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GHAZAL

Among the gems of poetic genres there is no one more precious or brighter than ghazal. For it is ghazal that is a complete result of work and thought, moments of ecstasy, effects of love and devotion to the beloved. It conveys the heritage of the wisdom of the meeting and parting mystery.

'Abd-ar-Rahmān Jāmī¹, Persian poet, 15th c.

For many centuries the ghazal has been the Orient's favourite form of lyrical expression; it is still cultivated by poets drawing upon traditional patterns. Its composition and metaphors are composed of elements so old that the genesis of some of them can be only guessed there being not enough data to formulate firm theorems. It develops as a genre on Persian ground as a result of the mingling of native forms with Arabic influences which undoubtedly played a significant role here, though they were probably less important than the oriental theorists suppose them to be².

The overestimation of Arabic influences in various fields is connected, in the cultural sphere in question, with the specific scholastic character of the traditional philological trend in science: usually the explanation, etymology and history of a term were given, much less attention being paid to the analysis of the object denoted by this term. In the present case — poetic terminology was not exceptional — an extremely realistic trend within the "genological controversy about universals" was the result.

¹ The present transcription is meant to make it possible for non-orientalists to identify the oriental names and terms. Thus the phonetic value of a word in Persian is not always precisely and consistently indicated.

² Cf. Ahmet Ates, *Gazel*, [in:] *Islam ansiklopedisi*, Istambul 1945.

The whole Arabic terminology was introduced to Persian theory of literature; old Persian terms were sometimes used exchangeably with the Arabic ones, and they were preserved in this way losing yet their terminological precision. The word ghazal comes from Arabic. In early Arabic writings it is used in the meaning of "pleasure", "delight". About the 9th century A. D. it becomes established as a name of a lyric. At the same time we meet its derivative form "taghazzul": first meaning "to sing love's praises", then "to recite, or make love songs, ghazals". The term ghazal was considered equivalent to the erotic poem, and the taghazzul — derived from it — was understood as referring to the nasīb — the lyrical prelude to the qaṣida³.

The nasīb was once probably a type of independent Bedouin love song, later traditionally linked to the qaṣida. In the period when the qaṣidas were already written down they were usually preceded by the nasīb, both of them having the same rhyme and meter⁴. In Bedouin poetry the motifs of the nasīb were conventional: it would tell us about the covered track, the view of a deserted camp, recollections of love, and about longing. Into this pattern of Bedouin lyrical poetry the poets injected their individual ideas. After accepting this stereotype by urban poets lyrical poetry began to develop in the direction determined by the changes of interests and manners. Old Bedouin virtue is replaced by gentleness of manners; the beloved is usually a veiled lady strange to everyday matters, and the man — either a poor wretch broken down by love, or a conqueror of hearts whom no woman could resist. Outside influences, other than from the Bedouin environment, tune up the lyrical poetry to more sublime key: a type of courtly poetry develops, perishing from love Majnūn (the Mad One) becomes the symbol of lover⁵.

In the 8th century Bagdad becomes the seat of the caliphate — here the Iranians dictate the fashion in dress, courtly protocol and poetry. It becomes more apt to use small lyrical forms: lyrical poem is often qit'a (fragment), or nasīb separated from the qaṣida. Praising the enjoyment of life, love and the beauty of nature becomes the main theme of lyrical poetry. Bacchic elements are closely connected with the erotic ones. The overpowering individuality of Abū Nuwās (d. about 800), a poet of Persian origin and often introducing Persian

³ R. Blachère, *Ghazal*, [in:] *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden 1965.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵ The 'udhrā style developed in courtly poetry dealing with the misfortunes of love: "amore udhrita [...] è un equivalente di nostro amor platonico" (Fr. Gabrieli, *Storia della letteratura araba*, Milano 1951, p. 119).

motifs to his poems⁶, influenced the development of poetry. Later, in the 9th century there occurs a restoration of tradition (Arabic neo-classicism), the poets return to Bedouin forms. The type of "lachrymose" ('uthrā) courtly lyrical poetry is enriched by neo-Platonic philosophical concepts which relate it to metaphysical ideas. At the same time the opposite — realistic trend is continued, often on the borderline of obscenity⁷.

That was the main track of the development of the Arabic ghazal, that is, in this area, the erotic poem. The Persians could draw on this production. For at the time when its development on Arabic ground was stopped, the formation of a new form of lyrical poetry could be noticed in the Moslem Persia. Here the definite form of ghazal will arise, such as described by the theorists. And it is this Persian ghazal that is referred to in the definitions of the ghazal as a genre, both the oriental definitions and based on them European ones. First of all they take into account its formal features: here a slightly different idea of a genre in Eastern theory is reflected, a fact which should be taken into consideration when accepting the term ghazal as a name of a genre.

Oriental definitions of the ghazal vary according to the period from which they come: theory of literature there aimed gradually at a more formalistic approach, and the very object of the definition was changing too. First, ghazal meant a love poem — the name with its proper signification was taken from Arabic. Already in the 13th century a Persian theorist, Shams-i Qays, writes: "Many poets use the term ghazal for the description of the beauty of the beloved woman and the presentation of the state of falling and being in love. The aim of the ghazal being to create nice mood it should be composed of clear and pleasant words, in flowing meter and it should contain noble thoughts"⁸.

Other definitions, which stress first of all formal features of the genre, are generally used as a basis for formulating in a way summarizing definitions often met in European papers and later in Persian theoretical works: The ghazal is a short lyrical poem, consisting of 5 to 18 (some say: to 21) bayts — distichs, all upon the same meter and the same rhyme repeated at the end of every bayt. Every bayt consists of two halves — misra's. Both the misra's of the first bayt called *matla'* or *mabla'* end with a rhyme: it is the *mudari'* bayt, i. e., double rhymed. In some ghazals every rhyme is followed by a *redif* — a re-

⁶ Z. Şafā, *Tārīkh-e adabiyāt dar Irān*, vol. 1, Tehrān 1341, p. 150 ff.

⁷ More detailed discussion of this problem can be found in A. Kinany, *The Development of Ghazal in Arabic Literature*, Damascus 1951.

⁸ Shams ad-dīn Muḥammad b. Qays ar-Rādī, *al-Mujam fī ma'āyiri ash'ari'l-ajam*, Tehrān 1341, p. 306.

peated word or group of words whose meaning corresponds to that of the bayt. The last line of the ghazal is called *maqṭa'* or *kharima*. Here the poet sings his *takhalluṣ*, i. e., his poetic pseudonym interwoven into the poetic statement. The ghazal should begin and end with one theme — either meeting or parting. The bayts should not be connected with one another, each should be clearly distinct and different from the preceding one⁹.

That is the pattern of the Persian ghazal and derived from it Turkish and Urdu forms. The form of the ghazal shows clear correspondence to the form of the *qasida* (monorhyme, double rhymed *matla'*) and later Persian theorists analyze it together with the *qasida*, as "referring to a kind of *qasida*"¹⁰.

The present article aims at investigating the development of the Persian ghazal throughout centuries, the process of its emergence and decline, at finding the crucial moments of its history and the transformation of its structure against the background of the concrete social and political conditions as well as of the cultural changes. The immense literary material needs arrangement; limited length of the paper makes it necessary to deal only with the most typical, most in a way "leading" phenomena, and the classification into types and periods must be simplified. Yet it should be remembered that throughout the whole development of the ghazal besides the phenomena here discussed there takes place the imitation of older patterns by minor poets. In fact the borderlines between adjacent periods and phenomena are not so clear and the connections between the literary production of ensuing generations — immense. The permanent and characteristic feature of Persian literature is its traditionalism, drawing upon the production of the predecessors, not breaking but gently adjusting already existing forms to new requirements¹¹. Thus even in the case when the gap in records does not allow us to reconstruct the whole of the continuous development we can, taking into consideration the general character of this literature, assume that such continuous development existed.

The first and the most controversial gap in records is the period after the Arabic invasion, the so-called "centuries of silence" (the 7th—8th centuries) when the Persians apparently ceased to create in their own language, limiting their literary production to Arabic. It is

⁹ *Ibidem* and Qābūl Muḥammad, *Haft qulzum*, Lukhnaw 1230, pp. 44—45; Wahīd Tabrizī, *Resāle-ye jam'e mukhtaṣar*, Moskva 1959, par. 9.

