

trudy. *Nizami i Fizuli* (Moscow, 1962)). I. Iu. Krachkovskii wrote in 1940 a large work about the history of this plot on the "Arabic ground" (also first published later: "Ranniaia istoriia povesti o Majnune i Laile v arabskoj literature" ("The early history of the legend about Majnūn and Laylā in Arabic literature"), *Izbrannye sochineniya* (Moscow—Leningrad, 1956), ii).

2. E. Ė. Berthel's wrote the following on this matter:

"There are differences between the sources, which mostly refer to minor parts of the story. We can assume that amendments are later additions caused by the intention to develop and enrich the originally poor in facts fable".

(Berthel's, "Nizami", p. 249). When expressing the same idea about the correlation between the sources, I. Iu. Krachkovskii expresses his low opinion about the work by al-Wālibī:

"The whole version by al-Wālibī makes an impression of negligence and rather misleads than helps understand the history of the Arabic Majnūn".

(Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 593), although he more than once refers to it in his work. It seems that E. Ė. Berthel's did not share his severe opinion, although we find his assessment of this monument as "the most complete collection of stories about Majnūn" (Berthel's, "Nizami", p. 247) an overestimation.

3. Let us look at them briefly. I. Iu. Krachkovskii aims at determining the "chronological and geographical limits" of the Arabic legend about Majnūn; a lot of attention is also paid to the discussion of the question of the historicity of Majnūn (this aspect of the scholar's work later received little support in science). E. Ė. Berthel's studied in detail the transformation of the story about Majnūn in numerous works of the romantic epos of the Near and Middle East.

4. Let us limit ourselves here to one recent example. In a monograph by E. M. Meletinskii about the origin and the classical forms of medieval novel (E. M. Meletinskii, *Srednevekovyĭ roman. Proishozhdenie i klassicheskie formy* (Medieval Novel. The Origin and Classic Forms) (Moscow, 1983) the material of the works by both authors is widely used.

5. Among them we must first of all mention a fundamental work about love lyrics and courtesy in the Near and Middle East in the Middle Ages by J.-C. Vadet (*L'Esprit courtois en Orient dans les cinq premiers siècles de l'Hegire* (Paris, 1968)).

6. Ibn Qutayba, *Kitāb al-shi'r wa al-shu'ara'* (in Arabic) (Beirut, 1969), pp. 467—7.

7. Hereinafter the information found only in one of the three analysed Arabic sources will be given in italics.

8. Abū al-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-aghānī* (in Arabic) (Cairo, 1928), ii, pp. 1—95.

9. Abū Bakr al-Wālibī, *Diwān Majnūn Laylā* (in Arabic) (Cairo, 1939), p. 7. An account of the information from al-Wālibī's work is given according to the printed non-critical work without taking into account numerous variations (sometimes important) contained in the manuscripts. Thus, our conclusions are of preliminary character.

10. Quoted from Krachkovskii, *op. cit.*, p. 596.

11. For more details see: G. Lecomte, *Ibn Qutayba: l'homme, l'œuvre, ses idées* (Damas, 1965); A. B. Kudelin, *Srednevekoviaia arabskaia poëtika (vtoraia polovina VIII—XI vek)* (Medieval Arabic Poetics (Second Half of the 8th—11th Century)) (Moscow, 1983).

12. The elements of fictionalising are distinguished conditionally as the division between them and other statements is often vague.

13. To save space here we mention only some of them.

14. Iu. Krachkovskii, who studied the legend about Majnūn in the historical aspect, noticed this difference between the monuments and insisted on the idea that al-Wālibī's work is not historical in its essence (see above, note 2).

15. Berthel's, "Nizami", pp. 267—9.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 273—4.

17. For more details see: Kudelin, "Semeĭno-brachnye otnosheniia v Aravii V—VII vv. i ikh otrazhenie v rannej arabskoj poëzii" ("Family-matrimonial relations in Arabia in the 5th—7th centuries and their reflection in the early Arabic poetry"), *Islam i problemy mezhsivilizatsionnykh vzaimodeistvii. Institut islamskoĭ tsivilizatsii* (Moscow, 1994).

18. Nizami Gyanjawi, *Leili i Mejmun*, transl. from Persian, introduction and comments by R. Aliev (Baku, 1981), p. 282 and further.

19. Meletinskii, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

21. *Ibid.*

M. Reisner

THE LIFE OF THE TEXT AND THE FATE OF TRADITION. VI: BIRDS IN MYSTICAL-SYMBOLIC *QAŞĪDAS* BY SANĀ'Ī AND KHĀQĀNĪ (12TH CENTURY) (TO THE PROBLEM OF FORMATION OF THE SYMBOLIC LANGUAGE IN THE CLASSICAL PERSIAN *QAŞĪDA*)

Records of birds can be found even in the early examples of mono-rhythmic poetry in the Persian language of the 10th—11th centuries. "Birds" motives were an integral part of the calendar theme inherited by the classical Persian poetry from the pre-Islamic court singers, performers of "king's motets" (سرود خسروانی) [1]. The stable repertory of lyrical themes which was tightly connected with the ancient tradition of spring calendar rituals and the Sāsānid court etiquette of *nawrūz* celebration played an important part in the process of the *qaşīda*, which was inherited from the Arabic poetic system, taking root on the Iranian literary ground.

A fragment of Rūdakī's (860—941) spring *qaşīda* is an example of one of the first records of birds in Persian poetry. It begins with the following words: "Blessed spring came, full of colours and scents..." and contains the following lines:

ببیل همی بخواند در شاخسار بید سار از درخت سرو مر او را شده مجیب
صلصل بسرو بن بر بانغمه کهن ببیل بشاخ گل بر بالحنک غریب

"A nightingale sings among willow branches, / a starling replies from a cypress. // A turtle-dove on a cypress sings old tunes, / a nightingale replies from the rose bush with amazing warbles" [2].

Following Rūdakī a court poet of the Ghaznawid circle Manūchihri (1000—1040) interprets the same motives in his description of spring:

(۱) نوروز درآمد ای منوچهری بالاله لعل و با گل خمری
(۲) مرغان زبان را گرفته یکسر بگشاد زبان رومی و عبری
(۳) یک مرغ سرود پارسی گوید یک مرغ سرود ماورالنهری...
(۴) بر شاخ درخت ارغوان بلبل ماند به جمیل معمر عنبری
(۵) بی وزن عروض بحر ها گوید شاعر نبود بدین نکو شعری
(۶) طاووس مدیح عنصری خواند دراج مسقط منوچهری

"(1) *Nawrūz* came, oh, Manūchihri, / [decorated] by ruby tulips and purple roses.

(2) All birds at the same time gained the gift of speech, / some started talking in the Rūmī dialect, others in the Hebrew language.

(3) One bird is singing a Pārsī song, / another — a Mā Warā' al-Nahr tune...

(14) On a Judas tree branch a nightingale / resembles Jamil Mu'ammār from 'Udhra tribe.

(15) Without any knowledge of 'arūd he composes his rhymes, / he is no poet but his poems are good.

(16) A peacock recites praise to 'Unṣurī / and a francolin — Manūchihri's *musammaṣ*" [3].

The use of calendar beginnings for the creation of integral allegorical pictures is first found in the *qaşīdas* by Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, however the Ismā'īlī poet limited himself to separate mentions of birds in the traditional *bahāriyya* contexts. On the whole, his undertaking is followed by the 12th century court poets in whose *qaşīdas* we can trace the turn to the didactic and religious-mystical theme. Acknowledged masters of the decorated style who took professional training at the court and gained fame of panegyrists wrote seasonal allegories in the spirit of sophisticated detailed elaboration. Thus, in the *dīwāns* by Sanā'ī (ca. 1048—after 1126) and Khāqānī (1120—1190) there are symbolic *qaşīdas*, in whose introductory parts the famous seasonal theme is exploited which consists of the names of birds, flowers and trees. In these *qaşīdas*, created basing on the tradition started by Rūdakī and Manūchihri, ways of re-actualisation on normative thematic constructions in the sphere of mystical poetry can be traced.

