

Fig. 1

Illustrations

Front cover:

Plate 1. Qur'an. 47×33 cm. Probably Shām, ca. 648—700 / 1250—1300. London, Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, fol. 30v. Courtesy of Sam Fogg.

Inside the text:

Fig. 1. The same MS, fols. 4r—5b, 80:1—34.

TEXT AND ITS CULTURAL INTERPRETATION

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THE LIFE OF THE TEXT AND THE FATE OF TRADITION. VIII: CRITERIA OF LANGUAGE NORM IN THE ASSESSMENT OF MASTERS OF PERSIAN *GHAZAL* OF THE 11TH — EARLY 18TH CENTURIES

The study of a literary language of a former era can be conducted in several directions. As this involves linguistic facts of a certain era recorded in written monuments, it is possible to make a linguistic description of the information contained in them. A traditional philological and purely literary description of the same body of written texts will also be just as appropriate. In our case, the object of research is poetic texts in New Persian (*darī*, *fārsī-ye darī*), which began to form as a united literary language in the 9th—10th centuries, and the area of research can be characterized as philological in the wide sense of this word.

The process of the formation of New Persian as a language of refined literature has been studied in Iranian studies at all stages of its development, and so we can limit ourselves to references to authoritative studies of previous decades [1]. The task of the present work is much more modest and narrow: to trace the evolution of ideas about a normative (standard, modern) language in one of the most productive forms of Persian classical lyric — *ghazal* — on the material of statements by the masters of *ghazal* of the 11th—17th centuries themselves.

Any poetic tradition developing within a traditional type of artistic conscious forms a list of rules for dealing with language, which is a general guide for everyone who writes in the literary language. This kind of precept exists in the form of theoretical works addressed to the participants of the literary process and directed towards developing skills of poetical “development” of a common language. Besides theoretical and literary-critical means of reflecting ideas about the norm of the poetic language, the opinions of the poets themselves are strengthened in the tradition, as they express directly in the work with the use of figurative speech. We will restrict our investigations in this direction to *ghazal*, in which the corresponding motifs have quite strict localization and can be easily singled out in the text.

In the Persian classical *ghazal*, starting from the 11th century, the circle of motifs for describing modern poetic creation gradually forms. By the 13th century, the motifs of authorial self-awareness are fully established in the canon of *ghazal* and occupy a certain position in its structure, as they are connected with the signature of the poet (*takhallus*), which traditionally marks the end of each poem of this form. Genetically in the *ghazal* these motifs, which are one of the components of the self-praise of the poet (*fakhr*) and grouped around the author's “signature”, come from the corresponding motifs of the panegyric *qaṣīda*, where they frequently overshadowed the request for reward for the poems, which was masterfully inserted into the text. The adaptation of motifs of self-praise to the standard structure of the *ghazal*, which was originally a form of love lyric and retained love themes for centuries, required their transformation in accordance with the new thematic and stylistic environment.

In court poetic culture, the *ghazal* was primarily a genre designed to delight, and so in the poetry itself and the theoretical judgements of *ghazal*, it is ascribed qualities which enable a harmonisation of human nature. The renowned poetry theorist of the 13th century Shams-i Qays al-Rāzī writes:

“As the aim of *ghazal* is to calm the thoughts and delight the soul, it should be supported by a pleasant, euphonious metre, sweet smooth words and transparent settled meanings. When composing it, one should avoid ugly words and discordant sounds” [2].

The performance of *ghazals* to the accompaniment of musical instruments, among which poets mention the *barbat*, *chang*, *rubāb*, *ṭanbūr*, *ūd* and others, was a stable tradition throughout the classical Middle Ages. This practice was also one of the reasons for a demand in musicality and smoothness in the poetic language of the

ghazal, and accordingly the condemnation of discordant words, excessively difficult poetic metres, etc.

As the *ghazal* crystallized as a special poetic form in the 11th—13th centuries, these written and unwritten rules made a group of poetic formulae, characterizing its style as sweet, which fully matched the prevailing literary tastes of the classical era. A comparison of poetic language with sugar, honey, halvah, dates, sweets, etc. served as the basis for an enormous number of realization of the motif of “sweet style”. A record number of variations on this can be found in the *ghazals* of Sa’dī (between 1148 and 1190—1292), of which we will give just one:

All goods are brought from a [certain] place:
sugar from Egypt, and [the poems of] Sa’dī from *Shīrāz* [3].