¹⁰ Wahīd Tabrizī, *op. cit.*, par. 55.

¹¹ Cf. J. Rypka, *Dějiny perské a tádžické literatury*, Praha 1956, pp. 83—86.

quite certain that educated people, first of all the Moslems (but also the Christians, Zoroastrians and Buddhists) could speak and write Arabic — the then *lingua latina* of the Orient.

Yet at the same time native literature was developing in Persia; yet the way of writing it down was still a subject of choice. Old Pahlavī characters were being gradually eliminated by easier Arabic alphabet¹² which was still in the process of being adjusted to the Persian language, which, as far as its phonological structure is concerned, was completely different from Arabic.

The bulk of the Pahlavī records did not survive, destroyed by the Moslem inquisition suspecting unorthodox thoughts in these books difficult to read. It was the time of almost a complete destruction of the whole literary production of the pre-Moslem Persia, first of all the whole secular literature in order to save which Persian traditionalists were less apt to risk their life and property. The survived fragments, however, point to the existence of major forms of secular and religious epic as well as lyrical poetry, which was the basis of the further development of Persian lyrical poetry, which survived written down already in Arabic and which exerted a very strong influence upon the Arabic literary production of the 8th and 9th centuries.

Taking into consideration the very small number of the materials preserved even those pieces of information which are provided by the character of these influences are extremely valuable. Under the pressure of Persian fashion lyrical poetry becomes more descriptive, the anacreontic and *wasf* (a descriptive poem "on something") gain popularity among the Arabic writers. Short lyrical forms spread widely¹³. Small fragments of Persian literature written in the anthologies show its gnomic, didactic character and the development of the statement in the form of aphorism; this process is also reflected in the Arabic literature of that period¹⁴.

When in the 9th century the power of the caliphate becomes weaker and the Persian struggle for independence can be realized in forming states only very slightly dependent on Bagdad, there begins a vivid development of neo-Persian literature flourishing under the protection of local rulers, first of all of the Samanid dynasty (864—1005), ruling over Khorāsān and Mawarannahr — countries situated far enough from

¹² Z. Šafā, *Tārīkh-e taḥavol-e nazm-o-nathr-e fārsi*, Tehrān 1337, p. 6.

¹³ Ye. E. Bertels, *Istoriya persidsko-tadžikskoy literatury*, Moskva 1960, p. 107. Small lyrical forms began to spread already at the time of the Omayyads, cf. Gabrieli, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

¹⁴ Bertels, *ibid.*, p. 112.

the centre for the influences of the caliphate to be weak and not dangerous.

The intellectual movement called "the Persian Renaissance" has a strong national background; it is connected with the Shi'ite ideas — heretical in relation to the orthodox religious policy of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate. The Samanids encouraged scholars and poets: the reason of state of that dynasty tracing its descent to the old Persian rulers was stressing its links with the local tradition and the development of the Persian thought.

In the 11th century the Ghaznavids — rulers of Turkish origin — took over the heritage after the Samanids and some minor Persian dynasties, adopting also the courtly ceremonial of their predecessors. The founder of the dynasty, the first Ghaznavid sultan — Mahmūd (999—1030) fought against the heresies, considering the orthodox links with the Caliphate the basis of his rights to rule. His successors did not show such a strong religious fanaticism, they even patronized the local tradition.

At that period, i. e., in the 10th—11th centuries there can be noticed a fairly big group of professional poets whose job was to write poems on various occasions, and who wandered from a court to court or lived on a salary paid more or less regularly by their patrons. It was a period of the mingling of the old local traditions with new models for new requirements. The epic poetry takes up old Persian plots: "Now singing a dastān (an epic) I will weave it out of the old ones" — says Ferdousi in *Shāh-nāme* (d. 1020—6). The lyrical poetry which was under stronger Arabic influences¹⁵ (the Arabs simply did not have epic poetry) from the very beginning develops the Persian variant of the qasida and ghazal.

The term ghazal as accepted at that time denotes simply "lyrical love poetry". According to the poets this term has the character of a telling name. Various monuments prove the popularity of this term and idea: Rūdakī "the father of Persian poetry" (d. 940—41) refers to himself as a Ghazal-khōn, i. e., ghazal-singer. As an Arabic term ghazal seems to have been applied to those forms which resembled the nasīb of the Arabic qasida, i. e., a love song upon a monorhyme. The problem of the connection of the ghazal with the Arabic form of the nasīb on the one hand and the native forms of Persian lyrical poetry on the other one has not yet been solved finally. According to the general opinion the Arabic influence is sure to have been exerted not as far as the theme is

¹⁵ Rypka, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

concerned (being natural the genre must have existed in Persia¹⁶) but as concerns the form of meter, rhyme, and the structure of the *matla'*. In our opinion after closer examination of the material even these problems are not so obvious as to allow us to speak about simple transplantation of the Arabic forms.

The Arabic metrical system, *'arūd* (quantitative, did not dictate metrical patterns authoritatively. The basic meters were developed by adding or leaving out, shortening or lengthening particular elements. Thus the poets were quite free to use various lengths of syllables provided the pattern was consistently preserved throughout the whole poem. *'Arūd* was more a theory than any practical limitation of metrical canons. In Persian theory of literature it became a specific instrument of formal analysis which was based upon graphic determinants, but which did not correspond to the same phonetic values in concrete examples of a given pattern in Arabic and Persian poetry. It is worth-while noticing that Arabic terms were also applied to the analysis of originally Persian forms, such as the *maṣnavī* and quatrain¹⁷ (rhyming *aabbccdd...* and *aaba* or *aaaa*).

In Persian poetry the quantitative *'arūd* was probably preceded by a syllabic system, and in sung lyrics it was imposed on the native melody patterns, in the case of the *ghazal* on Persian love and probably ritual song. The poets were developing the meters-melodies introducing small changes in the composition, on the whole yet following those handed down to them by their predecessors. This phenomenon can be deduced, according to our opinion, from the stability of the metrical repertory of the *ghazal* (the most popular meters being the *hazaj*, *ramal*, *hafif*, and *mudarī* with their variants) from the earliest times, i. e., from the time of *Rūdakī's* lyrics¹⁸. Such a situation seems to have been helped by the tradition of following the literary production of the predecessors, of including their poetry in the writers' own poems (the *tadmin* figure), a device which also provided information about the melody, this information being sometimes contained in the text itself¹⁹.

The next formal feature considered to have been adopted from the *qasida* to the *ghazal* is the rhyme scheme *aabacada* etc. It seems that

¹⁶ A thorough discussion of this problem is given by A. M. Mirzoyev, *Rudakī i razvitiye gazeli v X—XV vv.*, Stalinabad 1958, pp. 7 ff.

¹⁷ *Rubā'i*, quatrains, were folk songs sung in a manner similar to the *ghazal*. (Bertels, *op. cit.*, pp. 107—108).

¹⁸ Mirzoyev, *Rudakī...*, p. 69.

¹⁹ E.g.: "It is in this meter, as Rudakī used to say: The scent of the Mouliyan stream is coming" — *Sanā'i*.

here we again meet not a simple adoption of a form but a contamination of the Arabic form with the native one.

Among the monuments of pre-Moslem poetry we meet a poem called "sorūd" ²⁰ (later this term was used to describe a poem of not quite precise formal features, a "song"). It is a lyrical descriptive poem "on the sun", rhyming *aaaaaaaabc* ²¹. It seems that the ghazals of the early period drew upon this native form; both in Rūdaki's production and among Ferdousi's lyrics this type of ghazals can be met — besides the rhyme scheme (every bayt is double rhymed) there are no differences between them and the ghazals of that period and they are classed among the ghazals ²². Every bayt of such a ghazal might become a part of the masnavi bayt. (N. B. in old dastāns several neighbouring bayts with the same rhyme can be often met.) Thus, it was possible to begin the ghazal starting from the old forms of the sorūd, masnavi or quatrain (rhyming *aaba* or *aaaa*), which means, from the old Persian distich put, as it were, into inverted commas (tadmin). The stability of the matla' motifs in the ghazal seems to point to such use of the old popular poems. Maṭla' and maqta', the initial and final bayts of the ghazal had their features practically accepted by the poets (I leave out the problem of the appearance of the takhallus in the maqta'): both of them should be directed towards one person (if they had the form of an apostrophe). They are very often connected as far as their meaning is concerned. Though very rarely, yet it sometimes happens that the first misra' of matla' and the second misra' of maqta', i. e., the initial and the final line of the ghazal are identical (bearing resemblance to the rondeau) ²³. Being not vital enough this form did not succeed in entering the repertory of the varieties of the genre, nevertheless it seems to be important evidence of tendencies towards organizing the ghazal into a framework structure.