In the works dedicated to the history of Persian classical literature the fact of the wide use of "birds" figurativeness in different literary genres is mentioned. Mostly these researches describe the use of "birds" motives in Šūfī literature where birds act as characters bearing various symbolic information [4]. However, in his works E. Ė. Berthel's also mentions the cases of interpretation of "birds" figurativeness in mono-rhythmical poetry in the Persian language. Apart from the mention of the corresponding *qaşīda* by Sanā'ī [5] there is also a small note dedicated to the publication of two *ghazals* of the early Šūfī poet Bābā Kūhī Shīrāzī one of which interprets four birds (the duck, the peacock, the raven and the rooster) as the personification of four temperaments connected with the predominance in nature of people of one of four liquids (black bile, yellow bile, phlegm and blood) [6].

Sharif Shukurov and E. Ė. Berthel's turned in their researches to the problem of functioning of "birds" symbol-

ism in literature and art of medieval Iran when analysing the forms of involvement of the pre-Islamic figurative tradition into the Muslim culture [7].

The development of "birds" symbolism in Sanā'ī's and Khāqānī's *qaṣīdas* can only be comprehended if we take into account the fact of intersection in their poetic works of the traditions and aesthetic principles of secular (court and professional) and religious (mystical — Šūfī and Ismā'īlī) poetry.

Apart from the cases of birds mention listed above in Rūdakī's and Manūčihri's *qaṣīdas*, "birds" motives are found in the early Šūfī *ghazals* (Anṣārī, Bābā Kūhī Shīrāzī). The context in which birds are mentioned marked by E. Ē. Berthel's is not the only one in which they are found in *ghazals*. In mystical poetry the realisation of "birds" motives is tightly connected with the Qur'ānic images and refers the listener to the famous *āyāt* of the Holy Text. In a number of cases in Šūfī lyrics words are implied directed at Dā'ūd: ("O you mountains, echo God's praises with him, and you birds!") [8]. 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī included into one of his *ghazals* a *bayt* based on an allusion to the Qur'ān:

شرم باد از حضرت حق نمی را هر سحر کو به خواب غفلت است و حمد گویان فاخته

"Let be ashamed in front of the Truth's [God's] face that man who every morning / rests in the sleep of carelessness while the cuckoo glorifies God" [9].

The spring *qaṣīda* by Sanā'ī mentioned by E. Ē. Berthel's which contains a long list of birds in fact refers to the same *āyāt* of the Qur'ān as Anṣārī's *bayt*. This can be proved by the name of this *qaṣīda* in the poet's *dīwān* — "In the glory of the unity of the Questioning God and about birds' prayer" [10]. Still, while the meaning and the pathos of Sanā'ī's poem is close to the abovementioned *bayt* by Anṣārī, the stylistic colouring of this *qaṣīda* is closer to the canon of *nawrūziyya* court *qaṣīda* and evokes associations with Manūčihri's poetic style. Unlike the latter, Sanā'ī noticeably widened the list of birds that he mentions up to thirty-one. Thus, Sanā'ī's *qaṣīda* contains the same complex of motives as Manūčihri's *qaṣīda* transformed into the register of religious lyrics:

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| (۱) آراست دگر باره جهاندار جهان را | چون خلد برین کرد زمین را و زمان را |
| (۲) فرمود که تا چرخ یکی دور دگر کرد | خورشید بپیومد مسیر دوران را |
| (۳) آیدون که بیاراست مر این پیر خرف را | کاید حسد از تازگیش تاره جوان را |
| (۴) هر روز جهان خوشتر از آست چو هر شب | رضوان بگشاید همه درها جانان را |
| (۵) گونی که هوا غالیه امیخت بخروار | پر کرد از آن غالیها غالیه دان را |
| (۶) گنجی که بهر گنج نهان بود ز قارون | از خاک بر آورد مر آن گنج نهان را |
| (۷) ابری که همی برف بیاید ببرد | شد غرقه بحری که ندید ایچ کران را |
| (۸) آن ابر دربار ز دریا که برآید | پر کرده ز در و درم و دانه دهان را |
| (۹) از بسکه بیاید بآب اندر لؤلؤ | چون لؤلؤ تر کرده همه آب روان را |
| (۱۰) رنجی که همه باد فزاید ز بزیدن | بر ما بوزید از قبل راحت جان را |
| (۱۱) کوه آن تل کافور بدل کرد به سیفور | شادی روان داد مر آن شادروان را |
| (۱۲) شبگیر زند نعره کلنک از دل مشتاق | و ز نعره زند طعنه زند نعره زنان را |

"(1) The Creator re-decorated the world, / turned everything into an image of the heavenly garden.

(2) He ordered that before the vault of heaven makes another turn, / the sun must go its circular way.

(3) To decorate this feeble-minded old man / so that a blooming young man would envy his youth.

(4) Each day the world is getting more beautiful, for each night / Rīdāwān opens the gates of the heavenly garden.

(5) The year mixed whole mountains of *ghālie* [i. e. mixed ambergris with musk — *M. R.*] / and filled caskets with this incense.

(6) The treasure which was hidden from Qārūn for safety / [now] it [the air — *M. R.*] he drew out of earth.

(7) The cloud which spilled snow when it was cold, / sank in the boundless sea.

(8) That cloud will erupt from the sea spilling pearls, / as its mouth has been filled with pearls, *dirhams*, and grains [of precious stones].

(9) Because it [the cloud — *M. R.*] threw pearls into the water, / all running waters became clear as pearls.

(10) The effort which the wind makes to blow / turned for us into delight for soul.

(11) The mountain has replaced the hills of camphor with the lightest silk, these patterned kerchiefs pleased its heart...

(16) At dawn the crane cries because of overwhelming passion, / and by his cry he reproaches those uttering cries" [11].

This fragment which finishes with the mention of the first bird (the crane) is followed by the part which gave the name to the *qaṣīda*. But before we turn to the "birds" *bayts*, let us define some peculiar features of the introductory fragment. In the first *bayts*, which contain an unambiguous idea that everything in this world happens at the will of the Most High, the coming of spring is presented as a metaphorical repetition of the act of the divine creation. Thus, the traditional topic of Iranian calendar poetry is inserted into the holy Muslim history (compare with al-Būrūnī's explanation of *nawrūz* as the seven days of creation [12]). According to Sh. Shukurov's sharp observation:

"The leading poetic descriptive motive in the culture of medieval Iran is the image of garden — the earthly embodiment of the heavenly garden. To feel the seriousness which the Iranians attached in their works to the motive of paradise which prevailed in the minds of Muslim people, it is enough to mention the titles of works of the leading Iranian poets: *Bustān* ('Fruit garden') and *Gulistān* ('Rose Garden') by Sa'dī, *Gulshān-i Rāz* ('Mystery Garden') by Maḥmūd Shābistārī, *Bahārīstān* ('Spring Garden') by 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, *Hašt bihish* ('Eight Heavenly Gardens') by Amīr Khusrav Dihlāwī. Book was likened to a garden where the reader found irrefragable answers to many questions about the essence of the universe, the sense of Being and the moral character of man. The garden, in its turn, personified the world imbibing the cryptography of the past, the present and the future... The garden, whether it is included in a book, exists in reality or is symbolically present in the heart of Man and in the metaphysical depth of the Universe, can also be likened to a space of 'hunt' of the one striving ('*arīf*') to comprehend the truth" [13].

Thus, even the introductory *bayts* of Sanā'ī's *qaṣīda* are connected with the general religious context which is strengthened in the next segment of the *qaṣīda* with the help of vivid references to the Qur'ān.

