he is happy. He finds happiness only in submission to the sufferings of love and does not wish to

---

1. Fuẓūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.543.

2. A lover should not complain, and should not reveal or openly speak of his love, because it is the beloved's secret. Mystics endeavoured to avoid complaining and to keep secret the esoteric knowledge of which they claimed sole possession.

3. Job (Ayyūb) is a model of patience and fortitude, both of which are religious duties. In the Qur'ān, Ayyūb's patience receives praise from God (XXXVIII, 43), and ideal of patience is expressly mentioned in several other verses (e.g. XXX, 16 and XXII, 36). Helmer Ringgren observes that patience is important in mysticism, and especially for these reasons: it means that, firstly, the servant ceases to complain; secondly, he becomes satisfied with what is decreed, and that is the rank of the ascetics; thirdly, he comes to love whatever his Lord does with him, and that is the stage of the true friends of God. "Patience is the expectation of consolation from God; it is the noblest and highest of services." (H. Ringgren, Studies in Arabian Fatalism, Upsala 1955, p. 196).

4. Fuẓūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 314.

escape from them. He has become so accustomed to grief that he no longer desires even the pleasure which grief can bring. He wishes neither to hear advice, nor to accept remedies for his grief; for only his beloved can cure his pain.

الم و درد و غم و محنت مشقت دارم همه وقت و همه روز و همه ماه و همه سال (1)

"Your love fills me with pain, sorrow, grief and suffering, every hour, every day, every month and every year."

نه هم بی غم نه غم بی من دمی ایزد مگر آفرید از بهر من غم را و بهر غم مرا (2)

"Not for one moment am I without grief, nor is grief without me. Perhaps God created grief for me, just as He created me for grief."

هزار شکر که لطف ازل فضولی را ز لذت الم عشق بی خبر نگذاشت (3)

"A thousand thanks that God's grace has never left Fuzûlî ignorant of the delight of love's pain."

من بغم خو کرده‌ام جز غم نمی باید مرا ور ز غم ذوقی رسد آن هم نمی باید مرا (4)

"I am accustomed to grief, I need nothing but grief. If joy comes from grief, I do not need it either."

---

1. Fuzûlî, Persian Dîvân, ed. by H. Vazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 449.
2. Ibid., p. 274.
3. Ibid., p. 331.
4. Ibid., p. 266.

بگذر طبیب از سر درمان درد من بیمار درد عشق ز درمان گذشته است (1) (2)

"O doctor, give up treating my pain! This love-sick patient is beyond hope of cure."

کرد ناصح منع من از گریه بی رخسار او خنده‌ام آمد بیان گریه بر گفتار او (3)

"My adviser forbade me to cry at not seeing my sweetheart's face. His advice made me laugh as I cried."

زاهدا می ده که پند ناصحم مجروح کرد خواهدم کشت این جراحت گر نباشد مرهمی (4)

"O ascetic, give me wine, for my adviser's words have wounded me. Unless there be an ointment, this wound will kill me."

---

1. We find the same idea in the Masnavī of Mawlānā Rūmī. In the story of the King and his three sons, the eldest Prince was sick; Mawlānā says that all sick persons hope to be cured, but this Prince wished his sickness to be increased.

جمله رنجوران شفا جویند واین رنج افزون جوید و درد و حنین

(Masnavī-yi Ma'navī, ed. Furūzānfar, Tehran 1963, p. 512).

Some Sufis did not allow medicine to be given them when they were ill, preferring to commit themselves to God's care.

Fuḍūlī in another verse says:

"O doctor, the fairy-faced seems to like her crazy lover. Give up trying to cure me, let me become yet more insane." (Persian Dīvān, p. 490).

2. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Masiogˇlu, Ankara 1962, p.295.

3. Ibid., p. 548.

4. Ibid., p. 572.

یار می دانم که می داند دوای درد من لیك س گوید نس دانم نس دانم چرا (1)

"I know that my sweetheart knows the cure for my pain; but I do not know why she says that she does not know it."

Faith is the greatest need of love. If FuẓULI were to spend all his life travelling on the path of grief in the hope of union, he would not regret, but would be happy to sacrifice his life on this journey. Perfection comes of selflessness, and the true lover does not hesitate to give his life for the beloved, because in the perfection of his love he transcends his own being. FuẓULI, too, wished to sacrifice his life for his beloved. Indeed he had already given up his soul in joy when he was told that she would come. If she were to come now, he did not have a second life to sacrifice.

عمر دراز من که پریشان گذشته است در آرزوی گیسوی جانان گذشته است (2)

"My long life has been spent in distress, spent in yearning for my loved one's (black) curls."

عمرم گذشت لیك ندارم تأسفی شادم باین که در غم آن سرو قد گذشت (3)

"My life is over, but I have no regret. I am happy that it has been spent in grieving for her lovely figure, slim as a cypress."

---

1. FuẓULI, Persian DIVĀN, ed. by H. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.283.
2. Ibid., p. 295.
3. Ibid., p. 317.

فضولی نقد جان کردی نثار بوده وصلش چه خواهی کرد گر ناگه آن سرو روان آید (1) (2)

"O FuẑūlI, you gave away your life-coin when told that you might join her. What you will do if suddenly that lovely cypress walks towards you?"

Love makes a man's tongue sweet. ZĀhid (the ascetic) is not in love and no one heeds his words, while all wonder at FuẑūlI's eloquence:

ندارد ذرّه در دل اثر افسانهٔ زاهد فضولی درد دل باید که لوقی در سخن باشد (3)

"ZĀhid's story has not an atom of effect on people's hearts, O FuẑūlI, a tale of grief is needed if words are to bring joy!"

نیست گفتارت فضولی بی مذاق عاشقی زین سبب هر کس که دیدم عاشق گفتار تست (4)

"FuẑūlI, your talk is full of love's delight. This is why everybody I have met loves your talk."

---

1. Life is the most precious thing in the world. In Şufism the good life is self-renunciation and self-sacrifice, the giving up of all possessions - wealth, ambition, life itself, and whatever else men value - for the Beloved's sake without any thought of reward. The mystic regards death as a spiritual resurrection, believing that he who dies to self lives eternally in God.
2. FuẑūlI, Persian DIVĀN, ed. by H. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 399.
3. Ibid., p. 402.
4. Ibid., p. 312.

Sometimes FuẓûlI speaks of the emptiness of grief for this world, and tells us how much more valuable it is to pass one's time in enjoyment and pleasure, and in the company of one's beloved; but if she is not present, no sort of enjoyment will bring pleasure. It is not wine, but she, who intoxicates FuẓûlI, and it is only because she is fickle that he is compelled to seek consolation in the cup and at the tavern.(1)

(2) زندگی بهر چه باید چو مرا می گویند می مخور لوق سین کام مزان عیش مکن

"What is life for, when I am told 'do not drink, do not rejoice, do not fulfil desires, do not have pleasures'?"

(3) مگذران می می و معشوق فضولی زنهار حاصل عمر گرانمایه که جز یکدم نیست

"Beware FuẓûlI, do not go without wine or a loved one, for the upshot of this precious life is only one moment (of joy)."

---

1. It is to this practical and religious attitude that the term fatalism is properly applied. "Let us eat, drink and be merry, for tomorrow we die."

2. FuẓûlI, Persian DIvân, ed. by H. Vaziogˇlu, Ankara 1962, p. 525.

3. Ibid., p. 309.

نیست ارزد بهم سلطانیٔ عالم خوش آن رندی که یاد از حشمت جمشید نارد جام جم گیرد (1) (2)

"Rulership of the whole world is not worth one moment of grief. How lucky is the rake who does not remember Jamshid's magnificence but prefers Jamshid's cup!"

بادهٔ تلخ که بی ساقیٔ گلرخ باشد بارها تجربه کردیم چنان نیست لذیذ (3) (4)

"When we tried the dry wine in the absence of the rose-cheeked cup-bearer, it did not taste good."

فضولی بگذر از قید ورع (5) می کوش و رندی کن طریق زهد و آیین ریا از تو نمی آید (6) (7)

"Fuzûlî, cast aside the fetters of piety, drink wine, be merry! You cannot go the way of asceticism and hypocrisy."

---

1. Jamshid, the fourth and greatest of the mythical kings of Persia, is famous for his world-seeing cup (jâm-i jahânbîn, or jâm-i Jam). Wine is said to have been discovered in his long reign.
2. Fuzûlî, Persian DIVÂN, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.363.
3. In mysticism, the cup-bearer is the Guide to the mysteries of Divine Knowledge. The cup (jâm) signifies the Cup of Divine Love.
4. Fuzûlî, Persian DIVÂN, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.412.
5. The poet is sneering at hypocritical and bigoted ascetics.
6. Fuzûlî in another verse says:
   "Fuzûlî, do not search for any companion except the cup; for the cup knows the hidden secrets." (Persian DIVÂN, p. 344).
7. Fuzûlî, Persian DIVÂN, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 409.

(1)
(2) از غم و اندوه روزگار فضولی جز در پیر مغان پناه ندارد

"Fuḍūlī, the only refuge from life's griefs and cares is the tavern-keeper's door."

Sometimes, instead of taking refuge in the tavern, Fuḍūlī thinks that the cure for his grief is to follow the example of Majnūn and withdraw into the wilderness:

(3)
(4) سر صحرای جنون کن که ز غم‌بار رهی غم ایام درآن بادیه بسیار کم است

"If you wish to get rid of grief, make your way to the desert of madness! There is very little grief for past days in that waste."

When a man finds himself defeated by circumstances beyond his control and believes that everything in his life is already determined, he has little incentive to make strenuous efforts for any purpose. He is likely to drift along, following whatever impulse is momentarily uppermost in his mind and taking the way of pleasure and of pain-avoidance; he will choose the

---

1. Pīr-i Mughān, i.e. "Elder of the Magians": a term used by Ḥāfiẓ and many later poets to mean "chief of the wine sellers" or "leader of the Ṣūfī devotees".
2. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.388.
3. An allusion to the desert in which Majnūn, after being parted from Laylā, wandered until his death. In mysticism the desert means the limitless expanse of Absolute Being in which the phenomenal world is like a mirage.
4. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.327.

easier path, and will not even attempt difficult or inconvenient ventures, because he has no belief in their possibility. His resignation to fate will include acceptance of much that is by no means inevitable. The time will come when, like FuzûlI, he will grow tired both of the world's sorrows and of its pleasures.

ترک عالم کن که در عالم نمی ارزد بغم گر هزاران گنج برهالای هم باشد ترا (1)

"Abandon the world! Its way is not worth the sorrows (which it brings), even if you have piled up thousands of treasures."

در جهان گر ترا نشی باید از جهان و جهانیان بگذر (2)

"If you need peace of mind in the world, pay no heed to the world and its people."

The idea underlying the above verses is that the good man can only expect to be unhappy and trampled upon in a selfish world. The trouble in FuzûlI's heart, as well as the trouble in the world, made him weary. To linger in this life, once we have shed our illusions and realized its emptiness, is hardly bearable. FuzûlI often seems eager to abandon the world. In

---

1. FuzûlI, Persian DIvân, ed. by H. Nazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 263.
2. Ibid., p. 413.

yearning for death, he clearly yearns only for relief from the weariness of the material existence, which he feels as an impediment to the immortal life which is love. If death did not occur, love would not have the same quality; for it is death that makes love valuable. In Fużūlī's opinion death is not the contrary or the enemy of life, but its necessary complement. The true enemy of the spirit of life is not death but fate, which opposes love and hence also life.(1) Fużūlī's complaint is not really against the beloved, but against fate, which is faithful to no one. In those days fate in the abstract, or in the form of astrological influences, was popularly imagined to be the cause of all earthly happiness and even more of all earthly misery. Fate in Fużūlī's poems is represented as bringing misfortune and causing perpetual change:

گر چه آن ماه جفا کرد فضولی بر من من ندارم گله از ماه ز گردون دارم (2)

"O Fuzūlī, although my moon-faced sweetheart was unkind to me, I have no complaint against her; my complaint is against the stars."(3)

---

1. In one of his Turkish qit'as Fużūlī says: "If fortune turns in your favour for a few days, do not be presumptuous; for obviously the killer of your father and ancestors will not exempt you. You must not expect an enemy to become your friend." (Kulliyyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.214). See also his "Elegy for the Family of the Cloak" (p.184 above).
2. Fużūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.506.
3. The poet is voicing contemporary astrological notions according to which the stars rule the destinies of mankind.

گر چرخ بیوفاست بگویم عجب مدار (1) هر گز کسی ندید وفا ای چرخ (2)

"No wonder if I call fate's wheel unkind! O FuzūlI, no one has ever seen kindness in this wheel."

At botton the image of the beloved is sufficient for FuzūlI. He wants neither the goods of this world, nor the houris of paradise; but the beloved's image revives his heart's fire:

جز نقد شوق و دولت عشق تو در جهان هر گز نظر بمال و جاهی نکرده‌ایم (3)

"Except the cash of yearning for you and the fortune of loving you, we have never looked for other wealth or dignity."

---

1. Helmer Ringgren remarks how often the Arab poets speak of fate in different senses, and how the concepts of "God and fate have merged into one another in a way that makes it extremely difficult to distinguish them. (In the Qur'ān God is a God of destiny, who gives life and death, joy and grief. He exalts and abases according to His will)." Ringgren thinks that this is one of the most complicated subjects even in the pre-Islamic Arab poetry, but that "three facts may be established on the subject; firstly, that the pre-Islamic God has to some extent been a God of destiny; secondly, that God in a few cases is regarded as superior to fate; and thirdly, that in some cases He seems to have been identified with fate." (Studies in Arabian Fatalism, Uppsala 1955, pp.46-48).

   As regards Persian poetry, Ringgren points out that it develops certain motifs which were not adopted by the Arabic poets, above all the concept of bakht (fortune) and the idea of the sky as the inexorable agent of destiny. (Fatalism in Persian epics, Uppsala 1952). In another book, Fatalistic Beliefs in Religions, Folklore, and Literature, he observes that the concept of fate is important not only in Islāmic literature but also in other literatures and religions, e.g. Greek tragedies and Nordic religion.

2. FuzūlI, Persian DIvān, ed. by H.Mağzioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.346. In another distich FuzūlI says: "Every minute I receive a calamity from fate. My bent stature is a net for the bird of calamity." (Persian DIvān, pp265)

3. Ibid., p. 477.

منزلم کوی تو بس-ماصلم اندوه و غمت من ظاهر نه بملکی نه بمالی دارم (1)

"My dwelling place is only your quarter, my harvest is only the sorrow of passion for you. I do not boast of any property or wealth."

با خیال آن پری خو کرده‌ام ناصح برو خوش نمی آید ملاقات بنی آدم مرا (2)

"O adviser, leave me alone! I am accustomed to the image of the fairy one; I do not enjoy meeting human kind."

In reality, human love encounters difficulties, disappointments and obstacles; but when love possesses a divine quality, all troubles disappear. It is as though the lover has entered a sweet and restful, dreamlike world of paradise where lover and beloved are united like LaylÄ and Majnūn in each other's hearts. This mystic love which promises eternity was the common theme of Fuẓūlī's epoch, and not infrequently in his poetry it separates him from the real world.