We can assume the existence of the Arabic influences upon the type of Persian monorhyme, but similarly to the case of meter, only after taking into consideration the data concerning old Persian traditions: in Persian poetry there was a stronger tendency to consider misra' as autonomic, and the above discussed forms of the "rondeau" support this opinion. There is a possibility of introducing even further hypotheses: there probably existed a Pahlavi form of ode similar to the qasida ²⁴;

²⁰ *Sorūd-e korkūyi*, preserved in a chronicle: *Tārīkh-e Sistān*, ed. Tehrān 1314, p. 37.

²¹ It means, according to later terminology, rhyming after every misra'.

²² Z. Safā, *Tārīkh-e adabiyāt...*, vol. 1, p. 150: this form has been used by Abū Nuvās in Arabic poems imitating the style of Persian forms.

²³ Met in the poems of Rūdaki and Anvarī (Mirzoyev, *op. cit.*, p. 47).

²⁴ M. Bahār, *Yek qasīde-ye pahlavi*, Sokhan 1338.

may be its traces are to be found in the *qasidas* called *fahlavīyāt*²⁵ (*Pahlavi*) which were popular till the 13th century in local dialects, and in the exchangeable use of the terms *tarāne*²⁶ — *qasida* and *chāme*²⁷ — *ghazal*²⁸.

From the very beginning of the neo-Persian lyrical poetry there appear the *redif*, a kind of the same refrain ending every *bayt* of a poem, and it seems to have been closely connected with the pre-Moslem Persian monorhyme. It can be met in the earliest neo-Persian monuments, and, what is more important, in early folk forms. The short satirical poem from Balkh from 725²⁹ has a *redif* recurring after the assonance in every line, corresponding, according to later rules, to one *misra'*. There are probably some connections between the *redif* and typical of folk poetry words recurring in every line of the same part of a poem³⁰. The facultative appearance of the *redif* in the *ghazal* points to the links between this genre and the forms of folk lyrical poetry. The *redif* can be particularly often met in the *ghazals* of the mystics, a phenomenon which might have been connected with their programmatic egalitarianism.

Musical qualities, the *bayt* ending with a *redif*, repetition of the same metrical structures suggest the role of the *bayt* as a lexically musical form, a kind of a *strophe* (the average length of the *bayt* being 20 syllables). The analysis of the connections between neighbouring *bayts* of the *ghazals* from the point of view of the meaning shows either the splitting of the *ghazal* into particular *bayts* from the point of view of the theme (as was required by the norms) or a closer connection between pairs of neighbouring *bayts*. In the second case they were probably sung in a manner similar to *rubā'iyyats*-*quatrains* (called also *dū-baytī*, i. e., consisting of two *bayts*, by the Persians). Musical accompaniment — which is very often referred to in the *ghazals* — filled up the intervals between particular parts. The splitting of the *ghazal* from the point of view of the theme seems to have been a function of two factors: the role of the accompaniment, a definite fashion of interpretation style, and the

²⁵ E. G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, vol. 2, London 1956 (VIth ed), p. 44.

²⁶ M. Neshāt, *Zib-e sokhan*, Tehrān 1342, pp. 161—162, 174—175.

²⁷ The *qasida* was also called *chāme*, and the *ghazal* *cheqame*. *Chāme* and *cheqame* are two etymologically similar names, *cheqame* seems to be a kind of diminutive of *chāme*.

²⁸ The *ghazal* was also called *tarāne*. The name *tarāne* from *tār* "fresh" is a synonym of *tashbib* (Ar.) youth song describing also adolescent love.

²⁹ Z. Šafā, *Tārikh-e adabiyāt...*, vol. 1, p. 149.

³⁰ Neshāt, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

amount of epic element in the poem. Early ghazals contain quite a lot of this element.

For in that early period, besides the above discussed purely formal features of the ghazal, there can be noticed a formation of the fundamental frame of the motifs of the ghazal and of its metaphors, which later became so conventional, from the native and Arabic motifs, in such a way that the poet tried to exhaust the theme making the whole poem a comparatively compact sequence of ideas. Connections between particular elements of a poem on the basis of closer associations, the *murā'āt-e nazir* figure, i. e., the harmony of perceptions (the fundamental way of constructing the association sequence in Persian poetry) are realized on the level of both the tenor and the vehicle metaphors, as if on two parallel planes. Only later their connections are established in literary associations to give "harmony of perceptions" on the literary plane between the elements belonging previously to two levels (vehicle and tenor). This "harmony of perceptions" was the most important means of constructing the association sequence in the lyrical poetry of the later period. Then the basic clusters of motifs subservient to a given theme and their emotional aura become established.

Love poems of that period, that is, ghazals *sensu stricto*, can be generally divided into two groups: the first one includes first of all descriptions of the beauty of the beloved woman and intreating for mercy, the other, reflective type of ghazals, similar to the poems "on old age", "on wisdom" and the like, provide the "description of the state of falling and being in love":

And again love caught me in the noose
All efforts proved to be in vain
Love is a boundless sea
How can you swim across it, oh, wise man?
You want to endure love till the end
You must bear things unbearable
You must see ugliness and think it beauty
You must swallow poison and think it honey
I was stretching my neck knowing not
That straining at the noose I was tightening it ³¹

Rābī'a, daughter of Ka'b, 10th c.

If I could rest in your arms for one night
I would proudly hold my head up to the skies
I would break the cane (pen) in Mercury's hand
I would tear the cap off the moon's head...

³¹ The repetition of the motif of the first misra' in the ending is a characteristic feature here.

If I were you
I would have mercy on the wretched one

Rūdakī

Your vision was appearing before me all the night long, oh, wonder
All the night long, as a guardian of the sight, I was wandering...
Oh, black-eyed! Moon-like! I did not know
That the moon on the fourteenth (day) could twinkle with gazelle's (eyes)

Khosravānī, the 10th c.

The later, classical form of the ghazal is a combination of not only the "ghazal", i. e., love motifs but also of many other motifs the analysis of which seems necessary for the sake of the clarity of the presentation, all the more that already in the 11th century the anacreontic was also called ghazal. At that period it also shows two basic tones: the first — sublime (wine — power-giver, a world lightening lamp, Jamshīd's cup revealing the mysteries of the world) characterized by having very strong connections with the pre-Moslem Zoroastrian motifs³². The other tone, of merry character, represented by the feast song shows stronger Arabic influence. It introduces three persons: sāqī — serving, wine motreb — a musician and zāhed — a pious hypocrite, an enemy of the drinking; all the three names are taken from Arabic. The nasib of the famous qasida by Rūdakī presents a detailed description of wine, its production, value, etc.:

Wine's mother must be sacrificed
The child taken away from her and put into jail
You will never succeed in taking the child
Until you slay the mother and press out the soul from her, etc.

And his above mentioned ghazal of the "sorūd" rhyme scheme begins as follows:

Bring up the wine, which seems a lustrous ruby
Or like a blade held out towards the sun
Its clarity, you would say, rose water in a bowl
So nice, you would say, like sleep to sleepless eyes...