In the *ghazal*, a stable characteristic of the poet is developed, who is compared to a parrot. In Persian poetry, this bird is ascribed two qualities — eloquence and love of sweet things. Sa’dī completes his *ghazal* with the following lines:

There is no city where sugar like you can be found,
to make parrots talk like Sa’dī [4].

Frequently, the nature of poetic language is determined by details of the description of the canonical portrait of the loved one. The sweetness of the verse is determined by the fact that it gives a description of the sweet lips of a beauty, metrical symmetry and harmony with the description of a slim figure, and the correctness of explanation of its straightness, source of exquisiteness and precision of poetical wit serves the slim waist of a beauty, etc. Thus, the qualities of ideal poetry are directly linked to the qualities of the ideal beloved, who also has the gift of eloquence:

Ḥāfīz was taught subtleties in composing *ghazals*
by an eloquent lady friend, with an incomparable manner
of speech [5].

This is undoubtedly one of the types of adaptation of motifs of self-praise by the poet to the canonical vocabulary of the love *ghazal*.

The song nature of the *ghazal* finds a direct reflection in the stable nature of its poetic language. The sound of the verse is compared with a melody performed on one musical instrument or another, the singing of birds, especially the nightingale (but also with the cooing of doves or the voice of the cuckoo), or the babbling of flowing water. In this group of “sound” motifs, the most commonly used metaphor of the poet is the nightingale. One of the earliest examples of the poet comparing bird-song with the *ghazal* is given by the mystic Anṣārī (1005—1088):

When Anṣārī composes verses, the *ṣūfī* brotherhood is happy;
what a beautiful bird is Anṣārī, who produces [the melody
of] *gulzār* for the *darwīshes* [6].

The word *gulzār* has the direct lexical meaning “flowerbed”, “meadow covered in flowers”, and is the name of one of the oldest Iranian melodies. If one translates the word literally, the second hemistich could be translated:

What a beautiful bird is Anṣārī, who has come into the
flowerbed of the *darwīshes*.

In any case, the poet is compared with a nightingale, and the verses with its trills. If one accepts that the word *gulzār* serves as the name of the melody, then its sound is compared with the song of the nightingale, for the writer is a “beautiful bird”. At an early stage of development of the poetic tradition in New Persian, in the description of spring in panegyric *qaṣīdas* which were used as congratulations for the New Year, Nawrūz, the motif of birds singing old songs composed by court singers during the rule of the Sāsānid dynasty (224—651) was present [7]. Subsequently, this motif, which lost the detail which it had in the *qaṣīda* (a list of birds, melodies, names of singers, names of musical instruments) continued to exist “in compressed form” in the *ghazal*.

Another significant characteristic of ideal, poetic language in the *ghazal* is its comparison with flowing water (variant: with living water found by the mythological *Khizr* [8]). Here is a typical example from a *ghazal* by Sa’dī.

His [Sa’dī’s — *M. R.*] poems, like water, poured out everywhere in the world
as boats from Fārs sail to *Khurāsān* [9].

In the *maqta’*, i. e. the concluding verse, a motif is used based on the two meanings of the word *saḥība* (1: boat; 2: collection of poems). Similar motifs of the “flowing” of perfect poems are seen in abundance at the ends of *ghazals* by Ḥāfīz. For example, he writes:

Ḥāfīz, it is unworthy to complain of the whims of fate:
a talent like [transparent] water, and flowing *ghazals* are
enough for us [10].

Or:

The veil of darkness covered the water of *Khizr* [i. e. the
water of life]
because it was put to shame by the talent of Ḥāfīz and his
poems like the water [of life] [11].

The examples above give an idea of the criteria for the assessment of the qualities of perfect poetic language, which for the period of the 11th—14th centuries is primarily in the sound of the verse. Concepts of melody and musicality which are comparable with images of bird songs, the sound of playing musical instruments or the babbling of flowing water, above all characterize the phonetic layout of the poetic work. This quality of poetic language, along with its smoothness and ease in pronunciation, was given the word *rawān* by the Persians (lit.: “flowing” [of water], “clear”, “expressive” [of speech]). The concept *rawān* is also used in theory: as one of the

qualities of exemplary poetry it is part of the explanation of the term *salasat*, which was given in the 12th century by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt:

“*Salasat* means to humble oneself and obey, and poets call verses *salis* when the verses are smooth (*rawān*) and natural (*matbū*)” [12].