As has already been shown, Fuẓūlī's beloved, and the beloved's beauty and the poet's feelings, form the focal point of his ghazals. He is interested in nothing but the emotions of his heart and does not see his surroundings. Even so, the Persian ghazals have a warmth of feeling and charm of expression, and sometimes also a gently humorous note, which makes them a

---

1. Fuẓūlī, Persian DīvÄn, ed. by H.Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.507.
2. Ibid., p. 274.

delight to read. From the artistic point of view their diction is harmonious and their imagery is good.

In FuẓūlĪ's Persian DĪvān there is a musabbaʿ (poem in seven-line stanzas) which runs to ten stanzas and is a naʿt (eulogy of the Prophet). The first stanza describes the poet's sincere longing for the beloved and the pains of separation suffered in the beloved's absence. In the sixth stanza it is seen that this beloved is the Prophet. In the eighth stanza FuẓūlĪ praises Muḥammad in these words:(1)

"Oh Prince of Prophets, you are the Prophet through whom the scripture of Islām was first written. Before you, no one knew the name of Islām. The world has found peace through the Law (SharĪʿa) which you established. If a group of black-mannered, ill-reputed evil-doers wish to make the morning as black as night with their lies, do not attach any worth to such lies."

The Persian DĪvān also includes a musaddas (poem in six-line stanzas) which FuẓūlĪ wrote for the QāḍĪ Sayyid Muḥammad GhāzĪ.(2) After complaining of the difficulties of his life and position, he praises the QāḍĪ, and says that he has long wished to see him and that the QāḍĪ should not suspect him of faithlessness. Then he reports having heard that the QāḍĪ may

---

1. FuẓūlĪ, Persian DĪvān, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 606.
2. See Chapter IX, p. 289 above.

be removed from his position, and after adding that he owes his own repute to the QāḍĪ, he writes:(1)

"Oh Prince, if this is what you intend, to whom do you abandon the destitute? Why are you leaving your place, when if you do the gates of grief will open? FuḍŪLĪ's life is is tied to you and must now come to a close." At the end of the poem, he entrusts this traveller to God.

The themes of FuḍŪLĪ's Persian qiṭ'as are moral virtues, such as knowledge, honesty and humility. He believes that man comes into the world innocent of all sin, and that God has given man freedom to choose between good and evil. God has imposed duties upon man and has made them known to man through His Prophets. God is essentially Just, and by sending the Prophet Muḥammad and the Qur'ān, He has given man a chance of attaining to eternal bliss. He is always ready to help with His succour and guidance those who are well-disposed. Man for his part has the capacity to perform all the duties imposed on him.(2) At the same time, FuḍŪLĪ emphasizes that a child's pure and innocent soul must be directed towards good by up-bringing and training: "Do not be heedless! Restrain him from frivolous activities! Do not neglect to teach him the way of learning and politeness!"(3)

---

1. FuḍŪLĪ, Persian DĪvān, ed. H. Kazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 610.
2. Ibid., qiṭ'as, p. 611-617.
3. Ibid., p. 625.

The Qur'ān in many passages enjoins careful observation of nature and history. This, together with well-known sayings of the Prophet, such as "seek knowledge even in China" or "acquisition of knowledge is the duty of every Muslim man and Muslim woman", encouraged probing into the secrets of nature and into the past and present of mankind. FuḍūlI has this to say about the virtue of acquiring knowledge:(1)

فضیلت نسب و اصل خارج ذاتست — بفضل غیر خود ای سفله افتخار مکن

بانتساب سلاطین و خدمت امرا — که زایلست مزن تکیه اعتبار مکن (3)

بصنعتی که در و هست شرط صحت دست — مشو مقید و خود را امید وار مکن

بملك و مال که هستند زایل و ذاهب — اساس بیهده امید استوار مکن

اگر تراست هوای فضیلت باقی — بعلم کوش و ز تحصیل علم عار مکن (4)

(2)

---

1. From the mystic point of view, acquisition of knowledge is one of the first stages on the road. 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī, in his Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil, (ed. by M. J. Marijan Molé, Tehran, Paris 1962, p.92) remarks that a man must first learn the sciences, and that only when he has acquired sufficient knowledge will it be time for him to find a spiritual guide and set out on the path of Truth.

2. The Prophet's words "He who has an atom of pride in his heart will fail to enter paradise" mean that "virtues are the doors of paradise, but pride and self-esteem lock them all." (Nawāb 'Alī, The teaching of Al-Ghazzālī, Baroda, 1920, p.79).

   In another qit'a addressing people who are proud of their beauty, Fuḍūlī insists that beauty lies in inner goodness and not in outward appearance: "To care for the beauty of an ephemeral form is useless. Search for perfection, for that will suit you better."

3. Ghazzālī says that "whenever a man accedes to authority, he drifts away from God," and he specifies the problem by asking "is it permissible to cross a bridge seeing that it has been built by the government out of stolen goods and with forced labour?" He claims that any material benefits derived from

(Cont'd.

"Superiority of lineage and nobility of birth are accidental. O base man, take no pride in anything but your own virtue! Do not lean on kinship with rulers and service of princes, or take credit for these things, as they are vain! If the prerequisite of a craft is a sound hand, do not commit yourself to it, do not set your hopes on it! Do not base a firm structure of hope on property and wealth, which are impermanent and transitory! If you have a desire for lasting merit, strive for knowledge and do not be ashamed to learn!"

Fuḍūlī in one of his <u>ġit'as</u> complains that in his time poetry was not appreciated either by learned men (<u>'ulamā</u>, meaning in particular religious scholars) or by ignorant men. Although the Qur'ānic word that every created thing adores and glorifies God in its own tongue,(1) or the Prophet's word that "wisdom comes from poetry",(2) attest that composing poetry is not prohibited to Muslims, nevertheless during the course of the centuries the religious scholars as a class

---

Cont'd from page 398, note 3:

rulers and their functionaries are religiously forbidden, because all the money which they possess is either stolen or is suspect of being so. (S. D. Goitein, <u>Studies in Islamic History and Institutions</u>, Leiden 1966, p. 206).

3. Fuḍūlī, <u>Persian DIVān</u>, ed. by H. Vaziloğlu, Ankara 1962, p.617.

---

1. Qur'ān, XVII, 44.
2. <u>Concordance et indices de la Tradition Musulmane</u>, by A. J. Wensinck, Leiden 1936, Vol. I, p. 491.

turned to formalism and made their own judgements, one of which was to hold poetry in suspicion. With his gently ironic wit, FuẑūlI says:

دو گروهند خلق این عالم　　علمایند و مردم جاهل
جاهلان شعر را نمی دانند　　زانکه هستند از هنر غافل
پیش عالم خطاست گفتن شعر　　بلکه نا شرع هرزه و باطل
آه ازین غم که هست در عالم　　امر من صعب کار من مشکل
کرده‌ام صرف عمر در کاری　　که باو نیست هیچ کس مایل (۱)

"The people of the world fall into two groups: learned and ignorant. The ignorant know nothing of poetry, because they are heedless of art. According to the learned, composing poetry is wrong, nay rather illicit, dissolute and futile. Alas for all this sorrow! My occupation in the world is hard and difficult. I have spent my life on an art in which no one is interested."

FuẑūlI's ideal society would have been composed of men of taste and scholars among whom he could feel happy. Now we see him alone again, aware that life is a painful adventure. Being sensitive and intelligent, he feels that solitude is the only tolerable means of escape from society as it actually is:

---

1. FuẑūlI, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Kazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p.635.

ای دل ملال گوشهٔ عزلت هزار بار — بهتر ز همنشینیٔ هر یار و آشناست
هر یار و آشنا که شود همدم کسی — یا از جماعت نقرا یا ز اغنیاست
گر مفلس است و صاحب نعمت هر آینه — دایم ز ملک و مال و تجمل سخن سراست
گر مبتلای فاقه و فقر است پیش تو — کارش همه شکایت دنیای بیوفاست
اوقات ضایع است درین هر دو ماجرا — کو همدمی که خالی ازین هر دو ماجراست (1)

"O heart, the corner of seclusion is better than the company of any friend; for every congenial friend is either poor or rich. If he is rich, he always talks of his own estates and money and luxury. If he is poor, he always complains of this world's faithlessness. In either case it is a waste of time. Where can I find a friend free of both limitations?"

Through the following two qit'as runs a gloomy and pessimistic note voicing Fużūlī's sense of the turmoil, anguish, and hopelessness of human life in this world:

فریاد ازین سپهر ستمگر که در جهان — هرگز نگشت شاد ز دوران او دلی
از هرکه هست برده فراغت مدار او — نه عالمی ازو شده راضی نه جاهلی (2)

"Alas, cruel stars! Their rotation has never made any man happy. The turning wheel takes away every one's peace, and pleases neither the learned nor the ignorant."

هر کرا میل اقامت هست در دنیای دون — بر خط همت خاطر قلم باید کشید
یا بباید ساخت با محنت بهر حالی که هست — یا ازین سر منزل محنت قدم باید کشید (3)

---

1. Fużūlī, Persian DĪVĀN, ed. by H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.632.
2. Ibid., p. 633.
3. Ibid., p. 627.

"Those who desire to stay on in this lower world should delete all hope of living in peace. Either you must put up with all sorts of trials, or you must step out this abode of trials."

As in his qit'as, Fuẓūlī in some of his rubā'īs again urges humility and pursuit of perfection, saying that the world is a place of pain and suffering, and that there is no permanence or stability in worldly rank and fortune or in worldly joy and happiness.

علم و ادبست مایهٔ عز و شرف گوهر که نباشد چه گشاید ز صدف

تا فرصت کار هست بی کار مباش بیهده که بیهوده شود هر طف (1)

"The source of honour and respect is learning and politeness. When there is no pearl, the shell has nothing. While there is a chance to work, do not idle, do not let your life go to waste in vain!"

---

1. Fuẓūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by H. Macioğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 665.

صد شکر که زهاد بد اندیش نه‌ایم　　شیطان سفیه حیله اندیش نه‌ایم

چون زاهدکان و شیخکان سالوس　　،داح خود و معتقد خویش نه‌ایم (1)

"A hundred thanks that we are neither spiteful ascetics nor silly casuistic elders. Unlike certain hypocritical faqīrs and shaykhs, we neither sing our own praises, nor believe in our own merits."

ای کرده بصد خون جگر جمع متاع　　آیا چه شود سال تو هنگام وداع

با خلق نزاع از پی دنیا کم کن　　دنیا نه متاعیست که ارزد بنزاع (2)

"O you, who with a hundred troubles have collected wealth, how will you feel at the moment of farewell? Why do you so much quarrel with people over this lower world's wealth? This world is not an item worth quarreling over."

In tones like those of 'Umar Khayyām, Fuḍūlī reiterates his warning that fate, symbolized by the stars, will part human friends and disappoint human hopes:

---

1. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by M. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.668. Ḥāfiẓ also criticizes hypocritical ṣūfīs who used to wear woolen garments as an emblem of primitive simplicity:
"The fire of deceit and hypocrisy will consume the barn of religion. Ḥāfiẓ, cast off this woollen cloak, and be gone!"
(A. J. Arberry, ed., Fifty Poems of Ḥāfiẓ, Cambridge 1953, introduction p. 16).
As Fuḍūlī says, "The ascetic repairs the mosque for his own benefit". (See Chapter VII, p. 228).

2. Fuḍūlī, Persian Dīvān, ed. by M. Kazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.664.

ما را هدف تیر بلا کرد فلك با محنت و درد مبتلا کرد فلك

از یار و دیار خود جدا کرد فلك فریاد ز ظلمی که بما کرد فلك (1)

"The stars have made us a butt for calamity's arrow. They have smitten us with suffering and pain, and have parted us from our friends and our homes. Alas, what injustice the stars have inflicted on us!"

انجام وجود اهل عالم عدم است پایان سرور و راحت و ذوق غم است

بسیار مکش در طلب راحت رنج کین جنس بس عزیز و بسیار کم است (2)

"The existence of this world's inhabitants ends in non-existence. Cheerfulness, comfort and enjoyment result in grief. Do not toil so hard for comfort, as it is a very dear and rare commodity."

دنیا نه مقام ذوق و عیش و طرب است عیش و طرب و ذوق در و بس عجب است

هر گز نرسیدست بمطلوب کسی هر کس که در روست در مقام طلب است (3) (4)

---

1. Fuẓūlī, Persian DĪvĀn, ed. by H.Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, p.666.
2. Ibid., p. 650.
3. Talab (seeking) in mysticism means "yearning"; it is the stage on the spiritual journey at which the soul sets out for the goal of God's presence.

   Fuẓūlī in another rubā'ī says:

   "In the world there is no comfort without suffering. This is the condition; if the one does not appear, nor will the other." (Persian DĪvĀn, p. 653).

4. Persian DĪvĀn, p. 651.

"This world is no place for enjoyment, pleasure, and gaiety. In fact these three are quite rare in it. No one ever attains what he seeks. Everyone in the world is in the position of a seeker."

Often in Fużulī's rubā'īyāt it is not clear whether his references to love are real or allegorical. Many of them may be open to either interpretation.

آن ماه که نور چشم اهل نظر است هر لحظه بصورت دگر جلوه گر است

مشکل که بیک سال بماند عاشق معشوق که هر زمان بشکلی دگر است (۱)

"That moon, so dear to the eyes of the clear-sighted, appears every moment in a different shape. It is difficult for the lover to stay in the same mood when the beloved is always assuming a different form."

---

1. Fużulī, Persian DĪVĀN, ed. by H. Kazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p. 651.

CHAPTER XI

Fuḍūlī's Arabic Dīvān

Fuḍūlī himself mentions in the introductions to his Turkish and Persian Dīvāns[1] that he also wrote Arabic poetry. The Turkish biographer Ṣādiqī in his Majma'al-Khavāṣṣ (1016/1607),[2] states that Fuḍūlī wrote an Arabic Dīvān which contains qaṣīdas and ghazals and adds that he wrote about thirty thousand poems, evidently meaning by this the total number of Fuḍūlī's poems and not just number of the Arabic poems. However, many writers have misinterpreted this tadkira and have claimed that Fuḍūlī wrote about thirty thousand poems in Arabic.

While no copies of Fuḍūlī's Arabic Dīvān have yet been found in libraries in Turkey, a copy exists between p. 189v and p. 199v in the complete volume of Fuḍūlī's works (kulliyāt) in the Library of the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad. According to E. Bertels, this copy is undated; but in a note on p. 234 a certain Ḥasan Kadkhudā has written: "Came into the possession of the humble Ḥasan Kadkhudā at Baghdād in the year 997/1589."

---

1. See Chapter IX, p.264 and Chapter X, p.3.
2. Ṣādiqī, Majma'al-Khavāṣṣ, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 4085, p. 33-34.