While the poetry of the Samanid poets has on the whole survived in fragments, the character of the whole poem being thus often unknown, the monuments of the Ghaznavid period allow us to establish more concrete details. The ghazal from that period is first of all the nasīb of the panegyric qasida. Those qasidas were written on the occasion of grand courtly reception (darbār) during which the poets presented their wishes and praises of the ruler. The prelude to such panegyric

³² Cf. M. Mo'in, *Mazdayasnā va adab-e pārsi*, Tehrān 1338, p. 432 ff.

qaṣida dealt with love or blended topical motifs with lyrical confessions. The greatest courtly festivals took place on the occasion of *Nou Rūz*, the Persian New Year (March 21st)³³, the autumn *Mehrgān* festival, and the *Sāde* festival, celebrated in December — a Persian bonfire festival. It must be remembered that those festivals were not Moslem, to the contrary, they had the unorthodox character of Zoroastrian festivals preserved in folk tradition. Thus the store of metaphors of the spring, autumn and winter *nasibs* was filled with native, Zoroastrian, perhaps *Mitraistic* motifs, and their mature and vital character show, according to our opinion, the adoption of the ritual song patterns from the pre-Moslem period. Descriptions of nature accentuate those elements of reality which must have been important for the pre-Moslem cult; the same elements which appear in, for instance, a ghazal by *Daqiqi*, a Zoroastrian (the 10th c.), a ghazal ending with a praise of Zoroaster's religion. They are: the sky, the sun, clouds, water, wind, air, the earth, plants. In the spring *nasib* a very frequent motif is that of wind bringing news, scent (the favourite theme of the *matla'* of the later ghazal), wind — the harbinger of spring. The clouds bring life-giving water, they are "clouds of paradise" resembling the "eagle's breast" or "scared elephants". Among the sky, earth and water there are relations, similarities. The grass like green silk covers the steppe — it is a sea on which ships steeds are sailing. The sky is also a steppe — green and azure, these epithets appear exchangeably. The mountain covers its head with a veil of seven colours. At New Year the whole nature, like men, puts on new dress. The spring *nasib* often includes the motifs of the erotic poem.

Spring wind, what message have you for the garden
 When will you bring to the garden message for red rose
 Since the first day you've been bringing pleasant scent
 As if the whole night you had been burning aloe of the *Qomar* (perfumes)
 Last night you were embracing the locks of my beloved
 No, no, you haven't yet got this heart and this beauty...

Farrukhī

The autumn *nasibs* combine vineyard motifs with the description of the dying nature, fading flowers, reminiscences, of love, old age. They also develop the theme of the struggle between the warm and the cold, the elements put on an armour and coat of mail:

If the air were delicate and the wind did not put on a coat of mail
 Who would be the one who scatters about smaller and bigger bits of armour?
 If iron sinks in water, such is its nature
 Why then does a coat of mail appear on the stream

'Unsuri

³³ The greatest Persian festival till our times.

The winter nasibs contain descriptions of winter, snow (compared among others to an army, a device which seems to be a Zoroastrian motif), and illuminations, fires which, according to old tradition, celebrated the winter solstice.

Sāde, the festival of great rulers
Is a memorial of Farīdūn and Jamshīd...
What is that blazing tree
Whose base is leaves, who has thousands of branches
Now as a cypress high, now
The ruby dome, painted with gold...

'Unsurī

In the orthodox court of the Ghaznavid Mahmūd people were aware of the unorthodox character of these motifs. It is evident in the works of the poets who accentuate the new spirit which their poetry represents in spite of being written according to the Zoroastrian tradition: "I greet you not after the guebers' fashion" — says 'Unsurī to the sultan. According to the chronicles Mahmūd prohibited to celebrate the State festival as being, in his opinion, the most obviously pagan one. Under the Moslem pressure the end of the Ramādān, the Moslem fast, began to be celebrated apart from the traditional Iranian festivals. The first nasibs devoted to this theme appear, they are still very simple, with uncomplicated metaphors.

The Fast ran out of our tent last night
Happy festival came with a bowl of wine
I asked the men — how are you, what news?
All answered — fine, fine, fine
What can we say if the fast turned his back upon us?
We cannot tell him — don't avert your eyes from us...

Farrukhī

Three most eminent masters of the qasida of the Ghaznavid period — 'Unsurī, Farrukhī, and Manūcherī (all died about 1140) devoted the nasibs of their qasidas to the following themes:

From 'Unsurī's divān 50 qasidas have survived; 14 of them are "mujarrada" qasidas, i. e., devoid of the nasibs, in which the poet at once proceeds to the praise (madḥ). In 20 qasidas the nasīb has love theme, in 6 — the description of spring, in 2 — of autumn, in 1 — the fires of Sāde, in 2 — a riddle, in 2 — conversation, debate.

Among the 213 preserved qasidas by Farrukhī 102 are mujarrada qasidas, 22 give the description of spring, 8 — of autumn, 3 — of wine, 10 — the end of the Ramādān, and 105 are love qasidas.

In Manūchehrī's divān among the 57 preserved qasidas 19 have the

love nasīb, 19 — the spring, 4 — the autumn, and 6 — the winter one (Sāde) ³⁴.

Besides, Farrukhī was immensely fond of writing separate ghazals, love "nasīb without qasidas". He even calls himself a Ghazal-khōn, and he seems to have used the term "ghazal" as referring to independent lyrics as well as to the nasīb of the qasidas. Written in simple language his erotic poems won great popularity and were sung in Persia as folk love songs; they exerted a strong influence upon the development of the lyrical poetry of the mystics and the whole later love lyrical poetry.

The development of the ghazal-nasīb connected with the panegyric qasida results in peculiar links between both the components: the poets try to connect them using similar elements of imagery (for example the autumn motif of a fading rose in the panegyric elegy). Already Rūdakī was aware of the close connection between the madh and the ghazal as far as their theme was concerned:

No use singing golden madhs, bright ghazals
For his dignity no words can describe

As early as in the 11th century the poets address their lords in the language of the purest lyrical love poetry. Gradually the nasīb motifs pass into the madh, a process which results in a shift of the meaning of the basic metaphors of the erotic poem, and which gives the well known equation ma'shūq = mamdūh (the beloved = the praised one). By becoming conventional this method made it difficult to decipher the meaning of the ghazal, particularly when taking into consideration the fact that because of the lack of grammatical gender in Persian it is not clear whether the lyrical object is feminine or masculine. In the Urdu ghazals (this language has the category of gender) which drew on the Persian models, the masculine forms are used as a rule, even when a certainly feminine object is meant. According to an Indian theorist, Hālī, "the poets used to speak of their beloved as young boys, this soon became a 'style' with the chrisms of classicity". He connects it with the tradition of a "veil" — writing about one's beloved with secrecy and from a certain distance, and not as a manifestation of homosexuality ³⁵. This problem, however, seems to be not so clear and obvious on Persian ground.

The poets concerned with metaphysical problems add to the

³⁴ The festival themes are enumerated after Bertels, according to *Istoriya...*, chap. VII.

³⁵ A. Bausani, *Altāf Husain Hālīs Ideas on Ghazal*, [in:] *Charisteria orientalia*, Praha 1956, pp. 40—41.

ma'shūq = mamdūh equation the third member — ma'būd (the worshipped one). Ghazals of this kind belong to the group called by the Persians the "ghazal-e 'urfāne" type, i.e., metaphysical ghazals as distinguished from the secular ghazal called by them a "love ghazal — ghazal-e 'ashqāne"³⁶. Such a general classification seems to be more justified than the one generally accepted by European scholars, distinguishing courtly ghazal and mystical ghazal (Bertels, Mirzoyev and others); a classification leaving out many phenomena undefined. Moreover, such approach to this problem involves emotional attitudes of the investigators, a situation which is an obstacle in the process of analysis. It only seems necessary to call the non-metaphysical ghazals not love ghazals but secular one (profane, according to Bausani)³⁷.

On the basis of the analysis of the materials still another classification can be introduced, namely a classification with respect to the approach to the theme in the above two groups — on the one hand emotionally subjective, on the other one intellectually objective. In early secular ghazal the emotional type prevails, although some tendencies towards objectivization are already marked (poems "on love", "on old age" etc.). In metaphysical lyrical poetry (it cannot be yet treated as the ghazal) it is, to some extent, the starting point — the famous Arabic qasida by Avicenna about a soul dove has this very character; it is a projection of abstract ideas into the symbol of a lyrical poem. The first poet to use scientific terminology in Persian poetry was Khosravi (976—1014)³⁸. The next phase of the development of this type of lyrical poetry is marked by the production of Nāsir-i Khosrow, an Ismailite leader, philosopher, hojjat or the head of the secret sect of the Ismailites in Khorāsān (1004—1088/9). His poems introduce to the metaphysical lyrical poetry many metaphors taken from the Ismailite symbols: allegorical interpretation of the principles of faith by the Ismailites favoured this process.

... the body is your gyves, the world — a prison...
 ... fate — a false lover, wants to deceive and rob me...
 ... then I rose from the bed of sickness ambition, and cured, thank God
 I hastened to the Penance apothecaries and there I asked
 For a healing drug...
 ... Bitter like sea water seems a page of the Writ
 But like a precious pearl is its content for a sage...