Commenting on the statements on genuine, good poetry by another authoritative medieval philologist, Shams-i Qays al-Rāzī, N. Iu. Chalisova writes:

“Verses become good in intention and spirit when the verbal form in them is determined as ‘*azb* — ‘pleasant’ (in the first meaning this means ‘fresh, flowing water that is pleasant to the taste’, ‘food or drink which easily passes the throat’). *Lafz* in the Arabic philological tradition is thought of as a spoken sound complex, so the characteristics are connected with ‘the feelings in the mouth’ — when declaiming good verses, a person’s throat does not become tense, and there is a pleasant feeling in the mouth, as from fresh water. Flowing water (fresh water is always water that comes from a spring) occupies a high position in the system of values of Iranian (and more widely Middle East) culture, and this is one of the main joys given to people in their earthly lives” [13].

However, the classification of poetic language in the *ghazal* as “streaming”, or in other words “flowing” (*rawān*), can also be applied to its meaning. When applied to language, the word *rawān* can also mean “smooth”, “fluent”, “clear”, “understandable”, “expressive”. If we look at the statement by Shams-i Qays on the nature of the *ghazal* cited above, then besides “sweet flowing words”, the theoretician recommends the use of “transparent, established meanings” and the avoidance of “ugly words and discordant expressions”. The requirement of “smoothness” of speech may, in our opinion, not just apply to phonetics, but also in the choice of vocabulary, i. e. poetic stylistics.

The division of poetic genres into high, middle and low, which gives rise to an according division of the vocabulary of the natural language in literary texts, was at the basis of the requirement of stylistic unity of the vocabulary of each genre, which is fundamental for any classical tradition. Breaking stylistic harmony in traditional Persian poetry of the 12th—15th centuries was seen as a violation of the norm, a defect in the poem. This is what Shams-i Qays al-Rāzī writes, describing one of the types of “deviation from the correct path in poetry”:

“It involves the use of ugly word combinations (*tarkībāt*) and trite (*bārid*) metaphors, and unpleasant arrangement of prepositions and postpositions, and weak meanings” [14].

To illustrate this, the theoretician gives the following example:

Can there be a barn [of grain] without hungry birds?
We are the hungry birds, and you are the barn.

The quotation is commented on as follows:

“The words ‘you are the barn’ are, in their meaning and their verbal form, a bad metaphor for the person who is being praised and a disgusting combination of words” [15].

It is clear that Shams-i Qays is not happy with the word which does not suit the high style of eulogy (*madh*) and goes against the norm of word usage in a panegyric. The same paragraph of the tract contains a number of similar examples which make it possible to talk of an orientation of the language norm in poetry towards a stylistic uniformity of the text.

Another characteristic of perfect poetic language, in the opinion of both poets and theoreticians, is its metrical correctness, symmetry and balance. The term *mawzūn*, which has the meaning of “measured” in theoretical tracts and is used in classifications of poetic language to distinguish it from prosaic language, can be interpreted in two different ways in the figurative language of the *ghazal*, just like the term *rawān*. In the first sense, it undoubtedly repeats the meaning of the tract concept, but besides this it may also mean poetic harmony as an aesthetic category, which approximately matches the concept of literary taste. Let us examine the concluding *bayt* of a *ghazal* by ‘Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī (1414—1492):

The statements of Jāmī are balanced (*sanjīde*) on the scales of elegance.

If an envious person reproaches them, it is because of a lack of harmony in his nature [16].

The poet insists on the “balance” of poetry, i. e. its correctness from the viewpoint of a standard definition of poetic language as

“well-ordered, conveying meaning, measured, repeating, equal, with final *harfs* [17] which are similar to each other [i. e. rhymed — *M. R.*]” [18].

However, judging the nature of the envious person, the poet calls him *nāmawzūn*, i. e. inharmonious, discordant. Thus, Jāmī gives a broad interpretation of the theme, classifying it as a poetic meaning, as the envious person, evidently, is unable to understand not only beauty and smoothness of poetic metre, but also meaningful harmony of poetry. The same can be said of the word “balanced” (*sanjīde*), which the poet applies in self-praise. This definition can apply to the phonetic and the meaning aspect of the poem and not only corresponds to the idea of the correctness of its rhythmic structure, but also to the observance of correspondences in poetic meanings. Here is another example from a *ghazal* by Jāmī:

Thanks to the description of your figure, the speech of Jāmī was symmetrical on the scales of reason [19].

