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Poetics of the Sufi Carnival:
The 'Rogue Lyrics' (*Qalandariyât*) of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi
by
Matthew Thomas Miller

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

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Graduate school is a time of incredible growth and sometimes trial. I was lucky to share this experience with a great cohort of fellow graduate students at Washington Universi-

v

ty who contributed tremendously to my intellectual growth and emotional well-being. I would especially like to mention Tazeen Ali, Parisa Dianati, Daniella Farah, Daanish Faruqi, Asher Kohn, Zeeshan Pathan (honorary graduate student), Ellie Pourbohloul, and Michael Rapoport. You all, in different ways, enriched my years at "Wash U," as we affectionately call it. Most of all, I am grateful to you for your friendship.

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spond to my countless emails soliciting input from him on a wide variety of different issues. Professor Keshavarz, my primary advisor, has worked tirelessly over the last nine years to train me to become a scholar of Persian literature and culture. Truly, the number of hours she has dedicated to working with me on my Persian, providing feedback on my work, and guiding me on matters great and small is innumerable. She has been an indefatigable advocate for me as a student and young scholar, and there is not a day that goes by that I do not thank God that I said "yes" to her suggestion nine years ago that I start to learn Persian with her. Her unstinting encouragement and confidence in me has also helped me get through some tough times in graduate school when I doubted myself. Both Professor Keshavarz and Professor Karamustafa are models for the scholar-teacher-mentor-public intellectual that I hope someday to become. Their unparalleled mix of erudition, wisdom, and genuine concern for both their students and the world at large is a model for all young scholars. Thank you, my *ostâdân* (professors), for everything over these last nine years. You have not only made me a great deal more intelligent, but you have also made me a better person too.

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Matthew Thomas Miller
Washington University in St. Louis
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Dedicated to my mother and first best friend,
Donna Marie Conrady-Miller,
who taught me to read and to love learning.
You passed away much too young, shortly before I began this journey,
but I know you were with me the entire time, helping me finish it.
I love you, Mom, and I miss you.

x

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Poetics of the Sufi Carnival:

The 'Rogue Lyrics' (*Qalandariyât*) of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi

by

Matthew Thomas Miller

Doctor of Philosophy in Comparative Literature

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Professor Fatemeh Keshavarz, Chair

Professor Lynne Tatlock, Co-Chair

*The Poetics of the Sufi Carnival: The 'Rogue Lyrics' (*Qalandariyât*) of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi* is the first detailed study of the poetics and cultural politics of the "rogue lyrics" (*qalandariyât*) of medieval Persian Sufi literature. Countering approaches that either reduce this carnivalesque poetry to an abstract symbolist poetics or sublimated aesthetic expression of Sufi antinomianism, the present study analyzes (1) the historical development of this countergenre, (2) the myriad ways in which its heterotopic poetics creates—indeed, performs—meaning, and (3) the cultural politics of its (typically) same-sex beloved.

Chapter one and two position the *qalandariyât* within the broader historical development of the Persian genre system. These chapters combine close readings of a wide variety of early poetry, manuscripts, and poetic treatises with a computational form of textual analysis called topic modeling to argue that not only was qalandari poetry considered a coherent thematic genre, but it functioned as a heterotopic countergenre to religious-homiletic (*zohdiyât/ mow'ezeh*) and royal panegyric (*madhiyât*) poetry in the early Persian poetic system. Chapter three then examines the poetics of the *qalandariyât*, focusing in particular on the ways in which the force dynamics embedded in its "shocking" and transgressive imagery both per-

forms and inculcates the radical spiritual (inter-)subjectivity necessary for the true Sufi lover. Finally, chapter four problematizes the tendency in modern scholarship on Sufi love theory to heteronormativize or "straighten" expressions of embodied same-sex desire through a close reading of 'Erâqi's conversion to the qalandari antinomian mode of piety in his anonymous hagiography.

PREFACE

George Bataille in his work on "sacred eroticism" remarks in a footnote that "[t]he underlying affinity between sanctity and transgression has never ceased to be felt. Even in the eyes of believers, the libertine is nearer to the saint than the man without desire."[1] He makes this keen observation in his discussion of transgression and Christianity, but it can be applied with equal validity to the figure of the "libertine" in Islam and its mystical mode of piety, Sufism. Beginning (at least) in the eleventh century, one of the most dominant figures in the Persian poetic imaginary is the spiritually inspired rogue, the most radical of all Sufi lovers.[2] Called by many names in Persian (each with their own slight variation in meaning)—*qalandar* (rogue), *qallâsh* (rascal), *rend* (libertine), *oubâsh* (*ruffian*), haunter of the winehouse (*kharâbâti*), roguish man of wiles (*'ayyâr*), etc.—these characters are united in their disdain for the normative modes of piety, religious law, and socio-political institutions that they perceive as nothing but artificial earthly constructs separating them from union with their transgressive beloved. In their eponymous "rogue lyrics" (*qalandariyât*), they perform the destruction of these established "customs" (*takhrib al-'âdât*), as the powerful seventh/thirteenth-century Sufi master Abu Hafs 'Omar al-Sohrawardi (d. 1234) remarked about the historical qalandar groups, which block their way on the "path of love" (*râh-e 'eshq*).[3] Employing a complex range of antinomian and transgressive figures, settings, and symbols, these lyrics together fashion a carnivalesque poetic world whose mode of piety requires the transgression and parodic inversion of all religious and social norms, including rejecting the mosque and Ka'ba in favor of the winehouse; opting for apostasy and disbelief over Islam; and extolling the virtues of wine and love of the cupbearer (usually portrayed as youthful male). No one illustrates this veritable "Sufi carnival" better than the thirteenth-century poet, 'Attâr (d. 1221):

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1. Bataille, *Eroticism*, 122 n1. I am indebted to Richard Rambuss' study, *Closet Devotions*, for bringing this footnote to my attention initially.
2. I will briefly discuss the debate over the origin of the *qalandariyât* in both chapters one and two.
3. See Ahmet T. Karamustafa's discussion of Abu Hafs 'Omar al-Sohrawardi's famous characterization of them in: Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 34-36.

We are the dregs-sellers of every dilapidated winehouse.
We are not the coquetry-sellers hawking every saintly miracle.

We are the finger-snapping dancers of the beloved's quarter.
We are the infamous ones for the people of spiritual conceits.

We are tricksters, dice-stealing cheaters, and rascals.
We are the dregs-drinkers and self-deprecators of the dilapidated winehouse.

In the way of infidelity, we are elites and masters.
In the way of religion, we are the asses carrying fanciful stories.

Sometimes we are men of church and church bells;
other times we are monks of the pagan goddesses 'Uzza and Lat.

Sometimes we are monks in the quarter of the divine;
other times we listen to heavenly greetings.

Sometimes we are drunk and wasted on the dregs of pining;
other times we are drunk on the wine of the world of essence.

We have no care for (normative) customs and habits.
How could we be from the station of (normative) customs and habits?

What is there for us in mosques and worship?
Are we men of mosques and worship?!

With all of this deception and trickery,
what matter are proximity and private prayers to us?

This story of us and I arose from us
because we are not men of these stations.

We are in the state of selflessness like 'Attâr.
We are the moths of the candle of the light of the niche.[4]

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4. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 486-487 #606. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

نه عشوه فروش هر کراماتیم   ما درد فروش هر خراباتیم
وانگشت‌نمای اهل طاماتیم   انگشت‌زنان کوی معشوقیم
دردی‌کش و کمزن خراباتیم   حیلتگر و مهره دزد و اوباشیم
در شیوهٔ دین خر خرافاتیم   در شیوهٔ کفر پیر و استادیم
گه صومعه‌دار عزی و لاتیم   گه مرد کلیسیای و ناقوسیم
گه مستمعان التحیاتیم   گه معتکفان کوی لاهوتیم
گه مست شراب عالم الذاتیم   گه مست خراب دردی دردیم
ما کی ز مقام رسم و عاداتیم   با عادتَ و رسمَ نیستَ ما را کار
چه مرد مساجد و عباداتیم   ما را ز عبادت و ز مسجد چه
چه بابت قربت و مناجاتیم   با این همه مفسدی و زراقی
زیرا که نه مرد این مقاماتیم   برخاست ز ما حدیث ما و من
پروانهٔ شمع نور مشکاتیم   در حالت بیخودی چو عطاریم

</div>

xiv

The tendency in the existing scholarship on *qalandariyât* poetry such as 'Attâr's poem above has been to read it either as an aesthetic expression of one of the various antinomian modes of piety in medieval Islamicate lands (e.g., *malâmati*, *qalandariyyeh*) or as an esoteric poetic code—that is, a symbolist poetry that can only be deciphered with the lexicons (*estelâhât*) and commentaries of the Sufi hermeneutic tradition.[5] These approaches each have their own merit. They have contributed in important ways to our understanding of how this poetry was interpreted in Sufi circles and the possible connections between this poetic tradition and the Sufi and perhaps non-Sufi antinomian groups that may have historically inspired this poetry. A detailed study of its generic development and poetics, however, has remained a desideratum to date. The present work will address this lacuna in the scholarship on the *qalandariyât*. It will not resolve any of the outstanding historical questions about the qalandars or their relation to the poetry that bears their name; nor will it take on a etymological or literary excavation of the possible origins of the term or poetic figure.[6] Rather, it will stay focused squarely on its poetics (as it was practiced by four of its most prolific poets, Sanâ'i, Amir Mo'ezzi, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi) and the various ways in which its poetics produced meaning in and through the broader Persian literary system and premodern Persianate cultural milieu of which it was a constituent part.

The first chapter, "Genre Trouble: Historicizing and Computationally Analyzing the *Qalandariyât* and Other Thematic Genres in Early Persian Poetry," charts the emergence of the *qalandariyât* as a genre from the evolving and sometimes "messy" genre system of early

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5.　See, for example: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*; de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry"; Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 34-36; J.T.P. de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry*, 72-76; Feuillebois-Pierunek, *A la croisée des voies célestes*, 235-54; Dahlén, "The Holy Fool in Medieval Islam"; Lewisohn, "Sufi Symbolism in the Persian Hermeneutic Tradition"; Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 162-66; Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz."

6.　For a historical study of the qalandars and other antinomian groups in medieval Islamicate lands, see: Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 34-36; Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 162-66. For etymological study of the origin of the term "qalandar," see: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*. There are also some very interesting parallels between Arabic *khamriyât* poetry and the *qalandariyât* and also between the figure of the "rogue" in Persian literature and the Arabic figure of the "rogue" or "master of wiles" (*'ayyâr*). I hope to take up these topics in a future study, but they are not within the scope of the present work. For more on the Arabic *khamriyât*, see: Hamori, *On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature*, 31-76; Harb, "Khamriyyāt"; Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry*; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 30-42; Noorani, "Heterotopia and the Wine Poem in Early Islamic Culture." For more on the rogue figure in Arabic literature, see: Lyons, *The Arabian Epic*, I:118-127; Heath, "'Ayyār"; Lyons, *Man of Wiles in Popular Arabic Literature*.

Persian poetry. Employing both traditional philological methods and a new mode of computational textual analysis called topic modeling, I argue against form-centric approaches to genre in medieval Persian poetry and maintain that qalandari poetry constituted a genuine literary "type" or genre in early Persian poetry. Chapter two, "The *Qalandariyât* and the Early Persian Poetic System: *Qalandariyât* as Heterotopic Countergenre and Oppositional Introit," then analyzes the *qalandariyât's* inter-generic role in the early Persian genre system. Understanding its dual role as the "heterotopic countergenre of the Sufi carnival" and an "oppositional introit," as I term it, is crucial for correctly assessing it as a genre and interpreting its poetics.

The study of the *qalandariyât's* poetics that begins in chapter two is expanded in chapter three, "The Poetics of the Sufi Carnival: Metaphoric Force Dynamics and the Construction of a Radical Sufi Spiritual (Inter-)Subjectivity." Pushing back against the prevailing scholarship which relies excessively on the Sufi hermeneutic tradition of symbolist interpretation, I demonstrate the myriad ways in which the *qalandariyât* perform meaning through their metaphoric force dynamics. I focus in particular on how the shocking and transgressive imagery of qalandari poetry enacts and models the force dynamic postures required of the true Sufi lover—that is, a Sufi aspirant who has experienced self-annihilation in the beloved (*fanâ*).

Finally, chapter four, "Embodying the Qalandari Beloved: (Homo)eroticism, Embodiment, and the 'Straightening' of Desire in the Hagiographic Tradition of 'Erâqi," looks at the cultural politics of the *qalandariyât's* homoerotic poetics. Specifically, I problematize here the way in which much scholarship in modern Sufi Studies has disembodied and heteronormativized the figure of the young male qalandari beloved. Through close readings of Sufi theoretical works and 'Erâqi's poetry and hagiographic tradition I recover a more deeply embodied and much less "straight" version of the Sufi love theory that is reflected so strongly in qalandari poetry. Once re-embodied, it becomes clear that Sufi love theory did not aim to deny the body and the natural, same-sex desires it experienced, but rather to utilize them as experiential pedagogical aids or scaffolds for helping Sufis reach divine love.

xvi

This dissertation explores these questions of generic development, meaning creation, and sexuality in the Persian literary tradition through the lens of the *qalandariyât*, but its conclusions have much broader implications for the ways in which we approach these topics in Persian literary and Sufi Studies more broadly. For this reason, each chapter contains its own literature review and concluding section in which I draw out its broader implications for these fields.

Before concluding the preface, I need to bring a few technical details to the reader's attention. All translations contained within this study our mine unless otherwise noted. I would be remiss, though, if I did not in the same breathe express my gratitude to Fatemeh Keshavarz and Paul Losensky for their comments and suggestions on them. My translations are much better for them, and any remaining mistakes are my own. In order to avoid cluttering the text, I have opted to list dates according to the Common Era calendar only, with the exception of Persian publication dates which are provided in the bibliography according to the Persian calendar. Specialists in Persian, Arabic, and Islamic Studies will have no problem converting the dates. Finally, I have followed the International Society for Iranian Studies' Persian transliteration scheme, with one exception: instead of *ā* for the long "a" vowel, I use *â*.[7] In the case of Arabic names or transliterations I have used a slightly modified version of this same transliteration scheme in order to indicate the language shift, changing, for example: *v* to *w*, *-ow* to *-aw*, short *e* to *i* (e.g., Persian *ebn* to standard Arabic transliteration *ibn*), *-ey* to *-ay*, and long *i* to *ī*. When citing other scholars' studies or quoting from their works I have maintained their original transliteration. In cases where there is already a common English spelling of a word, such as *Qur'an*, *qibla*, or *Ka'ba*, I have used the accepted English form of the word instead of transliterating it in order to avoid confusion. For words such as *divân* (poetry collection) and *qasideh* (ode) which are very common in my discussion of both Persian and Arabic poetry, I consistently use the Persian transliteration even when discussing Arabic poetry.

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7.   Available at: http://societyforiranianstudies.org/journal/transliteration.

Chapter 1

Genre Trouble: Historicizing and Computationally Analyzing the Qalandariyât *and Other Thematic Genres in Early Persian Poetry*

I. Introduction

Hoseyn Vâ'ez-e Kâshefi, writing near the end of what many regard as the "classical" period of Persian poetry, opens his poetic treatise, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr fi sanâ'e' al-ash'âr* (w. ca. second half of fifteenth century),[1] with a long discussion of the "divisions and genres of poetry" (*aqsâm va anvâ'-e she'r*),[2] in which he discusses the formal "genres" (*anvâ'*) of Persian poetry (*qasideh*, *ghazal*, *qet'eh*, *robâ'i/do-beyti/tarâneh*, *fard*, *masnavi*, *mosammat*, *tarji'ât/tarji'band/tarkib/movassat*),[3] the "divisions of [Persian] poetry" (*aqsâm-e she'r*) (*moraddaf*, *sahl-e momtane'*, *zu al-now'eyn*, etc.), and "words that are in use regarding types of poetry" (*alfâzi keh dar anvâ'-e she'r mosta'mel mi-bâshad*). The poetic terms, devices, and formal genres elaborated in the first two sections are unremarkable. They appear in all major poetic manuals beginning with Râduyâni's *Tarjomân al-balâgheh* (w. before 1113) and are as familiar to most Persian-speakers as well-known poetic terms such as "sonnet" or "iambic pentameter" are to most European and American audiences. The terms that Kâshefi elaborates in the final section, however, are of a different order. He describes—often at some length—the following thematic categories of poetry: *towhid*, *na't*, *manqabat* (i.e., *manâqeb*), *mow'ezeh*, *asrâr*, *madh/medhat*, *hajv/hejâ*, *jedd*, *hazl*, *motâyebeh*, *marsiyeh*, *khamriyât*, and *qasamiyât*.[4] He introduces them as "types of poetry" (*anvâ'-e she'r*), using the same term "*anvâ'*" (s. *now'*, "type") that just pages earlier he had employed to describe the standard for-

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1. Marta Simidchieva has analyzed this work in depth and positioned it within the tradition of Persian poetic treatises: Simidchieva, "Imitation and Innovation in Timurid Poetics."
2. Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 69. This phrase from Kâshefi and similar ones which are seen in Shams-e Qays, Tâj al-Halâvi, and Kâshefi (e.g., Shams-e Qays' "kinds of poetry and types of verse"/*ajnâs-e she'r va anvâ'-e nazm*), seem to refer to a broad range of both fixed forms, components of poems, poetic devices, and, in the case of Kâshefi at least, thematic genres. See: Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 342, 416ff; Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 81-87.
3. Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 71-75.
4. Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 81-83.

mal "genres" (*anvâ'*) of Persian poetry (*qasideh*, *ghazal*, etc.), and in the cases of *towhid*, *manqabat*, *mow'ezeh*, *asrâr*, *marsiyeh*, *khamriyât*, and *qasamiyât* at least, he explicitly discusses them as thematic categories that refer to entire poems. They were to the minds of Kâshefi and his contemporaries—whom he describes as "using" these terms (*alfâzi keh dar anvâ'-e she'r mosta'mel mi-bâshad*)—coherent enough thematic types to be placed on par with the classical formal genres of medieval Persian poetry.

One may quibble with the details of this list—for example, given the focus of this study, I wish he would have explicitly mentioned the *qalandariyât*!—but what is striking about Kâshefi's overview of the different types of poetry here is how effortlessly he delineates both formal and thematic types of poetry, side-by-side, as equal partners in shaping the medieval Persian genre system. In hindsight, this only seemed remarkable to me at the beginning of my research for the present work because most modern scholarly discussions of "genre" in medieval Persian poetry have had a pronounced tendency to focus on the formal criteria of generic classification at the expense of thematic distinctions. The doyen of modern Persian literary scholars, Mohammad Rezâ Shafi'i-Kadkani, captures well the spirit of this literature in his seminal work, *Sovar-e khayâl dar she'r-e Fârsi* (1971-2/1350):

> It is not without good reason that we see the ancient Persians and Arabs classify poetry more from the perspective of form (*qâleb va shekl*) because it is in the domain of form (*shekl va form*) that one can classify the types (*anvâ'*) of Persian and Arabic literary works. If we want to treat the classification of them [Persian and Arabic poetry] from the perspective of theme (*ma'nâ*), they would be so overlapping and mixed together that separating them in one poem even would be impossible (*az mohâlât ast*).[5]

Shafi'i-Kadkani is not a outlier in Persian literary scholarship on this topic. His form-centric viewpoint on genre is representative of a much broader trend evidenced both in numerous contemporary studies (e.g., Zayn al-'Âbedin Mo'taman, Mohammad Ja'far Mahjub,

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5. Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Sovar-e khayâl dar she'r-e Fârsi*, 378. Shafi'i-Kadkani repeated this form-centric view to me in person at the *Fools and Vagabonds: Non-Violence in the Islamic Mystical Tradition Conference* (Leiden University, June 4th, 2015). While I have nothing but the utmost respect for Shafi'i-Kadkani, I do strongly disagree with him on this point.

Sirus Shamisâ, Bo Utas) and the editorial practice of arranging Persian *divâns* (poetic collections) by formal genres (e.g., *qasideh*, *ghazal*).[6]

In one sense these scholars are not incorrect in their assertion that the generic system of medieval Persian poetry has a strong sense of form. As is clear in Kâshefi's discussion, formal distinctions played a central role in shaping medieval Persian poetry since its earliest period (even if the particularities of individual forms and the terminological apparatus did change and develop).[7] However, to recognize the important role of formal criteria in generic classification is not to say that form is the only or dominant criterion in all medieval Persian classification schemas. Even proponents of the form-centric position such as Shafi'i-Kadkani, Utas, and Shamisâ do not deny the existence of thematic types. They present them to the reader, however, as being of distinctly secondary importance to the dominant formal "genres."[8] Shamisâ, for example, in his well-known study, *Anvâ-e adabi* (1992/1370), categorically asserts throughout that the genre system of Persian literature is based on formal distinctions even as he reluctantly admits at one point that "[a]lthough the categorization of genre in our literature [Persian] is according to form, we also infrequently (*beh-nodrat*) encounter dif-

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6.   See, for example: Mo'taman, *Tahavvol-e she'r-e Fârsi*; Mahjub, *Sabk-e Khorâsâni dar she'r-e Fârsi*; Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Sovar-e khayâl dar she'r-e Fârsi*, 377-92; Shafi'i-Kadkani, "Anvâ'-e adabi va she'r-e Fârsi"; Shamisâ, *Anvâ'-e adabi*.

7.   Lewis has done such a diachronic study on the development of the *ghazal* from an amatory theme to a formal genre in the early Persian tradition (Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation"; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal"). He also notes that there is even some ambiguity about the extent to which the term "*qasideh*" was a strict formal concept in the earliest period of Persian poetry: "Indeed, the word qasida may not yet have been deeply engrained as a fixed-form concept in Persian (though, obviously, the word and the structure were already very well familiar in Arabic literature). During the tenth-twelfth centuries CE, Persian poets categorized their poems more often by mood and topoi than by form, with the most common distinction being *madh* versus *gazal*, panegyre versus lyric/love poetry. The word qasida does not often appear as a technical term during this period, though many poetic and prosodic technical terms do occur in the text of these poems. Poets of this era usually refer to individual poems as *še'r* ("poem"), and also as *bayt* (line/lines) or *do-bayti*, or occasionally *nazm* (verse, vis-à-vis prose)" (Franklin D. Lewis, "Sincerely Flattering Panegyrics," 226). I would note too that this ambiguity regarding the meaning of the formal, technical meaning of "*qasideh*" in this period can also be seen, for example, in the table of contents of the Kabul Manuscript (KM) of Sanâ'i's *Kolliyât*, which is titled "List of Types of Qasâ'ed (plural of *qasideh*)." When one looks at the "types" (*anvâ'*) of *qasidehs* that are listed below this heading (which includes *towhid-e bâri*, *madhiyât*, *qalandariyât*, *ghazaliyât*, *robâ'iyât*, amongst others), it becomes clear that the complier of KM must be using the term "*qasideh*" here in the more general, non-technical (non-formal) sense of "poem." Lewis has observed this same tendency in Shams-e Qays' *al-Mo'jam* (c.a. 630/1232) as well, where he too uses the term *qasideh* as "almost synonymous with the more general term, *še'r*." However, as Lewis notes, Shams-e Qays also "does clearly see the qasida as a particular form or genre of its own," so it is likely that by the thirteenth century the term *qasideh* is developing into a full-fledged technical term (Lewis, "Sincerely Flattering Panegyrics," 227).

8.   I use the terms "type" and "genre" interchangeably throughout this study.

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ferent thematic genres in the works of the early poets/literati (*qodamâ*)."[9] Despite this acknowledgement, however, the only times he discusses these thematic types (e.g., *marsiyeh*, *shahr-âshub*, *habsiyeh*, *sâqi-nâmeh*) is on a few pages immediately following this quotation and in a chapter entitled "ancillary/subsidiary genres" (*anvâ'-e far'i yâ rubanâ'i*)—a title which reveals the distinctly secondary role these genres play in his portrayal of the Persian genre system.[10] Utas similarly admits the existence of these thematic types—which he says can "in a more loose way" perhaps be considered genres—but concludes by arguing for the centrality of form to Persian generic classification and reducing these thematic genres to "themes" or "motifs" because they are not clearly associated with "a specific form or forms."[11] Form, in short, is always foregrounded in the works of proponents of this view as *the* primary analytical lens through which to study Persian poetry and its genre system.

The result of this focus on formal criteria is predictable. It has produced a scholarly landscape in which the topic of thematic types in medieval Persian poetry has received very little sustained attention until quite recently. This lacuna, however, is not the result of a lack of sources or evidence on the topic. As C.H. de Fouchecour recently remarked, "[t]he question of thematic genres in Persian poetry requires further study, given the wealth of the material and the frequent references in traditional manuals and anthologies."[12] Indeed, scholars have long been aware of these thematic types and numerous thematic overviews and anthologies of them exist.[13] Critical and historical studies of them have been a rarity until quite re-

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9. Shamisâ, *Anvâ'-e adabi*, 54.
10. Shamisâ, *Anvâ'-e adabi*, 223-54.
11. In the most recent treatment of the topic, Bo Utas argues that "textual form remains the most tangible criterion for the classification of Classical literary works." He does allow that thematic genres could "in a more loose way" be considered genres; however, ultimately he concludes that "the traditional way of referring to types of Persian literary works is predominantly based on formal criteria" and summarizes his analysis into a "grid of forms and genres" that is organized on formal grounds (with themes being associated with various forms). See: Utas, "'Genres' in Persian Literature 900-1900," 202-203, 206-215, 229, 231.
12. Charles-Henri de Fouchécour, "IRAN viii. PERSIAN LITERATURE (2) Classical."
13. Mahjub, *Sabk-e Khorâsâni dar she'r-e Fârsi*; Shamisâ, *Anvâ'-e adabi*, 223-54; Safâ, *Târikh-e adabiyât dar Irân*. Nasr Allâh Emâmi has provided an overview of elegiac (*marsiyeh*) poetry in the Persian tradition: Emâmi, *Marsiyeh-sarâ'i dar adabiyât-e Fârsi-ye Irân*. For treatments of the *habsiyât* (prison poetry) genre in Persian poetry, see: Zafari, *Habsiyeh dar adab-e Fârsi*. For studies of the *sâqi-nâmeh/moghanni-nâmeh* (cupbearer/singer's ode) genre, see: Mahjub, *Sabk-e Khorâsâni dar she'r-e Fârsi*; Golchin-Ma'âni, *Tazkereh-ye paymâneh*; Mahjub, "Sâqi-Nâmeh—Moghanni-Nâmeh." Treatments of the *shahr-âshub/shahr-angiz* (city disturber) genre in Persian poetry: Mahjub, *Sabk-e Khorâsâni dar she'r-e Fârsi*; Golchin-Ma'âni, *Shahr-âshub dar she'r-e Fârsi*.

4

cently though. It is only in the last couple of decades that scholars have taken up this charge and begun the work of charting the development of these thematic types of poetry.[14] Several studies have appeared focusing on panegyric (*madh/madhiyât*) poetry and, to a lesser extent, religious-homiletic poetry (*zohdiyât/mow'ezeh*).[15] Paul Sprachman recently published an insightful study of invective/satirical (*hajv* and *hejâ*) poetry[16] and Shafi'i-Kadkani, J.T.P. de Bruijn, Sunil Sharma, A.L.F.A. Beelaert, and Rebecca Gould have all analyzed the emergence and development of the *habsiyât* (prison poetry) in different ways.[17] J.T.P. de Bruijn, Sharma, and Michele Bernardini have also studied the *shahr-âshub/shahr-angiz* (city disturber)[18] and Sharma, Paul Losensky, and Ehterâm Rezâ'i have charted the development and poetics of the *sâqi-nâmeh/moghanni-nâmeh* (cupbearer/singer's ode), which is closely related to wine poetry (*khamriyât*) as well.[19] Finally, there is Franklin Lewis' important study of the thematic "genres" or "sub-genres" of Sanâ'i's *ghazals* (lyrics).[20]

Much work remains to be done on all of these genres, and there are still a large number of thematic types that have received little or no sustained scholarly treatment to date. For example, to the best of my knowledge, there have been no major studies of Persian spring

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14. In addition to the genre-specific studies cited below, Julie Scott Meisami, J.T.P. de Bruijn, and Paul Losensky have also discussed thematic types and categories of poetry in their broad treatments of Persian literature and poetry. See: de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry*; de Bruijn, "Arabic Influences on Persian Literature"; Meisami, "Genres of Court Literature"; Losensky, "Persian Poetry."

15. See the sections on panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry in chapter 2 for relevant studies.

16. Sprachman, *Suppressed Persian*; Sprachman, *Licensed Fool*.

17. For critical treatments of the *habsiyât* (prison poetry) genre in Persian poetry, see: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Sovar-e khayâl dar she'r-e Fârsi*, 595-612; Beelaert, *A Cure for Grieving*, 30-36; Sharma, *Persian Poetry at the Indian Frontier*, 68-106; de Bruijn, "Habsiyya"; Gould, "Wearing the Belt of Oppression"; Gould, *The Persian Genre of Incarceration*. For a discussion of the significance of *habsiyât* for broader theoretical debates about prisons and prison literature, see: Gould, "Prisons before Modernity."

18. For poetic studies of the *shahr-âshub/shahr-angiz* (city disturber) genre in Persian poetry, see: Sharma, *Persian Poetry at the Indian Frontier*, 107-16; Bernardini, "The Masnavi-Shahrashubs as Town Panegyrics"; Sharma, "The City of Beauties in Indo-Persian Poetic Landscape"; Sharma, "Generic Innovation in Sayfi Bukhârâi's *Shahrâshub Ghazals*"; de Bruijn, "Shahrangīz 1. In Persian."

19. For critical studies of the *sâqi-nâmeh/moghanni-nâmeh* (cupbearer/singer's ode) genre in Persian poetry, see: Golchin-Ma'âni, *Tazkereh-ye paymâneh*; Rezâ'i, *Sâqi-Nâmeh dar she'r-e Fârsi*; Safâ, *Târikh-e adabiyât dar Irân*, 3/1: 334-35; Mahjub, "Sâqi-Nâmeh—Moghanni-Nâmeh"; Sharma, "Hāfiz's *Sāqīnāmah*"; Losensky, "Sāqī-Nāma"; van Ruymbeke, "Iskandar's Bibulous Business"; Losensky, "Vintages of the Sāqī-nāma." See also Ahmad Golchin-e Ma'âni's introduction in the following work: Qazvini, *Tazkereh-ye may-khâneh*. Although not on the topic of the *sâqi-nâmeh/moghanni-nâmeh* genre specifically, Yarshater, W.L. Hanaway, Christine van Ruymbeke's articles on the wine poetry (*khamriyât/sharâb*) also provide important background here: Yarshater, "The Theme of Wine-Drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry"; Hanaway, "Blood and Wine"; van Ruymbeke, "Iskandar's Bibulous Business."

20. Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation"; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal". Although my ultimate aim is different than Lewis', I am greatly indebted to his study for shaping the way I approach early Persian poetry.

5

odes (*bahâriyeh*), facetiae (*motâyebeh*), or praise poems of the Prophet Muhammad (*na't-e rasul*) and his companions/imams (*manâqeb*), to just mention a few more prominent examples. If we are to have a more complete understanding of the Persian genre system and its historical permutations, each thematic type needs to be subjected to focused literary analysis that systematically investigates both its poetics and diachronic development.[21] We need what Hans Robert Jauss famously called a "historical systematics" of Persian poetry—that is, an approach that conceptualizes literary genres "not as *genera* (classes) in the logical sense, but rather as *groups* or *historical families*" that "cannot be deduced or defined, but only historically determined, delimited, and described."[22]

The present study aims to contribute to this larger project. I begin at the macro-level with an examination of the early theoretical discussions of Persian poetry and the thematic arrangement of a number of early *divân* (poetic collection) manuscripts. The picture that emerges from this analysis is a complex, historically-specific, and even sometimes "messy" genre system in which thematic categories and types (*now'*, pl. *anvâ'*) play a much larger role in poetic classification than proponents of the form-centric position allow. In the second part of the chapter, I will focus on one of these thematic types of poetry, the *qalandariyât*, or "rogue lyrics," which will become the primary focus of the remainder of this study. Analyzing the traces of this generic category in both early manuscripts and data derived from computational analysis (topic modeling) of early Persian poetry, I argue that the *qalandariyât* should be regarded as a formally-flexible generic category in early medieval Persian poetry. I conclude the chapter by heuristically disaggregating the *qalandariyât* into a set of nine subtypes that can be observed in the *divâns* of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi.[23] The complexity of this

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21. I concur with Lewis that genres in Persian literary history must been analyzed and conceptualized as historical constructs. See: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 9, 13; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 124.

22. Jauss, "Theory of Genres and Medieval Literature."

23. Although a few isolated examples of *qalandariyât* can be found in the *divâns* of other poets of this early period (e.g., Abu Sa'id Abu al-Kheyr, Bâbâ Tâher, Sheykh Yusof 'Âmeri, Anvari, Khâqâni) (or are attributed to them in other works), I have decided to focus in this study primarily on the poetry of Sanâ'i,

6

one thematic genre, I aver, demonstrates that we need a much more fine-grained and histori-
cally-informed approach to genre studies in medieval Persian poetry.

II. Historicizing the Persian Genre System:
The Play of Themes, Forms, and Types

It is not possible to discuss *the* Persian genre system. There is not one transhistorical
set of genres that has obtained throughout the several thousand-year history of Persian litera-
ture. It has shifted considerably over its long history, repeatedly and continually transforming
itself in its dynamic interaction first with the Arabic genre system and much later with Euro-
pean ones. The concern of the present chapter is with the early "New Persian" genre system,
which developed gradually over the tenth-thirteenth centuries, only reaching its classical
form in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. Even this "early period" of New Persian poetry is
itself internally diverse and I intend the designation of it as a "period" only heuristically.

The rebirth of Persian poetry in the tenth century—nearly three centuries after the
Arab-Islamic conquest of the Sassanian Persian empire in the middle of the seventh centu-
ry—occurred in a world in which the prestige language was Arabic. The Arab-Islamic con-
quest was not only a political victory for the young Islamic empire, but it was also a triumph
for Arabic language and culture. It inaugurated an approximately three hundred year period in
which Arabic enjoyed pride of place at the major Islamic courts, and the Persian language
was relegated to a decidedly secondary position in the high culture of the new Islamic em-
pire(s).[24] During this period New Persian continued to be spoken by inhabitants of the Persian
territories and works in Middle Persian (e.g., *Khwadây-Nâmag*, *Hazâr Afsân*, *Dénkart*, *Bun-*

'Attâr, and 'Erâqi (with one important detour through a panegyric with a qalandari introit by Amir Mo'ezzi)
both for practical reasons and, more importantly, because these figures are roundly recognized as the
leading qalandari poets. For examples and discussion of other early qalandari poems, see: Shafi'i-Kadkani,
Qalandariyeh dar târikh, 39-40, 48, 108, 140-141, 263ff; de Bruijn, "Anvari and the Ghazal," 23-27.