³⁶ Neshāt, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

³⁷ A. Bausani, *Ghazal in Persian Literature*, Encyclopaedia of Islam, Leiden 1965.

³⁸ Z. Šafā, *Tārīkh-e adabiyāt...*, p. 438.

Nāṣir did not consider his philosophically religious poems ghazals (he even blamed himself for writing ghazals in his youth, forgetting about divine matters). Yet their influence on the development of the later metaphysical ghazal claims his place among the forerunners of this type of lyrics.

The other, emotionally metaphysical group of lyrics is represented by the late poems of Kisā'i (d. after 953), first a Samanid, then a Ghaznavid poet. Although towards the end of his life he became a Shī'ite, for a long time he had been dodging about among the dangers of the orthodox Ghaznavid court (for which he was severely blamed by Nāṣir-i Khosrow) writing ardent erotic poems. Later he found a safe refuge in mysticism; a trend of vague philosophical assumptions, emotionally metaphysical, ecstatic. There he could transfer his experiences as a writer of erotic poems to his mystical poetry so consistently that it is sometimes impossible to distinguish one group from the other. The later mystics also seem to have been unable to distinguish between them thus treating many of his erotic poems as mystical ones.

For love songs were often sung at the mystics' meetings, their meaning being understood in an allegorical sense: thus the two trends of metaphysical lyrical poetry — philosophical and ecstatic are in a way combined. The very moment of this process can be traced in the works of Anṣārī (1006—1088). His philosophical reflections are interwoven with love poems, which are given metaphysical meaning. Here we can *in statu nascendi* observe the erotic and mystical forms and the shift of meaning of the erotic metaphors towards the mystical content.

At about the middle of the 11th century when a new Turkish dynasty — the Seljuqs came into power, and the great vizier Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1093), a sworn enemy of the Ismailites, began to rule, bloody persecution of the heretics started again. Nāṣir-i Khosrow seeks shelter in an inaccessible hermitage, Hasan-i Sabbāh from a stronghold in the mountains directs a forward Ismailite order of assassins replying to the violence and persecution with individual terror. Poetry has few adherents at the court. Nizām al-Mulk favours scholars, theorists. He does not like poets.

But after some interval poetry finds patrons among already totally Personalized representatives of the dynasty. But now, at the time when erudition gained such great importance, poetry becomes a vehicle of intellectual content, and the poets display their erudition. The form of the ghazal changes correspondingly. Because of the intellectualization of the ghazal the individual contours of lyrical expression are blurred, the image becomes objective, the poem expresses the knowledge of the object rather than emotions evoked by it. Tendencies towards theoriz-

ing, looking for analogues and general determinants grow stronger. The poets introduce to their poems metaphors taken from the poetry of their predecessors the works of whom they study while acquiring the poetic art. "The child of rhetoric reached maturity" writes a learned writer, Lubāb al-albāb³⁹, referring to the works of Mu'izzī, the first of the masters of the ghazal among the great poets-erudits (1048/9—1124/7).

In Mu'izzī's ghazals the interesting thing is not so much the very stock of the metaphors (he does not use metaphors which could not be found in earlier poets) but the degree of their saturation in the poem and their to some extent new function. The result of frequent use of the common context metaphors — their stabilization together with the objectivization of their value causes the transformation of metaphors = shortened similes into symbols = signs of general concepts. Elements of already established value are used by Mu'izzī to construct his poetry with mathematical accuracy, he composes the bayt as a syllogism, and the ghazal often has the structure of a multisegmental reasoning. Those tendencies are to be noticed even earlier — Mu'izzī, who sacrificed his life of a scholar for the career of a courtly poet, perfected these elements and introduced them to the ghazal for good. In his *Divān* (where for the first time the ghazals are distinguished from the qasidas and qit'as as independent genre⁴⁰) we can already find 513 ghazals which, though on the whole without the takhalluṣ, yet meet all later requirements. The appearance of the ghazal as an independent form can be observed also in the production of other writers of that period; here also the takhalluṣ is used facultatively.

The erudite poets of the 12th century saturate their poetry with scientific terminology: concepts of astrology are used by Anvarī (d. after 1168) who enjoyed the fame of a great astrologer. Since then they will be used as metaphors of lot, fate, etc. It is worth-while noticing that at that time the Shī'ite ideas are often joined with the Zoroastrian ones (in the poetry of Adīb Sābir d. 1147?); the persecuted Shī'a, a manifestation of the national resistance movement disguises its ideas in the forms of the already defeated Iranian religion.

Combination of the achievements of Mu'izzī and Anvarī can be seen

³⁹ M. 'Aufī, *The Lubābu'l-albāb*, ed. E. G. Browne and M. Qazwīnī, vol. 2, London 1906, p. 69.

⁴⁰ I. S. Braginskii (*O vozniknovenii gazeli v Tadžikskoy i persidskoy literature*, Sov. Vost. 1958/2, pp. 94—100) considers Ḥasan Ghaznavi the first poet to write independent ghazals, including him in the list of poets of the 11th century. It seems doubtful, however, if we take into consideration the fact that Ḥasan died about 1160 (cf. *M. Mo'in Farhang-e zabān-e fārsī*, vol. 5, Tehrān 1345). Thus, accepting the 11th century as the time of the final formation of the ghazal, as done by Braginskii, seems to be a misunderstanding.

in the poetry of Khāqānī (1120—1199) who saturates his ghazals with scientific terminology to a degree not lesser than Anvarī, and who transforms the patterns of Mu'izzis syllogistic structures constructing completely new figures and using an extremely difficult style while composing poems intelligible only for the intellectuals of that period⁴¹.

In that period of theorizing and scientific syntheses the role of poetry is determined as "legitimate magic" serving the rulers, great power of propaganda "making little things great, and great little"⁴². The poetic art requires education in the field of the technique as well as in all other branches, since "as all sciences are necessary for poetry so is poetry necessary for all sciences"⁴³.

At the time when secular poetry develops the erudite, intellectual type of ghazal, the combination of the two so far independent trends — ecstatic and philosophical — gives rise to the development of the mystical ghazal of metaphysical meaning. One of the first mystics to use the ghazal to convey metaphysical ideas was Sanā'ī (d. 1130)⁴⁴. Among the 376 preserved ghazals of this poet some remind of the poems of the poets-erudites, secular ghazals, some retain rejoicingly mystical love tone with metaphysical references⁴⁵.

The ghazal becomes the favourite lyrical form of the mystics. In the divān of the great sūfī 'Attār we find 794 ghazals, on the whole with the takhallus at the end ('Attār 1119—1193). They clearly show the influence of that period of erudition and of the philosophical interests of the author ('Attār wrote mystically didactic poems). Love metaphors function here as symbols of general metaphysical ideas:

She hid her face in the locks
Inside Islam she made the land of infidels (arise)
When she pushed back the locks
She made believers of all the infidels

According to the mystics' symbols the locks represent everything that veils the divine cognition, earthliness, non-being; the face — divine light, being⁴⁶.

⁴¹ Khāqānī belongs to the so-called Azerbaijan school of poets. The problems of schools, styles, cultural centres, minor dynasties are not considered here because of the limited length of the paper.

⁴² Ahmad b. 'Omar b. 'Alī Nizāmī 'Arūdi Samarqandī, *Chahār maqāle*, ed. M. Mo'in, Tehrān 1341, p. 42.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 47.

⁴⁴ Рypka, *op. cit.*, p. 182.

⁴⁵ Ye. E. Bertels does not consider Sanā'ī a sūfī (*Istoriya*, pp. 437—438). The poems of the mystics of that period contain a small number of mystical symbols so typical of later periods.

⁴⁶ Ye. E. Bertels, *Zametki po poetičeskoy terminologii persidskikh sufiyev*, *Lokon i lico*, Doklady Ak. Nauk SSSR, S. B, 1926.

In the lyrical poetry of the mystics we can find forms, metaphors, symbols and motifs from other kinds of poetry, from the pre-Moslem love or religious songs⁴⁷ to the strong Christian influences — all this being specifically transformed and mingled. Similarly to the philosophy of sūfism which was not homogeneous but was a synthesis of earlier neo-Platonic ideas, the symbols used by the mystics come from various sources. As far as symbols are concerned it is worth-while to note that in sūfism their significance was much greater than it is usually ascribed to metaphors. The mystics conceived the world as a reflection of the divine idea, the world of conception, idea: thus relations between names, ideas and symbols were not of accidental character; all this was characterized by order which was a reflection of the divine order. And since these relations occurred on a plane of a higher degree order, closer to the divinity they were, in a peculiar way, more important than the relations between things. In the poetry of the mystics all possible ways of expression were used, which resulted in a specific synthesis in the form of a world constructed of symbols and objects. In this way many new association sequences (*murā'āt-e nazir*) were created, which were the basis for later poets, both the mystics and the authors of the secular ghazal.