Judging by the words “on the scales of reason”, the poet is not discussing the metre, but the meaning component of the poem. In connection with this, we give N. Iu. Chalisova’s judgement on one of the dominant features of Persian-language poetry:

"The problem of parallelism, and correspondence (*tanāsūb*) and harmony concerns Shams-i Qays throughout the tract. The need for constant concern about the symmetry of 'everything with everything' is stressed at each level of examination of the *bayt*... Summing up the judgement of what good poetry is, Shams-i Qays says:

'In all circumstances, mutual agreement is required between *bayts* and the hemistiches [of the *bayt*] and also between meanings (*ma'nā*) and their verbal shell' [20].

The idea of correspondences meets the idea about the meaning and stylistic correctness of the poetic text, which is shown by the statement of poets. Ḥāfiz, for example, talks of his poem as something "corrected":

And it is not forgotten that with your corrections, all the imperforated pearls that Ḥāfiz had become correctly threaded [21].

The correctness, in its turn, is directly linked with "directness" and "truthfulness", as the word "correct", "truthful" and "direct" in Persian is indicated with the same lexeme, *rāst* [22]. In the *ghazal* of Jāmī we read:

Since in poetry, oh Jāmī, it is impossible to avoid lies [23], let our lying speeches win out from a description [of beauties] with a straight figure [24].

Let us sum up the above: the characteristics of "sweet" style of classical Persian poetry, as it is presented in the sayings of poets, mainly includes qualities connected with its sound and "taste", which fully corresponds to theoretical ideas reflected in authoritative treatises of the 12th—15th centuries, such as "The Gardens of Magic in the Subtleties of Poetry" by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt, "List of Rules of Persian Poetry" by Shams-i Qays al-Rāzī and a number of others.

The criteria of "sweet style" predominate until the 15th century inclusive, and its stable characteristics are duplicated in the work of the last representative of the "Golden Age" of Persian literature, 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī. However, it is with the "last classic" that the consolidation of stylistic assessments of the ideal *ghazal* gives way to a certain transitional state, in which old and new types of description of beauty of poetic exposition are present. The word *rangīn* ("colourful", "flowery") as a description of poetic language is encountered for the first time in the *dīwān* of Khāqānī (1126—1199), where it was the only author's epithet, and with slight ironic overtones:

O Khāqānī! Abandon your flowery speech for these searches for nuances do not touch her [25].

After Khāqānī, in the 13th—14th centuries, the motif of "colour" of poetic language in the signature *bayts* of *ghazals* is only used in a few cases (it is encountered once in Amīr Khusrāw Dihlawī and one in Ḥāfiz [26]). Only Jāmī uses it commonly, although its frequency in the three *dīwāns* of the poet gives way to the canonical

variants of the motif of "sweet style". Nevertheless, unlike Khāqānī, Amīr Khusrāw and Ḥāfiz, for Jāmī this is not an isolated motif, but a repeating one, which shows the development of a certain stylistic tendency in his work. Harmony, "smoothness" (*rawānī*), and a stylistic unity of poetic vocabulary, which is an indispensable condition in writing an exemplary *ghazal*, evidently already begins to seem inexpressive and insipid in the era of Jāmī. Poets increasingly look for objects of poetisation outside the limits of the established canonical zone — in the terminology of trades, spoken vocabulary, foreign borrowings, etc. The impermeability of the classical language of poetry, which is strictly divided into genres, is gradually erased. A formation of a new style begins, which is called "Indian" in Iranian studies and distinguished from the earlier "Khurasān" (9th—12th centuries) and "Irāqī" styles (13th—15th centuries). This stylistic gradation of traditional Persian literature was proposed in the early 20th century by Iranian poet and philologist Muḥammad Taqī (*Malik al-shu'arā*) Bahār (1885—1951).