If we assume that it was copied in the same year as it passed into Ḥasan Kadkhudā's possession, this would have been only 34 years after Fuẓūlī's death. It is impossible to establish with certainty whether these poems make up the whole or only a part of Fuẓūlī's Arabic DIVĀn; but if they are complete, the DIVĀn consists only of 465 distichs.

Fuẓūlī's Arabic qaṣīdas in the copy of the Asiatic Museum are grouped together with his Persian and Turkish qaṣīdas, and they all have a short common introduction in which he says that when he saw that his qaṣīdas were becoming famous he decided to collect them, though some of them had been lost. After referring to the well-known Tradition "There are treasure chambers beneath God's throne and their keys are the tongues of poets," and after emphasizing the importance of the art of poetry, he hopes that his qaṣīdas will be appreciated by the men of eloquence.(1)

The Arabic qaṣīdas, together with the Maṭla'al-I'tiqād, were published at BAKU in 1958 by H. Arasli.(2) A translation of them into AzarbāIjānI Turkish was published at BAKU in 1961.(3)

---

1. H. Arasli, Fuzuli Eserleri, 1958-1961 Baku, Vol.IV, (in Cyrillic Azarbaijani characters), p. 25.
2. In our study of the Arabic DIVĀn, we have compared the published qaṣīdas with a microfilm of the manuscript obtained from the Leningrad Museum. We have found a considerable number of mistakes and omitted distichs in Mr. Arasli's text.
3. H. Arasli, Fuzuli Eserleri, 1958-1961 Baku, Vol.IV, pp. 285-324.

These poems consist of ten qaṣīdas and an epilogue, the longest poem containing 63, and the shortest 21, distichs. Seven are eulogies of the Prophet, and three are eulogies of 'Alī; the eulogies of the Prophet are fairly long, and those of 'Alī rather short. If we take only the number of qaṣīdas into account, we may conclude that Fuẓūlī felt a greater reverence for the Prophet.

E. Bertels thinks that the Shī'ite tendencies in these poems are marked.(1) The praises (madīḥs) of Muḥammad in the seven qaṣīdas to the Prophet vary in length from 2 to 7 distichs, and amount in all to 30, whereas the madīḥs in the three qaṣīdas to 'Alī contain respectively 26, 27 and 30 distichs, amounting in all to 83; and Bertels takes this as evidence of Fuẓūlī's Shī'ite leanings. On the other hand, Fuẓūlī in these Arabic poems expresses his respect and love for 'Alī with less intensity than in his Persian qaṣīdas, and in the madīḥs of 'Alī praises not only 'Alī but also the Prophet. The Persian qaṣīdas certainly suggest that he was a Shī'ite; but if he was, he must have been a moderate Shī'ite, because he sometimes praises the Prophet as the forerunner of the first four caliphs(2) and speaks of 'Alī as the fourth Caliph,(3) and also calls Baghdād the place in which Abū

---

1. E. Bertels, Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes, 1930, Vol.V, pp. 39-71, article on Fuẓūlī's Arabic Dīvān.
2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fuẓūlī (Laylā va Majnūn), Istanbul 1891, p. 238.
3. See Chapter IX, p.288.

Ḥanīfa's[1] grace was spread abroad.[2] As we have already pointed out, praising 'Alī was a custom of the time.[3] M. Fuad Köprülü, in his article on the development of Azarī Literature in the Islam Ansiklopedisi, remarks that in the Ṣafavid period mystic themes were losing their former prevalence, and in their place on the one hand praise of 'Alī and his family, and on the other unequivocal singing of wine and love, came into vogue.[4] A modern Iranian scholar, Z. A. Mu'tamān, observes that Ṣufism came into favour in Persia after the Mongol conquest, when the people were defeated and in need of consolation, and then in the time of the Ṣafavids the fashion of Shī'ite themes took its place.[5]

In Fużūlī's Arabic qaṣīdas there is nothing remarkable about the versification; of the rich and varied Arabic metres, he used only ṭawīl, kāmil, wāfir, and most frequently ṭawīl. His use of the rhyme, however, shows great skill.

In one of the poems, Fużūlī speaks of 'Irāq, in words which made Bertels think that his birthplace must have been Ḥilla:

---

1. Abū Ḥanīfa al-Nu'mān (c. 80/699-150/767), one of the greatest Sunnite jurisconsults, founded the Ḥanafite school of Islamic Law.
2. Kulliyāt-i Dīvānī Fużūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.26.
3. See Chapter X, p.352.
4. M. Fuad Köprülü, Islam Ansiklonedisi, Istanbul 1944, Vol.II, pp. 129-151, Azeri Edebiyatinin tekamülü.
5. Zayn al-'Ābidīn Mu'tamān, Shi'r va adab-i Fārsī, Tehran, 2nd ed. 1347/1968, pp. 133-4.

تَرَبَّيْتَ وَ اسْتَكْمَلْتَ فِي ارْضِ بَابِلٍ فَأَنْتَ لِذَا فِي صَنْعَةِ السِّحْرِ بَادِرُ
مِنَ الْحِلَّةِ الْفَيْحَاءِ زَادَ لَكَ الْمَهَا لِذَلِكَ حُلْوٌ أَنْتَ طَبْعاً وَ طَاهِرُ
شَمِمْكَ نَوَّاحٌ كَأَنَّكَ دَائِماً لِمَشْهَدِ سُلْطَانِ الوِلَايَةِ زَائِرُ

.....

لِسَانُكَ حُلْوٌ لَحْظُ طَرْفِكَ سَاحِرٌ كَأَنَّكَ حِلِّيٌّ وَ أَرْضُكَ بَابِلُ

"You were brought up in the land of Babylon, and there you attained perfection. For this reason you have no equals in the art of fascination. In spacious Ḥilla your beauty increased, that is why your nature is sweet and pure. Your scent spreads fragrantly, as though you were a perpetual visitor to the place where the King who is near to God was martyred.(2) Your tongue is sweet, your sidelong glance is fascinating; it is as though you were from Ḥilla and your land was Babylon."

In our opinion, FuḲULI is not speaking of himself, as Bertels apparently thinks, but is obviously addressing his beloved who could well have been a beauty of Ḥilla who frequently visited the shrine of 'ALI at Najaf in which FuẒULI served. Ḥilla adjoins the ruins of Babylon, and is not many miles distant from Najaf. There is nothing in these verses sufficient to prove that FuẒŪLI was born at Ḥilla.

---

1. Maṭla'al-I'tiqād and Arabic qaṣīdas of FuẒūlī, Bākū 1958, pp. 179 and 187.
2. i.e. The ImĀm 'ALI, one of whose titles (in Persian is Shāh-i Vilāyat, meaning the King who is Near to God (c.f. Encyclopaedia of Islam 2nd ed., article GhadIr Khumm by Laura Vaccia Vaglieri); see also Chapter IX, p.280.

After reading Maṭla'al-I'tiqād and Fuẓūlī's Arabic qaṣīdas, M. T. Tanjī observes that "Fuẓūlī knew thoroughly the technical terms of grammar, jurisprudence and scholastic theology. His knowledge of Arabic was sufficient to write a book on Islamic subjects, but was not sufficient to write Arabic poetry, as is obvious from his Arabic qaṣīdas. His poetry may be called 'verse', but no more."(1)

Bertels likewise concludes from his examination of Fuẓūlī's Arabic qaṣīdas that they do not occupy a high position in Arabic literature, and that even though they prove that Fuẓūlī knew Arabic extremely well, they are cold and lack in feeling. Fuẓūlī tried to write in a typical Arabic style, but was not successful; in Bertels' opinion his Arabic poetry shows the same characteristics as his Persian and Turkish verse, and is recognizably Turco-Persian in form and only Arabic in language.(2)

In the first chapter of the Qur'ān God has commanded: "Pray to God and say 'Show us the straight path, the path of those whom you have favoured, not the path of those who earn Your anger nor of those who go astray'." Prompted by these words, Fuẓūlī at the end of one of his na't prays as follows:

---

1. Maṭla'al-I'tiqād, Ankara 1962, introduction, pp. X-XI
2. Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes, 1930, Vol.V, pp.39-71.

الهی بِحَقِّ الْمُصْطَفٰی و بِآلِهٖ اُمِنِّی عَلٰی اَهْلِ النِّفَاقِ وَ الِافْتِرَا

جُنُودُكَ اُرْبَابُ الْجَمَالِ وَ حُسْنُهُم مُنَاظِرُ اَصْحَابِ النَّقَاوَةِ وَالتُّقٰا

فَكَيْفَ يُقَاسُ (1) بِالْفَسَادِ صَلَاحُهُم فَمَا لِذَوِي هٰذَا الْفَسَادِ مِنَ الْجَزَا (2)

"My Lord, in recognition of my devotion to Muhammad the Chosen and his family, support me against the hypocrites and the liars. Your troops are fair to behold, and their beauty is comparable with that of the pure and pious. How, then, can their goodness be compared with corruption? And what punishment are those corrupt ones to receive?"

After again praising the Prophet in an epilogue at the end of the Arabic qaṣīdas, Fużūlī says that he always had self-control against corruption and distraction (from thinking of God) and that he followed the path of the truth.

وَحَقِّ الَّذِی اَعْلَی الْكَمَالَ مُحَمَّدًا وَفَضَّلَهٗ بِالْمُعْجِزَاتِ وَ بِالْهُدٰی

وَحَقِّ حَكِيمٍ كَوَّنَ الْخَلْقَ كُلَّهُمْ وَخَيَّرَ مِنْهُمْ بِالْمَحَبَّةِ اَحْمَدَا

وَحَقِّ حَبِيبٍ قَدَّمَ اللّٰهُ نُورَهٗ عَلَی الْخَلْقِ كَوْنًا وَ هُوَ اَوَّلُ مَا بَدَا (3)

---

1. Both Arasli's text and the microfilm have لیا , which cannot be correct.
2. Maṭla'al-I'tiqād and Arabic qaṣīdas of Fużūlī, Bākū 1958, p. 130.
3. Maṭla'al-I'tiqād and Arabic qaṣīdas of Fużūlī, Bākū 1958, pp. 203-4.

وَحَقِّ وَلِيِّ قَوْمَ ٱلدِّينَ عَدْلُهُ ... وَصَارَ لَنَا عِنْدَ ٱلتَّعَثُّرِ مُسْعِدَا

مِنَ ٱللَّهْوِ طَهْمِي فِطْرَةً مُتَفَرِّدَ ... خُلِقْتَ بِتَوْفِيقِ ٱلصَّلَاحِ مُؤَيَّدَا

مِنَ ٱلْمَدْءِ مَاعَوَّدْتَ نَفْسِي بِمِثْلِهِ ... لِكُلِّ ٱمْرِءٍ مِنْ دَهْرِهِ مَاتَعَوَّدَا

فُؤَادِي إِلَى ذَوْقِ ٱلْحَقِيقَةِ مَائِلٌ ... وَلَيْسَ بِإِفْلَالِ ٱلْمَجَازِ مُقَيَّدَا

"I swear by Him who has given perfection to Muḥammad and has favoured him with proofs and guidance.(1) I swear by the All-wise who has created all creatures, and has distinguished Aḥmad(2) among them by His love. I swear by the dear one whose light God has set before all creatures in the universe, and who was the first to be created.(3) I swear by the friend

---

1. It is believed that when the Prophet ascended to heaven, he received God's word, something hidden from all the earlier prophets and the angels and even from the messenger angel Gabriel, none of whom ever enjoyed such a Divine Revelation as was bestowed on Muḥammad. Faith in Muḥammad is the only way to God and the measure of one's faith in God.

2. A name of the Prophet.

3. A reference to a Tradition in which Muḥammad is reported to have said: "I was a Prophet whilst Adam was still between the water and the clay." The first thing that God created was believed to be celestial light, and this light became incarnate in Adam and the series of prophets after him from generation to generation; its final appearance according to the Sunnīs was in Muḥammad himself, but according to the Shī'ites it passed from Muḥammad to 'Alī and the Imāms of his House. (R. A. Nicholson, The Idea of Personality in Sufism, Cambridge 1923, p.59).

There is also a Tradition that God took a ray of light from the splendour of His own glory and united it to the body of Muḥammad, proclaiming at the same time, "You are the elect, the chosen; I will make the members of your family the guides to salvation." (A. N. Wollaston, The Sword of Islam, London 1905, p. 436).

(<u>valI</u>)[1] whose justice has straightened the religion, and who has become a prop for us when we stumble. My nature is innately averse to distraction, for since I was created I have been supported with the blessing of goodness. From the very beginning I have not let myself fall into the habit of any corruption, for every man gets from his life that which he has made his habit. My heart inclines to the taste of the truth; it is not restricted by the defect of insincerity."

---

1. The word <u>valI</u> (near to God) probably refers in this context to Muḥammad. The Prophet is the logos, the mediator, the vicegerent of God and friend of God (<u>Valī Allāh</u>).

The Shī'ites look upon their <u>imāms</u> as the personal representatives of God, and the Shī'ite profession of the Islamic faith ends with the additional words: "I bear witness that 'Alī is the Friend of God (<u>Valī Allāh</u>)." Many Ṣūfīs believe that 'Alī received secret mystical teachings from the Prophet. So it is also possible that Fuẓūlī may mean 'Alī.

The name <u>valī</u> (saint) is also given to the mystic who has passed away from his individual self and become wholly committed to God. Not all mystics are saints; the <u>awlīyā</u> (plural of <u>valī</u>) form a comparatively small class of men and women who have attained to the highest mystical experience. (Nicholson, op.cit., p.56).

Muḥyī 'l-Dīn ibn 'Arabī (560/1165-898/1494), one of the great Ṣūfī thinkers, sees Muḥammad as superior to all other Prophets by virtue of his office as Seal of the Prophets (<u>Khātim al-Anbiyā'</u>) and regards himself as the Seal of the Saints (<u>Khātim al-Awliyā</u>).

In another qaṣīda, after praising 'Alī, Fuḍūlī says:

إطاعتُهُ فرضٌ على كُلِّ مُسلمٍ مُمانعةٌ بى الرِّبحِ و الغيرُ خاسِرُ

شَهادةُ تَصديقِ النبوةِ بى المَلا كَفَى أنّهُ للدينِ و الشَّرعِ ناصِرُ

عَلِيٌّ أميرُ المؤمنينَ هُوَ الَّذى لِكَسْرِ صَلاحِ الشَّرعِ بالعَدلِ جابِرُ (1)

"It is an ordinance unto every Muslim to obey him (the Prophet).(2) All who give him allegiance are gainers and all others are loosers. To be a supporter of the religion and the law is sufficient as a public profession of the truth of his prophethood. 'Alī, Prince of the believers, is he who mended, by justice, the broken laws."

At the end of the qaṣīda he asks for help, saying: "Fuḍūlī is poor, sinful, and perplexed. He is besieged by all these afflictions, and his faults and errors are many; they are heavy, excessive and enormous. You, O Prophet, are the guide of the perplexed! Be his helper, and then his intercessor,(3) for your Lord is forgiving. God bless Muḥammad,

---

1. Maṭla'al-I'tiqād and Arabic qaṣīdas of Fuḍūlī, Bāku 1958, p. 182.
2. Allusion to the Qur'ān, IV,80.
3. It is believed the Prophet will intercede for the Believers on the Day of Judgment. The Shī'ites believe that the right of intercession passes by inheritance from the Prophet to 'Alī and the Imāms. This personal relationship between the mediator and the sinner in some cases instils in a believer a deep sense of sin.

the pride of God's creatures, the light in the darkness when the eyes are blindfolded."