In the secular ghazal as well as in the metaphysical one (now clearly mystical) the 12th century closes the period of the cristallization of the form. Auḡi in *Lubāb al-albāb* gives examples of the ghazals of 12 poets of that time. The majority have the *takhalluṣ* in the *maqta'*. From that period on it will become one of the constitutive features of the genre.

The origin of this feature is not satisfactorily explained. According to Bertels it can be an element corresponding to the craftsman's or artist's signature under his artifact, and he considers the stabilization of this custom in the 12th century the result of the increasing cultural and social role of the middle class which transplants its handicraft habits into the written products⁴⁸. It seems to us, however, that the ghazal owes this feature not to one reason but to the coincidence of several causes:

Ending the *nasib* of the panegyric *qasida* the poet was in a way summing up his lyrical statement, and coming *ad rem* he wanted to draw his sovereign's attention (it should be remembered that on the whole the poets gave their poems to professional reciters to produce). It was a part strongly separating the prelude from the *madh* where he submitted himself to the patronship of the sovereign mentioning often

⁴⁷ Bertels sees here possible influences of the manichean hymns (*Istoriya...*, p. 520). The hypothesis concerning the Buddhist and Zoroastrian influences seems to be equally justified.

⁴⁸ Bertels, *Istoriya...*, p. 519.

his own name as well as that of his patron. Persian dictionaries define the "takhalluṣ" as: 1. submission to patronship, seeking shelter; 2. proceeding to the praise in the qasida⁴⁹.

Such exchangeable use of the name of the lord or that of the poet himself or of both of them is often met with the poets of the 12th century⁵⁰ in independent ghazals. Some traces of this phenomenon can be detected as late as in the 14th century in Hāfez; the cases of shifting the takhalluṣ to the further parts of the poem occur only in those poems in which the poet introduces the name of the sovereign, patron into the maqta'. More popular is the case of both the names appearing in the maqta'.

In the ending of the pre-Moslem Korkuyani sorūd there appeared a dedication, a praise of the lord, introduced unexpectedly, accompanied by a complete change of tone. In very early poems it happens sporadically, sometimes the poet's own name can be already found there.

Thus the appearance of the name, dedication, envoy at the end of the poem seems to have been a more general rule and a very old practice (similar to the Provençal envoi) while the appearance of the takhalluṣ — introducing the poet's own name — its particular case, which has been popularized and which, since the 12th century, has become a rule in the ghazal. The stabilization of this practice took place at the time when the type of auto-panegyric was spreading and the ghazal was absorbing the motifs of the madh and could fulfil its function⁵¹.

Our theory is supported by the fact that as late as in the 13th century Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī signs all the ghazals of his dīvān not with his own name but with the title of his master, the mystic Shams-i Tabrizī (the Sun of Tabriz) introducing to the maqta' a praise of that already missing preacher.

Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī, the greatest Persian mystic (1207—1273) finally joins the ecstatic and the philosophical types of the metaphysical ghazal, and his *Dīvān-e Shams-i Tabrizī* is a crowning achievement of the development of the purely mystical ghazal. His own words show that he was consciously combining various tendencies:

'Attār was a spirit, Sanā'i his two eyes
I came after Sanā'i and 'Attār.

Motifs taken from the two traditions are combined by him into a whole of unambiguously mystical, pantheistic character. From the

⁴⁹ Rashīd ad-Dīn Vatvāt, *Haqāiq as-shi'r fī daqā'iq*, ed. Tehrān 1339, p. 85; M. Mo'in, *Farhang-e zabān-e fārsī*, Takhallos.

⁵⁰ Cf. Braginskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 97.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 98.

metaphysically philosophical trend he takes both the motifs and their philosophical meaning⁵² from the ecstatic poetry — the metaphors of longing and meeting and he transforms them in a manner of his own:

Show me the face that will do for me as an orchard and garden
 Open the lips that will do for me as sugar...
 I wandered, ran through all the towns
 I never saw a town like the town of my love
 First I did not know the size of this desert
 I suffered sorrow enough because of this ignorance...

His mysticism contains ideas taken from various sources — we shall find here the idea of the relative truth of all the revelations, of the common source and the unity of the opposites.

Jalāl ad-Dīn's activity was noted in Konya where he met people of various origins, speaking various languages: for Persian was there still a literary language.

Meanwhile in the proper Persia terrible things were taking place. Devastating waves of the Mongolian invasion twice swept over the country. In the 13th century the leading culture of the Orient is destroyed, and the development of large areas on which hundreds of generations were contributing to the development of human thought, stops for centuries. Economic development stops dead, the traditions of science and culture gradually decay. In Persia it was most strongly felt in Khorāsān (already in the 12th century the invasion of the Ghuzz Turks changed this country into a desert, part of the inhabitants emigrated, some of those who escaped death fell into captivity). The cultural centre moved to the south, to Isfahan and Shiraz, where the destroying impetus of the Tartars was not so strong.

Social consciousness undergoes characteristic transmutations: the hopelessness, poverty and atrocities of the invasion make mysticism deeply enter the consciousness of the masses. People look for support in some permanent, unchangeable factor, metaphysics ceases to be a subject of philosophical speculations only, it becomes the exponent of common hope, it strongly colours the attitudes towards earthly problems.

In this intellectual movement are the roots of Sa'di's works, and his ghazals convey both the temporal and eternal meaning intermingled: the temporal illustrates the eternal, the eternal explains the temporal; one plane is broken through by the other. The state of being aware of the qualitative change which the ghazal underwent at that time is re-

⁵² E. G. Browne (*Literary...*, vol. 2, p. 110, foot-note 2) points to the influence of Avicenna's *Qasida on Soul* on the metaphors of Jalāl ad-Dīn.

flected in the generally quoted sentence by Nawā'ī: "the originator of the ghazal was Sa'dī"⁵³.

Sheikh Sa'dī left 728 ghazals, written in simple, rich language without the excess of ornaments or embellishments (he is an acknowledged past-master of the sade style, i. e., simple, plain). From the mystics he took the simplicity of style, the richness of love metaphors, the metaphor clusters, the patterns established by them *murā'āt-e nazir*. But in Sa'dī's poetry they are very strongly connected with secular meaning, mystical relativism becomes transformed into secular relativism. In his ghazals he juxtaposes images which before him had metaphysical value with their secular, real referents:

Your lock, like a little cloud, girdles round the dress
A spring (eye) from this cloud moistens my side
The vision of your face appeared before my eyes last night
And made my weary eyes free from hopeless love.

As far as the form and theme are concerned the achievements of Sa'dī's ghazal were the reflection of the main changes taking place within the social consciousness, and that is why not only did they meet with general approval but they also found many followers. In the production of a considerable group of poets specializing in the ghazal its form becomes finally crystallized and established: most often the ghazal consists of 7—12 bayts, each of them being a poetic miniature, a metaphorical image constructed by comparing either similar or opposite elements somehow reduced to a common denominator, metaphors of both metaphysical and secular meaning.

Repetition of this kind of patterns resulted in the stabilization of the multivalent metaphors, their several association fields with literary references. All this prepares the starting point for the ghazal's greatest flight ever noted in the poetry of Hāfez from Shiraz (1320—1390).

The greatest among the Persian lyrical poets was a man familiar with theological questions (Hāfez means "the keeping", he who knows the Koran by heart) and his works — heretical and blasphemous towards the official beliefs and authorities. His early ghazals in fact do not differ much from the ghazals of Sa'dī, the master of all the then ghazal-khōns. He uses the already established association sequences on the literary plane (*murā'āt-e nazir* on the literary level) and interpenetrates them through with elements belonging to other sequences, attaining the point at their meeting line, on an ambivalent element, first, as a rule on the

⁵³ Mir 'Alī Shīr Navā'ī, *Muhākamat al-lughatain*, ed. M. Quatremere, Paris 1841, pp. 24—25. Navā'ī mentions also Amīr Shāhī and Maulana Kātibi as the most prominent masters of the 11th century ghazal, a fact which is on the whole very rarely noticed.

vehicle metaphor plane. Very often he introduces the element of surprise, of the unexpected (the *ihām* figure, which is considered the characteristic feature of Hāfez's style)⁵⁴. The melody, the musical qualities of a poem used to strengthen its impact are constantly accentuated by the oriental commentators⁵⁵.