The key characteristic of the new style in the *ghazal* is the word *rangīn*. While in the descriptions of the "sweet style", there was a predominance of "sound" and "taste" images (more rarely "olfactory" — the aroma of aloe, musk and other fragrances), in the characteristics of the "colourful style" a preference is given to visual images. For a description of perfect poetic language, poets in the "Indian style" choose epithets, comparisons and metaphors which are designed primarily to create an effect of visual perception. They compare poetic works with a blossoming garden, a naked beauty, festive illumination, a fountain, and images are used from calligraphy, painting, and manuscript book design. However, this does not at all mean that the previous means of describing perfect poetic language which were inherited from the classical period completely go out of usage and die out. For many poets of the "Indian style" they continue to exist with new descriptions of ideal poetry, coming together in a common literary space. As the stylistic evolution of traditional poetry in Persian takes place within a common literary canon, individual elements of the whole system do not use relevance throughout the entire lengthy period of its existence, although they change their position in it, moving to peripheral positions and giving way to others. The preservation of earlier layers of the common fund of poetic vocabulary in the conditions of the formation of a new style, naturally involves a reconsideration of individual elements of a figurative system, and their adaptation to the forming stylistic norm. Thus, the traditional comparison of poetic language with the song of a nightingale gains specific development among representatives of the Indian style in ideas about "artistic words". Šā'ib Tabrīzī (1601—1667), for example, says that the beak of the nightingale "is coloured with the blood of songs" [27]. In another poem, Šā'ib talks about the "flame of song":

As soon as the scratch of Šā'ib's quill grew louder the flame of nightingale trills went out [28].

Shawkat Bukhārī (d. 1695), describes the process of hearing poems with the use of visual images — "On the ear of the rose the mark from the lightning of hearing remained" [29]. In another *ghazal*, Shawkat combines auditory and visual perception of poems in one image:

Heed, Shawkat, the colourful thoughts of my musk quill, for the blood of [the song of] the nightingale flows from the artery of the beak of my crow [30].

The aspiration to differ from predecessors in assessing the quality of ideal poetry leads authors of the 16th—17th centuries to an adversative interpretation of familiar motifs. The idea of euphony stops being the main sign of perfection in the *ghazal*, and poets begin to prefer the scrape of the reed quill (*qalam*) on paper to the trill of the nightingale or the sound of strings (see the previous example from the *ghazal* by Shawkat). This image is used for the first time by Jāmī:

If the scrape of Jāmī's quill reaches heaven Nāhīd [31] will break her *chang* on the ground from envy [32].

The traditional comparison of the quill dipped in ink with a raven (see the example from the *ghazal* by Shawkat Bukhārī) gains numerous variations in poetry of the Indian style. The cawing of crows becomes the trill of the nightingale, if this raven is a *qalam* in the hand of a poet. At the same time, it should be remembered that in the classical *ghazal* a crow can be considered a constant antagonist of the nightingale: in seasonal lyrics, the nightingale symbolizes spring, while the raven (or crow) symbolizes autumn; in love lyrics, the nightingale is a symbol of the beloved, while the raven is a symbol of sadness and separation. With the new stylistic trends, the image, previously surrounded with clearly negative associations, gains the opposite meaning. In its turn, the elements of the traditional system of describing poetry in the *ghazal*, which involved a "visual" effect (a quill as a rain cloud, poetry as a flourishing garden, the poet as the *mashshāte*, i. e. the master of adorning the girl before the wedding, poetry as the dressed-up bride; the poet as the jeweller, his work as exquisitely made items of his craft) gains in the period of the formation of the Indian style a stimulus for further development, for it matches the dominant idea of the beauty of poetry. However, the most consistent expression of the idea of achieving a visual effect in literary art is the comparison of the poem with drawing, which is characteristic, for example, of the great Persian language poet of India, Mirzā Bīdil (1644—1721):

A congealed [i. e. established — *M. R.*] meaning, Bīdil, may be clarified if the literary form of [its] breakers is written with the paint of the wave [33].

The literary form, in Bīdil's opinion, clarifies the poetic idea of the author, not simply corresponding to it, but depicting its flow, "drawing" its movement.

The fundamental orientation of adherents of the new style towards looking for new items of poeticisation and forms of expressiveness in poetry ultimately lead to a removal of strict requirements for observing stylistic harmony, and developing new criteria of correspondence and symmetry. Sophistication (*pīchīdegī*), exquisiteness (*bārīkī*), and unusualness (*gharībī*, *bīgānegī*), is from now on valued much more highly than euphony and smoothness. Šā'ib expressed this idea as follows:

If you are captured by a desire to hunt for meaning your lasso in the hand must weave and twist [34].

The lasso in this poem symbolizes a word (*lafz*), in which a poetic thought (*ma'nā*) must be embodied, represented to the poet as complex and sophisticated (weaving and twisting — *pīch wa tāb*).