FuẒULI in his Arabic qaṣīdas, as his Turkish and Persian qaṣīdas, begins with praises of a beloved, and it is at the end of the qaṣīda that we see that he is praising Muḥammad or 'Alī. In one example he first tells us that his beloved ignores and disappoints him,(1) and then says in the madīḥ:

---

1. From the point of view of certain mystics, all beauty in the world is borrowed from Muḥammad and subsists through his beauty and his light. Therefore those who love the Prophet ought to behold his perfection in all that is beautiful and meditate on him, revering him in their hearts and praising him with their tongues. It is related that there was a shaykh who, whenever he saw or thought of anything beautiful, used to cry, "Blessings and peace upon you, O Apostle of God!"
(T. Andrae, Die Person Muḥammeds, Stockholm 1918, p. 354; Nicholson, op.cit., p. 61).

Other mystics hold a view like that of the saintly woman Rābi'a al-'Adawīya of Baṣra (d. 185/801), who is recognised as a model of the true ṢŪFĪ, when she declared that the love of God had so taken possession of every particle of her being that there was no room left for her to love anyone else, even the Prophet.

تَحَمَّد رَبُّ العالمينَ و بَعدَهُ صَلوةُ رَسُولٍ لِلرِّسالةِ خَتَمَ

بَشيرٌ نَذيرٌ كاملٌ و مُكَمَّلٌ نَبِيٌّ كَريمٌ مُكَرَّمٌ و مُكَرَّمُ (1)

عَلَيهِ لِإصلاحِ المواقبِ فى المَلا يُصَلّى فُضولى دائِما وَيُسَلِّمُ (2)

"Praise be to the Lord of the Worlds, and blessing be upon the Seal of the Apostles, who is a messenger of good news, a warner perfect and perfected, a prophet honourable and honoured! Upon him FuḍūlI always invokes blessing and peace, in order that his legacy to mankind may become even more beneficial."

Bertels sees in FuḍūlI's Arabic poems elements of Ḥurūfism,(3) whence he infers that they must have been written

---

1. An example of ishtiqāq (paronymy; words derived from the same root), rasūl and risāla being from the root R S L, kāmil and mukammal from K M L, karīm, mukram and mukarram from K R M.

   In the point of the use of rhetorical figures, FuḍūlI's Arabic poems remind us of those of the renowned ṢūfI Arabic poet Ibn al-Fāriḍ (577/1181-632/1235), who liked to play with ideas in ever-changing forms and clothe them with splendid garments. His dīwān is full of rhetorical figures, especially his most famous poem Naẓm al-Sulūk (The poem of the Way, 760 couplets all rhyming together in the verse-ending tā'.) In it Ibn al-Fāriḍ depicts the yearning of a lover for reunion with the beloved, who in this case is the spirit of Muḥammad, the First manifestation of the Godhead.

2. Maṭla'al-I'tiqād and Arabic qaṣīdas of FuḍūlI, Bākū 1958, p. 164.

3. The Ḥurūfī sect, founded by Faḍl Allāh Astarābādī (740/1340-796/1394) who was brutally put to death in Nakhchuvān by Mīrānshāh son of Taymūr, had ṢūfI and ShI'ite tendencies together with a belief in divine properties of the letters of the alphabet. It became important in Anatolia and northern Iran in the 9th/15th century, and probably had some influence on the ideas of the Bektāshī and early Ṣafavī orders (ṭarīqats). The 'IrāqI historian 'Abbās al-'Azzāvī also thinks that FuḍūlI was a Ḥurūfī (Tārīkh al-'Irāq bayn Iḥtilālayn, Vol. II, Baghdād 1939, p.246). See Chapter III, p. 73 above.

for readers having some connection with the heretical Ḥurūfī sect, and furthermore that FuḍūlI must have been acquainted with the Turkish verse of the Ḥurūfī poet NasImI.(1)

The view that all FuḍūlI's works are self-expression pure and simple seems false. Even when there is a close relationship between the work and the life of an author, we cannot jump to the conclusion that his work is a mere transcript of his experiences and feelings or just a mirror of his personality. It is necessary to take into consideration the time, place and circumstances. 'Irāq, which had been the birthplace of the classical ṣūfism, was in FuḍūlI's time still one of the hotbeds of Muslim religious and philosophic theories and movements. FuḍūlI was familiar with the writings and teachings of theologians, philosophers and mystics, and it was quite natural that he like other poets should use the speculations and terminologies of all the various sources to which he had access without necessarily having a personal commitment to any one of these theories or movements. It is often difficult to understand the true import of an Eastern poet's thought; even

---

1. One of the greatest early Turkish poets. He was of Turkmān extraction and a native of a place called NasIm in the district of BaghdĀd. He was executed by the MamlūK government at Aleppo in 807/1404 after being found guilty of blasphemy on the evidence of his own poems. The mode of his execution was flaying alive.

the great orientalists who have devoted their lifetimes to the study of Eastern literatures have run into this problem.(1)

Professor Abdülbaki Gölpinarli in his introduction to Fuzuli's Turkish Divan observes that "those who claim that Fuzuli was a Hurufi or Bektashi cannot find in his poems any proof for their claim. If we call Fuzuli a Hurufi, then all classical Turkish poets will be Hurufi."(2)

Professor Ahmed Ateş in his article on Sects in the Islam Ansiklopedisi points out that even after the disappearance of the sects, poets continued to use their terminology and idiom.(3)

It seems to us probable that when Fuzuli wrote the poems comprising his three divans he bore in mind the tenets current among his prospective readers. For example in the Turkish

---

1. R. A. Nicholson, in one of his last works, remarks that Sufism has a close and vital connection with the Muhammadan doctrine of Divine Unity which affirms that God is transcendent. Later in the same work he says: "From Ghazzali we get the science and doctrine, from Jalalu'd-Din the sentiment of faith and experience of personal religion. I am aware that, as regards Jalalu'd-Din, this judgement may appear questionable to those who have read certain passages in the Divan of Shams-i Tabrizi where he describes his oneness with God in terms which look pantheistic at first sight and which I myself understood in a pantheistic sense at a time when I knew less about the history of Sufism than I do now." (The idea of Personality in Sufism, Cambridge 1923, pp. 24 and 52.)
2. Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1948, introduction, p. LXXXVI.
3. Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1945, Vol.II, p. 340.

Dīvān, when writing probably in the main for Sunnite Turks, he mentions 'Alī only seldom, whereas in the Persian Dīvān, which many Shī'ites would read, he often eulogizes 'Alī. If there are also Ḥurūfī allusions in his poems (though we cannot see any),[1] Fuẓūlī must, in our opinion, have only been conforming to the fashion of his time. A real Ḥurūfī, after eulogizing God, the Prophet, and the Imāms, would mention his own patron saint (pīr); but there is no mention of the pīr of any religious order (ṭarīqāt) in any of Fuẓūlī's dīvāns. Moreover Fuẓūlī nowhere mentions the allegedly heretical ṣūfī martyr Ḥusayn ibn Manṣūr al-Ḥallāj (244/857-309/902), who was venerated by the Ḥurūfīs and also by respected ṣūfī poets such as 'Aṭṭār, Rūmī and Jāmī, as well as Ḥāfiẓ, so much so that 'Aṭṭār calls Ḥallāj his spiritual guide. We never find in Fuẓūlī's dīvāns anything resembling these distichs of Nasīmī and Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī:

"Manṣūr (i.e. Ḥallāj) declared 'I am the Truth'.[2] His words were truth, it was truth he spoke. No aught of dole in his doom, by aliens on the gibbet hanged." (Nasīmī)

---

1. There is no similarity of content between Fuẓūlī's poems and Nasīmī's, which are full of Ḥurūfī symbols and contain very frequent mentions of al-Ḥallāj's name. The only common feature is the use of Āẕarī Turkish.

2. Anā al-Ḥaqq. Al-Ḥallāj was found guilty of blasphemy on the ground that these words meant "I am the True God"; their mystic meaning was "my soul through faith and love has become one with God."

"Who saith then unto thee 'Nay, thou are not God?',
Who knows thee not for God, from God is sundered."(1)
(HasIaI).

"'I am God' on the lips of MansÛr was the light (of truth);
'I am AllÂh' on the lips of Pharaoh was a lie."(2) (RÛmI).

"The I of MansÛr certainly became a mercy;
The I of Pharaoh became a curse. Mark this!"(3) (RÛmI).

Nor do we find in any of FuÛÛlI's Arabic poems words like those of Ibn al-FÂriÛ in these lines:

"And I was made to see myself, myself,
Yet here; and I was he; and I beheld
That he was I, that light my radiance."(4)

---

1. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1900, Vol.I, p. 340.
2. Pharaoh, the King of Egypt in the time of Moses, is said to have caused the people to worship him as a God.
3. The Mathnawi of JalÂlu'd-DIn RÛmI, tr. R. A. Nicholson, London 1926, Vol.II, pp. 237 and 351.
4. The Poem of the Way, tr. A. J. Arberry, London 1952, p. 74.

CHAPTER XII.

Comparison of the DIvāns

and

Conclusion.

In one of the Persian qiṭ'as FuẓŪLI writes:

از سخن خوان کشیدم پیش اهل روزگار ذوقهای گونه گون در وی ز انواع نعم

نیستم شرمنده هر مهمان که آید سوی من خواه از ترک آید و خواه از عرب خواه از عجم

هرکه باشد گو بیا و هر چه باید گو بیر نعمت باقیست این قسمت نخواهد گشت کم (1)

"I have prepared a banquet of poetry for the peoples of this world and age; there are many pleasures and many blessings at that table. Let my guests be Turk, Arab or Persian; their identity will not embarrass me. Let all who wish come; let them take what they will. Their lot will be an eternal blessing which will not diminish."

He is of course referring to the fact that he wrote poetry in three languages. No doubt the poems in his Persian DIvān are less sublime than those of ḤāfIẓ and were less admired in his own age than those of JāmI, and admittedly his

---

1. FuẓŪlI, Persian DIvān, ed. by H. KazlŏğLu, Ankara 1962, p. 633.

Arabic poems do not entitle him to a high rank in Arabic literature; but they are not without considerable value, and if we bear in mind that he wrote Persian and Arabic as foreign languages, we can appreciate the magnitude of his achievement.(1) E. Berthels has said that "a man writing in a foreign language cannot really show his true personality, because he is forced to abide by the laws and principles of that language; in his works he can merely imitate things already in that language."(2) Writers surely have to abide by the rules of their native language also, though perhaps with less strictness than when they write in a foreign language; and in the medieval world they normally followed pre-existing models and were not expected to show much originality. The distinction of Fuḍūlī's achievement is that while using conventional forms and subject matter he could impart a special tone and charm to so many of the poems which he wrote, not only in his native Turkish but also in Persian and Arabic.

---

1. It is clear that Turkish was Fuḍūlī's mother tongue (see Chapter III, p.92), and he is likely to have spoken colloquial Arabic which was the language of the 'Irāqī people among whom he lived, while knowledge of literary Arabic was essential to the religion of every educated Muslim. He may perhaps have used Persian for practical as well as literary purposes, because Persian was the state language of the Saljūqid, Ilkhānid, Jalāyirid, Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu and Ṣafavid regimes which successively governed 'Irāq until the Ottoman conquest.
2. E. Berthels, in Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes, Vol.5, p. 39.

In regard to verse forms, FużūlI's three DIvāns differ in content, as the following table shows. (1)

	Qaṣīdas	Ghazals	Musammaṭs	Qiṭ'as	Rubā'Is
Turkish	44	305	13	44	84
Persian	49	410	3	46	106
Arabic	11				

One of the qualities of FużūlI's poetry is that it is always written in clear and simple language, whether Turkish, Persian or Arabic. At the same time he shows great skill in using rhetorical artifices, which in those days were thought to be essential components of the poetic art, e.g. tashbIh (comparison), tajnIs (play on words), isti'ārā (metaphor), mubālagha (hyperbole), talmIh (allusion), husn-i ta'lIl (eloquent assignment of cause), ishtiqāq (use of words derived from a common root), and above all taḍād (antithesis); in the same distich he often uses opposite words such as friend - foe, bright - dark, sane - insane, distracted - self-possessed, ruined - mended. The excessive use of such artifices, which we often find in Turkish, Persian and Arabic literature, is

---

1. This table does not include his poems in works other than the dIvāns.

irksome to modern taste; but Fużūlī uses them with moderation, and thereby adds to the interest and attractiveness of his verses. It is not only craftsmanship, however, that we seek in Fużūlī's poetry, nor is it the choice of words alone that gives his works their peculiar radiance; this comes also from their themes, which as we have said[1] are mainly themes of beauty, love, grief, patience, and sympathy for the unfortunate.

Most of the literature and art produced by Muslims has been inspired by their religion, which teaches that everyone and everything in the universe will perish except God's face. (Qur'ān, LV, 26). The perfect beauty of some of the master-pieces of Islamic art can be judged from the religious point of view, since that art grew from religious roots. In medieval society the powerful influence of religious faith on the minds of the people ensured that they would revere God as the highest Being, as the unique Creator absolutely unlike all other beings in His essence, qualities, and acts, and as the true ruler in the hearts and lives of men. The belief in one God with its premise of the essential unity of mankind provided a psychological basis for the society. Thus at the head of all medieval Muslim literary works, whether in prose or verse, original or translated, there is a basmala (expression

---

1. See also pp. 129-172 above.

of homage to God). Since faith in Prophethood or inspired leadership is the second corner-stone of the religion, the Prophet Muḥammad is mentioned by name in the second part of the profession of faith, just after the name of God, and usually also in the basmala. Naturally this led the Muslims to believe that Muḥammad's place is far above that of other beings, and led some of them also to believe that he was prior to the creation and that the world would not have been created but for his sake. FuḍūlI held such beliefs and was an ardent lover of the Prophet. He was also devoted to Muḥammad's family and especially to his cousin and son-in-law 'AlI, who was and still is venerated and loved not only among the ShI'a but also in most Sunnite circles.

FuḍūlI had a firm belief in the general Resurrection and future Judgement. Perhaps Islām attaches more importance than any other religion to the coming of the Judgement Day, which is painted under different names in very vivid colours in the early Sūras of the Qur'ān. Connected with this is the concept of God, all-powerful and all-seeing but merciful, who on the Judgement Day will award the just recompense for every sin and every good deed. Man's aim must be to obey God's will and to work according to His command; the state of the slave (i.e. the devoted worshipper) is the highest that man can

reach. The Prophet Muḥammad is God's most nearly perfect Slave, and it is believed on the authority of certain verses in the Qur'ān that he will intercede for the followers of Islam on the Day of Judgement. For this reason Fużūlī turned to Muḥammad for help.

