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

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

BY

HAMIDE ODILEH

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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.**

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PART ONE
Well, before FułuLI'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 Chaghatay literature. FuçuLI is a representative of this composite type of literature. Taking his inspiration on the one hand from Chaghatay and on the other from Persian literature, he developed to a high degree the art which he had inherited.

FuçuLI'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 FuçuLIs: 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 FuçuLI 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 Fużūlī 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 Fużūlī'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 Fuḫulī'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 Fuḫulī 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 Günbur has published a bibliography of Fuḫulī which she has called "A Trial Bibliography of Fuḫulī", 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 ms. of Fuḫulī's works. Fortunately I had the opportunity to travel in Europe and in Turkey and to examine more ms.

Professor Dr. Abdülkadir Karahan has written a book on Fuḫulī's life, and Professor Dr. Hasibe Kazımoğlu has published a work "Fuzuli-Üyfiz" in which she compares Fuḫulī's Turkish ghazals with the Persian ghazals of Üyfiz. The English
scholar E. J. W. Gibb in his *History of Ottoman Poetry* has made some fine critical remarks on Fuzuli'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 Fuzuli'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 *Divan* as we can, for instance, from a study of his "Layla ve Majnun". 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 Fuzuli's characters such as Majnun, Rind or Zāhid, are obvious ways to understand his works better. In this study, while giving most attention to Fuzuli's *Divan*, 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 Fuzuli's art and thought.

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

To me the study of Fuzuli has been a source of great strength and happiness.
I am deeply grateful to my supervisor Mr. P. R. 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 Taran and Professor A. Karahan of Istanbul University, and to Professor H. Nazlıoğlu of Ankara University.
The poet Fu'ūlī was born and lived in 'Irāq, by which is here meant the region known in the middle ages as "'Irāq-i 'Arab", or "al-'Irāq al-'Arabi": 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. The word 'Irāq 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 "'Irāq-i 'Ājam" or "al-'Irāq al-'Ājami". 'Irāq-i 'Arab corresponded roughly to the former Ottoman provinces of Baghdād and Baṣra. Fu'ūlī spent his whole life (c. 1480-1556) in the Baghdād province, at the towns of Karbalā', Najaf, Yilla, Kūfa, and Baghdad itself. Before 'Irāq was

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   b. George L. Harris, Iraq, New Haven 1958, p. 28.
   d. 'Abbās 'Azzāvī, Tāriḵ al-'Irāq, Baghdād 1357/1939, Vol. III.
established as a nation, the region was generally known as Mesopotamia (al-Rāfīgāyn). The name 'Irāq was adopted by the government in 1921.

During Fuzuli's time, 'Irāq was ruled by the White Sheep (Aq Qoyunlu) Turkmān dynasty, by the Šafavīs (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 Baghdādis 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 Ismāʿīl ʿṢafavī 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 Lamlûks and take their place as custodian of the holy places of Mecca and Madīna.

In 914/1507–8 Shāh Ismāʿīl Ṣafavī 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 ʿUʿl-ʿAqār seized the city and announced his allegiance to the Ottoman Sultān Sulaymān. (1)

In 941/1534 Baghdād fell without resistance to an Ottoman army under the Grand Vazir ʿIbrāhīm Pāshā, and Sultān Sulaymān entered the city, where he remained with the troops till the following spring. In the reign of Sultān Sulaymān I, (2) surnamed by Europeans "the Great or the Magnificent" and by Turks Qānūnī (the Lawgiver), Turkey attained the

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2. Sulaymān (Sūlayman) 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 Bagdad and the outskirts of Vienna.

The life and achievements of Sultan Sulaymān belong to the political, not the literary, history of the 16th century; but it is remarkable that by winning Bagdad for Turkey he rendered a signal service to the literary fame of his country, as it is by virtue of that conquest that Fūsūl 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) Sultan Sulaymān himself wrote very fair verses under the pen name Ḥiḥibbi; (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.

2. Ḥiḥibbi 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.

Fuṣūlī addressed gazīdas (panegyric odes) to Sulaymān, to Ibrāhīm Pāshā, and to other members of the Sultān'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 extrahistorical 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 Fužûlî'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 Fužûlî's poetry. At this time the Perso-Arab poetic system influenced all the Oriental literatures. Since pre-Islamic 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 Afghans, 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, 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

Turkish speech, we can say that the Persian was turkidized, 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 those 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 Hafiz (d.c. 792/1390), and 'Ali Shîr Nava'i (d. 906/1501), who wrote both in Persian and in Eastern (Chaghâta'î) Turkish. Persian influence in Turkish romantic poetry shows itself most clearly in the magnâvâs with their themes such as Laylā and Majnûn, Khusrâw and Shîrîn. Mysticism and allegory are also characteristic

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.; 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 Qutbism 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 Saʿīd ibn Ḥūravī (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 Fūṭūḥ, Beauty and Love or Health and Sickness.
3. A celebrated Sufi (357-967/440/1049), reputedly author of Persian mystic rubāʿīyat; but this is uncertain (Encyclopaedia of Islam, 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. Fuşûlî himself in a poem claims that poets are liars:

And even should Fuşûlî 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.

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 Sulaymânic 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 magnavi. There had indeed been a steady flow of works of this class ever since the Khusraw va Shīrīn of Shaykhī (d. c. 1451). The passion for writing poetry flashed through all classes of society, Sultāns and Princes, Vāzīrs and Mūftīs, and dārvīshes. 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

Sultans 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 Sultan, a Vazir or a Vali. 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 Sulaymân I to be the culminating point of all Turkish poetry; in his great history of Ottoman poetry 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. Gibb has compared some of the poems of Nehmet the Conqueror (886/1481) with those of Shakespeare. In one of his odes, Nehmet wrote:

1. Vazir (Minister), Vali (Governor).
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 Fuğûlî are sensibility, melancholy, pride,
passion, will, good sense, judgment, fancy, glowing ima-
gination 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
Fuğûlî. 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

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)

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

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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 Fuádi, one of the truest poets that the East has ever born, would alone suffice to mark the Sulaymáníc age for ever."(1)

Although Fuṣūlī 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. Lāṭīfī (d. 1582) and ʿAhdī (16th century) give him the title "Fuṣūlī-yi Baghdaḍī", but do not specifically state that he was born at Baghdaḍ. The Persian biographer Sām Mīrzā (1517-1577), and the Ottoman Turks ʿAllī (1541-1600), who himself is one of the most outstanding representatives of Turkish literature of the 16th century, and ʿAšiq Chalâbī (1520-1572), say likewise in their Tagkîras (Biographical Sketches) that Fuṣūlī was a Baghdaḍī; and the British Museum Catalogue mentions the city of Baghdaḍ as his birthplace. The Turk ʿHasan Chalâbī (d. 1535) claims that it was Hilla, while the Turk Riyāḍī (16th century) says that it was Karbala. 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 Fūsūlī's life was passed mostly in the "Dār al-Salām" (1) (i.e. the city of Baghdaḏ), a remote and then recent acquisition of the Ottoman Empire.

Laṭīfī in his Taṣkīrā, written in 953/1546, says: (2) "Fūsūlī-yi Baghdaḏiy is one of the poets of the age. He has a strange but fascinating style, all his own." (3)

Sām Miṣrī in his Tūḥfā-yi Śīrī (4) writes that Fūsūlī is the best poet in the Dār al-Salām (i.e. Baghdaḏ) and that his poems are composed in Turkish and Arabic.

‘Aḥdī (5) gives more definite information. ‘Aḥdī himself was a native of Baghdaḏ, and wrote his Qulashan-i Shuʿarā in that city in the year 971/1563. In this work he speaks of Fūsūlī as a Baghdaḏiy and adds that he was a good-natured savant and a charming conversationalist.

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1. Dār al-Salām (Abode of Peace) was the title given to Baghdaḏ by Eastern writers. Dār al-Salām is also the name of one of the eight paradises in the Islamic religion.

2. Laṭīfī, Taṣkīrā, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi No. 546, pp. 265-266.

3. Strange here means unique and original.


'Ashiq Chalabi's information goes a trifle further. In his *Mash'ir al-Shu'arā* (974/1566) he tells us that Fuşuli was a native of Baghdad, and the master and senior of the poets of those parts.

Bayani in his *Tazkira* (1000/1592), Ali in his *Kunh al-Akhbār* (1002/1593-1006/1597) and Sadīqī in his *Majma' al-Khayāṣ* (1016/1607) all assert without producing any proof that Baghdad was Fuşuli's birthplace and domicile.

Riyāzi (16th century), however, in his *Riyāz al-Shu'arā*, states that Fuşuli was born at Karbala, and as evidence that he dwelt at Karbala quotes Fuşuli's Persian stanza:

> حنون خان كربلای پم گریست
> نظم بدر کجا رود خروش روست
> زر نیست سم نیست کبیر نیست لعل نیست
> خاکست خص دنده وی خان کربلای

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3. Ali, *Kunh al-Akhbār*, Istanbul 1269/1861 (Persian translation, Tabriz 1968), 5 vols; p.18. This is one of the most important Ottoman historical works.
"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 Chalabi in his Tazkira (994/1588) (2) is the first writer who states that Fuūlī was from ʿIllā. In later times, Muʿallim Nājī (1849-1892) (3), Shams al-Dīn Ǧāmī (1850-1904) (4), and E. J. W. Gibb (5) state that he was from ʿIllā, 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 Fuūlī was born at Baghdād, he himself, in some poems, speaks of Baghdād as a diyār-i churbat (strange land).

1. Karbalā dust is considered holy by the Shiʿites, 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 Chalabi, Tazkirası, Maarif Vekaleti Ankara Umumi Kütüphanesi, No. 97, pp. 221-222.

3. Lyukhati Nājī, Istanbul 1308/1890, p. 571.


In a qaṣīda which he presented to Ayās Pāhā, he says that he left his home town because his poetry was not appreciated there, and went to a strange place:

Fuṣūlī thus implies that he was not born at Baghdaḏ. Like other contemporary poets, he uses the words "diyār" or "vaṭan" for the place or land of a person's birth. In Turkish literature the word vaṭan 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 Fuṣūlī was born either at Hilla or at Karbalā and went to Baghdaḏ to present his qaṣīdas. In a qaṣīda which he presented to Mehmed Pāhā, he calls Baghdaḏ mulk-i shurbat (The strange kingdom).

\[\text{Kulliyāt-ī Divān-ī Fuṣūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 53.}\]
Sulaymān Naṣīf, in his book on Fuzu'ly published at Istanbul in 1925,\(^1\) says that while he was at Baghdad he tried to obtain further information about Fuzu'ly, but could not find any manuscript with even two lines of the poet's own handwriting.\(^2\) He adds that Fuzu'ly's date and place of birth are completely unknown. Although Fuzu'ly is described as a Baghdadī, the province of Baghdad comprised a large number of villages. According to Sulaymān Naṣīf, the following Persian poem by an unnamed poet of Yilla proves that Yilla was Fuzu'ly's birthplace:

"There are two poets now at Yilla; Fa'īl the son and Fuzu'ly the father. Everything in the world is topsy-turvy: The father is learned (fa'īl) and the son is impudent (fuzu'ly)."

Professor Abdulkadīr Karahan, in his book written in 1949 about Fuzu'ly's life, personality and background\(^3\) concludes from various documents that Fuzu'ly's birthplace

\(^2\) Sulaymān Naṣīf, was at one time the Turkish Governor in Baghdad.
\(^3\) Fuzu'ly, Kuhiti, Hayati ve Şahsiyeti, Istanbul 1949, pp. 67-72.
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 (rīvāt-i rīvāāt)?

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

Ṣādiqī in his Najma‘ al-Khawāṣṣ (which was written in 1016/1607 in Chaghātāy Turkish) speaks of Fuṣūlī as mutavattʿin (domiciled)⁴ at Yilla. The word means that Fuṣūlī was not born at Yilla but later chose it as his vātan (domicile).

The Iranian ‘Alī Tarbiyat, in his book on the scholars of ʿAzarbājān,⁵ states that Fuṣūlī was born at Baghdād or Karbalā but gives no further information.

ʿAbd al-Haqq Hamīd, in his preface to Sulaymān Naṣīf’s book on Fuṣūlī, states that some poems by Fuṣūlī are still being discovered and some are only known by heart, but unfortunately there is little information about his life.

Fuṣūlī 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.

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From Fuzuli's Turkish Divan:

"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 'Iraaq, where I was born and brought up, they will not count this a mark to my discredit."

In the Persian Divan, Fuzuli after mentioning his birth at Karbalah adds that he grew up in "the castle of the saints," by which according to Professor Karahan he means Baghdaad; though Professor Karahan cites no proof of this.

"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 Karbala, 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 Razi in his history Haft Iqlim (3) (composed in 1028/1619), and Lutf 'Ali Beg Azar (1123/1711-1195/1781) in his anthology Atashkade-yi Azar, (4) quote the following ruba'I by Fu'ad to show his relationship with Karbala.

2. I.e. the Imams 'Ali and Iyusayn who are buried at Najaf and Karbala.
3. Amin Ahmad Razi, Haft Iqlim, Calcutta 1358/1939, pp. 122-123.
"Anyhow, when the Karbalād-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 Fuṣūlī's birthplace is available. On this subject nothing can be added to what Professor Abdūlkadir Karahan has written in his article "Fuṣūlī" (Fuṣūlī) in the new edition of Encyclopaedia of Islam:

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

1. See also p. 410 below.

Fuṣūlī's Birth Date.

The exact date of Fuṣūlī's birth is not mentioned either in his own writings or in the taškiras of contemporary biographers, who in accordance with Islamic 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 Fuṣūlī's life inferred that he was born in 900/1495 on the following grounds. Sometime between 916/1510 and 920/1514 Fuṣūlī dedicated his first masnavī "Baug-ı Beda" to Shāh Ismā'īl Şafavi who had captured Baghdad from the White Sheep Turkmen dynasty in 914/1508. Professor Karahan estimated that Fuṣūlī was then 18 or 20 years old. In his opinion, although "Baug-ı Beda" is a short work, hardly any other Eastern poet in those days could have written such an interesting masnavī. In that case Fuṣūlī'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 Meclisasi(1) as follows:

"Fuğûlî's first known poem is a qasîda in praise of Alvand (Elvend) Bey, a grandson of Aq Qoyunlu Usun ʿYasan, who was the ruler of Baghdad between 1498 and 1502. Fuğûlî addressed a Persian qasîda to him in that period. Persian was not Fuğûlî's native language. Even though Fuğûlî 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 qasîda 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 Fuğûlî'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 "Türk Yurdu Meşmuasî" in 1953, 1955, and 1956, and in "Tasvir" in 1948. Unfortunately the matter has not progressed any further, and these articles have not arrived at a solution.

Fuğlîi's Pen-Name.

The poet's real name was Muḥammad Ibn Sulaymān, and Fuğlîi (Fuğlîi) was his pen-name. Contemporary biographers call him Nawlânâ Fuğlîi or Fuğlîi-yi Baghdādī. The earliest writer who mentions Fuğlîi's name as Muḥammad son of Sulaymān is Kātib Chalabi (d. 1058/1651) in his encyclopaedia Kaḥš al-Ẓunu'n. (1)

It has been stated, on uncertain authority, that his father Sulaymān was the Miftāḥ at Ẓilla. (2)

Fuğlîi invariably used the pen-name (makhlâq) Fuğlîi 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 Divān, Fuğlîi explains why he finally chose the curious makhlâq Fuğlîi; 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 Divān:

2. Official expounder of Islāmic law.
Fużuli

"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 "FuZÜLI", 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 FuZÜLI is the plural of fæl, like the plurals j̣ulūm and ḥawād, which mean "sciences" and "arts". The other meaning of FuZÜLI 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 such as it shows that I do not
know my limits."

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

"Fuṣūlī (فصول) 1 - Officiousness, meddling,
impertinent interference,
blabbing.
2 - A busybody; a meddler.

لغول كردن : 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
Fuṣūl (فصول) and that for an
officious fellow, busybody, etc. is
Fuṣūlī (فصول).
Thus Sa'dī says جو کار ی سفضول من پرآید
"when an affair is adjusted without
my interference." But in modern usage
these renderings are reversed. (1)

As a matter of fact Fuğlí himself sometimes used the word with the meaning "impudent". At the end of "Panç fi Böde she says:

جون فدؤولن در بم لمتم
عَبَّاء اولمزر کر الهم ادیم

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

Again in one of his ğhazals we find this stanza:

گتم ای عویش فدؤولن بتو تیل دادر
گتم زین می ادسباست ک ایش لکب است

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

However, as Sulaymán NağIf says in his book: ³
"Fuğlí 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:

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


2. The word 'Erif is sometimes used to mean "knower of God", sometimes to mean "learned scholar".
As mentioned earlier it is difficult to unearth Fuğûlî'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, Abü'l-2ıyă Tawfıq (1848-1913) in his anthology "Namına-yı Adabıyât",(1) and 2ıq Rıshād (1851-1914) in his "Tārıḳh-ı Adabıyât-ı "Ummāniya",(2) state without mentioning any reliable source that Fużūlı first took to poetry when he fell in love with his teacher's daughter, and that his literary taste was formed by the poet ıbī. The already mentioned report that his father was the Muftı at Hilla likewise rests on uncertain authority. It can, however, be said with certainty that Fużūlı came from an educated family and was

1. Abü'l-2ıyă Tawfıq, Nəmına-yı Adabıyät, Istanbul 1296/1879, p. 27.
himself fully trained in all the learning of the age. His learning is attested by the titles of pullā and later kawlehā which were given to him. It appears that his education commenced at Karbalā and was continued at Ḥilla and Baghdad.

The poet himself, in the preface to his Turkish Divān, 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 (māktab) 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.

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

Fuzuli 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.

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 those sun-bright beauties, and waxed greater day by day until the light of its beams reached far and wide.

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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.

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

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

The feast-brightener of the banquet-hall of
(God's) friend (i.e. Abraham)(1)

The Jam(shld) of the age, Shāh Ismā'īl.

At rest through him are rich and poor,
May God perpetuated his kingdom to eternity. (2)

Fūsūlī then set to work and studied the Islamic and other sciences until, as he himself says, he was at length able to adorn his poems with the pearls of knowledge. 'Ahd3 relates that Fūsūlī was highly accomplished, being well versed in mathematics and astronomy. Amīn ʿAḥmad Rāzī in Haft Ḩaṭīms speaks of Fūsūlī being the most intelligent, learned and erudite of the recent poets.

When Shāh Ismā'īl took possession of Baghdaḏ, he reorganized the administration of the province, placing it under the authority of a governor (Vâlī or Pīnakā), a Chief Fiscal Officer (Daftardār), and a Judge (Qāṭī). Fūsūlī enjoyed the patronage of the Ṣafavid Vâlī of Baghdaḏ, Ibrāhīm Khān Maḏqālī, and dedicated ašrāds to him. During this period of Fūsūlī's lifetime, Baghdaḏ

1. Q.2, Sūrat al-Anbīyā, verse 58.
was torn between two conflicting currents and became a battlefield between Shi'ites and Sunnites. When the Ottoman Turks entered Baghdad headed by the Sunnite Sultan Sulayman in 941/1534, Fuüli did not find it strange. Evidently feeling no embarrassment at the change of administration, he did not hesitate to address a famous şelâlery to Sulayman the Magnificent. At this time Fuüli met two poets who had participated in the Ottoman campaign, Khayami (d. 964/1557) and Tashlijüli Yağhû (d. 990/1582), and held literary discussions with them while they were in ‘Iraq.

Fuüli spent a large portion of his long life in employment at the shrine of the Imám ‘Alî (al-‘Ataba al-‘Aliyya) 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 Shikayetnâmä.(1) During Sultan Sulayman’s stay in Baghdad, Fuüli had been promised a pension payable from the yaqf funds, and he wrote this letter to the Nishânî Fâhîd (head of the provincial chancellery) Jalâlsâda Muğfârî Chalabî.

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

Fu'âlî 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 'Irâq. In his youth he hoped to visit Tabriz and in his mature age to go to India and Asia Minor. As he says in his Persian Divân:

"Fu'âlî, your heart did not choose Baghdad; it longed to enjoy life at Tabriz."

Sometimes Fu'âlî 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 Fâlî Chalabî.\(^2\)

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2. 'Abdîx, Gûlshan-i Shu'ara, Baghdâd 971/1563, pp. 86-7;
who lived in seclusion at Baghdad 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 FuşûlI as "a good-natured old man", and FuşûlI himself mentions that he lived long.

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

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

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

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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!

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

In my research concerning Fuṣūlī'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 Fuṣūlī was in love with his teacher's daughter, but add nothing more. He himself says that he had a son called Faṣī; but about the boy's mother, Fuṣūlī's life-partner, we know nothing.

Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī's death date (دوغدنت فضولي) as 963 (Pā'īn, Zubdāt al-Ash'ār and Rūyāy, Rūyā al-Shu'ā'ārā).
Farhād carved Shīrīn's face for the people on a rock. How extraordinarily 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 Fuṣūli'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 beloved.

In the above quoted poem blaming Farhād for having carved Shīrīn's face on a rock, Fuṣūlī 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 Saljuq Sulṭān Malik Shāh, played a big part in state affairs, and the Salghurid princess Abīsh 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 Fuṣūlī's models, idealized the heroines Shīrīn and Laylá and the Seven Princesses of the Naft Paykar. By Fuṣūlī'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 Ṣafīq (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 (tanbih) as without gender. The Persian language has no genders, and the Persian pronoun ع (I) may mean either "he", "she" or "it". In genuinely 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 Ḥāfīz. 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 Fūṣūly'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. Fūṣūly's work "Godīgat al-Suʿadā" recognizes that in the
time of the prophet Muhammad the Arab women, too, had a fairly high place. This position was later lost owing to misinterpretations of Qur'anic texts by Islamic jurists and enforcement of these misinterpretations. The low position of women in Islam 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 Islamic 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" (Dada Coroud)\(^1\) 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 Fuadly's day. When it does appear it is

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1. Dede Korkut Kitabi, ed. by Muhammed Ergin, Ankara, 1958, Vol. I and II. Dede Korkut is a Turkish collection of twelve tales in prose, interpersed 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 Islamic culture on it is superficial. The pre-Islamic 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 yazir Niğām al-Kulk (408-1092), (1) the theologian Ghazzālī (1058-1111), (2) and the poet Sa’di (d. 1092), (3) who mostly speak ill of women and only seldom well.

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

اولو اولادی گمر سوددن و کتیبه و پیرو


The firmament makes worthy and educated people lead a life of misery and pain and at the same time grants the ignorant all their wishes and raises them in position and favour. Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī's Rind-u Zāhid(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, Zāhid, 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.

Fuṣūlī speaks these words through the mouth of Zāhid, 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

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2. We find the same view in Sa'di's Bustan:
   "A good, pious, obedient wife makes the poor man a king."

زن خوب و فرمان تارساکد مرد دو روش را پادخا.
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 Fuḍūlī 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 داکل اختیار بازار
لین کم از مطلق کم الدی
اولماز از مدن اوزکه 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)

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 and unfortunate position.

Women as heroines of historical and religious works.

In Fuṣūlī's works women sometimes appear as heroines of historical romances. In "Hadīqat al-Su'adā" the names of such women 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 Diwān, Eve, the first woman to be created, is mentioned together with Adam.

"Before Adam not Eve, He (God) calculated all man's livelihood."

Fuṣūlī also recounts the lives of Adam and Eve in the stories of the fall of man. At the beginning of "Hadīqat 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:

"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 Fuṣūlī discusses the separation between Adam and Eve.

In the tale of Ibrāhīm Khaliḷullūh (Abraham, the friend of God) and Ismā'īl, Fuṣūlī 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:

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. Fuṣūlī, Ḥadīqat al-Su'ādā, 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 Ḥadiqat al-Su‘ādā 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 Fuṣūly's poems, and he refers to Jesus as 'Isā-yī Ḥanīyān (Jesus son of Mary).

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

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

2. Ibid., p. 47.
the beautiful but cruel woman(1) who wanted John's head as a fulfilment of her wishes.

Fūzūlī gives the place of honour in Ḫadiqat al-Suʿādā 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 three 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:


d"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 Musliims, and in her simple and modest womanhood she becomes the model of the true Muslim woman. In Shi'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 Hasan and Husayn. Maryam (Mary) is dear to the faithful in connection with her son Christ.

Women as heroines of romances.

Shirin and Layla, the favourite heroines of Turkish 
masnavi literature, are met with frequently in Fu'uzuli's 
works. They are usually mentioned in connection with 
their loves, for Farhad and for Majnun respectively.

For example:

"If Layla has her Majnun and Shirin her Farhad, 
you too have a lover like me; be proud of it."

When praising Baghdad, Fu'uzuli says:

"A thousand Laylas and Majnuns are manifest in 
its deserts; in its mountains a thousand 
Farhads and Shirins drink wine."

It seems possible that those two women, especially 
Layla, symbolize the woman Fu'uzuli loved. He writes in 
one poem:

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

In his famous Turkish masnavi "Layla va Majnun", Fuzuli enlarges on his ideal of Layla. 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 Layla of Fuzuli'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.

The woman or women in Fuzuli's life.