The listing of birds, each of which in its own manner exalts the Most High and addresses its prayer to Him, forms the central part of the *qaṣīda* and consists of 25 *bayts*. In fact it is a paraphrastic transformation of the Qur'ānic *āya* which says that "...each — He knows its prayer and its extolling" (24:41). The Persian poet puts into the mouth of birds Qur'ānic epithets of Allah, thus turning a poetic text

into an analogue of the ritual which consists of pronouncing the divine names (نکر). Sanā'ī, however, was not the first who interpreted this Qur'ānic motive in Persian poetry. Bābā Kūhī Shīrāzī's *dīwān* contains a *ghazal* which begins with the following *bayts*:

بلبل و قمری و کبک و فاخته
تا به خلوت با خدا گویند راز
شرح اسمار از حق آموخته
وحش و طیر از آدمی گریخته

"The nightingale and the turtle-dove, the partridge and the cuckoo / have learnt from God to interpret [His] names. // Since animals and birds have talking to God in solitude about mysteries / they have been mourning over 'Adam'" [14].

Both poets ascribe to birds the knowledge of God's names (اسماء) and attributes (صفات). Most "birds" *bayts* in Sanā'ī's *qaṣīda* are based on the exploitation of this motive and playing it up, sometimes translating some epithets of Allah and prayer formulas into the Persian language:

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| (۱۷) آن کلک گوید که لک الحمد لک الشکر | تو طعمه من کرده آن مار دمان را |
| (۱۸) قمری نهد از پشت قیای خز و قاقم | اکنون که بتابید و بیوشید کتان را |
| (۱۹) طاوس کند جلوه چو از دور ببیند | بر فرق سر دهدد آن تاج کیان را |
| (۲۰) موسیچه همی گوید با رازق رزاق | روزی ده جان بخش تویی تنسی و جان را |
| (۲۱) زاغ از شغب بیده بر بندد منقار | چون فاخته بگشاده بتسییح زبان را |
| (۲۲) پیوسته هما گوید بکیست یگانه | تا در طرف آرد بهوا برورشان را |
| (۲۳) گنجشک بهاری صفت باری گوید | کز بوم بر انگیزد اشجار نوان را |
| (۲۴) هو گوید هو صد بدمی سرخ کبوتر | در گفتن هو دارد پیوسته لسان را... |
| (۲۵) چرخان بسر چنگ در آورده تئرون | تسییح شده از دهن مرغ مر آن را |
| (۲۶) شارک چو مؤذن بسحر خلق گشاده | آن ژولک و آن صعود از آن داده لکان را... |
| (۲۹) بنگر بهوا بر بچاکوک که چه گوید | خیر و حسنت با خیرات و حسان را... |
| (۳۱) آن کرکی گوید که تویی قادر قهار | از مرگ همی قهر کنی مر حیوان را... |
| (۳۶) آن باز چنین گوید یارب تو نگهدار | بر امت پیغمبر ایمان و امان را |
| (۳۷) آن کرکس با قوت گوید که بقدرت | جبار نگهدارد این کون و مکان را |
| (۳۸) بنگر که عقاب از پی تسییح چه گوید | اراسته دارید مر این سیرت و سان را |
| (۳۹) بلبل چه منکر شده و قمری قاری | بر داشته هر دو شعب و بانگ و فلان را |
| (۴۰) آید بتو هر پاس خروشی ز خروسی | کی غافل بگذار جهان گذران را |
| (۴۱) آوازه بر آورد که ای قوم تن خویش | دوزخ میرید از پی بهمان و فلان را |
| (۴۲) دنیا چو یکی بیشه شمارید ژبان شیر | در بیشه مشورید مر آن شیر ژبان را |
| (۴۳) در جستن نان آب رخ خویش مرزید | در نار مسوزید روان از پی نان را... |
| (۴۵) زان پیش که جانتان بستاند ملک الموت | از قبضه شیطان بستانید عنان را |
| (۴۶) محدود بدینحال تو نزدیکتری ز لنگ | پیریت به نهمار فرستاده خزان را |

"(17) The crane says: 'Praise to You! Thank You! / You have given me that dreadful snake to eat'.

(18) The turtle-dove (قمری) takes off the coat made of [the fur of] polecat and ermine, / she is hot now and has dressed in linen.

(19) The peacock unfolds his tail [*lit.*: flaunts] as soon as he sees / in the distance the Keyān crown on hoopoe's head.

(20) The turtle-dove (موسیچه) repeats: 'Oh, the Giver of food, / who grants daily bread to [each] living creature, who gives life to soul!'

(21) The crown has closed her beak from senseless cries / as soon as the cuckoo has opened her mouth for prayer.

(22) The bearded vulture (هما) keeps saying: 'The only is united' / when, rejoicing, he lifts up in the air the steppe dove.

(23) The spring sparrow repeats the epithets of the Most High / when, [saving himself from] an owl he sways the trembling tree [branches].

(24) A hundred times a second says the red pigeon: 'Oh, God! Oh, God!' / His larynx is designed for pronouncing 'Oh, God!'.

(25) Falcons have grabbed pheasants with their claws, / in response to this [each] bird has opened its mouth for prayer.

(26) The starling, like *mu'adhhdhin*, produces a guttural cry in the morning / summoning the skylark and the chaffinch for prayer...

(29) Look at the lark in the sky, [listen] to him say: / 'Let Your mercy and blessing rest on the gracious and the blessed!'...

(31) And the crane says: 'You are the Almighty, the Omnipotent, / You punish a living creature with death!'...

(36) And here is what the falcon says: 'You protect / the peoples that believe in the Prophet and that are guarded [by him]'.

(37) And that kite endowed with power says: 'With his power / the Almighty guards everything in the world!'.

(38) Listen to what the eagle says in his prayer: / 'Adorn yourself with such manner of life and thoughts!'.

(39) The nightingale began to pronounce God's names and the turtle-dove (قمری) to read the Qur'ān so [diligently], / that both made this noise and chirping and moan.

(40) Each night shift you hear the rooster's cry: / 'Oh, the careless! Escape this transient world!'.

(41) [And also] he cries: 'Oh, the ones related to their flesh! / You don't sever hell for anybody!'.

(42) Think of this word as a likeness of a grove, [the abode] of the fierce lion, / don't tease the fierce lion in the grove!

(43) Do not demean your dignity when searching for food, / do not burn your soul in the [hellish] flame for your daily bread...

(45) Before you soul is taken into the kingdom of the dead / take [its] bridles away from the hands of *shaytān*'.

(46) Majdūd, [today] you have come to this situation because / old age has suddenly sent autumn to you" [15].

As it has already been said, the central part of the *qaṣīda* is at the same time a detailed comment to the Qur'ānic *āya* where praying birds are mentioned, and a specific projection of the ritual repetition of God's names spread among the Šūfī and called *dhikr*. Fragment of a small poem of the same author called *Sanā'ī-nāme* (سنایی نامه) proves to the fact that this *qaṣīda* is linked to the ritual of *dhikr*. In the chapter about *dhikr* Sanā'ī mentions some birds [16], and it begins with the following *bayts*:

بار دیگر شکار فکر آموز
نکر حق پرورد زبانت را
عندلیب زبان بذکر آموز
ماهی چشمه دهانت را

"Learn again to hunt thought, / learn the nightingale's language for *dhikr*. // Mentioning God cherishes (educates) your tongue — / the fish in the source of your mouth" [17].

At the same time, apart from the most important, key reference to the text of the Qur'ān, which serves as a tool of the calendar theme treatment, in a number of *bayts* epithets of Allah are mentioned which can be found in many *āyāt* (the Giver, the Almighty, the Most High, etc.) and which are used as formulas of mentioning God. In this *qaṣīda* they serve the purpose of creating the atmosphere of the Šūfī *dhikr*. The motive of birds mentioning the divine names can not but awake another association with the Qur'ānic images contained in the following *āyāt*:

"And we gave David and Solomon knowledge and they said, 'Praise belongs to God who has proffered us over many of His believing servants'. And Solomon was David's heir, and he said, 'Men, we have been taught the speech of the birds

(منطق الطير), and we have been given of everything; surely this is indeed the manifest bounty” [18].