The poets customarily began their dīvāns with tawḥīds in praise of God and na'ts in praise of the Prophet, and then inserted eulogies of their patrons and of contemporary great men. Fużūlī meticulously observed this order in all his dīvāns and other works in prose and verse.(1) Although the inclusion of tawḥīds and na'ts was a sine qua non of every classical dīvān, Fużūlī clearly did not write religious poetry simply for the sake of conforming to custom. One indication that his belief was sincere is the unusually large number of his verses of this kind. His tawḥīds express the boundless love for God felt by an artist who believed in God's unity, power and mercy, and who felt a need to take refuge in God and implore God's solace for the troubles of his heart. At the same time, thanks to his wide learning and his sense of art, they are meaningful, melodious and fluent. The thoughts and feelings in his na'ts are similar. Fużūlī is one of the few Turkish poets who wrote numerous

---

1. The careful arrangement which we see in Fużūlī's dīvāns is rarely found in the dīvāns of Persian or even Turkish poets.

na'ts. In the dīvāns of the Turkish poet Bāqī or the Persian poet Ḥāfiẓ we hardly ever come across the Prophet's name.

The characteristic of FuḍūlI's lyrical poetry is his conception of beauty and love. He sees beauty in everything, and finds his highest inspiration in themes of love. The Persian and Turkish languages possess a vast literature on love, dealing with every aspect of this powerful emotion. Since the poets who sang of love were confronted with the gulf between the real and the ideal, their poems are often of a reflective and introspective nature. FuḍūlI generally deals with the touching and pathetic aspect of love. In spite of the pain which it brings to him, he is sure that love is a power capable of solving all human problems and of adding joy to life. In his Turkish and Persian ghazals and in his maṣnavī Laylā va Majnūn, he gradually idealizes the concept of love. His ability to do this raises him towards a lofty state of emotion far above mere human passion. In describing the love which he has thus exalted and almost deified, he has recourse to mystic themes and terms. Most probably mysticism for him was a vehicle of fantasy rather than a way of religious life. In the hard times when he

lived, the philosophy of 'the unity of all things' was a great consoling influence and a powerful factor in the pessimistic view of worldly life which we find in the contemporary poetry. Şufism, expressed in metaphorically or allegorically erotic terms, had left an abstract impress on the lyric poetry, but still provided sources of inspiration which could infuse depth and divinity into the many-sided emotion of love. Fużūlī, like other poets, uses mystic motifs and images in his poetry to give it variety and depth. Although age normally weakens the fire of human passion, in the case of mystics it brings new experiences and raptures, and in Fużūlī's case also it appears to have intensified the flames burning in his heart. His poems on human love and suffering are full of metaphors borrowed from Şufism and to this extent he may be said to have adopted Şufism. Yet it is not mystic feeling alone which brings him to a state of love and rapture. In our opinion, Fużūlī sometimes speaks of real human love with all its breadth and tumult, and sometimes raises love to an ideal or divine plane, using Şufī metaphors to express the depth and strength of his feelings; and he uses them in such a way that it is difficult at first glance to see whether or not he wrote in

ecstasies of human love. FuẓūlI's faithfulness in love, his fearless endurance of its pains, and his deriving pleasure from these pains, are aspects of this poet's originality.

We have already said that the poems where FuẓūlI expresses his personal emotions are the *ghazals*. The *tawḥīds* and *na'ts* where he expresses his religious devotion, the eulogies which he wrote in honour of 'AlI and the other Imāms, and the *qaṣIdas* which he presented to contemporary governors, are outside this category. Many of the *ghazals* appear to be songs describing the grace and charms of a real beauty whom the poet loved and telling us in exquisite language of his hope for union and of the pains of separation. Often, when reading FuẓūlI's love poetry, we cannot fail to notice his self-confidence. The tree of his love is rooted in the earth, and it stretches its green branches, laden with divine flowers, towards the heavens. As it grows, it becomes sublime, as if it has slowly separated from the material world. The subtle sweetness, the vivid spontaneity of imagination, and the depth and variety of colour, make these *ghazals* unforgettable. Finally FuẓūlI perfects the feelings within his heart to the point where he escapes from the material world and becomes content with his own

mental image of the beloved. At this stage he sings of his perpetual separation from the beloved; his feelings have become so intense that he no longer wishes for union, since union would extinguish the pleasure of love. He wants separation, because it strengthens love. He accepts that to endure the whims of the beloved and to incur the blame of men are natural symptoms of the state of love. He is glad to suffer; his temperament is suited to suffering, and because of this he has broken away from the physical manifestation of the beloved, preferring his own ideal of love. Yet it cannot be claimed that FuZULI's love is absolutely disinterested and platonic. While he seems to have found a spiritual pleasure in idealising love and parting from reality, there is in his poetry no trace of recognisably mystic rapture, just as in his life there is no evidence that he was attached to any sect or spiritual guide.

This treatment of human love is not unique, but forms the basic element in the lyricism of the contemporary Persian and Turkish poetry. It revolves around the two poles: lover and beloved. In FuZULI's verses everything that passes between these two, such as union and separation,

disdain and jealousy, tears, sighs and sobs, is described with singular power and sincerity. His metaphors and similes are for the most part common to all medieval Muslim poetry of this type: stature - cypress, mouth - bud, eyelash-arrow, curl - snake, chain - dishevelled hair, eye - wine, etc.

The reasons for the poet's suffering are the beloved's torturing him and associating with rivals; other people's disapproval of him; and above all separation from the beloved. Of all the medieval and early Ottoman Turkish poets, it is FużūlĪ who in his Turkish and also his Persian poems has made the most use of the theme of separation and has created from it the most original and peculiarly fascinating poetry. Jealousy is another human feeling which brings pain; and to illustrate its power, FużūlĪ makes frequent use of the conventional literary image of the 'rival'. To describe the pain and suffering of love, he uses mainly the equally conventional image of 'tears' and 'sighs', but with a singular frequency which distinguishes his poetry from the work of others. Almost every one of FużūlĪ's <u>ghazals</u> is full of references to tears. With his great imaginative power he amplifies every image and

expands every argument with new images of his own, such as the flood of his tears, and the fire of his sigh, which occur nowhere else in the contemporary poetry. Never in his verses does he present himself as a sensual or licentious lover; his love is always one which seeks nothing in return.

Fuḍūlī's outlook is pessimistic, at least as regards this world; though he is not a complete pessimist like 'Umar Khayyām, who saw no hope in either this world or the next.(1) For Fuḍūlī life in this world is transitory and full of sorrow, and man's obvious fate is suffering. Although he never directly states this fatalistic viewpoint, it is clearly discernible in the descriptions of his own grief. In them he reiterates that he, more than anyone, is exposed to heaven's blame. This is not simply an artistic stance; it is at the same time an indication that he was unable to find the comfort and appreciation which he deserved. He seldom complains, but tells of his sorrows with a gentle humour.

---

1. 'Umar Khayyām, in one of his Rubā'īs, says:

"O friend, indulge not uselessly in the sorrow of the world,
Consume not the vain grief of a decaying world;
Since the past is gone, and that which is not yet is (still) unclear,
Be happy, and indulge not in the sorrow of what has and has not been."

(The Rubā'iyāt of Omar Khayyām, ed. by A. J. Arberry, London 1949, p. 114).

Fuźūlī in expressing his pessimistic ideas uses the words dahr, dihr meaning the world; zinhār, charkh, nadīr, gardūn, gunbad, falak meaning the revolution of the sky; and qismat for the decree of fate. He uses these words indifferently, making no clear distinction between them; it seems that he must have considered them to be synonymous. Although they represent both the good and the evil aspects of fate, they usually include the further concept that time's onward march has no regard for human prosperity or misfortune, and that while for some lucky individuals its impact may be advantageous, for most it will be the opposite.

Fuźūlī's way of thought confronts us with the idea of this world's impermanence and of leaving it and finding eternal peace in the next world. In his poems we find themes of the mystic poets, such as avoiding worldly interests, and sometimes direct references to platonic love. All these ideas accord with his pessimistic view of the world, and each is a source of consolation to his love-distraught and grief-tortured soul. The good-humoured patience in adversity, and the poverty, contentment and retirement in which he finds refuge, are not the province

of mystics alone, but a natural shelter for all who are aware of their own helplessness. While bearing his own troubles patiently he shows an unselfish and kind-hearted sympathy for other victims of misfortune.

Side by side with FuzûlI's pessimistic outlook, we come across expressions of hope that he may find pleasure in this short life. To escape from the anxieties of this world and to live each day to the full offer another possible source of consolation to the poet. This attitude brings to some of FuzûlI's poetry a spirit of Epicureanism which draws him out of his isolation and reattaches him to life and nature. Although he is by nature a poet of grief and not at heart a seeker of pleasure and amusement, from time to time he wishes to escape from fate's disfavour and from the pain which his love has caused. At these times wine enables him to forget his sorrows, and he speaks in his verses of the cupbearer and of wine's delights and love's joys. In his *ghazals* Epicureanism is the second theme after love.

Pessimism about life on earth is the normal outlook of the medieval Islamic poets. Like Hafiz and others before him, FuzûlI was aware of the fickleness of fate and of the transitoriness of pleasure, position and power in

this world. The cupbearer and wine could bring solace, and the tavern could be a place of escape from narrow-minded men. Fuḍūlī, like Khayyām, knew that these could only be temporary consolations; but unlike Khayyām, he continued to trust in God and never despaired of ultimate happiness in another world. The critical and sometimes ironic tone which we detect in Fuḍūlī's ġiṭ'as and rubā'īs is not directed against religious faith, but only against the dishonesty and hypocrisy which can be found among the followers of any religion and in any society or class. Fuḍūlī criticized insincere and unjust men, no matter whether they were high ranking officials or religious dignitaries, because he feared that their conduct might discredit Islām.

While Fuḍūlī's outlook was kindly and tolerant, there can be no doubt of the sincerity of his faith. His writings not only show that his religious ideas were in agreement with the Qur'ān, and that he firmly believed in Resurrection and Retribution, which are the corner-stones of Islām; they also give us glimpses of his whole-hearted love of God.

Bibliographic Note

The Bibliography consists of five sections:

a. The manuscripts of FuźûlI's works, especially those in Turkish libraries, are numerous. Here I have listed the manuscripts which I have consulted. Mainly they are the oldest known manuscripts.

b. Printed editions of FuźûlI's works (excluding poems which from time to time have appeared in newspapers or reviews.).

c. Publications about FuźûlI and his works. The main sources of study of FuźûlI are still unpublished tazkiras and anthologies, and there are also the books which I mentioned in the preface, and some articles. I have tried to list them all in this section.

d. Works which I have consulted other than those cited above.

e. Books of reference.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

a. Manuscripts of FużŪlī's works.

Manuscripts of his Turkish works.

DĪvĀn

1. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi T. Y. No. 5465 (dated 979/1571), 5452 (dated 1234/1818-9), T.Y. No. 5730, T.Y. No. 1532.

2. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, No. 408, 684 (dated 1112/1700), No. 975 (dated 1083/1672-3), No. 2681 (dated 1002/1593), No. 1912 (dated 999/1590-1).

3. Konya, Mevlana Müzesi Kütüphanesi, No. 404 (dated 984/1576).

4. Ankara, Maarif Vekaleti Umumi Kütüphanesi, No. 101 (dated 984/1576), No. 276 (dated 1197/1783), Nos. 339, 446, 570 and 1280 (dated 1079/1668).

5. London, British Museum, Add. 19,445 (dated 1041/1631), Add. 7916 (1066/1655), Or. 7102 (dated 1061/1651), Add. 7917, Or. 406, Or. 7101; *Jungs* (miscellanies) of poetry containing poems by FużŪlī; Add. 11,525, Add. 7939, Add. 7937, Add. 5977, Add. 7827, Sloane 2691, Add. 7831, Or. 9822.

6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 394 (dated 1254/1838), No. 1370 (dated 1083/1672), No. 393; *Jungs* (containing poems by FużŪlī), Nos. 244, 290, 294, 302, 240, 373, 673, 675, 1122, 1984, 2005, 518, 1987.

Bang-Ū BĀda

1. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, No. 1912 (dated 999/1590-1)

2. Ankara, Maarif Vekaleti Umumi Kütüphanesi No. 1280 (dated 1079/1668), and Nos. 276 (dated 1197/1783), 339, 1080.

3. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T.Y. No. 5730, T.Y. No. 1956, No. 321.

4. London, British Museum, Add. 19,445 (dated 1041/1631).
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 1370 supplément.
6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, No. 2133.

Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā

1. Istanbul, Nuruosmaniye Kütüphanesi, No. 2806/3282 (dated 970/1562), No. 1953/2367 (dated 989/1581)
2. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, No. 1686, No. 357 (dated 999/1590).
3. Konya, Mevlana Müzesi Kütüphanesi, No. 2285 (dated 985/1577).
4. Ankara, Maarif Vekaleti Umumi Kütüphanesi, No. 550 (dated 993/1585), No. 655 (dated 1005/1597).
5. London, British Museum, Add. 7354, Add. 18,809 (dated 991/1583), Add. 10,001 (dated 1001/1592), Add. 11,528 (dated 1014/1606).
6. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 92 (dated 999/1591), No. 47 (dated 1005/1597).

Laylā va Majnūn

1. Istanbul, Topkapi Müzesi Kütüphanesi, No. 852 (dated 987/1579).
2. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, No. 1912 (dated 999/1590-1), Nos. 2886 and 452.
3. Konya, Mevlana Müzesi Kütüphanesi, No. 2331 (dated 1195/1781), Nos. 2330 and 2332.
4. London, British Museum, Or. 405 (dated 1075/1664), Or. 4910 (dated 1237/1822).
5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 332 (dated 1058/1648), No. 365 (dated 997/1589), No. 331, 1371 (dated 986/1578), and No. 316.

Tarjuma-yi Hadīg-i Arba'īn

1. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T.Y. No. 902 (dated 1024/1615).

Letters

1. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi No. 1912 (dated 999/1590-1), (Shikāyatnāma), No. 3790 (dated 998/1590) (Tahniyatnāma).

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Supplément No. 1370 (dated 1082/1672) (Shikāyatnāma).

Manuscripts of his Persian works.

DīvĀn

1. Manisa, Muradiye Kütüphanesi, No. 2668 (dated 959/1552).

2. Ankara, Maarif Vekaleti Umumi Kütüphanesi, No. 101 (dated 984/1576).

3. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 883.

4. London, British Museum, Add. 7785 (dated 1217/1803), Or. 4911 (1036/1803).

5. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Jungs, Nos. 1984, 1987, 2005 contain many of Fuḍūlī's Persian poems.

ShqY-nMh

1. Manisa, Muradiye Kütüphanesi, No. 2668 (dated 959/1552).

2. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T.Y. No. 5730.

3. London, British Museum, Or. 4911 (dated 1036/1627).

Anīs al-qalb

1. Edirne, Selimiye Kütüphanesi No. 1441 (except Fuḍūlī's Anīs al-qalb; also contains Bihār al-abrār of KhYqY.

Mir'at al-Safa of Amir Khusraw Dihlavi and Jalā-yi Rūḥ of of Jāmī).

2. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, No. 1912 (dated 999/1590-1).

Rind-u Zāhid

1. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi, No. 1912 (dated 999/1590-1).

2. London, British Museum, Or. 2870 (dated 1140/1727-28), Or. 3642 (dated 1088/1678), Or. 4911 (dated 1140/1728).

3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 2154 (dated 1087/1676).

Yusn-ū 'Ishq

1. Istanbul, Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi No. 303/975 (dated 1034/1573).

2. London, British Museum, Or. 3642 (dated 1088/1678), Add. 16,839.

3. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 2164 (dated 1087/1676).

Riddles

1. Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, T.Y. No. 5548.

Manuscripts of his Arabic works

1. Leningrad, The Library of the Asiatic Museum, No. 1561 (540). (This is a very valuable mss. containing Fuḍūlī's Turkish DIVĀN, Persian DIVĀN, Arabic qaṣīdās, Yusn-ū 'Ishq, Shikāyatnāma, Tarjuma-yi Ḥadīs-i Arba'īn, Riddles and Maṭla'al-I'tiqād.
We were only able to obtain from Leningrad microfilms of folios 189v - 199v containing the Arabic qaṣīdas.

b. Printed editions of Fuḍūlī's works.

Printed editions of his Turkish works

DIvān

1. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Tabrīz 1244/1827.
2. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Tabrīz 1247/1831.
3. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Būlāq 1254/1838.
4. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Būlāq 1256/1840.
5. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Tabrīz 1266/1849.
6. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1268/1852.
7. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1268/1852.
8. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Tabrīz 1270/1854.
9. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Iran 1272/1856.
10. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1284/1868.
11. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1286/1870.
12. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1288/1872.
13. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1291/1875.
14. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1296/1879.
15. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1296/1879.
16. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1296/1879.
17. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1308/1891.
18. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Taşkent 1311/1893.
19. DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1318/1901.
20. Kulliyāt-i DIvān-i Fuḍūlī, Istanbul 1328/1910.

21. DIvĀn-i FuŝūlI, Istanbul 1329/1911.

22. KullIyāt-i DIvĀn-i FuŝūlI, Istanbul 1342/1924.

23. Fuzuli Əsərləri, Vol. I, Divan, ed. by Hamid Araslı, Bakı 1944.

24. Fuzuli Divanı, ed. by Abdülbaki Gölpınarlı, Istanbul 1948 (except the qaṣIdas.

25. Fuzuli Divanı, ed. by Ali Nihad Tarlan, Istanbul 1950 (except the qaṣIdas).

26. Fuzuli Divanı, Ankara 1958 (Türkiye Iş Bankası - by Turkish Labour Bank).

27. Fuzuli Əsərləri, Vol. I, Divan, ed. by Hamid Araslı, Bakı 1958. (The Turkish qaṣidas are in Vol. IV, Bakı 1961)

Bang-U BĀda

1. KullIyāt-i DIvĀn-i FuŝūlI, the already cited editions published at Istanbul in 1852, 1868, 1870, 1879, 1891, 1910, and at Tabriz in 1832, 1849, 1856, 1924 and at Tashkent in 1893 contain Bang-U BĀda.

2. FuŝūlI, Beng ü Bâde, ed. by K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, Istanbul 1956.

3. Fuŝulı Əsərləri, Vol. II, Bəngu Badə, ed. by Hamid Araslı, Bakı 1958.

Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā

1. FuŝūlI, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Būlāq 1253/1837.

2. FuŝūlI, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Būlāq 1261/1845.

3. FuŝūlI, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Būlāq 1271/1854.

4. FuŝūlI, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Istanbul 1273/1856.

5. FuŝūlI, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Istanbul 1286/1870.

6. Fużūlī, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Istanbul 1289/1873.

7. Fużūlī, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Istanbul 1296/1879.

8. Fużūlī, Ḥadīqat al-Su'adā, Istanbul 1302/1885.

9. Fużūlī, Ḥadīkatu's-suadā, ed. by Kemal Edip Kürkçüoğlu, Istanbul 1956.

Laylā va Majnūn

1. Dāstān-i Laylā va Majnūn, Istanbul 1264/1814.

2. Fużūlī, Laylā va Majnūn, Tabrīz 1274/1857.

3. Fużūlī, Laylā va Majnūn, Istanbul 1273/1856.

4. Fużūlī, Laylā va Majnūn, Istanbul 1291/1875.

5. Dāstān-i Laylā va Majnūn, Istanbul 1296/1879.

6. Fużūlī, Laylā va Majnūn, Tabrīz 1315/1898.

7. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, published at Istanbul in 1870, 1872, 1875, 1879, 1891, 1901, 1911 and 1924, contain Laylā va Majnūn.

Tarjuma-yi Ḥadīṯ-i Arba'īn

1. Fuzuli, Kirk Hadis Terceümesi, ed. by A. Karahan, Selamet Mecmuasi, Nos. 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 66, Istanbul 1948.

2. Fuzuli, Kirk Hadis Terceemesi, ed. by K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, Istanbul 1951.

3. Fuzuli Eserleri, Vol. II, Hadisi Erbain, ed. by H. Arasli, Bakü 1958.

Letters

Shikāyatnāma

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī, the editions published at Istanbul in 1864, 1869, 1874, 1893, 1897, 1911 and at Tashkent in 1893 contain the Shikāyatnāma.

2. Fuzuli'nin mektuplari, ed. A. Karahan, in Istanbul Edebiyat Fakultesi Turk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi, Vol. III, Nos 1 and 2, Istanbul 1948.

3. Fuzuli Eserleri, ed. H. Araali, Vol. II, Şikayatname ve Mektuplar (all the letters together), Bäkü 1958.

Tahniyatnäma

1. Fuzuli'nin mektuplari, ed. A. Karahan, in Istanbul Edebiyat Fakultesi Turk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi, Vol. III, No.4, Istanbul 1948.

'Ubudiyatnäma

1. Fuzuli'nin mektuplari, ed. A. Karahan, in Istanbul Edebiyat Fakultesi Turk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi, Vol. III, Nos 1 and 2, Istanbul 1948.

Ishtiyaqnäma

1. Fuzuli'nin bilinmiyen bir mektubu, ed. K. E. Kürkçüoğlu Turk Dili Belleteni, Vol. III, Nos 4-5, Ankara 1945.

2. Fuzuli'nin mektuplari, ed. A. Karahan, in Istanbul Edebiyat Fakultesi Turk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi, Vol. III, Nos 1 and 2, Istanbul 1948.

Häma-yi Javäbi

1. Fuzuli'nin bir mektubu, ed. H. Hasioğlu, in Ankara Universitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol. VI, No. 3, Ankara 1948.

Publications of his Persian works

Diwän

1. Fuzuli Farsca Diwan (Persian Diwän), ed. H. Hasioğlu, Ankara 1962.

Sāqī-nāma

1. Kulliyāt-i Dīvān-i Fużūlī; the editions published at Istanbul in 1852, 1870, 1879, 1891, 1910, 1924 contain the Sāqī-nāma.

2. Fuzuli, Farsça Divan, ed. H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, contains the Sāqī-nāma.

Anīs al-qalb

1. Enīs ül-kalb, ed. C. Erkiliç, Istanbul 1944.

2. Fuzuli, Farsça Divan, ed. H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962 contains Anīs al-qalb.

Rind-u Zāhid

1. Rind ü Zahid, ed. K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, Ankara 1956.

Husn-ü 'Ishq or Ṣihhat-u Maraz or Safarnāma-yi Rūh

1. Safarnāma-yi Rūh, ed. Muhammad 'Alī Mājid, in Majalla-yi Armaghān, Vol. XI, Tehran 1309/1930.

Riddles

1. Fuzulinin Muammaları, ed. Hamid Arasli, in Edebiyat Mecmuesi (publication of the Academy of Sciences of the Azarbaijān Republic) Vol. I, Bākū 1946.

2. Muamma Edebiyati ve Fuzulinin muammaları, ed. A. Karahan, in Tasvir Gazetesi, Istanbul, 23 December 1948.

3. Risale-i Muammayat-i Fuzuli, ed. K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, in Ankara Universitesi Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol. VII, No.1, Ankara 1949.

Publications of his Arabic works

1. Al-qaṣā'id al-'Arabiya, (together with Maṭla'al-I'tiqād), ed. H. Arasli, Bākū 1958.

Maṭla' al-I'tiqād

1. Maṭla' al-I'tiqād, ed. H. Arasli, Bākū 1958.
2. Maṭla' al-I'tiqād, ed. Ṭāvīt al-Tanjī, Ankara 1962.

c. Publications about Fuḍūlī and his works

ACAROGLU, Türker, Fuzuli, hayati ve eserleri, in Dahge Mecmuasi, No.2. Istanbul, 1 March 1950.

'AHDI BAGHDADI, Gulshan-i Shu'arā, manuscript, Istanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi, T.Y. No. 2604 (taṣkira, FuzūlI, folios 97a - 98a).

AKÖZ, Faik Şair Fuzuli ve San'atina dair, in Yurdda Kalkinma Mecmuasi, No.1, Istanbul 1948.

AKTAY, Salih Zeki, Fuzuli Hakkinda, in Türk Sanati, Vol. III, Nos. 56, 57, 59. Istanbul 1957.

AKYÜZ, Kenan, Fuzulinin Farsca divanina ait yeni bir yazma, in Türk Dili, Vol. VI, No. 68, Ankara 1957.

'ALI MUṢṬAFĀ, Kunh al-Akhbār, Vol. I (taṣkira), Istanbul 1269/1861.

'AMIN 'ABID, Fuzulinin malum olmiyan bir eseri (Subhat al-Asmār), in Hayat Mecmuasi, Vol. I, No. 16, Istanbul 1927.

ARASLI, Hamid, Fuzuli gi'rinin güzellikleri, in Azerbaycan Mecmuasi, No.6, Bākū 1946.

_____ _____ Fuzuli Eserleri, Vol. III and IV (translations of most of FuzūlI's Persian and Arabic poems into AzarI Turkish). Bākū 1960-61.

_____ _____ Büyük Azerbaycan Şairi Fuzuli, Bākū 1958.

ARTAM, Nurettin — Büyük Fuzuli, in Ulus Gazetesi, Ankara, 24 December 1956.

ATAÇ, Nurullah — Fuzuliyi okurken, in Türk Dili Mecmuasi, Vol. III, No.36, Ankara 1954.

ATEŞ, Ahmed — Fuzulinin el yazisi, in Türk Dili Mecmuasi, Vol. V, No.57, Ankara 1956.

ATOK, Oguz K., — Fuzuli, in Ülkü Mecmuasi, Vol. V, Istanbul, 1 September 1946.

'ASHIQ CHALABI, — Mashā 'ir al-Shu'arā, manuscript, Istanbul Millet Kutuphanesi, No. 440 (tazkira) (FUZULI, folios 275a - 276a).

AZAR, Luṭf 'Alī Beg, — Ātashkada-yi Azar, Tehran 1340/1961 (FUZULI, pp. 916-20).

AḤMAD ḤAMDI — Tarjuma-yi Sihhat-u Marat, Trabzon 1307/1909.

BANARLI, Nihat Sami, — Resimli Türk Edebiyati Tarihi, Istanbul 1947-48 (FUZULI, pp. 153-161).

——— ——— — Unutulmus Mezarlar, in Yedigün Mecmuasi, No. 686, Istanbul 1946.

BARLAS, Riza — Fuzuli ve Mozart, in Hurses Gazetesi, No. 1833, Istanbul 1956.

BASMADJIAN, Karabet, — Essai sur l'histoire de la littérature Ottoman, Paris 1910.

BATIMAN, Burhanettin, — Fuzuli ve Faust, in Istanbul Üniversitesi Türk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi, Vol. II, Istanbul, 31 May 1948.

BAYANI, Muṣṭafā, — Tazkiresi, manuscript, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kutuphanesi, No. 2560 (FUZULI, folios 66b - 67a).

BERTHELS, E., — Fuzuli's Arabic Diwān, in Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes, Vol. V, 1930. (In Russian). A summary was published in the newspaper Izvestia.

BÖLÜKBAŞI, Rıza T., Fuzulinin nazireciliği, in Yeni Sabah Gazetesi, Istanbul, 22 December 1944.

_____ _____ Fuzuli ve hurufilik, in Yeni Sabah Gazetesi, Istanbul, 20 October 194[illegible] and November 1944.

BOMBACI, Alessio, Storia della litteratura Turca, Milano 1956, (Fuzuli, Vol. IV, part 4).

BROWNE, Edward G., A Literary history of Persia, Cambridge 1930, (Fuzuli, Vol. IV, pp. 236-8).

CEMAL, Refik, (and IŞIK, Kemal) Fuzuliyi anmak, in Akşam Gazetesi, Istanbul, 15 May 1955.

COŞAN, EŞAT, Kitla' al-I'tiqad, (tr. into Turkish) Ankara 1962.

CUNBUR, Muşgan, Fuzuli Hakkında Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi, Istanbul 1956.

_____ _____ Fuzuli hayati ve eserleri, in Tarih-Coğrafya Dunyasi, Vol. I, No. 3. Istanbul 1959.

DANIŞMEND, Ismail Hami, Fuzulinin hastaliği, in Millivet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 8 March 1952.

_____ _____ Fuzulinin nezari, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 22 December 1948.

_____ _____ Leyla ile Mecnun, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 7 November 1940.

DARAGO, N. R., Un grand poète Turc, in Touring et Automobile Club de Turquie, (Bulleten), No. 218, Istanbul 1960.

ERGIN, Muharrem, Türk Edebiyatinin ölümsüz şairi Fuzuli, in Tarih Mecmuasi, No. 2, Istanbul 1968.

ERKILIÇ CAFER, Enis ül-kalb (Persian text and Turkish tr.) Istanbul 1944.

ERTAYLAN, Ismail Hikmet, Azerbaycan Edebiyati Tarihi, Baku 1926-8 (Fuzuli, Vol. II).

EMEN, Muzaffer, Fuzuli, Istanbul 1943 (pamphlet).

GIBB, E. John W. A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1900-9. (Fuzuli, Vol. III).

GÖKYAY, Orhan Şaik, Fuzulide şiir, in Yücel Mecmuasi, No. 13. Istanbul, March 1946.

——— ——— Leyla ve Mecnun, in Yücel Mecmuasi, Vol. XVII, Istanbul 1943.

GÖLPINARLI, Abdülbaki, Şihhat ve Marag (tr. into Turkish), Istanbul 1940.

——— ——— Fuzulide batiniliğe temayül ve basilmamiş şiirleri, Azerbaycan Yurt Bilgisi Mecmuasi, Vol. I, Nos. 8-9. Istanbul 1932-33.

——— ——— Fuzuli (Introduction to the edition of Fuzuli's Turkish DIVAN published at Istanbul in 1948.)