We have only rumours about the woman who shared Fuzuli's life. According to Abu'l-Ziyä (Ebû-z-Ziyä),(2) Fuzuli was in love with his teacher's daughter, and wrote this beautiful and sincere quatrain for her:

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2. Abu'l-Ziyä Tawfiq, Numûna-yi Adabiyât, Istanbul 1879, p. 27.
"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 Sultan whom I love."

Did Fuṣūlī 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.

"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."

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

ز ارل در دل من بود فخولی نم همک

فلك آخته بدينان نه كرون كرد 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:

رسه بودم ز كرلارى غيرمن دهان

پاز لمل تو هندي فیسون كرد 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.

2. Ibid., p. 255.
3. In Fuzuli's poems we come across epithets such as these for his beloved: idol = گل, sweet speaker = گوینده, gay = گرگ, angel-face = گلشنگ, rose-face = گل‌رنگ.
"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:

"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:

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

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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 Fuzuli'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

Fu'ûli's Nationality.

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

Fu'ûli 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.


2. Krinskiy, Turtai i eya literaturi ot retzaveta do nasala upadka, (Turkey and the History of Turkish Literature), Moskova 1910, p. 132. (M.Cumbur, Fuzûli Hakkında Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi, Istanbul 1956, p.133.)

3. The Persian satirical poet 'Ubayd Zakînî (d. 772/1371) spent much of his career at Baghdad in the service of the Jalâ'îrid Sultan Uways.
Vâdîqî (b. 1533), who was a contemporary, in his biographical memoir of the poet, describes him as belonging to the Bayât tribe, and thus leaves no room for doubt as to his Turkish nationality. Another contemporary biographer, Nidâ'î Chalabi (16th century), describes Fuçüllü as a member of the Aq Qoyunlu Turkmëns.

Old dictionaries, such as the Dîvan-i Lughât-ı Türkî, Shajara-ı Türk, Lehnâ-ı 'Umarî, and Câmis, call the Bayât tribe a Turkish tribe. Faruk Sümer has written articles in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (3) and the Türk Dili ve Edebiyatî Dergisi (4) about this tribe, which, he says, is an Oguz (Turkmën) tribe. "There were Bayât in Turkey and among the Turkmëns in northern Syria. From the beginning of the 9th/15th century onwards, the Northern Syrian Bayât began to figure in the activities of the Aq Koyunlu. Bayât went to Iran from Syria with the Aq Koyunlu conquest." Sümer adds: "One of the clans of the famous Kâdîjar tribe was

1. Sâdiqî, Ma'âlî-Khawaâsî, Istanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 4085, 33-34.
2. Agah Sirri Levand, an article in Gâdirvan, weekly review, Istanbul, April 1949, No.1, p. 5.
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 'Irāk, 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 Fużūly were of this tribe."

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

"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

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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-sallqa-yi sall-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, Fużūlī 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.

Fużūlī 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)

The Sunni-Sch'ite division is almost as old as Islam itself. In 'Iraq, Sunnism and Sch'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 'Ummân, worldly power passed into the hands of Mu'Àviya and his successors of the Umayyad Arab dynasty. With the defeat and death of the Prophet's cousin 'Ali and the latter's son Husayn, the Arabs under Umayyad leadership were able to keep the whole Islamic world under their domination for almost a century. The Persians, with an older civilization, gradually accepted Islam but determinedly defended their individual national identity. One way in which some of the Persians did this was through the medium of Sch'ism, which consisted essentially of loyalty to the Prophet's family and to the memory of 'Ali and Husayn. 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, Shi‘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 Fuṣūlī’s lifetime, we see Baghdad torn between the
two conflicting currents and becoming a battlefield in wars
between the Shi‘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 ʿAfsāvī, himself Turkish-
speaking though claiming descent from ‘All and Ḫusayn,
seized the throne of Persia; and he supported the Shi‘ites,
thus becoming an adversary of the Sunnite Ottoman Sultāns.
In the resultant wars, the Arab ‘Irāq was one of the main
battle zones. Fuṣūlī speaks bitterly of this unrest and
endless trouble.

The dominant note in Fuṣūlī’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 Shi‘ites or Sunnites. While he evidently
sympathized with the Shi‘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 Şafavîd régime towards Sunnites. (1) When the Ottoman Turks under Sulaymân the Magnificent entered Baghdad, Fuṣûlî did not find it strange. To dismiss the eulogy which he wrote for Sulaymân as prompted merely by fear or by expectation of worldly reward would be out of place; for Fuṣûlî was critical of the Ottoman administrators, and wrote a "Letter of Complaint" about them, the Shikāyatmâna.

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 Shi'ite sect, and sums up Ismā'îl'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. Shah Ismā'îl after entering Baghdad in 1508 destroyed the Sunnite shrines of Abû Ḫanîfa and 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Qilâni, and ordered the building of a splendid shrine at the tomb of the Seventh Imam Kūsâ al-Kâṣîm. When Sulaymân I entered Baghdad in 1534, he restored the shrines of Abû Ḫanîfa and 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Qilâni, and also ordered the completion of the shrine of Kūsâ al-Kâṣîm and visited Karbalâ' and Najaf. Towards the Shi'ites, the Ottoman policy was tolerant. (The Last Great Muslim Empires, tr. F. R. G. Bagley, Leiden 1969, pp. 79, 80).

expressed by Bahá Sa'id Bey's sentence "Ismã'Il's pen was mightier than Salim's sword."[1] Dirge 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 Ismã'Il used the Turkish of the common people."[2]


2. Shah Ismã'Il wrote Turkish religious verse under the pen-name Khaţâ'I. It has been edited and translated into Italian by Turkhan Gandjiei, Il canzoniere di Sah Ismã'Il Haţâ'I, Naples 1959. A copy of Ismã'Il's divan 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 Imãms.

Almost all of the books on the Bektashî and Şûrûfî dervishes contain some of Ismã'Il's poems, e.g.:


None of these books contains any of Fu‘âIY's poems.

Salim's divan has been translated into Turkish by Professor Ali 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."\(^{(2)}\)

Fuṣūli 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 Shī'ite or a Sunnite. Thus some modern writers, such as Sulaymān Naṣīf\(^{(3)}\) and Ibrāhīm 'Ishqī\(^{(4)}\), regard him as a Sunnite, while others, such as the late Professor Fuad Köprülü (1820–1966)\(^{(5)}\) and Abdūlbaki Gölpinarlı\(^{(6)}\), think that he was a Shī'ite.

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Fuṣūlī 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 (Anṣār) 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, Fuṣūlī says:

مسبسکر اکرام اهل اسلام
جمع زمرة اسلامان اولوب مزار
بنده بالله حق خادمته کور
کدوب فرق دیاره بهرام زنار

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

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

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

Although 'Ahdī says in his Cūlahan-i Shu'ārā that
Fu'ūlī was a devotee of some sect, and although certain
modern writers from time to time tell us in their articles
that Fu'ūlī was a Bektāshī(2), a Ḥurūfī(3) or a Bātīnī(4),
we get no definite evidence either from them or from
Fu'ūlī himself. (5) Professor Karahan has therefore
concluded that: "in spite of traditions to the contrary,
it is unlikely that he was a Bektāshī, a Ḥurūfī or a
Bātīnī. On the contrary, it would be right to consider
Fu'ūlī as standing above sects and schools in his Ṣūfī
approach." (6)

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1. The zannār; 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. 'Allī Su'ūd, Seyahatlarım, Istanbul 1330/1923, pp. 100-7.
3. 'Abbās al-'Azzāyī, Tārīkh al-'Irāq, Baghdad 1939,
4. A. Gölpinarılı, Fu'ūlūnin Batılıliğe tomayülü, in
   Azerbaycan Yurtdili Bilgisi Nachrichti, 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. Abdülkadıır Karahan, Fu'ūlī, Kuhiti, Hayati ve Şahsiyeti,
   Istanbul 1949, p. 150 and Encyclopaedia of Islam, New
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.
Fuğali's Psychology

Fuğali 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.
Fu'ūlī'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 ضمک روزی که راگم از ماد
بخبر نقمه اسدم ز جهرگ کج و قطر
لکد راه حکمت مرآ بضم ضمک
مانه مردان درشت و ناهوار
جامه نحس و نحس ناهصد فعال
گره که روشن و بد مزاج و بد اطوار

"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."

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1. See p. 28 above.

Another cause of Fu'ūlī's pessimism is the atmosphere of the 'Irāqī 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 Hebræorum 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)

Fu'ūlī'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:

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. (Sämtliche Werke, ed. E. von der Hallen, Stuttgart 1902-07, Vol. 33, p. 100.)
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.

Fuṣūlī often complains of loneliness and isolation.

In a Turkish verse he says:

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

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

As Doğ. Dr. M. Ergin remarks, if Fuṣūlī had not been beset by endless troubles, he would not have become a Fuṣūlī. (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, Fuṣūlī'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 Divān:

"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 Fu'uzuli 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 Fu'uzuli, 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 Fu'uzuli'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 Fuḥūlī 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. W. 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. W. D. Hughes, Oxford 1947, p. 264).
In a Turkish qasıda (eulogy) written for the Governor of Baghdad, Muḥammad (Meḥmed) Pāshā, Fuṣūlī 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. Fuṣūlī frowned upon cruel rulers who, after wronging the people and seizing their money, turned and scattered favours and benevolences.\(^1\)

Fuṣūlī 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.\(^2\)

\(1\) Kulliyāt-i Divān-i Fuṣūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 215 and p. 68.

\(2\) Ibid., p. 217.

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2. Ibid., p. 217.
Fuṣūlī 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.

"O teacher, learning is an instrument of deceit for the wicked. Beware, and teach not learning to men of cruelty."

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

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 Divan:

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

Fuzuli 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;

Nevertheless we come to the conclusion that Fuzuli
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
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 Fu disk became a melancholic poet.

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.

P. 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)

Fuṣūlī 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 masterpieces of Persian literature, in which Fuṣūlī is ranked

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.

Fu’ûlî’s Turkish has the characteristics of literary
Agârî, and shows certain differences from Anatolian Turkish.
This is true both of his grammar and of his vocabulary.

The word Agârî, which means “pertaining to
Agârbiyân”,\(^{(2)}\) has been used to denote various ethnic
groups from the 10th century onwards. It was applied not
only to the people of Agârbiyân but also to the Turkish
populations of Khurâsân, Astârâbâd, Hamadân and other
parts of Persia, Dâghistân and Georgia.

Agârî 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 Agârî Turkish and Anatolian

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and 4, p. 192.
Turkish are slight. Nasımi, the great mystic who was flayed alive at Aleppo in 807/1404, Khaṭīb'ī (the pseudonym of Shāh Ismā'īl the founder of the Safavid dynasty), and Fušūlī are the outstanding figures in early Ḥarīli literature. They opened a new period by their endeavour to escape from the Perso-Arabic vocabulary.

Professor Fuad Köprülu(1) regards Fušūlī as common to both Ḥarīli and Ottoman literature. Gibb(2) reckons him an Osmanli in a political sense, but adds: "But for Sulaymān’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, Fušūlī’s dialect stands between the Ottoman of Anatolia and the Chaghatāy of Central Asia. He praises the harmony of Fušūlī’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

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

"I hope that the notables and the prominent people, especially the eloquent persons of Rûm, and the rhetoricians of the TÜrûs, 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."

Professor H. Mazioğlu thinks that Füzülî'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. Çaferoğlu\(^{(2)}\) states that after Füzülî, the course taken by writers of Azarî was towards the language and literature of the people. This new development continued through the 17th and 18th centuries. Classical (Azarî) literature began to develop side by side with the literature of the people in the semi-independent Khânates. Among the products of this folk-literature were romantic poems such as Kür-oghlu, Aşlî va Karam. This genre, known as 'Ashiq literature, made great advances in Azarbâijân 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 (Azarî) poets Shîrvânî and Vâqif (1717-97). Some of them who were steeped in the 'Ashiq literature secured a large public for their poems among the broad mass of the people. Vâqif is considered the founder of the modern school. He chose his themes

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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 Azar people.

In a *Nit*a Fuşullı 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."

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

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 Divān, he writes, in Arabic, Turkish and Persian couplets:

"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."

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 (mādir) to fire (or pomegranate, nār), sometimes by omitting a dot he changes eye (gōg) to blind (kōr).

"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?"

Fuṣūlī'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 Fuṣūlī's

works, we can find words written in several different ways, and since there exists no copy of the Divān or any other work in Fuzulī's own hand, it is difficult to say which manuscripts are more correct. This much is certain: Fuzulī's language, as we stated above, shows characteristics of the Âzarî dialect. Âzarî varies from district to district, and the differences increase the further one goes from Âzarbâjjan. In Fuzulī'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 Fuzulī was writing in Âzarî before 'Irāq came under Ottoman rule; the old manuscripts of "Bagh-e Bābā" show this. Afterwards, when the Ottoman language and culture predominated in Baghādād, Fuzulī's language shows an inclination towards the Ottoman dialect. In the qasīdas 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 Âzarî Turkish in the 'Irāq 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 Ágarî, sometimes as Persian, and sometimes as Chaghatây. This we have established from the examples given below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Anatolian Turkish</th>
<th>Ágarî</th>
<th>Chaghatây</th>
<th>Fužûlî</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>Ñ ¿</td>
<td>من</td>
<td>من</td>
<td>من - بن</td>
<td>me</td>
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<td>to me</td>
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<td>Ñ Ñ</td>
<td>من</td>
<td>من</td>
<td>تک - تک</td>
<td>my</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ñ Ñ</td>
<td>من</td>
<td>من</td>
<td>مک - مک</td>
<td>your</td>
</tr>
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</table>

We do not know which of these Fužûlî actually used. He could, according to his contacts, have used them all. He had studied Persian literature carefully, and in the maganavi he followed Niğmî Ganja'î, Amir Khoşarv, Jâmi and Hâtîfî, in the ghazal Sâ'dî, Salmân and Hâfîs. He had read the Chaghatây writers Luţfî and Navâ'î, the Ágarî poets Nasîmî and Hâbîbî, and he may be presumed to have also read the Ottoman poets. He met the poets Khayyâlî and Yahyâ who came to Baghdâd with Sultân Sulaymân's army. Dr. Zeynep Korkmaz, in her article on Fužûlî's language, writes that as a result of his environment Fužûlî was influenced by Turkish-Islamic elements; but again from the circumstances of his
environment, some of his works were submitted to the Shāh
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, Fuşûlî 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
Fuşûlî'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 "Fuşûlî" on a copy of the Büstên of the
famous Persian poet Sa'dî (numbered F.Y.367). This manuscript
book was written by a certain Pîr Qâsimoghlu 'Īvâd of Baghdad
and completed on the 8th June 1543, that is, during Fuşûlî's
lifetime. In the couplet shown below, which was added to
the end of the book, the scribe tells us that he wrote this
"Büstên" in his own hand.

ممس، تاکر، اولان، عیدار
لیشیدار بر دما ترکان،
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, Fuşûlinin dili
2. Professor Ahmet Ateş, Fuşûlinin el yazısı in Türk Dili
Bustān, would have brought it to Fuṣūlī, 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:

ما به محمد السلام
مولانا محمد فخولى كيه المبد

"A thousand salutations from us to Muḥammad, a thousand salutations and praises. The slave of Muḥammad, Fuṣūlī, wrote this." Professor Ateş claims that since no other diwān poet took the pen-name Fuṣūlī, and since it is unthinkable that anyone else should have used Fuṣūlī's signature, it can definitely be established that this is Fuṣūlī's handwriting.
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 Bayānī, the great Qur'ān commentator, and of Ḫarīrī, 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'di 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 Shiraz 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 he had not borrowed from Ḥāfiẓ or Ḥāmī; 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 Fuḫūlī 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, Fuzuli'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. Fuzuli 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 Latifi (16th century) and Qinalizada (16th century), and contemporary writers such as

Professor Gölpinarlı(1) and Professor Ali Nihat Tarlan,(2) are agreed that the most powerful influence on Fuğûlî was that of the Chaghatây poet Navâ'î.

Mîr 'Ali Shîr Navâ'î, who was the vazîr and close friend of the Timûrid Sultân Ḥusayn Bayqara, and who died at Harât in 906/1501, gained a lasting renown in Turkish literature under his pen-name Navâ'î. Although he wrote much and well in the Persian language, his best and most important works are in the East-Turkish dialect known as Chaghatây. It has been claimed for Navâ'î, 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. Gölpinarlı, Fuğûlî Divani, Istanbul 1948, p.XLII
behind in Persia. Literature in that country was now in the hands of lyric and romantic poets who gathered round the court of Yusayn Bayqara. At the head of the lyric group stood Navâ'I.

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

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

In the style of Neva'i did Fuzuli find the way to attain eloquence. In our Istanbul, Nav'î-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.

According to Gibb, the reason why the Ottoman critics compared Fuşuli with Navâ'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 Fuşuli and Navâ'i is the mere superficial resemblance of an unfamiliar dialect. In fact, anyone familiar with the Ottoman dialect, especially in its earlier stages, will have no trouble in reading anything written by Fuşuli, but will hardly be able to understand much of Navâ'i without some previous special study.

Professor Gölpinarli, however, finds a number of parallels between Fuşuli and Navâ'i. In his book he quotes the following lines:

From Navâ'i

اول ملك سما بري كم خلق آتك خبراندر
جائز آتوب ولي آقله جام 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.

2. Gölpinarli, Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1948, p. XIV.
From Fużūlî

اول بری وش کم، طاحت ملکهسلطاندر
حمک آنک حکیدر فرمان آنک نرماندرج (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 'Ahdî makes between Fużūlî and the Persian poet Salmān Sāvaji is in Gibb's view no more than a conventional compliment; but Professor Gölpinarlı sees a resemblance between the following lines of Fużūlî and Salmān: (2)

From Fużūlî

من گذا سن غاصه یار الیت بوف اما قیم
آرزون سرگنگه فکر حال الیز

زاهدًا سن تیل توجه گوشه میشاءه کم
قبله ظاهت کم ابرو ی دلبرد پکا

ای خوش اول کم همچ صولان بر نه خوار ایدم
حاشر دیواننده غورجی نامه امالی

2. Gölpinarlı, Fuzuli Divani, Istanbul 1948, p. XXXVIII.
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 Salmān

من کسی کو ایشام سوداگر دیدار شا
ایم چه چیکه آید سین بوی زگوزارشا
تیله ما نیست چیز میرا ابروی شا
دیولت ما نیست الاد سر کوی شا
روز سیاش در جواب پرست سوداگر کر
هن نیست آریز ما را نیست چیز موی شا

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 Sāvāji (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 Ilkhānī) dynasty, founded in 1336 by Shaykh ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn Buzurg with its capital at Baghdad. 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 Ghiyāṣ al-Dīn, the vāzīr of the Ilkhān Abū Saʿīd. The general conclusion seems to be that Salmān deserves to be ranked among the greatest panegyrists and qaṣīda-writers.

Professor Gölpinarlı finds resemblances between another Persian poet, Khtibī, and Fuṣūlī. Khtibī (d. 838/1434–5) was born at a village near Turahīz (or Nishāpūr). He moved from Khurāsān to Astarābād, to Shirvān, where he attached himself for a time to the Aṁīr Shaykh Ibrāhīm, and next to the court of the Black Sheep Turkmen ruler Iskandar Ibn Qara Yūsuf in Azarbājān. He wrote qaṣīdas, ghazals and and romantic masnavīs, and was famous for his plays on words.
From Fūlūl

Defending life against grief-raids will be difficult
Unless love builds me a castle of disrepute-stone.
Farhād and Majnūn fell asleep, drunk with wine from love’s goblet;
O Fūlūl, we look for company while they sleep.

From Kātibī

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.
Majnūn’s story and Farhād’s sufferings are mine.

2. Ibid., p. 153.
As for parallels between Fużûlî and Niẓāmî of Konya, a youthful Turkish poet of the 15th century, Professor Gölpinarlı states that he could cite a large number, but that he deems a few examples sufficient, e.g.:

From Fużûlî

Arkân muğ dîl zînk bârîkânâdîr
tendîe âwîm ây bîrî kûnlêm yânêkânê dar

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

From Niẓāmî of Konya

Awîl bêrî múkkâr ê dîl zînk bârîkânâdîr
Aîy êhsân lêzâfît awîl bêrî yânêkânô dar

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

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

Muḥmed (Muḥammad) the Conqueror's Grand Vâzîr, Kaḥmûd Fâshâ, praised the young writer to his master so enthusiastically

that Muhammad sent a message to Konya bidding Nizāmī 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 Gölpinarlı then passes to a similar comparison between Fuğūlī and Sa’dī (d. 691/1291-2). Naturally Fuğūlī would be influenced by Sa’dī’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 Naṣīf thinks that the second line of the following verse of Fuğūlī is an exact translation of one of Sa’dī’s verses. (3)

From Fuğūlī

کورمه شد رگ که چه کیست جان بهدن گخیکن
ایشت بین کورده که خمده ی کندی جاندر گیدن

Although no one has observed the soul’s (jāḥ) departure from the body,

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

From Sa’di

در رلتن جان از یکان کویت هر روز سخن
من خود بیدم شویگشتند دیدم چه جانم مروود
(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 Kazioğlu has written a book comparing Fuzûlî with the immortal Persian poet Ūfîâ (d.1389). The fame of Ūfîâ was so great in Fuzûlî’s time that no contemporary poet was unacquainted with his Divân. Mrs. Kazioğlu finds many parallels between them.

From Fuzûlî

روی میلاد ز من گو مان دیوان کویتس
مرود از پهپام ار سر و خرامان کویتس
(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 Ūfîâ

چون شوم خاك وته دام سکاند زمن
ور بکوم دل کردان رو بکردان زمن
(3)

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, Jami (817/1414-898/1492), who was the mostly highly esteemed poet of his age, took Nizamı, Sa'dı, İrásı and Amır Khwāraw Dihlavı as his models. The Turkish and Persian poets of Fuzuli'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 Nazioğlu compares the Turkish ghazal of Fuṣūlī with the Persian ghazal of Ḫāfī, and comes to the conclusion that Fuṣūlī, with his strength of feeling and sincerity of emotion, is a very personal and original poet. To this she adds that "in comparison with Ḫāfī, Fuṣūlī's poetry is narrow. Ḫāfī's poetry is a garden where the sweetest and most beautiful flowers of every kind grow. Fuṣūlī's ghazals are like a garden where only roses grow; but all its roses are brilliant red and sweetly scented."
Fuğûli's place in Islamic Turkish

Ideology and Literature.

The ideas which we find when reading Fuğûli'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. 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 Fuğûli'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, Fuğûli 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. Fu'ūlī 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." 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, that the only profit to be gained from this short life is to win the favour and get the consent of the friend.

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

1. See p. 44 above.


كم اوله دوست رغاسى هين سا حامل
واى دوست انچ البیت ای نافل
as we have explained, by Fu'ūlī's time the morality and the mysticism of the poets had generally become conventional and artificial. Fu'ūlī, 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 Fu'ūlī'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.

Fu'ūlī'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, According Professor Karahan, Fuṣūlī’s works influenced many classical Turkish writers, such as Rûhî, Nav’î-zâde ‘Ata’î, Na’ilî, Râhî, Shaykh Châhid and Nîgârî. Such writers wrote imitations (naẓîre) of his poems, and amplifications (tekbuṭa and taṣdîq) of his ghazals.

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

Fuad Köprülü in his article on Fuṣūlî in the Islam Ansiklopedisi says: “In the four centuries since his death, in all the Turkish world from Tashqand to Qâzân, from the Crimea to Bosnia and Hungary, from Baghdad to Cairo, from Tabriz to Bukhârah, 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

Ottoman poets of the 17th-19th centuries such as Rûhî, Nav'î-zâda 'Aṭa'i, Alâshahirli Mîqâlî, Mu'îdî, Faṭlî, Dânîshî, Nâ'îlî, Qâdîm, Sayyid Vahbî, Nîbî, Faqîh, Chalâbî-zâda 'Askîm, Anîs Dede, Nîyâzî-i Nişârî, Shaykh Ghâlîb, Asrâr Dede, 'İzzat Nawla, 'Ăkif, Sarmad, Sayyid Nîgârî, Qoyâli Sâmî, Sânîh, Chulâmî, Nashât, Navrasî Jadîd, etc.

In the post-Tezâmat period, men such as Kâsim Fâshâ, Ashraf Fâshâ, Nâmiq Kamâl, Rajâ'î-zâda Akram, Mu'allîm Nîji, 'Ali Rûhî, Asaffî, Nabîzâda Nişamî, Ismî'îl Şafî, greatly appreciated Fuğüli. He was called Şâ'ir-i A'zam (greatest poet) for the first time by 'Abdul 'Aqaq Yamîd in the following stanza:


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

The influence of Fuğüli has also made itself felt on Turkish folk-poets such as Gawharî, 'Ăshiq 'Umar and Dardîl. Finally, Köprülü shows that Fuğüli's influence was especially potent on Âgarî, Türkmen and Chaghâtây literature.

Gibb thinks that Fuğüli excels by virtue of the originality of his genius in Eastern literature, while Bâqî (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 Fuṣūlī of Baghādād. 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."

'Ahdlī (16th Century) says: (2) "Fuṣūlī composed with equal ease and elegance in Turkish, Persian and Arabic, his Turkish poems being highly favoured by the critics of Rūm, his Persian ɟɪvɨn 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 Fuṣūlī 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 'Ahdlī also was able to perceive. Qinālī-

šāda finds his unique style curious but ingenious, and his poetry highly ornate, but possessing dignity and power as well as delicacy.