24. It is important to point out that during this period ethnic-Persian courtiers and intellectuals played critical
roles in the development of Arabic literature/poetry (e.g., Ibn Moqaffa', Abu Nowâs, Bashshâr ibn Bord)
and the systematization of its grammar (e.g., Sibawayh). However, their literary production was almost
entirely in the prestige language of Arabic.

dahishn) were still read, copied, and translated. It was not, however, until the rise of the Persian Islamicate kingdoms of the Tahirids, Ziyarids, Buyids, Saffarids, Samanids, and Ghaznavids in the late ninth and tenth centuries that New Persian would again become a language of high culture and court poetry.[25]

The rebirth of Persian poetry in this period necessitated the creation of a new terminological apparatus. Although Persian poetry had a long history that predated this period, medieval Persian litterateurs almost exclusively employed terms drawn from the ascendent Arabic tradition to organize and systematize the budding New Persian poetic system.[26] Whether this was the result of Arabic's cultural prestige in this period or because Persian litterateurs believed Persian poetry to be rooted in the Arabic system (as de Bruijn argues), the result was that early Persian poetry was largely built on Arabic models and articulated through its "systematic poetics."[27] This would have far-reaching effects, especially for the ways in which Per-

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25. This paragraph is largely a summary of the following two studies: de Bruijn, "Arabic Influences on Persian Literature"; Perry, "The Origin and Development of Literary Persian."

26. This is not to suggest that the process of adapting the Arabic system for New Persian poetry was completely unidirectional. We know from studies of the differences between the Persian and Arabic metric systems and the existence of Persian poetic genres such as the *masnavi* and *robâ'i* (which have no immediate parallel in the Arabic poetic system) that the New Persian genre system is to a certain extant a composite structure that is indebted to both a Pre-Islamic Persian poetic system and the classical Arabic poetic system. Indigenous Persian forms (e.g., *robâ'i*, *masnavi*), meters (e.g., *motaqareb*), and poetic features (e.g., poetic refrain/*radif*) shaped this new Perso-Arabic system in critical ways. And other indigenous Persian poetic traditions, such as, for example, wine poetry (see Yarshater article cited in footnote 19, chapter 1), may have also influenced both New Persian and even Arabic poetry. Moreover, there also existed a range of poetic terms—such as *tarâneh* (MP *tarânak*) (anacreontic lyric/song), *chakâmeh*/*châmeh* (MP *chakâmak*/*chagâmag*) (love lyric), *fahlaviyât* (folk song), *sorud* (MP *srōd*) (royal hymn), and *gusân* (minstrel)—in both Middle Persian and New Persian that continued to be be utilized in both the poetry and poetic treatises of the tenth-thirteenth centuries (although their precise meanings are sometimes unclear). The debates over the origins of specific Persian poetic forms and meters are quite complicated and rehashing them in detail is not within the scope of the present study. For more on these debates over the origin and development of the Persian genre and metric system and individual genres, please see: Khâleghi-Motlagh, "Pirâmun-e Vazn-e Shâh-Nâmeh"; Boyce, *Some Remarks on the Transmission of the Kayanian Heroic Cycle*; Boyce, "Zariadres and Zarēr"; Boyce, "The Pārthīān Gōsān and the Iranian Minstrel Tradition"; Elwell-Sutton, "The "Rubā'ī" in Early Persian Literature"; Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian Metres*, 67-69, 168-185, 243-245; Elwell-Sutton, "'Arūz"; Skjærvø, "Hymnic Composition in the Avesta"; Utas, "Arabic and Iranian Elements in New Persian Prosody"; Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation"; Davis, "The Problem of Ferdowsī's Sources," 54-56; Davidson, *Comparative Literature and Classical Persian Poetics*, 10-28; Davidson, *Poet and Hero in the Persian Book of Kings*, 68-82; Lazard, "Prosody i. Middle Persian"; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal"; Utas, "Prosody: Meter and Rhyme". For the argument for an Arabic origin of the *robâ'i*, see: Seidensticker, "An Arabic Origin of the Persian Rubā'ī?"

27. It is likely that the decision of early Persian litteraturs to adopt the Arabic system was just the natural result of the near hegemonic position of Arabic high culture at the time of the rebirth of New Persian poetry. The Arabic poetic system was at its height and it possessed both a well-developed terminological apparatus and metric system (Khalilian). Moreover, Persian poets themselves were frequently not only prodigious students of earlier Persian poetry, but also composed poetry in Arabic and read with considerable interest

sian poetry was discussed and categorized.

As the work of Earl Miner has demonstrated, poetic and critical systems tend to develop in response to an "esteemed" or dominant genre which provides the basis for the organization of its "systematic poetics."[28] In the Arabic tradition, this role was played by the classical polythematic *qasideh*—undoubtedly the "esteemed genre" of early Arabic poetry. Since the traditional Arabic *qasideh* was a composite structure that could include panegyric (*madh*), amatory (*ghazal/taghazzol/tashbīb/nasīb*), satiric (*hijâ'*), invective (*hajv*), elegiac (*rithâ'/marsīyah*), and wisdom (*hikma*) sections, discussions of poetry in Arabic poetic treatises are often focused on individual thematic units (*ma'nâ*) (2-6 lines) of much longer polythematic poems. Although formal terms did exist in this poetic system (e.g., *qasīdah*, *qit'a*), poetic content and themes (*aghrâd/ma'ânī*) traditionally played the dominant role in Arabic discussions of poetry.[29]

Later, with some adjustments and additions, Persian litterateurs largely adopted this system as the foundation of their systematic poetics, employing most of the same thematic terms—sometimes translated, other times using the original Arabic word—to discuss New Persian poetry. This is well reflected in both the early Persian poetic treatises and early Persian poetry itself.[30] Rashid al-Din Vatvât in *Hadâ'eq al-sehr fi daqâ'eq al-she'r* (c. 1155) and

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the great Arabic poets as well. It would not be surprising then, as Bo Utas argues, that the adoption/adaptation of the Arabic poetic terminology took "place through an intuitive process, through ear rather than through analysis of writing and prosodic theory." J.T.P. de Bruijn also points to another factor: namely, he argues, medieval Persian literary critics seem to be "convinced that Persian poetry was entirely based on Arabic models" and that their traditions were "connected by an unbroken line of tradition." See: de Bruijn, "Arabic Influences on Persian Literature," 372, 375-377; Utas, "Prosody: Meter and Rhyme," 105; van Gelder, "Traditional Literary Theory," 123.

28. See the following studies of Miner for more on the concept of "esteemed genre" and "systematic poetics": Miner, "On the Genesis and Development of Literary Systems: Part I"; Earl Miner, "On the Genesis and Development of Literary Systems: Part II." Despite Miner's misconceptions about Arabic and Persian poetics—he claims in a footnote that "[n]either Arabic nor Persian literature has an originative poetics *per se*"—his theory of a literary tradition's "systematic poetics" developing in response to an "esteemed genre" is actually quite useful for the study of Persian and Arabic poetics. See: Miner, *Comparative Poetics*, 82 n1.

29. Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 23-24; van Gelder, "Some Brave Attempts at Generic Classification in Premodern Arabic Literature," 18-20; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 27-30; Gruendler, "Motif vs. Genre."

30. I have provided a detailed overview of all the major early sources in Appendix II.

Shams-e Qays in *al-Mo'jam*, for example, discuss Persian poetry as composed of panegyric (*madh/madih/âfarin*), amatory verse (*ghazal/tashbib/nasib*), satire/invective (*hejâ/hajv/nafrin*), elegy (*marsiyeh/marsiyat*), thanksgiving (*shokr*), wisdom (*hekmat*), and complaint (*shekâyat*).[31] Lewis and Shamisâ, in their studies of thematic terms that appear in the earliest Persian poetry of the tenth-twelfth centuries, provide examples of poets themselves using the following thematic terms to describe their poetry: *madh/madih/medhat/sanâ/she'r-e shâhân* (panegyric), *hejâ/hazl* (satire, invective), *ghazal/asheqâneh she'r* (love),[32] spiritual (*tahqiq/tâmât*), homiletic (*va'z/mow'ezeh*), pand (*advice*), war, and ascetic (*zohd*) poetry.[33] Several

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31. Vatvât, *Divân-e Rashid al-Din Vatvât Sa'id bâ ketâb-e hadâ'eq al-sehr fi daqâ'eq al-she'r (ed. Nafisi)*, 655-658, 687, 698-701, 705; Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 226. Please also see Appendix II for a detailed overview of the sources for this section and the thematic terms that they employ in their works.

32. Note, sometimes the term "*ghazal*" in these poems seems to refer to an independent love poem and other times to the amatory introit of a *qasideh*. The topic of the development of the *ghazal* (lyric poem) is the focus of Lewis' larger study. He maintains that in the earliest period "[i]n most of these examples it is clear that the word *ġazal*, like *taġazzol* and *tašbib*, designates a lyrical passage usually amatory in mood or topoi." Other times, however, the poet seems to have an independent poem in mind when utilizing the term *ghazal* (or its close relatives). See: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 53-60.

33. Specifically, Lewis examines the poetry of Daqiqi, Shahid-e Balkhi, Rudaki, Mohammad ben Vasif, Gorgâni, Farrokhi, 'Onsori, Labibi, 'Am'aq-e Bokhârâ'i, Mas'ud-e Sa'd Salmân, Abu al-Faraj Runi, 'Abd al-Vâse' Jabali. See: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 49-60; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 129-33. Both Lewis and Shamisâ have drawn our attention to a fascinating *qet'a* by Khâqâni (d. ca. 1186-1199) in which he derides the great Ghaznavid poet, 'Onsori (d. ca. 1038-1040) for only composing "in one style"—i.e., panegyrics (*madh*) with amatory introits (*ghazal*)—while he, as he implies later in the poem, also composes spiritual (*tahqiq*), homiletic (*va'z*), and ascetic (*zohd*) poetry. Lewis also discusses this poem: Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 135. Persian text is below:

غزلگو شد و مدح‌خوان عنصری	به معشوق نیکو و ممدوح نیک
نکردی ز طبع امتحان عنصری	جز از طرز مدح و طراز غزل
به مدح و غزل درفشان عنصری	شناسند افاضل که چون من نبود
نکردی به سحر بیان عنصری	که این سحر کاری که من می‌کنم
همان شیوهٔ باستان عنصری	مرا شیوهٔ خاص و تازه است و داشت
به یک شیوه شد داستان عنصری	ز ده شیوه کان حلیت شاعری است
که حرفی ندانست از آن عنصری	نه تحقیق گفت و نه وعظ و نه زهد

Persian text taken from: Khâqâni Shervâni, *Divân-e Khâqâni Shervâni (ed. Sajjâdi)*, 926-27.

Shamisâ also points to a couple of other relevant examples from the poetry of the twelfth-thirteenth centuries. The first piece he points to is a *moqatta'eh* by Anvari (d. 1189) in which he repeatedly juxtaposes the terms *madh* (panegyric), *hazl* (satire/invective), and *ghazal* (love) in such a way that it seems clear that he understood the term "*ghazal*" here in a thematic (rather than formal) manner. Persian text is below (Anvari, *Divân-e Anvari (ed. Rezavi)*, 694-95):

گفتم از مدح و هجا دست بیفشاندم هم	دی مرا عاشقکی گفت غزل می‌گویی
حالت رفته دگر باز نیاید ز عدم	گفت چون گفتمش آن حالت گمراهی رفت
که مرا شهوت و حرص و غضبی بود بهم	غزل و مدح و هجا هرسه بدان می‌گفتم
...	
بس که با نفس جفا کردم و با عقل ستم	غزل و مدح و هجا گویم یارب زنهار

Shamisâ's second example is from the fifth chapter of Sa'di's (d. 1289) famous work, *Bustân*, where he likewise mentions a number of different thematic "styles" (*shiveh*):

> For his thoughts are eloquent and his opinions exalted
> in these religious (*zohd*), spiritual (*tâmât*), and advice (*pand*) genres (*shiveh*)

> [But] not so in [genres treating] maces, clubs, and war implements [i.e., epic]

10

scholars have also pointed to the remark by the twelfth-century poet, Khâqâni, that there are "ten [thematic] styles" (*dah shiveh*) of poetry (and he explicitly mentions religious-homiletic/*va'z*/*zohd* and spiritual/*tahqiq* in the same poem), which suggests systematic thinking about thematic categorization at this time.[34] The combined wealth of thematic terms recoverable from both the poetry and poetic manual literature leads Lewis to argue that these early Persian poets "categorized" and "conceive[d] of their poems primarily in terms of mood and topoi rather than formal structure."[35]

The list above, however, is still only a partial one. Persian poets and litterateurs did not just limit themselves to these more well-known thematic terms (which we might provisionally designate as "primary thematic categories"). The list grows even longer if we immerse ourselves in the manuscript tradition and non-classical sources for the study of poetry (e.g., poetic anthologies, discussions of poetry in works such as the *Qâbus-Nâmeh* or *Chahâr-*

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for the perfection of this style is for others

<div dir="rtl">

که فکرش بلیغ است و رایش بلند   در این شیوهٔ زهد و طامات و پند

نه در خشت و کوپال و گرز گران   که آن شیوه ختم است بر دیگران

</div>

Persian text taken from: Sa'di, *Kolliyât-e Sa'di (ed. Khorramshâhi)*, 285.
As with the example above from Khâqâni, in these lines Sa'di delineates a number of thematic "styles" (*shiveh*) in which a poet could write. Finally, there is the example of the following poem by Zahir-e Fâryâbi (d. 598/1202):

> *Among poetry, the* ghazal *genre is the most pleasing,*
> *yet it is also not a good/product that one can build a foundation on*

<div dir="rtl">

ز شعر جنس غزل خوشتر است و آن هم نیست   بضاعتی که توان ساختن بر آن بنیاد

</div>

Persian text from: Shamisâ, *Anvâ'-e adabi*, 56.
Although both Lewis and Shamisâ point to this poem as an example of the term "*ghazal*" denoting a formal term (which I agree it *could* be), I am not sure why it necessarily has to be read as a formal term in this context (Shamisâ, *Anvâ'-e adabi*, 56; Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 135-36; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 135-36). It is clear in the poem that Zahir understands the *ghazal* as a genre (*jens*), but whether this *jens* is defined primarily in formal or thematic terms is not clear to me. Lewis too perceives this ambiguity—stating in passing that "the older thematic contrast between panegyric (*madh*) and *ghazal* is not far from mind" here—but in the end he believes that Zahir is likely employing this term in its new formal sense in reference to performance contexts (Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 135-36).

34. Even Bo Utas maintains that this indicates that "there must have been some idea of a fixed system of poetic themes at that time" (Utas, "'Genres' in Persian Literature 900-1900," 210-11). Also, Shamisâ relates—and seemingly agrees with—Ziyâ al-Din Sajjâdi's interpretation of this verse that these ten "styles" are as follows: "*nasib va tashbib, mofâkhereh, hamâseh, madh, resâ, hejâ, e'tezâr, shekvâ, vasf, hekmat va akhlâq*" (Shamisâ, *Anvâ'-e adabi*, 55). While I would agree that many of these are possible candidates for these "ten styles," I think that the three thematic categories that Khâqâni himself mentions in the very next line—namely, spiritual (*tahqiq*), homiletic (*va'z*), and ascetic poetry (*zohd*)—also need to be included in this list of ten styles (whether as one category or more than one I am not entirely sure).

35. Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 49-60; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 129-33.

11

Maqâleh). A wide array of additional "secondary thematic categories" begins showing up, such as poetry on seasons (winter/*zemestâni*, spring/*bahâri*, summer/*tâbestâni*, fall/*khazâni*), old age (*piri*), flowers/greenery (and other natural phenomena), celestial/weather phenomena, hunting, descriptions of geographic areas and trade youth, blame (*malâmat*), and a wide range of highly specific sub-categories related to love themes.[36] The sheer number and variety is dizzying. While I cannot delve into all these in detail here, I do want to highlight the wide range of these terms because it shows that Persian litterateurs were thinking about and categorizing poetry in ways that were far more complex than *both* the normative and idealized framework of poetic genres and thematic categories presented in most Persian poetic manuals *and* the form-centric modern studies of genre.[37] If we are going to sketch a "historical systematics" of the Persian poetic system as Jauss urges us, we need to go beyond both of these reductionistic impulses and study alternative historical sources and Persian poetry itself in order to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the historical development of the Persian poetic system.

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36. See Appendix II for a detailed review of the works in which these terms are utilized.
37. In Persian literary scholarship, the confusion and ambiguity about these thematic types of poetry seems to have its origin in this gap that exists between (1) a normative and idealized theoretical framework of genres and poetic terms (reflected in poetic manuals and treatises), and (2) dynamic poetic practice and historical descriptions of it. The authors of the former are bound by conventions particular to the genre in which they write and constantly pressured by the weight of the classical tradition to reproduce its systemic poetics. The poets and other litterateurs writing outside of the confines of the poetic treatise genre, however, are more at liberty to negotiate with the classical system and develop it in new ways that are related to, but not fully captured by, the tradition's systemic poetics. Despite the best efforts of proponents of classical models, poets are constantly transforming their received literary tradition through their responses to past poets and dominant genres and even unconsciously through their own idiosyncratic stylistic tics. Extra-poetic factors also play an important too: the formal and thematic proclivities of individual patrons and their courtiers, the rise of new sites of patronage (e.g., Sufi lodges), and more general (though difficult to quantify) transformations in cultural/aesthetic zeitgeists have all effected important changes in literary systems. This is certainly true in the case of Persian poetry. In practical terms, this means that the authors of poetic manuals did not always faithfully reflect in their works the proliferation of new thematic types of poetry that fell outside of the classical system. Although modern Persian literary studies has not completely ignored these historical transformations, it does distinctly favor the idealized classical framework presented in the poetic manual tradition for discussing, analyzing, and categorizing poetry. The problem with this approach is that it implicitly delegitimizes poetic types that are not part of its terminological apparatus as potential categories of generic analysis (e.g., *habsiyât*, *khamriyât*, *bahâri*, *qalandariyât*) and focuses scholarly attention in ways that obscures a much more historically variegated poetic system.

*The Play of Form and Theme, or When Poetic "Themes" (*Ma'âni*) Become "Types" (*Anvâ'*) of Poetry*

Reflecting on the state of genre studies in Persian and Arabic literature, Julie Scott

Meisami recently remarked that the genre systems of Arabic and Persian poetry are better

conceptualized as "expressive-affective" systems rather than a formal-prosodic ones.[38] She

maintains that:

> [f]or Persian (as for Arabic) writers, "genres" (variously termed *aghrâz* "purposes", *anvâ* "types", *fonun* "arts", and so on, and discussed chiefly with reference to poetry) are content-oriented, and consist of such categories as praise (*madh*), invective (*hajv*), elegy (*marthiya*), utterances on love (*taghazzol, tashbib*), description (*wasf*), reproach (*etâb*), apology (*e'tedhâr*), and so on. These generic categories cut across the formal prosodic categories of poetry (*qaside, ghazal, mathnavi,* etc.), and are relevant to prose as well.[39]

Meisami's final point here is important: these thematic categories do not map precisely onto

the formal-prosodic ones. They are, as Meisami says elsewhere, "characteristic of each [for-

mal] genre but are not necessarily [formal] genre-specific."[40] This flexibility is both a virtue

and curse. It is undoubtedly one of the contributing factors to the dynamism of the Persian

and Arabic poetic systems. However, it does considerably complicate discussions of "genre"

in these traditions. Indeed, much of the "confusion" that Shafi'i-Kadkani alludes to in genre

studies in the Persian tradition ultimately goes back to this point of form vs. theme in one

way or another.

Scholars have dealt with this problem in different ways. Many scholars, as discussed

previously, have privileged the analytical lens of the classical poetic forms with the concomi-

tant relegation of thematic types to second-class generic status. Others, like the Arabist Beat-

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38. For more on this general point, see: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 35-69; van Gelder, "Some Brave Attempts at Generic Classification in Premodern Arabic Literature," 20-22; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 26-30; Gruendler, "Motif vs. Genre"; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 125-131, 135; Meisami, "Genres of Court Literature," 234-35; Lewis, "Sincerely Flattering Panegyrics," 226-27.

39. Meisami, "Genres of Court Literature," 234.

40. Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 30. For example, in the Persian tradition, the *ghazal* is most frequently employed for the writing of love lyrics while the *qasideh* is generally more closely associated with poetry of the panegyric and didactic variety. However, it is also possible (although not nearly as common) to have panegyric *ghazals*.

13

rice Gruendler, for example, have argued instead that the traditional poetic themes or "motifs" (*ma'nâ*) (e.g., panegyric/*madh*, amatory/*ghazal*) are historically speaking the most accurate basis of poetic organization. In an aptly titled recent study "Motif vs. Genre: Reflections on the Diwân al-Ma'âni of Abu Hilâl al-'Askari," she makes this point forcefully:

> To summarize briefly, the five modes of arrangement listed above...show the unit of the motif as connecting widely divergent ideas of love and assembling a maximum of poetic realizations of these across periods and styles. This breadth could never be accomplished by remaining with the confines of one poetic genre, and it proves the poetic motif to be the more comprehensive organizing principle.[41]

Gruendler may indeed be correct that poetic themes (*ma'âni*) are the "more comprehensive organizing principle" for Arabic and Persian poetry, but, as she herself mentions in the same essay, categorizing Arabic poetry on the basis of these thematic categories is only one of a number of ways Arabic litterateurs organized and discussed their poetry. There was also the practice that developed especially in the *mohdath* (late Umayyad-'Abbasid) period of writing and categorizing poetry into monothematic types or, as Gruendler terms them, "unithematic genres."[42] Despite some recent claims to the contrary, these thematic genres are well-attested in medieval Arabic sources.[43] Beginning at least in the tenth century (if not ear-

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41. Gruendler, "Motif vs. Genre," 76.
42. Heinrichs, "Literary Theory," 25, 36, 42-43; Badawi, "From Primary to Secondary Qasīdas," 13-31; Badawi, "'Abbasid Poetry and Its Antecedents"; Hamori, "Zuhdiyyāt"; Harb, "Khamriyyāt"; Schoeler, "Bashshār B. Burd, Abū 'l-'Atahiyah, and Abū Nuwās"; Smith, "Hunting Poetry (*Tardiyāt*)"; Meisami, "Arabic Mujūn Poetry"; Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry*; van Gelder, "Some Brave Attempts at Generic Classification in Premodern Arabic Literature," 22; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 30-45; Gruendler, "Motif vs. Genre," 58; Bencheikh, "Khamriyya"; Kennedy, "Zuhdiyya." The proliferation of thematic sub-genres (e.g., *khamrīyât*, *tardīyât*, *zohdīyât*, *mojunīyât*) is usually traced back to the Arabic *mohdathun* poets of the 'Abbasid period, but several scholars have pointed out that the *mohdathun* were actually building on some earlier Arabic poets' work on these same themes. Hamori (266-267) and Schoeler (287) note, for example, that the prison poems of the 'Adī b. Zayd (d. ca. 600 CE) can be considered as a precursor of the later *zohdīyât* and may be indebted to the homiletic tradition of the Eastern Church. Kennedy (2013) and Schoeler (287) also add that the "pious/didactic" poetry of Sâbik al-Barbarī and Sâlih b. 'Abd al-Qoddus is an important forerunner of the classical *zohdīyat* poetry of the 'Abbasid period poets (especially, Abu al-'Atâhīyah). Moreover, on the topic of *ghazal* and *khamrīyât*, Meisami (443, n22), Schoeler (280-286, 291, 296-297), Benecheikh, and Badawi (1980: 13-18; 1990: 152-164) also note that there are other parallels in the 'Odhrī and Hejâzī love poetry and the wine/libertine poetry of al-Walid ibn Yazīd, 'Adī b. Zayd, al-Ash'a Maymun, Abu Mihjân al-Thaqafī, al-Oqayshīr al-Asadī, Wâlibah b. al-Hobâb, and Abu Dulâmah, amongst others.
43. There is a mistaken notion in some contemporary Arabic and Persian literary scholarship that the thematic genre terms such as *khamriyât* and *qalandariyât* are an invention of modern literary critics and have no historical basis in medieval Arabic poetry. This assertion is patently false. J.E. Bencheikh, Douglass Young,

lier), Arabic litterateurs began organizing the *diwâns* of several famous *mohdath* poets (including, Abu Nowâs, Abu Tammâm, Ibn al-Mo'tazz, al-Bohtorī) on the basis of thematic types of poetry, including *ghazalīyât* (love), *zohdīyât* (ascetic), *khamrīyât/sharâb* (wine), *tardīyât* (hunting), *madīh* (panegyric), *hijâ/dhamm* (invective), *marthīyât/ta'zīya* (elegy), *mojunīyât* (licentious), *awsâf* (description), *fakhr* (self-praise), *'itâb wa dhamm al-zamân wa 'istibtâ'* (blame, reproach of the age), and "*al-hikam wa al-adab wa al-mawâ'iz*" (wisdom, comportment, homiletic).[44]

The emergence of these monothematic poetic types marked an important transformation in the classical Arabic poetic system, as the scholarship of Kennedy, Hamori, and Meisami has shown. They register a moment in Arabic poetry when poets took individual themes (*ma'nâ*) from the repertoire of the classical polythematic *qasideh* and developed them into monothematic poetic types that no longer fit neatly in the traditional framework of Arabic poetics. Even if in terms of form poems grouped in these new categories were variegated and ambiguous at times, their authors and *divân* editors understood these poems as a new type of poetry, which necessitated a new terminological apparatus and organizational logic that went beyond the classical Arabic systematic poetics.

This was an important historical inflection point in the development of the Arabic poetic system, and the Persian tradition saw an analogous transformation as well. After an initial period of approximately two hundred years in which the classical polythematic Persian *qasideh* was the poetic dominant (or at least this is what the extant evidence indicates), begin-

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and Ashk Dahlén advance this claim in their studies, and it likely originates in Bencheikh's otherwise excellent and important study. See: Dahlén, "The Holy Fool in Medieval Islam," 71; Young, "Wine and Genre," 91; Bencheikh, "Khamriyya."

44. Abu Nowâs' (d. 813) *divân* was organized into thematic genres by al-Sulī (d. 946) and Hamzah al-Isfahânī (d. ca. 970); Abu Tammâm's (d. 845) *divân* was organized thematically by Hamzah al-Isfahânī; Ibn al-Mo'tazz's (d. 908) *divân* was organized thematically by al-Sulī; and Safī al-Dīn al-Hillī (d. 1349) and al-Bohtorī's (d. 897) *divâns* were also organized into thematic genres. Some of these thematic genres also are mentioned in the poetic manuals *Naqd al-Shi'r* by Qodamâ' b. Ja'far (d. ca. 932) and *al-'Omdah* by Ibn Rashīq (d. ca. 1065). For more details on thematic divan organization in the Arabic tradition, please see the following studies (especially, Schoeler): Schoeler, "Die Einteilung der Dichtung bei den Arabern," 35-53; Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry*, 4-5; van Gelder, "Some Brave Attempts at Generic Classification in Premodern Arabic Literature," 22; Kennedy, "Zuhdiyya." And see following study by Wagner for list of traditional content genres in Abbasid Arabic *divâns*: Wagner, *Die Überlieferung des Abū Nuwās-Dīwān und seine Handschriften.*

15

ning at some point near the time of Sanâ'i there was a rapid proliferation of different types of shorter, largely monothematic poems.[45] As in the Arabic tradition (from which it drew heavily), the development of a wider range of monothematic poetic types out of the classical polythematic *qasideh* is reflected in the terminology Persian litterateurs used to discuss and categorize their poetry. So, for example, in addition to the standard discussions of poetic themes (*ma'nâ*) and forms (*qasideh*, *ghazal*, *robâ'i*, *do beyti*, *qet'eh*, and *masnavi*), early Persian authors discuss poems as being members of different thematic groupings as well[46]—including elegies (*marsiyeh*, pl. *marâsi*),[47] panegyrics (*madhi/madâ'eh*),[48] satires (*hazliyât*),[49] invectives (*ahâji*),[50] prison poetry (*habsiyât*),[51] religious-homiletic poetry (*zohd/zohdiyât/mow'ezeh/va'z*),[52] praise of the prophet (*na't*),[53] winter (*zemestâni*), spring (*bahâri*), summer (*tâbestâni*), fall (*khazâni*) poems,[54] and poems on the virtues of the house of prophet/his imams (*manâqeb*), God's unity (*towhid*), wisdom (*hekmat*), and "serious matters" (*jedd*)[55]—and also add adjectives to forms of poetry to specify their thematic focus, such as "*qasideh-ye madhi*" (panegyric *qasideh*),[56] "*qasideh-ye tahayyoti*" (greeting *qasideh*),[57] "*qasideh-ye towhid*" (di-

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45. Shams-e Qays, in his brief definition of the *ghazal*, describes it as monothematic in focus and "shortened" (*maqsur*)—that is, presumably, "shortened" or "cut-off" in comparison to the longer and frequently polythematic *qasideh*. Shams-e Qays comment here may be the first evidence in the poetic treatise tradition for the development shorter, monothematic forms of poetry. See: Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 226, 418-419.

46. See Appendix II for a full discussion, but I will mention that I have included citations here both from works where it is clear the author is referring to a particular group of poems by using the Arabic genre marker -*īyât* or a thematic adjective with a poetic form, or where the author introduces their discussion with phrases such as "most of their poems are on [insert theme]," indicating that they see the unit of the poem as being primarily "on" a particular topic.

47. Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e avval)*; Vatvât, *Divân-e Rashid al-Din Vatvât Sa'id bâ ketâb-e hadâ'eq al-sehr fi daqâ'eq al-she'r (ed. Nafisi)*, 648; Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e dovvum)*; Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 223, 411; 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 415-18; Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 81-82.

48. Kaykâvus ebn Voshmgir, *Qâbus-Nâmeh*, 191; 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahâr maqâleh va ta'liqât*, 104-105, 127; Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 367-368, 413; Fakhri Esfahâni, *Me'yâr-e Jamâli*, 142; Ansâri, *Kanz al-Fawâ'ed*, 11.

49. Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e avval)*; Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e dovvum)*; 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 555; Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 75.

50. Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e avval)*; Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e dovvum)*.

51. 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahâr maqâleh va ta'liqât*, 150; Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 95. Vatvât also refers to Mas'ud Sa'd Salmân's *habsiyât* but does not actually use this term (Vatvât, *Divân-e Rashid al-Din Vatvât Sa'id bâ ketâb-e hadâ'eq al-sehr fi daqâ'eq al-she'r (ed. Nafisi)*, 702). Nevertheless, it is clear that he views them as a thematic type of poetry.

52. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 415-18.

53. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 573.

54. Kaykâvus ebn Voshmgir, *Qâbus-Nâmeh*, 195.

55. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 415-418, 573, 685.

56. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 411.

57. Ansâri, *Kanz al-Fawâ'ed*, 1.

16

vine unity *qasideh*),[58] "*qasideh-ye rabi'i*" (spring *qasideh*, presumably like *bahâriyeh* qasidehs),[59] and "*qasideh-ye mofâkherati*" (self-praise *qasideh*).[60]

The imperative to classify poems by thematic type is even more convincingly seen in many of the very earliest Persian divan manuscripts. Although the common modern editorial practice of ordering poems by form and alphabetically therein (according to end rhyme) is considered by some to faithfully reflect medieval practice, this organizational logic actually only dates to somewhere around the sixteenth century.[61] Prior to this, as Nizar Ahmad and J.T.P de Bruijn have shown, Persian editors typically organized poems in divan manuscripts on the basis of poetic theme.[62] De Bruijn's conclusion from his research on the early manuscripts of Sanâ'i's divan is instructive and likely applicable more broadly:

> The contents of the older, non-alphabetical collections have often been described as being without any noticeable order at all, because the division of the poems according to their prosodic forms appears not to have been carried out systematically either. The sole categories of this nature which are clearly defined in these manuscripts are those of the *rubā'īyāt* and the *muqatta'āt*, but even poems of these two prosodic forms are frequently placed among poems of the prosodically undifferentiated groups. Nonetheless, there are several indications that the editors of these collections actually made efforts to establish an order of some kind. This, however, was not based on prosody but on the genres and the contents of the poems. The latter principle was borrowed by the

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58. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 550, 669, 736.
59. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 59.
60. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 84-85. For a full overview of these terms and the sources they appear in, see Appendix II.
61. Utas is incorrect when he states that *divâns* have been organized by form and alphabetically within each formal division since the earliest manuscripts (Utas, "'Genres' in Persian Literature 900-1900," 212). Lewis also points out that in Turkish areas poetry in Rumi's *divân* is also sometimes organized by meter (Franklin D. Lewis, *Rumi*, 295).
62. Elwell-Sutton remarks in passing (without citing any studies or manuscripts) that it has been the practice of Persian literati since the thirteenth century to organize *divâns* by formal genres (e.g., *qasideh*, *ghazal*, *robâ'iyat*) and then alphabetically (by the last letter of the end-rhyme) within these formal divisions. (He does, however, also mention—again without citing any studies or manuscripts—that "Collected Works" (*kolliyât*) sometimes contain thematic divisions—such as *madh*, *zohdiyât/mow'ezeh*, *marsiyeh*, *qalandariyât*, *hazliyât*, *khamriyât*, among some other formal categories) (Elwell-Sutton, *The Persian Metres*, 259-60). I would personally push that date a bit later, at least into the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and possibly, as De Bruijn maintains in his case of Sanâ'i's *divân*, even to the sixteenth century: "It appears that the neat alphabetical order of the poems in the modern editions is a comparatively recent innovation in the transmission of the text. All existing copies of the [i.e., Sanâ'i's] Dīvān older than the late sixteenth century are arranged in a non-alphabetical order. The alternative principle of arrangement is, in some cases, a thematic one, explicitly marked by rubric titles; in other cases no guiding principle can be noticed at first sight, although it is possible that thematic considerations did play a role in determining the order of the poems." See: Ahmad, "Some Original Prose and Poetical Pieces of Hakim Sana'i"; de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 104-108, 110; de Bruijn, "The Transmission of Early Persian Ghazals," 27-28; de Bruijn, "Arabic Influences on Persian Literature," 374. Lewis concurs with de Bruijn's dating here: Lewis, *Rumi*, 295.