The Šūfī tradition of Qur’ān interpretation embodied by Ibn al-‘Arabī states that the knowledge granted to Sulaymān (i. e. understanding birds’ language) was enclosed in the formula “In the name of God the Merciful, the Charitable” which contains the divine names. Ibn al-‘Arabī’s tractate “The Gemmas of Wisdom” (فصوص الحکم) contains a chapter about Solomon’s wisdom which says:

“Our only goal which we pursuit is to point to and tell about two mercies mentioned by Solomon in the two names which in the language of the Arabs mean the Merciful and the Charitable” [19].

Thus, due to the associative link to the Qur’ānic Sulaymān, the “birds” motives in Sanā’ī’s *qaṣīda* gain an additional symbolical capacity acting as a reflection of the inmost language of prophetic wisdom. However, not only the Qur’ān itself serves as a ground for the appearance of “local” and “global” poetic associations inside the concerned text. The list of rejoicing spring birds is suggestively finished with the nightingale who the poet refers to as the one performing *dhikr* (مذکر) (compare with the beginning of the chapter about *dhikr* in the poem *Sanā’ī-nāme*). Due to the special role of the “nightingale” symbolism in the Šūfī poetic vocabulary (for example, see Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār’s poem *Bulbul-nāme* (بلبل نامه)), its mention in a special way affects the whole text and turns it into a resemblance of a ritual repetition of divine names.

The didactic ending of the *qaṣīda* is formed by the introduction of the name of one more bird which is not among the circle of the seasonal images of *nawrūziyya*, or, in a wider sense — *bahārīyya*. The cry of the rooster summons the sleeping ones to wake from the careless dream and warns against indulging into fleshly passions. It would be logical to assume that the mystic Sanā’ī would go the way of Šūfī interpretation when mentioning the rooster that even in the early sources acted as personification of lust. However, the poet chose another interpretation of this widely spread image and must have based on the Zoroastrian beliefs according to which the rooster was an object of worship, a bird which drove away evil forces with its cry (compare with similar beliefs of the Slavs) [20]. When characterising the rooster among other mythological symbols, E. Ē. Berthel’s points to the three features of this bird which determine its belonging to them: sharpness (a guard, the announcer of morning), belligerence and concupiscence.

“The first of them, was fully reflected in Zoroastrianism in which the rooster is the Sraoshi’s companion, *dīws*’ enemy who scares them away with his cry” [21].

As we have shown, elements of the pre-Islamic Iranian song topic, as well as some “iconographic” schemes of separate motives and their stable sequences preserve their cultural actuality throughout the whole period of the Persian classical poetry development, especially in the pre-Mongolian epoch. Sanā’ī, who was the successor of two poetic traditions — the court and the Šūfī tradition — synthesises not only the religious-mystical doctrine and the decorated style, but also the old (Zoroastrian) and the new (Muslim) manner of interpretation of the same images.

While in the *qaṣīda* “Birds’ Prayer” the poet gives clear preference to the Qur’ānic contexts as a source of “filling” the symbolic level of text perception, in a number of cases there are exceptions. Thus, in the *bayt* about the peacock and the hoopoe, birds which bear a clear symbolic meaning in the Muslim tradition [22], Sanā’ī chooses the “old Iranian” variant of the motive realisation. At the basis of the figurative correspondence (تناسب) lies the comparison of the hoopoe’s pappus with the crown of the ancient kings of the Keyānid dynasty and the implied comparison of the peacock’s unfolded tail with the precious decorations of the Keyānid throne called the “peacock throne” (تخت طاووس).

Summing up the analysis of Sanā’ī’s *qaṣīda*, let us point to some of its compositional features. Written in accordance with the principle of the traditional description (وصف) which forms a mosaics of *bayts*-pictures or a canonical panegyrics which consists of listing the monarch’s virtues, Sanā’ī’s *qaṣīda* is a poetic interpretation of the ritual of pronouncing God’s names. Due to the use of Qur’ānic formulas and separate words, as well as numerous references to them, a connection is established between most *bayts* and certain contexts of the Holy Book. These separate non-poetic links of each *bayt* which imply a possible autonomous interpretation, strengthen the semantic discontinuity of the *qaṣīda* which, in our opinion, reflects the common stylistic tendency formed at the end of the pre-Mongolian period (the middle of the 12th—beginning of the 13th century). However, the presence of the key reference to the Qur’ān repeated in a number of *bayts* and in the title of the *qaṣīda*, allows us to state that even at the end of the *Khurāsān*’s style circulation the authors of *qaṣīdas* aspired to introduce an integrating principle into their works.

Sanā’ī’s work, which is a result of synthesis of two aesthetic principles of *qaṣīdas* writing — the panegyric and the “anti-panegyric” (mystical) ones — is characterised with sophisticated descriptiveness and deliberate detailed elaboration of the topic in combination with the absence of direct explanations and decoding of the symbolic meaning of the text. The didactic ending written in the spirit of ascetic sermon, though it resembles the corresponding fragments of Nāṣir-i *Khusrāw*’s *qaṣīdas*, adds nothing to the understanding of the allegorical meaning of the introductory part. Rather, in a certain way it adds to the mystical reference points of the introduction which conveys the atmosphere of *dhikr*, the moral and aesthetic guidance lines necessary for the listener who stepped on the way of self-perfection. It seems appropriate to point to the fact that the didactic part occupies only the five final *bayts* and, thus, an individual author’s proportion of the introduction and the target part of this *qaṣīda* is established. In fact, edification as the aim of a *qaṣīda* in this case is replaced with the poetic description of the mystical experience which accompanies the corresponding ritual.

No less brilliant in terms of “birds motives” treatment is the *qaṣīda* by the famous *Shirwānī Khāqānī* which is called “Birds’ Language” (منطق الطير). The use of the well-known Qur’ānic word combination as a title of the *qaṣīda* naturally places it into the system of certain religious-mystical co-ordinates. This work is, on the whole, typical of *Khāqānī*’ individual creative style and is characterised with the complexity of the composition, a poly-theme and multi-level character which are made a point of, the use of sophisticated, infrequent words and

high figurative decoration. Clear orientation at the poetic game according to the most sophisticated rules, is most vividly expressed in *Khāqānī*’s “birds” *qaṣīda* which contains the same set of images as Sanā’ī’s *qaṣīda*. A voluminous (67 *bayts*) *qaṣīda* called “Birds’ Language” has two introductions, the first of which contains the description of dawn and a short glorification of Ka’ba. After the paired rhyme (تجدید مطلع) is renewed, a traditional description of spring follows which smoothly passes into an argument between birds about the advantages of certain spring flowers and trees. Having shortened the list of birds to nine (including the mythical bird ‘Anqā (عنقا)), *Khāqānī* technically complicates the descriptive part of the text combining “birds” motives with “flowers” motives, i. e. uses a record number of season words in a comparatively small poetic space.

ز د نفس سر بمر صبح ملمع نقاب (۱)
شد گهر اندر گهر صفحه تیغ سحر (۲)
صبح فنک پوش را ابر زره در قبا (۳)
بال فرو وقت مرغ، مرغ طرب گشت دل (۴)
صبح برآمد ز کوه چون مه نخبش ز چار (۵)
نیزه کشید آفتاب حلقه مه در ربود (۶)
شب عربی وار بود بسته نقابی بنفش (۷)
بر کتف آفتاب باز ردان زردست (۸)
حق تو خاقانیا کعبه تواند شناخت (۹)
مرد بود کعبه جو طفل بود کعب باز (۱۰)
کعبه که قطب هدایت معنکست از سکون (۱۱)
هست بیبرامنش طوف کنان آسمان (۱۲)
خانه خدایش خدایت لاجرمش نام هست (۱۳)

مطاع دوم

رفت بچرب آخوری گنج رون در رکاب (۱۴)
عودی خاک از نبات گشت مهلهل ثياب (۱۵)
شب چو چراغی بروز کسته و نیم تاب... (۱۶)
بلبل الحمد خوان گشته خلیفه کتاب (۱۸)
مجلسشان آب زد ابر بیم مذاب (۱۹)
خلعه نوردش صبا رنگرز آفتاب (۲۰)
نرگس با طشت زر کرد بمجلس شتاب... (۲۱)
شب شده بر شکل موی مه چو کمانچه رباب (۲۶)

“(1) Morning sighed wrapped in a bright veil — / the strings of the celestials’ marquee filled with the scent of ambergris.