2. 'Ahdlī, Cuhshuni Shu'arā, Baghdad 971/1563, pp. 66-7.
On the other hand, a number of the early critics perceived in Fuṣūlī'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 contemptuously 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 Bāqlī was acclaimed as the "King of the Poets" (Sultān al-Shu'arā) of Turkey, while Fuṣūlī, in many of whose ghazals

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there is more real poetry than in the whole divan 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 Fıźullı'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 Fıźullı's Layla va Majnun(1) says: "Fıźullı 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. Fıźullı'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, Fıźullı 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 Fıźullı's prestige is greatest and his influence most profound among the Turks. In his native 'Irāq, where

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knowledge of Turkish has now declined, he is not much appreciated; while in Iran, 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 Azerbaidjan Soviet Republic between 1956 and 1958. Conferences were held, and there were also exhibitions of Fu'ûli's works, and plays representing his life. At Baku a statue of Fu'ûli has been erected in front of the municipal theatre; its pedestal is ornamented with reliefs illustrating scenes from Fu'ûli's Layla and Majnun.

H. Gulizade observes that from the 18th century up to today more attention has been given to Fu'ûli than in earlier times.

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

1. C. Özulus, Fuzulinin kendi topraklarinda bir inceleme, Niğde 1948.
Fuzuli himself sometimes seems undisturbed by the fact that he was not appreciated in his lifetime, for instance when he says:

سماحة ازلي تابل زوال أولامز
كونش ير ايوسته كر دوشمه بايامال أولامز

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

PART TWO
CHAPTER V

A general view of Fužuli's works.

In Fužuli'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. Fužuli 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 *Shikāyatāmāna* gives the clearest example of Fūzhūlī's wit and of his capacity for mordant humour.

Many different moods are expressed in Fūzhūlī'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. Fūzhūlī 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 Fūzhūlī's works. He embraced mysticism with the mind rather
than with the heart, and perceived it and wrote of it with the mind. His divāna are not full of mystic odes, like those of other contemporary poets; but he deftly brings into some of his chazals 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. Fuṣūlī 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 Ḥawīn Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī occupies the exceptional position of equal attainment in both.\(^{(1)}\)

Finally Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī was one of those exceptional men who attained the happiness of conceiving

1. Ḥawīn Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, founder of the Ḥawīyīna order of Daryshes, 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 Hadīqat
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 compas-
sion which pervades almost all his writings.

In the introductions to his Persian and Turkish diwāns,
Fuṣūlī 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:

شعر بر مشکوت دار حسن هزارت زوری
جان و دلدن نازیین محبوب تا مغذلری

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

to listen to poetry as Kānjūn 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 Diwan, and says in a ḥazal:

"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 Diwan he writes:

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

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."

Then discussing the subject of "words" (i.e., poetry) in Laylī va Majnūn, Fūzūlī sometimes boasts how fond he was of writing ghazals, qasidas and magnāvīs, and how skilfully he could do this in every language.

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 meanovi's coupled lines I find that my muse in its fancy inclines.

1. Fūzūlī takes söz (word) = sukhān as meaning poetry.
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:

اظهار صفات ذاته قابل
سوزدی که دیر و زده در جان
امواتی سوزدیه تیلک احسا
ارواحلین ایلدن کناد

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 Meenun, 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 "qagīda" in the second bayt as "music".

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 Loyla fair and Meznun nobly mad? (1)

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

"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)

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

"I am a shell of mother of pearl, you are a cloud in April. Give a rain drop and take a rounded pearl." (Kulliyât-i Fuzuli, Istanbul 1891, p. 239).
The couplets at the end of "Haft Jām" are in the same tenor:

"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)

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 Anūshirvān's undying reputation for justice. Sūfis regarded the quest for a good name as worldly and irreligious. Some extreme Sūfis such as the Qalandārs deliberately sought a bad name through blameworthy behaviour (malāmat), hoping thereby to gain a better prospect of salvation in the next world. As Ḥāfīz says:

(Divān-i Ḥāfīz, ed. by M. Qazvīnī and Q. Ghanī, Tehran 1340/1961, p. 33.)
In the preface to his Turkish divān, Fuzuli 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:

\[
\text{الآدي أليك زين شاهد كثير مبذى خذاراً لباس معرفت مغارة منيبش}
\]

"O you who adorn the lovely person of poetry, do not, for God's sake, leave it bare of the venture of learning."\(^3\)

In the preface to his Persian divān,\(^4\) Fuzuli writes that his nature inclined him to write qaṣidas and muʿammās (riddles), and that he did not at first think of writing ghazals. In the preface to his Turkish divān, he speaks of munshaʿāt (letters or essays), muʿammās, mağnāvīs and qaṣidas, and at the same time of Persian ghazals and Arabic rajās (declaratory verses). In both divāns 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:

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1. Fuzuli, Fuzulī, Istanbul 1891, p. 5.
3. Maʿrifat. This may mean knowledge or learning, but may also mean the mystic's insight into the truth.
The chazal 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 chazal 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 Fużuli.

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

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 Divan (2) that he won fame while still young. In a Turkish stanza he says:

"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 Fužûlî) he is the only one."

   مذاق شور هم بر اوزگر ملایر حتی یی ایک ملایر ی سهر ایلک فایعه مشگلد

   صه ناشر لله سوزم دعوتی مالی بن سبد امتاره خلیفه زبور هنوژ
   بن نامه وجوده به قطعه خون هنوژ

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

"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:

"Every word of nine 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 Sultân assume a duty of generosity to me in this world. The crown of contentment

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 Fużūlī's whole philosophy very well.

As we mentioned before, Fużūlī 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 Ṣūfī doctrine of the unity of existence. For Fużūlī, 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 Fużūlī's ghazals, love for him is a passion which has no cure. Death is the best remedy for this grief.

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It is said in the first book of Andrew's Land: After the fire of freedom, and after the heat of the wine.

Nawīn Ṣūrī likedwise in his poem "The song of the reed" says:

Tie the fire of love that inspires the flute,
Tie the ferment of love that possesses the wine.

(Magnāvī-yī Mu'nāvī, tr. by E. W. Whinfield, London 1898, p.1)
Fuṣûlî 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 Fuṣûlî 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 Divâng is the laughing and weeping cry of love.

There is nevertheless a connection between Fuṣûlî'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.
Fuțüli does not extol physical urges, but sings of a self-sacrificing, divine love, which finds Layla in the lover's own heart; that is, of an absolute and platonic love. Thanks to Fuțüli's success in harmonizing his own emotional tendencies with his education in Sufi thought, this absolute love, which many Sufi 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 qasidas, 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.

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

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

Although Fużūlī'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 Fużūlī
like the desert sun, but it sweetened his poems like the
dates of Baghdād."

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Hasan Ali Yücel believes that Fuṣūlī found a refuge for himself in love, and remarks: (1) "Old Fuṣūlī could not fully live up to his own way of thinking. Had he been able to do so, he would have become like the Ḥājjīn of his story; but such a thing was beyond him, and because he could not become like Ḥājjīn, 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 Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī chose the story of Leylā and Ḥājjīn."

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

Fuṣūlī wrote his works in the three important Islamic languages and in the literary genres current in his time.

His Turkish and Persian Divâns, his few short magnavîs, his Laylâ va Majnûn and his Yadigâr al-Su‘âdû 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 Fuṣûlî. After Nasînî and ‘All Shîr Nâvâ’î, only Fuṣûlî’s works have spread to all parts of the Turkish-speaking world and have been read, loved and imitated. When ‘Irâq came under Ottoman rule, Fuṣûlî 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 Azârî group to which he belonged.

Since the Turks of Irân and the Turkmans of Khurasân were in close contact with Khvârizm and Transoxiana, his influence on Chaghatây literature was also important.

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

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1. Bâqî (Mâhmad ‘Abd al-Bâqî), a Turkish poet famous for his ghazals, was born in Istanbul (1526–1600). He was a court poet and received the title Sultan al-Shu‘ârî. Earlier in his career he was a QâbîlÎskar (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 Bâqî’s poems.
For Fuṣūlī, 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 Divān, though in the same introduction he also says that his nature is better suited to the writing of qaṣīdas and muʿammās.)

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 Fuṣūlī'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 Fuṣūlī 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 Bāqi or Fūṣūlī. 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 Bāqi, ʿAbīṣ, 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

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written so great a play had he not been sincere.

Fuṣūlī 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.

Bāqī is Fuṣūlī'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. Fuṣūlī writes more often about religious subjects, and his divāns are full of tawhīds (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 Bāqī'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 Fuṣūlī 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
Dāqī, 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:

باقی بقیه 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 Fuṭūḥī has the same thought; see p. 137 above.
Few will dispute the theory, propounded in the 19th century by the French thinker Hippolyte Taine, that a poet or writer should be studied in the light of his period, his domicile, and his national origin. As regards Fuzuli and Baqi, the difference of abode of these two men, who lived in the same century and same nation, shows clearly in their works. Baqi lived in a great and magnificent palace at the heart 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.

Fuzuli lived in 'Iraq, and in some of his qaṣidas he wrote about its social and economic defects. Furthermore, 'Iraq, with its memories of the martyrs of Karbalā and Najaf, was a land of weeping and lament. This is the starting point for Fuzuli'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 

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, 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 Fuzuli's sallow cheek;
Lo, what shades the Sphere cerulean maketh thereupon to light.

1. The world.
A chazal from Bāqī:

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,

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'at, the glory of the Ottoman Empire, O life.
Like Bāqī’s poetry, that bowl, my verse, doth circle all the earth;
So now the Jāmī (3) of the age at this fair feast are we, O life. (4)


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

3. Jāmī, the great Persian poet, derived his name from his native town Jām in Khurāsān; but Jāmī may also be taken to mean “He of the Bowl”. There is a Ta'īnīa between this word and the Jām (bowl) in the preceding line.

It could be claimed that Fuṣūlī'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. Fuṣūlī'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 Fuṣūlī'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 Sultan to peasant.

From the time of 'All-Shīr Nawā'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

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1. 'All-Shīr Nawā'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 and Young whose sorrows have reached us through the centuries, so too is Fuad 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. Fużuli 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 Laylá va Majnūn from the great Persian poet Nizāmī(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 Laylá va Majnūn existing in Turkish literature Fużuli'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. Fuţuli's works reflect not only his


2. Nizāmī Ganja'i; (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 ShI'īte.
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, Boccaccio, Milton, Goethe, Hölderlin, Firdawsî, Khayyám, or Šûrî, 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. Fuṣûlî 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 Fuṣûlî 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 Fuṣūlī lived, 'Irāq 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 Fuṣūlī's feelings about the meaninglessness and misery of life must be sought in this fact. Moreover in the 'Irāq environment several races, languages and religions co-existed. Fuṣūlī'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 'Irāq, however, were not in a position to think of literature. In the period following Qānūnī Sultan Sulaymān's conquest of 'Irāq, Fuṣūlī lived far from the notice of the ruler in Istanbul and could not win the esteem which he desired. In the ʿAqīl-nāma of his Laylā va Majnūn, Fuṣūlī says that in former times Turkish, Arabic and Persian poets had been protected by the sovereign; the Caliph Harūn al-Rashīd had patronised Abū Nujwās, and the Shāh of Shīrvān had patronized Niẓāmī. In his own day, however, since there were no more sovereigns like this, the poets were silent.
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-Nūwas in his pride.
The King of Shirvan brought Nīgāmī joy,
While Kirami rejoiced in his employ.

1. Kullūvāt-i Divān-i Fuzūlī, 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. 

In the introductory passage to Levlâ va ka'înûn, Fužûlí
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 Baghdad,
but that India, Fârs, Khurâsân, Rûm, Persia, Syria and
Shîrâz are in the same situation.

1. Levlê va Haçenûn, 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 those days when all about
The fire of poetry no market finds:
How low in and 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)

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After this, he praises the Ottoman Sulṭān Qānūnī

Sulaymān.

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

"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 uncontentious being does not command respect."

In another poem he says:

"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 uncontentious being does not command respect."

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"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."

"I do not complain if 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.

The prosody (‘әрүз) used by Fużuli.

When Fużuli states in the preface to his Turkish Divân 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 ‘әрүз. Fużuli’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 ‘әрүз metres, without affecting the naturalness of what he wrote. In Fużuli’s poetry the Azari dialect finds its most fluent and unaffected expression. Similarly in the Turkish Ottoman

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1. The first Arabic writer on ‘әрүز is said to have been the grammarian and lexicographer Khalil ibn Ahmad (d.176/791). The celebrated grammarian and Qur’ān-commentator Zamakhshāri (d.538/1143) wrote an important book on this subject. Persian ‘әрүз in theory follows the Arabic system, but in practice mostly uses different metres; the oldest surviving treatise is by Shams-i Qāyā of Shirūz (early 13th century). The earliest Turkish poetry is in folk-metres. The Persian system of ‘әрүз 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 Fu'ādī'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 'arrūṭ 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:

Rādī mugammām māqūr

ناتلتن فنلاتتن ناتلتن ناتلتن

Rādī musaddas mākḥūn māqūr

نملتان فنملتان نملتان

Less frequently he uses the following metres:

Hāzāj mugammām

نملتان فنملتان نملتان فنملتان
Hazaj muaddas maqgur

مناهل مناهل نمولون

- - / 0 / 0 / 0 / 0 - 0 - 0

Kujirri' mugaman akhrab makfif maqgur

لممول فاطل مناهل فاطلن

- - / 0 / 0 / 0 / 0 - 0 - 0 - 0

Kujtage mugaman makhidn maqgur

مناهل فعمال مناهل علم

- - / 0 / 0 / 0 / 0 - 0 - 0

Hazaj mugaman akhrab makfif maqgur

لممول مناهل مناهل نمولون

- - / 0 / 0 / 0 / 0 - 0 - 0

Khofif

نعمال مناهل علم

- 0 / 0 / 0 / 0 - 0 - 0
The magnitude 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. Fužuli 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:

اصل معدینه تروسن کلام سنن آیت ک فیضت فوام (1)

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

In his use of rhyme, too, Fužuli 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 ghazala in Turkish, only 8 have Turkish rhymes. We give as an example one of his famous distichs:


As the Prophet said: كلموا الناس على ترد مقولهم

"Talk to people with language which they can understand."
"My beloved has made me weary of myself; has not she too become weary?

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

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CHAPTER VI

Fuṣūlī'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 shēh-dāna; Arabic banā or hashīsh), which is prepared from the seeds of cannabis (Indian hemp). The poem is a masnavī of about 444 couplets, in the Khaṭīf metre. It is one of Fuṣūlī’s earliest works, for although the year of composition is not given, its dedication to Shāh Ismā‘īl Šāfavi fixes it as being somewhere between 914/1508, when Shāh Ismā‘īl took Baghādād, and 930/1524, when he was succeeded by his son Tahmāsp. It is certain that Bang-ū Bāda was written after Shāh Ismā‘īl's victory over the Uzbak Khān Shaybānī near Marv in 916/1510, (1) since Fuṣūlī touches on this subject in the work. The language of the work, particularly in the older mas., shows distinctive characteristics

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1. In this battle Shāh Ismā‘īl's force of 17,000 Qizilbāš troops utterly defeated 28,000 Uzbaks by means of a successful ambush. Shaybānī 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 Azari dialect.

In old Turkish and classical Persian literatures, there are a number of works in the genre called munazara (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-i Rāda is a work of this kind, which Füzuli wrote in his youth, probably as a literary experiment.

Nearly all the mss. of Füzuli's Turkish Divān in the libraries of Turkey also contain Bang-i Rāda 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-ye Naqīla-i Wilī (Tehran) no. 987.¹

¹ One line containing Shāh Ismā'īl'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 Sultan Salīm. For other copies, see the catalogues of Leipzig, nos. 325, 327; Dresden, no. 412, S. Petersburg no. 540, and Vienna no. 679.

Bang-i Rāda has been translated into German by Prof. Necati H. Lügal and Dr. O. Reger (Recher) (See Türkischen Dichters Fuzulis poem "Leyli-Mehmān" und die gereinete Erzählung "Bang u Rāda" (Haus und Wein) Istanbul, 1943. It has also been translated into Persian by Khayyām-Nr, Tabriz 1327/1948.
Like all masnavis, this begins with a taqwīd, after which comes a naṭ. (1) Fuṭūly's prayers to God, and eulogies of 'All 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 these words:

"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 Fuṭūly says in praise of Shīh Ismā'īl:

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1. A taqwīd is a poem praising God and a naṭ is a poem praising the Prophet Muhammad.

"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'īl, Fuṣūlī begins to tell the story.

According to E. J. W. Gibb, (4) the poem is a phantasy conceived in the same spirit as Lāmi'ī's munāzara between Spring and Winter, but written wholly in verse. When Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī figuratively

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1. Kulliyāt-i Divvān-i Fuṣūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 82.
2. The magic world-seen cup of the mythical Irānian King Jamshid or Jam, who is said to have invented wine.
3. Fuṣūlī means the skull of Shaybānī Khān; see p. 172, footnote 1, above.
describes the competition between them as a struggle between two kings."

King Ebdâ (wine) is sitting surrounded by his courtiers 'Araq (arrack), Ḥabid (grape-juice) and Būza (zythum; malted millet), when the ṣnās (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 Ebdâ. 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 Ifyûn (opium) and La'jûn (electuary, i.e. a narcotic confection for eating). Then he sends La'jûn to King Ebdâ 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 Fuzûlî (Muḥammad, d. 969/1562-3) wrote a Rose and Nightingale;\(^2\) both are munāẓarān, more or less similar in form to Fuzûlî's Bang-ū Bāda. Lāmi’ī's work describes in allegorical form the contest of the seasons; spring and winter are represented as two great rival kings, while summer

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2. Qul-ū Bulbul.
in 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.

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

J. von Hammer thinks that Fuġūlī wrote Bang-ī Bōda solely as an account of the joys of drugs and alcohol; and Sulaymān Naṣīf thinks that Fuġūlī wrote the work merely to entertain and ingratiate himself with the drunken ruler Shāh Ismāʿīl. (3)

According to Ü. Cülcüloğlu, Fuġūlī intended through his use of mystic language to point out the evils of wine and

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 Bäda is neither bacchic nor mystic, but symbolizes the Ottoman Sultan Bâyazid II and the Qafavid Shâh Ismâ'îl. Although there is no clear indication in the work itself, it could be taken that King Bäda represents the young Ismâ'îl while King Bang represents his contemporary, the ageing Bâyazid. There is evidence that Ismâ'îl really loved wine, and that Bâyazid 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.\(^{(2)}\)

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2. Those drugs had been known since ancient times and throughout the Islamic period; see Encyclopaedia of Islam, 2nd ed., articles Afyân and Ḥashīš. E. O. 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 Ḥûfiyy beginning Alâ yâ ṭūṭi-yi ḡûyûd-yi āsrâr ("O secret-telling parrot") is really addressed to the drug Ḥashīš, because ṭūṭi-yi āsrâr ("parrot of mysteries") is a Persian euphemism for Ḥashīš.
It is recorded in historical sources that Mehmed the conqueror was angered by his son and successor Bayazid's addiction to drugs; and Tahir Olgun shows that not only Bayazid but also many other rulers and holders of high positions were tarred with the same brush. Shah Isma'Il's son Tahmasp I, who died in 984/1576 at the age of 65, took both opium and alcohol, and himself wrote in a rubâ'î that he had been an addict but later repented:

"For a time we pursued the crushed emerald (i.e. probably hashîsh); 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 Fuzûlî speaks in the work about embassies between King Bang and King Bâda, he could in Olgun's view be alluding to embassies between Bayazid and Isma'Il. Wine's attempts to ambush Bang could likewise refer to such attempts between the two rulers. Again, the words bang and bâda are not in Olgun's

1. Browne, loc. cit.
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 Sultān, meaning that the young and lively Shāh Ismā'Il defeats the aged and weary Bāyazīd.

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

Kūrkşūoğlū 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 Fuḥūlī's proper style, nor so far as I can see, any promise of his distinction; its interest is merely that of a curiosity."

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As Gibb has said, Bang-Il Râda pales beside Fužûly'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 Fužûly'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.
**Hadiqat 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 *Hadiqat 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 Kurucuşaniye (Istanbul) no. 2806/3232, 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 Kürşüoğlu.

*Hadiqat al-Su‘adā* deals chiefly with the sufferings and martyrdoms of the Imāms Ya‘qub and Ya‘qūb, and is classed by its subject-matter as a *maqāl* (description of the tragedy at Karbalā). Abū Mikhnaf Huṣān b. Yaḥyā (d. 157/775), a Shī‘ite traditionalist, is reported to have written a *Kitāb maqāl al-Ḫusayn* as early as the second century A.H.; and the well-known Persian prose-writer Kanāl al-Dīn Ya‘qūb b. Muhāfiz of Sabzavār (d. 910/1503-5), who was a preacher (wā‘īz) in
Harût, wrote the Rawzat al-Shuhadâ ("Garden of the Martyrs"), which is devoted largely to the martyrology of the Imam Jusayn and became the most popular mazâl in the Persian language. Fu'âlî's Yaadqat al-Su'adâ is an amplified translation of âshiff's Rawzat al-Shuhadâ in prose interspersed with verses. Its contents are a preface, ten chapters and an epilogue.

In the preface, Fu'âlî discourses on the tribulations with which God in His love has ever tried His Prophets and saints, above all the Imam Jusayn, and on the rewards promised to those who grieve and mourn for the martyrs of Karbala. Whilst the Arabs and Persians could read the history of the martyrs in their own languages, the Turks possessed no such record, and Fu'âlî felt called upon to supply that deficiency. The standard books on the subject were the Naqta al-Jusayn of Abû Ênasî and the Miqrâ' ol-Tâ'âsî of Riyyâ al-Dîn Abû'îl-Qâsim 'Ali b. Mîsî b. Ja'far al-Tâ'âsî, both in Arabic, and the Persian Rawzat al-Shuhadâ of Rawlân Jusayn Vâ'îz. 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, Akhlâq-i 'Usînî, which he dedicated to the Sultân Jusayn Bayqara of Harût, and Anvâr-i Shâhî, a florid and verbose Persian rendering of the animal fables Kalîla va Dimna.
The work is divided, like the Rawżat al-Shuhadā', into ten chapters (bābā) 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-Mursalāt), i.e. Muḥammad.

4 - Death of Fāṭima.

5 - Death of 'Alī.

6 - Tribulations of the İmām İsān.

7 - Journey of the İmām İṣaṣayn from Medina to Mecca.

8 - Martyrdom of Muslim b. 'Aqīl (cousin of the İmām İṣaṣayn).

9 - March of the İmām İṣaṣayn from Mecca to Karbalā.

10 - Martyrdom of the İmām İṣaṣayn and journey of the women of the Prophet's House to Damascus.

In the epilogue, Fuṣūlī mentions Qanūn Sūltān Sulaymān as the reigning Sūltān and praises Muḥammad Pūshā, the governor of Baghdād, to whom he dedicated the book.

Fuṣūlī 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 İṣān and İṣaṣayn.

The verses quoted below are from a tarkib-band lamenting the martyrdom of Ḫusayn entitled the "Elegy for the Family of the Cloak" (All-1 'Abn); they are a good example of Fuzuli's brilliance as a linguist.

The family of the Cloak(2) thou went'at about to slay, O Sphere. Right foul the plan and vile the shift thou didst display, O Sphere. From song the lovins of the clouds of haps thou drew'st thy darts, And hurledst them midstmost the Martyrs' blest array, O Sphere. What while all reverence was due to virtue's harem-tent, Prostrate aneath the focman's foot thou didst it lay, O Sphere.

1. Ḫadiqat al-Su'ndā, Istanbul 1872-3, p. 354.
2. The "Family of the Cloak" means the Holy Family of Islām consisting of Muhammad, his daughter Fāṭima, her husband 'All, and their sons Ḥasan and Husayn. 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 pessimism and even personal despair of many men who felt grief for the tragic destiny of the martyrs of Kerbala. Poems in this work show much technical progress, but none of them reaches the heights of Fu'ad's poems in his great works, and none has their delicate beauty, depth and enthusiasm.

1. Hujayn and his followers were killed on the plain of Kerbala, not far from Kufa, on the 10th Ruharrum 61/10th October 680.
Laylā va Majnūn.

Twenty-three manuscripts of Fużūlī's Laylā va Majnūn have been found in Turkish libraries. The oldest one is in the Topkapi Muzesi 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 Fużūlī's Turkish Divān. 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 Fużūlī's *Laylā va Majnūn* with some of his other works, in 1960 at Bākū, in Cyrillic Qərbələjani characters. It has been translated into German (4), English, (5) and Russian. (6)

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1. For details, see Dr. Lüjgân Gunbur, *Fuzûlî Hakkında Bir Bibliyografiya Deneesi*, Istanbul 1956, pp. 50-57.
5. Translated by Sofi Huri and published by the Turkish National UNESCO Committee, Istanbul 1959.
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. The heroine Laylā is the daughter of a beduin chief, and the hero is a pre-Islamic Arab poet Qays, who is driven mad (majnūn) when her father frustrates his love. The various sources for Qays's life present different accounts. Qays's unconnected ḥazāla, which are said to have been gathered into a diwan by a certain Abū Bakr al-Wālibi, gave rise to a simple love story which was later to become an important subject for magnāvi in Persian literature.