17

Persian editors of dīvāns from the practices of early Islamic philology as they are demonstrated in the Arabic dīvāns of the Abbassid poets…It was adhered to until the end of the 7th/13th century or even longer, as the example of the tradition of Sanâ'i's *Dīvān* shows. The influence of the philological conventions is apparent in a number of elements which the older collections, or at least some of them, have in common: the presence of prose introductions and of tables of contents, the division of poems according to a conventional catalogue of [thematic] genres, as well as into an equally conventional number of sections.[63]

The thematic categories most commonly seen in Sanâ'i's manuscripts, according to Ahmad and de Bruijn, are ones that we are already familiar with: *towhid*, *na't-e rasul*, *mow'ezeh/zohdiyât/zohd/hekmat/amsâl*, *madhiyât/madâ'eh/qasideh-ye madh*, *marsiyât/marâsi*, *ghazaliyât*, *hajviyât/qasideh-ye hajv*, *hejâ/ahâji*, *hazliyât/qasideh-ye hazl*, and *qalandariyât*.[64]

Ahmad and de Bruijn's studies of the early manuscript tradition of Sanâ'i's divan are the only in-depth analyses of the thematic organization of early divans to date, but other scholars have noticed similar thematic organizational patterns in other poets' early divan manuscripts. Beelaert, for example, mentions in passing that *shekâyat-e ruzgar* (complaint of the times) poems are "often" titled as such and "sometimes" are grouped together in older manuscripts,[65] and some of the earliest, non-alphabetically-arranged manuscripts of the divans of both 'Attâr and 'Erâqi evince a similar basic concern with thematic organization as well.[66]

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63. de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 103-04. Quote is from 103-104, but see de Bruijn's larger discussion of the organization of early Sanâ'i *divâns* from pages 93-112, in which he makes this point repeatedly. He also makes the same point here as well: de Bruijn, "Arabic Influences on Persian Literature," 374.

64. Ahmad, "Some Original Prose and Poetical Pieces of Hakim Sana'i"; de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 104-08.

65. Beelaert, *A Cure for Grieving*, 33-34.

66. For example, see the following manuscripts, for example: (1) Majles VIII 2600 (first part copied by Fazl Allâh Qazvini and dated 688/1289; second part by Hasan Hajj Mohammad and dated 707/1308) and (2) Süleymaniye Library, Wali al-Din Jâr Allâh's Collection, Ms. No. 1667/1 (date of composition: ca. 702/1302-731/1331 [according to Mohtasham] and 713/1313 [according to Nafisi]). Although these manuscripts of 'Attâr and 'Erâqi's divans do not contain the internal thematic headings that are seen in some of Sanâ'i's manuscripts, a loose internal thematic division can be seen in the order of the poems. De Bruijn has already pointed to a similar phenomenon in some of the of non-alphabetically-arranged manuscripts of Sanâ'i as well. In the Vel. 2627 manuscript, for example, there is an "*fehrest-e anvâ'*" (table of contents); however, there are no thematic divisions within the actual text of the divan (i.e., the poems just run continuously without any thematic sub-headings). "Still," de Bruijn maintains, "the thematical arrangement of the fihrist can indeed be recognized in the sequence of the poems, even if there is no exact

The similarities between these works extend to the order of appearance of each thematic category as well. They typically begin with poems in praise of God/Divine Unity (*towhid*), Prophet Muhammad (*na't*), and his companions (*manâqeb*), then proceed to religious-homiletic (*zohdiyât/mow'ezeh*), panegyric (*madh*), *qalandariyât/khamriyât/ghazaliyât*, invective/satire (*havjiyât/hazliyât*), and elegiac (*marsiyât*) sections, and conclude with the formal divisions of *moqatta'ât* and *robâ'iyât*. Although each manuscript has its own particularities, there is a general concordance in terms of both the content and order of the thematic categories in all of these early manuscripts. Thus it is likely representative of a more widespread early editorial practice of organizing *divâns* on a theme-based schema, drawn in part at least from *mohdath*-period Arabic editorial practices.

A similar pattern is followed in other types of thematically arranged collections of poetry from this early period too. In particular, we know of the following extant works: the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr (d. 1221),[67] the *Nozhat al-Majâles* (c. ca. middle of thirteenth century) of Jamâl al-Din Khalil Shervâni, the *Mo'nes al-Ahrâr* (composed 1341) of

agreement" (de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 106-07). Ahmad echoes this same point as well in his analysis of Sanâ'i manuscripts (Ahmad, "Some Original Prose and Poetical Pieces of Hakim Sana'i," 50). De Bruijn provides a detailed layout of the thematic subdivisions that he observes in the Vel. 2627 manuscript (which is broadly reflected in the MiF 2353 manuscript as well) and argues that the following basic arrangement "may be regarded as typical of the medieval collections of Sanâ'i's poetry":

    a. 48 "religious poems" (e.g., *towhid*, *na't*)
    b. 58 panegyrics
    c. 4 elegies (including, *tarkib-band*, qasida, *moqatta'ât*)
    d. 55 *ghazaliyât* and/or *qalandariyât*
    e. 11 panegyrics
    f. 38 *ghazaliyât* and/or *qalandariyât*
    g. 9 panegryics
    h. 187 mostly *ghazaliyât* and some *qalandariyât*
    i. 76 *muqatta'ât*
    j. 250 *robâ'iyât*

As de Bruijn notes, it is important to highlight the fact that the thematic groupings of poems appear in a repeating sequence (with the exception of religious-homiletic poetry, which seem to only occur in the first section) (de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 106-08).

67. 'Attâr's work is actually not the first such thematically-arranged collection, although it appears to be the first such work that is extant in its entirety. We also know of a compilation of *robâ'iyât* (quatrains) from various poets produced by Abu Hanifeh 'Abd al-Karim b. Abi Bakr (c. ca. end of the twelfth century) for the Seljuk Mohyi al-Din Mas'ud b. Qılıč Arslan in Ankara. Unfortunately, only selections of this work have survived, according to Hellmut Ritter, and in any case, the manuscript was not accessible to the author. Ritter, "Philologika XI. Maulānā Galāladdīn Rūmī und sein Kreis," 245; Ritter, "Philologika XVI. Farīduddīn 'Attār. IV," 195. I want to thank Austin O'Malley for drawing my attention to this work.

Mohammad ebn Badr Jâjarmi, the *Kholâsat al-ash'âr fi robâ'iyât* (ca. between 1342-3 and 1344-5) of Abu al-Majd Mohammad ben Mas'ud Tabrizi,[68] and a couple other smaller collections of thematically arranged *ghazaliyât* and *roba'iyât* by Jalâl al-Din 'Atiqi and Kermâni, respectively.[69] These works include the thematic categories that we have seen repeatedly above (e.g., *madh*, *towhid*, *na't*, *hekmat/mow'ezeh*, *shekâyat*, *marsiyat/marâsi*, *hazliyât*, *hejâ/ahâji*, *ghazal/ghazaliyât*, *qalandariyât*, *khamriyât/sharâb/sâqi*, *motâyebat*) and a wide array of other even more specific ones for different sub-categories of amatory verse and poetry on seasons, candles, old age, instruments, flowers, and natural/celestial phenomena.[70] The sequence of the thematic divisions in these poetic collections is also broadly consistent with their order in the divan manuscripts, indicating again that this organizational schema is part of broader approach to classifying poetry that cuts across the boundaries of form and collection type in the early Persian poetic system.[71]

Each work varies to some degree in its conception of these categories and ultimately must be studied historically—like genres themselves—as a product of a particular individual in a specific time and place. We should not expect uniformity. Nevertheless, the general patterns observed above do show that medieval Persian litterateurs were discussing, writing, and categorizing poems into different "types" on the basis of their dominant themes as much as their various forms. Poetic form is never irrelevant—as Meisami says in the quotation that opens this section, each form is always more closely associated with one thematic type even if it is not limited to it. But form is decidedly not foregrounded in these sources as the prima-

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68. Contained in: Tabrizi, *Safineh-ye Tabriz*, 593-612. See also Seyed-Gohrab's discussion of this collection: Seyed-Gohrab, "Literary Works in Tabriz's Treasury," 124-26.

69. The small collection of "*ghazaliyât*" are on the topics of "*towhid* and *tâmât*" ("*Ghazaliyât fi al-towhid va al-Tâmât*") (Tabrizi, *Safineh-ye Tabriz*, 440-41) and the collection of *robâ'iyât* by Kermâni (collected and organized by Amin al-Din Hajj Bolleh) (Tabrizi, *Safineh-ye Tabriz*, 581-92) includes the categories of "*towhid*," "separation," "love," "sufism," "Islamic law," ritual purity (*tahârat*), "reason and knowledge," "travel," among others.

70. Again, please see Appendix II for a detailed discussion of each work and the thematic categories that it includes.

71. In addition to the works mentioned in this section and Appendix II, I would also mention that there are other later works—such as Qazvini's *Tazkereh-ye Mey-Khâneh* (which is a collection of *sâqi-nâmehs*) and the thematic *divâns* of poets like Abu Eshâq At'emeh and Nezâm al-Din Mahmud Kâri on the topics of food and clothes (respectively)—which further illustrate the importance of thematic genres.

ry criterion for categorization as it often is in contemporary Persian literary studies. The earliest Persian sources, in fact, seem distinctly more concerned with organizing their poetry on the basis of thematic criteria.

At the same time, it is equally important to emphasize that the thematic categories observed in these works cannot all be understood as denoting individual poetic themes or motifs in the traditional sense of *ma'nâ*. In some cases, Persian poets—like their *mohdathun* Arabic forerunners—developed the thematic units (*ma'nâ*) of the polythematic *qasideh* into coherent, even if formally flexible, thematic "genres" or "types" (*anvâ'*). There is ample evidence for these developments scattered throughout the earliest sources, but only rarely are these developments reflected in the systematic poetics presented in the Persian poetic treatise tradition.[72] This comparative underrepresentation in the prescriptive poetics literature should not, however, be interpreted as a sign of their lack of importance; rather, it is a reflection of the fact that they developed outside of this normative tradition, in the realm of actual poetic practice. Without an anchor in this high literature, they are easier to dismiss as too vague to have analytical value or relegate to second-class generic status.[73] But this would be a mistake. Like all genres, they are indeed nebulous historical constructs with imperfect and shifting borders (and therefore difficult to pin down with one-hundred percent certainty), but they are crucial for understanding the development of Persian poetry—especially in its early, developmental period (pre-fourteenth century)—and we must come to terms with them as important poetic forces in this process. The present study, which subjects one of these thematic types of medieval Persian poetry, the "rogue lyrics" (*qalandariyât*), to detailed analysis, contributes to this larger research program.[74]

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72. The notable exception here is Kâshefi's introduction to his later and not particularly well-known poetic treatise, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, which I discussed in the chapter introduction.

73. This relative marginality is in my view one of the major reasons that some scholars have questioned the legitimacy, analytical utility, and even existence of these thematic types. See previously cited studies by Shafi'i-Kadkani and Utas questioning the utility of these thematic types for poetic analysis.

74. Although not within the scope of the present study, for more on the rogue figure in Arabic literature, see: Lyons, *The Arabian Epic*, I:118-127; Heath, "'Ayyār"; Lyons, *Man of Wiles in Popular Arabic Literature*.

21

III. Historicizing Thematic Genres in Early Persian Poetry:
A Case Study of the *Qalandariyât*

The "Rogue Lyrics" (Qalandariyât*): An Introduction*

1   Love, wine, a friend, the dilapidated winehouse (*kharâbât*), and infidelity (*kâferi*):
     whoever found these, became immune to grief.

2   From the crooked path, they found the way in the direction of the winehouse.
     Its infidelity became right guidance and divine unity became infidelity.

3   They abandoned both separation and union.
     They left behind power and the way of judgment.

4   They became disgusted with all except love and wine
     [and] bound themselves around the waist in service to a beautiful idol.

5   Get up Sanâ'i! Demand wine and a harp:
     this is our religion and the Qalandari way!

6   A true man knows his thoughts in each place.
     Men that are engaged in the work of love are serious.[75]

The opening line of the poem sets the stage. The location: the dilapidated winehouse

(*kharâbât*). The dramatis personae: the friend—the poet's beloved—and Sanâ'i's qalandari

poetic persona, the roguish *qalandar*. The topics: love and infidelity/unbelief (*kâferi*), and

implicitly, the relationship between the two. The first line acts as an introduction for the poet-

ic world that will occupy Sanâ'i in the remainder of this piece. In a common topos, the move-

ment in the second line is *towards* the "dilapidated winehouse," which is the most prototypi-

cal of settings for *qalandariyât* more generally. It is a carnivalesque space located off the

"crooked path" (line 2) in which wine (illicit in Islamic law) flows freely and music and

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75. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 653-654 q #289. Persian text:

هر کس که یافت شد ز همه اندُهان بری	عشق و شراب و یار و خرابات و کافری
کفرش همه هُدیٰ شد و توحید کافری	از راه کج به سوی خرابات راه یافت
برخاست از تصرّف و از راه داوری	بُگذاشت آنچه بود هم از هجر و هم ز وصل
بست او میان به پیش یکی بت به چاکری	بیزار شد ز هر چه بجز عشق و باده بود
اینست دین ما و طریق قلندری	برخیز ای سنایی باده بخواه و چنگ
مردان به کار عشق نباشند سر سری	مرد آن بود که داند هر جای رای خویش

22

drunkenness are the order of the day (line 4-5).[76] Here, the logic and norms of medieval Islamic life are so starkly inverted that even "infidelity (*kofr*) bec[omes] right guidance (*hodâ*) and divine unity (*towhid*) bec[omes] infidelity (*kâferi*)," as Sanâ'i declaims in line 2. The pilgrims to this unholy shrine are not servants of the one and only God almighty, but rather have bound themselves in servitude to an idol (line 4) and have forsaken all the concerns that preoccupy normal men and women in this world (line 3-4). As Sanâ'i makes clear in the penultimate line, patrons of the winehouse have their own religion—"[t]his is our religion and the Qalandari way"—a "way" of life that deliberately positions itself in direct opposition to all normative modes of piety, social institutions, and comportment.

In other *qalandariyât* of Sanâ'i, he develops the opposition between these two worlds to a fever pitch, asserting that he has made his prayer direction (*qibla*) the winehouse (*meykhâneh*) of the "friend" and his new *Ka'ba* (the most holy shrine in Islam), its houses of wine and gambling (*kharâbât*, *qommâr*):

1   Since I made my *qibla* the winehouse—how can I practice pious
         devotion?
     Love became king over me—how can I act as king?

2   The *Ka'ba* of the friend is the dilapidated winehouse (*kharâbât*)
         and putting on the pilgrims' vestments is gambling.
     I have chosen this religion/path—how can I practice pious devotion?[77]

As he expresses through the rhetorical questions in lines 1 and 2, since he has chosen this "re-

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76. While in the cases of all of the poets discussed here this antinomian and transgressive imagery is only operative at the poetic level (that is, it is not reflective of the poet's lived experience), it is essential that we do not use this as a pretext to reduce this poetics of transgression to merely a symbolist poetics that functions as little more than a complex allegorical code for Sufi esotericism. As I discuss in chapters two and three, this poetry and its carnivalesque imagery plays a far more complex role than this reductionistic approach allows. At the generic level, its deliberate parodic inversion of the symbolic worlds of other thematic genres is part of a broader intergeneric literary game (see chapter two) and, in terms of its imagery, the "force dynamics" of its carnivalesque metaphoric world models and performs the Sufi ideal of the self-annihilated lover (see chapter three).

77. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 393-394 q #181. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

عشق بر من پادشا شد پادشایی چون کنم   قبله چون میخانه کردم پارسایی چون کنم

من همان مذهب گرفتم پارسایی چون کنم   کعبه یارم خراباتست و احرامش قمار

</div>

23

ligion" or "path" (*mazhab*), he cannot practice "pious devotion" (*pârsâ'i*) anymore.[78] The "friend" on this path demands that he become a "rascal" (*qallâsh*) (line 5)—an antinomian figure like the *qalandar* who openly flouts such normative modes of piety and social life.

The opposition between the qalandari "religion" and normative modes of Islamic piety is also expressed through its repeated contrastive juxtaposition with asceticism (*zohd*) and mainstream Sufi modes of piety. These normative modes of piety and the figures associated with them (i.e., the "ascetic"/*zâhed* and the "sufi") play a particularly central role in qalandari poetry because they function as the foils for the star character of the *qalandariyât*: the roguish, antinomian *qalandar* (and related figures) who proudly proclaims his adherence to the transgressive religion of the winehouse or, as we saw in the first poem, even infidelity/unbelief (*kofr*) itself. 'Attâr has a number of excellent qalandari *robâ'is* that illustrate this contrast quite clearly:[79]

> Those days have passed when I used to talk about asceticism;
> now I [have] new pains and old dregs.
>
> Yesterday I was a cyprus tree in the courtyard of a religious Sufi hermitage,
> and today I have gone to the winehouse as a broken man[80]
>
> ———
>
> For this pain, that causes nothing save sorrow of the soul,
> only the qalandari dregs can provide respite.
>
> Those sincere sighs that arise from the qalandars' lodge,
> none alike are ever emitted in the Sufi hermitage.[81]

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78. For an in depth examination of this poem and the function of its poetic refrain "how can I" (*radif*) see chapter three.

79. All of these *robâ'i* come from the section "On Wine and Qalandari Poetry (*khamriyât va qalandariyât*)" in 'Attâr's collection of *robâ'i*, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* (which I will discuss more below as well). Most scholars— including Shafi'i-Kadkani—believe this to be his original arrangement and terminology. Regardless, even if it is not original to him, it still indicates this term was current in the period of the editor responsible for it. For a full discussion of the attribution of the works attributed to 'Attâr (including the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*), see the first chapter of: O'Malley, "Poetry and Pedagogy."

80. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293. Persian text:

آن رفت که گفتمی من از زهد سخن   اکنون من و دَرد نو و دُردی کهن
دی سر و بُنِ صومعهً دین بودم   و امروز به میخانه شدم بی سر و بن

81. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 294. Persian text:

زین دَرد که جز غصهً جان می ندهد   جز دُرد قلندری امان می ندهد
آن آه به صدق کز قلندر خیزد   در صوَمعه هیچ کس نشان می ندهد

24

———

If you practice asceticism, it will take away your pain and anguish;
it will bring self-conceit and take away passionate desire and need.

Beware, o ascetic! Don't come around me,
for this rogue of the qalandars' lodge[82] will take you away from your prayers![83]

The opposition between these modes of piety is carefully elaborated through their contrasting individual embodiments (ascetic/*zâhed* vs. *rend-e qalandar*), institutions (Sufi hermitage/*sowme'eh* vs. winehouse/*mey-khâneh*), associated rites (prayer/*namâz* vs. dregs-drinking), and even affective qualities. Asceticism (*zohd*), according to this poetry, destroys the "passionate desire and need" and "pain and anguish" of its practitioner and in its place brings "self-conceit" and a type of rigid, pharisaical "hypocrisy" that is spiritually impoverished and impotent. In contrast, the realm of the "rogue" or "libertine" is full of passionate desire and love (*showq*/*'eshq*), commotion (*khorush*), drunkenness (*masti*), madness (*divâne-gi*), dancing (*raqs*), music, gambling (*moqâmeri*), and the inseparable and simultaneous pain and joy of sincere love for the beloved.

We have pierced our ear with the ring of slavery for the rascals!
Without even drinking wine, we have already began creating a commotion.

Don't deal with good or bad, infidelity or Islam.
Serve the dregs! For we have become dregs-drinkers![84]

———

O cupbearer! From the heat of my heart the wine in the mornings
boiled [and] thus became licit, o cupbearer!

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82. Shafi'i Kadkani argues that the term "qalandar" in its earliest uses (for example, in the poetry of Sanâ'i and 'Attâr) refers to a place, not an individual figure, and only later becomes an individual figure (slightly before or in the period of Rumi and 'Erâqi). See: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 38-45, 300-320.

83. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 294. Persian text:

گر زهد کنی سوز وگدازت ببرد   عُجْب آورد و شوق ونیازت ببرد
زنهار به گِرد من مگرد ای زاهد   کاین رندِ قلندر از نمازت ببرد

84. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 292. Persian text:

ما رندان را حلقه به گوش آمدهایم   ناخورده شراب پر خروش آمدهایم
دست از بد و نیک و کفر و اسلام بدار   دُردی در دِه که دُردنوش آمدهایم

25

Drunkenness and gambling are much better
than practicing piety superficially and hypocritically, o my cupbearer![85]

———

With flowing water and herbs, o my Tarazi candle,
pour the wine, break [our] repentance, and play your instrument.

Be merry! For the flowing water cries out
[and] says: "I went so I will not come again."[86]

The foregoing poems illustrate another one of the central characteristics of the *qalandariyât*: their thematization of transgression and inversion of social norms. Transgression takes a wide variety of different forms in this poetry and it is represented as an almost ritualesque activity for the various personages in the qalandari poetic world. It begins with the first step the poet takes off the "straight path" and onto the "crooked path" leading towards the carnivalesque space of the winehouse (alternatively represented as a gambling house or other place of disrepute), where illicit substances and activities (e.g., wine, drunkenness, gambling, apostasy) and the institutions and figures associated with them (i.e., winehouses, *qalandar* lodges, rogues/rascals) are celebrated as the true apotheoses of the spiritual realm. Admission into this "upside down world" entails a repudiation of normative Islamicate social values that is both asserted and performed in the *qalandariyât* through various mock-rituals, such as the mock-pilgrimage to the winehouse, breaking of repentance, or as we see in the final line of the poem below, the mock-initiation of the qalandari poet into this world through the bestowal and acceptance of a non-Islamic cincture from the "Magian elder."

1   O Muslims! I have fallen to rascality once again!
       I have dispatched my heart's belongings to the winehouse out of love.

———

85. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 294. Persian text:

از تفّ دلم می به صباح ای ساقی   جوشیده چو گشت شد مباح ای ساقی
مستیَ و مُقامری بسی بهتر از آنک   بر روی و ریا کنی صلاح ای ساقی

86. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 297. Persian text:

بر آب روان و سبزه ای شمع طراز   می در ده و توبه بشکن و چنگ بساز
خوش باش که نعره می‌زند آب روان   می‌گوید: رفتم که دگر نایم باز

26

2 Since I saw goodness and virtue as nothing but hot air,
   I threw all my goodness and virtue to the winds of love.

3 Where is the foundation of that work that I do Qur'anic recitation
   for they have kneaded my foundation from libertinism and rascality?

4 Don't give me advice for love and rascality are written in the stars for me.
   How does your good counsel benefit me when I was born under such stars?

5 For me, a goblet of wine is better than anything that is in the world of repentance.
   O cupbearers, come once for my cries are for goblets of wine!

6 I do not amass things from anyone because my sweetheart told me not to.
   I do not take advice from anyone because my master taught me not to.

7 I solicit help with the suffering and toil of the world from a goblet of wine,
   for a goblet of wine can take my mind away from the world in a moment.

8 O wise Magian elder, strap a cincture on me,
   for I have thrown my prayer carpet off my shoulders and my beads from my hands![87]

Sanâ'i's poem begins with the poet's movement *towards* the winehouse—a poetic world that he explicitly associates with *qallâshi* (rascality, antinomianism). He tells us that he has "fallen" "again" to *qallâshi* because love has impelled to do so. His juxtaposition of the "Muslims" he apostrophizes at the opening of the poem and the *qallâshi* of the "winehouse" clearly demarcates the normative world of "Muslims" from the transgressive winehouse world of the *qallâshân* (rascals, rogues) and Magian elder (line 8) in the imaginative geography of this poem. In the remainder of the poem he develops this opposition through the parodic inversion of the values, symbols, and practices associated with the former group. While "goodness and virtue" (*salâh va kheyr*) are regard by Muslims as laudatory and even reli-

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87. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 359 q #166. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

به دست عشق رخت دل به میخانه فرستادم   دگر بار ای مسلمانان به قلّاشی در افتادم

همه خیرَ و صلاح خُود به بادِ عشق در دادم   چو در دست صلاح و خیر جز بادی نمی‌دیدم

که از رندی و قلّاشی سرشتَستند بنیادم   کجا اصلی بُوَد کاری که به من سازم به قرّایی

کجا سودم کند پندت بدَیَّن طالع که من زادم   مده پندم که در طالع مرا عشقست و قلّاشی

رسید ای ساقیان یک ره ز جام باده فریادم   مرا یک جام باده به ز هرچه اندر جهان توبه

نیاموزم ز کس پندی چنین آموخت استادم   نَیَندوزم ز کس چیزی چنان فرمود جانانم

که جام می تواند برد یک دم عالم از یادم   ز رنج و زحمت عالم به جام می در آویزم

که من تسبیح و سجاده ز دست و دوشِ بنهادم   الا ای پیرِ زردشتی به من بربند زنّاری

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27

giously obligatory, Sanâ'i—adopting the "poet as rogue" persona—throws them "to the winds of love" since he now he regards them as "nothing but hot air" (line 2). Similarly, he defiantly dismisses "advice/good counsel" (*pand*) (line 4, 6) and even the Qur'an itself is not spared his derision (line 3). Instead, he proudly proclaims his "libertine/antinomian" nature (*rendi va qallâshi*) (line 3-4) and, rejecting the "world of repentance" (*towbeh*), implores the cupbearer for wine (line 5, 7) and the "Magian elder" for a "cincture" (line 8).[88] He concludes the poem with one of the most typical of qalandari carnivalesque rituals: throwing away his (Islamic) "prayer carpet" and "prayer beads" (line 8) and presenting himself—wine goblet in hand—to the Magian elder for his cincturing.

Sanâ'i's apostatical actions in the final line of this poem and his earlier rejection (or, in other cases, "breaking") of "repentance" (*towbeh*) (line 5) are among the most common transgressive rituals of the winehouse's antinomian religion. The "breaking repentance" (*towbeh shekastan*) topos is particularly important because it can be read as a direct inversion of the central call of "religious-homiletic" poetry (*zohdiyât/mow'ezeh*) "to repent" from such iniquities before it is too late. 'Attâr's collection of qalandari *robâ'is* contain numerous excellent examples:

> Each day I intend to repent at night,
> repent from the endless goblets of wine filled to the brim.
>
> But now the flowers have bloomed—I have no provisions.
> In the time of flowers, o Lord, repentance from repentance![89]
> ———
>
> The Christian youth who broke my repentance
> came last night and placed his tresses in my hand.

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88. The "cincture" (*zonnâr*) was a special belt that non-Islamic inhabitants of Islamic lands wore.
89. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 298. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

هر روز برآنم که کنم شب توبه   وز جام پیاپی لبالب توبه
و اکنون که شکفت برگ گل برگم نیست   در موسم گل ز توبه یارب توبه

</div>

He did the four-step dance and left.
He fastened the four-fold Christian cincture around my waist.[90]

In the last *robâ'i*, 'Attâr returns to the "cincturing" topos that Sanâ'i used in his poem above. The non-Islamic cincture is a central symbol in *qalandariyât* poetry, functioning as what we might term a "mock-investiture" motif. But it is actually only one of a much larger set of non-Islamic symbols and motifs that *qalandari* poets employ to illustrate the transgressivity of their poetic world. "Breaking (their) repentance" and deriding socially and religiously praiseworthy values are not enough for the rogue poet. They go one step further, openly rejecting Islam and even flirting with apostasy. At times this takes the form of denigrating traditional Islamic symbols (e.g., Qur'an, Ka'ba, prayer direction/*qibla*, prayer beads/*tasbih*, prayer mat/*sajjâdeh*) and, conversely, celebrating non-Islamic ones (e.g., Magian elder, cincture, Christian youth, *kofr*/infidelity), as we have already seen in the poems of Sanâ'i and 'Attâr above. Other times we see Sanâ'i and 'Attâr professing allegiance to a higher spirituality beyond "Islam" or even sometimes converting to another religion entirely, as 'Attâr does in the following quatrain:

> By loving you, I will convert to another religion.
> I will converse as a Christian.
>
> I will fasten the four-fold cincture around my waist
> and pawn my turban in the winehouse![91]

Love is ultimately the primary concern of the poem, but its extraordinary force can only be expressed through the shocking image of the "pious Muslim poet" turned apostate "convers[ing] as a Christian" and publicly branding himself as such (which illustrates an impor-

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90. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

دوش آمد و زلف داد در دست مرا   ترسابچه‌ای که توبه بشکست مرا

زنّار چهارْ کرد بر بست مرا   در رقصِ چهارْ کرد برگشت وبرفت

</div>

91. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 292. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

در ترسایی گفت و شنو خواهم کرد   در عشقِ تو دین خویش نو خواهم کرد

دستار به میخانه گرو خواهم کرد   زنّارِ چهارْ کرد برخواهم بست

</div>

29

tant point about the *qalandariyât's* poetics that I will take up in chapter three). Perhaps the most spectacular exploration of the apostasy theme, however, is the following "rogue figure" poem by Sanâ'i:[92]

1   You have cut me off again from the Muslims, o young infidel!
       You have made me a prisoner again, o young infidel!

2   In the ranks of lords of love—those "all-in" gambling types—
       you again place me, o young infidel!

3   It seems you returned from apostasy (lit. being an infidel) to being Muslim only
       in order to uproot Islam (lit. being Muslim), o young infidel!

4   With a face like the fountain of the sun and tresses like crosses,
       you renewed the Christian religion, o young infidel!

5   In the dilapidated qalandari winehouse, in the ranks of the wine drinkers,
       you know hundreds of strange disguises, o young infidel!

6   You are the Joseph of the era, and for you, below each Moses
       there are a hundred Jacobs, o young infidel![93]

As in the previous poems, Sanâ'i opens by establishing the foundational opposition between the qalandari poetic world and the normative world of the "Muslims" (line 1). The "young infidel" (*kâfer-bachcheh*) that he apostrophizes in the refrain of this poem in an almost mock-panegyric manner becomes both the poetic axis and agent of inversion. It is he who "cut[s]" Sanâ'i off from the "Muslims" and transports him to the "dilapidated qalandari winehouse" (*kharâbât-e qalandar*) where the "lords of love," "'all-in' gambling types," and "wine drinkers" congregate (line 2, 4). He is a liminal and deceitful character (line 4) who is

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92. For more on the different types of *qalandariyât*, see the final section in this chapter.

93. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 1008-09. This poem is not listed as a *qalandariyât* in Rezavi's edition, but a similar version is listed in the *qalandariyât* section in the KM manuscript: Sanâ'i, *Kolliyât-e Ash'âr-e Hakim Sanâ'i Ghaznavi (ed. Bashir)*, 575. I have followed the version of this poem found in the KM manuscript. Persian text:

کردیم بندی و زندانی زهی کافر بچه	بردیم باز از مسلمانی زهی کافر بچه
هر زمانم باز بنشانی زهی کافر بچه	در صفات پاکبازان در صف ارباب عشق
تا براندازی مسلمانی زهی کافر بچه	در مسلمانی مگر از کافری باز آمدی
تازه کردی کیش نصرانی زهی کافر بچه	با رخی چون چشمهٔ خورشید و زلف چون صلیب
صد لباسات عجب دانی زهی کافر بچه	در خرابات قلندر در صف می خوارگان
هست صد یعقوب کنعانی زهی کافر بچه	یوسف عصری و اندر زیر هر موسی ترا

30

hell-bent on both the destruction of Sanâ'i's respectable (Muslim) character and the entire normative system of medieval Islamic society that "Sanâ'i-the-Muslim-Poet" embodies. His beauty "renew[s] the Christian religion" (line 4) and even his apparent return to the Islamic norm in the first hemistich of line 3—i.e., his "retur[n] from apostasy (lit. being an infidel) to being Muslim"—is revealed in the second hemistich to be nothing more than clever sub-terfuge aimed at "uproot[ing] Islam" itself (line 3). By the end of the poem, Sanâ'i's apostasy is complete, as he concludes this enumeration of the "young infidel[']s" awe-inspiring trans-gressive feats by again praising his beauty, calling him the "Joseph of the era."[94]

With such profligate celebrations of antinomian figures, actions, and institutions, it is not surprising that Sanâ'i and 'Attâr's *qalandariyât* poetry anticipates a rebuke from re-spectable society. They do not attempt to defend themselves or argue for the true probity of their actions—they are unrepentant in their active disregard for all medieval Islamic social and religious norms. Their response to this imagined opprobrium is rather an ontological ma-neuver disavowing the ultimate legitimacy of the entire moral order of the existing world. They assert, in another common qalandari motif, that they have been "liberated" from or "rise[n] above good name and shame," as Sanâ'i says in the first line of the poem below.[95] But this is not just an attitude that a spiritual aspirant can passively adopt. They will only be-come a qalandar when they are willing to actively "befriend blame" (line 8) and reveal the ar-tificiality of these earthly constructs through ritualesque acts of transgression, such as those Sanâ'i exhorts his readers to throughout the poem.[96]

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94. Joseph is one of the symbols of beauty *par excellence* in the Islamic tradition.
95. This disavowal, however, as I will explore in chapter two, depends on the existence of the value system it rejects and its poetic manifestations, which it parodies and inverts as a countergenre.
96. The term for "blame" here—i.e., *malâmat*—is important because many scholars maintain that *qalandari* poetry was a poetic outgrowth of an early Islamic spiritual movement called the "*malâmati*." The "blame-seekers" actively concealed their private pious acts while courting "blame" for disreputable acts in public in order to purify their love for God and fight against the growth of their ego from socially-recognized spiritual advancement.

31

1   O heart when you claim to speak of non-existence, be tipsy!
          Rise above good name and shame, and be free of selfhood!

2   Gamble away religion and the world, and be a poor beggar!
          In the ranks of the deceitful ones, be poor!

3   For how long honor, hypocrisy, asceticism, prayer, and prayer beads?
          Be a slave of the wine goblet and a servant of the vintner!

4   Make wine-worshipping and gambling your trade in the dilapidated winehouse!
          Be a self-deprecator, rogue, drunk, libertine, and dregs-guzzler!

5   Since you know that for a person existence is his enemy,
          go to battle with people equipped with the blade of non-existence!

6   Be a seeker of love, wine, merriment, and mirth, and seek!
          When this has been obtained for you, get to work day and night!

7   Play a tune with a poem, lute, goblet of wine, and sweetheart!
          Be a slave and servant to every friend from the bottom of your heart!