GÖNENSOY, Hifzi Tevfik, Başlangiçtan Tanzimata kadar Türk Edebiyati Tarihi, Istanbul 1944 (Fuzuli, pp. 114-124).

GÖVSA, Ibrahim Alaettin, Türk Meşhurlari, Istanbul 1946 (Fuzuli, pp. 145-146).

——— ——— Meşhur Adamlar, Istanbul 1933-35, (Fuzuli, pp. 563-564).

GÜLIZADE, M., Azerbayean Edebiyat-i Tarihi, Baku 1960, (Fuzuli, Vol. I).

GÜNGÖR, Salahaddin, Saadete ermişlerin bahçesi (The Garden of the Elect) simplified modern Turkish rendering of Hadiqat al-Su'adA). Istanbul 1955.

GÜNGÖRMÜŞ M. Nurettin, Fuzulinin dehasi, in Son Saat Gazetesi, Istanbul, 16 and 20 July 1953.

von HAMMER PURGSTALL, Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst, Pest 1836-1837 (Fuzuli, Vol. II).

HUSEYNOF, M. Arif Haydar, Muhtasar Azerbaycan Edebiyati Tarihi, Baku 1943.

HUART, C. I., Encyclopédie de l'Islam. Paris 1927. (FuẐūlī, Vol. II).

HURI, Sofi, Leylâ ve Mecnun (tr. into English - UNESCO) Istanbul 1959.

HÜSEYNZADE, Ali, Dr. A. Karahan - Fuzuli, in Ilmi-Tedkiki Meseleler Mecmuasi, (pp. 315-333). Bakü 1958.

'ISHQI, Ibrāhim, FuẐūlī hakkinda bir iki sōz, Istanbul 1929. (pamphlet).

KAPLAN, Mehmed, Fuzuliden bir tabiat manzarasi, in Kültür Dergisi, No. 32, Istanbul 1945.

KARAHAN, Abdülkadir, Fuzuli, Muhiti, Hayati ve Şahsiyeti, Istanbul 1949.

——— ——— Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition, Leiden 1964. (FuẐūlī, Vol. II, Fasc. 37).

——— ——— Dünya şüsleri arasinda Fuzuli, in Türk Dili Dergisi, Vol. V, No. 53. Ankara 1956

——— ——— Edebi muhtekarliklar-uydurma bir menakibi Fuzuli, in Tasvir Gazetesi, Istanbul, 10 September 1948.

——— ——— Fuzuli nerede doğmuştur? in Tasvir Gazetesi, Istanbul, 3 July 1945.

——— ——— Fuzulinin bilinmiyen yeni bir şiiri, in Tasvir Gazetesi, Istanbul 16 December 1945.

——— ——— Fuzulinin doğum yeri problemi, in Türk Yurdu Mecmuasi, No. 252, Istanbul 1956.

——— ——— Fuzulinin doğum yeri ve yili hakkinda yanliş bilgiler, in Turk Yurdu Mecmuasi, No. 23, Istanbul 1953.

——— ——— Fuzulinin dünya şiynetleri karşisinda eyittigi şiirler, in Edebiyat Dünyasi Mecmuasi, Istanbul, 15 January 1948.

KARAHAN, Abdülkadir, Fuzulinin Hadikatü'e-suada'si, in Türklük Mecmuasi, Vol. II, No.7, Istanbul 1939.

——— ——— Fuzulinin Leyla ve Mecnun mesnevisi, in Hamle Mecmuasi, No.4, Istanbul 1940.

——— ——— Fuzulinin ölümü ve mezari meselesi, in Tasvir Gazetesi, No. 903, Istanbul 1948.

——— ——— Fuzulinin şiiri ve şahsiyeti hakkinda, in Turkluk Mecmuasi, Vol. III, No. 13, Istanbul 1940.

——— ——— Fuzulinin yeni bir eseri, Enis-ül kalb, in Tasviri Efkar Gazetesi, Istanbul, 17 September 1948.

——— ——— Fuzuliye mal edilen bir şiir, in Yeniden doğus Mecmuasi, No. 1, Istanbul 1944.

——— ——— Nigin Mehmed bin Süleyman, Fuzuli mahlasini aldi?, in Tasvir Gazetesi, No. 953, Istanbul 1948.

——— ——— Vesikalarin Isiginda Fuzuli(lecture) in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istgnbul, 22 January 1956 (in Hurriyet, and Dunya Gazetesi, Istanbul, 22 January 1956).

——— ——— Fuzulinin 400 üncü yildönümü vesilesiyle, in Bilgi Dergisi, Vol. IX, No. 107, Istanbul, 1956.

——— ——— Fuzulide Aşk, Ankara Çağri, Vol. I, No. 11, Ankara 1958.

KATIB CHALABI, Kashf al-Zunūn, New Edition, Istanbul 1941. (Fuzūlī, Vol. I and II).

KHAYYAMPUR, Bang-I Bāda (tr. into Persian), Tabriz, 1327/1949.

KOCATÜRK, V. Mahir, Fuzuli, in Varlik Mecmuasi, Vol. III, No.76, Istanbul 1936.

KOCATÜRK, V. Mahir, Fuzuli, in Varlik Mecmuasi, Vol. III, No.76, Istanbul 1936.

——— ——— Leyla ile Mecnun (modern Turkish prose rendering). Istanbul 1943.

KORKMAZ, Zeynep, and ŞELAHETTIN, Olcay, Fuzulinin dili hakkinda notlar, Ankara 1956. (pamphlet).

KÖPRÜLÜ, M. Fuad, Fuzulinin yeni eserleri, in Edebiyat Cazetesi, No. 11, Istanbul 1931. (the same article in Azerbaycan Yurd Bilgisi Mecmuasi, Vol. II, No. 12), Istanbul 1932.

——— ——— Divan Edebiyati Antolojisi, Istanbul 1934, (Fuzuli, pp. 193-256) (also published at Istanbul in 1924, 1934, 1946 separately and at Bäkü in 1926 in Azeri edebiyatina ait tetkikler.)

——— ——— Fuzuli, hayati ve eserleri, (introduction to the Külliyät-i Divän-i Fuzuli, Istanbul 1924).

——— ——— Fuzuli hakkinda notlar, in Türkiyat Mecmuasi, Vol. II, No.1, Istanbul 1928.

——— ——— Fuzuli, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 24 February 1928.

——— ——— Fuzuli'ye ait, in Hayat Mecmuasi, Vol. I, No. 8, Istanbul 1927.

——— ——— Fuzuli'nin mezhebi, in Payami sabah Gazetesi, Vol. II, Istanbul, 18 March 1922.

——— ——— Fuzuli'ye ait yeni vesikalar, in Täwhid-i Afkär Gazetesi, Istanbul, 21 January 1922.

——— ——— Fuzuli'ye dair, in Ikdam Gazetesi, Istanbul, 2 February 1922.

——— ——— Fuzuli, in Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul, Fasc. 37.

KÜRKÇÜOĞLU, Kemal Edip, Fuzulinin bilinmeyen bir farsça kasidesi, in Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol. IV, No. 3, Ankara 1946.

KÜRKÇÜOĞLU, Kemal Edip, Fuzulinin bilinmeyen bir kaç şiiri, in Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol.V, No. 3, Ankara 1947.

——— ———, Fuzulinin bilinmeyen şiirlerinden bir kaçı, in Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol. VI, No. 4, Ankara 1948.

——— ———, Fuzulinin mezarı, in Tanvir Gazetesi, Istanbul, 5 February 1948.

LABIB Efendi, Muhammad, Sihhat-ü Maraḍ (tr. into Turkish) Istanbul 1273/1856. Reprinted 1282/1865.

LATIFI KASTAMONULU, Tezkirat al-Shu'arā, Manuscript, Istanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 546, printed edition Istanbul 1314/1896 (FUZULI, pp. 265-6).

LEVEND, Agah Sirri, Fuzuli'de tasavvuf, in Felsefe ve Içtimaiyat Mecmuasi, Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4, Istanbul, 1927.

——— ———, Fuzuli Akkoyunlu mudur?, in Şadirvan Mecmuasi, Vol. I, No.I, Istanbul 1949.

——— ———, Fuzulinin Şah u Gedasi, in Türk Dili Dergisi, Vol. III, No. 35, Ankara 1954.

——— ———, Edebiyat Tarihi Dersleri, Istanbul 1941, (FUZULI, pp. 118-134).

MAḤFUZ, 'Alī Ḥusayn, FUZULI al-Baghdādī, Baghdad 1378/1960. (pamphlet).

MAZIOĞLU, Hasibe, Fuzuli-Hafiz, Ankara 1956.

——— ———, Fuzulinin Farsça Divani ile ilgili araştirmalar, in Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol. XVI, Nos. 1 and 2, Ankara 1956.

——— ———, Fuzulinin insan olarak değeri, in Diyanet Işleri Başkanligi Dergisi, Ankara 1961. (FUZULI, pp. 148-160).

MAZIOĞLU, Hasibe, Fuzulinin farsca iki kasidesi, in Dil ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, Vol.IV, No. 2, Ankara 1946.

MIHRI, Mehmed, Fuzulinin serh ve tefsirli divani, Istanbul 1937.

MIRZA CELAL, Fuzuli, Bāku 1944 (Introduction to the edition of FuẒūlī's Turkish DIVĀN published in Bāku in 1944).

MU'ALLIM NAJI, Lamuti NAJI, Istanbul 1308/1890 (FuẒūlī, p. 571).

MUDARR, Khānbābā, Mu'allifin-i Kutub-i chāpi-yi Fārisi va 'Arabi, Tehran 1964.

MUŞTAFA SALIM, Rind-u Zāhid (tr. into Turkish) Istanbul 1285/1867.

NAZIF, Sulaymān, FuẒūlī, Istanbul 13?1/1925.

——— ———, FuẒūlī, Hadiqat al-Su'adā, in Servet-i Fünün, No. 1499, Istanbul 1341/1925.

——— ———, FuẒūlī, Laylā va Majnūn, in Servet-i Fünün Vol. 60, No. 1557, Istanbul 1342/1926.

OLGUN, Tahir, Beng ü Bade neden bahseder?, in Yücel Mecmuasi, Vol. II, No. 9, Istanbul 1935.

——— ———, Fuzuli Leyla ve Mecnunu nigin ve kimin namina yazdi?, in Yucel Mecmuasi, Vol. II, Nos. 11 and 12, Istanbul 1935.

——— ———, Fuzulinin şikayetname göndердiği Niganoi Kimdir?, in Yucel Mecmuasi, Vol. II, No.10, Istanbul 1935.

——— ———, Fuzulinin üç eserine dair, in Güneş Mecmuasi, Vol. I, No. 11, Istanbul 1946.

——— ———, Fuzuliye dair, in Yücel Mecmuasi, No. 22, Istanbul 1936.

ÖZEL, Naim, Büyük Şair Fuzuli, in Servet-i Funun-Uyanış Vol. 82, No. 2135/450, Istanbul 1937.

ÖZTELLI, Cahit, Fuzuli menakibi uydurma mıdır?, in Türk Dili Mecmuası, Vol. 7, No. 80, Ankara 1958.

——— ———, Fuzuli bibliyografyasına yeni katmalar, in Türk Dili Mecmuası, Vol. 8, No. 90, Ankara 1959.

ÖZULUS, Celil, Fuzuli, kendi topraklarında bir inceleme, Mıgde 1948. (pamphlet).

PEYAMI, Safa, Fuzuli munakaşası etrafında, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 10 May 1937.

——— ———, Bir münakaşa, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 25 May 1937.

——— ———, Fuzulinin bir kasidesi, in Tasviri Efkar Gazetesi, Istanbul, 22 September 1944.

QINALĪZĀDA Hasan Chalabī, Tazkirat al-Shu'arā, manuscript, in Maarif Vekaleti Ankara Umumi Kütüphanesi, No. 97 (FUZULI, folios 221a - 222a).

RADO, Şevket, Türklüğe bağlılık, in Hayat Mecmuası, No. 50, Istanbul 1967.

RAZI, Amin Ahmad, Haft Iqlim, Calcutta 1358/1939 (FUZULI, pp. 122-3).

RIFAD, Fa'iq, Tārikh-i Adabiyāt-i 'Uthmāniya, Istanbul 1308/1890 (FUZULI, p. 340).

RIYAZI, Muhammad, Riyāz al-Shu'arā, manuscript, Istanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 3250 (FUZULI, pp. 46-7).

REŞER, O., and LUGAL, Necati Hüsnü, Des türkischen Dichters Fuzûlî Poëm "Leylâ-Mecnûn" und die gereimte Erzählung "Beng u Bade" (Hanf und Wein) (tr. of Leylâ ve Mecnûn, Bang-ü Bâde, also Sihhat-u Marad [pp. 1-14]), Istanbul 1943.

ṢADIQI Kitābdār, Majma' al-Khavāṣṣ, manuscript, Istanbul Universitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 4085 (FuẒūlI, pp. 33-34).

ṢAM MIRZA, Tuhfa-yi ṢāmI, Tehran 1314/1936 (FuẒūlI, p. 136).

ṢEVKI, Vasfi Raşid, Fuzulinin 400. ölüm yildönümü, in Hurriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 12 September 1956.

ṢEVÜK, Ismail Habib, Fuzulinin derin tesirleri, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 23 June 1953.

——— ——— Şair ve Hükümdar, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 25 April 1949.

——— ——— Şair ve serdar, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 29 April 1949.

ṢHAMS al-DIn ṢALIḤ, Qāmūs al-'Alam, Vol. I-VI, Istanbul 1306-1316/1889-1899 (FuẒūlI, Vol. V).

ṢHIHAB al-DIn Sulaymān, Tarikh-i AdabIyāt-i 'UsmānIya, Istanbul 1328/1910 (FuẒūlI, pp. 75-110).

ṢU'AD 'ALI, Seyahatlarim, Istanbul 1330/1923 (FuẒūlI, in various pages).

TABRIZI, 'AlI, Rayḥānāt al-Ādāb, Tehran 1328/1949 (FuẒūlI, pp. 222-3).

TALU, E. Ekrem, Şairin ölümü, in Salon Dergisi, No. 80, Istanbul 1948.

TANPINAR, A. Hamdi, Fuzuliye dair, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, No. 11694, Istanbul 1957.

——— ——— Fuzuliye dair, in Yelken Mecmuasi, No. 26, Istanbul 1959.

TARDIYAT, 'AlI DānishmandĪn-i ĀzarbāIjān, Tehran 1314/1935.

TARLAN, Ali Nihat, Fuzulinin bilinmiyen kasideleri, in Edebiyat Fakultesi Turk Dili ve Edebiyati Dergisi, Nos. 1-4 and 1951, No.3, Istanbul 1948-49.

——— ——— Fuzulinin farsça divani, in Istanbul Mecmuasi, Nos. 25, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, Istanbul 1944, and No.37, Istanbul 1945.

TARLAN, Ali Nihat, Fuzulinin farsca divani (tr. of FuẒūlī's Persian Dīvān, except the qaṣīdas), Istanbul 1950.