(2) The surface of the sword of morning [i. e. sun beam — *M. R.*] glimmered with a pearl shine, / the cloud hauberk became interwoven with rings.

(3) Under the Ka’ba of morning decorated with fox fur is the cloud hauberk, / its golden hat with its shine stole the beaver [hat] from the night.

(4) A bird spread its wings — the heart turned into the bird of joy, / the drum began to thunder — sleep stroke the drum of departure.

(5) Morning appeared from behind the mountains as the *Nakhsheb* moon [23] from the well, / moon appeared at dawn as a fish tail from water.

(6) The sun stretched its spear and stole an earring from the moon, / one has a spear made of pure gold, the other — an earring made of pure silver.

(7) The night, in the Arabic manner, was wrapped in a lilac burnous, / so why did the sun, like an Arab threatened [it] with a spear?

(8) A golden cloak is, / it turned, like Arabs to Ka’ba’s enemies.

(9) You are right, *Khāqānī*, Ka’ba can distinguish between / someone looking for sinecure from someone [looking for] traveller’s supplies for the Judgement Day.

(10) A real man looks for Ka’ba, and a child [seeks after] a game of dice, / since you have become a man of faith, don’t turn your face away from Ka’ba.

(11) Ka’ba is the pole of true faith, it is a hermit in its immobility, / no pole itself can be agitated by rotation.

(12) The [turning] luminaries perform their ritual walking around it, / in fact the sky turns its mill around the pole.

(13) The master of this house is God, and that is why he has a name — / the ruling *shāh* in the four-cornered [Ka’ba], who in Arabic addresses the *Rūmīān*’.

[Pair rhyme is resumed]

“(14) The sun drove *Rakhs* in a gilded harness towards the morning, / he rode to a full feeding-rack with *Qārūn*’s treasure in the stirrup.

(15) The kohl sky became interlaced in a chain because of clouds, / the earth, exhaling aloe fragrance, dressed in thin silk.

(16) The day is like a candle in the dark, / the night is like a smouldering, burning out lamp in the middle of the day...

(18) The birds are like children who were taught reading and writing, / the nightingale, glorifying the God, became the monitor in a school.

(19) Yesterday the garden again invited [to a reception] the newly-born [flowers], / a cloud sprinkled their feast with melted silver.

(20) The lawn gave each of them dressing-gowns of yellow and red [material], / the breeze brought the dressing-gowns and the sun coloured them.

(21) In the beginning of the feast the garden lit the candle of the rose, / the daffodil hurried to the reception with a golden tray...

(26) The birds gather before this meeting of those feasting, / [when] night became thinner than a hair, and the moon like *rubāb*’s bow” [24].

This is the end of the first part of the introduction which is in a certain thematic and logical harmony with the description of morning contained in the first introduction. *Khāqānī* introduces into the picture of a spring garden the *bayts* which describe day taking over the night and which link the first *tashbīb* with the second one. At the same time, the description of a spring garden contains a *bayt* which anticipates the whole “birds” section of the *qaṣīda*. It implies the idea of the nightingale’s supremacy over the other birds, which forestalls the “dramaturgic” solution of the narrative part of the *qaṣīda* tightly connected with its religious-mystical meaning. The spring morning comes, one can hear birds singing — they are having an argument which gave the name to the *qaṣīda*:

(۲۷) فاخته گفت از نخصت مدح شکوفه که نحل (۲۷)
(۲۸) بلبل گفتا که گل به ز شکوفه است از آنک (۲۸)
(۲۹) قمری گفتا ز گل مملکت سرو به (۲۹)
(۳۰) ساری گفتا که هست سرو ز من پای لنک (۳۰)
(۳۱) صلصل گفتا که نی لانه دور نگست ازو (۳۱)
(۳۲) تیهو گفتا بهست سبزه ز سوسن از آنک (۳۲)
(۳۳) طوطی گفتا سمن به بود از سبزه کو (۳۳)
(۳۴) دهد گفت از سمن نرگس بهتر که هست (۳۴)
سازد از آن برک تلخ مایه شیرین لعاب
شاخ جنیبت کش است گل شه والا جناب
کاندک بادی کند گنبد گل را خراب
لانه از او به که کرد دشت بدشت انقلاب
سوسن یکرنگ به چون خط اهل ثواب
فاخته صحف باغ اوست گه فتح باب
بوی ز عنبر گرفت رنگ ز کافور ناب
کرسی جم ملک او و افسر افراسیاب

“(27) The cuckoo said: ‘First I shall glorify the flowers of fruit trees, as the bee / makes ferment for sweet saliva from their bitter petals’.

(28) The nightingale said: ‘The Rose surpasses the apple tree flower, as / the branch is only a slave leading a horse, [and] the rose is His Majesty the *Shāh*’.

(29) The partridge (قمری) said: ‘The cypress is more beautiful than the kingly rose, / as even the light breeze destroys the cupola of the rose’.

(30) The starling said: ‘In my opinion the cypress is lame, / the tulip is better as is agitated the steppe spaces [*lit.*: one steppe after another]’.

(31) The dove disagreed: ‘No, the tulip has two colours, / the plain lily is better as it is similar to the writing of the virtuous’.

(32) The partridge said: ‘Green grass is more pleasant than a lily, as / it is the *fātiḥa* on the garden pages when [its] chapter begins [or: when [its] door opens]’.

(33) The parrot said: ‘Jasmine is better than green grass because it / took its aroma from ambergris, and then colour — from pure camphor’.

(34) The hoopoe said: ‘The daffodil is more beautiful than jasmine as it is / the throne of Jamshīd and the crown of Afrāsīāb’ [25].

All fragments of this *qaṣīda* quoted above form segments of a multi-part *wasf* thematically connected with each other. The semantic correlation of the parts is realised not only with the help of the linking *bayts* (14—6, 18), but also due to the “stepped” layout of the parts of the text. The description of morning tells about the sky and the luminaries, then the narration descends to earth, although to its point (Ka’ba) which, in the mind of a bearer of the Muslim tradition is a mediator between the earthly and the heavenly. Finally, the last step of this staircase is the spring garden with its “newly-born” inhabitants — the blooming flowers and fresh grass closely connected with earth. Then, in accordance with the laws of religious-mystical poetry, the *qaṣīda* must depict the reverse movement, i. e. the ascent from the phenomenal world into the world of divine essences. In *Khāqānī*’s work the idea of searching for the Truth, metaphorically embodied in the birds’ argument, is consistently developed in the narrative part of the text which tells about finding the arbitrator who put an end to the argument. From the formal point of view the poet strictly follows the developed standard of the Persian *qaṣīda*, preserving the optimal proportions of description and narration in the common scheme of the motives’ correlation.