The plurisignation and multiple function of metaphors — the result of their frequent use in various configurations by Hāfez's predecessors — have been used by him to construct poetic statements which are more and more synthetic, many-levelled, related to various matters — metaphysical, temporal, philosophical: they are as it were a system of accords made of meaning and emotion.

The poems called by Arberry surrealist are Hāfez's crowning achievement in this field. They have never been properly understood either in the Orient or in Europe, and because of the degree of complication of their inner structure they never found followers⁵⁶. They are impossible to translate as their essential value is determined by the interplay of emotion, undertone, emotional aura and the plurisignation of words — untranslatable into any other language. They do not break the real plane with the metaphysical one but opalize with the multiplicity of referents throughout the whole poem: the planes have, as it were, overlapped one another, and when received, both as wholes and as parts they give various realizations. The conceptual plane on which the poetic expression lies is as if hung between the metaphysical plane and the secular, earthly one. In our opinion such composition is probably the result of reflecting in the structure of a poem the neo-Platonic concept of the world, developed by the mystics and already influencing the then current outlook. It would be the formation of poetic vision according to the rules and relations proper for the world of ideas, *'ālam-e maṣāl*, linking the eternal, metaphysical with the temporal, mutable.

The culmination of the ghazal in Hāfez's late poetry is a very short lasting phenomenon, a peak which nobody else ever managed to reach. After Hāfez only a gradual decline can be discussed. At that time writing ghazals becomes the vogue — everybody writes on every subject, there appear mystical ghazals, ghazals-panegyrics, love, reflective, satirical ghazals, etc. The form is not any longer difficult to handle: the immense number of archetypes encoded in social consciousness and repeated in stereotype patterns makes it possible to write ghazals without

⁵⁴ Manūchehr Mortazavī, *Ihām yā haṣise-ye asli-ye sabk-e Hāfez, Nashriye-ye Dāneshkade-ye Adabiyāt*, Tabriz 1338, N. 4.

⁵⁵ 'Alī Dashti, *Naqshī az Hāfez*, Tehrān, pp. 7–8.

⁵⁶ Hāfiz, *Fifty poems*, Intr. by A. J. Arberry, pp. 32–33.

any creative effort. Everybody at that time (and also later ⁵⁷) aims at drawing upon Hāfez's ghazals; the collection of his poems swells with the interpolations of poems imitating his style, added by the scribes who could not distinguish them from the original ones ⁵⁸.

The last example of creative transformation of the ghazal can be found in the poetry of Jāmi (1414—1492), who closes the list of the great Persian poets of the golden age of literature. A mystic of the orthodox school, erudite and scholar, Jāmi does not strive to cultivate the tradition of the emotional, lyrical values of the ghazal, filling his poems first of all with intellectual meaning. The precision of thought is connected here with clarity of composition. The proper fiducial plane for the meaning of the poems is the plane of abstract, scientific ideas. Jāmi creates his poetic world from the symbols of ideas, and the poem has the clarity of scientific reasoning. The point, *nokte* (the absolute requirement of the Persian aesthetics), is achieved on the intellectual plane. Already in Hāfez's poetry the *nokte* was often situated on the plane of the tenor metaphor, but it was an emotional type of the point; in Jāmi's poetry it is the meeting point of abstract ideas. For a reader not familiar with the symbolic references of the expressions used Jāmi's poems are mere cycles of colourful miniatures.

Jāmi finally gives philosophical meaning to the multi-valent symbols of his predecessors, this separating one conceptual level from the others, and depriving his poetry of the multiple function of Hāfez's ghazal. In this way he makes the way for his successors, the writers of the philosophical ghazal of the 16th and 17th centuries. They will repeat these patterns, modify them, but will never be able to introduce completely new ones, independent of Jāmi's. Symbols and their references become established: it seems that a significant role has been played here by the appearance and spreading of numerous dictionaries of poetry containing stores of metaphors for the description of the beauty of the beloved and the attributes of the divinity. Poems are composed according to ready-made prescriptions studied by everybody as an essential subject in the educational *curriculum*. Everybody learns by heart thousands of poems, studies comments stripping them of poetry. A poem becomes a kind of a riddle in order to understand which it is enough to substitute proper meaning for its elements. This situation leads poetry to the loss of the semantic vibrations so characteristic of the ghazals of the great masters. The impressive and expressive values consisting in the harmonious inter-

⁵⁷ Ye. E. Bertels, *Navoi i Jami*, Moskva 1956, p. 44.

⁵⁸ Modern critical works note: Khalkhālī — 492 ghazals, Qazvinī-Ghanī — 328 ghazals, while Brockhaus noted 573 (in 1854).

play of intellectual and emotional experiences disappear, there remains only the surprising artfulness of the poet. Originality is achieved by introducing strange elements to the theme and form, including rare and unknown words. There appear poems in dialects never used in poetry so far, or shocking as far as their meaning is concerned.

The so-called Hindu style (*sabk-e hendi*) becomes more and more dominant in the ghazal. According to the Persian definition the Hindu style is characterized by the use of many difficult and unknown words, allusions, and the multiplicity of hidden meanings, so that reading works written in this style requires a commentary of experts⁵⁹. Some scholars consider Jāmi the forerunner of this style because he located his poetry on the plane of intellectual concepts and used many words with references to some terminologies⁶⁰. Medieval Persian theorists sometimes connected it with the name of Bābā Fighānī of Shiraz (d. 1519)⁶¹. This concept cannot be accepted not only in the light of the fact that the Hindu style had already been widely spread at his time, but also when we take into consideration that the opinions about Bābā Fighānī and his poems vary: some say that his ghazals are very complicated and hence the name *feghāniyāt* for poems difficult to understand⁶², others, including contemporary Persian experts, consider him a poet of simple language⁶³ and a servant of the lachrymose muse⁶⁴. Deriving the Hindu style from India where Persian literature was developing at that time, is also a misunderstanding⁶⁵. Its origin and violent spreading is connected rather with the definite conditions, with the social and cultural situation in which the ghazal was developing, the consequence of the previous development, and not with the individual innovation of that or other writer.

Very often the authors of the ghazals are artisans, merchants, soldiers: the ghazal defined simply as a "poem" becomes the form of expression on every subject for those numerous non-professional poets. Referring to the flood of talents Nawā'i mentions 132 names of distinguished poets, his contemporaries, numbering their occupations⁶⁶. They write ghazals according to traditional patterns. A characteristic feature of the

⁵⁹ Neshāt, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁶⁰ *Divān-e kamel-e Jāmi*, Tehrān 1341, Intr. Hāshem Radī, p. 250.

⁶¹ Ye. E. Bertels, *K voprosu ob indijskom stile v persidskoy poezii*, [in:] *Charisteria orientalia*, p. 56.

⁶² *Ibidem*.

⁶³ M. Mo'in, *Farhang-e zabān-e fārsi*, Supplement vol. V, 1371, *Feghānī*.

⁶⁴ Rypka, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

⁶⁵ Bertels, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

⁶⁶ *Divān-e kamel-e Jāmi*, Intr. pp. 55–57.

list of poets mentioned by Nawā'ī is the fact that the majority of them have the title of maulana, which may suggest that they were members of mystical orders. Thus, on the one hand the popularity of mysticism is accentuated, on the other one the lowering of the level of the thematic aspect of the ghazal, greater concreteness of metaphorical relations, and stronger connections between the bayts of the ghazal⁶⁷. Besides the mystical ghazals, which on the whole repeated the patterns of their predecessors, there appear secular, definitely realistic ones. The general tradition of making references to the predecessors by means of allusion and quotation makes the pastiche and parody immensely popular. The pair of poets parodists, Būshāq and Qārī (the 15th century) the first of whom wrote ghazals using the food, kitchen and digestion vocabulary, while the other was immensely fond of words from the scope of tailoring and clothing are typical representatives of this trend. Their poems attain the point at the meeting point of the sublime, literary ideas (characteristic of the ghazal of that period) and the most common, every day ones, mocking the bombasting and lofty expressions of the writers of the pseudo-intellectual ghazal.