8   Don't return from the quarter of truth and the way of love!
          Be happy with the cost and befriend blame![97]

In this virtual qalandari anthem, Sanâ'i connects being "liberated" or "rising above (good) name and shame" to a whole series of other transformations that must occur in the audience. It entails a complete metamorphosis of the individual that has wide-ranging implications for the aspirant's place and mode of life in the world. Sanâ'i insists that one must "gamble away religion and the world" (line 2), forsake all of the hallmarks of normative Islamic piety and society (i.e., "honor, hypocrisy, asceticism, prayer, and prayer beads") (line 3), and take up gambling and wine-worshipping (line 4) in order to remain in the "quarter of truth and the way of love" (line 8). None save the most reprehensible of antinomian figures (e.g.,

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97. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 311-312 q #144. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

شو بری از نام و ننگ و از خودی بیزار باش   ای دل اندر نیستی چون دم زنی خَمار باش

در صف ناراستان خود جمله مفلس‌وار باش   دین و دنیا جمله اندر باز و خود مفلس نشین

بندهٔ جام شراب و خادمِ خَمّار باش   تا کی از ناموس و زرق و زهد و تسبیح و نماز

کمزن و قلاش و مست و رند و دردی‌خوار باش   می‌پرستی پیشه‌گیر اندر خرابات و قمار

پس به تیغ نیستی با خلق در پیکار باش   چون همی دانی که باشد شخص هستی خَصم خویش

چون به کفّ آمد ترا این روز و شب در کار باش   طالب عشق و می و عیش و طرب باش و بجویَ

وز میان جانْ غلام و چاکر هرِ یار باش   با سرود و رود و جام باده و جانان بساز

با غرامت همنشین و با ملامتْ یار باش   از سرِ کوی حقیقت بَر مگرد و راه عشق

</div>

32

rogue, drunk, libertine, dregs-guzzler, servant of vintner) (lines 2-4, 6) are welcomed in his "dilapidated winehouse" (*kharâbât*) (line 4). It is only there, in that mock-Mecca of blame-worthy behaviors, that the spiritual aspirant can truly become liberated from "(good) name and shame" and ultimately "selfhood"—the greatest enemy of all (lines 1, 5).

The poems discussed above are just a small sampling of prototypical qalandari poems from 'Attâr's *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* and the *qalandariyât* sections of the MiM and KM manuscripts of Sanâ'i's *divân* (discussed below). They all utilize a related set of antinomian and transgressive topoi, symbols, and figures. Each poem and poet, however, develops them in different and at times novel ways, but within a predictable pattern of variation.[98] When taken as a whole, they present the reader with a rather well-defined set of thematic characteristics, which I summarize below:

1) **Rejection of Normative Islamic Piety:**

> • breaking repentance (*towbeh shekastan*) and rejecting asceticism (*zohd*), pious devotion (*pârsâ'i*), and mainstream Sufism as hypocritical and superficial in favor of the "religion" or "way" of the *qalandars/qallâsh*/love.
>
> • deriding and, at times, literally discarding potent symbols/concepts of Islam (e.g., *Ka'ba/qibla*, Qur'an, Islamic prayer mat, prayer beads, right guidance/*hodâ/pand*, goodness/virtue/*kheyr/salâh*, honor, mosque, prayer).
>
> • celebrating non-Islamic religious elements and/or unbelief/infidelity (*kofr*), or, alternatively, emphasizing going beyond normative faith (*imân*) and religion (*din*, Islam).

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98. For an important discussion on the essential role of "variation" on a select range of themes, see Fatemeh Keshavarz's discussion of the "shifting field of similarities" in Sa'di's poetry: Keshavarz, *Lyrics of Life*, 108-35.

2) **Celebration of Antinomian and Transgressive Actions, Figures, and Locales:**

  • praising the figure of the rascal/rogue/libertine (*rend*, *qalandari*, *qallâsh*, *mey-khwâr*), winehouse (*kharâbât*, *mey-khâneh*), *qalandar* lodge, wine, gambling, drunkenness, music, and disturbance of normal order.

  • becoming "liberated" from good name/shame/blame and rejecting high social status (e.g., exhortation to poverty, blame-seeking, "self-deprecation"/*kam-zani*).

This thematic overview of qalandari poetry—grounded in poems categorized by medieval litterateurs themselves as being *qalandariyât* (see more detailed discussion of this below)—is important for orienting the reader. It is not controversial, though, to assert that there is a fairly coherent set of re-occurring "qalandari" themes in medieval Persian literature. Even scholars such as Shafi'i-Kadkani and Utas who question the validity of the *qalandariyât* as a full-fledged thematic type of poetry readily acknowledge the existence of a qalandari *ma'nâ*. The argument that I want to advance here, however, is that this *ma'nâ* develops into full-fledged thematic type or genre in the early Persian poetry of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi. This is the point to which I will turn in the remainder of this chapter.

The Manuscript Evidence

  The first difficulty that arises in constructing a historically grounded analysis of the *qalandariyât* is the paucity of extant sources. Unfortunately, we have only three (or possibly four, if we include the disputed MiF divan manuscript)[99] known examples of early manuscripts with sections of poems explicitly labelled as "*qalandariyât*." The first two sources are early copies of Sanâ'i's divan—the Melli-ye Malek (MiM) 5468 and Kabul Museum No. 318 (KM) manuscripts—which both contain sizable sections labelled "*qalandariyât*."[100] The third

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99. Both Shafi'i Kadkani and de Bruijn are generally of the opinion that the MiF manuscript of Sanâ'i's *divân* is not an early copy, although, as de Bruijn notes, it may be based on a "medieval reconstruction" of a very early copy. See: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Tâziyâneh-hâ-ye soluk: naqd va tahlil-e chand qasideh az Hakim Sanâ'i*, 530; de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 100-02. In either case, I was not able to obtain a copy of it.
100. For a detailed discussion of these two manuscripts, see: de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 95-112. The MiM

source is 'Attâr's own collection of selected *robâ'is*, the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, in which he labels one of his thematic groupings "on *qalandariyât* and wine poetry" (*dar qalandariyât va kham-riyât*). The poems that appear in these sections are tremendously important because they offer concrete historical evidence of what poets and literati of the early period actually considered to constitute qalandari poetry.

All of these works date from approximately the same time period. The MiM and KM manuscripts of Sanâ'i's *divân* are unfortunately undated, but are likely products of the late twelfth/early thirteenth century or, in the case of the KM manuscript, possibly even as late as the fourteenth century.[101] Although the exact date of composition is not known for the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 'Attâr likely wrote it during the final years of the twelfth century or the first couple of decades of the thirteenth. If the authorial introduction to the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* is genuine, we can be relatively certain that it was completed several years before 'Attâr's death in 1220 CE at the very latest.[102] While admittedly there is some ambiguity regarding the exact dating of all of these works, we can say with some confidence that the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* is either the oldest source that uses the term *qalandariyât* or is functionally contemporaneous with the earliest source (i.e., the MiM manuscript). When we add to this picture the fact that most scholars believe that 'Attâr himself arranged the poems in the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, it seems logical to begin with its chapter of 77 *robâ'i* "on *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât* [poems]" (*dar qalandariyât va khamriyât*).[103]

At the most basic level, 'Attâr's use of the term "*qalandariyât*" as part of this chapter title indicates that this term was current in his lifetime, and he considered it to be a distinct

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manuscript's thematic categorization is reproduced in Rezavi's edition, and that is what I have relied upon here because I was unable to obtain a copy of the MiM manuscript.

101. For de Bruijn's discussion of the dating of these manuscripts, see: de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 99-100.
102. See chapter 1 of Austin O'Malley's forthcoming dissertation for a full discussion of the dating and authenticity of the various works attributed to 'Attâr: O'Malley, "Poetry and Pedagogy."
103. Even if the thematic ordering of the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* was not done by 'Attâr, it is a very early tradition and thus still useful for the present purposes.

genre or sub-genre of his poetry.[104] One may counter that by this logic we would have to consider all fifty thematic chapters of 'Attâr's *Mokhtar-Nâmeh* as separate genres or sub-genres, but I think it would be a mistake to equate the chapter on *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât* with some of the more specific chapter divisions, such as "On themes that are connected to the candle," "On themes that are connected to flowers," etc. Instead, I would compare the relative importance of this *qalandariyât-khamriyât* chapter to the chapters in praise of the Prophet Muhammad (chapter two) and his companions (chapter three), or the chapters on "divine unity" (chapters one, four to seven), which, as we saw above, are well-established thematic types in early Persian poetry. The use of the term *qalandariyât* in early Sanâ'i manuscripts (discussed below) and the fact that both the terms *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât* are products of the Arabic poetic convention of naming thematic types with the addition of the suffix *-ât* also indicates that they should be classed with this latter group.

Another noteworthy point here is that 'Attâr's title—"on *qalandariyât* and *kham-riyât*"—explicitly establishes a close connection between *qalandariyât* and wine (*khamriyât*) poetry, and his placement of this chapter near the end of a series of chapters on love themes also demonstrates the close relationship between *qalandariyât* and love poetry.[105] As I will discuss in more detail later, the thematic horizons of *qalandariyât*, *khamriyât*, and love (*ghaz-al* or *ghazaliyât*) poetry overlap and often times are all combined in one poem. However, at the same time, I do not want to overemphasize the ambiguity of the distinction between these thematic types because the *qalandariyât* do have their own unique set of motifs that mark them as distinct from love (*ghazaliyât*) and wine (*khamriyât*) poetry. When we turn to the 77

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104. See Ritter, Lewisohn, and Shafi'i Kadkani on 'Attâr's *qalandariyât* poems: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Zabur-e Pârsi*, 57-58; Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 307-13; Ritter, "Philologika XV: Fariduddin 'Attar. III. 7"; Lewisohn, "Sufi Symbolism in the Persian Hermeneutic Tradition." On the other hand, it is worth considering to what degree all fifty chapters could be considered sub-genres or, perhaps, micro-genres of sub-genres of the broader and more well-established thematic genres discussed elsewhere.

105. Reinert makes the argument that 'Attâr includes the chapter "on *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât*" here "on the ground of their connection with erotic themes" (Reinert, "AṬṬĀR, FARĪD-AL-DĪN"). I certainly agree that the *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât* are deeply interconnected with love (*ghazal*) poetry (as we will see in the case of Sanâ'i's *qalandariyât* below). However, I would not go as far as Reinert does and say that 'Attâr includes the *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât* "*on the ground* of their connection with erotic themes" (emphasis added).

36

robâ'i that 'Attâr placed in this chapter, there is a discernible division between the *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât* poems.[106] Poems #1-18, 20, 24, 42, 49-50, 58, 69, 75 and possibly 67 clearly treat a more circumscribed set of antinomian/transgressive themes that we will see appear together repeatedly in different combinations throughout the *qalandariyât* poems of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi.

The situation becomes a bit more complicated with Sanâ'i's manuscripts. In the case of 'Attâr's *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, we are dealing only with short qalandari *robâ'is* (four hemistich poems akin to quatrains), which due to their brevity are almost always focused on one theme (*ma'nâ*). The poems in Sanâ'i's *qalandariyât* sections, however, are not *robâ'is*, but rather what we would now identify as *ghazals* or *qasidehs*, which run between 4-45 lines in the case of the poems in these manuscripts.[107] Unlike the *qalandariyât robâ'is* of 'Attâr, these poems do not all exclusively focus on qalandari themes—they are a much more heterogenous bunch. A significant number of poems in these sections do revolve entirely (or almost so) around qalandari themes, but there is also a substantial number of poems that only employ a few qalandari motifs or, in some cases, seemingly none at all. This is a vexing problem for those, like myself, who argue that we should, in some sense, regard qalandari poetry as a particular type of medieval Persian poetry. So I decided to take a closer look at all of the poems in these two early manuscripts of Sanâ'i's divan and classify them into five categories according to the relative frequency of qalandari motifs that appear in them: QP, QT, QP-QT, QT-QP, QT-NQT.

In this admittedly rudimentary classification schema, Qalandari Poems (QP) are dis-

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106. No sustained analysis has been done on the poems in this chapter. Ritter and Shafi'i Kadkani have both made passing reference to the poetry in this chapter in their studies, saying that it treats the topics of non-Islamic religions, *kofr*, wine-drinking, and other antinomian themes. See: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 300 n4; Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 505-06.

107. de Bruijn has commented on the formal ambiguity of the *qalandariyât* in a number of places and has also drawn our attention to the thematic basis for early groupings of poems (irrespective of formal considerations): de Bruijn, "The Transmission of Early Persian Ghazals," 29-31; de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 79; de Bruijn, "Arabic Influences on Persian Literature," 374.

tinguished from Qalandari Theme (QT) poems by their consistent focus throughout on proto-typical qalandari motifs.[108] They are monothematic in the sense that the organizing principle that animates their poetic world, poetic personae, and imagery is the transgressive, carniva-lesque ethos of the antinomian roque for which the genre is named. This singularity of focus, however, does not produce uniformity in this poetry, but rather serves as a flexible thematic impetus for a range of different poetic explorations of the qalandari world and the characters, images, and topoi associated with it. In contrast to the relatively sustained monothematic fo-cus of QPs on qalandari themes, QT poems only employ qalandari motifs in passing or con-tain a small grouping of lines that treat these themes. In these poems, the qalandari theme is either one of a number of constituent thematic units that together form a larger polythematic poem or, more frequently, only an isolated image or ancillary motif that appears in a poem which primary treats panegyric, religious-homiletic, or, more commonly, love themes.

The division between QPs and QT poems is noteworthy and, in most cases, relatively clear. However, this division is not absolute and the terms QP/QT are actually better under-stood as representing two ends of a poetic spectrum—hence, the intervening categories QP-

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108. I am using the term "prototypical" in the technical sense that it is employed in prototype theory. Prototype theory maintains that individuals categorize objects (from the most mundane to abstract, such as literary works) by assessing their "prototypicality"—that is, how well they conform to and diverge from their "idealized cognitive models" (ICMs) of different categories or concepts. This is not a rigid classificatory schema, but rather assumes that objects can be more or less prototypical and correspondingly be mapped as either central or peripheral to a particular category's field, "gestalt complex," or "generic gestalt." It also allows for "fuzziness" at the boundaries of each category and for ambiguous, hybrid, or "compound" examples that different individuals may classify in different categories. Each category has typical features (some of which are more important than others) and "cognitive reference points" that exemplify a particular category. Note too that what is considered prototypical of a particular category is context dependent (i.e., a historical and cultural construct), not an ahistorical idealized notion, and can vary based on the perceiver's relative knowledge of the field (i.e., level of expertise). See the following works: Lakoff, *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things*, 5-154; Sinding, "After Definitions"; Stockwell, *Cognitive Poetics*, 27-39; Sinding, "Beyond essence (or, getting over 'there')"; Sinding, "*Genera Mixta*"; Liu, "Middle English Romance as Prototype Genre"; Sinding, "Framing Monsters." Prototype theory, in many ways, can be read as a more sophisticated version of the Wittgensteinian "family resemblance" theory of genre advocated by Alastair Fowler. Alastair Fowler, in his important book *Kinds of Literature* (1982), maintained that we should primarily think of genres as "families" whose constituent members exhibit "family resemblance" (*á la* Ludwig Wittgenstein). According to Fowler, Wittgenstein's family resemblance theory provides us with a flexible conceptual model that can account for both similarity and dissimilarity within genre: "Literary genre seems just the sort of concept with blurred edges that is suited to such an approach [i.e., family resemblance theory]. Representatives of a genre may then be regarded as making up a family whose septs and individual members are related in various ways, without neccecessarily having any single feature shared in common by all...Genres appear to be much more like families than classes." However, Alastair is careful to note, that unlike real families, generic families are produced through complex processes of "imitation and inherited codes"—an ultimately "polygen[ic]" process that cannot be reduced to the direct and decisive influence of one or two parental works. See: Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 41-44.

QT, QT-QP, and QT-NQT where I have placed QP and QT poems that are borderline examples (with "N" in NQT standing for "Not"). Determining each poem's position on this spectrum is a subjective enterprise, and I am sure some will question my classificatory decisions. My aim in employing the QT/QP distinction is not to create a rigid classificatory scheme for *qalandariyât* poetry, but rather only to provide a heuristic tool for analyzing the different types of poems within the *qalandariyât* sections of Sanâ'i's divan manuscripts.[109]

In the MiM manuscript, there are ninety-two poems in the section of the divan that is labelled "*qalandariyât*," and in the later KM manuscript, there are 176 poems in its "*qalandariyât*" section (figure 1). Strikingly, there are only sixteen poems that are common to both works.[110] The summary of my analysis of these 252 different poems is presented in Table 1.[111]

Figure 1: Total Number of *Qalandariyât* in MiM vs. KM

■ Qalandariyât in MiM   ■ Qalandariyât in KM

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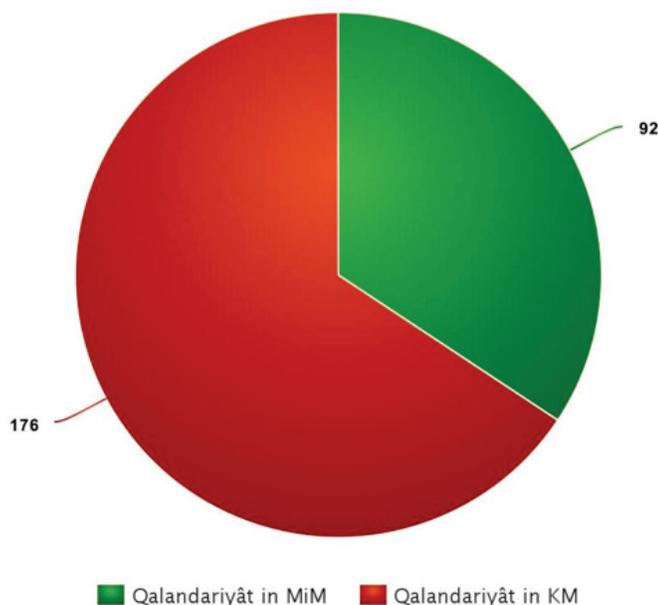
109. Both de Bruijn and Shafi'i Kadkani have commented on the confusing variety or "very mixed group" of poems that are placed in these *qalandariyât* sections. See: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 300; de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyât* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 79.

110. The 16 "common *qalandariyât*" poems that appear in both of these works likely represent one of the earliest recensions (a Q-source of sorts) of Sanâ'i's *qalandariyât* poems which both the editors of MiM and KM must have relied upon (either directly or indirectly) in their compilation of their own *qalandariyât* sections. The fact that 15 of these 16 common *qalandariyât* poems occur in the first 18 poems of the *qalandariyât* section of the KM manuscript (i.e., they occur as nearly one continuous block of text) makes it even more likely that these 16 common *qalandariyât* represent an early recension that was transmitted together and inserted by later *divân* compilers in their *qalandariyât* sections. (I unfortunately have not yet been able to see the original, non-alphabetical MiM manuscript to compare the order of the poems in these two *qalandariyât* sections—I have to rely on Rezavi's alphabetically-arranged rendering of this manuscript, which obviously would obscure such a non-alphabetically-arranged block of text, if it does exist in the MiM manuscript). These 16 common *qalandariyât* do not include some of the most iconic and prototypical of Sanâ'i's *qalandariyât* (which I will discuss later), but they do contain a representative spread of QP and QT *qalandariyât*. (Note: I am drawing the notion of a "Q-source" from the text critical approach to biblical scholarship. In this literature, the "q-source" is the unknown other source that provided the common material found in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, but not found in the Gospel of Mark, which is believed to be their other primary source).

111. See the full details of this analysis in Appendix III.

Table 1: Classification of *Qalandariyât* in MiM and KM Manuscript

Qalandariyât Poems (QP)

> 73 Total Poems:
> 60 MiM
> 23 KM (6 KM *qalandariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

Qalandari Theme (QT) Poems

> 179 Total Poems:
> 32 MiM
> 153 KM (79 KM *qalandariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

Borderline QP-QT Poems

> 18 Total Poems:
> 10 MiM
> 9 KM (3 KM *qalandariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

Borderline QT-QP Poems

> 19 Total Poems:
> 4 MiM
> 17 KM (7 KM *qalandariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

Borderline QT-NQT Poems

> 106 Total Poems:
> 10 MiM
> 98 KM (57 KM *qalandariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

Examination of these numbers yields a few general patterns. First, the editors of these divan manuscripts clearly considered both monothematic and polythematic poems of varying formal characteristics to be "*qalandariyât*." The criteria for inclusion in thematic categories like the *qalandariyât* was not strictly formal; nor did it require exclusive focus on the relevant theme. Rather, in the case of many QT poems, it seems to have only been necessary for a poem to exhibit a selective or strategic engagement with qalandari themes. (I will return to this important topic later).

The story that emerges from a closer analysis of these poems and their distribution across these manuscripts, however, is actually more complicated. In my estimation, only sev-

enty-three of the 252 *qalandariyât* poems qualify as prototypical QPs, and if we subtract the eighteen QPs that I labelled as "Borderline QP-QT poems" from this number, there are only fifty-five highly prototypical *qalandariyât* poems. The vast majority (179) of the poems in these sections are QT *qalandariyât*, and nineteen of them could possibly be considered QPs. But even if we subtract these poems from the QT ranks, the overwhelming majority of poems in these *qalandariyât* sections are QT poems. Most perplexing of all, however, is this point: of these 179 QTs there are a staggering 106 poems that I have categorized as "Borderline QT-NQT poems." These poems, in my estimation, display only the most insignificant qalandari elements or none at all that I can perceive. What is going on here?

One answer strongly suggests itself when we look at how these data map onto the MiM and KM manuscripts. There is a significant distinction between the types of poems classified as "*qalandariyât*" in the MiM and KM manuscripts (see figures 2-3). According to my classification, 60 of the 92 poems in the *qalandariyât* section of MiM are QPs (10 of which may be QT poems), and an additio-

Figure 2: QPs in MiM vs. KM

23

60

■ QPs in MiM   ■ QPs in KM

41
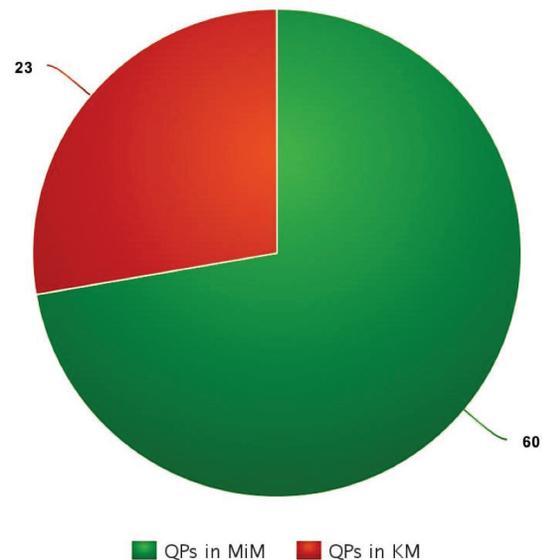
nal 4 QT poems of MiM may also be QPs. In a comparative perspective, this means that 60 of the total 73 QPs are found in MiM, while KM only has 23 QPs out of a total of 176 poems in its *qalandariyât* section. The overwhelming majority of poems in KM's *qalandariyât* section are QT poems—153 to be exact—and even a large majority of them are not strongly QT. I have classified 98 of these poems as "Borderline QT-NQT poems" (see figure 4). Given this rather significant differ-

Figure 3: QTs in MiM vs. KM

ence in the poems of MiM and KM's *qalandariyât* sections, it is not surprising that 79 of the QT *qalandariyât* in KM are actually classified by the compiler of MiM as *ghazaliyât*. From my own reading of these poems, I would concur that many of the *qalandariyât* in KM appear to be primarily (and sometimes entirely) love lyrics (*ghazaliyât*). Sometimes it is even difficult to find any qalandari themes in many of KM's QT poems. One wonders then to what extent the compiler of the KM manuscript understood the thematic horizons of the *qalandariyât* genre or, alternatively, if the generic term *qalandariyât*

Figure 4: QT-NQTs in MiM vs. KM

42

had come to have a different meaning in the specific place and time period of KM's compilation. This incongruity could also be another indication that the KM manuscript should be dated much later than the original late twelfth-century estimate, as de Bruijn suspected as well.[112]

It is difficult to draw any firm conclusions on these lingering questions given the paucity of similar manuscripts. However, one point that clearly emerges from this analysis is that there is much more thematic congruency between the *qalandariyât* of the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* and the MiM manuscript than between either of these two earlier sources and the later KM manuscript. The significant discrepancy between the poems classed as *qalandariyât* in these manuscripts is important because over-emphasizing the far greater number of QT poems and, especially, QT-NQT poems in the KM *qalandariyât* section distorts the much higher congruency of qalandari themes that can be seen in the older *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* and MiM's *qalandariyât*. This does not mean, of course, that we should dismiss the poems in the *qalandariyât* section of KM. It has a number of excellent examples of prototypical *qalandariyât* QPs—several of which do not appear in the MiM at all. But we should regard it and its thematic divisions with a bit more skepticism and be critical of generalizations about the *qalandariyât* category that lump together the qalandari poems of the MiM and KM manuscripts.

Studying the Qalandariyât *through Computational Textual Analysis*

The analysis in the preceding section is predicated on my "close reading" of the 252 *qalandariyât* poems in the MiM and KM manuscripts. While close reading is an irreplaceable tool for any serious literary scholar, it does have certain drawbacks: foremost of which is that it becomes prohibitively time-consuming as the number of works one considers increases. It

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112. On the dating of KM, see: de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 99-100. A comprehensive study of all of the poetry of KM's thematic sections would help us answer this question. Although it is pure speculation, my personal inclination is that the compiler of KM may have been working from an older manuscript (such as MiM) that contained the thematic sections (e.g., *zohdiyât, qalandariyât, ghazaliyât*) and thus adopted them, but without entirely understanding them or, at the very least, without careful attention to their thematic horizons in his or her categorization of poems into each thematic section.

43

is not practical—and in some cases literally impossible—to close read the number of texts necessary to answer broad literary-historical questions such as the development of genres or stylistic features over hundreds of years of literary history or to tabulate the complex statistics of minute lexical features used in authorial attribution research. "Distant reading" or "macroanalysis" of literature—as Franco Moretti and Matthew Jockers, respectively, have termed it—developed in response to these limitations. The field is still in its infancy and is quite variegated, but practitioners of these new forms of literary analysis are broadly united by their drive to leverage the computational power of computers and statistics to study literature and other cultural products in novel ways. These computational methods are not panaceas, as most of their practitioners readily admit, but they do enable scholars to study textual corpora at a scale and level of lexical and statistical complexity that would be unimaginable for an individual researcher engaged in "close reading" only to complete even during their entire scholarly career.[113] These modes of analysis, as the prominent scholar of English literature and digital humanities Ted Underwood reminds us, should not be regarded as "black box[es] that produc[e] authoritative results," but rather as "flexible way[s] to explore large collections [of texts]" in a formalized and scalable way that actually "dovetail rather well with humanistic insights like historicism [i.e., a field of literary studies]."[114]

One of the newest forms of macro literary analysis is a type of text mining called "topic modeling" (TM). Developed in the early 2000s by the computer scientist David M. Blei, it is a type of probabilistic modeling that utilizes Latent Dirichlet Allocation (LDA) to identify the "topics" that are represented in a corpus of texts and then determine the relative frequency of each topic in each constituent text. The topics identified by TM's "suite of algo-

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113. For an overview of this emerging field, see: Jockers, *Macroanalysis*; Moretti, *Distant Reading*; Erlin and Tatlock (eds.), *Distant Readings*.
114. Underwood et al., "Mapping Mutable Genres in Structurally Complex Volumes."

rithms," as Blei terms it in a more humanities-accessible overview, can be understood as "patterns of tightly co-occurring terms" or "groups of terms that tend to occur together in documents"—in short, what we term "themes" or "generic features" in literary analysis (although one will also find other patterns as well, such as frequent co-occurring rhyme words, excerpts from other languages, or OCR mistakes).[115] Despite TM's extraordinary computational and statistical power—which if you are interested in, I would encourage your to check out the complex mathematics behind it in Blei et al. 2003—its output does not give a researcher any straight-forward answers, as Blei candidly admits. It produces a statistical "framework" of the topic distributions across and within the corpus' texts for the researcher to then explore, interpret, and utilize for other types of analyses.[116] Research only really begins when the TM scripts have finished running on the corpus you train them on.

TM's focus on discovering re-occurring topics or themes would seem to naturally lend itself to the macroanalysis of genres in large corpora. Few attempts, however, have been made to apply topic modeling to the study of literary/poetic genres.[117] The reasons for this dearth of studies is not entirely clear, but it may be partially attributable to the longer history of using stylometric forms of analysis based on Most Frequent Word (MFW) or Language Action Type (LAT) usage across texts in genre studies. Studies by Michael Witmore and Jonathan Hope, Allison et al. (Stanford Literary Lab), and Jockers have all demonstrated the considerable utility of these computational approaches for generic classification of literary works.[118] Unfortunately, these more well-tested methods of computer-assisted generic classi-

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115. For an accessible overview of topic modeling, probabilistic modeling, and LDA and their relevance to the humanities, see: Blei, "Topic Modeling and Digital Humanities." For a highly technical overview, see: Blei, Ng, and Jordan, "Latent Dirichlet Allocation."
116. Blei, "Topic Modeling and Digital Humanities."
117. There are a few unpublished conference papers by Christof Schöch on using topic modeling for the study of literary genres, but there is no published, peer-reviewed work that I have found. Schöch's preliminary work corroborates what I will argue below as well: topic modeling is quite useful in the classification of literary genres. See: Schöch, "Topic Modeling French Crime Fiction"; Schöch, "Topic Modeling Genre."
118. See: Hope and Witmore, "The Very Large Textual Object"; Witmore and Hope, "Shakespeare by the Numbers"; Hope and Witmore, "The Hundredth Psalm to the Tune of 'Green Sleeves'"; S. Allison et al.,

45

fication are not applicable to the shorter forms of poetry (e.g., *ghazals* and even shorter *qasidehs*) being studied here due to the comparatively small size of these texts. (Most types of stylometric analysis work best with documents composed of several thousand words each, although some successful studies with shorter documents have been done).[119] TM is sensitive to text length too, but not nearly to the same degree, and it has been used successfully with corpora corresponding to the medieval Persian poetry corpus under consideration here.[120] It is thus both a necessary and natural choice for analyzing thematic genres in medieval Persian poetry.

For the purposes of the present inquiry, I designed a small case study of Sanâ'i's poetry on the supposition that I could leverage the statistical output of TMing this corpus for generic classification. I first took all 1,273 poems in the *Persian Digital Library (PDL)'s* version of Sanâ'i's *divân* and eliminated any poems that were less than four lines (*beyts*) (poems under four lines would likely be too small to produce statistically reliable results in TM).[121] This brought the number of poems to 740 in total. Since I was primarily interested in testing my assertion above that the *qalandariyât* division in the MiM manuscript does represent a useful category of analysis, I then labelled the 347 of these poems that appear in the MiM manuscript according to the generic classification that the editor of this manuscript assigned them. I designated panegyric poems (*madhiyât*) by "M," amatory lyrics (*ghazaliyât*) by "Gh,"

"Quantitative Formalism"; Jockers, *Macroanalysis*, 68-101.

119. See overview here: Eder, "Does size matter?" Although Eder's study discusses primarily stylometric authorial attribution methodology, the same basic computational methods can also be used (with some modifications) to categorize texts into generic and stylistic categories, as the work of David L. Hoover and Jockers has shown. See: Hoover, "Multivariate Analysis and the Study of Style Variation"; Jockers, *Macroanalysis*, 68ff.

120. Rhody, "Topic Modeling and Figurative Language"; Rhody, "Ekphrastic Revisions"; Jian Tang et al., "Understanding the Limiting Factors of Topic Modeling via Posterior Contraction Analysis." Tang et al. provide a very technically complex study of the issue of corpus size and document length, and while they do not give specific numbers (unfortunately and inexplicably), they do use texts in their study fifty words and over. The vast majority of texts in my corpus would make this cut, and regardless, Rhody includes some poems in her successful topic modeling experiments with less than fifty words.

121. See preceding footnote on this point. My reasoning here is that poems under four lines, after stop words are removed, would likely go too far under the fifty word limit discussed in the preceding footnote.

46

religious-homiletic poetry (*zohdiyât*) by "Z," *qalandariyât* by "Q," and poems that did not appear in the MiM manuscript by "N." While this was a labor-intensive process, it enabled me both to computationally test my hypothesis about the MiM classification schema and also to ground myself historically in a medieval litterateur's understanding of these thematic types. If the TM data supported my hypothesis, my reasoning went, then this experiment would demonstrate both the validity of the MiM's thematic categories and the utility of this TM method for generic analysis of medieval Persian poetry more broadly.

For this experiment, I elected to use the *topicmodels* package in the open source, statistics software environment R to perform TM on my selected corpus of Sanâ'i's poems.[122] After pre-processing the texts with *tm* (R Text Mining package) and some additional code I wrote,[123] I then fed the texts into the *topicmodels* package (using parameters within recommended ranges) and visualized the results with the *LDAvis* package.[124] TM is an iterative and experimental process, as any researcher who has utilized it will tell you. I ran the R TM script on the 740 Sanâ'i poems dozens of times, and carefully studied the interactive *LDAvis* visualizations and topic wordlists (see image of *LDAvis* visualization in figure 5). I experimented with TM based on 9-50 topics and fine tuned my stop list and ad hoc fixes for common grammatical and orthographical issues in the Persian corpus that were not addressed by the

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122. Gruen and Hornik, "topicmodels: An R Package for Fitting Topic Models"; "R: A language and environment for statistical computing." The poems I am using for these experiments are a slightly modified form of Sanâ'i's poems from his *divân* in the *Persian Digital Library (PDL)*.

123. On the *tm* R package, see: Feinerer, Hornik, and Meyer, "Text Mining Infrastructure in R"; Feinerer and Hornik, "tm: Text Mining Package. R package version 0.6-2." As part of my pre-processing, I constructed a Persian stop list that removed high-frequency function words and other common words/verbs that were found throughout the corpus and thus skewed the initial TM experiments. This is standard practice in TM, but it is an aspect of TM in Persian that needs to be refined and studied. The entire process of pre-processing, creating better stop lists, and normalizing all of the texts in the larger *Persian Digital Library* corpus is currently being done by the Roshan Initiative for Persian Digital Humanities (PersDig@UMD) at the Roshan Institute for Persian Studies at the University of Maryland, College Park. While this work is not ready currently to be incorporated into this study, it is slated for completion in late 2016-early 2017 and will be incorporated into revisions of the present work.