(۳۵) جمله بدین داورى بر در عقبا شدند
کوست خلیفه طیور داور مالک رقاب
(۳۶) صاحب سران همه بانک بر ایشان زدند
کاین حرم کبرستان بار بود تنک یاب
(۳۷) فاخته گفت آه من کله خضرا بسوخت
حاجت این بار کو ورنه بسوزم حجاب
(۳۸) مرغان برادر بیای عقدا در خلوت جای
فاخته با پرده دار گرم شده در عتاب
(۳۹) حاجب حل لیکر چون سوی عقارسند
آمد و در خوردشان کرد بپرسش خطاب
(۴۰) بلبل کردش سجود گفت که نعم الصباح
خود بخودی باز داد صبحک الله جواب
(۴۱) قمری کردش نذر کای شده از عدل نو
دانه انجیر زرد، دام گلی غراب
(۴۲) وی که ز لصف تو صورت منقلر کیک
صورت مقرض گشت بر پر و بال عقاب
(۴۳) ما بتو آورده ایم درد سرار چه بهار
درد سر روزگار برد بیوی گلاب
(۴۴) دانکه دولسبه رسید مرکب فصل ربیع
دهر خرف باز یافت قوت فصل شباب
(۴۵) خیل ریاحین بسیست ما بکه روی اوریم
زینهمه شاهى که راست؟ چيست بر تو صواب؟
(۴۶) عقبا بر کرد سر گفت کزین طایفه
دست یکی در حناست جعد یکی در خضاب
(۴۷) اینهمه نورستگان بچه حورند پاک
خورده گه از جوی شیرگاه ز جوی شراب
(۴۸) گر چه همه دلکشند از همه گل خوبتر
کو عرق مصفاست وان دگران خاک و آب

“(35) The whole company headed to the gates [of the palace] of the bird ‘Anqā to settle the argument, / as it is the caliph of birds, their judge and absolute monarch.

(36) The guards of the regal chambers shouted at them / that this is the sanctuary of grandeur and it is hard to obtain reception.

(37) The cuckoo said: ‘My moans burnt the vault of the azure sky! / Where is the guard of this court? If he doesn’t [come out], I will burn this curtain!’

(38) The birds gathered in small groups in front of the gates [confused] with the luxury of this place, / while the cuckoo squabbled with the door-keeper.

(39) When the guard reported to the bird ‘Anqā about the incident, / she [herself] came out and in a due way replied to their request.

(40) The nightingale bowed to her and said: ‘Good morning!’ / And she, naturally, replied ‘Good morning!’.

(41) The turtle-dove: ‘Oh, thanks to your fairness / the core of a yellow fig became a trap for the raven’s throat!’

(42) Oh, due to your justice the partridge’s beak / received the shape of scissors above the eagle’s wing!

(43) We have brought our headache to you, though the spring / removed any headache with the scent of rose water.

(44) Learn, that the horse of spring has come. / After the senile imbecility the world again obtained the strength of a youth.

(45) So much basil has grown around! Who shall we turn our eyes to? / Which of the kings is legitimate? What, in your opinion, is the truth?’.

(46) ‘Anqā raised her head and said: ‘In this family / one beauty has her palms painted with henna, the other has her locks died with basma.

(47) All these young plants are the chaste children of the *hūries* / who drank that milk, that wine from [paradisiacal] springs.

(48) Although they all are beautiful, the rose is nicer than all of them / as she originates from the Prophet, and the rest were born from earth and water” [26].

The quoted fragment characterised with vividness and a playful charm of a genre scene and attaches some features of a small poem to the whole *qaṣīda*. In this part of the text new characters appear (the door-keeper in the palace of the Birds’ Queen, the master of ceremonies who leads visitors for the audience). The main character of the narrative fragment, the “engine” of the plot is the cuckoo who, due to its courage and persistency, obtains the highest audience. The bird ‘Anqā herself comes out to the petitioners, listens to them and acts as an arbitrator in their argument choosing the rose the master of all flowers. Having connected the peculiarity of the rose with the peculiarity of the Prophet Muḥammad, the poet directs the motives up the same symbolic staircase as in the introduction, but makes them perform the reverse ascent from the sphere of the ephemeral occurrences of the phenomenal world to the united divine essence of everything. The *bayt* in which the rose is characterised as the flower of Muḥammad serves as a transition to the final glorification of the Prophet:

(۴۹) هادی مهدی غلام عمی صادق کلام
خسرو هشتم بهشت سحنه چارم کتاب
(۵۰) باج ستان ملوک تاج ده ابنیا
کز در او یافت عقل، خط امان از عقبات
(۵۱) احمد مرسل که کرد از طیش و زخم تیغ
تخت سلاطین ز گال کرده شیران کباب
(۵۲) جمله رسل بر درش مفلس طالب زکوة
او شده تاج رسل تاجر صاحب نصاب ...
(۶۳) حامل وحی آمده کامد یوم الظفر
ای ملکوت الغرا ای ثقلین النهاب
(۶۴) خاطر خاقانیت مدح گل مصطفی
زان زحقت بیصواب هست عطر حساب

(۶۵) کی شکند همتش قدر سخن پیش غیر
کی فکند جوهری دانه در در خلایب
(۶۶) یارب از این حبسگاه باز رهانش که هست
شروان شر البلاد خصمان شر النواب
(۶۷) زین گره ناحفاظ حافظ جانش تو باش
کز تو دعای غریب زود بود مستجاب

“(49) [From] the One Showing the way, the slave led by the God, [from] the Simpleton (عمی) [27], the Truthful, / [from] the governor of the eighth heavenly garden, from the keeper of the fourth book.

(50) [From] the one laying the kings under tribute, from the one giving the crown to the prophets, / it is on his threshold that the mind gained the scripture protecting from punishment.

(51) [From] Aḥmad — the God’s Messenger who with a sweep and strike of his sword turned / *sulṭāns*’ thrones into ashes, [turned into] lions’ fearless hearts into *kebāb* [*lit.*: kidney, *fig.*: courage, bravery — *M. R.*].

(52) All prophets, having grown poor, ask for charity at his threshold (زکات), / he became the crown of prophets, the merchant whose property is tithed (نصاب)...

(63) The Carrier of the revelation arrived, and that is why victory day came. / Oh, the kingdom of the war with the unfaithful, of the captured peopled and genies’.

(64) The glorification of the Prophet’s rose is the memory of *Khāqānī*, / as, when calculating [i. e. on the Resurrection day — *M. R.*] the Truth endowed him with numerous gifts.

(65) Who will be strong enough to humiliate my speech in the eyes of the others, / who will throw into dirt the precious grain of the pearl?

(66) Oh, God! Save him [*Khāqānī* — *M. R.*] from that prison, / as *Shirwān* is the ulcer of cities, and the enemies are progenies of the earthly creatures!

(67) Be the defender of his soul among these insoluble problems, / as the wanderers’ prayers reach you fast” [28].

At the end of the *qaṣīda* the glorification of the Prophet is expressed in the description of the holy war with the unfaithful which is a poetic analogy with the universal picture of the Judgement Day.

Let us, however, turn back to the narrative part of the *qaṣīda* which, due to the connection with the religious motives and numerous references to the text of the Qur’ān, obtains the symbolic depth implied by the author. In accordance with the displayed connection between birds’ images and pronouncing God’s names traceable even in the early *Ṣūfī* lyrics (see above), the general meaning of the story is reconstructed. The argument of birds about the supremacy of one flower or plant over the others can be interpreted as a metaphorical discussion about the hierarchy of the divine names.

As “birds” symbolism accompanies one of the Qur’ānic characters (*Sulaymān*), it is through the semantics of this image that the allegorical meaning of *Khāqānī*’s *qaṣīda* can be partly reconstructed. In the chapter “The Gemmas of Wisdom” dedicated to *Sulaymān*, Ibn al-‘Arabī talks not only about granting to him the formula “In the name of God the Merciful, the Charitable”, but also about the hierarchy of the divine names:

“So, Solomon brought two favours: the favour of giving (*rahmat al-imtīnān*) and the favour of obligation (*rahmat al-wujūb*). They are the Merciful, the Charitable: He is given [by the name] the Merciful, the obligation is established [with the name] the Charitable. This obligation is part of the granted, and that is why [the name] the Merciful is contained [in the name] the Charitable” [29].

In the quoted fragment of primary importance for us is the following: one of the divine names can contain other names in it. In the same way the name of the rose also contains the name of any other flower, as, besides its narrow lexical meaning, it has a common meaning — “a flower”.

The idea about the hierarchy and, at the same time, the united essence of the divine names is even more clearly expressed in the following word by Ibn al-‘Arabī:

“All divine names stand on the steps of supremacy of one over the others, just like everything in Creation surpasses one another (as it is said: this one knows more than the other), although the essence is indivisible. If you put any of the divine names on the first place, you give it all other names and attach their characteristics to it, in the same way everything Created has the same abilities as everything that surpasses it. So each part of this world is the whole, it contains the true essences of the separate parts of the whole world... The divine names are different in their supremacy, but they all are nothing else than the God” [30].