2. The best and most detailed source is the Kitāb al-Achārī (Book of Songs) compiled by Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 356/967); Kitāb al-Achārī, Cairo 1927, third ed., Vol.II, pp. 1-95.

3. The magnāvi, 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 magnāvi 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 sultan) 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. Fużūlī's magnāvi follows all these rules.
and Turkish literature, mainly under the influence of the work of the great Persian poet of Azerbaijan, 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 Iranians and the Turks, the Arab was not attracted to epics. Not until the Iranian poet Niẓāmī took it in hand did the dialecta 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 enigmatic. 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

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1. J. Rypka, History of Iran Innovation Literature, Dordrecht 1963, 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.\(^1\)

Fužuli completed his *Laylî va Majnûn* in 1535 and presented\(^2\) it to the Boylerboyi (Governor-General of Baghdad) Uvays Fāshã.\(^3\) The poem is probably one of his latest compositions, since he refers to himself in the epilogue as one whose life is nearly spent:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{بوقعنت ایله کپوردم ایام} & \quad \text{علم که دولور ایشم سر انجام} \\
\text{سرایت مر کُرده الدن} & \quad \text{سود احیدم ایهکم ملدن} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\(\text{... ... Let thy mercy sweet incline,}\)
\(\text{For all my days in slumber wrapped,}\)
\(\text{I lately passed, not knowing how 'twill end.}\)
\(\text{The capital of all my life is spent.}\)
\(\text{My hand is empty; none of profit stays}\)
\(\text{Of all the dealings of my lengthy life.} \quad (5)\)

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3. Uvays Fāshã, see Chapter IX, p. 289.
In a short preface, in prose and verse, to his *Laylā ya Majnūn*, Fuzūlī 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.\(^{(1)}\)

\[ طوتشم حلب حقیقت راه محض \]
\[ ليلى سيله و صنف ايشم آناز \]
\[ اسانه بهانه سله مرض ايشم راز \]
\[ معون دلی ليله ايشم اظهار نياز \]

Of Truth distorted, pouring forth my heart
Upon excuse of using feeble art

... ... ...

By Laylā's reason, and my voice upraise
In Majnūn'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 Uways Fāshā. Fuzūlī extols Sulṭān Sulaymān as the "King of Kings" and the "Great Fāshāh" (though without mentioning him by name), and says:

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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.)*
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 Fāshā's knowledge and justice,
asking:

In not the Prince, the general of the time,
Our Sultan Uwaïs (4) a patron great enough?
An ocean is his generosity,
His kindness deep as in the deepest mine.

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 Ṣalāḥ (2) in which Fuzūlī complains bitterly of not being appreciated. (3)

In the section headed "The occasion of the writing of the book", Fuzūlī relates how the subject of the poem was urged upon him by some literary friends from Ḵūra (i.e. Anatolia or Kuzul), (4) who remarked that the tale of Ḥajnūn and Laylā, of which there were so many versions in Persian, had not yet been told in the Turkish language:

لا تح ایله دیدپر ای سخن سنج
لیلی سبجوی مجدده ثوتد
تیلث عازه بواکن بوستنی (5)

"O thou, great weaver of the mystic word,
Use then thy craft to tell, that Turks may read.
Of Ḥajnūn's saddened end, of Laylā's love.

2. Not to be confused with Fuzūlī's separate work which is also called Ṣalāḥ; see Chapter VII, Pp.217–220.
4. They may have been the poets Khayālī and Tashlīḩīlī Yabīyā who were companions of Sultan Sulaymān during his conquest of Baghādād; see Chapter II, p.47.
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)

Such against his inclination Fuṭūlī 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 ḍhazals in which Fuṭūlī 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 (ʿuda) or crisis, and finally the dénouement.

2. Fuṭūlī's statement may be historically true, as are similar statements in many poetical works; or it may not. NiẓāmI 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 opic. (NiẓāmI Ganja'I, Laylā va Majnūn, Tehran 1313/1934, ed. by Vahīd Dastgirdī, pp. 24-28.)
3. According to M. Gulizada, L. E. Lazarev in 1862 wrote a thesis on Fuṭūlī's Laylā va Majnūn, but unfortunately it has been lost. (Azerbaijan Edobiyyati Tarihi, EAZİ 1960, p. 360.)
Most of the action comes in the first part, the exposition. It relates how Qaya, the son of an Arab Amir, grows up and begins school, and then falls in love. The love story is idealized, so that nothing in it is commonplace or mediocre. Qaya, 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. Fu'ād thus raises Qaya above the material world, and makes of him a symbol.

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)

Of Layla 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. Fužuli, from time to time describes her feelings, her uneasiness or grief:

Full firm and steadfast in her loyalty was Loyla, pearly mother of the gems of grief, and like a treasure in a fortress housed, was self imprisoned by advicee sad. No joy was there, no cheering comrade ship, indifferent to father, mother, friends.

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 daily wear
The brightest stones upon a silken thread.
Indeed, in madness she surpassed that
Of maddened Kajnun who for Layla called. (1)

The other characters are completely subordinate; Kajnun
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.
Laylâ is taken from school and married to another. Although
love is fearless and unconditional, the lover is bound to
become an object of scorn:

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.

... ... ...

Sorrow 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:

An Arab Amir called Nafthal reads and likes Najnûn's ghazals, and requests that he may take Laylah from her father and give her to Najnûn. When her father Sa'd refuses, Nafthal goes to war against him and defeats him. During the battle, Najnûn prays for the success of Laylah's father, despite all his faults. But Nafthal, despite his victory, cannot take Laylah since she is a married woman. Her death of Laylah's husband, Ibn Salâm, pleases Najnûn; and when at last he meets Laylah, he no longer seeks her hand. He craves not for union with his beloved, but that his love may become

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eternal. The focal point of the story begins when Qays, because of his wanderings, receives the name Lajmin. The events are simple and independent of one another, united only in that the same characters re-appear. Fuad 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 Layla's mother hears the story, she becomes furious and starts scolding her daughter:

... ... her mother's wrath
Did tax her with her truth.
The mother's face became inflamed,
It shone as liquid fire,
As Layla, utterly unshamed
Withstood her mother's ire.  (2)

"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; Layla is a coquettish beloved, Majnoun a wooping lover whose whole heart is focussed on the person of Layla. When his mental equilibrium finally breaks, he seeks solitude so that he may think only about Layla. This solitude is symbolized by Majnoun's retreat into the desert - an idea coming from the Arab imagination. In the desert Majnoun meets Layla for the second time; but by now his love has taken on a purely spiritual quality. If we analyse the episode of Majnoun's visit to the Ka'ba, we feel still more that his love has become spiritual and even divine. Majnoun 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 Majnoun in search of his beloved Layla, the story of Farhad wandering through the mountains in search of his lost beloved Shirin, and numerous other examples show how familiar the Islamic 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:

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.
Wherever 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)

Thurs Majnūn finally has no wish for union, (3) and the


3. B. Batiman in an article "Fuṣûlî and Faust" observes that
Goethe in his Faust has idealized love and exalted it from
human love to divine love just as Fuṣûlî has done in his
Leylâ ve Maşun. (İstanbul Üniversitesi Türk Dili ve
Edebiyatı Dergisi, 3d May 1958, Vol. II.)

Professor Naçoğlu remarks that at the beginning of the
story Majnûn's love for Laylâ is not divine, since Fuṣûlî
describes their actions. (H. Naçoğlu, Fuzuli-Nafis, 1956
Ankara, p. 104.)

H. Gulizade believes that Majnûn'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 Laylâ nor Majnûn die spiritual deaths but
both die physical deaths, at the end of the story.
(Azerbaycan Edebiyatı Tarihi, Baku 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 Laylá, which deserves close attention. Fuṣūlī in his treatment of this theme seeks to emphasize that it is love that makes a true man. In the same way, Fuṣūlī himself feels a deep love and respect towards his fellow humans. In his Laylá 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. Fuṣūlī is a good-hearted poet; he wishes even slaves to be treated like children, as he says:

اى خولى گرفه نکن و فلق مراد ایسه
شئت گوزیله باق یا دام اونول گی

(Kulliyāt-i Divān-i Fuṣūlī, Istanbul 1891, p. 216).
Another theme worthy of examination is Hafiz's war against Layla's father. Fu'ad, 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 Hafiz as the perfect knight and hero. Layla's support for the enemy in this war makes a very effective antithesis. Fu'ad shows that even battle and victory cannot alter fate, and that the fate of those two tragic heroes is separation. Fate brings calamity, distress and death to man.

It seems to us that the leitmotif 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 Fu'ad's sadness. This becomes clearer when we read Nizami's Layla va Majnun. Although Nizami 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 Fu'ad's version. It could be that Fu'ad's living in an Arab environment was the reason for his accent on Arab themes. Fu'ad's Layla va Majnun is not, as some have claimed, a translation of Nizami'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 Qaya's father at first had no son and only came to have a son after much prayer and supplication. Unlike Fulūlī, 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 Qaya's father, he points to the trouble which Qaya would cause his father in future. Niẓāmī's work is more detailed. His poem is in 4,600 couplets, while Fulūlī's is in not more than 3,200. Niẓāmī slightly modified Kajnūn'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.

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, "Fu'ūli's \textit{Laylā va Majnūn} is without doubt the most beautiful \textit{magnāvī} 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 Fu'ūli's \textit{Laylā va Majnūn} observes:

"In fact there are about thirty versions of \textit{Laylā} and \textit{Majnūn} in Turkish classics. Even had Fu'ūli 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."\(^3\)

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1. I have been able to read only parts of the versions by Amīr Khusrav Dihlavī, Jāmī, and 'Alī Shīr Kāvū'ī, which may be characterized as follows: Amīr Khusrav exaggerated the story more dramatically; Jāmī's work is closer to the Arabic original, but full of symbols and difficult to understand; Kavū'ī's work is more poetic, and shows a more perceptive understanding of Kājīnūn's love, but its descriptions are rather ornate.


Professor Ahmed Hamdi Tanpinar in an article on Fuştûlî has this to say:

"Laylā is not simply an instrument, allowing Kajnûn 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 "Niẓámî has poeticized Kajnûn, while Fuştûlî has Kajnûn-ized the poetry"; and he concludes that each work is in its own way original. (2)

Rypka remarks that "Niẓámî's Laylā and Kajnûn later was imitated by Fuştûlî in a treatment of the same material in the language of  Azerbaijan, one of the highest achievements in the poetry of that area."(3)

The Ukrainian Orientalist A. Krimski wrote that "Fuştûlî in his work does not simply imitate Niẓámî, but develops the same theme and produces a creative masterpiece."(4)

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The Translation of Forty Traditions.

Five mss. of this work have been found in Turkish libraries; (1) one in the Leningrad Museum, No. 1561(540); and another in Tehran, Kitābkhāna-yi Dānishgāh-i Tehran, 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 Islamic literature, 'Abd Allāh ibn al-Kubārak (d. 182/797) 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)

"If anyone has learnt something from me by heart, let him tell it to others."

1. A ms. in the İzmir Milli Kütüphanesi No.11/517 contains first Jāmi's and then Fuzuli's translations.
2. Selamet Memuası, Istanbul 1948, Nos.57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 66.
The Traditions (ṣadīq) of the Prophet acquired even greater importance as the source of the theology and religious law of Islam.(1)

Fuzuli's work is a translation of the famous Persian poet Jami's Ṣadīq-i Arba'īn into Turkish. The contents are a prologue, forty qit'as and an epilogue. Fuzuli translated each Ṣadīq in a single qit'a. He himself states in the prose prologue, after the praises of God and the Prophet, that he made the translation from Jami's work. The qit'as are in the khabīf metre, and the language is simple and natural in tone.

Two examples of Traditions and Fuzuli's translations are shown below.

"There are two qualities which do not accord in a True Believer: miscreliness and ill-nature."

1. A Ṣadīq, usually called in English a "Tradition", is a saying of the Prophet Muhammad 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 Ṣadīq-i Gūdāf or "Divine Tradition"; when the Prophet is at once speaker and voice, it is a Ṣadīq-i Shārif or "Blessed Tradition". Iranian writers also used the term Khabar (pl. Akhbār) for "Tradition".
"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."

"God loves those of cheerful mien."

"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."

"قلل كرم خوبوتو يالمان ايته
ك سكا دينك اوله مونن باك
الز البت اهل ايامه
مجتمع خوي زخت ايه امساك

"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."

"God loves those of cheerful mien."

"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 Fu‘ūlī’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.”\(^{(2)}\)

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FużULI's letters.

Shikāyatnema
(Letter of Complaint)

This is in the form of a petition in Turkish addressed by FużULI to the Nishānjī Jalālzāda Muṣṭafā Chalābi. There are nine ms. 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 FużULI's Turkish Divān and once in 1960 at Băkū. (1)

In this petition, FużULI complains to the Nishānjī Pāshā about the action of the local authorities who had refused to comply with the instructions contained in the Sultān's order granting him a pension, and goes on to request the Pāshā's assistance. The letter is the best example of FużULI's Turkish prose which is written in the Ottoman dialect. (2)

1. Araslı has published the Shikāyatnema in his Cyrillic edition of FużULI's works printed at Băkū in 1960. See Bibliography.
2. See p.211. [Footnote].
Although Fuzûlî had presented panegyric gâzîdas to the Sulṭân and the Fâshâns, 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. Kushfiqî (942/1538-996/1537-8), a Persian (so-called Tajik) poet of Bukhârâ, similarly addressed a gâzîda with the name "Shikâyat al-Zulm" (complaint about injustice) to the Uzbek ruler 'Abd Allâh Khân (991/1583-1006/1598). He complains about the misery and poverty of the common folk, and puts the blame on an irresponsible vazîr who ignores the welfare of the people and devotes himself only to gluttony. (Probably 'Abd Allâh Khân had promised Kushfiqî a pension). See J. Kypka et al., History of Iranian Literature, Dordrecht 1968, p. 501.

The Persian poet Fûlûh Va$hâhî of Dâfâq (d. 991/1583), a poet no less deep and passionate than Fuzûlî, may have been influenced by Fuzûlî's Shikâyât-nâma; for when a pension was promised but not paid to him, he expressed his complaint in these words:

لّوشت حضرت آصف برات من بکی
که هیچ حاصل آز آن نیست نفر افکام
بتدر وجه برات درد کشی و نند
که یک فلوس زوجه برات پستام

"His Excellency the Vazîr 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 Shikāyatnāma has become well known among the Turks as an example of proverbial wisdom:

"سلام ورددم وحوت دندر ديو اکديلر."

"I greeted them, but seeing that it was not a bribe, they refused to accept my salutation."

This is how Fuţūlī reports his interview with the officials:

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 Sultan."

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 Fuğlü must have seen that this kind of letter was admirably suited for satirical and comic effects.

Although humour and satire are never Fuğlü's main themes, the Shikṣayatnāma shows his talent in this field. In the lines quoted above we can see that he had a strong sense of humour.
Tahniyatnâme

(Letter of congratulation)

There is one manuscript of this letter in the 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 Fuzuli by Karahan in Fuzulinin Mektupları, Istanbul 1948.(1)

In this letter addressed to the Qâzi 'Alî al-Dîn, Fuzuli praises the Qâzi's justice and wishes his children long life and good fortune.

'Ubûdîyatnâme

(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 Ayâs Fâshë. Fuzuli, after addressing laudatory words to the Fâshë, says that although he is so far away he remains deeply attached to him. Like Fuzuli's

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.

\[\text{İştiyBonkma}\]

\((\text{Letter of Nostalgia})\)

Two mss. of this letter have been found in the Turkish libraries. It was published in 1945 by K. E. Kürkçüoğlu, and again in 1948 by Professor Karahan.

Fusulî in this letter to Wir Livê (i.e. Brigadier-General) Ahmad Beg Mawqillu eulogises him and wishes the prolongation of his term in office and of his good fortune.

\[\text{Nâma-yê Javâbî}\]

\((\text{Letter of Reply})\)

One manuscript of this letter has been found in the Dil Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Library at Ankara. It has been published by Professor Kazıoğlu.(1)

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1. H. Kazıoğlu, \(\text{Fusulî'nin bir maktubu, in }\)Akara Dil-Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, 1948, Vol. VI, p.3.
The letter is addressed to the Ottoman Prince Bayazid. From it we can infer that Fuğuli 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 Fuğuli 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

Fużūli's Persian works

ŜAHI-ŠNA

(Epistle to the Cupbearer)

In most of the mss., this Persian magnavi poem by Fużūli is entitled Haft Jān (Seven Cups), probably because it is divided into seven sections. Moreover, in the prologue Fużūli himself says:

ز سایر کواکب مشوق کل ، منحو چون جز س کل ازین هفت چالم

"Do not be embittered by the revolution of the stars. Only drink the wine of aspiration from those Seven Cups" (Haft Jān). (1)

All the mss. of Fuţūli's Persian Dīvān in the libraries of Turkey contain the ŠAHI-ŜNA. 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 Fuţūli's Turkish Dīvān and in literary journals; the latest

edition is that by Professor Mazioglu at the end of her edition of the Persian Divan (Ankara, 1962).

A Turkish translation of the work by Professor A. N. Tarlan has been appended to his translation of the Persian Divan. A poet of Khiva, Muhammad Rasul Mirzal, translated it into Chaghatay and added it to the end of his Divan called Marghûb al-Maghīrīn. (1)

The work is a conventional Sāqī-nāme, undoubtedly modelled on those of earlier poets. The Persian poet Salān Sāvajî (d. 778/1376) may be accounted the founder of the genre; (2) Ūfīz also wrote one, but after Salān. Fuzuli's Sāqī-nāme 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.

2. Fuzuli compares himself with Salān in his Persian Divān:

\[ \begin{align*} 
\text{در مواق عرب ما زم متن بسانترا} \\
\text{بختی سخن و حسن نصاحت نا} \\
\text{"Today I am the Second Salān in the Arab Irāq, in clearness of word and eloquence of language."} \\
\end{align*} \]

(Fuzuli's Persian Divān, ed. by Hasibe Mazioglu, Ankara 1962, p. 141).
In Fużuli'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 Ṣaqi-nāmās of the period, by Yaḥyā Efendi (d. 1053/1643), Ḫaḍīr (1041/1631), Shaykhī Efendi (d. 1043/1633), ʿAlī I (d. 1044/1634), Riyūsī Efendi (d. 1054/1644) and Jamāʿ (d. 1075/1664). The longest of these with 1561 couplets is ʿAlī I's Ṣaqi-nāma, and all are in Turkish, while Fużuli's Ṣaqi-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 Fużuli explains to us how he met the priest of the Hagiana (Pir-e Ṭūshān) and related his grief, and how the priest told him that his intelligence (ʿaql) 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 Fużuli asks for the fiery-tempered water which is wine, and says:

"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.

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, Fužuli, 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 Fužuli possessed a good knowledge of music, Iranian mythology and Sufism. 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.
Anis al-qalb

This qasida, which Fuzuli wrote for Qanuni Sultan Sulaymân, was never an independent work, but only one of the qasidas in his Persian Divân. We discuss it separately because it has been published separately.

In a couplet towards the end of the poem, Fuzuli tells us that he "called this beauty Anis al-qalb" because he wished it to circulate for ever in the assemblies of wise men. (1)

The Turkish encyclopaedist Kätib Chalabî (d. 1058/1651) in his Kashf al-zunûn was the first to make known that Fuzuli had written a qasida called Anis al-qalb. (2)

A very valuable manuscript in the Selimiye Library at Edirne (No.1441) contains Fuzuli's Anis al-qalb, together with the Dihâr al-abrâr of the Persian poet Khûqûqî (d. c. 1199/1595), to which it is a parallel (naṣâra), and qasidas by Amîr Khusraw Dihlavi (mir'at al-qalb and) Jâmi (jâlû-yi rûh). The ms. is not dated. It is known only, from a note at the end, that it was donated to the library by a certain Mîrî Ahmâd of Yanbûlû in July 1328/1911. (3)

3. Other ms. are in the Hillet Kütûphanesi, Istanbul No.857, in a Jung (anthology) called Majma' al-latâfîf Sandûqat al-ma'ârif, and in the Suleymaniye Library No. 1912.

Anis al-qalb was published for the first time at Istanbul in 1924, ed. by S. C. Erkiliç; for the second time, together with the rest of Fuzuli's Persian Divân, in 1962, ed. by Hasîbe Kazıoğlû.
Jāmī and Khusraw Dihlavī had previously written parallels to Khāqānī's Dihār al-ābrār. Fūzūlī, too, wrote parallels, which in the East were a form of literary competition. If we compare Fūzūlī's gapida with those of the three great Persian poets, we can see that he is their equal.

Khāqānī's Dihār al-ābrār has 111 distichs, and its maṭla' (opening verse) is:

"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 Mīrāt al-ṣafa has 220 distichs with the maṭla':

"My heart is a pupil and the priest of love his
language-teacher.
His lesson is disgrace; the corner of his school is
poverty."
Jāhī'ī's Jalāl-ayī rūh has 124 distichs with the matla‘:

"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."

Fuṣūlī's Anīś al-qalb has 134 distichs with the matla‘:

"My heart is a casket of pearls, the secrets of eloquence are the unbroken pearls within it. The expanse of knowledge is an ocean, the grace of God is its April rain."

Later Fuṣūlī writes:

"By the grace of God, the secrets of eloquence are the unbroken pearls within it. The expanse of knowledge is an ocean, the grace of God is its April rain."
"The house had three pillars, Khosraw, Khūqānī and Jāmī. I toiled in Baghdad to complete its pillars. Jāmī polished that mirror and sent it as a gift to the Servants of the King of Men" (i.e. of 'Ali).(1)

This long qaṣīda is a nāṣīḥatnāma (letter of advice) of the type usually written for Sultāns. At the end of the poem Fuṣūlī states in these words that he dedicates it to Qāmūnī Sulaymān:

"I entrust it to fair-minded men who will honour the trust. I send it from the land of Iran to the centre of Justice, the land of Rūm, in the hope that, through the influence of Sultān Sulaymān's victorious empire, it will conquer the world and spread to every part."

1. Fuṣūlī here refers to Jāmī's qaṣīda Jalāl-yi rūḥ (The Polish of the Soul). "Servants of 'Ali" probably means the keepers of the shrine at Najaf, among whom was Fuṣūlī himself. See Chapter II, p. 47 above.

The gazīda 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 Sultan and the government, and describes very candidly how an oppressive ruler stands in the eyes of the people.

In his advice to the Sultan, Fuzuli says:

"For the greedy peace is impossible. When a man is Shāh of Irān, he wishes to become Shāh of Turān as well."

"In the reign of an oppressive Sultan, the people have no peace. If the shepherd is a wolf it is a disaster for the flock."

"Ch. 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."
What use is a throne that floats away like a ship on the water streaming from the eyelashes of the poor."

"You are the peasant's partner, you have a share in his property; but on the condition that you protect him from every disaster."

"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 elite group and every city, old or new, depend; and he adds:

The poet shows great courage in writing these words. He then speaks of his own love for the peasants, the class on whom every elite group and every city, old or new, depend; and he adds:
"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:

"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:

"Why bow your head to honour Kay and Kisrā? Why suffer
the taunts of Faghfūr and Khāqān?"(1)

1. Kay and Kisrā (=Khusraw) 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:

"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:

"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 Sultān and palace, who represented the government and high officials of the age. It was presumably sent to Istanbul, since Fuṣûlī 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 Rûm."
Fuzuli nowhere says whether or not he received help or patronage from the Sultan, either in the poems written when Qanuni Sulayman was at Baghdad, or in those written after his return to Istanbul. Fuzuli seems to have been pleased by the Ottoman conquest of Baghdad, and wrote verses eulogizing the Sultan and the men about him, expecting their patronage. But Qanuni could not have looked favourably on Fuzuli who, in his poems, had praised 'Ali, the Shi'ite Imam, and Shah Isma'il and his governor Ibrahin Khan. We may be sure that in fact the Sultan did not bestow any largesse on Fuzuli.
Rind-u Zāhid

The Rake and the Ascetic

This moral mystic work shows Fuţūli'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 Sūleymaniye Library, no. 1912; it was written in 1590-1. There are five other ms. in the Turkish libraries, three in the British Museum, two in the Kitābkhāna-ye Shūrā-ye Milly (Tehran), one in the Asiatic Museum (Leningrad), one in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), and one in the Königliche Bibliothek (Berlin).

Three hundred years ago Kitib Chalabi (known also as Ḥājjī Khalīfa; d. 1058/1651) in his encyclopaedia Kashf al-Zunūn mentioned that Fuţūli left a book called Rind-u Zāhid. Although Professor F. Köprülü in his article in the İslam 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 Uskudarlı Muştafa Salım in 1805; this was published in 1869. Although

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the original is written in a very clear Persian style, Salim Efendi's Turkish translation is confused and obscure.

Rind-u Zehid 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 (Zehid) 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. Zehid 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.

Zehid fears that his son will remain ignorant and live fecklessly. 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, Zähid replies:

"This is the house of God. It is the pleasant place where the Sûfis 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 harrassament 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. Zähid describes the drunkards in the tavern to his son:

1. Rind-u Zähid, Ankara 1956, p. 52. (ed. by K. Kürkçüoğlu)
"These men are far from Allah'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 Zähid waits for him at the door. When his son does not return, Zähid goes in and finds him drunk and out of his mind. Nevertheless Zähid comes to realize that his son, too, is right; and their disagreement finally results in concord.