Poets of the 16th—17th centuries find particular charm in poetry in the play of imagination, in bringing images together which are distant both in meaning and style in complete poetic motifs. This attitude which is common for the majority of poets was clearly expressed in a poem by one of the recognised masters of the Indian style, Shawkat Bukhārī:

From the thought of the distant [lover] my fantasies become wanderers [strange, fanciful, surprising — *gharīb*] — between the meaning and expression lay thousands of *farsangs* [35].

The motif of the unusual and strange in poems, combined with the motif of wandering, first encountered in Jāmī, embodies the idea of the distance between the poetic meaning (*ma'nā*) and the expression of it by the word (*lafz*). The feeling of this distance which is overcome in the poem is expressed in Shawkat by the measurement of *farsang*, which is equivalent to 6—7 km.

The motif of the alien, unknown and unusual in a number of cases is expressed directly through the concept of something foreign, particularly European. The comparison of writing poetry with painting, for example, gave rise to the image of poetry as a "European house", represented by decorated pictures. In Shawkat, we read:

Since I turned bloody tears into writing the *dīwān* of my verses has begun to resemble a European house because of the colourful fantasies [36].

These examples show that the concept of a linguistic norm in the framework of a common poetic canon may change in the process of stylistic evolution. Elements of authorial self-awareness, even with a lack of changes in traditional theory, may serve as the expression of a common opinion among participants of the literary process as to the criteria of singling out ideal images of poetic language for each period.

The scheme proposed by Bahār and accepted by leading Iranian, European and Russian scholars on the stylistic evolution of Persian poetry, demonstrating a change of three styles — Khurasānī, 'Irāqī and Indian [37], can be qualified by a study of the motifs of authorial self-awareness in the *ghazal* of the 11th—early

18th centuries. The first two styles, despite the well-known differences, form an indisputable unity [38], based on the common criteria of assessment of perfect poetic language, and as a result makes up the "sweet" style, which we name following the participants of the literary process themselves. This style may also be called "nightingale", as the dominant metaphor of the poet writing perfect poems is the nightingale. Starting from the 15th century, new stylistic trends appear in poetry, along with assessments corresponding to them: the "sweet" style is replaced by "coloured", to which the epithet "pavonine" may also be applied, as the perfection of poetic expression is from now on not so much determined by the euphony of the nightingale trill, but by the brightness and colour of the peacock's feathers. As an illustration, we will give two variants of the same motif by poets of different periods. The great mystic and poet of the 13th century Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, best known as Mawlānā, concludes his *ghazal* with the following verse:

Be quiet, and in silence fall into contemplation,
for the nightingale fell into a net because it sang [39].

In reconsidered form, the same motif can be found in a *ghazal* by Mīrzā Bīdīl, which says:

The peacock always falls into a trap because of its ornamented feathers,
Bīdīl, it is not surprising if I end up in a cage because of my art [40].

Based on the description of ideal poetic language in the work by poets of two major periods of development of Persian poetry — the 11th—14th centuries and the 15th—17th centuries — one can reach a conclusion about the existence of two, not three styles in traditional Persian poetry. If one goes from common patterns of the formation of the so-called "styles of the era" in world literature or "great styles" (D. S. Likhachëv), then "sweet" and "colourful" styles accordingly show signs of "primary" and "secondary" styles. For primary styles, longer periods of development are characteristic, with a tendency for simplicity and verisimilitude, while secondary styles are shorter, and are more decorative, formalized and conventional [41].