Thus, the supremacy of the rose over the other flowers symbolises in *Khāqānī*’s *qaṣīda* the supremacy of the whole over the plurality.

The suggested interpretation does not exclude, but rather implies the possibility of another interpretation of the *qaṣīda* “Birds’ Language” (منطق الطیر) which will be close to the general symbolic meaning of the Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār’s poem of the same name. While naturally there are differences in the distribution of the symbolic functions between separate characters, the idea of comprehension by the novice-birds of the highest law of the Divine unity lies at the basis of both works. *Khāqānī* directly points to the novice role of the arguing birds, calling them apprentices and distinguishing the nightingale compared to a school monitor. The nightingale is closer than the other birds to the divine mystery, as the love to the rose is an integral part of his character (compare with *Bulbul-nāme* by ‘Aṭṭār and with the chapter about *dhiḥkr* from Sanā’ī’s poem *Sanā’ī-nāme*). The correctness of the way to the Truth chosen by the nightingale is proved by the mythical bird ‘Anqā, who in *Khāqānī*’s *qaṣīda* obviously embodies the true teacher. The inner meaning of the “birds” allegory in the *qaṣīda* “Birds’ Language” can be proven at the level of the *Ṣūfī* lexical meaning of the word “rose” which is fixed in the “Mirrors of Lovers” (مرآة عشاق) published by E. É. Berthel’s:

“Rose. That what the result of cognition is called which comes to the perceiving one (*arīf*) at the expanse of his heart. [*Bayt*]: Spring came and each rose that was to blossom blossoms. The spring does not have the rose I’m looking for! It makes no sense!” [31].

The analysis of the allegorical *qaṣīdas* by Sanā’ī and *Khāqānī* reveals a number of important features of this genre form at the final stage of the canon formation. Having bypassed the stage of parallel development, two traditions of *qaṣīdas*’ writing — the court panegyric tradition and the mystical-didactic one — approach each other. Gradual penetration of the philosophical-religious theme into the works of professional poets patronised by secular figures from the ruling class led to the appearance of stylistically decorated and terminologically detailed allegorical descriptions in *qaṣīdas* which corresponded to the literary taste of

the 12th century. The oldest fund of the spring calendar topic was used by the 12th century poets not only for masterly poetic play according to the complicating rules. They suggested this extremely developed figurative-thematic system as a basis for a specific artistic method of cognition and reflection of the universal laws of being. Placing the *qaṣīda* in the sphere of mystical experiences, which at the early stage promoted significant simplification of its style (Anṣārī, Nāṣir-i Khusraw), at the stage of the canon's maturity on the contrary led to its semantic and figurative complication. The exclusion of the author's explanations from the text that refer to its hidden symbolic meanings was reflected in the way a poetic work was perceived. The presence of stable Ṣūfī connotations for many images and motives of the traditional lyrical repertory gives the possibility of multi-step interpretation of the *qaṣīda*, of the gradual removal of lexical shells from its inmost semantic kernel. Different from the small (*ghazal*, *rubā'ī*) and large (*mathnawī*) poetic forms, the conditions of formation of the *qaṣīdas*' symbolic language were reflected in its results. Equal possibilities of distribution of symbolic meanings among the *bayts* and larger text segments responsible for realisation of the so-called "big *ma'nā*" created the foundation for co-existence of different types of symbols in the *qaṣīda*. An independent Ṣūfī comment to each separate *bayt* which was often based on the references to the Qur'ān contained in it did not exclude a unified interpretation of the allegorical picture which encompassed one of the independent parts of a *qaṣīda*, for example the descriptive or the narrative part of the introduction. Probably, the general interpretation of the text (analogues to that suggested by Nāṣir-i Khusraw in his *qaṣīdas*) and the detailed symbolic interpretation of each *bayt* initially were different levels of getting into its inner, spiritual meaning.

With the development of Persian mono-rhyme poetry expressed in the growing independence of each *bayt*, preference was naturally given to scrupulous development of

the symbolic implication enclosed in a *bayt*. 12th century *qaṣīda* which developed in the conditions of transition from the Khurāsān style to the 'Irāqī one was a cockpit of the two tendencies: the old narrative constructions which were in a certain proportion with the descriptions for some time held the *qaṣīda* within the old models, however the growing independence of a *bayt* gradually changed the concept of harmony and symmetry of the *qaṣīda* form. The process of the so-called semantic disintegration of *bayts* [32] was not at all the disintegration of its inner unity in the *qaṣīda* as well as in the *ghazal*. The formation of the associative ways of the connection between *bayts* was a consequence of the natural development of the poetic tradition in the Persian language, a full realisation of the inner resources of the existing canon. Numerous reviews of the stereotypical motives and etiquette situations which took place throughout the history of the *qaṣīda* and which were the result of the introduction of the big and small traditional units of the poetic meaning into the new genre contexts created "concentric circles" around each such unit, which produces the effect of the complicating semantic pattern of the text, the nonlinearity of its plot lines.

The logic of the development of a poetic canon determined by the inner laws of its functioning, forms the character of influence of non-literary factors on the stylistic evolution of the traditional poetry. The influence of the esoteric theories on the Persian poetry of the 11th—12th centuries was expressed in the change of the system of concepts about the purpose and the aesthetic value of the poetic word and was a powerful catalyst of the raise of text suggestiveness. Now, perception of poetry required from the reader (listener) not only entering the sphere of "cultural experiences" of the normative poetic theme, but also a creative effort, the eagerness to see signs of the highest spiritual reality behind concrete individual-author's meanings of a poetic text.

Notes

1. Among the canonical motives of the Classical Iranian music which roots in the traditions of the pre-Islamic times, melodies with "birds" names can be found, for example: "Lark" (چکک and چکوک), "Red partridge" (کبک دری) which were mentioned by the poets of the classical time in their works (10th—15th centuries).

2. A. Rudakī, *Stikhi* (Poems), comp., transl., comm. and author of the introduction L. I. Braginskaja (Dūshanbe, 1987), p. 9.

3. Manūchihri Dāmghānī, *Dīwān-i Manūchihri Dāmghānī* (Tehrān, 1356/1977), pp. 108—9.

4. For example, see: E. Ė. Berthel's, *Izbrannye trudy: Navoi i Jami* (Selected Works: Nawā'ī and Jāmī) (Moscow, 1965), pp. 377—420; V. E. Krymskiĭ, *Nizami i ego sovremenniki* (Nizāmī and His Contemporaries) (Baku, 1981), pp. 237—42.

5. See: Berthel's, *Izbrannye trudy: Istorīia persidsko-tajikskoi literatury* (Selected Works: the History of Persian-Tajik Literature) (Moscow, 1960), pp. 439—40.

6. See: *Idem*, *Izbrannye trudy: Sufizm i Sufiiskaia literatura* (Selected Works: Sūfizm and Ṣūfī literature) (Moscow, 1965), p. 280.

7. See: Sh. Shukurov, *Iskusstvo srednevekovogo Irana: formirovanie printsipov izobrazitel'nosti* (The Art of the Medieval Iran: Formation of Descriptive Principles) (Moscow, 1989), pp. 160—1; *idem*, "'Okhota za smyslom' v iskusstve Irana" ("Hunting for Meaning" in the Art of Iran"), *Sad odnogo tsvetka: Stat'i i esse* (Moscow, 1991), pp. 103—8; *idem*, "O ponyatii 'ptitsa' v iskusstve Irana" ("About the concept of 'bird' in the art of Iran"), *Vzaimodeistvie kul'tur Vostoka i Zapada II* (Moscow, 1991); A. E. Berthel's, *Khudozhestvennyi obraz v iskusstve Irana IX—XV vv. (Slovo, izobrazhenie)* (Artistic Image in the Art of Iran of the 9th—15th Centuries (The Word and the Image)) (Moscow, 1997).