At the end of the work, Fuṣūlī concludes:

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 ṭayr (coquetry), and scolded God without being punished. (3)

2. Ibid., p. 72.

Rūmī 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 Rūmī'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 Ṣūfī Māhmūd Shabistarī of Tabriz (d. 720/1320):

"The tavern is the abode of lovers,
The place where the bird of the soul rests." (2)

In Fūūlī's Rind-u Zāhid, the ascetic father finds his son drunk with ecstasy. The whole of Ṣūfism rests on the belief

1. Ṣangūnī-yi Ka'nāvī, 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 chador 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, "0 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 by 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."

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" (بِلَادُ الْأَعْلَى), 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. Fuzūlī 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 Fuzūlī 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.
Copies of this short tract in Persian prose are not rare.

There are about 10 manuscripts in libraries in Turkey, three in the Kitābkhāna-yi Kālis-ī Wilīy (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 Muhammad 'Ali Nāqi.\(^{(1)}\)

It has been translated into Turkish three times: first into Ottoman Turkish in 1856 by Muhammad Labīb Efendi,\(^{(2)}\) secondly the same translation with small modifications published in 1909 by Ahmād Hamīd,\(^{(3)}\) thirdly a translation into modern Turkish published in 1940 by Professor A. Gölpinarlı. It has also been translated into German in 1943 by Necati Hüsnü Lugal and Dr. O. Reischer,\(^{(4)}\) and summarized in French at the end of Professor Gölpinarlı's edition.

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2. Istanbul 1272/1856, reprinted Istanbul 1282/1865.
Juan-G 'Ishq, the hero of which is Ruh, the human soul, has different names in different mss., such as Juan-G 'Ishq (Beauty and Love), Sibhat-G Marat (Health and Sickness), and Safarnāma-yi Ruh (The Soul's Itinerary).

Juan-G 'Ishq shows that Fuṣūlī, 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 'Ali 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 Ḥāfi b. Yaqqūn (Alivā, son of Awako), describing the progress of the active intellect as it rises above the senses.\(^1\) In Persian, Muhassand Yaḥyā b. Shībāk of išchāpur known as Fattārī (d. 562-3/1168-9) was one of the first writers of a Juan-G 'Ishq or Juan-G Dil (Beauty and Heart) dialogue. His poem Qastār-i 'Ushshān also deals with problems of mysticism by personifying parts of the human body and various human qualities.\(^2\) After Fuṣūlī, the Turkish poets Nav'ī in his Kasāb-u Jād (Nobility and Wood), and Shaykh Ghālib (1171/1757-8 - 1213/1799) in his Juan-G 'Ishq, wrote romantic poems in the same sense.


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:

"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


2. According to Sufism there are Five Worlds (‘AvHlim-i Khānsa), which are in fact five different planes of existence. They are the World of Godhead (‘Alam-i Lāhūt), the World of the Fixed Prototypes (‘Alam-i A’yān-i Sābita), the World of Light (‘Alam-i Jabarūt), the World of Similitudes (‘Alam-i Mīsāl), the World of Man (‘Alam-i Insān).
city. "(1)

The story continues: "They never oppose one another or part company."

It seems clear that Fuṣūli 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

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1. The "four humours" (akhlāṭ-ʾi arbaʿa) of the early physicians were choler, i.e., bile (gafrū), phlegm (balgham), blood (dām), and spleen or melancholy (sawda). The last of these, which was sometimes called "strabile" 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, warns 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 separation from self."

The second part was a particular source of inspiration for Shaykh Châlib, who took Fuzûlî's theme and worked it up with great skill in his own Ḥusn-ull 'Ishq. Gibb sees certain resemblances between this allegorical magnây by Shaykh Châlib and Fuzûlî's Layla va Majnûn; he did not know that Fuzûlî also has left a work called Ḥusn-ull 'Ishq. Shaykh Châlib in his own work tells us of his admiration for Fuzûlî. (1)

Muhammad 'Ali Maṣîh, in his article presenting the text in the review Armâghân, speaks highly of Ḥusn-ull 'Ishq. He

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considers that it is an outstanding example of Persian prose, and that Fuzuli by producing such a work in his own century performed a miracle in the revival of Persian literature. (1)

There is a manuscript of Fu'âlî's Persian mu'âmmâs in the public library of Bursa (Turkey), no. 19/1241, and one of his Turkish mu'âmmâs in the library of Istanbul University, no. 5548. The manuscript of Fu'âlî's Kulliyât in the library of the Leningrad Asiatic Museum, no. 1561(540), contains both his Persian and his Turkish mu'âmmâs. The Turkish mu'âmmâs were first published by H. Arasli at Bâkû in 1946(1) and later by Professor A. Karahan in Turkey in 1948.(2) The Persian mu'âmmâs were published in 1949 by Kemal Edip Kürkçüoğlu.(3)

A mu'âmmâ 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'âmmâ in accordance with certain conventions.

2. Tasvir Gazetesi, 23 December 1948, Muamme Edibiyyati va Fuzulî'nin muammaları.
Here are a few examples of Fu‘āṣī’s Turkish and Persian mu’amalāt:

"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)."

"Salam - My sigh is the witness of my hidden grief. O friends, do not blame me if I sigh!"

"Imām - My wet eyes are a sea. My graceful sweet-heart will find the pearl if she comes towards the sea."

"Paša - If a far-famed king always practices justice, His good name will endure in every land."

Many theoretical treatises on the composition and solution of riddles were in existence in Fuṣūlī's time. Mu'amma writing had been cultivated by a large number of poets and often formed a special chapter in their divāns. The Persian poet Jāmī has left four essays on riddles, of which the most highly valued is his Risāla fi'l-mu'amma. 'Allī Shīr Navaṭ'I also wrote mu'amma in Persian and in Chaghatāy Turkish. The invention of the mu'amma is attributed to Khalīl b. Ahmad, the inventor of prosody, while the Persians of course attribute it to 'Allī b. Abī Ṭalīb. (1)

Arasli writes in his preface that Fuṣūlī's riddles gained fame wherever Turkish literature was known, both in his own and in later epochs.

Kürkçoğlu explains that it was considered a defect in a poet if he did not write riddles, and that for this reason Fuṣūlī, too, went in for this genre.

Fuṣūlī himself has written:


"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

Fużulī's Arabic Works

Mašla' al-I'itiqaḍ

Ma'Rifat al-Wabda' wa'l-Ma'eţd

The only known copy of Fużulī's Mašla' al-I'itiqaḍ is to be found in a manuscript of his collected works (Kulliyât) preserved in the Asiatic Museum in Leningrad, no. 1561(540), pp. 322-373. Although it bears no date, Professor Muhammed b. Tâvît al-Ţanâjî thinks that it was written in the 16th century.

This Arabic work was first published in a facsimile edition by Hanîd Arasî, which appeared at Bâkû in 1958. Arasî 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.

Arasî in his introduction writes that Fużulī 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

that in the work Fuṣūlī never puts forward his own views, but simply states and compares the theories of various philosophers. Professor al-Ṭanji thinks that Arasī is essentially ignorant of the philosophy and ideas current in Fuṣūlī'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. Ṭūvīt al-Ṭanji prepared a critical edition of the text, while Esat Coğan and Kemal Işık produced a Turkish translation. Professor al-Ṭanji took considerable trouble over this task. He indicates in footnotes the sources of all Fuṣūlī'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, Fuṣūlī simply adopted his themes from certain Greek and Islamic philosophical sources, and furthermore remained on a quite superficial level. In preparing the work he used only the books taught in the madrasa in his time, and not the basic works of either the Greek or the Muslim philosophers. There are many mistaken

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2. İlahiyat Fakültesi.
ideas, some of which stem from errors by the Arab translators of the Greek works, and some of which arise from Fuţûlî's own misunderstandings of the Muslim works which he copied.

The late Fuad Köprülü, in his article on Fuţûlî in the Islam Ansiklopedisi, suggested that if the work ḫatla' al-İ'tiqād came to light, it might prove that Fuţûlî was a Shi'ite.({1}) In fact, however, the poet merely presents unoriginal ideas culled from different sources and never mentions his own sect.

Tanji also discusses Fuţûlî'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 littératreur. He considers Fuţûlî'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.

Fuţûlî 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.

In the preface, after praising God and saluting the Prophet, Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī 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, Fuṣūlī 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, Fuṣūlī remarks that

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1. Ḳaṭła' al-İ'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, Ḥukhteriya, Zaydiya, Ḥanafiya, Ima'iliya, and Bāṭiniya sects, but does not give his own opinion on the question which of these doctrines is more logical.

He says:

"According to the Sunna sect, the identity of the Imām is known and proved by general consensus, not by written designation or appointment. The Imāms are the four caliphs in the well-known order." (i.e. 'Umar, Abū Bakr, 'Uṯmān and 'Alī).

"According to the Twelver Shi'a sect, the Imāmate belongs to 'Alī and his descendants al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥassayn, al-'Abid, al-‘Askari.

2. Ibid., p. 75.
al-Dāqīr, al-Ṣādiq, al-Kāzīm, al-Riżā, al-Taqī, al-Naqī, al-'Askarī, and al-Mahdī whose emergence is expected.

On the Nature of God, Fūţūlī writes:

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,

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 Yululita and the Ghule. 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 (Kajiq). Some say that God is Time (Dahr); these are the Dahrlyun (fatalists or materialists).

As the Qu'ranic 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 Fuülî did not show much fanaticism in religious matters, and that he was a calm, upright and virtuous man.
Works attributed to Fuṣūlī

on doubtful grounds.

Shēh-ū Gaddā

In Turkish literature there are a number of works called Shēh-ū Gaddā (The King and the Beggar) or Shēh-ū Darvīṣah (The King and the Darvīṣah). The best-known one is the Shēh-ū Gaddā of Tashlījālī Yaḥyā (d. 1587); Āgāh Sirrī Levend in an article in Türk Dili says (1) that this is a naṣīḥa to the Shēh-ū Gaddā of the Persian Poet Hīlallī (d. 935/1528-9), whereas Gibb finds nothing in common with Hīlallī’s Shēh-ū Gaddā except a similarity of title. (2)

A reference in Shādiqī’s Taṣkīrā (3) is our only evidence that Fuṣūlī also wrote a Shēh-ū Gaddā. 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 Kazıklı and Professor Necati Lugal after lengthy research found out that the manuscript is not Shēh-ū Gaddā. The other Shēh-ū Gaddās which exist in the libraries in Turkey are copies of Tashlījālī Yaḥyā’s work. (4)

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 Fuțuli 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 Fuțuli. (1)

Suḥbat al-Asmār

This is an allegorical poem 200 distichs long, in Persian. Emin Abid first attributed it to Fuțuli, (2) and more recently M. Gulizade has repeated this claim. (3) In the opinion of F. Köprülū and A. Karahan, this work has nothing in common with Fuțuli's style. (4)

1. Fuțuli Hakkında Bir Bibliyografya Denemesi, Istanbul 1959, p. 103.
Jumjuna-nêma

This is another work which has been attributed to a poet called Fużûlî by Olearius in his Book of Travels.\(^{(1)}\) Professor Köprülü and Professor Karahan feel uncertain about this claim.\(^{(2)}\)

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PART THREE
CHAPTER IX

Fuğlulî's Turkish Divân

Dr. Mujgan Cunbur, in her Bibliography of Fuğlulî's works(1) established that there are 70 manuscripts of Fuğlulî's Turkish Divân 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 Universitätbsbibliothek (Uppsala), one mss. in the Stadt- bibliothek (Breslau - now Wroclaw), one mss. in the Maria Magdalenenbibliothek (Breslau), one mss. in the Bibliotheca Regia Dresdensi (Dresden), one mss. in the Hof- und Stadt- bibliothek (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).

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(1) Dr. Mujgan Cunbur, Fuğlulî Hakkında bir Bibliografya Denemesi, Ankara 1956, pp. 5-45.
In the Turkish libraries, manuscripts of Fuzuli's Turkish divan 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 divan written or corrected in Fuzuli's 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 Aqari 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 Aqari spelling and all the peculiarities of this dialect; it was copied by a scribe with the name Husayn b. Gulshani.
Among the mss. which we have seen in the British Museum, Or. 406 is written in neat nastā'ilīg with two unvān (rubrics) and gold-ruled margins; it has no transcription date but is apparently from the 16th century. Add. 19, 445, written in neat nastā'ilīg 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 Quli.\(^1\) Besides Add. 19, 445, Add. 7916, Add. 7917 and Or. 406, the British Museum possesses two other mss. of Fużūli's Turkish Divān, 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 jumma (miscellanies) of poetry containing poems by Fużūli.

Of the five manuscripts of Fużūli's Divān in the Bibliothèque Nationale, No. 394 and No. 1370 are the best for

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1. This small note is another indication of the popularity of Fużūli's Divān.
2. Surprisingly Dr. Cunbur has not mentioned these two mss. in her Bibliography.
completeness and clarity. No. 394(1) dated 1038 was written at Erzurum by the interpreter of the local Russian consulate for an unnamed person who had found a small Divan of Fużuli. No. 1370 dated 1672 was written at Baghdad by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Kirmānī. Mss. Nos. 244, 290, 294, 302, 240, 373, 673, 675, 1122, 1984, 1987, 2005, 518 are Jungs containing poems by Fużuli which are overlooked in Dr. Cunbur's Bibliography. (2)

H. Arasli states that the Academy of Sciences of the Azarbaijan Soviet Republic possesses a manuscript No. 2062 of Fużuli's Turkish Divan, which is about 65 pages long. (3)

It was copied by Lāhmid ibn Dāvūd 'Ulayyavī, 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 Fużuli. In the same article Professor Karahan states that his book Fuzuli, Eütiti, Hayati ve Şahsiyeti gives particulars of manuscripts of Fużuli's Turkish Divan, whereas in fact it enumerates only a small number of ms's in the libraries of Turkey. On the other hand, Dr. Cunbur's Bibliography is comprehensive and valuable.

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*.

Füşüly'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 1959 by the İş Bankası.

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 İş Bankası 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 Füşüly, whose work has been altered by various hands in various lands. In the İş Bankası 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.

For example, in the ghazal on page 397, the rhyme bêla occurs twice; but on its first occurrence it is shown as vefa, 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. The editor, who knows Agarî well, demonstrates that the ms. show a definite tendency away from Agarî 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 ms. as mana-bana. Professor Tarlan makes this bana-bana, which in Agarî 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, Fuţuli's Turkish Divân has been printed in Iran 5 times, in 1827, 1831, 1849, 1854, and 1856. Hartmann states that it was printed 5 times at Tashkent on the basis of the Istanbul printed edition of 1870.

Editions were printed in Egypt in 1838 and 1840, and in Russia in 1893 and 1944; the most recent one is a

2. He himself is originally an Agarî from Caucasus.
5. The British Museum catalogue states that Fuţuli'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 Bilkent by Hamit Arslan. (1)

The late Mehmet Fuat Köprülü in his article on Fuşültü in the İslam Ansiklopedisi wrote that the Divān was first printed in 1844 at Dūlahq (Cairo). However, in the Millet Library in Istanbul, there is a copy printed at Tabrīz in 1244/1827, (2) and there are also copies printed at Tabrīz in 1831 and at Dūlahq in 1838.

Dr. Cunbur in her Bibliography mentions 25 printed editions. She writes that she was not able to examine the Tabrīz edition of 1827, nor the İğ Bankası edition which had not yet appeared; her book came out in 1956 and the İğ Bankası edition in 1958. The first edition using the Latin alphabet was prepared by Professor Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı 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 Divān 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 Divān with some of Fuşültü’s other works, and is in Cyrillic Ğarbālijānī characters.


3. Professor Abdülbaki Gölpinarlı, Fuşültü divani, Istanbul 1948. There is a copy in the Oriental Library at Durham, No. PL. 258.
The fame of Fuṣūlī rests above all on his Turkish Divān. The volume, which contains his collected Turkish poems, has features characteristic of literary custom in the 10th/15th century. Like the Divān of the Chaghātāy 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: tawbīds (praises of the Divine unity), na'īts (praises of the Prophet), qasīdas (panegyrics), musammams (poems arranged in stanzas), ghazals (love-poems), qīts (fragments), and rubā'īs (quatrains).

Fuṣūlī's preface begins with praise of God in these words:

داسته فضولى

حد سعد و علی سعد اول مسلم نقل آنی به که خلیفه امید سکان

Fuṣūlī 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 *qasals* and his Arabic *rajas* 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, yielded to his friend's entreaties and hastened to collect the Turkish verses of his youth. 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.

The contents of the complete *Diwan* of Fūlūṭ are as follows:

Preface

*Qasals* 40 or 44

1. It is not known what this task was.
2. Again it is not known when Fūlūṭ made the collection.
3. The preface is the most important source of the little knowledge which we possess about Fūlūṭ's life and personality (see Chapter II).
4. In some ms., there are 40, in others 44.
Gazala 305 (in alphabetical order of the rhyme-syllables).

Musammams 13

Git'as 42 or 44

Rub'iyat 72 or 84 (in alphabetical order of the rhyme syllables).

Both Fūsūlī'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 āthā'īd in the form of a qayīda at the beginning of the Divān. Other qayīdas reflect the political and social life of Fūsūlī's time, while the gazalas express his personal philosophy of life and sense of art, and the git'as and rub'iyāt express his ideas about social and moral matters.

The qayīda, in its original Arabic 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 Vazīr or Shaykh al-Islām. The Turkish qayīdas are constructed in two parts: the nasīh (exordium) and the maqāmid (purpose, usually panegyric). In the nasīh 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 magqid; but sometimes the name of the patron is introduced near the beginning of the magqid, while the writer's own name is mentioned at the end. The couplet in which the poet moves from the nasi to the magqid is called the guris (transition).

Imnumerable poets have started their poems with invocations of God and praises of the Prophet, and Fudli has done the same. Muslims regard God as the only perfect being, of which He has given proof through the Qur'An. 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. Tawhid; 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 Fudli's tawhids can be traced to the Qur'An 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 Fu'âlî's Turkish Dîvân there are two tânhîds. The best known is the one at the beginning of the Dîvân which starts with the following distich:

هو امرنا گزار اولیه جهور کتب
بهار کنشت گردید یا حضرت گناب

The second tânhîd starts with:

آن‌مین ای صاحب تن برو ر و جان آلریمن
خالق‌النیا آلاال‌الم mentor ر ب العالمین (ب)

In the first Tânhîd, Fu'âlî skilfully displays his great knowledge of the classical sciences of kalâm (Islamic theology), fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence), astronomy, logic, geometry, and chemistry (or alchemy). The madâth (praise of God) in this

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2. Qur'ân, III, 32.
4. Ibid., p. 71.
famous *tawhid* is as sincere in its beauty as the *nassib* is masterly in its art. In the *nassib* Fusûlî says:

"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 Fusûlî'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'an 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

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1. *Kulliyat-i Dâven-i Fuṣûlî*, Istanbul 1891, p.15
3. *Qur'ân*, VI, 163.
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 Ḥanāvi: 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, Fuṣūlī in the last three couplets of the nasīṭī 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:

مذاب روز جزا و هی ایله غام و سمر بر اضطراب و عذاب ایجرهام بن رسوا (۴)

While burning with anguish, Fuṣūlī 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.
will answer your prayer? The poet accordingly believes that his prayer will be answered, and says:

"Tarnish on the mirror of the heart, coming from the evils of the soul, can be purified with God's grace. PuStly, let not your troubled heart abandon hope of God's grace."

PuStly 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:

In both the first and the second tawhIda the theme is PuStly'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

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1. Qur'An, XL, 60.
3. According to Süfism, the heart is like a mirror which can only reveal the reality of things by being polished. (Book XX of al-Ghazzâli's ThThulûm al-dîn, tr. by L. Zolondak, Leiden 1963, p.12).
bliss. Has not God said in the Qurʾān, "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?" At the end of the second tawḥīd, Fūkhū says:

"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 Qurʾān, 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."

1. Qurʾān, III, 135.
3. Qurʾān, IX, 72.
Acceptance from God, or pleasing God (risā or rikān) is the last of the stations on the Sufi path and is followed by the mystical states. (1) Ghazzālī interpreted it as follows: "Risā 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 Fuṣūlī praises is the Prophet Muḥammad. He has left four qasidas in praise of Prophet, which start, respectively, as follows:

4. Ibid., p.16.
5. Ibid., p.18.
Fausingly says (in outline) that he praises Muhammad 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 naita 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 Fausingly, the universe was created so that the Prophet might exist. It is the Prophet who will intercede for Believers on the Day of Resurrection. Fausingly's qaṣida entitled "Water" is one of the most successful examples of the nait in Turkish literature, and may fittingly be examined here.

2. Ibid., p.15.
قصیده در نیم حفرت تیپی

کم بودکلو دوستان اولداره قلمز جاره صویا سبیط اولش هور کوزن گلدان کر دواره صویا

کم مرور اوله برادر و سپری دیواره صویا

احفاط اوله اجبار مر کیده اوله یاره صویا

بر گل کچلز بوزک طب و پره بیک کلزارد صویا

خالی اولخک گل عسله و پرک خاره صویا

شیردر و پرک تراثین کیده بیاره صویا

صویاج مزرک برگر بو صرواد بهمون آره صویا

تنهکم سحه من ابتکر غوش گلور هخباره صویا

ظالم اولخک نالخا اول صر و عاش نطره صویا

چون و نبیدرد دنک اولکه تومین واره صویا

کوزه ایلک طهللم صویا گلکپاره صویا

دیکن دوخه ایلاینکه دوت به والر صویا

کل بوداییک ضایعه کیره تور تاره صویا

افظا تلیش طوطی اسد منطه صویا

سید نوع بشر دریا ید دن استخا

کم سهیدر محباتی آش اکر امره صویا

هم دورخ نار ثم صالح دل سوزاره صویا

هم لمکن کیر اولخک فدوزی سؤلره صویا

او ودلکرو اولدخک روز هضر سرووم اولسره

چشمه و سلک و بره بن چشمه دیداره صویا
"O happy, do not pour the water of your tears onto the fire in my heart; for water does not extinguish fires which are so fierce. I wonder 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 men 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.

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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 sussiasha (exaggeration). Then he pretends not to know why the sky is blue; this is taqāhul-i ‘urf (pretense of ignorance by one who knows). Finally he says that the blue of the sky comes from his tears covering it; this is buan-i ta‘lif (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 earth longs for Kawar; 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

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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. Kawar (Turkish Kawar) 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.\(^{(2)}\)

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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).


2. This couplet is the *gurîs* verse of the *qāṣīda*. The previous verses constituted the *nâṣīb*, and the panegyric on the Prophet begins from this point. For the transition between the *nâṣīb*, 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 Islam, *fuṣûl* means that water, with its transparency and purity, has the qualities of a perfect Muslim.

Water also symbolizes Muhammad. 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, Fūsūlī'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

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1. Since Muḥammad is the most favoured of men in God's sight, Fūsūlī calls him the "Pearl of Distinction". (He is not content with this description, however, but also makes him the Sea of the Pearl of Favourites.)

2. Fūsūlī here may be referring to the Qurʾān, "Muḥammad is not the father of any man among you, but he is the messenger of God and the Seal of the Prophets (Khūṭbah al-Nabīyyīn)." (Sūra XXXIII, 40).

As Saʿdī says:


There are many books by Muslim writers which relate miracles by the Prophet, especially on water, e.g. Ibn Saʿd's Taḥqīq, al-Sarrāj's Kitāb al-Ijma', Muslim's Sahīḥ - Kitāb Fad'il, al-Bukhārī's Sahīḥ - Kitāb Ṣalāḥāt, and al-Ṭabarānī's Sahīḥ - Kitāb Ṣalāḥāt.

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 ḥabūr (regal). Here Fūsūlī 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 'Ali, Fuzuli feels a great love. Not only in qasidas written specially in honour of 'Ali, but also in other poems, he praises 'Ali, frequently calling him in Persian "Shab-i Villyat", "Shab-i Kardan", and "Haydar-i Karrar". (2) In like manner he praises 'Ali's wife, the Prophet's daughter Fatima, and also 'Ali's martyred son Yussayn, and the ShI'a Ismael descended from him. In one qasida he says that he whose master is the "King of Men" (i.e. 'Ali) may endure great hardship but will in the end achieve his heart's desire:

(3) موز شلته کهکه کام دل طاهر انجام کارد، هر کیک مالده مولاسی که مردان اولور

Again in another qasida:

(4) دم اورم اوصاف اولاد علیو منه کم تاح آل طلی منوجب فنران اولور

1. Fuzuli is comparing the devotees 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 'Ali used by the Shi'ites.


4. Ibid., p.22.
"I describe the qualities of the children of 'Ali because the eulogist of 'Ali's line will deserve forgiveness of his sins."

Fuzuli 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. Fuzuli 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:

\[ \text{(1)} \]

Solomon is mentioned for the extent of his kingdom, and for the way in which all creatures obeyed his seal. Even

Solomon, however, lived in this transitory world; and Fu'ayl reminds us that although no man could escape Solomon's decree, death overtook Solomon too and fate destroyed his vast kingdom.

Whether Fu'ayl'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.