Notes

1. See for example: I. M. Oranskiĭ, "Pis'mennost' i pis'mennaia literatura iranoiazychnykh narodov v novoiranskuiu iazykovuiu èpokhu (preimushchestvenno IX—XV vv.)" ("Writing and written literature of Iranian speaking peoples in the New Iranian linguistic era (primarily the 9th—15th centuries)", *Vvedenie v iranskuiu filologiu* (Moscow, 1988), pp. 242—90; G. Lazard, "The rise of the New Persian language", *The Cambridge History of Iran IV: From the Arab Invasion to Saljuqs*, ed. by R. N. Frye (Cambridge, 1975), pp. 595—633; B. Utas, "The aesthetic use of New Persian", *Edebiyat IX* (Princeton, 1998), pp. 1—16.
2. Shams-i Qays al-Rāzī, *Svod pravil persidskoĭ poëzii (Al-mu'jam fi ma'ayyir ash'ār al-'ajam). Chast' II: o nauke rifmy i kritike poëzii* (List of Rules of Persian Poetry. Part 2: on the Art of Rhyme and Criticism of Poetry), transl., research and commentary by N. Iu. Chalisova (Moscow, 1997), p. 288.
3. Sa'dī Shīrāzī, *Dīwān-i ghazaliyyāt*, published by Kh. Rahbar (Tehrān, 1996), p. 457, No. 311. Here and below all references to editions of poetic works by Persian authors are numbered according to the page number and *ghazal* number, if the texts of the *ghazals* are numbered.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 522, No. 356.
5. *Sharḥ-i ghazalhā-yi Hāfiz*, published by H.-A. Harawī (Tehrān, 1997), p. 180, No. 38.
6. V. A. Zhukovskii, "Pesni Geratskogo startsa" ("Songs of a Harāt elder"), *Vostochnye zametki* (St. Petersburg, 1895), p. 97.
7. M. Reisner, "The life of the text and the fate of tradition. III: Interpretation of pre-islamic calendar festivals in classical Persian poetry of the 10th—12th centuries (by the example of Nawrūz)", *Manuscripta Orientalia X/2* (2004), pp. 34—42.
8. *Khizr* (al-Khizr, al-Khaḍir) — a popular character in Muslim legends, who according to tradition looked for the source of the water of life. Qur'anic commentaries link his name with the story of Mūsā and categorise him as a wise companion of the prophet, called the "slave of Allāh" (18:60/59—63/62). As a mythological image, *Khizr* is linked with the idea of eternal life and renewal of the natural world (see: M. B. Piotrovskii, *Koranicheskie skazaniia* (Qur'anic Tales) (Moscow, 1991)). He is also portrayed as a traveller and protector of travellers.
9. Sa'dī Shīrāzī, *op. cit.*, p. 726, No. 496.
10. *Sharḥ-i ghazalhā-yi Hāfiz*, p. 1117, No. 264.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 1268, No. 302.
12. Rashīd al-Dīn Waḥwāt, *Sady volshebstva v tonkostiakh poëzii (Hadā'iq al-sihr fi daqā'iq al-shi'r)* (Gardens of Magic in the Subtleties of Poetry), transl., research and commentary by N. Iu. Chalisova (Moscow, 1985), p. 170.
13. Shams-i Qays al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, pp. 64—5.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 188.
15. *Ibid.*, p. 189.
16. 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, *Tri divana. Pervyi divan* (Three *Dīwāns*. First *Dīwān*), critical text and foreword by A. Afsakhzod (Moscow, 1978), p. 228.
17. In the foreword to the translation of the treatise by Shams-i Qays al-Rāzī "List of Rules of Persian Poetry", N. Iu. Chalisova characterizes *harf* as follows:

"The term *harf* (indicating the central concept of Arabic morphology and prosody, by means of which the structure of the word is described and modulated), brings together, according to D. V. Frolov, 'morphology, prosody and graphics in one'".

(Shams-i Qays al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, p. 48).

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 176—7.

19. 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, *Tri divana. Vtoroi i tretii divany* (Three *Dīwāns*. Second and Third *Dīwāns*), critical text and foreword by A. Afsakhzod (Moscow, 1980), p. 354.

20. Shams-i Qays al-Rāzī, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

21. *Sharḥ-i ghazalhā-yi Hāfiz*, p. 858, No. 200.

22. In the use of the word *rāst* in certain cases, an image of the sounds of poems may arise, as it served as the name of one of the classical modes of traditional Iranian music (*parda-yi rāst*).

23. On the perception of lies in poetic language, see, for example S. S. Averinstev, "Avtorstvo i avtoritet" ("Authorship and authority"), *Istoricheskaiia poëtika. Literaturnye èpokhi i tipy khudozhestvennogo soznaniia* (Moscow, 1994), pp. 118—9; N. P. Grintser, P. A. Grintser, *Stanovlenie literaturnoi teorii v Drevnei Gretsii i Indii* (Formation of the Literary Theory in Ancient Greece and India) (Moscow, 2000), pp. 323—63; A. B. Kudelin, "Araviiskaia slovesnost' VI—VIII vv.: opyt rassmotreniia v fol'klorno-mifologicheskome kontekste" ("Arabic literature of the 6th—8th centuries: attempt at an examination in a folklore and mythological context"), *Fol'klor i mifologiiia Vostoka v sravnitel'no-tipologicheskome osveshchenii* (Moscow, 1999), pp. 251—3.

24. 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, *Tri divana. Vtoroi i tretii divany*, p. 317.

25. *Khāqānī Shīrwānī, Dīwān*, published by M. J. Kazāzī (Tehrān, 1997), ii, p. 853.