8. 34:10. Translation by A. J. Arberry.

9. Translated from: V. A. Zhukovskii, "Pesni Kheratskogo startsa" ("Songs of the Harāt elder"), *Vostochnye zametki* (St. Petersburg, 1895), p. 102.

10. The name of the *qaṣīda* (تسبیح طيور) in accordance with the Qur'ānic context must be translated as "Birds' Praise [to God]" as the word تسبیح literary means "glorifying in prayer". However, taking into account the meaning of the *qaṣīda*, we have turned to a less literate interpretation of the Arabic name and translated it as "Birds' Prayer". We must also take into account the fact that another meaning of the

word تسبیح may have been implied, which is "beads". Sanā'ī's intention implies the idea of threading of glorifications to God on behalf of different birds like beads are threaded in a rosary. The same image can be interpreted as counting beads during a prayer.

11. Majdūd b. Ādam Sanā'ī *Ghaznawī, Dīwān-i Hakīm Abū al-Majd Majdūd b. Ādam Sanā'ī Ghaznawī* (Tehrān, 1341/1962), p. 29.

12. See: A. Biruni, "Pamiatniki minuvshikh pokoleniĭ" ("Monuments of the past generations"), *Abureihan Biruni. Izbrannye proizvedeniia* (Tāshkent, 1957), i, p. 224.

13. Shukurov, "'Okhota za smyslom', pp. 97—8. The number of works dedicated to the fundamental role of the metaphor of garden in Muslim culture proves to the importance of this topic in the classical Persian literature (for example, see: J. S. Meisami, "Allegorical gardens in the Persian poetic tradition: Nizami. Rumi. Hafiz", *International Journal of Middle East Studies* XVII/2 (1985), pp. 229—60; A. Shimmel, *A Two-Coloured Brocade: The Imagery of Persian Poetry* (The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pp. 161—77; I. I. Prigarina, "Sady persidskoĭ poētiki" ("The gardens of the Persian poetics"), *Ėstetika bytiia i estetika teksta v kul'ture srednevekovogo Vostoka* (Moscow, 1995).

14. Bābā Kūhī, *Dīwān-i shaykh 'Alī mashhur be Bābā Kūhī* (Shīrāz, 1332/1953), p. 97.

15. Sanā'ī, *op. cit.*, pp. 30—2.

16. In the quoted chapter of *Sanā'ī-nāme* about *dhikr*, apart from the nightingale, the parrot (طوطی), the turtle-dove (قمری) and the cuckoo (فاخته) are mentioned.

17. Sanā'ī, *Mathnawīhā-yi Hakīm Sanā'ī* (Tehrān, 1348/1970), p. 71.

18. 27:15—6.

19. Quoted from: A. V. Smirnov, *Velikiĭ sheikh Sufizma: opyt paradigmal'nogo analiza filosofii Ibn Arabi* (The Great Ṣūfī *Shaykh*: an Experience of the Paradigm Philosophy of Ibn 'Arabī') (Moscow, 1993), pp. 227—8.

20. See: Berthel's, *Izbrannye trudy: Istorīia persidsko-tajikskoi literatury*, p. 63.

21. *Idem*, *Izbrannye trudy: Sufizm i Sufiiskaia literatura*, p. 283.

22. E. Ė. Berthel's mentioned 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī's (d. 1021/2) commentary to the Qur'ān in connection with the symbolic interpretation of birds' images. *Āya* 262 from the second *sūra* "The Cow" says:

"And when Abraham said, 'My Lord, show me how Thou wilt give life to the dead', He said, 'Why, dost thou not believe?', 'Yes', he said, 'but that my heart may be at rest'. Said He, 'Take four birds, and twist them to thee, then set a part of them on every hill, then summon them, and they will come to thee running. And do thou know that God is All-Mighty, All-Wise'".

Al-Sulamī gives the following comment to this *āya*:

"They say that the birds were the peacock, the duck, the crow and the rooster. The meaning of that is that the peacock of all birds looks more like the decoration of this world, the crow is the greediest of all birds, the duck is the most insatiable when looking for food and the rooster is the most lustful. He (Allah) says: 'Turn your eyes away from the decorations of this world and showing them off, and away from greed when searching for your share, and from satisfying your lust so that you reach perfection in belief. And when you free your soul from these features, you will embellish it with my attribute on the day of Resurrection of the dead!'"

(Quoted from Berthel's, *Izbrannye trudy: Navoi i Jami*, p. 76). The hoopoe, according to the legend, was the messenger of King Solomon to the Queen of Sheba. The motive of the hoopoe-messenger was adopted by the Muslim tradition, including the poetic one. It is such interpretation that we find in Ḥāfiz' *ghazal* which begins with the following words: "Oh, the hoopoe of the morning breeze, I'm sending you to Sheba... (Hafiz, p. 97). This *bayt* of Ḥāfiz's *ghazal* refers the listener to the corresponding *āya* of the Qur'ān (34:11) which says: "And to Solomon the wind; its morning course was a month's journey, and its evening course was a month's journey".

23. Nakhshab is the name of a place near Samarqand famous for its well from which, according to the legend, the lying prophet Ibn Muqanna' brought out the moon.

24. Afḍal al-Dīn Badīl b. 'Alī Khāqānī, *Dīwān-i Hassān al-'Ajam Afḍal al-Dīn Badīl b. 'Alī Khāqānī Shīrwānī* (Tehrān, 1326/1957), pp. 37—8.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 39—40.

27. In the glorification of the Prophet Khāqānī mentions two *laqabs* of Muḥammad, one of which, the Truthful Simpleton (عمی صادق) has an exact Qur'ānic reference:

"Believe then in God, and in His Messenger, the Prophet of the common folk (عمی), who believes in God and His words, and follow him; haply so you will be guided" (7:158).

In the same *laqab* the verity of Muḥammad's prophetic mission is stressed. It says that "not before this didst thou recite any Book, or inscribe it with thy right hand" (29:47), i. e. was an *'ummī* — a man who belongs to the people who had before that received the scripture (see: *Khrestomatiia po Islamu* (Text-book of Islam), transl. from the Arabic language, introduction and comments (Moscow, 1994), p. 41).

28. Khāqānī, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

29. Quoted from Smirnov, *Velikiĭ sheikh Sufizma*, p. 226.

30. Quoted from *ibid.*, p. 228.

31. Berthel's, *Izbrannye trudy: Sufizm i Sufiiskaia literatura*, p. 169.

32. About this see: J. Rypka, *Istorīia persidskoĭ i tajikskoi literatury* (The History of Persian and Tajik Literature) (Moscow, 1970), pp. 262—3; A. B. Kudelin, *Klassicheskaia arabo-ispanskaia poēziia (konets X—seredina XII v.)* (Classical Arabic-Spanish Poetry (End of the 10th—Middle of the 12th Century)) (Moscow, 1973), pp. 84—105.

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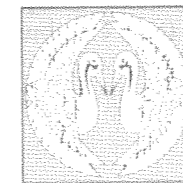
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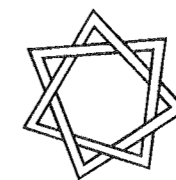
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Plate 1. *State Emblem of the Russian Empire.* Paper, silk, embroidery, wood (64.5 × 107 cm), Japan, 1891. Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences (MAE RAS). Collection of Nicholas II. Shelf-mark 312-63. Courtesy of the Museum.

Back cover:

Plate 2. *Birds.* Chinese watercolour on pith (37 × 25 cm), second half of the 19th century. MAE RAS, Collection of Nicholas II. Shelf-mark 311-1/12 (4). Courtesy of the Museum.

Plate 3. *Ships.* Chinese watercolour on pith (37 × 25 cm), second half of the 19th century, MAE RAS, Collection of Nicholas II. Shelf-mark 311-1/12 (12). Courtesy of the Museum.



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