اوردن حمي لـبـقـان بـخـتانـى 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

to country and offered their services to different patrons. Thus Fuṣūlī wrote qaṣīdas in praise of rulers, statesmen, and wealthy patrons of art. In the early years of Shāh Tāhмāb’s reign (930/1524–984/1576), he presented two qaṣīdas to Ibrāhīm Khān Nawṣillū, one of the Ṣafavīd governors of Baghdad, whom he called "the greatest Khān of the Khāns."

As a result of these qaṣīdas, Fuṣūlī earned Ibrāhīm Khān's favour, until this patron was executed as a result of the treachery of his nephew Fuʿl-Faqīr Nawṣillū, who hoped to gain the governorship of Baghdad by defecting to the Ottoman Sultan.

Fuṣūlī presented four qaṣīdas to Sultān Sulaymān. In them he praises Qānūn 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, Nasīḥat al-Mulūk, and the Siyāsāt-nāma, explain the position of the ruler according to Islamic traditions as "God's Shadow on Earth" or "the Divine Shadow;

1. Kuliyāt-ı Divān-ı Fuṣūlī, Istanbul 1891, pp. 43 and 44.
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 Bagdad in 941/1534, and Sultan Suleymân remained in 'Iraq until the following year, passing the winter in the city.\(^2\) After the conquest, Fuâdi wrote the famous "Bagdad" qasıda describing the city. It is clear from it that he expected but did not receive favours from the Sultan.

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2. İslam Ansiklopedisi, article Bagdad, pp. 195-212.
"I arranged thousands pearls of praise in the courtyard of loyalty, but I find no opportunity to scatter them one by one at his threshold. 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" qasīda, which Fuṣūlī also wrote in honour of Qānūnī Sulaymān, he again complains of not being appreciated and says:

"(O Fuṣūlī), though you have no value, praise him; for it is the custom of the time that the rose grants audience to the thorn."

Between 953/1545 and 963/1545 Fuṣūlī wrote four qasīdas for Ja'far Bey, the Viceroy (Beylerbeyi) of Baghdad, in

2. Ibid., p. 24.
3. Ibid., pp. 54, 58, 63 and 67.
which he complains that his worth passes unnoticed and that
he has no friend who cares about his distress.

He wrote one qasida(1) in honour of Jalālsādā Muṣṭafā
Chalabī, who was Ra'īs al-kuttāb (Secretary in Chief)(2)
during Qā'imābādī'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 qasīda has qalam
as its rhyme. In it Fūsūlī speaks of the respect and
admiration he feels for this talented man's pen.

2. His services in Egypt after the revolt of the governor,
Ahmad Pishāh, were rewarded with the post of Ra'īs al-Kuttāb.
Just after the conquest of Baghdād in 941/1534 he was
promoted to the office of Nishānī (Registrar), which he
held for 23 years. Fūsūlī wrote his famous letter Shikāyat-
3. Agāf (b. Barakhyū), the name of the alleged Vasīr of King
Solomon, was sometimes given as a title to vasīras (ministers).
4. Nīṣūm al-Mulk, the celebrated minister of the Saljūqid
Sultāns Alp Arslān and Malikshāh. The Givāṣat-naṣma was
written by him in 548/1051 and completed at a later date by
the Secretary Muhammad Nashrībī. 
"Agūf and Nīğām al-Mulk ordered the World and departed (from it). The pen remains in the World as a memorial of you. If the 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 Fūzūlī, whose pen became mournful when I wrote about my sad condition."

In a qaṣīda(1) written for the Qāhīrī-‘askar(2) Qaḥīr Chalabi(3) who accompanied the Sultān during the Baghdad campaign, Fūzūlī describes him as a learned, virtuous and generous man, and a proficient poet, and also tells how fate caused him (Fūzūlī) much suffering.

Fūzūlī presented two qaṣīdas(4) to Ibrāhīm Pāshā, (5) who was married to Qāhūnī Sulaymān’s sister and was Sar‘askar (Minister of War) in the Baghdad campaign while at the same time holding the office of Qādīr-ī A‘ẓam (Grand Vazir).

Ibrāhīm Pāshā was with the Sultān when the city was conquered. He remained in Baghdad that winter, going to Tabrīz in July 1935, and from there returned to Istanbul. Fūzūlī made the

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2. The Qaḥīrī-‘askar was the Chief Army-Chaplain, and Vice Vice-Chancellor of the Islamic legal institution. There were two Qaḥīrī-‘askars, one for Rumelia and one for Anatolia.
acquaintance of this influential statesman while he was in Baghādād and wrote the two qasīdas in praise of his courage, authority, virtue and generosity.

In 952/1545 Fuţūlī presented eight qasīdas to Ayyās Pāhā, who had been appointed Governor of Baghādād. During his term of office, this Governor collected troops and conquered Bagra and Southern 'Irāq. Fuţūlī's qasīdas, written before and after these conquests, praise the Pāhā and his victories. We learn from one of these qasīdas that Ayyās Pāhā visited 'Alī’s mausoleum in Najaf, and that he was the fourth Ottoman Governor in Baghādād:

"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, Fuţūlī here speaks of 'Alī as fourth Caliph rather than first Imām, thereby implicitly accepting the

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Sunnite view of the legitimacy of 'Umar, Abū Dākīr and 'Uṣmān.

Three qaṣīdas(1) are addressed to Uvays Fīshā', who in 941/1534 became Governor General of Aleph and Baghādād, and was the second Ottoman Governor of Baghādād. Fūżūlī 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 Vazīr, Rustam Fīshā',(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 Vazīr when he was in the East dealing with Irānian affairs. While the fact that Fūżūlī wrote only one qaṣīda for Rustam Fīshā' suggests that he did not enjoy this Grand Vazīr's favour; Rustam's dislike of poets is well known.(5)

In two qaṣīdas(6) which he wrote for the Qāṣī (Islamic Judge) of Baghādād, Sayyid Muḥammad Ghāzi, Fūżūlī 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

2. Fūżūlī presented his famous masnavī Laylā va Mainūn to Uvays Fīshā'.
5. Rustam Fīshā' was a Dīnād (son-in-law of the Sultan), being married to Ānūn's daughter.
7. Ibid., pp. 19, 51, 62, 68.
Shāh Tahmāsb's last Governor of Baghdād, Muḥammad Khan, and
an Ottoman Governor Muḥammad Paṣḥā, (1) but has not been able
to determine which qaṣīda was addressed to which patron. In
In another poem in the Divān called Shīṭḥʿīya (winter poem)
Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī's qaṣīde-writing.
Concerning this branch of Fuṣūlī's art, E. J. W. Gibb
observes: (3)

"Fuṣūlī's qaṣīde are for the most part panegyrics on
Sultan Suleyman and certain Ottoman officials, probably
connected with the government of Baghdād. Poetry of this kind
was altogether alien to the genius of Fuṣūlī, so that nothing
very remarkable can be looked for here, and as a matter of
fact his qaṣīde are surpassed by those of several of his
contemporaries. Very different are the chahāla some three
hundred in number, in which Fuṣūlī pours out his heart, and
sighs and smiles by turns."

1. Fuṣūlī presented his Ḥadīqat al-ṣuʿāda to Muḥammad Paṣḥā,
the Ottoman Governor of Baghdād.
3. E. J. W. Gibb, A History of Ottoman Poetry, London 1904,
Usually the qasida represents the poetry of the court, and Ḥūfūl lived very far from the Ṣafavid and Ottoman courts. The ḥay/al 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 ḥay/al 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.

Ḥūfūl in all his ḥay/als sings of love, sometimes physical, sometimes platonie. The various intellectual themes which we find in the qasidas and qit′as, and sometimes in the rubā′is, are very rare in the ḥay/als; where they occur, they have been chosen for particular reasons, and fundamentally they remain secondary themes. The ḥay/al may be the most difficult kind of poetry to produce, and may represent a combination of more niceties 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 ḥay/al is called the maṭla′, and the last distich into which the poet introduces his name is called the maṭla′.
to lift us to a higher plane. As a writer of *shagas*, Fuğûlî 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 Fuğûlî 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 *shagas*. At the same time his basic
theme, the development of love, gives a unity to his 
phagals, which was regarded by the Turks and Persians as a virtue (called yak-shang, i.e. "harmony"), and which is also con-
genial 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 Ūlfiq.

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 gives to his revelation "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. Fu'ālсли
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.
Disregarding a friend's advice, I plunged into love. No enemy does to me what I did to myself.

I fall 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.

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 Fuṣūlī'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 khirūda (rational man) and the divāna (madman) or mast (drunkard), i.e. the irrational lover.

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.


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-Ghazālī’s Ṭawāf al-Walad, Chicago 1930, p. 115).

"My heart, which was skilled in all the arts, was baffled when it realized the difficulty of love."

"Oh God, let no one ever become mournful and distressed as I am! Oh God, let no one ever fall captive to love's pain and separation's woe!"

If Fūsūlī had known that beauties are such faithless creatures he would not have fallen in love.

"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. Fūsūlī finds the difficulties of love too great for his limited powers of endurance.


3. Means also distracted in mind.


5. Ibid., p. 172.
“O Füüly, no wonder that your sweetheart has no sympathy for you. For one so disreputable as you, how could sympathy possibly be felt?"

Füüly’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. Füüly’s beloved does not care about him and does not ask about his state of health. If one day she were to ask, Füüly would have no answer; for how could he explain the state of his aching heart?

"Your state has made my state as ruffled as your hair.
O callous beauty, will not you one day ask how I am?"

2. Ibid., p. 163.
"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?"

Fuṣūlī 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. Fuṣūlī 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.


5. Ibid., p. 127.
"O Fuad, I tasted all sorts of joys in the world; but I did not taste any joy like meeting my sweetheart."

"Whoever in hope of paradise forbade lovers to meet, did not know that the lovers' paradise is their meeting."

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2. Mystics had never cared for paradise or hours, for the reason expressed in a quatrain attributed either to 'Umar Khayyām (d. 517/1123) or more probably to the Ṣūfī Shaykh 'Abdallāh Ansārī (d. 681/1283):

"If you give me paradise in return for obedience, it will be a wage; where is Your generosity?"

3. 

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 reasserts 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.
"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."

"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, FuGHII 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. 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.


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.


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:

"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."

"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."

2. Ibid., p. 147.
"If she does not give dust of her path to subdue my tears, never mind. Such a flood cannot be stopped with dust."

(2)

"Each of my eyes is a stormy sea, and each of my eyebrows is a ship overturned in that sea by the storm."


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.

Mifbarû, a wandering darâyish 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.


"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 her beauty!"

"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?"

"O heart, do not spend sad days alone! Seek a companion! Wake Nājin from the sleep of death with your moans!"

1. In mystic phraseology, the nigāb 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.


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.

"Wherever there is grief, it gathers in me. I am Majnūn's hair in the land of grief."

"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."

"Majnūn, mad in his love, set the custom of living in the desert. I have invented the custom of becoming notorious in the city."


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.

"Majnūn, unlike me, cannot win notoriety in the city of misfortune. Does anyone who is sane accept such infamy?"

"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!"

"They say there once lived Vāsq and Majnūn. No wonder the sparks from my love's fire are scattered."

2. Ibid., p. 147.
Fūjūlī, 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).
"Your desire was for my life, which I committed to the
dust before your door. That having been done, what is your
command now?"

"First grief for my sweetheart, then death, lie in
store for me! That is your fate, Fuṣūlī, whether you weep
or smile."

"O death, do not ask Fuṣūlī for his life. He sacrificed
it long ago to a beauty with arching brows."


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 Fuṣūlī's sentiments. Like
   the Sūfīs, he felt that man is absolutely powerless against
   the assaults of Fate; but at the same time, like the Sūfīs
   (and unlike 'Umar Khayyām) he always kept hope in God's
   mercy.


4. **Ibid.** Fuṣūlī in another distich says:
   "O Fuṣūlī, 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).
The Sun, having failed to win union with you, O Laylā, became a mad lover (ṣajānān) like no and set out into the desert.

In these poems it seems that Fūţūlī 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:

"O my heart, the allotted span is near its end, stop yearning for the sweetheart's face! Your hair has turned grey, stop languishing for the sweetheart's curls!"

اى فنولى جان چیتم طریق مشتدن
(1)

رهگذر اهل عشق اوزوره تیلک مدلن پکا

"O Fužuli, if I die, I shall not leave the path of love. Put my grave on a passage-way where lovers wander!"

حعلم و خمار و لمل و چتم و هزک اولسه
(2)

هم 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 مستانا گوزلن کم مکا موقدر بدل

سدن ای چان منقطع تعلق پنی ای لک
(4)

"O Sweetheart, your beauty is so exceptional that it can have no equal. O beloved, nothing can separate me from you except death."

2. In old Turkish literature the beloved's face is described as bright as the sun and her figure as graceful as the cypress.
4. Ibid., p. 169.
"O Fużûlî, I will never leave the path of love, for with this virtue I will reach the ranks of the perfect."

"O Fużûlî, while I was wandering in the Sweetheart's quarter, my rival tormented me. How can they say, "There are no torments in paradise?"

"O Rival, beware of my sigh's spark, for a single tongue of this flame is enough to burn you."

2. Fuţûlî 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.
4. In mysticism, flame means the light kindled in the heart by the Beloved.
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. Fuṣūlī in his chezâle constantly tells us that love has made him drunk or that he has taken refuge in the tavern. Like Ḥafîẓ, 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 Fuṣūlī 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:

"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.

The wine-dregs are mostly dust of lovers' bones, while the bubbles are domes placed over them with reverent care.

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, Abu Sa'id ibn Abi'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. The chazals of Hafiz, which are considered the best expression of this style, 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. (W. 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"; 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 sweet-
heart 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 contem-
porary 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. D. 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,
In some of the commentaries which have been written on the *Divān* of Ṣūfī, 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 "Ṣūfī 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)

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, ṬūnI and ŽanI, 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 Fūzūlī 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 that 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 forget all the gloomy forebodings and enjoy such transitory happiness as life on this earth can offer.

"Wine sometimes heals no, sometimes ruins no. Look at the architect, who sometimes builds and sometimes demolishes."

"If the ascetic asks, 'What is the purpose of wine?'
Answer him, 'For us pleasure, for him displeasure.'"

"How lucky is drunkard, for when the world's troubles mean nothing! No neither grieves for the world, nor knows what grief means."

1. According to the Persian mystic, wine destroys the foundations of reason and ruins the earthly life.

2. It seems that Fuṣūlī 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. Universal, God and the Astronomers, London 1933, p. 29. Khayyām's quatrains often express this idea.


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.

"Fuṣūlī 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!"

"O, you who lodge in the mosque, what do you find on its mat (būriyya) except the odour of hypocrisy (bū-yi riyya)?"

1. The "tavern" (mawkhāna) means the place and time in which the wine of Divine Love inebriates the Pilgrim. The word was also used by Sūfis to denote the Unity of God, which erases all relationships and which can only be apprehended by those who are freed from self.


3. Fuṣūlī 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 muzdavīj (coupled homonymy).
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!"

"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 whose reason and also worldly respectability are ruined. In Sufi language the tavern symbolizes the Unity of God. Shabistārī often uses the word kharābāt in this sense. c.f. p.13, note 7 and Chapter VII, p.235 above.

2. Ṣaṣar signifies both physical sight and spiritual insight.

3. Fusuli Divani, Istanbul 1950, p.159. (ed. by A.N.Tarlan)

4. Ibid., p.151. (Most of manuscripts 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 Fuḥūlī was doubtless influenced, such as Shabistarī or al-Maʿārri. Shabistarī asks "What is pure wine?" and answers, "It is self-purification."(1)

Abū l-ʿAlā al-Maʿārri, the blind poet of Aleppo (362/973-448/1058), criticizes especially the ʿulamā', the legal and religious authorities in the Muslim state. For example, he says:

"There are robbers in the desert, camel-riders, robber too in mosque and market may be seen; And the name of these is notary and merchant, While the others bear the name of "Dāwān!"(2)

R. A. Nicholson, in his Discussion of al-Maʿārri's works, gives the following interpretation:

"History shows that many freethinkers (gindīqū), not daring to express their thoughts freely, have sheltered themselves behind a religion in which they disbelieved. Such was Euripides, and such was Maʿārri. 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)

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'īlīs, who were the first to adopt these ideas."(2)

If it is true that Ma'arrī was an Ismā'īlī, (3) Professor Gölpinarli's opinion gains additional weight.

As regards Fuzuli, Professor Gölpinarli thinks that he was never a mystic poet and that he only played with the mystic symbolism in his poems.

2. A. Gölpinarli, *Fuzuli Divani*, Istanbul 1948, p. IXXXII.
Fuṣūlī's Turkish Divān contains thirteen musammams.

Three of them are mukhāmmads, in which Fuṣūlī again treats of human love. One of these is famous; it starts as follows:

 Thou whose body silky-clad is attar within crystal clear,
 Gleaming water is thy breast, thy buttons shine the bubbles here;
 Thou'ret so bright earth hath no power to gaze upon thy beauty sheer;
 Naked did'at thou rise and cast the veil and coif from thee, my dear,
 Ne'er a doubt when'er it saw thee, earth were ravished far and near.  

There are two musaddas which are naghfās,  poems written

1. The musammam 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.


This musammam is good example of the arts of euphuism, especially tasbīh.

4. The naghfā (parallel) must be in the same metre and have the same rhyme and redīf (penultimate syllable) as the emulated poem. It should moreover be conceived in a similar spirit. The above naghfā on Ḥabībī has a recurring hemistich with the same ending (dedim-dedi).
in emulation of poems by another poet — actually an Ottoman poet Ḥablībī. One of them begins with the following stanzas:

 دون عليه صادق يابه بر سر وسر بلند 
که ندی دنیا ابدی رفتاری دلهمد
گفتاره کندی چه آمی عل مل، دوختند 
در رهعت گوردن آنده دوکر ریزه پیشه تند
صوردم نک مورده دهد دیدم دیدی
پویش پویش دوای دیدم دیدم دیده

"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."

.......

In Fuṣūlī's Turkish Divān, besides these mukhaammās and musaddas, there are three murabbās, two tarkīb-banda and three tariqī-banda. One of the tariqī-banda is addressed to

Ayyūs Fūshī on the occasion of his conquest of Baghr, and consists of eleven stanzas; the other, consisting of five stanzas, is addressed to Ibrāhīm Khān Mawṣūlī. One of the takkīb-banda is in praise of Sultān Sulaymān and has seven stanzas, each with a different number of couplets.

Fużūlī wrote a takhmīs on a chazal of the Chaghātāy poet Luṭfī which begins:

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 Fużūlī sounds his most didactic note in his qīṭʿas. 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. We

1. This is one of Fuţulī's nukhmaras poems. This genre was often used for a poem built 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. Luţfī was a poet at the court of the Tāymlīd Prince Ulugh Boy (murdered 905/1500) who ruled at Samargand and gained renown as an astronomer.

3. The qīṭʿa is supposed to be a fragment of a qāgīda or chazal, 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 Qurʾān, 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-Ḥāzīlī (d. 505/1111) in his Ḥāyā, al-Sarrāj (d. 378/988) in his al-Luma', and Ḥujwīrī (d. 465/1073) in his Kashf al-Mahjūb, take the Prophet Muḥammad's saying "Poverty is my pride" as the watchword of Ṣūfism, and accept the view that the founder of Islam 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-Ghifārī, to love the poor and not to care for the rich. (1)

Poverty was also one of the attributes of the Prophet's cousin 'Ali. According to al-Sarrāj, after 'Ali's murder his son Ŧasan stated that the entire wealth which 'Ali had left behind was only 400 dirhams.  

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". 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.

Ṣūfī in one of his qiṣ'as warns against pride in worldly

2. Ibid., p.108 (Arabic text).
possessions and voices the Sufi belief that poverty's virtue is to encourage abstinence and stimulate trust in God:

"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 overeat, for surfeit prevents access (to the Friend)!

In another qita'a 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 qita'a he tells us something about his own life and attitude:

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While worldly people are making money, I spend my life acquiring insight (‘irfān). 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.

2. While ordinary knowledge is denoted by the term ‘ilm, the mystic knowledge peculiar to the gūfīs 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 Fuṣūlī’s view, gold and silver do not constitute anybody’s wealth, the real wealth being virtue and knowledge.
Fuṣūlī, 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:

"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

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 Ābūnāma, the Siyāsatnāma and Naṣīḥat al-Mulūk, and the very widely read Bustān 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. Fuzūlī finds such pride meaningless and preaches that a minister or a judge should act justly and obey the Law:

"O Vāzīr, whom the Sultān 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 Islam (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)

"O auspicious نبي, 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 unacceptable 
to God!" (3)

Fūlūlī, again like ʿAḍī, ridicules the hypocrisy of so-
called ʿUffās who make a vain pretence of spiritual knowledge 
and use false piety as a cloak for their sins. The following 
gīṭ'a is an example:

2. Ibid., p.214.
3. ʿAḍīnī has an outspoken poem on this subject:

What man was ever found to be a casdi 
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).
"O hypocritical Sufi, by saying that flute-playing is illegal, you have acted against God's Law and dishonoured Islam. With such a bodily form you boast of ecstasies; would to God that your body might become as full of holes as a flute!"

Fusüli tells us in another qit'a how advancing age made him feel that it was time for penitence. The theme is not a new one, and for Fusüli, 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

2. Some of the mystics believed that music awakens in the soul a memory of celestial harmonics heard in a state of pre-existence, before the soul was separated from God. Hujvīrī says that "music in a divine influence, which stirs the heart to seek God". (Kashf al-Tabīb, tr. Nicholson, p.65).
time to cover up time's mirror; come and spend your remaining moments in penitence!"(1)

The Divān is closed by a section of rubā'īs (quatrain). (2) In one rubā'ī, Fuzuli expresses his loneliness and his longing for a companion. Doubtless a habitual attitude of rebellion against life tends to make a man pessivish, unless it is counterbalanced by a genuine love of his fellow; and no pessivish man can expect to make or keep friends.

"There is no pleasant, good-natured company in this world. Alas that I waste my valuable time with ignoble companions!"

In another rubā'ī, Fuzuli compares himself with favourite heroes of Eastern romances:


2. The rubā'ī 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 Khayyām (d. 517/1122) is world-famous as a writer of rubā'īs.

"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)


2. In Islamic philosophy the first manifestation of Specific Form (Gūrat-i Naw'īya) is in the "Four Elements" - Fire, Air, Water and Earth. Fuṣūlī'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 'Aṣrā, and Farhād va Shīrīn.
Manuscripts of Fuṣūlī’s Persian Ḍīvān are very scarce. None of them contain his Persian qasīdas, but otherwise they have more or less the same contents: preface, ghazals, tarkīb-bands, qīṭās, and rubā’īs. In some of them the preface is lost. The Persian qasīdas are found on the margins of a manuscript of Fuṣūlī’s Turkish Ḥaft-e Msīḥat, and some of them also appear in anthologies. The best copy of the Persian Ḍīvān is one in the Muradiye library at Manisa (Turkey); it was written by Ḥabīb Allāh Isfahānī at Baghdad in 959/1552, when Fuṣūlī was still alive, but unfortunately the preface is lost. Among the known copies, only the ms. 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 Fuṣūlī’s Persian Ḍīvān, none of which is perfect as regards the contents, and four anthologies which include some of

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2. Manisa Library, Muradiye Section, No. 2668.
Fuṣūli’s Persian poems. The British Museum possesses two mss. of the Persian Dīvān, Add.7785 and Or.4911. Add.7785, which was copied in nastā’īlīq handwriting in 1217/1803 by Niẓām al-Dīn b. Shaykh ‘All b. Shaykh Ibrāhīm, contains ghasals in alphabetical order with a considerable lacuna extending from ژ to ژ, and also qīt‘as. Or.4911, copied in plain nastā’īlīq at Istanbul 1036/1627, contains part of the preface, ghasals, qīt‘as, and Fuṣūli. A manuscript of Fuṣūli’s kulliyāt (collected works) in the Asiatic Museum at Leningrad includes his Persian qasidas(1) and ghasals. In the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, there are mss.(2) of a jang (anthology) compiled by a certain Niḥān Shīrāzī, (3) of another jang compiled by an unknown author probably called ‘Ināyāt,(4) and of a few more jangs, all containing some of Fuṣūli’s poems.(5) On the margins of a manuscript of Fuṣūli’s Leyla va Majnūn in the Sūleymaniye Library(6) at Istanbul, 47 of his 49 qasidas have been copied; for a long time no one noticed them.

Although the British Museum catalogue states that

2. Dr. Cunbur has missed these items in her Bibliography.
4. " " " 1987
5. " " " 2005
Fušūlī's Persian Divān was printed at Tabrīz, no copy of the edition has yet come to light. Until recently the Divān existed only in manuscript. In 1962, however, the Faculty of Languages, History and Geography (Dil–Tarih ve Coğrafya Fakülteti) at Ankara printed the complete Persian Divān for the first time on the 400th anniversary of the Poet's death, using a critical text prepared by Professor Hasibe Mazıoğlu. It was she who in this edition first included the Persian gazīdas in the Divān. Earlier, in 1958, Professor Hamit Araslı had printed and published some selections from the Persian Divān at Bakū. The preface had first been published in Turkey in 1906, in a brochure entitled "Fušūlī's unprinted poems." Some of the Persian poems have also appeared from time to time in literary journals.