TERZIBAŞI, Ata, FuẒūlī al-BaghdĀdī, in Al-Adīb, Vol. 24, No. 7, Beirut 1953.

——— ——— Fuzulinin doğum yeri, in Türk Yurdu, No.251, Istanbul 1955.

TEVET, Fethi, Fuzulinin bahçesi, Istanbul 1938 (pamphlet).

TAWFIQ, Abū'l-ŻIyĀ, Numūna-yi Adabiyāt-i 'Uthmānniya, Istanbul 1296/1879.

ULUNAY, R. CEVAD, Fuzulinin mezari, in Yenisabah Gazetesi, Istanbul 1947.

URAZ, Murad, Türk edip ve şairleri, Istanbul 1939, (FuẒūlī, pp. 105-108).

UYGUNER, Muzaffer, Fuzulinin dünyasi, in Varlik, No. 695, Istanbul 1967.

VA-NU, V. Nurettin, Ölümünün 400 üncü yil dönümünde Fuzulinin mezarini ziyaret, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 12 April 1956.

VEZIROF, Yusuf Bey, Azerbaycan edebiyatina bir nazar, Istanbul 1337/1921.

YENER CENIL, Fuzuliye ve aşkina dair, in Türk Dili Mecmuasi, Vol.8, Nos. 94 and 95, Ankara 1959.

YÖNTEM, Ali Canib, Ölüm hildönümü münasebetiyle Fuzuli ve şairliği, in Yeni Istanbul, Istanbul, 5 March 1950.

YÜCEL, Hasan Ali, Fuzulinin 400 üncü ölüm hildönümü yaklaşirken, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 20 February 1955.

——— ——— Zavalli Fuzuli, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 2 December 1956.

——— ——— Fuzuliye mektup, in Cumhuriyet Gazetesi, Istanbul, 19 February 1956.

d. Works which I have consulted.

ABU DA'UD, Sunna, Vols. I-IV, Cairo 1354/1935.

ALDERSON, A.D., The structure of the Ottoman Dynasty, Oxford 1956.

AMIN, Ahmad, Fajr, Vols. I-III, Cairo 1938/

ARBERRY, A. J., Introduction to the history of Sufism, London 1942.

____ ____ and Reason in Islam, London 1957.

____ ____ account of the mystics of Islam, London.

____ ____ Persian Literature, London 1958.

ARNOLD, M., The Dooling of English Romanticism, Oxford 1962.

ATTAR, Farid al-Din, Tazkirat al-Awliyā, ed. R. A. Nicholson, Vols. I-II, London 1905-07.

____ ____ Divān, ed. T. Tafazzuli, Tehran 1914/1962.

al-'AZZAWI, A., Tārikh al-'Irāq bayn ihtilālayn, Vols. I-III Baghdad 1357/1939.

BAGLEY, F. R. C.,ed, The Last Great Muslim Empires, trs. Leiden 1969.

H. de BALZAC, Oeuvres complètes, ed. Marcel Bouteron, Paris 1912.

BAQI, Rudolf Dvorak, Vols. I-II, , Leiden 1908.

____ S. Nüzhet, Istanbul 1935.

BATESON, F. W., English poetry and the English Language, Oxford 1934.

BERKES, N., The Development of Secularism in Turkey, Montreal 1964.

BIGG, C., Neo-Platonism, London 1895.

BIRGE, J. K., The Bektashi order of Dervishes, London 1937.

BRADBY, A., Shakespeare Criticism, London 1936.

BROWNE, E. G., A year among the Persians, 3rd ed., London 1959.

———— A History of Persian Literature, Vols I-IV, London, 1902, 1906, 1920, 1924.

EREN, N., Turkey Today and Tomorrow, London 1963.

ERGIN, M., ed., Dede Korkut Kitabi, Vols. I-II, Ankara 1958.

ERGUN, N., Baktagi Şairleri ve nefesleri, Istanbul 1944.

———— Halk Edebiyati Antolojisi, Istanbul 1938.

———— Türk Şairleri, Vols. I-III, Istanbul 1936-37.

EVERSLEY, Lord, The Turkish Empire, London 1917.

FIELD, C., Mystics and Saints of Islam, London 1910.

FURUZANFAR, B. Z., Risāla dar taḥqīq-i aḥvāl va zindagānī-yi Mavlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad mashhūr bi-Mawlavī, Tehran 1315/1936.

al-GHAZZALI, Muḥammad, Nasīḥat al-Mulūk, tr. F. R. C. Bagley, Oxford 1964.

———— ———— Ihyā 'Ulūm al-Dīn, Book XX, tr. L. Zolondek, Leiden 1963.

GIBB, E. J. W., A History of Ottoman Poetry, Vols. I-VI, London 1900-1909.

———— The poets and poetry of Turkey, Washington 1901.

———— Ottoman poems, London 1882.

GOITEIN, S. D., Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, Leiden 1966.

GOLPINARLI, A., Mevlana'dan sonra mevlevilik, Istanbul 1953.

HAFIZ, Divān, ed. M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, Tehran 1940/1961.

———, Select odes from Hafiz, trs. J. Nott, London 1787.

———, Fifty poems of Hafiz, ed., A. J. Arberry, Cambridge 1947.

———, The Rubā'iyāt of Hafiz, tr. S. A. Majid, London 1919.

von HAMMER-PURGSTALL, Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst, Vols. I-IV, Pest 1836-1838.

HARRIS, G. L., 'Irāq, New Haven 1958.

HATAYI, (Khaṭā'ī), Shāh Ismā'īl. Dīvān (Şah Ismail Safevi, edebi hayatı ve nefesleri), ed. S. Nüzhet, Istanbul 1946.

HAYALI, (Khayālī), Dīvān, ed. A. N. Tarlan, Istanbul 1945.

HIKMET, A., Habībī, in Hayat Mecmuası, Vol. III, Istanbul 1927.

HOUGHTON, Lord, Life and letters of John Keats, London n.d.

HUGHES, A. M. D., The Nascent mind of Shelley, Oxford 1947.

HUJVIRI, Kashf al-Mahjub, tr. R. A. Nicholson, Leiden 1911.

HUMA'I, J., Ghazālī-nāma, Sharh-i hāl u āthār u'aqāyid, 2nd ed., Tehran 1342/1963.

IBN al-FARIḌ, 'Umar, Dīvān, ed. A. Y. Sulaymān, Cairo 1382/1963.

——— ———, Poems of the Way, tr. A. J. Arberry, London 1952.

——— ———, The mystical poems, ed. A. J. Arberry, London 1952.

IBN al-FARIḌ, 'Umar, The mystical poems, tr. A. J. Arberry, London 1956.

INGE, W. R., God and the Astronomers, London 1933.

al-IṢBAHĀNĪ, Abū'l-Faraj, Kitāb al-Aghānī, 3rd ed., Cairo 1927.

IZ, Fahir, Türk Edebiyatında Nesir, Istanbul 1964.

JAMES, J., The Way of Mysticism, London 1950.

JĀMĪ, Dīvān, ed. Ḥusayn Pizhmān, Tehran 1317/1936.

———— Maṯnavī-yi haft Awrang, ed. M. M. GĪlānī, Tehran 1337/1958.

KABAKLI, A., Türk Edebiyatı, Istanbul 1966.

KAYKA'US, Qābūs-nāma of the Ziyārid 'Unṣuru'l-Ma'ālī Kay-Kā'us, tr. R. Levy, London 1951.

KEATS, J., The Letters of John Keats, ed. B. Forman, London 1895.

KOCATÜRK, V. M., Türk Edebiyatı Antolojisi, Ankara 1965.

———— Divan Şiiri Antolojisi, Ankara 1963.

———— Şiir Defteri, Ankara 1957.

———— Tekke Şiiri Antolojisi, Ankara 1955.

KÖPRÜLÜ, M. F., Eski Şairlerimiz, Istanbul 1931.

———— Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi, Istanbul 1926.

———— Türk Edebiyatında ilk mütesavvıflar, Istanbul 1918.

LOWTH, R., Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, (De Sacra Poesi Hebraeorum) tr. G. Gregory, London 1847.

MACDONALD, D. B., The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam, Chicago 1909.

_____ _____ Aspects of Islam, New York, 1911.

MASSIGNON, L., Devant le siècle Ismaëlien de l'Islam, Beirut 1936.

MUḤIBBI (Sulṭān Sulaymān), DIVĀn, ed. A. N. Tarlan, Istanbul 1308.

MU'TAMAN, Z. A., Shi'r va adab-i Fārsī, Tehran 1968.

al-MUTANABBI, A selection with Introduction, tr. A. J. Arberry, Cambridge 1967.

NASAFI, A., Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil, ed. M. J. Mole, Tehran, Paris 1962.

NASIMI, DIVĀn, Istanbul 1286.

NAWAB, A., Teaching of al-Ghazzali, Baroda 1920.

NAFISI, S., Dar pīrāmūn-i sah'ār va ahvāl-i Hafiz, Tehran 1321/1942.

NICHOLSON, R. A., The Mystics of Islam, London 1914.

_____ _____ The Idea of Personality in Sufism, Cambridge 1923.

_____ _____ Studies in Islamic Poetry, Cambridge 1921.

_____ _____ A Literary History of the Arabs, Cambridge 1953.

_____ _____ Studies in Islamic Mysticism, Cambridge 1921.

NIZĀMI, Ganja'i Laylā va Majnūn, ed. V. Dastgirdi, Tehran 1313/1934.

_____ DIVĀn, ed. S. Nafisi, Tehran 1338/1959.

_____ Makhzan al-asrār, ed. V. Dastgirdi, Tehran 1313/1934.

NIẒAM al-MULK, Siyāsat-nāma, tr. H. Darke, London 1960.

NÜZHET, S. Bektaşi şairleri, Istanbul 1930.

——— Türk Edebiyati Tarihi, Istanbul 1931.

RINGGREN, H., Fatalism in Persian Epics, Uppsala 1952.

——— Studies in Arabian Fatalism, Uppsala 1955.

——— Fatalistic Beliefs (in religion, folklore, and literature), Uppsala 1967.

RUMI, Jalāl al-Dīn, Selected poems from the Dīvān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī, R. A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1898.

——— ——— Fihi ma fihi, Turkish tr. by M. Tarikahya (Anbaroloğlu), Ankara 1954.

——— ——— The Mathnawī-yi ma'nawī, ed. and tr. R. A. Nicholson, Vols. 1-8, London 1925-40.

——— ——— Kulliyāt-i Mathnawī-yi Ma'nawī, ed. B. Z. Furūzānfar and M. Darvīsh, Tehran 1342/1963.

——— ——— Tales from the Mathnawi, tr. A. J. Arberry, London 1961.

——— ——— The Rubā'iyāt of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, tr. A. J. Arberry, London 1949.

RYPKA, J., History of Iranian Literature, Dordrecht 1968.

SA'DI Kulliyāt, ed. M. A. Furūghī, Tehran 1342/1953.

——— Tayyibāt, Bombay 1912.

——— Tayyibāt, tr. Sir L. W. King, London 1926.

SAVAJI, Salmān. Dīvān, ed. M. Mushfiq, Tehran 1336/1959.

SAMANCIOGLU, K., Bektaşi Tarihi, Istanbul 1945.

SANTAYANA, G., Interpretations of Poetry and Religion, London 1901.

al-SARRAJ , Kitāb al-Kuma' fī'l-Tasawwuf of Abū Naṣr al-Sarrāj, ed. R. A. Nicholson, London 1914.

SCHAEDER, H. H., Goethes Erkenntnis des Ostens, Leipsig 1938.

SCHIMMEL, A. , Rose und Nachtigal, in Numen, Vol.II, 1958.

SHABISTARI, M. , The Secret rose garden of Shabistari, tr. F. Lederer, London 1920.

SHELLEY, P. B., Poetical works of Shelley, ed. Thomas Hutchinson, Oxford 1909.

SMITH, H. , Relativism in De Donald's Literary Doctrine, London 1934.

SMITH, M. , Rābi'a the Mystic and her Fellow-Saints in Islam, Cambridge 1928.

——— Early Mysticism in the Near and Middle East, London 1931.

SURAYYA, N., Sijill-i 'Uthmānī, Vols. I-IV, Istanbul 1308/1890-1311/1893.

TAINE, H. , Histoire de la Littérature Anglaise, Paris 1863.

TARLAN, A. H., Ali Şir Nevā'ī, Istanbul 1942.

TEMPLE, Sir W., Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, Oxford 1908-09.

UMAR KHAYYAM , The Quatrains of 'Umar Khayyam, ed. and tr. E. H. Whinfield, London 1901.

——— ——— The Rubā'iyāt, ed. by A. J. Arberry, London 1949.

——— ——— The Romance of the Rubā'iyāt, introd. and tr. A. J. Arberry, London 1959.

URAZ, M. , Türk Edip ve Şairleri, Istanbul 1939.

UZUNÇARŞILI., Osmanlı Tarihi, Vols. I-III, Ankara 1947-51.

WALKER, M. E., Towards an understanding of Diderot's aesthetic theory, in Romanic Review, No.35, 1944.

WARTON, T., History of English Poetry, London 1774.

WATT, W. M., Free Will and Predestination in early Islam, London 1948.

———— Islamic philosophy and theology, Edinburgh 1962.

———— Muhammad, Prophet and statesman, London 1961.

———— Muslim Intellectual, a study of al-Ghazzālī, Edinburgh 1963.

WENSINCK, J. A., Concordance et Indices de la Tradition Musulmane, Leiden 1936 ff.

———— ———— The Muslim Creed, its Genesis and Historical Development, Cambridge 1932.

WELLS, C., The Literature of the Turks, A Turkish Chrestomathy, London 1891.

WILDE, Oscar, The Rose and the Nightingale, London 1888.

WOLLASTON, A. N., The sword of Islam, London 1905.

WHINFIELD, E. H., Maṣnavī-yi Ma'navī, London 1898.

e. Books of reference.

Ensyclopeadia of Islam, New Ed., Leiden, London 1954—

Ensyclopeadia of Religion and Ethics, Vols. 1-13, Edinburgh 1908-1926.

Islam Ansiklopedisi, Istanbul 1950—

Shorter Ensyclopeadia of Islam, Leiden 1953.

Encyclopédie de l'Islām, Vols. I-IV, Leiden 1913-1934.

Qur'ān -

_____ tr. A. J. Arberry, Vols. I-II, London 1955.

_____ tr. M. Pickthall, Vols. I-II, Deccan (India) 1938.

_____ (Turkish tr.) İ. Hakki, Istanbul 1932.

Dictionary of Islam, T. P. Hughes, London 1885.

Turkish and English Lexicon, Istanbul 1953, (Redhouse, revised ed.)

Turkce-Ingilizce Buyuk Lugat, by Tarhan Kitabevi, Ankara 1959.

Dictionary, Arabic-Persian and English, by F. Johnson and J. Richardson, London 1829.

New Persian-English Dictionary, by S. Haim, Vols. I-II, Tehran 1341/

Arabic-English Lexicon, Vols. I-VIII, by Lane, London 1863-1893, reprinted New York.