26. Amīr *Khusraw* finds the following expression for this motif:

Khusraw drew hundreds of colours from heart wounds,
For your portrait was not on the end of *Shāpūr's* brush.

(Amīr *Khusraw* Dihlāwī, *Dīwān*, ed. by M. Darwīsh (Tehrān, 1965), p. 160, No. 467).

The poet compares himself with the legendary artist *Shāpūr*, who served under the Sāsānid king Varahrān V (421—438), famous in Persian classical poetry by the name of Bahrām Gūr. In Nizāmī's poems "Seven Beauties", *Shāpūr* draws the portrait of seven foreign princesses for Bahrām, who later become the king's wives. In *Hāfiz*, the colour in poetic imagination is the subject of censure from a rival (envious person):

You said: "Hāfiz, why do you need all these flowery fantasies (*rang wa khiyāl*)

Don't make a mistake, for we are a blank sheet.

(*Sharḥ-i ghazalhā-yi Hāfiz*, p. 1503, No. 361)

27. *Dīwān-i Šā'ib*, introduction by A. Firūzkūhī (Tehrān, 1966), p. 901, No. 2149.

28. *Ibid.*, p. 58, No. 131.

29. *Shawkatī Bukhārāī, Nūr-i asr*, foreword by A. Alimadonov, Ch. Dodashoev, A. Chonfido (Dushanbe, 1986), p. 83.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 274.

31. Nāhīd, and also Zuhra, is the name given in the Middle East to the planet Venus and its personification. The name Nāhīd is a new Iranian variant of the Avestan name Anāhitā and corresponds to the name of the ancient Iranian great goddess of fertility, Ardivisura Anāhitā. Traces of the ancient myth of Ardivisura Anāhitā connected with the two younger divinities Haurvatāt (the patron of water) and Ameretāt (the patron of plants) are found by specialists in the Qur'anic story about the fallen angels Hārūt and Mārūt who were seduced by an earth woman (2:102/96). Nāhīd or Zuhra was considered to be a heavenly singer and musician, and her constant attribute in poetry is the *chang* musical instrument, a form of harp.

32. 'Abd al-Rahmān Jāmī, *Tri divana. Vtoroi i tretii divany*, p. 107.

33. Bīdīl, *Kulliyāt*, published by A. Behdārwand, P. 'Abbāsī Dakanī (Tehrān, 1996), ii, p. 99.

34. *Dīwān-i Šā'ib*, p. 793, No. 1880

35. *Shawkatī Bukhārāī, op. cit.*, p. 129.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 61.

37. For a survey on this issue see: Z. N. Vorozheikina, *Isfakhanskaia shkola poëtov i literaturnaia zhizn' Irana v predmongol'skoe vremia. XII — nachalo XIII v.* (The Isfahān School of Poets and Literary Life of Irān in Pre-Mongolian Times from the 12th — Early 13th Centuries) (Moscow, 1984), pp. 240—4.

38. Bahār himself, as Z. N. Vorozheikina puts it "emphasized that it was incorrect to set the 'Irāqi style off against the *Khurāsān* style" (Vorozheikina, *op. cit.*, p. 243).

39. Mawlānā Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad Balkhī (Mawlāwī), *Kulliyāt-i dīwān-i Shams-i Tabrīzī*, published by A. Kāseb (Tehrān, 1996), p. 273, No. 690.

40. Bīdīl, *op. cit.*, p. 597.

41. D. S. Likhachëv, *Razvitie russkoĭ literatury X—XVII vv. Èpokhi i stili* (Development of Russian Literature in the 10th—17th Centuries. Eras and Styles) (Moscow, 1973), pp. 172—83.

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Front cover:

Plate 1. Qur'ān. 47×33 cm. Probably *Shām*, ca. 648—700 / 1250—1300. London, Sam Fogg Rare Books and Manuscripts, fol. 30v. Courtesy of Sam Fogg.

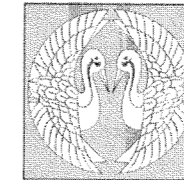
Back cover:

Plate 2. "St. Paul and St. Timothy", miniature from the "Pauline Epistles". Parchment, 270×190 mm, 226 f. *Sha'ban* AH 278 / November AD 892. Collection of K. Tischendorf, 1858—1859. NLR, Manuscript Department, call. No. A.n.s. 327, fols. 225v—226r. Courtesy of the NLR.

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