A Turkish translation of the Persian Divān, with the exception of the gazīdas, was made by Professor Ali Nihat Tarlan and published in 1950. It was translated into Turkish again and published at Bakū in 1961.

Fušūlī's Persian Divān is larger than his Turkish Divān. Although the Persian poems have obviously been appreciated

for a long time, they have never been as popular as the Turkish.

The contents of the complete Persian Divān are:

Preface
Qasīdās 49
Chāzals 410 in alphabetical order of rhyme.
Musammāts 3
Qīţ'as 46
Rūbā'īs 106

The introduction to the Divān begins with these sentences explaining the language, purpose and importance of poetry:

"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

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in matters of doctrine and opinion, and in passing judgement on those.

*My God! What fine materials are words! The pearls of this inexhaustible treasury take their place one by one in that embroidery, and without them no meaning can assume a form.*

Later on Fu'ülî says that good poetry has three uses:

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 *Divan*, Fu'ülî says:

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"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 'Iraq, 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 Fuṣūlī, 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, Fuṣūlī expresses confidence

that his poetry will everywhere be appreciated since it has been written in a place as sacred as Karbalä. 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 Karbalä."(1)

The recipients of Fužullî's praise in the Persian qasîda are on the whole the same persons as in the Turkish ones. The first qasîda in the Persian DREVn is the famous Anîs al-qalb written in praise of the Ottoman Sultan Qânumül Sulaymân. Since this has been printed as a separate work, we have discussed it separately.(2)

The second qasîda is a tawhîd. In it, as in his Turkish qasîdas, he shows deep religious and poetic feeling; but he also (like so many classical poets)(3) exhibits his


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 (kālam), mathematics, astronomy, hypothesis etc. In what to us may seem obscure arabicized language, he says:

"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 Fuṣūlī makes use of a literary device of congruity (murā‘ät-i nāzīr). (2)


2. Murā‘ät-i nāzīr 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 tawḥīd, when praising God, Ḥūṣain says:

"Help me to remember You and to say, sometimes 'Praise be to God', sometimes 'There is no God but God.' 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" or, "Remember your Lord much, and praise (Him) in the early hours of night and morning."

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1. Ḥūṣain, Persian Ḍayān, ed. by Re. Mazioglu, Ankara 1962, p. 35.
2. He refers to Islm's witness to God's unity "LA Ila ha Ila h 'llah" (I bear witness that there is no God but God). "No" here is a negation which strengthens the meaning of the affirmation. According to Sūfism, 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 Da'ūd, Sunna, Cairo 1354/1935, Vol. IV, p. 256.)
The third gašida in the Persian Divān is a na‘t(1) in praise of the Prophet, which has 50 distichs. In the introductory distichs, Fuzuli 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. Fuzuli 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 Islam 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

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formula of the shahāda (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 (hadīth qudsi) "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:

"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:

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-Jaliliya (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 falsely after praising Muhammad adds:

2. c.f. Qur'an, III, 49.
3. A widely used Qur'an commentary written in Egypt by Jalal al-Din al-Yaballi (d. 86h/1459) and his disciple Jalal al-Din al-Suyuti (d. 911/1505); whence the name Tafsir al-Jaliliya.
Jesus spoke of the grace of your ruby lips. Does not his breath give life to the dead? Khîr followed in your footsteps and went your way; how could Moses not follow Khîr?

Finally Fuṣūlī seeks the Prophet's intercession and says:

'O Prince of the Prophets, even if Fuṣūlī has done nothing but sin, it is sinful to grieve, because you are there. There is hope that all people's sins, and Fuṣūlī'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 qasīdas (Nos 23 and 33), (3) Fuṣūlī

2. Ibid.
3. Ibid., 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 Fūsūlī's love for 'Ali, and by recalling that the Prophet said about him they exalt 'Ali's spiritual position. Fūsūlī 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:

\[
\text{على كنيت كه در مزم ترب حق جبريل} \\
\text{براه مانده از و همو خاک ور کرست}
\]

\[
\text{چه سان برای جبريل داوم و گویم} \\
\text{علی مان خدا و لی بیام برست (۱)}
\]

"'Ali is closer to God than Gabriel; he is an apostle midway between God and the Prophet."

\[
\text{ایم المرئین حیدر علی این لی طالب} \\
\text{ز هر فاصل بفضل انقل ز هر عالم بعلم اطم} \\
\text{زهی نیش و وجودت مدا از خلقت همس} \\
\text{نیای هستی وا زیاده هدایم بر عالم} \\
\text{اکر سر رعش میبودت نیودی در کف دوران} \\
\text{فر و سریخت نظم همس این سلسله از هم}
\]

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O Ḫaydar 'All, son of Abd Ţālib, 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"; 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

2. The mi‘rāj, or Laylat al-Isrā', i.e. Muhammad'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 Fushayl's devotion to Muhammad. 'Ali was the one of the first believers in Muhammad's mission. He was cousin-german to Muhammad who adopted him as his son, and then son-in-law of the Prophet. It is said that 'Ali occupied the Prophet's bed on the night when the latter left Mecca for Madina. He was defender of Muhammad and took part during Muhammad'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. 'Ali is surnamed by the Arabs Asadu'llah or Haydar, and by the Persians Shih-i Khudā (Lion of God); he was the fighter against the unbelievers of Khaybar. In Shi'ite piety he became a model of the perfect man. Arberry observes that some

Shi'ite extremists went so far as to identify 'Ali with God. (1)

In his *gagI'de* (2) Fūšūlī speaks proudly of his service at 'Ali's shrine ('atāba) in Najaf. (3) At the end of one of them he says:

"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 *gagI'da* we learn that he served at the shrine for a long time.

3. These *gagI'des* give us information that Fūšūlī was employed with a salary at 'Ali's Mausoleum.
5. Ibid., 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. For refuge I have a shore, like the lake of Najaf. 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 qaṣīda:

"Oh Commander of the Faithful, for fifty years God has granted Fūkūlī 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. Shāhī Vilāyat, i.e. 'Alī, see Chapter IX, note 2, p. 280 above.

2. This probably means the Dahr al-Najaf, a salt lake in a depression near Najaf which in some years receives flood waters from the Euphrates.

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. Fuzuli has grown old on the dust of your threshold; he is bent under the burden of gratitude to destiny."

Fuzuli's great devotion is well expressed in another of the qasidas addressed to 'Ali:

"If they were to give me the Sultanate 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 eulogising 'Ali, Fuzuli also praises Fatima, 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

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)

Fuṣūlī praises Fāṭima's sons ʿAlī and ʿUṣayn, as well as the other ʿImāms of the Shīʿa and the various Prophets. He extols ʿUṣayn as the noblest of Fāṭima's line and best of ʿAlī's close companions. (2) ʿUṣayn is famous because of his revolt which ended tragically at Karbalā. A number of traditions (ḥadīṣ) 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-ʿYasan and al-ʿUṣayn are the Sayyids of the youth of Paradise." (3) There was among all Muslims a strong sympathy and high regard for ʿUṣayn; it has been said that the Qurʾān, XLVI, 15 and 16, refers to him.

Although the devotional poems in the Persian Ḍīvān reflect Shīʿite beliefs, it cannot be said for sure that Fuṣūlī was a positive adherent of the Shīʿa. It was the fashion among Persian poets in the early 10th/16th century (who no doubt were Fuṣūlī's models) to compose hymns to the glory of God, the Prophet and the ʿImāms, and especially of

2. Fuṣūlī, Persian Ḍīvān, ed. by H. Masioğlu, Ankara 1962, Cagıda no. 35 is addressed to ʿAlī, nos. 36, 38, 48 to ʿUṣayn, and no. 37 to ʿAlī al-Rifīʿī.
'Allâ, whose praises had not been sung to any great extent in Persia up till then. Under the Şafavids the qâlîdas in particular came to be transformed into a pious hymn in praise of the Imâms.

The Muslim demo-religio-political system in Fâ'ûly'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 be separated. Zayn al-šAbîdîn Mu'taman remarks how in the Şafavid 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 Mu'âtasim of Khân (d. 996/1587-8) composed qâlîdas in praise of the Şafavid Shâh 'Abdâl, but Shâh 'Abdâl was displeased and said: "I do not like poets to praise me. They should write qâlîdas in praise of the Shâh-î Vilâyât and the Imâms." So the poets in accordance with the Shâh's will turned to praising 'Allâ and the Imâms of the Shi'a. Some of the poets went so far as to compose diwâns wholly filled with religious poems. (1)

Jan Rypka, in his History of Iranian Literature, well explains the situation during the Şafavid period, in the early part of which Fâ'ûly wrote most of his Persian poems. Rypka observes: (2)

"The literature of the Ṣafavīd period is usually regarded as a literature of decline . . . The first Ṣafavīds 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 Shīʿa. 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 Shīʿite standardization of literature, a necessary consequence of the harsh Shīʿite 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 Ṣafavīds 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 Shīʿa 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 Ṣafavīd prose followed the patterns of the foregoing period. Secular panegyric and lyric poetry is replaced by
hymns in honour of the Prophet and 'Ali, 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-zādahs, descendants of the (sacred, almost deified) Imām, and in their mausoleums, also known as imām-zādah, though the latter are not always authentic."

The earliest of Fuṣūlī's eulogies of patrons and contemporary great men is addressed to the Aq Qoyunlu Prince Alvand (Elvent) Bay.¹)

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¹. Alvand b. Yūsuf b. Usun Ḥasan of the Aq Qoyunlu dynasty ruled in Western Iran, Diyar Bakr and Iraq from 1500 to 1502 and at Diyar Bakr until his death in 1504. The Aq Qoyunlu (White Sheep) federation of Turkmen tribes, which rose in the region of Diyar 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 (Turkmen) tribes, including the Bayāt to which Fuṣūlī belonged, Doger, Čapnī, 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 Usun Ḥasan, who conquered the whole of Western Iran and 'Iraq 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 Ǧafavīs began to sap the position of the Sunni Aq Qoyunlu by their Shi'ite propaganda among the Turkmen tribes. In 1502, in a pitched battle at Shurūr near Nakhchivan, Shah Isma'īl Ǧafavī decisively defeated Alvand b. Yūsuf b. Usun Ḥasan.
In this gasīda, \(^1\) 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 gurīzgāh, \(^2\) he writes that one night when he was weeping with grief, a soft voice spoke these words to him:

"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 gasīda tells us that Alvand Bey came to Fūsūlī's home town and that this was the second time he had come. He had met Fūsūlī previously, and the poet was glad at his return and presented this gasīda to him. He introduces Alvand Bey's name, calling him the "rose in the garden of the state", "the flower in the rose-garden of fortune", "the springtime in the garden of politeness" (adab), and "the lofty guide on the road of politeness". Then he describes the woeful days of their

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1. This gasīda is important in establishing the date of Fūsūlī's birth. See Chapter II, p.53, above.
separation and his joy at their reunion:

"O prince, when the disconsolate Fuṣūlī 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 qāṣīda in honour of Shāh Ismāʿīl the Šafavīd, who conquered Baghdād in 1508. To Ismāʿīl Fuṣūlī presented only "Bang-i Bāda" (in Turkish), which we have already discussed.(1)

The Šafavīd governor eulogised by Fuṣūlī is the Vālī of Baghdād, Ibrāhīm Khān Naqīllū. (2) The Ottoman poet Gādiql in his Taṣkīrah Māṣmaʿal-Khavāqq states that Ibrāhīm Khān brought Fuṣūlī to Baghdād. This must mean that Ibrāhīm Khān brought Fuṣūlī from Jilla, Karbalā, or Najaf, to Baghdād, and took him under his patronage. Fuṣūlī writes in this qāṣīda:

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1. See above, Chapter VI, p. 172.
2. See above, Chapter IX, p. 283.
Fuṣūlī 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 Firdawṣī received from Sultan Wāḥīd 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) Fuṣūlī eulogizes the Turkish founder of the Quṭb-Shāhī dynasty at Goloonda in India, (4) namely Sultan Qull 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 Shi‘īite:


2. This refers to the Persian poet Salmān Sāvaji (700/1300–778/1376), who was patronized by the Jalāyirid Sultan Uveys, ruler of Baghdad 757/1356–776/1374.


4. He had previously been governor of Goloonda under the Bahmanī Sultanate since 900/1494–5. Goloonda became world-famous for its diamond mines. The Quṭb-Shāhī dynasty lasted from 924/1518 to 1098/1687. The town of Goloonda was replaced in 997/1589 by the neighbouring city of Haydarābād (Hyderabad).
"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 Fūzūlī mentions that the Qutb-Shāh ruler had sent money to Najaf and Karbalā.

"His wisdom, as brilliant as a 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 it not for his favour to the servants of (the shrines at) Najaf and Karbalā, they could not live in ease."

Afterwards he adds this:

"If Fūzūlī does not praise you, it means that the pleasure of words is not licit for him."
In a *qasîda* written to Ja'far Bey, (1) Fuzûlî says:

"Sometimes in my poverty I plan to leave for Rûm, sometimes in my distress I long to go to India." Thus his interest in India and desire to go there can be understood.

Fuzûlî wrote five *qasîda* to Ja'far Bey(3) In the one mentioned above, after praising this patron and describing his distress when separated from him, he says:

1. See Chapter IX, p.285 above.
"O master, for a long time Fužûlî 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 Rûm (Asia Minor) or India.

In another of these ogâdîsîs, 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:

شیا تیا نیا راپن، که در طریق ونا ز سیر منگای در توام سطوح نیا و تو سانه مانه از همه کجا روم تو سخن نیم و من سخن برداز

"O Prince, of all the humble men at your gate, I, this lamenting Fužûlî, 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)?

Again, in another qasida, after praising Ja'far Bay's justice at great length, he tells in these words how Ja'far had patronized others, but had withheld assistance from him:

"An ocean (2) comes from Rum to 'Irāq, but not a drop of moisture from it reaches my dry lips. What nuisance (fūzūl) has Fuzūlī committed that he has become unworthy of your favour and generosity?"

In the last of these qasidas he writes:

"Everyone rejoices, having been able to reach you; what has happened that Fuzūlī must suffer the ordeal of separation? Everyone's heart is reassured by your gracious kininess; why must Fuzūlī be sick and his days distraught? Every place has become prosperous through your justice; why is Fuzūlī ruined and heart-broken?"

2. This refers to Ja'far's great generosity.
3. Fuzūlī, Persian Divān, ed. by H. Kazıoğlu, Ankara 1962, p.239.
In a qaṣīda praising Ayās Fāshā, Fuzūlī 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, Fuzūlī complains of his own ill-luck:

"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:

"Your fate is adorned by successive conquests, just as spring is adorned by various flowers."

Fuzūlī wrote two qaṣīdas and one musaddas for the Qāżī of Baṣrā, Sayyid Muḥammad Ghūzī. (5) In one of them he tells

2. Ibid., p. 66.
3. Ibid., p. 70.
4. Fuzūlī in the Turkish qaṣīdas praises Ayās Fāshā 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 Qāfī had temporarily left and then resumed the office, he tells how glad he and his companions were at the Qāfī's return. He also explains how he travelled to Baghdād in order to present this qasīda to the Qāfī:

"Thanks be to God that your joy-increasing visit has made your friends glad and your enemies sad. Fuşūlī has travelled the road so that he may circumambulate the Ka'ba (i.e. achieve the goal) of reunion with you. Fuşūlī'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."

Fuşūlī wrote three Persian qasīdas 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 perciptent as an angel and as lofty as the sky.

In a qaṣīda eulogizing a doctor called Fūṣūlī al-Dīn 'Izzat, Fūṣūlī compares him to the sage Luqmān and the philosophers Aristotle and Bu 'Alī Sīnā (Ibn Sīnā). It can be inferred that this was written in thanks to a doctor who had saved Fūṣūlī from an illness.

"Do not spare your seal in repairing Fūṣūlī's frame; from you seal, from God cure."

He appears to have been a palace doctor:

بادشا رادخل در کار نظام عالی است هکت رادخل در ذات شرف مادر،

(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 qaṣīda to a certain Amīrsāda 'Alī, also unidentified, Fūṣūlī eulogizes this person's noble blood and his moral accomplishments and generosity.

In a qaṣīda which he sent to Muṣṭaфа Chalabī at Istanbul, Fūṣūlī praises this patron's knowledge, accomplishments and pen, and also addresses his own pen:

1. Fūṣūlī, Persian DIvān, ed. by H. ʿIlahioglu, Ankara 1962, p.84.
2. Ibid., p.82.
3. Ibid., p.211.
4. See Chapter IX, p. 286 above.
"I have heard that you intend to leave Babel, (2) and will go to Rûm 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 Fuṣūlli was seeking the interest of men of fortune in Istanbul. Towards the end of the ḡāṭīda he writes:

2. i.e. Babylon, or Babylonia, meaning 'Irāq.
4. Ibid., p. 75.
"Lofty and exalted Mustafä 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 gasida, being court poetry, has as its primary motive praise, or indeed flattery, of the great. Turgidity and ingenuity are characteristics of the typical gasida. Whether FuḥūlI was sincere or not, he wrote gasidas to please not himself but his patrons. Yet as we can see, his gasidas are not filled, like those of the court poets of the age, with excessive rhetoric and flattery.

In one Persian gasida FuḥūlI gives advice to his son FašlI. He compares himself to a tree, his son to a fruit, and the world to a garden, then he tells us that FašlI has grown up and it is time for him to leave home.

"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."

Fūtūlī 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* before his time, such as Sa'dī (d.691/1292), Amīr Khusraw of Dihlī (d.725/1325), and Ḥāfiẓ (d.792/1390), or of Ga'īb (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 Fūtūlī's Persian *dīvān* opens by mentioning God's name and is a *tawḥīd*. After praising God, he passes to a prayer, and implores God in an Arabic verse

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1. The first master of the *ghazal* was Rūdakī (d.329/940); but his *dīvān* is lost. The poet Ḫūnsurī (d.431/1039) declared that in the *ghazal* Rūdakī had no rival.

نزول رودکی وار چکم بود نخولایی مان رودکی وار نیست
to give him sufficient power to praise Him.

"You have opened men's hearts, loosed 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 Fūsūlī the ability to say that 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,

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2. These couplets express Fūsūlī's fundamental belief.
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 chagala (1) Fuzuli praises Muhammad, whom he calls Prince of the Prophets. In the first of these he declares:

"O Prophet, Fuzuli does not despair of your grace; he needs only a drop of water from your vast sea."

Then in another chazal he says; "To praise the Prophet (3) will suffice to save you on the Resurrection Day, O Fuzuli, 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 chazal with "Ya Kurtezā ‘Alī" as Fadil, he praises ‘Alī:

2. Ibid., p. 342, couplet 7.
"O 'Ali, with whom God is pleased (murtaţa)! I constantly recite your name. Who am I? I am your slave." Then he continues: "O murtaţa '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.

Fuzuli in his Persian, as in his Turkish Divan, expresses feelings of delight in beauty, and of hope, love, misery, and passion. We discern in them the emotional force of his excitaments, 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 Fuzuli stays awake in the darkness and sings to cheer his own solitude with sweet sounds. He describes his love as even more

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 him-
self, Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī, he
gave up his love and followed another course. All who saw
Fuṣūlī'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 saḥlanat-ī
‘ishq) (1) was read in his name;" that is to say, he himself
was "the king of the lovers."

"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. Fuṣūlī, Persian Diyān, ed. by H. Mazıgılı, Ankara 1962,
p. 459.
"Wherever I saw faces of Shírín and the Rock-carver portrayed, I found a symbol of myself and an image of you."

No one would read the stories of Farhād and Mājnūn, if I the wanderer described my grief.

"Fuṣūlī, no one has read the story of Farhād and Mājnūn since I became world-famous as one deranged with love."

I have suffered the combined misfortunes of Vāmiq, Farhād and Mājnūn. Fate's scattered seeds are gathered in me.

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."

2. This verse alludes to the story of Farhād and Shírín. Farhād, the mason who was the lover of Shírín, is one of the favourite heroes of Persian romance. He received a promise from King Khusraw Parviz that he might marry Shírín if he cut through the rock of Bīṣītūn 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 Shírín's death and hurled himself to destruction.
3. Sa’dī likewise says that people will no longer take interest in the love-story of Khusraw and Shírín now that they can hear the story of the mad passion between him and his beloved.

(Kulliyāt-1 Sa’dī, ed. M. A. Furūghī, Teheran 1963, p.580). (Cont'd)
Fuṣūlī'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)

5. Ibid., p. 266.
7. According to Sa'dī, in the religion of lovers, good reputation is a disgrace. (Kulliyāt, p. 573).
the dome of the sky, and burned its rims; they could burn even his own soul had it not left his body: (1)

"Like an echoing building, the heavens start to moan because of my moaning."

"O ascetic, do not despise this tear-drop of mine! Beware of this drop, 0 ant, for it is a deep sea!"

"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).


3. The ant typifies feebleness and weakness.


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.

"Every minute I receive a thousand stones on my head, as if the damp of my tears has destroyed heaven's foundation."

"When I die, do not bury my heart with me, lest my blood should rise in waves and open my grave."

"Heaven's heart has been wounded by the arrow of my sigh; the sky's bosom is coloured with blood, not twilight."

"The flash of my sigh finally ignited my unlucky star. Alas! My anguish has passed beyond the stars."


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 Ḥāfiẓ:

"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."


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.
"O my soul, do not be heedless of the flash of my sigh. Remove your baggage tonight, because this ruin is burning."

"My sigh and my tears both attest my claim to be in love, and successively confirm my statement."

"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?"

"Tonight the candle was weeping at my sad plight; you might think that my heart's grief was making an impression on its heart."

2. Ibid., p.444.
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 Fuğuli's grief surpassed even the candle's grief.
Fuṣūlī 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 (majdun). 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. Fuṣūlī'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.

"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.

"No idol has more loveliness than you; you are so fairy-like that there is no deliverance from you."

Your beauty is such that Laylâ is bound to go mad (maînûn) if she sees you.

I have not suffered hundreds of injustices from my love, but I ask for a fidelity unknown in loved ones.

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.

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. (Jinâs-i Lâhîq | contiguity | between jâfâ and vara).
6. Ibid., p. 397.
"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?"

"Everybody in the world loves you; have pity on Fūzūlī, to whom all the world is an enemy!"

"Grief for you has so often washed away lovers' hearts, that there is no novelty in the spectacle of my lost heart."

1. Sa'dī has a verse with the same meaning; intrigue arose when his beloved came out of doors and adorned the market place.


3. Sa'dī has the opposite idea and says that he loves everybody because everybody loves his beloved:


5. Ibid., p. 303.
"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. Fuzuli 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.

"How long is the rival going to accompany me in your quarter? Would that the flash of my sigh might burn him or me."


2. In mystic phraseology, the "rival" (rakhi; a word which Fuzuli uses in his poems very frequently) means the obstacles which block the mystic's upward path and prevent his access to the Divine Beloved.

"To watch any event is easy; but the worst calamity is to have a rival."

"On me you bestow injustice and unkindness. Your affection and loyalty go to my rival."

"The rival boasts of my idol's affection. His words are lies. Do not I know the ways of idols?"

"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. Fuṣūlī 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.

2. Ibid., p. 289.
3. Ibid., p. 505.
4. Ibid., p. 278.
"Fuğlî, the traveller on the road of love faces hundreds of dangers; setting out on this rough road needs thorough deliberation."

"Fuğlî, there is no griefless, painless moment. Love is the King of the country and (this King) has an army."

"Grief, pain, calamity, suffering, sorrow, and disgrace; these six always burst upon whole-hearted lovers."

"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 qâli 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.


3. Fuğlî means that sorrows accompany love and compares sorrows with the army of a king.


5. Ibid., p. 428.

6. Fuğlî 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 Divân, p.542).

I am in love, there is nothing else I can do except to be in love. Pity is a hard task, I cannot do it.

My heart is torn to pieces, yet I never complained. The suffering and patience that are mine were unknown even to Job.

Fuṣūlī 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

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 the ideal of patience is expressly mentioned in several other verses (e.g. XX, 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).
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.

"Your love fills me with pain, sorrow, grief and suffering,
every hour, every day, every month and every year."

"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."

"A thousand thanks that God's grace has never left Puğuly
ignorant of the delight of love's pain."

"I am accustomed to grief, I need nothing but grief. If
Joy comes from grief, I do not need it either."

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1. Puğuly, Persian D İyān, ed. by H. Kazıoğlu, Ankara 1962,
p. 449.
2. Ibid., p. 274.
3. Ibid., p. 331.
4. Ibid., p. 266.
"O doctor, give up treating my pain! This love-sick patient is beyond hope of cure."

"My adviser forbade me to cry at not seeing my sweetheart's face. His advice made me laugh as I cried."

"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 Nāmāvī of Mawlānā Ṣādi. 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.

3. Ibid., p. 548.
4. Ibid., p. 572.
"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 Fuğîlî 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. Fuğîlî, 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.

"My long life has been spent in distress, spent in yearning for my loved one's (black) curls."

"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."

2. Ibid., p. 295.
3. Ibid., p. 317.
"O Fuṣūlī, 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 Fuṣūlī's eloquence:

"Zāhid's story has not an atom of effect on people's hearts, O Fuṣūlī, a tale of grief is needed if words are to bring joy."

"Fuṣūlī, 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 sufiism 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.