124. On the LDAvis R package, see: Sievert and Shirley, "LDAvis: Interactive Visualization of Topic Models (0.3.2)." For the full R code that I used in this experiment, see Appendix IV.

Figure 5: Topic Modeling Visualization
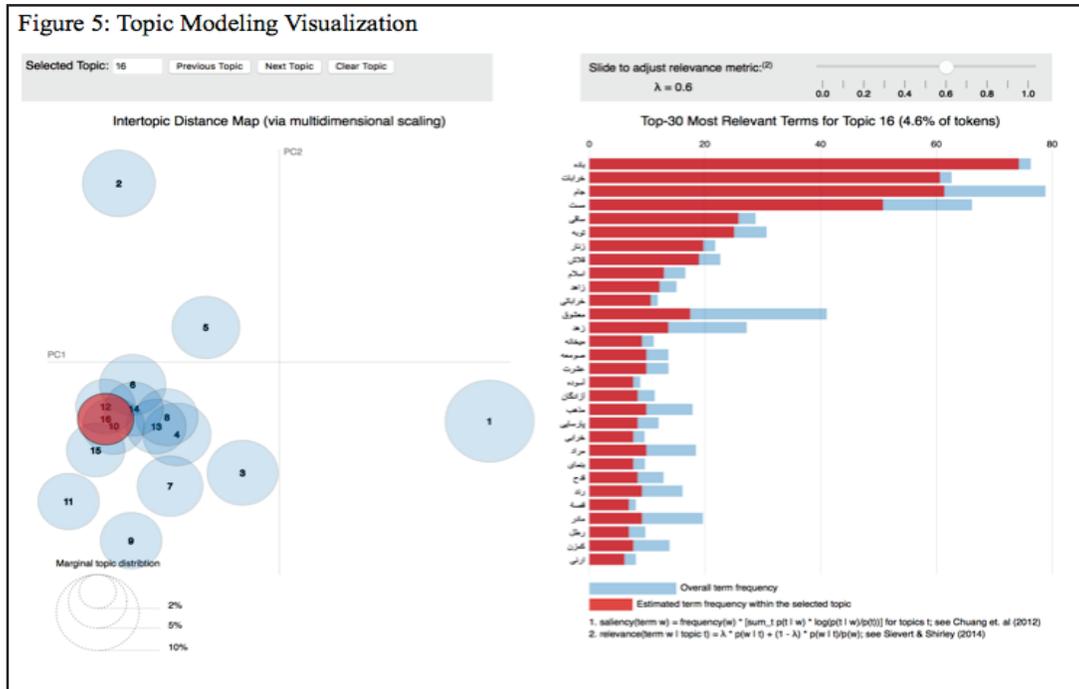
standard *tm* package. Much work, however, still needs to be done on all of these fronts, and I will explore these issues in separate study on the process and best practices for TM medieval Persian poetry.

As I had anticipated, a coherent "qalandari" topic appeared in varying degrees in TMs built on anywhere from 9-50 topics. This topic contained the terms that expert close readers of these poems—from de Bruijn and Shafi'i-Kadkani to myself—have consistently identified as prototypical of this theme/poetic type. After I adjusted the λ-value in the *LDAvis* visualization to 0.6 (recommended practice to filter out words common in other topics), the following highly prototypical *qalandariyât* terms appear in the top-30 terms of this "qalandari topic" in a 16 topic TM:[125] *kharâbât* (dilapidated winehouse), *towbeh* (repentance), *zonnâr* (non-Islamic cincture), *qallâsh* (rogue), *zâhed* (ascetic), *kharâbâti* (haunter of dilapidated winehouse),

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125. The process for determining the optimal number of topics for TM experiments is similarly an experimental process. While a distinct "qalandari topic" appears in TM based on a wide range of topic numbers, I found that TM based on 12-20 topics seemed to be the most illustrative for this corpus of Sanâ'i's poems. For studies on topic "coherency" and "expert evaluation" of TM topics, see: Chang et al., "Reading Tea Leaves"; Mimno et al., "Optimizing Semantic Coherence in Topic Models."

zohd (asceticism), *mey-khâneh* (winehouse), *sowme'eh* (christian monastery), *'eshrat* (feast-ing, pleasure, revelry), *pârsâ'i* (piety), *kharâbi* (being wasted), *rend* (libertine), *kam-zan* (self-deprecator), and a series of terms related to wine (*bâdeh*, *jâm*, *sâqi*, *qadh*, *ratl*).[126] Many of the terms most closely associated with the *qalandariyât*, such as *kharâbât*, *zonnâr*, *qallâsh*, *kharâbâti*, *mey-khâneh*, *sowme'eh*, *bâdeh*, and *kharâbi*, occur almost exclusively in this par-ticular topic, indicating that it is a "strong" topic.

The fact that a clear "qalandari topic" emerged from these TM experiments is not it-self surprising. Even if qalandari themes only functioned as isolated *ma'nâ* in medieval Per-sian poetry and never developed into a coherent thematic type of poetry (*qalandariyât*) (as Shafi'i-Kadkani et al. have argued), we would still expect such a qalandari topic to emerge from TM. In order to utilize these data for the study of thematic types at the level of the whole poem, in other words, we still need to go one step further and look more specifically at

Figure 6: Topic Modeling Topic Probabilities Data

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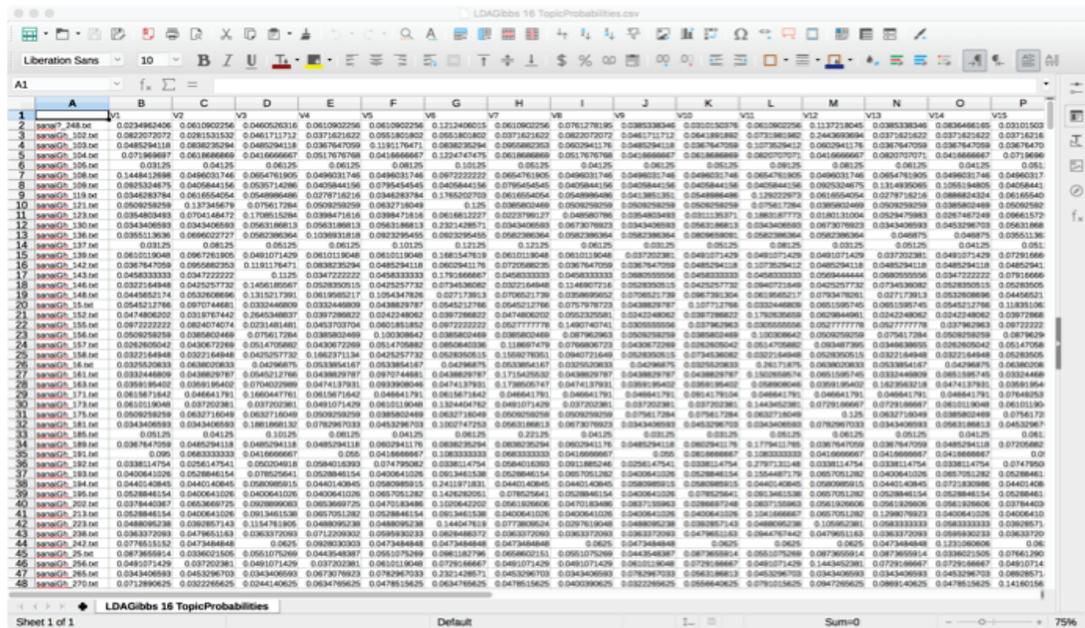
126. On adjustment of λ-val to 0.6, see: Sievert and Shirley, "LDAvis: A Method for visualizing and interpreting topics."

49

the "Topic Probabilities" statistics that are produced for each document in the corpus. The topic probabilities output is typically organized into a large table (like the example in figure 6), with the names of each document in the corpus organized alphabetically in the first column and the remaining columns dedicated to recording the relative frequencies of each topic in each document. In other words, reading the table from the left to the right, the reader will find the document ID in column 1, and then as they move horizontally along the same row, they will see the relative frequencies of each constituent topic in this specific document.

The quantity and complexity of these data can be overwhelming—especially when you have hundreds or thousands of documents and a dozen or more topics. However, it can be visualized and arranged easily into a number of different useful and more interpretable formats. The *LDAvis* interactive visualization pictured in figure 5 is one such example, but there are also other more simple ways to visualize these same data, such as word clouds or a large array of different types of graphs. For my purposes here, there was an intervening step that I needed to take in order to make these data speak to my interest in poetic classification more broadly and the *qalandariyât* specifically. Namely, I needed to re-order the "Topic Probabilities" table on the basis of the frequency of the "qalandari topic" in each document, leaving me with a new table that had all of the documents listed in descending order from the most "qalandari" to the least. The results were striking.

On the whole, they confirmed what I argued above from my own close reading of the *qalandariyât*: there is a logic to the classification schema of the MiM manuscript and the cat-

egory of "*qalandariyât*" clearly captures a thematic type of poetry at the general level. When we look at the order of the documents in the table re-ordered by frequency of the "qalandari topic," we see that the vast majority of the poems that the MiM editor classified as *qalandariyât* appear at the very top of this new table (see snapshot of this re-ordered table in figure 7). Specifically, 59 of the 92 poems that the MiM editor placed in the *qalandariyât* section appear in the top 30% of the 347 total poems in the MiM manuscript, with the remaining 33 qalandari poems decreasingly spread across the re-

Figure 7: Snapshot of Topic Probabilities Table Organized on Basis of "Qalandari Topic"

	A	B	C
1		V1	V2
2	sanaiQ_27.txt	0.0416666667	0.0719
3	sanaiQ_29.txt	0.0453296703	0.03434
4	sanaiQ_166.txt	0.0284090909	(
5	sanaiQ_181.txt	0.03125	0.07670
6	SanaiQ_224.txt	0.0363372093	0.03633
7	sanaiQ_31.txt	0.046875	0.0
8	sanaiQ_280.txt	0.046875	0.05823
9	sanaiQ_28.txt	0.0309405941	0.05074
10	sanaiQ_259.txt	0.0440140845	0.05809
11	sanaiQ_67.txt	0.0396634615	0.04927
12	sanaiQ_30.txt	0.0463483146	0.05758
13	sanaiQ_144.txt	0.0309405941	0.04084
14	sanaiQ_35.txt	0.0545212766	0.04388
15	SanaiQ_214.txt	0.2277607362	0.01917
16	sanaiGh_158.txt	0.0322164948	0.03221
17	sanaiQ_134.txt	0.0846354167	0.06380
18	sanaiQ_106.txt	0.0721830986	0.07218
19	sanaiQ_289.txt	0.0515625	0.05
20	sanaiQ_294.txt	0.0628881988	0.03183
21	sanaiGh_7.txt	0.0685096154	0.04927
22	sanaiQ_200.txt	0.0309405941	0.05074
23	sanaiQ_108.txt	0.0474137931	0.07040
24	sanaiQ_86.txt	0.0488013699	0.05565
25	sanaiQ_51.txt	0.0569444444	0.04583
26	sanaiQ_42.txt	0.0453296703	0.07829
27	sanaiQ_302.txt	0.1100543478	0.03396

Figure 8: Distribution of MiM *Qalandariyât* Poems on Basis of Topic Probability Score of "Qalandari Topic"
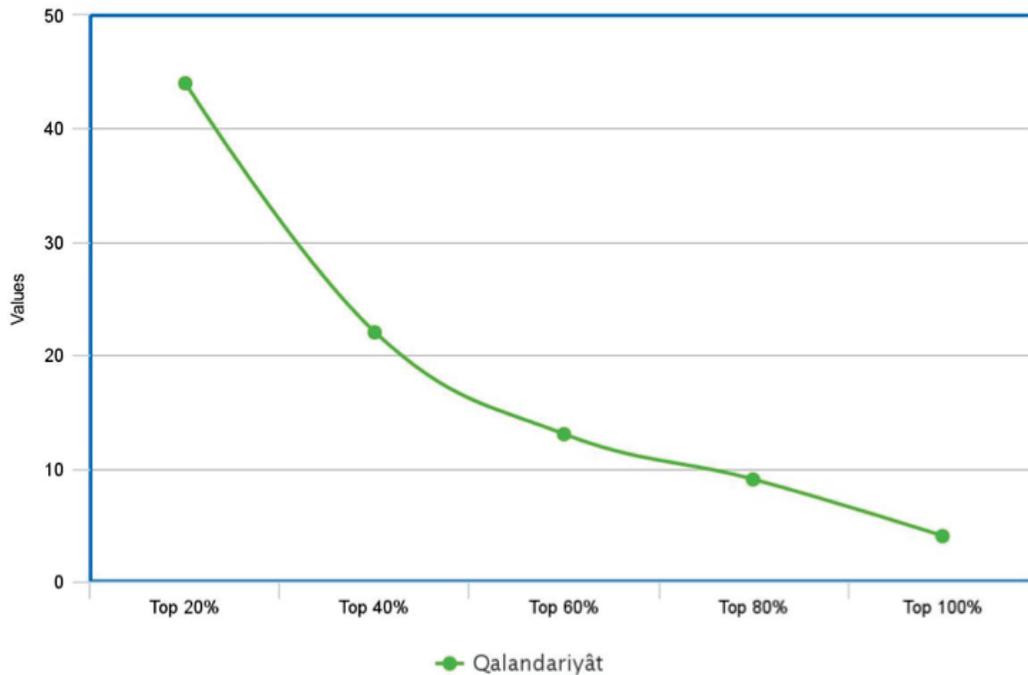
maining 70% of the documents (figure 8). Note, this 59 number is remarkably similar to the number of poems that I identified from my close reading above as constituting QPs (60, to be exact). This group of poems, I would argue, represents a set of largely monothematic or "strongly qalandari" poems that deserves to be recognized as a coherent thematic type of poetry—even a "genre."

This is not to say, of course, that the remaining 33 poems have no claim on the *qalandariyât* category. It does indicate, however, that they may be different types of qalandari poems: not monothematic *qalandariyât*, but rather atypical *qalandariyât* or polythematic poems with significant qalandari elements that led the editor to classify them into this category (after all, in a *divân* organized exclusively on the basis of thematic divisions, all poems do need to be classified into one or another thematic type). (I will return to this topic of the different types of *qalandariyât* poems in the subsequent section). We should also not dismiss the possibility that some of these classifications could be erroneous or idiosyncratic to this particular *divân* editor—which is not to say, as Shafi'i-Kadkani has asserted, that we should dismiss the validity of this editor's classification altogether. There will always be exceptions and idiosyncrasies in every actual classification effort and dataset.

The broad trends in the data, however, are clear, and become even more interesting when we map the distribution of the *ghazaliyât* (Gh), *madhiyât* (M), and *zohdiyât* (Z) in the re-ordered table onto this same graph (figure 9 below). In this graph, poems labelled by the editor of the MiM manuscript as belonging to the Gh, M, Q, and Z categories each primarily occupy one region of the graph while also overlapping with others. This is especially clear in the cases of the Q, Gh, and M poetry, with the Qs dominating the first third of the graph, Ghs

52

Figure 9: Distribution of All MiM Poems on Basis of Topic Probability Score of "Qalandari Topic"
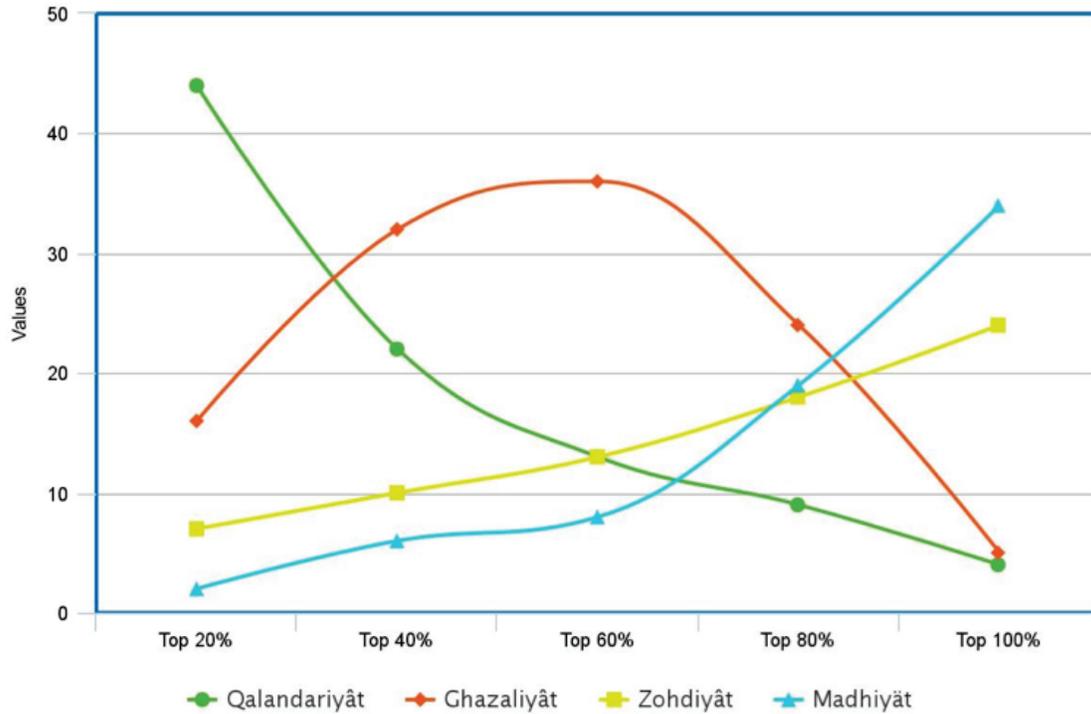
the middle third/half, and Ms and, to a lesser extent, Zs the final fourth/third. The relative

topic frequency of the "qalandari topic" in each poem reflects a broader lexical difference in

these poems, substantial enough that it can be marshaled to differentiate and order these four

types of poems into three different regions of this "qalandari-ness" graph.

The fact that poems from each category both have their own regions of dominance

(populated by what we might interpret as their most prototypical specimens) and bleed into

other categories' dominant regions is to be expected. As Lewis has argued, thematic types in

early medieval Persian poetry should be understood as "overlapping sets and sub-sets of the-

matic, typological and rhetorical strategies" whose "symbols, imagery and thematics...are by

no means restricted to that particular genre and often bleed into those of a related topos, scene

or mood..." Adding a cautionary note, he continues: "This does not necessarily constitute evi-

dence that the genre categories are artificial, were unperceived as such by the ancient authors

or that no poem can ever be assigned to a single genre..."[127] The graph above corroborates Lewis' argument: we simultaneously see both coherent thematic genres and generic overlap, real generic signals and their fuzzy borders that "bleed" into one another.

Furthermore, it should be noted that the nature of the TM method may also be distorting the distribution/classification of these poems along this "qalandari-ness" spectrum to some degree, making them appear to statistically overlap more than they actually do. Since TM has no way to distinguish a sincere from a parodic use of a particular term, the co-occurrence of numerous prototypical panegyric and religious-homiletic terms in qalandari poetry (where qalandari poets invert and parody them in their carnivalesque poetic world, e.g., *zohd, towbeh, 'elm, kherad, 'aql, madh, din, Qur'an, kâfer, hekmat, moslemân, shar'*) will likely make these three types of poetry appear more computationally similar than a close reading would reveal them to be.[128] It is a testament to the strength of this method that despite this possible distorting effect it is still able to differentiate these poetic types as well as it did.

The TM method employed here is not perfect and still needs further refinement and testing. Future studies need to add the works of additional poets and re-organize and graph the resulting "Topic Probabilities" table on the basis of other thematic topics for additional insights on thematic groupings in early Persian poetry. (Such broader studies are a part of my larger research agenda for "distant reading" Persian literature). The initial results of this limited case study of Sanâ'i's poetry do indicate, however, that this TM method is capable of capturing a thematic "genre signal" from these poems and categorizing them appropriately at a broad level of analysis. Most importantly for the purposes of the present study, it also computationally corroborates the validity of *qalandariyât* as an analytical category for studying ear-

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127.Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 438-40. Lewis makes a similar point in: Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 123-24. And he makes this point about *qalandariyât* poetry specifically in: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 560.

128.On the *qalandariyât's* inversion and parody of religious-homiletic and royal panegryic poetry, see chapter two of this study.

54

ly medieval Persian poetry.

Deconstructing the "Qalandariyât," or Towards a New Typology

In the preceding sections, I have argued that the *qalandariyât* should be regarded as a thematic type in early Persian poetry. Manuscript evidence, close reading, and TM data all support this conclusion. While this is certainly a crucial point, it is only part of the story. Collapsing all of the *qalandariyât* into this one monolithic generic category is as problematic as denying its analytical utility. There is a great deal of internal differentiation among these poems, and we need to deconstruct this category in order to arrive at a more fine-grained understanding of how medieval Persian litterateurs understood it and employed it as a classifier.

J.T.P. de Bruijn, one of the only scholars to take the *qalandariyât* seriously as a poetic genre, recognized this internal diversity in his early (and unfortunately quite brief) study, where he classified them into one of three "rough" categories:

> a. Poems in which the term *kharābāt* (literally meaning the ruins) plays a leading part, both as far as form and content are concerned.
> b. Poems marked by the presence of a short narrative or sometimes no more than an anecdotal trait, based upon *qalandarī* motifs.
> c. Poems in which *qalandarī* motifs are used as one of the many ingredients in an *andarz* poem, and as such, is mingled with motifs belonging to other genres (most of Sanā'ī's *qalandarī* poetry is of this type).[129]

Although I am not in complete agreement with de Bruijn's preliminary classification, his recognition that there are constituent subtypes within the broader category of *qalandariyât* is an important insight that needs to be built on. It also dovetails well with Lewis's argument that the "[formal] *ghazals*" of Sanâ'i (i.e., short, monothematic poems) can be divided into smaller, "fluid and not fixed, illustrative and instructive rather than absolute" thematic "genres" or "sub-genres."

> It seems necessary to me, at least in the period up to Hâfez, to deconstruct the notion of the *ghazal* and to recognize that different topoi with various and perhaps mutually exclusive semiotic horizons should be considered as separate

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129. de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 79.

genres and not merely as a static entity, the ghazal. The wine ode, the dying love poem, the love enjoyed theme, the ascetic, the mystical, the qalandari, the Sufi initiation, the courtly praise theme, perhaps all should be seen as different genres which only gradually grew to share a common formal structure.[130]

While some may take issue with this or that category, the thrust of Lewis' point here is that the shorter, monothematic poems of this early period are not one monolithic genre—"*ghaz-als*," as they would all later be labelled—but rather need to be disaggregated into more exact types. This is an important point for understanding stylistic and generic development in medieval Persian poetry; it is not just a pedantic exercise for literary taxonomists.

Poems that medieval Persian litterateurs placed in the *qalandariyât* category evince similar internal differentiation on both the formal and thematic levels. Some of these distinctions are immediately apparent—such as the differences between panegyric and *na't* poems with qalandari sections/elements and the shorter monothematic varieties—while others are more difficult to discern. Below I have provided my heuristic typology of qalandari poems with a brief discussion of each sub-type and citations of prototypical examples. In this section I only discuss each type in general terms. In later chapters I provide close readings of specific poems belong to each type.

Monothematic *Qalandariyât*

(1) Rogue Poetic Anecdotes

Examples: Sanâ'i: 89-90 (possibly "rogue figure" poem too, master), 128-129 (possibly "rogue figure" poem too), 163, 666-668; 'Attâr: 11-12, 120 (our master),[131] 193-195 (our master), 209 (our master), 221-222 (our master), 361; Erâqi: 84-85 (master).[132]

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130. See: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 36, 106-107, 438; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 136. The generic category of *ghazal*/lyric is understood in post-Hafezian Persian poetry to be a formal-prosodic category. However, Lewis' research has demonstrated that in the earliest period of Persian literature this term seems to primarily refer to a thematic category of "love" poems, and only later develops into a strictly formal category (Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 35-69). Bausani argues that the "technical" *ghazal* emerges with Sa'di, see: Bausani, "Ghazal, ii. in Persian Literature."

131. The poems designated with "master" or "our master" in parentheses revolve around the figure of the poet's "master" (*piri*, *pir-e man*/*mâ*), and for this reason many could also be considered "rogue figure" poems as well. "Our master" poems that had a strong and sustained narrative throughout the poem I classified into the "rogue poetic anecdote" category and those not predicated primarily on a narrative were classed as "rogue figure" poems. However, the exact border between these two categories is sometimes blurry.

132. All pages numbers cited in this section for poems from Sanâ'i's *divân* are from Rezavi's edition. All pages numbers cited for poems in this section from 'Erâqi's *divân* are from Mohtasham's edition. All pages numbers cited in this section for poems from 'Attâr's *divân* are from Tafazzoli's edition.

56

Discussion: The "rogue poetic anecdotes" are a fairly well-developed class of poems that focus almost exclusively on relating an anecdote or an encounter between the poetic persona and other figures, sometimes with a lengthy dialogues included. There is an important difference, in my view, between poems like these that are structured primarily on one poetic anecdote and those that contain narrative sections amidst others.[133] Most of these poems are quite lengthy (some even run over 20 lines), but not all are this long.

(2) Rogue Boasts (Spiritual Mock-Fakhr)

Examples: Sanâ'i: 73-74 (rogue ode too), 359-360 (again),[134] 393-394 (rogue ode too), 401-402; 'Attâr: 41, 120 (rogue anecdote too), 200-201 (our master), 389-390, 390-391, 391-392, 392-393, 486, 486-487, 491, 491-492 (again), 499, 506-507, 509-511; Khâqâni: 629, 630-631, 643; 'Erâqi: 102-103, 103, 105-106 (again), 106-107, 107-108 (rogue ode too), 183-184 (again), 245 (again), 280-281, 297 (again)[135]

Discussion: Rogue boasts, or qalandari *fakhr* (mock-fakhr), focus on the enumeration of disreputable acts—almost like a poetic performance of blame-seeking behavior. They read as rogue confessions or manifestos, with the poet proudly listing his litany of misdeeds done in service of the qalandari way. (This may be what Lewis is gesturing towards when he remarks in his discussion of a selection of Sanâ'i's qalandari *ghazals* that some have an "anthem-like quality, celebrating spiritual virtues of debauchery").[136] They are one of the most widespread sub-types of qalandari poetry. Many—although not all—are based on an end rhyme of *-am* or *-im*.

(3) Rogue Figure Poems

Examples: Sanâ'i: 25-26, 89 (maybe *shahr-âshub* too), 89-90 (rogue poetic anecdote too) 128-129 (poetic anecdote too), 135-136, 1008-1009; 'Attâr: 65-66, 158-159, 177-179, 227,

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133. There are certain similarities between these qalandari anecdote poems and the "fable-like" poems of Nâse-e Khosrow. See: Rafinejad, "'I Am a Mine of Golden Speech'," 48.
134. Poems designated with "again" in parentheses are poems which contain the common motif of the poet, poet's beloved, or poet's master "again" (*degarbâr*) returning to the qalandari way, breaking their repentance, etc.
135. All pages numbers cited for poems in this section from Khâqâni's *divân* are from Sajjâdi's edition of Khâqâni's *divân*.
136. Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 560.

57

360, 433-435, 435, 435-436, 488, 539-540, 585-586, 603-604, 638-639, 643-644, 659-660, 666-667, 693-694, 695-696; 'Erâqi: 101-102, 245-246 (maybe *shahr-âshub* too)

Discussion: "Rogue figure" poems are distinguished by their almost exclusive focus on one of the transgressive figures of the qalandari poetic world, such as the magian youth (*mogh-bachcheh*), christian youth (*tarsâ-bachcheh*), infidel youth (*kâfer-bachcheh*), qalandari Turk (*tork-e qalandar*), young man (*pesar*), mock-master/disgraced master (*piri*, *pir-e mâ*), slave (*gholâm*), or even the cupbearer (*sâqi*). They read as mock-panegyrics in the sense that they are poems dedicated to anti-heroic, rogue figures or mock-masters whose antinomian deeds and remarkable carnivalesque qualities they celebrate. These poems sometimes have a narrative element to them as well, although they are not essentially concerned with relating a single anecdote like the "rogue poetic anecdotes."

Lewis has written an article on this type of poem in 'Attâr's *divân*. He argues that 'Attâr's "christian youth" (*tarsâ-bacheh*) poems are a "topical sub-genre of [his] *ghazals*," estimating that about 15 of the 872 *ghazals* in Tafazzoli's edition can be classed in this sub-genre (i.e., circa 2% of his *ghazals*). (I would actually put this number a bit higher, as you can see above).[137] I agree with him that this should be considered a "topical sub-genre" of 'Attâr's poetry, but I think this type of poem is best read as a sub-genre of the larger *qalandariyât* genre of 'Attâr's poetry because the "christian youth" (*tarsâ-bacheh*) topos shows up in several of the *robâ'iyat* that 'Attâr places in the *qalandariyât* section of his *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*.[138] It is also noteworthy that these poems are frequently grouped together in the early Majles 2600 manuscript of 'Attâr's divan, which is another indication that Persian literateurs of this period understood these to represent a genre or sub-genre of sorts.

Lastly, it is also worth noting that the "rogue figure" subtype is clearly far more associated with 'Attâr than any other poet. Although Sanâ'i and 'Erâqi have a few examples of this poetic type, it is 'Attâr who is the primary producer of these poems.

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137. Lewis, "Sexual Occidentation," 717.
138. See three different examples in the opening pages of the *qalandariyât* section of 'Attâr's *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*: 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 292-93.

(4) City-Disturber (Shahr-âshub) Poems

Examples: Sanâ'i: 89 (maybe rogue figure too), 141; 'Attâr: 224; 'Erâqi: 73-74 (wine), 74-75 (love), 76-77, 151-152, 245-246

Discussion: In the *qalandariyât* sections of both the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* and Sanâ'i's early manuscripts, we see poems that read as early specimens of "city-disturber" (*shahr-âshub*, or less commonly, *shahr-angiz*) poetry.[139] While not identical to all types of later *shahr-âshub* poetry, they share important affinities and should be considered as close relatives, if not immediate generic family members. They are distinguishable by their development of variations on the basic plot of a beautiful, roguish beloved who comes into town (often to the market specifically) and throws the entire town into a happy chaos because of the love he evokes in all who come into contact with him. He upends the foundations of the entire city and everyone in it: individuals loose their (rational) minds and forsake their religious commitments, entire social spaces (e.g., markets, winehouses) burst into commotion, and the true lovers willingly head to gallows. (The two 'Erâqi poems designated with "love" and "wine" after their page number citation appear to be a variation on this type where the role of the "city-disturber" is played by wine and love instead of a particular beloved). These poems all could, in a sense, even be viewed as a sub-type of the "rogue figure" poems since they focus primarily on a rogue figure, his transgressive actions, and the disruptive consequences of his presence in an area.

(5) Rogue Exhortation Poems

Examples: Sanâ'i: 179-80, 295, 311-312, 312, 408, 480-481, 481-482, 482-484, 496, 496-497, 627, 506, 585-586, 586; 'Attâr: 504-505; Anvari: 859; 'Erâqi: 78-80, 80-81[140]

Discussion: "Rogue exhortation" poems are, as their name indicates, centered on their repeated imperative commands or implied exhortation to their imagined audience to take up the carnivalesque qalandari way of life and reject normative modes of piety and social life. (Un-

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139. For more on the *shahr-âshub* genre, see: Golchin-Ma'âni, *Shahr-âshub dar she'r-e Fârsi*; Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 576; Sharma, "Generic Innovation in Sayfi Bukhârâi's *Shahrâshub Ghazals*"; de Bruijn, "Shahrangīz 1. In Persian."

140. All pages numbers cited for poems in this section from Anvari's *divân* are from Modarres Rezavi's edition.

59

surprisingly, this type of poem frequently—though not always—has an imperative verb form as its end rhyme/*radif*). Some are short and read like playful instructions to a novice "haunter of the winehouse" (*kharâbâti*) and appear closer to "rogue ditties" in tone and structure. Others are longer and take a more didactic tone, making them more akin to "rogue homilies." Sometimes the boundary between the longer, didactic "rogue exhortations" and "rogue homilies" is fuzzy, and it is debatable whether the short, ditty-esque "rogue exhortation" poems and these longer ones should be in the same category.

(6) Rogue Odes and Ditties

Examples: Sanâ'i: 26, 73-74 (rogue boast too), 74, 74-75, 75, 75-76, 80-81, 98-99, 128-129, 163, 335-336, 337-338, 358, 393-394 (rogue boast too), 653-654; 'Attâr: 33-34, 192-193 (our master); Anvari: 784-785; Khâqâni: 630-631; Erâqi: 77-78, 80, 98-99 (mock-ubi sunt), 100-101, 107-108 (rogue boast too), 108-109, 236-237, 246-247

Discussion: "Rogue odes" are typically at least 10 lines long and sometimes run into the high teens. Their most defining feature is their more well-developed internal structure and segmentation. They can often be divided into several separate but interrelated sections. Some evince a tripartite structure (strophe, antistrophe, metastrophe) that makes them appear like mini-*qasidehs* with interchangeable thematic sections of mock-*fakhr*, apostrophe/exhortation, anecdote, and/or homily with a short (1-2 line) concluding cap.[141] Others exhibit a chiastic/ring design or equal segmentation into (roughly) 2-4 line sections.

While most of the monothematic qalandari poems that appear in the *qalandariyât* sections of Sanâ'i's early manuscripts are longer poems (10+ lines), there is a small collection of shorter poems that I have labelled as "rogue ditties." This category is admittedly somewhat inexact and underrepresented, but the shorter length of these poems may be indicative other

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141. On reading shorter Persian poems like *ghazals* as mini-*qasidehs*, see: Meisami, "A Life in Poetry." The length and structure of the "rogue odes" and "rogue poetic anecdotes" have certain similarities with the *khamriyât* of *mohdathun* poetry that makes them often appear more akin to them in terms of form and structure than classical (post-thirteenth century) *ghazal* poetry. Similarly, I suspect that what Helmutt Ritter vaguely gestures towards as the stronger qalandari elements in 'Attâr vs. Hâfez (more "mild" in Hafez) may actually be a sign of the gradual disintegration of the *qalandariyât* as a stand-alone monothematic genre as qalandari motifs came to be more fully integrated into the later technical *ghazal's* standard set of amatory and anacreontic topoi. These speculations need to be investigated further. See: Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 502-506, 519.

important differences (75-76, 80-81, 653-654).