Thus the plebeian motifs serve here first of all to produce comic effects; but mocking lofty tones and thus entering literature they do not constitute any new conceptual plane, being only a means of destroying, negating the previous one. So characteristic of the previous phases of the development of the ghazal — the mechanism of introducing new sets of ideas and metaphors to the existing store of the already established motifs (the breaking through of the mura'at-e nazir plane, achieving the nokte, constructing the new, common plane) cannot occur: the new elements introduced here do not constitute harmonious wholes with the former ones. Creative transformation of the ghazal fails, the middle class's thought is strong enough to break sometimes the conventional structure of a poem but it lacks creative powers which could push the ghazal into a new direction, and give rise to a new convention positive in value.

After the final division of the ghazal into two types: mystically philosophical and secular both of them undergo a change of the structural function. In the 13th and 14th centuries the essential impressively expressive function was in a sense supported by the informationally didactic and autotelic ones. Now, as the structure of the ghazal gradually breaks into pieces there takes place not only a new splitting into particular planes of the poetic world but also a limitation of the function; on the one hand we have mystical ghazals written from the

⁶⁷ Mirzoyev, *Rudaki...*, p. 66.

point of view of the sages, teachers, on the other one — a conventional love, panegyric or descriptive ghazal. In a sense a decomposition of the multi-functional system occurs. Both the groups show a stronger evolutionary tendency towards the autotelic and entertaining functions⁶⁸: it is a spontaneous process. Because of the immense number of archetypes and their conventionalization the poets have difficulties with achieving the nokte. All possible elements which could be used in a poem and the relations among them reached the state of "absolute conductivity" so, little energy being left in them, they cannot produce any emotional discharge. After the time when the nokte was achieved on the intellectual plane the juggling with words and ideas becomes a formal show and the nokte is shifted into the formal layer of a poem; a process which automatically results in subordinating the whole structure to the autotelic and entertaining function. The originally intellectual, philosophical ghazal dies of an atrophy of thought and feeling.

This form of the ghazal in the Hindu style was transplanted to India (a fact which probably might account for the name of the style) and it is this form that is taken into consideration by the Urdu theorists⁶⁹. A similar situation took place in Turkey where the ghazal appears in its already petrified form. The poets of Turkish origin in Persia often wrote ghazals in Persian — a language considered most proper for poetry, or in Turkish, but using conventional metaphors and great predominance of Persian-Arabic vocabulary. The already mentioned vezir Mir 'Alishir Nawā'i, Jāmi's friend, wrote Turkish ghazals and left reliable opinions of the methods of writing them by the Turks: it is, according to him, easy for them since in order to create a poem it is enough to follow certain established and acquired rules⁷⁰. Further development of the Turkish ghazal in the Othman Empire went in that direction — the poets transform classical patterns and only by means of formal devices and ornamentation of style do they try to endow the ghazal with some artificial life. The Turks liked ornamentation: "the flabby, inflamed, bombastic style has always tended to prevail where the patrons of Persian literature were of Turkish or Mongolian race, and reaches the highest development in hands of Ottoman writers"⁷¹.

⁶⁸ The term taken from: S. Skwarczyńska, *Wstęp do nauki o literaturze* (Introduction to the Study of Literature), vol. 3, Warszawa 1965.

⁶⁹ Bausani, *Altāf Husain*..., p. 47.

⁷⁰ *Muhākamat al-lughatain*, p. 20.

⁷¹ Browne, *Literary*..., vol. 2, p. 89.

In Persia as well as in India and Turkey, against the background of gradual political and social decline and cultural stagnation the formally petrified ghazal could not find new themes to modify its form. Poems written after the 16th century were epigonic and non-creative. In present day Persia some poets still go back to this form of lyrical poetry but they are decreasing in number. In India there are attempts to solve this problem of combining the traditional form with new themes in theoretical rather than practical way⁷². In Turkey the poets reject the ghazal as a foreign and artificial form connected with the period of Persian domination in literature.

An interesting phenomenon was the awakening of the traditional form of the ghazal in Sovjet Tajikistan during the last war and in the years immediately after. The poetry of Lahuti, who wrote ghazals on patriotic, ideological and topical political problems, found followers in a group of Tajik poets. They drew on the ghazals which since the Middle Ages had been functioning as love and reflective folk songs as well as on the original patterns of the classical ghazal.

Translated by Jolanta Nałęcz-Wojtczak

GHAZAL

STRESZCZENIE

Ghazal (używana u nas forma *gazel* jest turecką wersją arabskiej i perskiej nazwy, jaką przyjęliśmy) to gatunek wiersza lirycznego ukształtowany na perskim gruncie w rezultacie kontaminacji form rodzimego liryku i arabskiego lirycznego wstępu *kasydy*, *nasibu*. Zauważamy tu silny wpływ perskiej pieśni obrzędowej, w okresie kiedy *ghazal* rozwija się jako *nasib* dworskiej *kasydy* pochwalnej (X—XI w.). Jako samodzielny gatunek kształtuje się w XII w. i wtedy uzyskuje ostatnią ze swoich cech dystynktywnych, *tachallus* (imię poety) w ostatnim wierszu. Stabilizacja jego to rezultat długiego procesu stopniowego przechodzenia od posłania, obserwowanego jeszcze w zabytkach przedmuzułmańskich, do auto-posłania, jakie staje się normą w *ghazalu* klasycznym.

Ghazal perski możemy podzielić najogólniej na dwa typy: *ghazal* świecki i *ghazal* metafizyczny (*ghazal* mistyczny to najczęściej spotykany rodzaj tego drugiego typu). W okresie od IX do XI w. kształtuje się zasadniczy repertuar *ghazalu* świeckiego z elementów erotyku, panegiryku, anakreontyku i zachowanych wzorów pieśni obrzędowych przedmuzułmańskich, związanych ze świętami wiosny, jesieni i zimy (*sade*—sobótki). W XI w. pojawiają się i na stałe wchodzą do repertuaru *ghazalu* coraz liczniejsze motywy związane z historią, teologią i obrzę-

⁷² Bausani, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

dami islamu. W XII w. *ghazal* świecki staje się wierszem typu symbolicznego o treściach najczęściej refleksyjnych, ogólnych. Wchłania wtedy znaczną ilość symboli, pojęć abstrakcyjnych, naukowych.

Ghazal metafizyczny rodzi się z połączenia liryki ekstatyczno-mistycznej, operującej metaforami erotyku bez symboliki filozoficznej, i poezji symboliczno-religijnej, filozoficznej, posługującej się symbolami pojęć ogólnych, abstrakcyjnych, wykształconymi przez muzułmański neoplatonizm na gruncie różnych szkół filozoficznych i sekt religijnych. W XII w. następuje zbliżenie pomiędzy tymi dwoma nurtami, a w XIII w. ich pełne połączenie w dojrzały *ghazal* mistyczny w twórczości Dżalal ad-Dina Rumiego.

Także połączenie *ghazalu* świeckiego i metafizycznego datujemy na XIII w. Powstaje wtedy *ghazal* o wielu cechach (metaforyka, język, budowa dystychu i całości *ghazalu*) dotąd typowych dla *ghazalu* mistycznego, ale wyrażający treści świeckie, z pewnymi tylko metafizycznymi odniesieniami. Kulminacyjny moment rozwoju *ghazalu* przypada na XIV w., kiedy po pełnym zżyciu się elementów mistycznych i świeckich oraz stabilizacji ich symbolicznych odniesień w obu płaszczyznach *ghazal* staje się wierszem wielofunkcyjnym, opalizującym znaczeniami odnoszącymi się do nich obu.

Od XV w. *ghazal* ponownie rozdziela się na dwa zróżnicowane typy: mistyczny i świecki, każdy o jednoznacznej wymowie. Wartości jego jako wiersza lirycznego zanikają, sens przenosi się w płaszczyznę intelektualną. Następuje okres pełnego formalizmu i koniec żywotności *ghazalu*: coraz silniejsze są tendencje do uzyskiwania pointy w warstwie formalnej, struktura przedstawia się na funkcję autoteliczną-rozrywkową.

Skonwencjonalizowany *ghazal* mistyczny i świecki przeszedł do literatur tureckiej i urdu.

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