Sometimes Fužūlī 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 Fužūlī, and it is only because she is fickle that he is compelled to seek consolation in the cup and at the tavern. (1)

"What is life for, when I am told 'do not drink, do not rejoice, do not fulfil desires, do not have pleasures'?"

"Beware Fužūlī, 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."


3. Ibid., p. 309.
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!

When we tried the dry wine in the absence of the rose-cheeked cup-bearer, it did not taste good.

Fūsūlī, 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 (Jām-i Jahānbin, or Jām-i Jam). Wine is said to have been discovered in his long reign.


3. In mysticism, the cup-bearer is the Guide to the mysteries of Divine Knowledge. The cup (Jām) signifies the Cup of Divine Love.


5. The poet is screeching at hypocritical and bigoted ascetics.

6. Fūsūlī in another verse says:

"Fūsūlī, do not search for any companion except the cup; for the cup knows the hidden secrets." (Persian Divān, p. 344).

"Fuṣūlī, the only refuge from life's griefs and cares is the tavern-keeper's door."

Sometimes, instead of taking refuge in the tavern, Fuṣūlī thinks that the cure for his grief is to follow the example of Ḥājjīn and withdraw into the wilderness:

"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

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1. Pir-i Muchān, i.e. "Elder of the Ḥājjīn"; a term used by Ḥāfiz and many later poets to mean "chief of the wine sellers" or "leader of the Sūfī devotees".


3. An allusion to the desert in which Ḥājjīn, 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.

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 Fuṣūlī, he will grow tired both of the world's sorrows and of its pleasures.

"Abandon the world, its way is not worth the sorrows (which it brings), even if you have piled up thousands of treasures."

"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 Fuṣūlī'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. Fuṣūlī often seems eager to abandon the world. In

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 Fūţūlī'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. Fūţūlī'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 Fūţūlī's poems is represented as bringing misfortune and causing perpetual change:

"O Fūţūlī, 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 Fūţūlī 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." (Kulliyāt-i Divān-i Fūţūlī, Istanbul 1891, p.214). See also his "Elegy for the Family of the Cloak" (p.184 above).


3. The poet is voicing contemporary astrological notions according to which the stars rule the destinies of mankind.
"No wonder if I call fate's wheel unkind! O Fuzuli, no one has ever seen kindness in this wheel."

At bottom the image of the beloved is sufficient for Fuzuli. He wants neither the goods of this world, nor the hours of paradise; but the beloved's image revives his heart's fire:

"Except the cash of yearning for you and the fortune of loving you, we have never looked for other wealth or dignity."

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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 another in a way that makes it extremely difficult to distinguish them. (In the Qur'an 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 notions which were not adopted by the Arabic poets, above all the concept of baɪht (fortune) and the idea of the sky as the inexorable agent of destiny. (Fatalism in Persian epic, Uppsala 1952). In another book, Fatalistic Beliefs in Religions, Folklore and Literature, he observes that the concept of fate is important not only in Islamic literature but also in other literatures and religions, e.g. Greek tragedies and Nordic religion.

In another dictum Fuzuli says: "Every minute I receive a calamity from fate. My bent stature is a net for the bird of calamity." (Persian Divan, p.265)

3. Ibid., p. 477.
"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."

"O adviser, leave me alone! I am accustomed to the image of the fairy one; I do not enjoy cooing 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 Laylī and Majnūn in each other's hearts. This mystic love which promises eternity was the common theme of Fuzūlī's epoch, and not infrequently in his poetry it separates him from the real world.

As has already been shown, Fuzūlī'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

2. Ibid., p. 274.
delight to read. From the artistic point of view their diction is harmonious and their imagery is good.

In Fuzuli's Persian Divan there is a musadde (poem in seven-line stanzas) which runs to ten stanzas and is a na't (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 Fuzuli praises Muhammad in these words:  

"Oh Prince of Prophets, you are the Prophet through whom the scripture of Islam was first written. Before you, no one knew the name of Islam. The world has found peace through the Law (shari'a) 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 Divan also includes a musaddas (poem in six-line stanzas) which Fuzuli wrote for the Qazi Sayyid Muhammad Ghazi. After complaining of the difficulties of his life and position, he praises the Qazi, and says that he has long wished to see him and that the Qazi should not suspect him of faithlessness. Then he reports having heard that the Qazi may

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2. See Chapter IX, p. 289 above.
be removed from his position, and after adding that he owes his own repute to the Qā'ī, 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? Fuṣūlī's life is tied to you and must now come to a close.\(^{(2)}\) At the end of the poem, he entrusts this traveller to God.

The themes of Fuṣūlī'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 Muhammad 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, Fuṣūlī emphasizes that a child's pure and innocent soul must be directed towards good by upbringing and training: "Do not be heedless! Restrain him from frivolous activities! Do not neglect to teach him the way of learning and politeness!\(^{(3)}\)

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. Fūsūlī has this to say about the virtue of acquiring knowledge:

1. From the mystic point of view, acquisition of knowledge is one of the first stages on the road. 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafi, in his Kitāb al-Inshā al-Ka'mil, (ed. by H. J. Vārijān Male', 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 look them all." (Nawāb 'Alī, The teaching of Al-Chāzālī, Baroda, 1920, p.79).

In another qīta' addressing people who are proud of their beauty, Fūsūlī 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. Chāzālī 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
"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 those 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!"

Füsun in one of his qiyas complains that in his time poetry was not appreciated either by learned men (‘ulama, meaning in particular religious scholars) or by ignorant men. Although the Qur‘an’s 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, Studies in Islamic History and Institutions, Leiden 1966, p. 205).


1. Qur‘an, XVII, 44.

turned to formalism and made their own judgments, one of which was to hold poetry in suspicion. With his gently ironic wit, Fu'ūlī says:

طائيد و مردم جاهل
زائده همد از هر قائل
بله تا شروع هرزه و باطل
ام من صعب کار من مشکل
که باو نیست همی کس جاهل

"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."

Fu'ūlī'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:

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"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 qāt'as runs a gloomy and pessimistic note voicing Fūzūlī's sense of the turmoil, anguish, and hopelessness of human life in this world:

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 qiṣʿas, Ḥuẓūlī in some of his rubāʿīs 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.

"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!"

A hundred thanks that we are neither spiteful ascetics nor silly casuistic elders. Unlike certain hypocritical fardo and shaykhs, we neither sing our own praises, nor believe in our own merits."

"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, Fu’ūlī reiterates his warning that fate, symbolized by the stars, will part human friends and disappoint human hopes:

1. Fu’ūlī, Persian Divān, ed. by H. Kafizoglu, Ankara 1962, p.668. Ḥāfiz also criticizes hypocritical Ḥāfiz who used to wear woollen garments as an emblem of primitive simplicity:

"The fire of ascetic and hypocrisy will consume the barn of religion. Ḥāfiz, cast off this woollen cloak, and be gone!"


As Fu’ūlī says, "The ascetic repaies the mosque for his own benefit". (See Chapter VII, p. 220).

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!

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.

2. Ibid., p. 650.
3. Talaib (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.

Fuzuli in another ruba'i 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 Divan, p. 653).

"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 Fužuli’s rubá’íya 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 نثار است
هر لتحت بصورت ذكر جلوه کر آست
شکل که سیل حال باشد عاق
مخفوق که هر زمان بشکن ذکر است

"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."

CHAPTER XI

Fuṣūlī’s Arabic Diwān

Fuṣūlī himself mentions in the introductions to his Turkish and Persian Diwāns⁴ that he also wrote Arabic poetry. The Turkish biographer Ǧaḥīṣ in his Kāima’al-Khawāṣṣ (1016/1607),⁴ states that Fuṣūlī wrote an Arabic Diwān which contains qaṣīdas and ḥuṣūls and adds that he wrote about thirty thousand poems, evidently meaning by this the total number of Fuṣūlī’s poems and not just the number of the Arabic poems. However, many writers have misinterpreted this tāṣkīra and have claimed that Fuṣūlī wrote about thirty thousand poems in Arabic.

While no copies of Fuṣūlī’s Arabic Diwān have yet been found in libraries in Turkey, a copy exists between p. 189v and p. 199v in the complete volume of Fuṣūlī’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 Yašān Kadhkhūš has written: “came into the possession of the humble Yašān Kadhkhūš at Baghdad in the year 997/1589.”

1. See Chapter IX, p.264 and Chapter X, p.3.
2. Ǧaḥīṣ, Kāima’al-Khawāṣṣ, İstanbul Üniversitesi Kütüphanesi, No. 4085, p. 33-34.
If we assume that it was copied in the same year as it passed into Ḥasan Kudkudān's possession, this would have been only 34 years after Fuḥūlī's death. It is impossible to establish with certainty whether these poems make up the whole or only a part of Fuḥūlī's Arabic Diwan; but if they are complete, the Diwan consists only of 465 distichs.

Fuḥūlī'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 Kašlaʿal-Iʿtiqād, were published at Baku in 1958 by H. Arasli. (2) A translation of them into Āgarbāḏījānī Turkish was published at Baku in 1961. (3)

2. In our study of the Arabic Diwan, 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.
These poems consist of ten qasīdas 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 qasīdas into account, we may conclude that Fuzūlī felt a greater reverence for the Prophet.

E. Bertels thinks that the Shī'ite tendencies in these poems are marked. The praises (madīḥs) of Kūthmar in the seven qasīdas to the Prophet vary in length from 2 to 7 distichs, and amount in all to 30, whereas the madīḥs in the three qasīdas to 'Alī contain respectively 26, 27 and 30 distichs, amounting in all to 83; and Bertels takes this as evidence of Fuzūlī's Shī'ite leanings. On the other hand, Fuzūlī in these Arabic poems expresses his respect and love for 'Alī with less intensity than in his Persian qasīdas, and in the madīḥs of 'Alī praises not only 'Alī but also the Prophet. The Persian qasīdas 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 caliphas and speaks of 'Alī as the fourth Caliph, and also calls Baghdad the place in which Abū

Iṣanifa’s grace was spread abroad. As we have already pointed out, praising 'Ali was a custom of the time. (3) N. Fuad Köprülü, in his article on the development of Iṣarī Literature in the İslam Ansiklopedisi, remarks that in the Ẓafāvid period mystic themes were losing their former pre-

valence, and in their place on the one hand praise of 'Ali and his family, and on the other hand unequivocal singing of wine and love, came into vogue. (4) A modern Iranian scholar, Z. A. Mu'taman, observes that Ẓufīl came into favours in Persia after the Mongol conquest, when the people were defeated and in need of consolation, and then in the time of the Ẓafāvīds the fashion of Shi'ite themes took its place. (5)

In Fuṣūlī's Arabic qaṣīdas there is nothing remarkable about the versification; of the rich and varied Arabic metres, he used only javīl, kāmil, wa'far, and most frequently javīl. His use of the rhyme, however, shows great skill.

In one of the poems, Fuṣūlī speaks of 'Irāq, in words which made Bertels think that his birthplace must have been ʿilla:

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1. Abū Iṣanifa al-Nu'mān (c. 80/699-150/767), one of the greatest Sunnite jurists, founded the Iṣanīfīs school of Islamic Law.
"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 Hilla 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 Hilla and your land was Babylon."

In our opinion, Fuzuli is not speaking of himself, as Bortels apparently thinks, but is obviously addressing his beloved who could well have been a beauty of Hilla who frequently visited the shrine of 'Ali at Najaf in which Fuzuli served. Hilla adjoins the ruins of Babylon, and is not many miles distant from Najaf. There is nothing in these verses sufficient to prove that Fuzuli was born at Hilla.


2. i.e. The Imam 'Ali, one of whose titles (in Persian is Shāh-i Vilāyat, meaning the King who is Near to God (c.f. Encyclopedia of Islam 2nd ed., article Ghadīr Khumm by Laura Vacciavagliori); see also Chapter IX, p. 280.
After reading Maṭla‘al-I‘tīqād and Fuṣūlī’s Arabic qaṣīdas, N. T. Ṭanjī observes that "Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī’s Arabic qaṣīdas that they do not occupy a high position in Arabic literature, and that even though they prove that Fuṣūlī knew Arabic extremely well, they are cold and lack in feeling. Fuṣūlī 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, Fuṣūlī at the end of one of his na‘īm prays as follows:

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, Fuzūlī says that he always had self-control against corruption and distraction (from thinking of God) and that he followed the path of the truth.

1. Both Arasli's text and the microfilm have which cannot be correct.

2. Maṭla' al-I'tiqād and Arabic qaṣīdas of Fuzūlī, Baku 1958, p. 130.

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 Ḥāmid (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 Islam, 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. H. Wollaston, The Sword of Islam, London 1905, p. 436).
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."

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1. The word valI (near to God) probably refers in this context to Muṣṭafā. The Prophet is the logos, the mediator, the vicegerent of God and friend of God (valI AllI). The Shi'ites look upon their imāms as the personal representatives of God, and the Shi'ite profession of the Islamic faith ends with the additional words: "I bear witness that 'Ali is the Friend of God (valI AllI)." Many Sufis believe that 'Ali received secret mystical teachings from the Prophet. So it is also possible that Fuzūlī may mean All. The name valI (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 awlīyā (plural of valI) form a comparatively small class of men and women who have attained to the highest mystical experience. (Nicholson, op. cit., p. 56).

Fuzūlī Ḥ. Dīn ibn Ḥarbī (660/1265-749/1344), one of the great Sufi thinkers, sees Muṣṭafā as superior to all other Prophets by virtue of his office as Seal of the Prophets (Khātīm al-Anbashī) and regards himself as the Seal of the Saints (Khātīm al-Awlīyā).
In another ḍa'īda, after praising 'All, Fuṣūlī says:

إِذَا ظَلَّتْ فِرَادَةً عَلَى كُلِّ مُسْلِمٍ
كَلَّا أَحْنَىٰ لِلَّدِينِ وَالشِّرْعِ قَانُر
لَكُمْ صَالِحُ الشِّرْعِ بِالْمَدْلُوْلِ جَابِرُ (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. "All, Prince of the believers, is he who mended, by justice, the broken laws."

At the end of the ḍa'īda he asks for help, saying:

"Fuṣūlī 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 Muhammad,

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 Shi‘ites believe that the right of intercession passes by inheritance from the Prophet to 'All 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.”

Fuṣūlī 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, 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 Muhammeda, Stockholm 1918, p. 354;
Nicholson, op. cit., p. 61).

Other mystics held a view like that of the saintly
woman Rābi‘a al-‘Adaviyya of Basra (d. 185/801), who is
recognised as a model of the true Sūfī, 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.
"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 Fuzuli always invokes blessing and peace, in order that his legacy to mankind may become even more beneficial."

Bertels sees in Fuzuli's Arabic poems elements of Ḫurūfism, whence he infers that they must have been written

1. An example of ishtiqaq (paronymy; words derived from the same root), rasûl and riṣāla being from the root R S L, kāmil and muqannam from K L L, karim, mukram and mukarram from K R L.

In the point of the use of rhetorical figures, Fuzuli's Arabic poems remind us of those of the renowned Ṣūfī Arabic poet Ibn al-Fāriq (577/1181-632/1235), who liked to play with ideas in ever-changing forms and clothe them with splendid garments. His diwan is full of rhetorical figures, especially his most famous poem Nawa al-Suluk (The poem of the Way, 760 couplets all rhyming together in the verse-ending tā'ā). In it Ibn al-Fāriq 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. Ṣatḥa' al-I'tiqād and Arabic gasyādas of Fuzuli, Dākū 1958, p. 164.

3. The Ḫurūfī sect, founded by Fāzī Allāh Astarrābādī (740/1340-796/1394) who was brutally put to death in Nakhchavān by Mīrānshāh son of Taymūr, had Ṣūfī 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 Bektashi and early Ṣafavi orders (tarīqāts). The 'Irāqī historian 'Abbās al-'Azzāvī also thinks that Fuzuli was a Ḫurūfī (Tārikh al-'Irāq bayn iḥtiqlālāyn, Vol. II, Dāgḥād 1939, p. 240). See Chapter III, p. 73 above.
for readers having some connection with the heretical Ṣūfī sect, and furthermore that Fūsūlī must have been acquainted with the Turkish verse of the Ṣūfī poet Ṣ̣aḥîh.\(^1\)

The view that all Fūsūlī'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 Ṣūfīsm, was in Fūsūlī's time still one of the hotbeds of Muslim religious and philosophic theories and movements. Fūsūlī 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 those theories or movements. It is often difficult to understand the true import of an Eastern poet's thought; even

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1. One of the greatest early Turkish poets. He was of Turkmen extraction and a native of a place called Nasīm in the district of Baghdād. He was executed by the Ṣanlūk 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 Abdullahi Gölpinarli in his introduction to
Fuṣūlī's Turkish Divān observes that "those who claim that
Fuṣūlī was a ḥurūfī or Bektāshī cannot find in his poems any
proof for their claim. If we call Fuṣūlī a ḥurūfī, then all
classical Turkish poets will be ḥurūfī."\(^2\)

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 Fuṣūlī wrote the poems
comprising his three divāns 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
Sūfīsm has a close and vital connection with the Muhammadan
doctrine of Divine Unity which affirms that God is transcen-
dent. Later in the same work he says: "From Ghazzālī we get
the science and doctrine, from Jalālu'd-Dīn the senti-
ment of faith and experience of personal religion. I am
aware that, as regards Jalālu'd-Dīn, this judgement may
appear questionable to those who have read certain passages
in the Divān of Shams-i Tabrīzī where he describes his one-
ness 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 Sūfīsm than I do
now." (The Idea of Personality in Sūfīsm, Cambridge 1923,
pp. 26 and 82.)

2. Fuṣūlī Divānī, Istanbul 1948, introduction, p. LXXXVI.
DIVŌN, when writing probably in the main for Sunnite Turks, he mentions ‘AŁI only seldom, whereas in the Persian DIVĪN, which many Shi‘ites would read, he often eulogizes ‘AŁI. If there are also Ǧurūfī allusions in his poems (though we cannot see any), (1) Fuṣūlī must, in our opinion, have only been conforming to the fashion of his time. A real Ǧurūfī, after eulogizing God, the Prophet, and the Imāma, would mention his own patron saint (ṣĪr); but there is no mention of the ṣĪr of any religious order (ṭarīqāt) in any of Fuṣūlī’s DIVĪN. Moreover Fuṣūlī nowhere mentions the allegedly heretical Ǧūfī martyr Ḥusayn ibn Mansūr al-Qallāj (244/357-309/902), who was venerated by the Ǧurūfīs and also by respected Ǧūfī poets such as ‘Aṭṭār, Ṣūrī and Jāmī, as well as Ǧāfīs, so much so that ‘Aṭṭār calls Qallāj his spiritual guide. We never find in Fuṣūlī’s DIVĪN anything resembling these distichs of Ṣūrī and Ǧawīnā Jāmī al-Dīn Rūmī:

“Mansūr (i.e. Qallāj) declared ‘I am the Truth’. (2) His words were truth, it was truth he spoke. No ought of dole in his doom, by aliens on the gibbet hanged.” (Nāṣīn)

1. There is no similarity of content between Fuṣūlī’s poems and Nāṣīn’s, which are full of Ǧurūfī symbols and contain very frequent mentions of al-Qallāj’s name. The only common feature is the use of Ḥājja Turkish.

2. Ḥājja al-Qallāj 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) (Masīr).

"'I am God' on the lips of Mansūr was the light (of truth);
'I am Allah' on the lips of Pharaoh was a lie."(2) (Rūmī).

"The I of Mansūr certainly became a mercy;
The I of Pharaoh became a curse. Mark this!"(3) (Rūmī).

Nor do we find in any of Fūṣūlī's Arabic poems words like those of Ibn al-Fariḍ 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)

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2. Pharaoh, the King of Egypt in the time of Moses, is said to have caused the people to worship him as a God.
CHAPTER XII.

Comparison of the Divān

and

Conclusion.

In one of the Persian qit'as Fużūlī writes:

ار سمن خوان شکیم بیش اهل و وزگار
دوتهای گونه کون در ویز انواع نرم
خواه از ترک آید و خواه از مرب خواه
از مجموع بهت پایست این نست نخواهند گشت کر
(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 Ṣafī and were less admired in his own age than those of Ḥāfīz, and admittedly his

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. Borthela 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 Fuţuli'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.

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1. It is clear that Turkish was Fuţuli'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 Saljuqid, Ilkhanid, Jalayirid, Qara Qoyunlu, Aq Qoyunlu and Safavid regimes which successively governed 'Irāq until the Ottoman conquest.

In regard to verse forms, Fu'ūlī's three divāns differ in content, as the following table shows. (1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Qaṣīdas</th>
<th>Ghazals</th>
<th>Husammat</th>
<th>Qīt'as</th>
<th>Rubā'īs</th>
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<tr>
<td>Turkish</td>
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<td>305</td>
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<td>84</td>
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<tr>
<td>Persian</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>410</td>
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<td>46</td>
<td>106</td>
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<td>Arabic</td>
<td>11</td>
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One of the qualities of Fu'ūlī'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), tajnā (play on words), isti'āra (metaphor), mubālagha (hyperbole), ta'līf (allusion), ḥuṣn-ī ta'ālī (eloquent assignment of cause), ḥaqqāq (use of words derived from a common root), and above all ta'ādd (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 divān.
irksome to modern taste; but Fuṣūlī 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 Fuṣūlī'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 masterpieces 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 basmāla (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 Muhammad is mentioned by name in the second part of the profession of faith, just after the name of God, and usually also in the baṣmala. Naturally this led the Muslims to believe that Muhammad'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. Fāṭihah held such beliefs and was an ardent lover of the Prophet. He was also devoted to Muhammad'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 Sunniite circles.

Fāṭihah had a firm belief in the general Resurrection and future Judgement. Perhaps Islam 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 Muhammad is God's most nearly perfect Slave, and it is believed on the authority of certain verses in the Qur'an that he will intercede for the followers of Islam on the Day of Judgement. For this reason Fuṣūlī turned to Muhammad for help.

The poets customarily began their dīvāns with tawhīds in praise of God and na'īts in praise of the Prophet, and then inserted eulogies of their patrons and of contemporary great men. Fuṣūlī meticulously observed this order in all his dīvāns and other works in prose and verse. Although the inclusion of tawhīds and na'īts was a sine qua non of every classical dīvān, Fuṣūlī 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 tawhīds 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'īts are similar. Fuṣūlī is one of the few Turkish poets who wrote numerous

1. The careful arrangement which we see in Fuṣūlī's dīvān is rarely found in the dīvān of Persian or even Turkish poets.
In the divāns of the Turkish poet Ṣâqi or the Persian poet Ḥāfīz we hardly ever come across the Prophet's name.

The characteristic of Fuḥūlī'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. Fuḥūlī 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 ḥazals and in his masnavī 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. Sūfīsm, expressed in metaphorically
or allegorically erotic terms, had left an abstract impress
on the lyric poetry, but still provided sources of inspi-
ration which could infuse depth and divinity into the many-
sided emotion of love. Fuṣūlī, 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 Fuṣūlī'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
Sūfīsm and to this extent he may be said to have adopted
Sūfīsm. Yet it is not mystic feeling alone which brings him
to a state of love and rapture. In our opinion, Fuṣūlī
sometimes speaks of real human love with all its breadth and
tumult, and sometimes raises love to an ideal or divine
plane, using Sūfī 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. Fużūli'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 Fużūli expresses his personal emotions are the *ghazals*. The *tawhid* and *na'ta* where he expresses his religious devotion, the eulogies which he wrote in honour of 'Ali and the other Imāms, and the *qasidas* 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 Fużūli'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 Fużūli 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 man 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 Fuṣūlī's
love is absolutely disinterested and platonic. While he
seems to have found a spiritual pleasure in idealizing
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 Fuṣūlī'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-
arrows, 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 Fuűli 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 fasci-
nating poetry. Jealousy is another human feeling which
brings pain; and to illustrate its power, Fuűli 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
Fuűli's qasals 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.

Fu'ud's outlook is pessimistic, at least as regards this world; though he is not a complete pessimist like 'Umar Khayyam, who saw no hope in either this world or the next. For Fu'ud 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 Khayyam, 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."

Fużuli in expressing his pessimistic ideas uses the words dahr, jihān meaning the world; sipihr, charbī, nādir, tarīqān, sunbād, falāk meaning the revolution of the sky; and nisrāt for the degree 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.

Fużuli’s way of thought confronts us with the ideas 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 platonistic 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 Fu‘ad’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 Fu‘ad’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 chaqala Epicureanism is the second theme after love.

Pessimism about life on earth is the normal outlook of the medieval Islamic poets. Like Ilk and others before him, Fu‘ad 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. Fuzuli, like Khayyam, knew that these could only be temporary consolations; but unlike Khayyam, 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 Fuzuli'squat'as and ruba'yas 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. Fuzuli criticized insincere and unjust men, no matter whether they were high ranking officials or religious dignitaries, because he feared that their conduct might discredit Islam.

While Fuzuli'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'an, and that he firmly believed in Resurrection and Retribution, which are the corner-stones of Islam; they also give us glimpses of his whole-hearted love of God.
Bibliographic Note

The Bibliography consists of five sections:

a. The manuscripts of Füüü'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 Füüü's works (excluding poems which from time to time have appeared in newspapers or reviews).

c. Publications about Füüü and his works. The main sources of study of Füüü are still unpublished tagkiras 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.

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