Polythematic Poems with Qalandari Topical Units

(1) Rogue Panegyrics

Examples: a poem attributed to Borhâni (d. 1072-3) in Mohammad ebn Badr Jâjarmi's *Mo'nes al-ahrâr fi daqâ'eq al-ash'âr* and a panegyric for Sharafshâh Ja'fari by his son, Amir Mo'ezzi (d. ca. 1147-1157); 'Erâqi 311-314.[142]

Discussion: While there are a few purportedly earlier qalandari *robâ'iyât* (discussed in the introduction to this study), the poem attributed to Borhâni in Mohammad ebn Badr Jâjarmi's *Mo'nes al-ahrâr fi daqâ'eq al-ash'âr* may be the oldest example of a non-*robâ'i* qalandari poem that remains extant. The mention of a "Ja'fari" king in the final line of the poem indicates that it may have been an introit (*nasib*) of a longer panegyric poem or possibly an early panegyric *ghazal*. We cannot be sure though because Borhâni's *divân* has been lost. Its similarity to his son's *nasib* for a panegyric for Sharafshâh Ja'fari would seem to make the former position more likely. However, to complicate matters, it is also almost identical to a qalandari poem attributed to Sanâ'i in the MiM (Melli-ye Malek) manuscript.

The second poem in this category is the aforementioned panegyric by Mo'ezzi. It is a fifty-one line panegyric *qasideh* with a qalandari *nasib* dedicated to his patron, Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'âli Abu 'Ali Sharafshâh Ja'fari. While this type is certainly rare, it is notable for its early appearance in the history of qalandari poetry and significant formal differences from other *qalandariyât*. I will discuss these first two poems in more detail in chapter 2.

One additional poem bears mentioning here. It is a monothematic panegyric for 'Aziz al-Din Mohammad Haji by 'Erâqi that employs several qalandari motifs and paints the patron as a rogue lover of sorts. This poem's attribution to 'Erâqi is, however, disputed. Regardless of the validity of its attribution, it still shows the creative flexibility of the qalandari theme.[143]

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142. Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e dovvum)*, 481-82; Mo'ezzi, *Kolliyât-e Divân-e Amir Mo'ezzi (ed. Qanbari)*, 128-30; Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 73–74 (q #27); Mo'ezzi, *Divân-e Amir Mo'ezzi (ed. Āshtiyâni)*, 113-15. For discussion of the attribution of this poem to Borhâni, see: Mo'in, "Borhâni va qasideh-ye u"; Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 297-98 and 'Abbâs Eqbâl's introduction to Amir Mo'ezzi's *divân*.

143. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 311-14.

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(2) Rogue-Infused Praise of the Prophet Poems (Na't)

Examples: Sanâ'i: 23-24, 181-182, 388-392, 587-589.[144]

Discussion: These poems use qalandari themes strategically, employing them in varying degrees in key places throughout the poem to praise Prophet Mohammad and reimagine him as something akin to the lord of qalandars and/or a roguish lover. Like the rogue panegyrics, there are not many of these poems, but they are again fascinating examples of the versatility of the *qalandariyât* category.

(3) Rogue Homilies

Examples: Sanâ'i: 27-28, 32-33, 95-96, 108-109, 295-299, 325-326, 402-404, 404-406, 406-407, 407-408, 409-410, 410-411, 420-421, 428-429, 435-436, 453-454, 454-457, 497-499, 499-500, 577-579, 589-590, 590-592, 596-597, 622-623.

Discussion: de Bruijn has discussed this sub-type in some detail in his research on the *qalandariyât*. He remarks that "[m]any of these poems are really religious *andarz* poems in which the *qalandari* elements are only part of a variegated imagery serving as illustration to a point made in a continuing homily." They share a common polythematic construction and tendency towards what we might call an expository or didactic poetic mode in their treatment of more theoretical topics such as the "reasons" for the winehouse, the meaning of roguery (*qallâshi*), connection between love and *kofr*, etc., as de Bruijn has argued.[145] I would diverge from de Bruijn's treatment of this sub-type on two points. First, I think *na't* (praise of prophet) poems need to be classed as a separate type, as I have done above. And, secondly, in my reading, de Bruijn is a little overzealous in placing poems into this category. There is more diversity in the poems he classifies into this group than his tripartite typology allows for and he puts quite a few highly dissimilar poems in this category, which I have classed in other groups. I have reserved this category for truly polythematic poems that tend to be longer than the other more monothematic poems classified above.

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144. I am largely adopting the classifications of de Bruijn and the editor of the KM manuscript in this section. The first two poems are identified by de Bruijn as *na't* poems and the second two by the editor of the KM manuscript.
145. de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 84-86.

62

Poems belonging to these latter two types of polythematic *qalandariyât* are assigned to the *qalandariyât* sections of Sanâ'i's early manuscripts (Sanâ'i has no "rogue pane-gyrics"). They should, therefore, not be dismissed. However, at the same time, they are clearly not the most influential type of qalandari poems when we look at the broader landscape of Persian poetry. The domain where qalandari poetry undoubtedly had the most substantial and enduring impact was in the emerging field of new monothematic forms of poetry, all of which are typically grouped under the term "*ghazal*" in most contemporary studies and *divân* editions.

Some of the foregoing categories may come to be rejected or adjusted in subsequent studies of this poetry. They are only intended to function as a working typology of the *qalandariyât*—to provide a flexible heuristic framework for the study of this large body of poetry. Some poems straddle more than one category (as I have indicated in parentheses in the "example" listings above) and one could also possibly add additional ones, such as the mock-*ubi sunt* poem ('Erâqi 98-99, 247-248), the winehouse conversion poem ('Attâr 11-12; 'Erâqi 84-85), among others. Despite these limitations, however, these categories are useful tools for deepening our understanding of what medieval Persian litterateurs meant when they employed the term "*qalandariyât*." They help us disaggregate this broad thematic category and see patterns that may not otherwise be apparent, such as 'Attâr's manifest predilection for the "rogue youth" sub-type or Sanâ'i and 'Attâr's predominance in the production of "rogue poetic anecdotes." Further studies on these points may show these patterns to be an individual poet's idiosyncrasies, or some may prove to be important new insights for the broader study of stylistic and generic development in medieval Persian poetry.

IV. Conclusion

In the present chapter, I have advanced three principle arguments. First, early Persian litterateurs were as interested in discussing and categorizing poetry in terms of its thematic focus as its form, and they developed an elaborate terminological apparatus for this purpose

(see Appendix II for a more detailed overview). This was a product of both early Persian's "theme (*ma'nâ*)-based" systemic poetics (which developed, following its Arabic forebear, in response to the esteemed genre of early Persian poetry, the polythematic *qasideh*) *and* the fact that early Persian litterateurs (like their *mohdathun* Arabic counterparts) began writing shorter, monothematic types of poetry. One of these thematic types, I argue in the second part of this chapter, was the *qalandariyât*.

The manuscript evidence indicates that medieval Persian litterateurs utilized this generic term during (at least) the eleventh-thirteenth centuries to classify poetry that displayed a relatively well-defined set of antinomian and transgressive themes and symbols. It was clearly a flexible category, admitting both poly- and monothematic qalandari poems and not primarily concerned with their formal characteristics. However, as I demonstrate through both close reading and the computational form of textual analysis called topic modeling, the poems classed in this category by the editor of the MiM manuscript do evince a coherent genre signal at a broad level, indicating its validity and analytical utility for the study of early Persian poetry.

Finally, I conclude by deconstructing the category of *qalandariyât* into nine subtypes, three polythematic and six monothematic ones. While this typology is admittedly provisional, the broader point I am trying to make through it is that there is considerable diversity in the poems classed in the *qalandariyât* category, and each qalandari poet engages this tradition in different ways, developing some types of qalandari poems more than others. This disaggregation of the *qalandariyât* does not yield simple answers or nice and neat sub-categories in all cases, but it does provide additional insight into this poetic type as a historical construct.[146]

At a broader level, the analysis presented in this chapter shows the genre system of

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146. In a certain sense, the analysis in this chapter is an inversion of the typical way medieval Persian poetry is studied and discussed. That is, instead of beginning with a formal type (*ghazal*, *qasideh*) and discussing its constituent thematic foci, I began here with a thematic type and then worked through its different formal permutations and thematic sub-genres. The manuscript tradition indicates that this is a historically more accurate approach for early Persian poetry, but it is also heuristically useful because it is defamiliarizing. By decentering poetic form as the primary criteria for classification and discussion, it forces us to reexamine the existing body of poetry from a different angle and question our ingrained assumptions.

64

medieval Persian poetry to be far more complex, dynamic, and historically specific than the standard presentation of the Persian genre system as composed primarily of formal genres (*qasideh*, *ghazal*, *robâ'i*, etc.) with a few second-class thematic genres (*sâqi-nâmeh*, *habsiyât*, etc.) added on. In different historical periods, poetic themes (*ma'nâ*) and forms came together in new ways, sometimes coalescing into enduring thematic types such as the *qalandariyât* that in turn engendered new sub-types which later took on a life of their own (e.g., *shahr-âshub*) in a few cases. This was a dialogical process that resulted from complex negotiations between poetic forms and themes and is not reducible to the traditional narrative of generic development in which the the *ghazal* gradually develops out of the polythematic *qasideh*.

Chapter 2

The Qalandariyât *and the Early Persian Poetic System:* Qalandariyât *as Heterotopic Countergenre and Oppositional Introit*

I. Introduction

Themes (*ma'nâ*) play a number of different roles in the Perso-Arabic poetic system. They can operate as isolated motifs, larger monothematic sections in polythematic poems (e.g., *nasibs* of *qasidehs*), or, in some cases, develop into discrete monothematic genres (e.g., *khamriyât*, *zohdiyât*). The first chapter of the present study analyzed the historical development of one of these thematic types, the so-called "rogue lyrics" (*qalandariyât*), arguing that it is indeed a coherent thematic type of poetry in the early Persian poetry of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi. The present chapter will extend this analysis to the *interrelations* of qalandari poetry with other thematic types. The first half will situate the monothematic *qalandariyât* within its broader field of intertextual/intergeneric relations, and the second half will examine the use of a qalandari introit (*nasib*) in a polythematic panegyric poem by Amir Mo'ezzi (d. ca. 1147-1157). Both sections illustrate the necessity of adopting modes of literary analysis that move "beyond the line [and symbol]" to explore the complex ways in which qalandari poetry produces meaning through its engagement with panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry.[1]

II. The *Qalandariyât* in the Persian Poetic System Part I: The *Qalandariyât* as Monothematic Countergenre

Genres—formal or thematic—are not born into a vacuum; nor do they enter a literary tradition preformed like a Platonic archetypal form. They develop within specific poetic sys-

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1. The phrase in quotes is a playful adaption of the title and central thrust of G.J.H. van Gelder's important work, see: van Gelder, *Beyond the Line*.

tems, at particular historical moments, and they gradually create a flexible generic "identity" through a complex process of adopting and modifying the established conventions (e.g., poetic forms, rhetorical figures, motifs) of their respective literary tradition and its constituent genres. The *qalandariyât* is no exception. The present section situates the monothematic *qalandariyât* and its carnivalesque poetics within the early Persian poetic system from which it emerged.[2] It is an attempt to adumbrate its generic interrelationship—that is, the complex ways in which it adopts and modifies the conventions of other medieval Persian (thematic) genres in the construction of its own distinct poetics.[3] I will argue here that the monothematic *qalandariyât* are most productively understood as a heterotopic[4] countergenre to courtly panegyric (*madh/madhiyât*) and religious-homiletic (*zohdiyât/mow'ezeh*) poetry,[5] defining itself as a genre through its parodic inversion of the poetic and conceptual universe of these other thematic types. This move to the intergeneric level of analysis is essential because a full appreciation of its poetics is only possible when we understand that each qalandari poem is, in a sense, a intergeneric and intertextual response to a wide range of other poems and their constituent thematic and stylistic elements.

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2. "Carnival" and "carnivalesque"—in their usage in literary-cultural studies—are theoretical concepts originally developed by Mikhail Bakhtin for real or imagined spaces in which normal social hierarchies are inverted, official high culture (including religion and religious rituals) is mocked, and social/religious rules are suspended. It is a space of symbolic inversion, transgression, "parody," and "profanation" of all that is high and holy. It is important to note that there are significant differences between Bakhtin's original conception of these terms and the way in which I am utilizing them in my study of the poetic world of the *qalandariyât* (for example, there are not any elements of "grotesque realism"—as in Bakhtin's theorization of this term—in the *qalandariyât*). Rather, I am using these terms in a more limited sense to describe the poetic world of the *qalandariyât* because of the centrality of symbolic inversion, parody, mockery, and transgression in this poetry. For more on these terms, see: Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*; Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*, 6-26.
3. In the first chapter I discuss why I think the terms "genre" or "thematic type" are appropriate for describing monothematic *qalandariyât*.
4. The term "heterotopia" is a theoretical term developed by Michel Foucault for "counter-sites" or liminal spaces where deviant, subversive, and carnivalesque ("mode of the festival") behavior and "heteroclite" objects can be contained and safely displayed. In heterotopic spaces, normal relations are typically "contested and inverted." For more on this term, see: Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," 24-26; Defert, "Foucault, Space, and the Architects," 275-76.
5. I have opted for the translation of *zohdiyât* as "religious" here, following de Bruijn: de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry*, 31. More discussion on this in section on religious-homiletic poetry below.

67

Genre and Countergenre

The term "countergenre" is of relatively recent provenance. The literary dynamic or generic relationship that has come to be called "countergenre" is not. Scholars of a number of the world's literary traditions have argued that analogous literary mechanisms of generic inversion have long played a role in the development of new genres, stretching back all the way to Greek literature. The term "countergenre" itself, however, entered our critical terminology much more recently with the work of Claudio Guillén in the early 1970s.[6]

As a theoretical concept in modern literary studies, it has come to denote a genre that consciously seeks to invert another genre's principle characteristics at the symbolic and structural levels (e.g., plot, narrative, scale, poetic persona, formal aspects, dramatis personae, setting, ethos).[7] It takes, in the words of Alastair Fowler, an "antithetic" position *vis-à-vis* its countergenre, parodying its generic expectations, symbolic values, and general *modus operandi*.[8] Although often times this process of parodical inversion has implicit or even explicit political/cultural import,[9] countergenres are *first and foremost* complex literary games

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6. The concept of "countergenre"—in the sense that I will employ the term here—was first elaborate by Claudio Guillén in several essays that appeared in his important work, *Literature as System: Essays Toward the Theory of Literary History* (1971). Alastair Fowler discusses the same concept as "anti-genre" in his landmark work, *Kinds of Literature* (1982). I much prefer the term "countergenre" to "antigenre," and so I have elected to use this term throughout this chapter; however, I have also benefited from Fowler's typically erudite discussion of this concept.

7. On the general theory of "countergenre" or "antigenre" in Euro-American literary criticism, see the following studies by Guillén, Fowler, and Heather Dubrow: Guillén, "Genre and Countergenre," 146-58; Guillén, "On the Uses of Literary Genre," 133-34; Guillén, "Toward a Definition of the Picaresque," 74, 97; Guillén, "Literature as Historical Contradiction," 179; Dubrow, *Genre*, 24-30, 114-116; Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 174-179, 251-255.

8. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature*, 174-179, 251-255.

9. An author's decision to invert and mock another genre should not, however, be construed as necessarily entailing any ideological opposition to this genre or the values embodied in it, as Heather Dubrow prudently cautions. Indeed, as she avers in her discussion of countergenres, "[a] writer may even have real respect for assumptions behind the literary type he is parodying" (Dubrow, *Genre*, 25). In the context of Arabic and Persian poetry, this can clearly be seen in the fact that the same poets who compose poems in popular countergenres like *khamriyât* (wine poetry) and *qalandariyât* also often write poems in the very genres that they parody in these countergenres. In specific performance contexts or particular historical contexts, a certain countergenre may function in an ideological or politically subversive manner, but countergenres themselves are not essentially so and we can only judge each poet's/poem's political/cultural import on a case by case basis.

that play out across a literary tradition (synchronically and diachronically) and develop its genre system in new directions.[10]

In traditional Arabic and Persian poetics, there is no exact equivalent for the contemporary term "countergenre." However, a couple of different notions of poetic "antithesis" have existed within these poetic systems from the very beginning. At the level of rhetorical devices, both Arabic and Persian poetry manuals typically discuss the important rhetorical figure of "antithesis" (*motâbaqeh/tebâq/motazâdd*). Traditional literary critics seem to have only conceived of this rhetorical device as operating at the level of the individual line or between sections of a particular poem (e.g., *nasib* and *madh*), but it is not unreasonable to postulate that some poets may extended its logic to the level of genre as well.[11] A few authors in both the Arabic and Persian traditions do in fact comment explicitly upon the antithetical relationship of different thematic categories/genres.[12] Kaykâvus, for example, says to his son in his *Qâbus-Nâmeh* (completed 1082) (the earliest extant discussion of Persian poetry) that

> If you want to compose invective (*hejâ*) and you do not know how, say the opposite of the praise that you would say of that person in a panegyric because whatever is the opposite of panegyric is invective (*hejâ*), and love (*ghazal*) and elegy (*marsiyat*) are the same [i.e., they too have an antithetic relationship, presumably in their contrasting affective aims of merriment and mourning].[13]

While Kaykâvus does not give this generic interrelation a specific name or develop it in the

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10. Heather Dubrow's criticism of some previous studies' formulations of the genre-countergenre dynamic as a type of Darwinian battle between genres with clear winners and losers is also worth highlighting here: "When studying the relationship between generic evolution and literary history, we should heed the caveat offered by Tzvetan Todorov and many other critics as well: we should not expect the movement from one genre to another to follow a neat pattern. The image of the relay race suggested by some critics for generic evolution is apt in certain cases but not all. While a genre is still living it may compete with others that fill the same functions. Two genres may enjoy the relationship of genre and countergenre while both are active, with one of the two taking over many elements of the other when it decays" (Dubrow, *Genre*, 114-15).

11. On "antithesis" (and parallelism) between individual lines and sections of poems, see final section of this chapter (and footnotes therein) and also: Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 253-64.

12. On the need to write "thematic category/genre" when discussing issues of theme and genre in Arabic and Persian poetics, see chapter one.

13. Kaykâvus ebn Voshmgir, *Qâbus-Nâmeh*, 191. Echoing the same point, Kâshefi in his introduction to his poetic treatise *Badâ'e' al-afkâr fi sanâ'e' al-ash'âr* also remarks that *hajv/hejâ* are the opposite (*zedd*) of panegyric (*madh*). *See:* Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 82. For an example from the Arabic tradition, see: van Gelder, "Some Brave Attempts at Generic Classification in Premodern Arabic Literature," 20.

more complex ways that Guillén, Fowler, or Dubrow do in their works, this passing remark indicates at the very least that medieval Persian litterateurs were aware of the antitheses that existed between their thematic categories/genres and the poetically productive role that thematic inversion could play in crafting poetry.

This point is also corroborated by the growing body of literature in Arabic and—to a much less extent—Persian literary studies demonstrating that poets in these traditions utilized an analogous technique of generic inversion. James T. Monroe, in several studies, has identified the Arabic *maqâmah* genre as a "counter-genre" and "parody" of the "noble literary genres" (e.g., *hadith*/prophetic traditions, *sirah*/epic, sermons, Qur'an, *qasidehs*).[14] Suzanne Pinckney Stetkevych similarly has argued that *so'luk* (brigand) poetry inverts and parodies the traditional Arabic *qasideh's* imagery, heroic values, and concern with social "integration" or "reintegration" in its celebration of "perpetual marginality."[15] And a considerable number of scholars have pointed to a similar process of generic inversion in the context of the explosion of thematic genres that occurred in the *Mohdath* period of Arabic poetry. Stefan Sperl has studied the "opposition" or "antithesis" of traditional Arabic heroic/panegyric poetry and the *zohdīyât*,[16] and Andras Hamori, M.M. Badawi, John Mattock, Julie Scott Meisami, Philip F. Kennedy, Yaseen Noorani, Zoltan Szombathy, and Sinan Antoon, have all written cogently on how the *khamrīyât*, *ghazal*, *zohdīyât*, and *mojunīyât/sokhf* operate as parodic countergenres to both the traditional Arabic *qasideh* and each other.[17]

The most relevant research in the Arabic tradition for our purposes here are studies

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14. Monroe, *The Art of Badī' Az-Zamān Al-Hamadhānī as Picaresque Narrative*, 20-38, 166-170; Monroe, "Preliminary Study," 2-3, 9.
15. Stetkevych, "The Su'lūk and His Poem"; Stetkevych, "Archetype and Attribution in Early Arabic Poetry."
16. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, 82, 93-96, 175-176.
17. Hamori, *On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature*, 3-77; Badawi, "From Primary to Secondary Qasīdas," 26-29; Mattock, "Description and Genre in Abū Nuwās," 531-36; Badawi, "'Abbasid Poetry and Its Antecedents," 163-64; Meisami, "Arabic Mujūn Poetry"; Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry*, 46, 52, 219-226; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 31-45, 163-189, 219-220; Noorani, "Heterotopia and the Wine Poem in Early Islamic Culture"; Szombathy, *Mujūn*; Antoon, *The Poetics of the Obscene in Premodern Arabic Poetry*.

70

that have been done on the *khamrīyât*, *ghazal*, *mojunīyât*, and *zohdīyât*. The general picture

that emerges from this research is that beginning at least in the *Mohdath* period there was a

dramatic rise in thematic genres that sought to invert, subvert, and parody the symbolic

system and ethos of both traditional Arabic *qasideh* poetry and the other new thematic genres.

The scholars who have worked on this phenomenon each use different terminology when

describing this literary dynamic. Hamori, for example, discusses the parodic inversion of the

"poet as hero" persona in pre-Islamic *qasideh* poetry by the "poet as ritual clown" in the

ghazal/*khamrīyât*; Badawi describes it as the ironic relation between "primary" and

"secondary" *qasidehs* in which poets "turn[ed] convention[s] upside down"; Mattock asserts

that Abu Nowâs' *khamrīyât* and *ghazalīyât* are "mock-heroic" in nature; Sperl refers to the

"antithesis" and "opposition" between traditional Arabic (heroic) panegyric poetry and later

ascetic poetry (*zohdīyât*); and, Kennedy in a number of places, claims that Abu Nowâs's

khamrīyât "invert" traditional Arabic poetic symbols and values in ironic and parodical

ways.[18] Regardless of the terms they use for this dynamic, their discussions make clear that

they are each describing aspects of what both Meisami and Noorani have identified as genre-

countergenre relationships.

     Meisami is the most direct on this point. In her discussion of Abu Nowâs' *khamrīyât*,[19]

she avers that "[i]n his [Abu Nowâs'] hands, the *khamriya*…becomes a countergenre which

both draws upon and subverts or parodies the heroic mode of pre-Islamic poetry."[20] Noorani,

also discussing the *khamrīyât*, similarly maintains that it—as a poetic genre—presents the

reader with a "counter-logic" or "rhetorical inversion" that "counters and mocks" the values

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18. See citations in the preceding footnotes.
19. Meisami and Kennedy are both of the view that Abu Nowâs' *khamrīyât* can be regarded as prototypical of the genre more generally. See Meisami cited in following footnote and Kennedy here: Kennedy, *The Wine Song in Classical Arabic Poetry*, 148, 241-242.
20. Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 31.

71

and symbols embodied in "normative discourse and panegyric poetry."[21] This genre-countergenre dynamic is a "well-constructed literary game" of sorts, according to Meisami, which is not restricted to the *khamrīyât* alone.[22] It can also be seen in the complex ways in which the symbols, topoi, rhetorical figures, and stylistic particularities of the *ghazal*, *zohdīyât*, and *mojunīyât* genres interact with both those of traditional *qasideh* poetry and each other.

The aforementioned studies have only really sketched the basic outline of this complex "literary game" in the Arabic poetic tradition, but they make it clear that this literary process has important implications for our understanding of both individual works within these genres/countergenres and the development of the Arabic genre system more broadly. The strong evidence for the existence of countergenres in the Arabic tradition is particularly noteworthy for the study of this phenomenon in Persian literature because, as I discuss in the first chapter, the Arabic genre system exerted considerable influence on the formation and early development of the (New) Persian poetic system.

In the field of Persian literary studies, several scholars have pointed to an analogous oppositional relationship between various genres (rarely though does this lead to a full treatment of the poetics of the dynamic).[23] The Iranian scholar, Sirus Shamisâ, for example, avers in his important study of genre theory in Persian literature that the *ghazal* (lyric) can productively be read as a "countergenre" (*now'-e mokhâsem yâ moqâbel*) of the classical Persian panegyric *qasideh*. However, he offers no further explanation or exploration of the topic beyond this remark.[24] Similarly, Meisami, in her analysis of religious-homiletic poetry

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21. Noorani, "Heterotopia and the Wine Poem in Early Islamic Culture," 346, 354-355.
22. Meisami, "Arabic Mujūn Poetry," 17-18.
23. Often these observations are made in passing in studies primarily concerned with other matters. See footnotes #24-28 immediately below for specific citations.
24. See: Shamisâ, *Anvâ'-e adabi*, 286. Although this is not a topic that I treat in this chapter, Shamisâ's passing observation that monothematic *ghazals* (by which he means "love poetry" generally) can be read as a countergenre to classical panegyric poetry needs to be expanded and developed. Many of the arguments

72

(*zohdiyât/mow'ezeh*) in the Persian tradition also points out that this poetry "invert[s]" the panegyric *qasideh's* formal and thematic features, and she briefly mentions the "light-hearted" and obscene parodying of traditional panegyrics in Persian poetry as well.[25] More recently, Rebecca Gould and Daniel Rafinejad have advanced similar arguments, with Gould arguing that "prison" (*habsiyât*) poetry creates an "oppositional poetics" by inverting royal panegyric poetry and Rafinejad reading one of Nâser-e Khosrow's famous poems as an "anti-Ode of Spring" because of the way it flips the generic expectations of the conventional spring ode (*bahâriyeh*).[26]

In regards to the *qalandariyât* more specifically, a range of scholars who have worked on these poems have remarked on the antithesis between the ethos, symbols, and figures celebrated in qalandari and religious-homiletic poetry.[27] This observation is an important starting point. However, these studies are generally not concerned with the poetics of this generic interrelationship, and they certainly do not explore the complex poetic game of generic inversion and parody as Hamori, Meisami et al. have done in the Arabic poetic tradition. Rather, they are primarily concerned with the import of this poetry for the development of Sufi thought and symbolism (a worthy endeavor itself, but not poetic in nature).[28] For the purposes

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that I advance in this chapter regarding the ways in which the *qalandariyât* parody the conventions of royal panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry also apply (with some modifications) in the case of the intergeneric relationship between these genres and more strictly monothematic amorous lyrics (*ghazaliyât*). The *ghazaliyât* similarly fashion a mock court (often, a winehouse) in which the royal *mamduh* and the God of religious-homiletic poetry are replaced by the figure of the beloved. The values and central symbols of royal panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry too are inverted in the *ghazaliyât*'s celebration of wine, madness, and self-dissolution.

25. Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms," 172-73; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 181-89.

26. Rafinejad, "'I Am a Mine of Golden Speech'," 41; Gould, "Wearing the Belt of Oppression," 11ff, 34.

27. J.T.P. de Bruijn, Shafi'i-Kadkani, Feuillebois-Pierunek, Pourjavady, and Lewis have all commented on the opposition between the values and symbols of qalandari poetry and those of traditional Sufi piety and the "Lords of the *shari'a*/Islamic law" (to use Shafi'i-Kadkani's words), which are celebrated in religious-homiletic poetry. See: Pourjavady, "Rendi-ye Hâfez (2): zuhd va rendi," 281ff; Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 34-35, 297; de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyât* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 79-81, 85; Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 559, 564, 574; de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry*, 76-77; Feuillebois-Pierunek, *A la croisée des voies célestes*, 240-253, 308; Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz," 31.

28. Lewis' observations in his analysis of five *qalandariyât* ghazals of Sanâ'i come the closest to understanding the relationship between qalandari and religious-homiletic poetry as a intertextual, poetic relationship. He seems to view it that way, but he does not develop this line of thought. His analysis generally is not concerned with qalandari poetry as a countergenre, but rather is a close hermeneutical reading of poems

73

of poetic analysis, we need to take this discussion a step further and conceptualize the *qalandariyât*, royal panegyric (*madhiyât*), and religious-homiletic poetry (*zohdiyât*/*mow'ezeh*) as existing in a genre-countergenre relationship *vis-à-vis* one another. This distinction is important to emphasize because the antithetical poetics of the *qalandariyât* is not just the product of two opposing schools of thought or modes of piety (*malâmati* sufi vs. ascetic/legalistic Islam), but also a generic opposition that plays out in a larger literary system with well-established thematic, stylistic, and formal conventions ripe for parodic inversion.

The Qalandariyât *as Heterotopic Countergenre of Royal Panegyric (Madhiyât) and Religious-Homiletic (Zohdiyât, Mow'ezeh) Poetry*

In the subsequent sections, I will briefly introduce royal panegyric (*madhiyât*) and religious-homiletic (*zohdiyât*/*mow'ezeh*) poetry before proceeding to discuss the ways in which the *qalandariyât* invert and mock their poetic worlds. Both of these genres are complex and dynamic traditions that vary across historical periods, and therefore I am necessarily presenting a somewhat oversimplified caricature of their principle features here. However, the majority of poems in these genres do evince certain prototypical characteristics that poets of the *qalandariyât* consistently parody in the "revers[ed] world" of their heterotopic countergenre.[29]

Panegyric Poetry (*Madhiyât*) in the Persian Tradition

Panegyric poetry (*madhiyât*) was the genre *par excellence* of the medieval Persian court.[30] Panegyrics in the Persian tradition can be tripartite (*nasib*/exordium or introit, *rahil*/

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with special attention to their Sufi meaning. See: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 559, 564, 574.

29. The reference here is to the important book on symbolic inversion and transgression by Barbara Babcock and Victor Turner. See: Babcock and Turner (eds.), *The Reversible World*.

30. This general portrait presented here of panegyric poetry (*mahd, mahdiyât*) in the Persian tradition is a synthesis of the following studies' treatment of this poetry: Shamisâ, *Ânvâ'-e adabi*, 244-247, 273-282; Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Mofles-e kimiyâ-forush*, 83–106; Safâ, *Târikh-e adabiyât dar Irân*, 1: 367-368, 2:353-354; Clinton, *The Divan of Manūchihrī Dāmghānī*, 31–43, 73–96, 126–146; Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 40-76; Clinton, "Court Poetry at the Beginning of the Classical Period," 88-95; Meisami, "Ghaznavid Panegyrics"; Glünz, "Poetic Tradition and Social Change"; Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms," 1399-164; Meisami, "The Poet and His Patrons"; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 66–110, 144–155, 235–243, 366–377. Shafi'i-Kadkani also touches on various aspects of panegyric poetry in his important study of

journey, and *madh*/praise), bipartite (*nasib* and *madh*), or even monothematic (*madh*).[31] If it is a tri- or bipartite panegyric, it traditionally begins with a garden, nature, desert, or romantic scene in the *nasib* and, if tripartite, transitions to another section treating the "journey" (*rahil*) or another descriptive theme, before proceeding to the central panegyric (*madh*) section of the poem (which often concludes with a closing prayer/*do'â*). The summary that I provide below contains the most prototypical elements of royal panegyric poetry in the Persian tradition—each poem, of course, will fit this prototype in varying degrees depending on where it falls in the generic spectrum.

Regardless of whether the *mamduh* (the panegyrized) is a king, court official, or a powerful religious figure, he functions as the poetic axis of the panegyric and its poetic world revolves around the celebration of his power, prowess, and accomplishments of epic proportions in the battlefield, recreational arenas (palatial gardens and hunting or polo grounds), royal feasts, and/or even spiritual realms.[32] The panegyric is a "poetic microcosm" or poetic "analogue" of the court life that it reflects, as Meisami has argued, and each constituent ele-

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Persian poetic imagery of the earliest period of New Persian poetry. Relevant information is scattered throughout his treatment of the important poets of this period, see: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Sovar-e khayâl dar she'r-e Fârsi*, 378–380, 389–391, 414–438, 486–549, 577–612, 626–658. Mahjub's work, *Sabk-e Khurâsâni dar she'r-e Fârsi*, also contains some useful information in its subsections on *madh*, see: Mahjub, *Sabk-e Khorâsâni dar she'r-e Fârsi*. The following works on the panegyric tradition in the Arabic tradition also supply important background information for the development of the Persian panegyric tradition: Sperl, "Islamic Kingship and Arabic Panegyric Poetry in the Early 9th Century"; Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, 9–70, 166–175; Hamori, *The Composition of Mutanabbī's Panegyric's to Sayf al-Dawla*; Stetkevych, "Abbasid Panegyric and the Poetics of Political Allegiance"; Stetkevych, *The Poetics of Islamic Legitimacy*; Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*.

31. In general terms, early New Persian panegyric *qasidehs* are more similar to the Arabic panegyric *qasidehs* of the *mohdath* period in terms of their symbolic world (emphasis on garden and court imagery rather than the desert imagery more typical of the classical Arabic *qasideh*) and structure (more frequently bipartite or even monothematic rather than tripartite and polythematic like the classical Arabic *qasideh*). However, while the early New Persian panegyric *qasideh* is deeply indebted to its Arabic forerunner, there are important symbolic and structural differences between the Arabic panegyric *qasidehs* and the early New Persian panegyric *qasidehs* of Rudaki (d. 936), 'Onsori (d. 1031\2), Farrokhi (d. ca. 1031), and Manuchehri (d. 1039\40). These details are not important for the present study. Please see the following studies for a more detailed treatment of this issue: Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 40-41; Meisami, "Ghaznavid Panegyrics," 31; Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms," 140ff.

32. Even the opening *nasib* section of the poem, which at first glance may appear completely unrelated to the encomium section (*madh*), actually has been shown by several scholars to be integrally linked to the way the poem as a whole treats the panegyrized. Thus, even this apparently thematically-unrelated section of the panegyric *qasideh* too revolves around the *mamduh*. See the final section of this chapter on Amir Mo'ezzi's panegyric and the studies cited therein.

ment in its poetic world is defined in its relation to the *mamduh*.[33] If the *mamduh* is a political

leader, the poet will typically extol him as an idealized Islamic leader—evincing wisdom,

piety (*taqvâ*), faith (*imân*), justice, courage, mercy, and generosity at court and fighting

valiantly against the enemies of Islamdom (*kâfer*) as the defender of the faith (*Islâm, din*) on

foreign and domestic battlefields.[34] The *mamduh's* power is often portrayed as divinely or-

dained and his dominion as extending over the whole world (all seven climes). The grandeur

of his rule can be seen in the majesty of all his royal accessories (e.g., court, throne, crown,

great armies, treasure).

While a great deal of time is devoted in panegyric poetry to the enumeration of the

patron's virtues and great deeds, it would be a mistake to read the *madhiyât* simply as syco-

phantic adulation. Panegyric poetry in medieval Islamic societies—as several studies have re-

cently demonstrated—played a complex role in the maintenance and propagation of a broader

socio-political system of governance and values. When poets praised the *mamduh*, they cele-

brated not just an individual but rather an idealized portrait of their patron as the embodiment

of the most revered social and spiritual values appropriate to his position in the medieval Is-

lamic socio-political system.[35] (Even in panegyrics that seem to have subversive or critical

subtexts, these same values and ideals are celebrated—although their celebration at the sur-

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33. Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms," 144–145, 163–164.

34. This last point is especially true in the panegyrics for Mahmud of Ghazneh by his illustrious court poets
Farrokhi and 'Onsori, who both wrote about his campaigns against "infidels" (*kâfer*, pl. *koffâr*) in which he
mercilessly destroyed their "idols" (*bot*) and "idol temples" (*bot-khâneh*) (for example, see especially
qasideh #35 of Farrokhi on the destruction of the Somnath temple and its idols). Also, 'Onsori, in one of his
most famous panegyrics for Mahmud, explicitly rejects Mahmud's association with any Zoroastrian
(*gabrân*) customs, calling him instead a "man of religion" (*mard-e din*). Both of these points are
particularly noteworthy given the positive connotation that images of "infidels" (*kâfer*), infidelity (*kofr*),
Magians/Zoroastrians (*gabrân*), idols (*bot*), and idol temples (*bot-khâneh*) come to have in *qalandariyât*
poetry, as will be demonstrated below and in subsequent chapters. See Meisami's discussion of these
qasidehs here: Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms," 147-48; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 235–43.

35. Shafi'i-Kadkani, Meisami, and Glünz have developed this point in the context of Persian panegyric poetry,
see: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Mofles-e kimiyâ-forush*, 83–85, 95ff; Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 43–
48; Meisami, "Ghaznavid Panegyrics," 32, 34; Bürgel, "Qasida as Discourse on Power and its
Islamization"; Glünz, "Poetic Tradition and Social Change," 184, 188, 200. Stefan Sperl originally made
this argument in the context of Arabic panegyric poetry, see: Sperl, "Islamic Kingship and Arabic
Panegyric Poetry in the Early 9th Century"; Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, 9-27.

76

face level of the text may in fact function as an implicit critique of the actually existing patron's inability to live up to them).[36] Panegyric poetry, in short, is primarily a poetics of power and social order, as Glünz and Bürgel have argued.[37]

Although my focus in this chapter is on qalandari poetry as a countergenre to royal panegyric, it is important to note that panegyric poetry in the Persian tradition is not restricted to praise for kings and political elites alone. There is also a rich body of panegyrics dedicated to religious elites of the medieval Islamic world (although this poetry has received very little scholarly attention to date). In general terms, the poet of a religious panegyric will paint his *mamduh* as the undisputed sovereign of the religious and spiritual domains.[38] While the power, dominion, and accomplishments celebrated in these poems may be of a decidedly more spiritual nature, they are no less grand than those in panegyrics for the political leaders, and more importantly, the poetic axis in these religious-spiritual panegyrics continues to be the *mamduh*. The poet will eulogize his piety, religious knowledge, mystical power, and exalted spiritual state, painting an idealized portrait of his *mamduh* as an embodiment of the virtues and ideals associated with his particular position in the religious-spiritual hierarchy of the medieval Islamic world. Due to a shared concern with a certain set of religious-spiritual values, there is considerable overlap in the symbolic/conceptual world of religious-spiritual panegyrics and religious-homiletic poetry (*zohdiyât/mow'ezeh*). Qalandari themes may even appear in panegyrics for Sufi masters or mystically inclined political rulers as well, as we will

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36. Meisami has argued that some panegyrics have subversive subtexts that when read in light of their historical contexts, may actually be providing implicit critiques of the panegyrized even while celebrating the typical ideals and values of the panegyric described above. See: Meisami, "Ghaznavid Panegyrics"; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 88–90, 136–138, 147–148.

37. Bürgel, "Qasida as Discourse on Power and its Islamization"; Glünz, "Poetic Tradition and Social Change," 184.

38. I do not mean to suggest any significant separation of the political and religious-spiritual domains here. The religious-spiritual domains obviously overlap considerably with the political realm (especially in the medieval context). However, my point here is only that the poet's focus in the religious panegyric is shifted decidedly towards the panegyrized's religious and spiritual virtues (with only implicit recognition of the political power this exalted religious status may carry).

77

see in Amir Mo'ezzi's panegyric for Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'âli Abu 'Ali Sharafshâh Ja'fari discussed in part II of this chapter.[39] Religious panegyric, therefore, is much more of a hybrid genre thematically speaking than the traditional royal panegyric discussed above and needs to be treated on its own terms.

Religious (*Zohdiyât*) and Homiletic (*Mow'ezeh*) Poetry in the Persian Tradition

In early New Persian poetry, there exists considerable generic ambiguity between the thematic categories of religious (*zohdiyât*) and homiletic (*mow'ezeh*) poetry.[40] Modern Persian literary critics frequently use these two generic terms in the same studies—sometimes portraying them as nearly identical in meaning and other times qualifying their position somewhat by placing more emphasis on their deep interrelation, though not necessarily their absolute unity. At times the reader even feels an author oscillate between these two positions within the same text.[41] From a historical perspective, the evidence from the manuscript tradi-

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39. See Amir Mo'ezzi's panegyric for Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'âli Abu 'Ali Sharafshâh Ja'fari that has a qalandari *nasib*, which is discussed below. Also, see the following examples: Sanâ'i, *Kolliyât-e Ash'âr-e Hakim Sanâ'i Ghaznavi (ed. Bashir)*, 516-18; 'Erâqi (Hamadâni), *Kolliyât-e 'Erâqi (ed. Nafisi)*, 69-70; 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 311-14; Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 388-392 (#180), 587-589 (#261).

40. To further complicate the picture, these two genres—as will be seen below—are also frequently discussed in combination with other thematic terms, such as *hekmat* (wisdom), *towhid* (unity), *masal* (aphorism), and *madâ'eh/na't rasul* (praise of prophet). I have chosen to primarily use the terms *zohd* and *mow'ezeh* here because they are most relevant to the present chapter.

41. J.T.P. de Bruijn in his treatment of "homiletic poetry" and "poems of abstinence" seems to largely equate *zohdiyât* and *mow'ezeh/va'z* poetry, see: de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 164–82; de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry*, 29–50. Shamisâ refers to *zohdiyât* and *va'z/mow'ezeh* poetry both as "wisdom and ethics" (*hekmat va akhlâq*) poetry that is primarily didactic (*ta'limi*) in nature, see: Shamisâ, *Anvâ'-e adabi*, 55. Meisami employs these terms in a way that indicates she believes there to be a difference between these two generic terms, although she also argues that the origins of the Persian homiletic *qasideh* (*mow'ezeh*) can be found in the *zohdiyât* of the Arabic tradition. See: Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms," 173-74. Lewisohn avers that "the Sufi poetry composed by Sanâ'i in the *zohdiyât* genre is, in many cases often indistinguishable in content from Nâsir-i Khusraw's odes also penned in this genre," see: Lewisohn, "Hierocosmic Intellect and Universal Soul in a Qasida by Nāsir-i Khusraw," 194. But in a subsequent study, he seems to temper this statement by primarily associating Nâser-e Khosrow with "*mawâ'iz wa hikam*" poetry and saying that it only "contains resonances of what J.T.P. de Bruijn calls 'poems of abstinence' (*zuhdiyât*)." See: Lewisohn, "Nāsir-i Khusraw's Ode to the Universal Soul and Intellect," 54-55. Moreover, this ambiguity between these thematic genres can be seen in the way scholars discuss individual poems as well. For example, when Shafi'i-Kadkani discusses Sanâ'i's famous "Moslamânân, Moslamânân! Moslamâni, Moslamâni!" *qasideh*, he identifies it as a prototypical homiletic (*mow'ezeh, va'z*) *qasideh* of Sanâ'i, but it is classified in the MiM 5468 manuscript as a *zohdiyât* poem, see: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Tâziyâneh-hâ-ye soluk*, 219. In another case, de Bruijn discusses a poem that he terms a "representative example" of Sanâ'i's homiletic poetry, which the organizer(s) of MiM 5468 manuscript identify as a *zohdiyât*, see: de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 170–79. In this context, it is also interesting to point out that the final line of this poem itself seems to identify this poem as a poem of "*zohd va masal*" (asceticism and aphorisms). The association between *zohdiyât* poetry and aphorism (Pr. *masal*, pl. *amsâl* and Ar. *mathal*, pl. *amthâl*) likely goes back to the Arabic tradition. One of the most famous poems of the great Arabic *zohdiyât* poet, Abu al-'Atâhīyah (d. ca. 825) is entitled *Dhât*

tion, poetic manuals, and other early works that discuss poetic genres in early New Persian poetry is similarly ambiguous.[42] Although subsequent studies of this vast corpus of poetry may reveal distinctions between these two poetic categories, it is undeniable that they are closely associated with one another in both the Persian and Arabic traditions and, broadly speaking, contain a similar array of symbols, motifs, and thematic concerns. For this reason, I have decided to discuss these poems here as one poetic tradition: religious-homiletic poetry. As in the preceding section treating panegyric poetry, the basic thematic sketch that I provide below contains the most prototypical elements of religious-homiletic (*zohdiyât/mow'ezeh*) poetry in the Persian tradition. Each poem will fit this prototype in varying degrees depending on where it falls on the generic spectrum.

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al-Amthâl. Although this poem is not a typical monorhyme Arabic *qasideh* (rather it is written in rhyming couplets and is over 320 verses long), G. Schoeler is of the opinion that "in point of content is of a piece with the poet's other *zuhdiyât*," see: Schoeler, "Bashshār B. Burd, Abū 'l-'Atahiyah, and Abū Nuwās," 289-90.

42. Mohammad ebn Badr Jâjarmi in his poetic anthology, *Mo'nes al-Ahrâr* (1341), includes the categories of "*towhid*, *na't-e Mohammad*, *hekmat va mow'ezeh*," see: Safâ, *Târikh-e adabiyât dar Irân*, 3/1: 320. However, Kaykâvus ebn Voshmgir in the *Qâbus-Nâmeh* mentions only *zohd* and *towhid* poetry, and he only lists *zohd* as one of five main categories of poetry (*madh*, *ghazal*, *hejâ*, *marsiyat*, and *zohd*) See: Kaykâvus ebn Voshmgir, *Qâbus-Nâmeh*, 189–92. Although Meisami in the study cited in the previous footnote refers to Nâser-e Khosrow as a *mow'ezeh* poet, she says in another study that he himself only refers to his poetry as "*shi'r-i zuhd*," "*shi'r-i hikmat*," and "*shi'r-i pand*," see: Meisami, "Nāsir-i Khusraw," 224. Meanwhile, Shafi'i-Kadkani, in his discussion of the manuscript tradition of Sanâ'i's poetry (which uses both the terms *zohd* and *mow'ezeh* for the same poems in different manuscripts—see discussion below), states that it seems that in early New Persian poetry the term *zohdiyât* (for some Persian litterateurs at least) had a broader meaning that included homiletic poetry and even poems in praise of the prophet (*madâ'eh/na't-e rasul*), and was closely related to poetry on the topic of unity (*towhid*) as well. See: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Tâziyâneh-hâ-ye soluk*, 50-51. This broader conception of the generic boundaries of *zohdiyât* can be seen in some of the earliest manuscripts of Sanâ'i's divan (MiM 5468 and KM) in which the generic category of *zohdiyât* includes Sanâ'i's homiletic poetry, poems in praise of the prophet (*na't-e rasul*), and poetry on unity (*towhid*). On the other hand, the table of contents of the oldest dated manuscript of Sanâ'i's *divân*, the Velieddin manuscript (dated 683-84 A.H. /1284-85), does not actually use the term *zohdiyât* at all, but rather divides these poems into the categories of *mow'ezeh*, *towhid-e bâri*, and *na't-e rasul*. Other manuscripts similarly use these terms in a variety of different combinations (which do not clarify but add to the ambiguity): MS MiF and MS British Museum Or. 3302 include the categories of *towhid va hekmat va amsâl* and *hekam va masal*; MS India Office No. 2722 includes the terms *towhid*, *na't-e payghambar*, *mow'ezeh va zohd va hekmat*; and Indian Office Ms. 927, entitled *Ash'âr-e Sanâ'i*, arranges his poems thematically into these categories: *towhid*, *na't- payghambar*, and *andar mow'ezeh va zohd va hekmat* (although these are not explicitly marked within the text of the poems themselves, the divisions can be discerned relatively clearly by examining the poems, as Nizar Ahmad has shown). I was not able to personally consult MS MiF, MS British Museum Or. 3302, MS India Office Library No. 2722, and Indian Office Ms. 927. I am relying here on de Bruijn and Nizar Ahmed's analyses of these manuscripts, see: Ahmad, "Some Original Prose and Poetical Pieces of Hakim Sana'i"; de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 104. Sa'di, as I mentioned in the first chapter, seems to link together "the style(s?) of ascetic, spiritual, and advice poetry" (*shiveh-ye zohd va tâmât va pand*) in the opening section of the fifth chapter of his *Bustân*. Finally, I will just mention that Hamori, Sperl, and Kennedy also identify close links between homiletic literature and *zuhdīyât* poetry in the Arabic tradition as well: Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, 73, 82; Hamori, "Zuhdiyyāt," 266, 268–269, 272; Kennedy, "Zuhdiyya."

79

In contrast to panegyric poetry, the poetic axis of the religious-homiletic poet is not the court of the panegyric's *mamduh*; nor is the central concern the ennumeration of his illustrious deeds and achievements.[43] Rather, the poetic world of the *zohdiyât*/*mow'ezeh* revolves around a poetic axis that is firmly anchored in God's court[44]—the eternal court that rules over the entire cosmos and casts the pleasures and achievements of the mundane world in a starkly different light.[45] The poet of religious-homiletic poetry is the preacher of the "arena/battle field of religion" (*maydân-e din*), as Nâser-e Khosrow declares in a famous poem.[46] He is the admonisher (*vâ'ez*) of the entire Muslim world who recalls for the readers the great military victories of past kings and their awe-inspiring monuments (e.g., ruins of magnificent palaces of Ctesiphon) not to praise these figures, but instead to remind his audience of the transitory nature of all earthly life. Death and related symbols of morbidity (e.g., graves, ruins) are thus

43. This general portrait presented here of religious-homiletic poetry (*zohdiyât, mow'ezeh*) in the Persian tradition is a synthesis of the following studies' treatment of this poetry: Mahjub, *Sabk-e Khorâsâni dar she'r-e Fârsi*, 508-515, 651-652; Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Sovar-e khayâl dar she'r-e Fârsi*, 550–63; Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Tâziyâneh-hâ-ye soluk*, 47–52; Safâ, *Târikh-e adabiyât dar Irân*, 1: 368, 2:356-357, 3/1: 332-333; Clinton, "The Madāen Qasida of Xāqāni [Khāqānī] Sharvāni, I," 156-62; Clinton, "The Madāen Qasida of Xāqāni [Khāqānī] Sharvāni, II: Xāqāni and Buhturī," 200-05; de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, 164–82; Meisami, "Symbolic Structure in a Poem by Nasir-i Khusrau"; Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms," 164–81; de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry*, 29-50; Meisami, "Places in the Past," 84–89; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 39–40, 69–71, 172–181, 200–204, 219, 303–304, 375–376; Lewisohn, "Hierocosmic Intellect and Universal Soul in a Qasida by Nāsir-i Khusraw"; Hunsberger, "'On the Steed of Speech'," 158-80; Lewisohn, "Nāsir-i Khusraw's Ode to the Universal Soul and Intellect"; Meisami, "Nāsir-i Khusraw." James D. Martin, Stefan Sperl, Andras Hamori, Schoeler and Philip Kennedy's studies of the *zohdīyât* in the Arabic tradition also are quite useful here. As previously mentioned, there exists considerable continuity between the Arabic poetic tradition and the early New Persian tradition. See: James D. Martin, "The Religious Beliefs of Abu'l-'Atāhiya According to the Zuhdīyāt," 20–25; Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, 71–96; Hamori, "Zuhdiyyāt"; Schoeler, "Bashshār B. Burd, Abū 'l-'Atahiyah, and Abū Nuwās"; Kennedy, "Zuhdiyya".

44. Michael Glünz, in an essay on the panegyric *qasideh*, astutely points out that in the medieval Islamic context the royal court—regardless of how worldly it may be portrayed to be—still ultimately was understood to derive its power from God and therefore any attempt to impose the modern sacred/profane binary on this poetry is anachronistic. I certainly concur with this point. However, I would maintain that at the level of thematic analysis at least, there is a substantial difference between the panegyric, with its poetic axis anchored firmly in the royal court that celebrates earthly accomplishments and pleasures, and religious-homiletic poetry, with its poetic axis in the eternal court of God that trivializes even the greatest mundane deeds and monuments. The sacred certainly suffuses both of these poetic domains (confirming Glünz's central assertion), but it does so in different ways and produces different poetic worlds and personas. See: Glünz, "Poetic Tradition and Social Change," 184.

45. Like the *nasib* in madh poetry, the descriptive passages in religious-homiletic poetry (although seemingly unrelated) are in fact integrally linked to the overall production of meaning in the poem and often illustrate through the imagery the point made in the admonitions. They are agents of God's court reminding humanity of the true nature of the universe and, in this sense, they too revolve around the poetic axis of God's court. See: Hunsberger, "'On the Steed of Speech'"; Meisami, "Nāsir-i Khusraw."

46. See the translation and discussion of this poem in: Hunsberger, "'On the Steed of Speech'."

dominant topoi in the *zohdiyât/mow'ezeh*, and religious-homiletic poets frequently employ the *ubi sunt* ("where is") motif (often anaphorically) to reinforce the absolute transiency of earthly life. While lamenting the desolation, evil, and illusionary pleasures of the world, the preacher poet admonishes the audience to be pious (*taqvâ*), repent (*towbeh, esteghfâr*), and focus on good works so as to guarantee themselves a place in the eternal world of God's court and his "arena of religion" (*maydân-e din*). The mode of piety that is encouraged in this poetry can be broadly characterized as abstemious (*zohd/parhiz/pârsâ'i*) in the sense that it categorically rejects the attractions and achievements of the material world and counsels the reader to adopt a sober code of conduct in line with religion (*din*), the Qur'an, normative Islamic law (*shari'at*), and the prophet's custom (*sonnat*). It decries *kofr* (unbelief/infidelity) and earthly idols (*bot*), and enjoins the reader to have absolute trust in God (*tavakkol*)—even in the face of adversity—letting a fear of God's wrath on Judgment Day guide their actions.

This poetry has sometimes been characterized as a long "string of admonitions" in verse on the topics mentioned above and other related ones, such as divine unity (*towhid*), faith (*imân*), the Qur'an, pious acts of obedience and worship (*tâ'at*), right guidance (*hodâ*), shame (*sharm*), wisdom/intellect (*hekmat, kherad*), divine justice, and praise of the prophet, his family, and companions. While this pejorative characterization of religious-homiletic poetry as nothing more than a "string of admonitions" is unfair,[47] the symbolic and conceptual world of the *zohdiyât* and *mow'ezeh* poetry does revolve around these concepts and related motifs. Moreover, like panegyric poetry, religious-homiletic poetry does at times incorporate imagery and themes from wine poetry and even the *qalandariyât*. The example of a *zohdiyât*

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47. Hunsberger and Meisami critique this atomized reading of Nâser-e Khosrow's religious-homiletic poetry in their recent studies on his poetry, see: Hunsberger, "'On the Steed of Speech'"; Meisami, "Nāsir-i Khusraw."

by Sanâ'i that de Bruijn discusses in his *Persian Sufi Poetry* is a perfect example of such a poem.[48]

The *Qalandariyât* as Monothematic Countergenre

The foregoing sections provide a cursory sketch of the generic contours of panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry in early New Persian poetry.[49] My aim here is not to undertake an exhaustive treatment of these genres, but rather to adumbrate the broader generic land-scape in which the *qalandariyât* operate. Taking this broader view allows us to see the variety of ways in which qalandari poets construct their poetic world through a sustained parodical engagement with these genres.

At the most basic level, the *qalandariyât* radically transforms the poetic axis of tradi-tional panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry. The poetic axis of the *qalandariyât* is not the *mamduh* and his royal court or, as in religious-homiletic poetry, God and his heavenly court. Rather, the poetic axis of the *qalandariyât* is the beloved and his carnivalesque winehouse court. In this mock court, the poet is no longer the "preacher" (*vâ'ez*) or "ascetic" (*zâhed*) of God's court or the "arena of religion" (*maydân-e din*); nor is he the panegyrist of a powerful patron. Rather, he adopts the *qalandari* persona:[50] a rogue (*qalandar, qallâsh, oubâsh*) or lib-ertine (*rend*) poet who inverts and parodies the values extolled in panegyric and religious-

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48. de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry*, 38-40.
49. This is not to say that there was not significant diversity and/or geographical/chronological specific developments within these traditions. Shafi'i-Kadkani and Lewis have pointed out some of this diversity and development in their studies of the panegyric tradition. However, much more work still needs to be done on the poetics and historical development of both genres. See: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Mofles-e kimiyâ-forush*, 85–95; Lewis, "Sincerely Flattering Panegyrics." Shafi'i-Kadkani is one of the most esteemed and sensitive literary scholars of the past century so his argument for stylistic change in the panegyric tradition is important to note. However, I am less convinced by his sociological explanation for these developments in the panegyric tradition.
50. To be clear, when I speak of the "poet as qalandar," the "qalandari poet," or any individual poet who writes *qalandariyât* poetry (such as Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, or 'Erâqi in this chapter), I am not referring to the historical figure of the poet. Rather, I am referring to a specific poetic persona that any poet may adopt when writing *qalandariyât* poetry. Although for ease of reference I do use the poet's name when describing his poems, my underlying assumption is still that the poet is employing a conventional poetic persona that is specific to the genre under discussion. In other words, the lyrical "I" of the poem should not be understood as identical with the historical poet. The poetic persona of each genre is a "deliberately constituted persona," as Meisami avers. See: Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 261-62; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 29.

homiletic poetry as he celebrates the practices of antinomian, liminal, and transgressive figures (e.g., non-Islamic religious minorities, *kâfer*/infidels) and relocates the poetic axis from the centers of the medieval Islamic order (e.g., royal court, powerful Sufi lodges, God's heavenly court) to the most peripheral locales (e.g., houses of wine and gambling/*kharâbât*/*mey-khâneh*/*qomâr-khâneh*, centers of non-Islamic religions/*sowme'eh*/*bot-kadeh*). This shift in the imaginal geography of the poetry also entails a paradigm change in its normative system as well. In stark contradistinction to the courts of royal patrons or the God of religious-homiletic poetry, in the mock-court of the qalandari rogue transgression of social order and religious prohibitions is the norm, and crazed-lovers heedlessly court social disrepute through drunkenness, professions of illicit love, and infidelity to Islam.

While the picture that I have painted here of the *qalandariyât* is broadly representative of the thematic thrust of this genre, each poem differs in the way in which it inverts and parodies traditional panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry. Some *qalandariyât* may contain almost all of these topoi and dramatis personae in one poem. Others may focus almost exclusively on one motif and develop it in complex ways throughout the poem. The poems that I discuss in the present chapter are representative samples of the *qalandariyât* genre selected from the works of the three earliest and most acclaimed figures within this tradition, namely Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi.

I will begin my analysis with a poem by Sanâ'i—the earliest author of a substantial body of extant *qalandariyât* poems—which illustrates well how this poetry inverts the generic expectations of panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry:

1   Each day that I am in the dilapidated winehouse,
        I wail like Moses in his private prayers.

2   How happy the day that I pass in drunkenness!
        Blessed are those days and hours for me!

3   For me being without self is better than Qur'an recitation
           or hawking the wares of asceticism and obedience.

4   Since I became free of the fetters of wisdom,
           I will not build then in this world.

5   You may say to me: "How long will you remain in disguise?"
           But what does a haunter of the dilapidated winehouse know except disguises?

6   Sometimes I prostrate and do my prayers before the cupbearer;
           other times I am in front of the singer paying my respects and offering greetings.

7   Father dedicated me to vats of wine.
           Mother set me firm on the path to the winehouse.

8   Sometimes I say: "O cupbearer, grab a goblet!"
           Other times I say: "O ministrel, give us a *ghazal*!"

9   Sometimes I drink wine until I am wasted;
           other times my cries are so loud they reach even the heavens!

10   Moses did not command the Torah for me
           since I already dealt out retribution to the pharaoh.

11   Since you know that Sanâ'i is full of foolish words,
           alas!—don't even say hello to him, sir.[51]

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51. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 73–74 (q #27). Persian text:

همی نالم چو موسی در مناجات	هر آن روزی که باشم در خرابات
مبارک باشدم ایام و ساعات	خوشا روزی که در مستی گذارم
بقرّایی فروشم زهد و طاعات	مرا بی خویشتن بهتر که باشم
نخواهم کرد پس گیتی عمارات	چو از بند خرد آزاد گشتم
خراباتی چه داند جز لباسات	مرا گویی لباسات تو تا کی
گهی پیش مغنّی در تحیات	گهی اندر سجودم پیش ساقی
سبیلم کرد مادر در خرابات	پدر بر خُم خمرم وقف کرده ست
گهی گویم که ای مطرب غزلهات	گهی گویم که ای ساقی قَدَح گیر
گهی نعره رسیده تا سماوات	گهی باده کشیده تا بمستی
چو کردم حق فرعونی مُکافات	مرا موسی نفرماید به تورات
مکن بر وی سَلامی خواجه هیهات	چو دانی کاین سنایی تُرَّهاتست

A very similar poem is attributed to Borhâni (d.1072-3) (who is the father of Amir Mo'ezzi) (see discussion of attribution of this poem to Borhâni in: Mo'in, "Borhâni va qasideh-ye u"; Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 297-98 and 'Abbâs Eqbâl's introduction to Amir Mo'ezzi's *divân*). This qalandari poem is believed to be a *nasib* of a longer panegyric poem. Persian text from: Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e dovvum)*, 481-82 (note: it is listed in section entitled "*dar ash'âr-e moqaffâ*"):

همی نازم چو موسی در مناجات	هر آن روزی که باشم در خرابات
مبارک باشدم ایام و ساعات	هر آن روزی که در مستی گذارم
نه قرآنی نمایم من نه طاعات	مرا با خویشتن بهتر که سازم
بر آسایم ز تهدید عبادات	چو از بند خرد آزاد گردم
چو کردم حق فرعونی مراعات	مرا موسی بفرماید بتوراة
خراباتی چه داند جز لباسات	مرا گویی لباسات تو تا کی
گهی پیش مغنّی در تحیات	گهی اندر سجودم پیش معشوق
گهی گویم که ای مطرب غزلهات	گهی گویم که ای ساقی قَدَح خذ
کشم نعره ز حجره در سماوات	من و بادِه کشیدن تا ز مستی
سبیلم کرده مادر در خرابات	پدر بر خُم خمرم وقف کردست
کنم در صف قلاشان مباهات	یکی آزاد مردم لاابالی
مکن بر من سلام ای خواجه هیهات	چو می دانی که مرد تُرَّهاتم

Sanâ'i begins this tripartite rogue boast/rogue ode (1-4, 5-9, 10-11)[52] with the symbol that is most closely associated with *qalandariyât* poetry generally: the "dilapidated wine-house" (*kharâbât*).[53] Literally, the *kharâbât* are "ruins," but in the poetry of this period it is understood to be a place of wine, merriment, and debauchery. Here, being "ruined" (*kharâb*, met. "drunk") is not an admonition to readers, but rather it is the *sine qua non* of participation in this poetic world. These "ruins" do not function to warn the reader of the transience of mundane pleasures and glory as do the lifeless "ruins" of religious-homiletic poetry (such as, most famously, the ruins of ancient Ctesiphon do in Khâqâni's *madâ'en qasideh*).[54] Rather, in the *qalandariyât*, the "ruins" (*kharâbât*) are alive with mystical merriment and serves as the center of transgressive activities. It functions as a mock-court of sorts,[55] fully equipped with its own cupbearers (*sâqi*) (line 5, 7) and minstrels (line 7). This Sufi "carnivalesque court" is decidedly not the royal court of medieval Islamic societies' political and religious elite that is portrayed in panegyric poetry; nor is it the heavenly court of God as fashioned by the religious-homiletic poets. It is their inverse. It is positioned outside of medieval Islamic society in both a geographical and moral sense, with its geographic marginality in the poetic imagination serving as a spatial reminder of the "outside the bounds" nature of the socially and religiously transgressive activities that occur in these houses of ill-repute (e.g., drinking, gam-

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خرافات خراباتی چه گویم   ندانم من بجز هزل و خرافات

سخن گویم ز شاهی جعفری اصل   خداوندی جوادی نیکویی ذات

      Regardless of whether this poem is originally from the pen of Sanâ'i or Borhâni, the fact that it was attributed to Sanâ'i in early manuscripts and explicitly labelled as a qalandari poem in the MiM 5468 Ms. makes it de facto a part of Sanâ'i's poetic heritage.

52. For more on rogue boasts, odes, and other types of *qalandariyât*, see chapter one.

53. De Bruijn in his introductory study of Sanâ'i's *qalandariyât* poetry makes this point too: de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 79–80. While *kharâbât* is typically translated as "tavern," I have opted to translate it as "dilapidated winehouse" in an effort to convey (even if only indirectly) both the image of a "place of illicit drink" (i.e., tavern) and the sense of "ruin" (which is the literal meaning of the term).

54. Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms," 173–81.

55. Although Sanâ'i does not explicitly refer to the winehouse as a court in this poem, he does do so in other poems. See, for example: Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 74 (q #28). The motif of the winehouse as a mock-court is without a doubt one of the most prototypical features of the *qalandariyât* more broadly and we will see it repeatedly in the examples below and in other chapters.

bling, illicit sexual activities). One wishing to engage in such transgressive activities would necessarily need to do so outside of the bounds of the established social order—represented by the city and its institutions of religious and political power (e.g., courts, mosques, Sufi lodges).

In the second line of the poem above, Sanâ'i celebrates one of these illicit winehouse activities: imbibing alcoholic beverages and the resulting drunkenness. He goes as far as to say that these times of "drunkenness" (*masti*) in the winehouse are "blessed" for him (*mobârak bashadam*)—using a phrase with obvious religious connotations for an activity that is decidedly against the normative Islamic law (*shari'at*) extolled in religious-homiletic poetry. The opposition between the value system represented in panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry and Sanâ'i's *qalandariyât* poem is made more explicit in lines three and four. In line three, he celebrates the self-dissolution brought about through drunkenness as "better than Qur'an recitation / or hawking the wares of asceticism (*zohd*) and worship (*tâ'ât*)." The three pious practices that Sanâ'i defines in this line as categorically lesser in value than the self-dissolution produced by drunkenness in the winehouse are three of the most important pious acts for a Muslim according to religious-homiletic poetry. In fact, the term "asceticism" (*zohd*) is the etymological origin of the genre of "ascetic" or "religious" poetry (*zohdiyât*). Still, Sanâ'i's assertion here of the superiority of drunkenness in the winehouse to Qur'an recitation, asceticism (*zohd*), and acts of worship (*tâ'ât*) is a rather mild formulation of the more common categorical *rejection* of these pious ideals found in *qalandariyât* poetry (as we will see in examples below and in later chapters).

Sanâ'i is just beginning, however, to define the winehouse and its poetic world in opposition to religious-homiletic and panegyric poetry. He moves in the fourth line to tell us that since he has "become free of the fetters of wisdom," he will not "build then in this

86

world." This line can be viewed as an inversion of the ideals of both religious-homiletic and, more strongly, panegyric poetry. Wisdom (*kherad*)—the central concept in this line—is frequently cited as one of the chief virtues of *mamduhs* in both political and religious panegyrics, and it is likewise portrayed as an important virtue of pious Muslims in religious-homiletic poetry. The second hemistich of line four, in which Sanâ'i declares his intent to never build in this world, strengthens the antithesis between panegyric poetry and this poem because one of the central features of panegyric poetry is its celebration of the patron's palaces and monuments, the earthly symbols of the his grandeur and earthly achievement. Sanâ'i's qalandari poem rejects this worldly logic—not due to an ascetic disposition (as in the religious-homiletic poetry which sees all earthly monuments as transient and distractions from heaven), but rather because building in this world will distract him from the winehouse and his dedication (line 7) to its carnivalesque creed.[56]

With the generic antithesis between these types of poetry firmly established in the opening lines, Sanâ'i transitions to a positive portrayal of the winehouse and its carnivalesque ethos in lines five through nine. The central figures of this poetic world are the "cupbearer" (*sâqi*) and the "minstrels" (*moghanni*, *motreb*) (lines 6, 8) who together serve the wine of self-dissolution (line 2-3, 9) and provide intoxicating lyrics (lines 6, 8) that send the poet into drunken ecstasy (lines 1, 9). The "rituals" of the winehouse described in this section are transgressive in the extreme. First, he prostrates and does his prayers towards the cupbearer—the server of an illicit alcoholic drink explicitly prohibited in the Qur'an—instead of towards the divinely ordained *qibla*, the *Ka'ba* (line 6). Then, in the same line, he proceeds to cavort with the minstrels (line 6) who, like the cupbearer, are typically understood to be beautiful

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56. For more on the use of architecture and architectural imagery in Persian poetry, see the following studies of Losensky: Losensky, "The Palace of Praise and the Melons of Time"; Losensky, "'The Equal of Heaven's Vault'"; Losensky, "Coordinates in Space and Time"; Losensky, "'Square Like a Bubble'."

young males (adding a degree of sexual transgressivity to the poem).[57] These same images/ motifs are reinforced in line eight, where Sanâ'i addresses these figures directly, ordering them to provide the wine and song which are the most essential elements of the winehouse ceremony. These and other such ritualistic acts of transgression are repeated again and again in the poetic world of the winehouse. When combined with the relatively consistent set of antinomian beliefs expressed in these same poems, together they form something of an alternative rite, religion, or "path" complete with its own sacred rituals and religious accouterments. Sanâ'i himself gestures towards this fact in the poem when he asserts that he has been on this "path" (*sabil*) since his youth when his father "dedicated" him to the "vats of wine" and his mother set him "firm on the path to the winehouse" (line 7).[58]

The final two lines of the poem may at first glance appear somewhat enigmatic and unrelated to the first nine lines since they both treat the theme of the self, or more specifically, the selflessness that is required in the *kharâbât* (see also line 3). Line ten explores this theme through the figures of Moses and Pharaoh, who are often portrayed in the *qalandariyât* as symbols of self-disregard and arrogant self-importance respectively.[59] Sanâ'i tells us in the second hemistich that he has already "dealt out retribution to" (i.e., vanquished) his (inner) pharaoh, and he expands on the theme of selflessness in the final line, where instead of employing a poetic boast (*fakhr*), he self-deprecates in a mock-*fakhr*: claiming that he is only "full of foolish words" and imploring the reader not even to greet him. The thematization of selflessness and its verbalization in statements of self-deprecation is a prominent feature of the *qalandariyât*. However, more important for the argument of this chapter, is the fact that it

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57. See chapter four for more on (homo)eroticism in medieval Persian Sufi poetry.

58. In another *qalandariyât* poem, Sanâ'i even more explicitly states this, saying in reference to the winehouse and its bacchic rituals, "this is our religion (*din*) and the qalandari way," see: Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 653–654 (q #289).

59. De Bruijn has discussed the images of Moses and the pharaoh as a symbols of the "uncompromising attitude of the customer of the *kharâbât*" and human arrogance respectively: de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 81.

also represents an inversion of the poetic boast (*fakhr*) that is common in panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry.[60] At another level, this concluding note of self-deprecation could be read as an attempt to poetically perform humility and marginality—that is, to fashion a poetic persona that is the antithesis of the socially/religiously-esteemed poet of panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry.

The carnivalesque poetics of parody and symbolic inversion is by no means exclusive to Sanâ'i. Although he is the first Persian poet with a large body of extant qalandari poems, it is arguably 'Attâr who plays the most important role in developing this genre. I would like to now turn to an example from his *divân*:

1   We are taking the road from the *qibla*[61] towards the dilapidated winehouse,
      then we will do our prayers in the gambling house.

2   Sometimes we cause an uproar from the pain of the dregs;
      other times we sigh from the pure wine of the winehouse.

3   Since we are not sober for a moment in the hermitage,
      we will do the work of the winehouse drunk and wasted.

4   O wise elder! Come and see how gentle we are
      to the youthful libertines just to get some dregs!

5   Those full of spiritual conceits are repenting from our dregs
      while we, without hypocrisy, are repenting from their spiritual conceits!

6   We are not boasting of "going all in" and debauchery,[62]
      nor claiming any exalted states or stations.

7   Where are all our enlightenment and miracles?
      For all we desire is enlightenment and miracles.

8   We are dreg-drinkers so we are no longer men of religion.
      We are rendering infidelity lawful for the people of religion![63]

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60. See Meisami's discussion of an example of *fakhr* in a religious-homiletic poem of Nâser-e Khusrow: Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 201–03.
61. The *qibla* is the direction in which Muslims pray. It is determined by the location of the Ka'ba, the holiest shrine in Islam, toward which all Muslims pray.
62. The oldest manuscript (Majles 2600) reads *rendi* here instead of *mardi*, which seems to make more sense in this context so I have opted for this alternative reading.
63. A textual variant could change the meaning of this line to "we boast of infidelity to the people of religion."

9   Tell the people to do bad to us! For we
         do not retaliate against or judge anyone.

10   O Saqi! The people of the dregs in this circle are ready!
         Give them wine for we are doing the essential work of the wine.

11   Without a pawn, with your face (also: rook)
         we will checkmate the king of the chess board.

12   We are the night-riders of the bedouin tribes of the heart's *Ka'ba*.
         We meet and converse with the *shâheds* of the soul![64]

13   Regarding acquiring rational and learned knowledge, like 'Attâr this time
         we take up the work of the winehouse for a day or two.[65]

'Attâr, in this complex tripartite rogue boast (1-3, 4-12 [4-9, 10-12], 13), continues

firmly in the footsteps of Sanâ'i. Beginning with a striking first line, he proceeds to radically

invert, subvert, and parody normative religious custom and traditional panegyric and reli-

gious-homiletic poetry. At the poetic level, the opening hemistich functions as a mock-*rahil*

(journey passage). 'Attâr's journey in this poem is not to the powerful court of a *mamduh*,

God's heavenly court, or a holy sanctuary on earth (e.g., *Ka'ba*), but rather to the "dilapidated

winehouse" (*kharâbât*)—the carnivalesque court of the cupbearer (*sâqi*) (line 10) and the

wise elder (*pir*) (often portrayed as a "Magian") (line 4). In this *qalandari* court, the courtiers

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    Regardless of which way we read this line, the valorization of infidelity (*kofr*) over (*din*) remains.

64. The figure of the *shâhed* is a beautiful person—typically a young man—used in a Sufi meditative ritual called *shâhed-bâzi* in which the Sufi gazes upon the beautiful human form as an earthly embodiment of God's limitless beauty. For more on the figure of the *shâhed* and the ritual of *shâhed-bâzi*, see my lengthy discussion of them and the theory of embodiment that underlies them in chapter four.

65. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 509–511 (#636). Persian text:

پس در قمارخانه مناجات می‌کنیم	ما ره ز قبله سوی خرابات می‌کنیم
گاهی ز صافِ میکده هَیهات می‌کنیم	گاهی ز دُرد دُردِ هیاهوی می‌زنیم
مست و خرابُ کارِ خرابات می‌کنیم	چون یک نفَس به صومعه هشیار نیستیم
از بهر دردیی چه مُراعات می‌کنیم	پیرا بیا ببین که جوانان رند را
ما بی‌نفاق توبه ز طامات می‌کنیم	طاماتیان ز دُردی ما توبَه می‌کنند
نه دعوی مقام و مقامات می‌کنیم	نه لاف پاکبازی وَ رندی همی زنیم
بر آرزوَی کشف و کرامات می‌کنیم	ما را کجاست کشف و کرامات کین همه
بر اهل دین به کفر مباحات می‌کنیم	دُردی‌کشیم و تا بنباشیم مرد دین
با کس نه داوری نه مکافات می‌کنیم	گو بد کنید در حق ما خَلقِ زانکه ما
می‌ده که کار می به مهمات می‌کنیم	ای ساقی اهلِ دردِ درین حلقه حاضرند
بی یک پیاده بر رخ تو مات می‌کنیم	سلطانِ یک سوارهٔ نطعِ دو رنگ را
با شاهدانِ روح ملاقات می‌کنیم	ما شبرَوانِ بادیهٔ کعبهٔ دلیم
هم یک دو رُوز کارِ خرابات می‌کنیم	در کسبِ علمَ و عقل چو عطار این زمان

90

are the most marginal of social and religious actors (libertines/*rend* [line 4], "haunters of the winehouse"/*kharâbâtiyân*, as we saw in Sanâ'i's poem)[66] and they do their prayers not in mosques, but rather in illicit houses of wine and gambling (line 1). 'Attâr sharpens this antithesis in the opening lines of the poem, where he portrays himself and his merry band turning away from the *qibla* to journey instead to the *kharâbât*—the *qibla* and holy sanctuary of the *qalandars*. This poem's focus in both its opening and closing sections on the opposition between the road to the winehouse and the *qibla* (line 1) and the implied contrast between the "heart's *Ka'ba*" and the physical *Ka'ba* (line 12) establishes the "inversion of the prayer direction" or mock-*Ka'ba* motif as one of the foundational elements of this poem.

'Attâr then transitions to explore the theme of drunkenness, telling us that sometimes the agent of intoxication (wine) produces an "uproar" or "clamor" (*hayâhu*),[67] other times "sighs" (line 2). Regardless, it is, as he insists in the third line, the permanent state of those who have chosen the way of the winehouse (*may-kadeh*) or (christian) hermitage (*sowme'eh*).[68] One is never "sober" in these places, as the preacher/ascetic (*vâ'ez/zâhed*) poet of religious-homiletic poetry implores his readers to be, and one is not a true "rogue" unless one is constantly engaged in the anti-heroic pursuit of wine and drunkenness. This obsessive and incessant celebration of drunkenness and depravity in the winehouse represents, as Hamori, Meisami, and Noorani have argued in the context of the Arabic wine poetry (*kham-*

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66. As will be seen in other poems discussed in this chapter and others, the mock-"courtiers" of the winehouse court are quite varied: *qalandar*, *qallâsh*, *rend*, *oubâsh*, etc., all of which can be translated with the English words rogue, rascal, ruffian, libertine, etc. However, the central actors are—without exception—portrayed as socially and religiously marginal and transgressive figures. They are social outcasts at the very least and some are even social outlaws.

67. The connection between wine and disorder, uproar, etc. is actually a very important theme of the *qalandariyât*, which is only just referenced in passing in this particular poem. However, there are entire *qalandariyât* poems devoted almost exclusively to this theme of disorder, uprising, etc. (*shahr-âshub*), which I discuss in the first and third chapters.

68. In this poem and many other *qalandariyât* poems the "hermitage" (*sowme'eh*) is to be understood as a Christian hermitage where Muslims would go to drink illicit wine. In other poems, however, the *sowme'eh* seems to be associated with the religious centers of Muslim ascetics (*zâhed*) and/or hypocritical Sufis (as Lewis points out in Hâfez's poetry), who are the antithesis of the *qalandar* and other antinomian figures associated with the winehouse. See: Lewis, "HAFEZ viii. HAFEZ AND RENDI."

91

riyât), a type of mock-heroism that parodies the grand heroic deeds and attributes of the pan-egyric's *mamduh*.[69]

Apostrophizing the wise, non-Islamic master of the *kharâbât* and drawing his atten-tion to their favorable treatment of the young men of the winehouse (line 4), 'Attâr returns to develop the opposition between the haunters of the winehouse (*kharâbâtiyân*) and their nemeses, the *tâmâtiyân* (utterers of spiritual conceits) (line 5). (These latter figures are identi-cal to, or at least allied with, the religious-homiletic poet in the conceptual universe of the *qa-landariyât*).[70] While he tells us in the first hemistich that the *tâmâtiyân* are busy repenting for their sins (in this case, drinking), in the second hemistiche he inverts the image, triumphantly announcing that the *kharâbâtiyân* too are joining them in repenting, but only in "repenting" from spiritual conceits (*tâmât*). The mock-repentance motif illustrated here is another one of the mainstays of *qalandariyât* poetry which clearly highlights the antithetical relationship be-tween the poetic worlds of religious-homiletic and qalandari poetry.

The refusal of the "haunters of the winehouse" to repent and cease tippling their illicit wine is by no means their worst sin. 'Attâr asserts in line eight that wine has led them to re-nounce religion entirely and make "infidelity" (*kofr*) lawful for the "people of religion!"[71] The celebration of *kofr* at the expense of or in opposition to Islam, or as we will see in other poems, the motif of apostatical conversion to non-Islamic religions (especially, Christianity), are all commonplace in the *qalandariyât*. Those that follow the path to the winehouse must not only reject the normative religion (*imân*, *din*, and *shari'at*) of religious-homiletic and

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69. Hamori, *On the Art of Medieval Arabic Literature*, 3–77; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 35–38, 40, 164; Noorani, "Heterotopia and the Wine Poem in Early Islamic Culture."

70. *Tâmât* (spiritual conceits) are associated with the figure of the traditional—and in the mind of the qalandari poet, hypocritical—Sufi in *qalandariyât* poetry. For more on the term *tâmât*, see: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 287-93.

71. As I mentioned previously, a textual variant could change the meaning of this line to "we boast of infidelity to the people of religion." However, regardless of which way we read this line, the valorization of infidelity (*kofr*) over (*din*) is retained, and so the basic thematic point remains the same.

92

panegyric poetry, but must be willing to extol the virtues of non-Islamic religious traditions and even profess "infidelity"/"apostasy" (*kofr*). The radically transgressive nature of these claims are astonishing if taken at face value. In the view of some medieval Islamic legal scholars, such statements could constitute apostasy (*riddah*)—one of the most serious crimes in medieval Islamic society, which was punishable by death. While we should not read ʿAttâr or other qalandari poets' celebration of infidelity literally, neither should we reduce it to some purely esoteric symbol that is completely divorced from the term's highly charged and distinctly negative valuation in different modes of religious and political discourse. The poetic potency of *kofr* and related carnivalesque motifs in qalandari poetry is predicated upon the radical transgressivity associated with these terms and images in the reader's mind.

The poem articulates the opposition between the established social and religious order and the carnivalesque poetic world of the *qalandariyât* in other ways as well. In line nine, ʿAttâr orders "the people" to "do bad" to him and his folk for they do not "judge" or "retaliate against" anyone. The poet's profession of extra-legality situates the *kharâbâtiyân* and their winehouse outside normative legal and religious frameworks. While these regimes regulate behavior and render judgment on its (im)permissibility, the qalandari poet encourages readers to be free of these binds.

ʿAttâr then returns to the themes of wine, beautiful youths, and mock-*rahil* (lines 10-12). Ordering wine for the novices of the winehouse (line 10), he praises the cupbearer's beauty as capable of checkmating the king of the chess board in a complex metaphor in the following line. The main section of the poem ends with a striking image that brings us back to the image of the opening line. He announces that "we"—the collective poetic persona that took the path from the *qibla* to the "dilapidated winehouse" (*kharâbât*) in the first hemistich of the poem—"are the night-riders of the Bedouin tribes of the heart's *Ka'ba*. / We meet and

93

converse with the *shâheds* of the soul!" There is an emotive energy to the line that makes it feel like a rallying cry for the *kharâbâtiyân*. Indeed, the poem as a whole reads as a map of their poetic world. Turning away from the *qibla* and heading towards the "dilapidated wine-house" in the mock-*rahil* of the opening lines, the intervening lines (lines 2-11) elaborate the poetic world of the *kharâbât* (its dramatis personae, carnivalesque ethos, rituals, etc.) before concluding with a return to the mock-*rahil* as ʿAttâr identifies his motley crew as the "night-riders[72] of the Bedouin tribes" who are headed to the "heart's *Ka'ba*" to meet with the "*shâheds* of the heart." As he implies in the opening hemistich (but only makes explicit in line 12), the "dilapidated winehouse" is the *Ka'ba* of the *qalandariyât*. This *Ka'ba* of the heart is not the *qibla* or the place of pilgrimage for outwardly pious Muslims with their prayer beads, prayer rugs,[73] and spiritual conceits (*tâmât*). Rather, it is a mock-*Ka'ba*, a *kharâbât* whose pilgrims are social outcasts that celebrate their mock-*hajj* (pilgrimage) with wine, drunkenness, gambling, games, and beautiful youths. This is a carnivalesque *Ka'ba* which is simultaneously the qalandari poet's *qibla*, holiest sanctuary, and court of disrepute. The poem then concludes with the "signature line" again reinforcing the essential dichotomy between the world of the winehouse and the rest of the world in its insistence on distinguishing the "work of the winehouse" from "learned (*ʿelm*) and rational (*ʿaql*) knowledge," both of which are often celebrated in non-mystical poetry.[74]

The final poem that I will discuss in this section is from the *divân* of the consummate qalandari poet, ʿErâqi:

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72. The Persian word here, *shab-row*, can also be read in a negative sense as "thief." However, I think in this context it may be better to read it as "night-goer" or "night-rider."

73. Although these images are not included in this poem, the prayer beads (*tasbih*) and prayer carpet (*sajjâdeh*) of pious Muslims are likewise standard symbols of normative religion that the persona of the *qalandariyât* rejects.

74. For the role and importance of the "signature verse" in Persian poetry, see: Losensky, "Linguistic and Rhetorical Aspects of the Signature Verse (*Takhallus*) in the Persian *Ghazal*."

1   O boy! Give me some Magian wine if you are our companion
for we no longer are fixed on the path of asceticism and piety.[75]

2   I considered the Sufi lodge to be of no importance—I do not intend to be virtuous!
Fill me a chalice and bring it to me! What's the delay?

3   I have not gold nor silver, nor heart nor faith/religion—not even obedience!
It is only my companion and I in a corner with a song of poverty.

4   I am not of the people of asceticism and piety—bring me a goblet of wine!
For truthfully I repented from my hypocritical worship.

5   Bring pure wine, but if you don't have that, bring the dark dregs to me
for from the dark dregs the heart and eyes will find illumination.

6   I went to the gambling house and saw players who went "all in,"
but when I went to the ascetics lodge, all I found was deception.

7   Since I broke my repentance, do not break our covenant.
At least once ask of my broken self: "How are you? Where are you?"

8   Pour me wine! For I have repented from asceticism
because I saw nothing from ascetics except boasting and ostentation.

9   Free us from the sorrow of the age with the wine at least once
for I did not find anyone free from the sorrow of the world except
        through wine

10   When I am drunk, what is a church? What is the Ka'ba?
When I abandoned the self, what is union? What is separation?

11   I went to circumambulate the Ka'ba, but they did not allow me to pass into the
        sanctuary,
saying: "Go! You?!? Who are you to presume you can come inside the Ka'ba?!"

12   At night I was knocking at on the monastery's door when from inside I heard a call:
"'Erâqi! Come inside! You are our companion."[76]

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75. Nafisi places the following line as the opening line of the poem:

<div dir="rtl">پسرا، ره قلندر سزدار بمن نمایی   که دراز و دور دیدم ره زهد و پارسایی</div>

Both the line above and the opening line of Mohtasham's edition listed above in the text are very similar to the following *beyt* that appears in the anonymous introduction immediately after 'Erâqi converts to the qalandari path:

<div dir="rtl">پسرا، ره قلندر بزن ار حریف مایی   که دراز و دور دیدم سر کوی پارسایی</div>

76. This text is from: 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 108-09. With slight textual variations (the most significant one of which is mentioned in the preceding note), this same poem appears in: 'Erâqi (Hamadâni), *Kolliyât-e 'Erâqi (ed. Nafisi)*, 295-96. Persian text from Mohtasham's edition:

<div dir="rtl">

پسرا، می مغانه بده ار حریف مایی   که نماند بیش ما را سر زهد و پارسایی

کم خانگه گرفتم، سر مصلحیَ ندارم   قدحی شراب پر کن به مَن آر، چند پایی؟

نه زر و نه سیم دارمَ، نه دل و نه دین، نه طاعت   منم و حریف کنجی و نوای بی نوایی

نه‌ام اهل زهد و تقوی به من آر ساغر می   که به صدق توبه کردم ز عبادت ز ریایی

</div>

95

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The opening of 'Erâqi's tripartite qalandari ode (1-5, 6-10, 11-12) is closer in form to the poem of Sanâ'i discussed earlier in the sense that it begins by establishing the opposition between the poetic world of religious-homiletic poetry and the winehouse world of the *qalandariyât*. 'Erâqi develops this antithesis to a fever pitch. He begins by apostophizing a "boy" (*pesar*)—presumably, given the context, the cupbearer—imploring him to bring him a "chalice" of wine without delay (line 1-2). The wine here, 'Erâqi tells us, is "Magian wine"—a designation which, at the poetic level, intensifies the transgressivity of the (already) illicit act of drinking by adding an element of religious transgressivity to this image as well.[77] Wine/ drunkenness (lines 4-5, 8-10, 12) and, to a lesser extent, the winehouse or monastery (*deyr*) (lines 3, 12) are the central images of this poem, and they function as the symbolic antitheses of the other set of images/concepts presented in the poem: asceticism and ascetics (*zohd va pârsâ'i*, *zâhed*), religion (*din*), good behavior (*maslahi*), pious acts of obedience (*tâ'ât*), piety (*taqvâ*), repentance (*towbeh*), worship (*'ebâdat*), Sufi/ascetic lodge (*khânegâh*, *sowme'eh*),[78] and the *Ka'ba*. This latter set of images and concepts should by now be relatively familiar to the reader as typical of religious-homiletic poetry. Throughout this poem, 'Erâqi develops the antithesis between these symbols and the poetic world they typify through a number of semi-independent, but ultimately interlinked, thematic units. In the second hemistich of the first line, for example, he justifies his order for "Magian wine" by rejecting "asceticism and piety" (*zohd va pârsâ'i*), which he repeats with slightly different phrasing in line four as well in the

می صاف ار نداری به من آر تیره دُردی   که ز دُرد تیره یابد دل و دیده روشنایی
به قمارخانه رفتم همه پاکباز دیدم   چو به صَومعه گذشتم همه یافتم دَغایی
چو شکست توبهٔ من مِشکَن تو عهد، باری   ز من شکسته بپرس که: چگونه و کجایی؟
تو مرا شراب در ده که زَ زهد توبه کردم   چو ز زاهدی ندیدم جز لاف و خودنمایی
ز غمِ زمانه ما را برهان به می زمانی   که نیافت جز به می کس ز غمِ جهان رهایی
چو زَ باده مست گشتم، چه کلیسیا چه کعبه   چو به ترک خود بگفتم، چه وصال و چه جدایی
به طواف کعبه رفتم، به حرم رهم ندادند   که برو، تو خود که باشی که درون کعبه آیی
در دیر مَی‌زدم شب ز درون ندا شنیدم   که درون درآی عراقی که تو هم حریف مایی

77. See footnote 34, chapter 2 on how similar themes were treated (quite differently) in Farrokhi and 'Onsori's panegyrics.

78. In contrast to 'Attâr's poem above, in 'Erâqi's poem *sowme'eh* seems to be associated with Muslim ascetics (*zâhed*) and/or hypocritical Sufis, like Lewis argues it is used in Hâfez's poetry: Lewis, "HAFEZ viii. HAFEZ AND RENDI."

defiant declaration "I am not of the people of asceticism and piety (*zohd va taqvâ*)—bring me a goblet of wine!" His rejection of asceticism and piety in favor of wine is only one in a series of repudiations of the conceptual world of religious-homiletic poetry in this poem. He also rejects the Sufi/ascetic lodge (line 2, 6), good behavior (*maslahi*) (line 2), religion (*din*), gold and silver, pious acts of obedience (*tâ'ât*) (line 3), and the deception (*daghâ'i*), boasting, and ostentation (*lâf va khudnomâ'i*) of the Sufis/ascetics (line 6, 8). Moreover, as we saw on a smaller scale in 'Attâr's poem, 'Erâqi employs the mock-repentance motif several times, telling us he is "repenting from" various pious acts ("hypocritical worship" [line 4] and "asceticism" [*zohd*, line 8]) and has "broke [his] repentance" (line 7) in order to stay true to his illicit "covenant" with the beloved cupbearer. 'Erâqi's heavy reliance on the mock-repentance motif in this poem is particularly noteworthy because it most directly parodies the central concern of religious-homiletic poetry: i.e., the call for repentance (*towbeh*).

Like Sanâ'i and 'Attâr, 'Erâqi elaborates in positive terms what constitutes the antithesis of the religious-homiletic and panegyric poetic worlds that he so stridently rejects in this poem: the winehouse, with its liberating, "Magian" wine (lines 1-2, 4-5, 8-10, 12), song (line 3), "companion[s]" (line 3, 7), and gambling (line 6). The poet of this mock-court is a rogue who flagrantly courts socio-religious opprobrium and ultimately aims to abandon his "self" (line 10) in a wine-induced stupor. In his poetic world, the transgression of—*not* pious obedience (*tâ'ât*) to—normative Islamic law (*shari'at*) produces spiritual advancement while illicit wine enables release from the "sorrow of the world" (line 9). Even in its "dark dregs" one can find "illumination" (line 5). Wine/drunkenness is perhaps the most radical element of the poetic world of the *qalandariyât* because it is the agent that reveals the illusionary nature of the normative social and religious order that is celebrated so profusely in panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry. As 'Erâqi suggests in line ten, it is capable of subverting

97

the seemingly immutable social hierarchies and divinely ordained religious distinctions of earthly reality to the point where there is no longer any difference between a church and the *Ka'ba*, or the *Ka'ba* and a Christian monastery-*cum*-winehouse, as we see in the final two lines of 'Erâqi's poem.

Like 'Attâr, 'Erâqi concludes his poem with a mock-*hajj* (mock-*rahil*)/mock-*Ka'ba* motif which is prefigured in the opening lines of the poem in his declaration that he has abandoned the way of asceticism and piety and journeyed to the "gambling house."[79] In the closing lines, he returns the reader to this thematic cluster and develops it further by portraying his failed attempt to go on pilgrimage (*hajj*) to the *Ka'ba* in Mecca and circumambulate (*tawâf*) the holy shrine, as is incumbent upon all pious Muslims. He fails not due to any lack of spiritual resolve, but rather because his way into the sanctuary (*haram*) is blocked by an anonymous "they," who in the broader context of this poem should be understood as representatives of the antithetical poetic world of religious-homiletic poetry (the *zâhed* of line 8 and the institutionalized, hypocritical Sufis and ascetics of the *khânegâh* and *sowme'eh* from lines 2, 6). Implicitly asserting their own self-importance and self-righteousness, they shoo 'Erâqi away, asking him rhetorically "Who are you to presume you can come inside the *Ka'ba*?!?" Rejected, but not distraught, he heads to the Christian monastery (*deyr*)—another common haunt of the qalandari poet. In contrast to the *Ka'ba* of the pious Muslims, here in this Christian monastery-*cum*-winehouse 'Erâqi is welcomed with open arms as a "companion" (line 12).

The concluding image here is striking. At a metaphoric level, this image captures the *raison d'être* of qalandari poetics more generally. 'Erâqi, blocked from the sanctuary (*haram*)

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79. As Meisami has pointed out in the context of the *qasideh*, Persian poets sometimes move the *rahil* to the end of the poem. See: Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 65; Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms," 158-60.

98

of the *Ka'ba* in Mecca by self-righteous ascetics, institutionalized Sufis, and other guardians of traditional piety, must abort his *hajj* pilgrimage and undertake an alternative, mock-*hajj* to the mock-*Ka'ba* of the Christian monastery-*cum*-winehouse. The turn away from the *Ka'ba* in this poem (and, in other qalandari poems, the "mosque," ascetics lodge, etc.) is, in a sense, a metaphoric performance of the qalandari poet's rejection of the poetic world of religious-homiletic poetry. At a more general level, the decision of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, 'Erâqi, and other "rogue" poets to take the metaphoric path from the courts of God and the political elites to the mock-court(s) of the Sufi carnival inaugurates anew in each qalandari poem the inter-generic poetic game of constructing the *qalandariyât* as a countergenre. While the basic the-matic contours of the qalandari poetic world are in place as early as Amir Mo'ezzi and Sanâ'i (and possibly even earlier if the attribution of the qalandari poem to Borhâni is sound), the construction of qalandari poetics did not end there. The intergeneric process of parodic inver-sion that created the *qalandariyât* in the first place continued as each new poet responded in new ways to the existing canon.

III. The *Qalandariyât* in the Persian Poetic System Part II: The Oppositional Parallelism of Amir Mo'ezzi's Qalandari Panegyric

Most extant qalandari poems are either polythematic "rogue homilies" or monothe-matic poems of varying lengths which function primarily as a countergenre to religious-homiletic and royal panegyric poetry.[80] However, we have at least one piece of evidence that indicates qalandari poetry played another important role as well in the early Persian poetic system. The court poet and son of Borhâni, Amir Mo'ezzi, composed a fifty-one line classical panegyric *qasideh* with a qalandari introit (*nasib*) for his patron Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'âli Abu 'Ali Sharafshâh Ja'fari. This poem is doubly important because it is not only the first extant

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80. For more on "rogue homilies" and the different types of monothematic qalandari poems, see chapter one of the present study.

99

example of a classical panegyric with a qalandari introit, but it is also one of the earliest, complete, non-quatrain qalandari poems by a poet other than Sanâ'i. There are a number of qalandari quatrains that are attributed to Abu Sa'id Abu Kheyr (d. 1049), Bâbâ Tâher (dates widely disputed, from tenth-thirteenth centuries), and Sheykh Yusof 'Âmeri (d. eleventh century). There is also a qalandari poem attributed to Amir Mo'ezzi's father, Borhâni, which is attributed to Sanâ'i as well and may be the introit of another panegyric for Sharafshâh Ja'fari.[81] However, Amir Mo'ezzi's panegyric for Sharafshâh Ja'fari remains the earliest complete example of a non-quatrain qalandari poem by a poet other than Sanâ'i. While this poem has obvious significance for our understanding of the early development of qalandari poetry, my interest in it here lies in the way in which it unites a monothematic qalandari introit with a poem whose panegyric section (*madh*) praises a local political figure in terms broadly consonant with the tradition of royal panegyric poetry.

In a certain sense, the use of a qalandari introit in a courtly panegyric poem (*madh*) would seem to undermine the argument of the preceding section regarding the antithetical relationship between royal panegyric and qalandari poetry. However, this conflict is not real but only apparent. To argue, as I do above, that the poetic worlds of qalandari and royal panegyric/religious-homiletic poetry parodically invert one another does not mean that these thematic domains are hermetically separate fields that can never operate in conjunction with each other to achieve certain poetic effects. In the classical (polythematic) bi- or tripartite panegyric *qasideh*, for example, the coexistence of disparate thematic units is the norm. Royal panegyrics often treat amatory, nature, or anacreontic themes in their introit (*nasib*) before transitioning (sometimes quite swiftly) to eulogic themes (*madh*) in the body of the poem. While some scholars have seen the juxtaposition of radically disparate thematic concerns as a

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81. On the qalandari quatrains of Abu Sa'id Abu Kheyr, Bâbâ Tâher, and Sheykh Yusof 'Âmeri, see studies cited in footnote 23, chapter 1.

100

sign of the atomistic nature of Persian and Arabic poetry, more recent literary studies have convincingly demonstrated that the introit (*nasib*) is integrally linked with the subsequent panegyric section in quite complex—even if not immediately obvious— ways.

This realization has led scholars of Arabic and Persian poetry to adopt the poetic terms "strophe" and "antistrophe" from Greek poetics to designate the introit (*nasib* plus the *rahil*) and subsequent thematic section (e.g., *madh*) of the *qasideh*, respectively.[82] It is a useful terminological maneuver, even if for heuristic purposes only, because it allows us to conceptualize the *qasideh* as a poetic whole with interdependent thematic components that all work in concert to achieve a broader poetic aim or "meaning" which cannot be reduced to the apparent "meaning" of any one section of the poem on its own. It gives us a framework in which to examine the intratextual relationship between a *qasideh's* strophe and antistrophe, which has been shown to play a crucial role in the way the poem as a whole constructs "meaning" not *despite* but *because of* their thematic differences.

The relation between the *qasideh's* strophe and antistrophe is not static or predictable. Scholars of Arabic and Persian poetry have demonstrated that a *qasideh's* strophe and antistrophe can function either in an antithetical or parallel manner *vis-à-vis* one another. Further research may reveal different sub-patterns of antithesis and parallelism, or features particular to the Persian and Arabic traditions or specific regions and historical time periods within each of these traditions. The dearth of studies on this topic prevents us from reaching any general conclusions at this point.[83] For the purposes of the present study, it is only important to note

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82. Beatrice Gruendler also adds the term "metastrophe" to refer to the concluding, "cap" lines. See brief discussion of this below and also: Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*, 15, 52-54. Note too that the use of the terms "strophe" and "antistrophe" with respect to Persian and Arabic poetry differs in important ways from the classical meaning of these terms in Greek.

83. See studies cited in this footnote for general overview of the strophe/antistrophe discussion in Arabic and Persian poetry. Stefan Sperl was the first to use the terminology of strophe/antistrophe to discuss the different sections of the Arabic *qasideh*, arguing that the *qasideh* is typically structured in a strophe/antistrophe manner, with the *nasib* and *madih* sections functioning in an antithetical relationship with one another. The *madih* section, he maintains, "celebrates the societal values and virtues" associated with the patron (*mamduh*), which are inverted in the *nasib* by those associated with the "abandoned (campsite)

101

that (1) the strophe and antistrophe in Persian and Arabic *qasideh* poetry are capable of operating in an antithetical or parallel manner *vis-à-vis* one another, and (2) their interrelation is central to the way in which the *qasideh* produces meaning. We need to adopt an interpretative approach that moves "beyond the section" (to critically adapt van Gelder's title)—an "intersectional" approach, one might say.

The panegyric *qasideh* of Amir Mo'ezzi for Sharafshâh Ja'fari is a particularly interesting example in this regard. In this poem Amir Mo'ezzi constructs a complex parallel relation between the seemingly antithetical poetic worlds of the qalandari strophe and the panegyric antistrophe in which he eulogizes Sharafshâh Ja'fari in terms drawn from royal panegyric poetry. It both presents an interesting case study of strophe/antistrophe interrelation and, more importantly for the present study, points to other potential roles that qalandari poetry may have played in the Persian poetic system outside of its role as monothematic countergenre.

The *mamduh* of this poem, Sharafshâh Ja'fari, was evidently a wealthy denizen of Qazvin who rose to the rank of *ra'is* and *vâli* (governor) under the Seljuqs.[84] The qalandari strophe and references to his spiritual status also indicate that he likely either had a connec-

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ruins" (*atlâl*) and the figure of the beloved. See: Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic Poetry*, 19-27. Meisami adopts Sperl's terminology, but correctly points out that the relationship between the *nasib* and *madih* can be both antithetical and parallel. See: Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 24-76; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 145ff. Gruendler, while concuring with Meisami that *nasib* and *madih* can be antithetical or parallel to one another, does argue that "[p]anegyric *qasā'id* for caliphs tend to be antithetical in structure...The *habīb*, protagonist of the *nasīb* (strophe), and the ruler, protagonist of the *madīh* (antistrophe), as well as their respective powers (fate and rulership) and their realms (*atlāl* and state), constitute binary oppositions. As a whole, the *qasīda*, moves from affliction to redemption or from the sensual to the spiritual realm. Both binary structures reveal an inherent logic in the *qasīda*'s separate themes, by ascribing the first part (Sperl's strophe) a functional role as a foil for or a contrast to the second part, concerned with the ruler (Sperl's antistrophe)." See: Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*, 15, 52-54. Tahera Qutbuddin also points out examples of both antithesis and parallelism in the *nasib/madih* sections of al-Mo'ayyad's panegyrics. See: Qutbuddin, *Al-Mu'ayyad al-Shīrāzī and Fatimid Da'wa Poetry*, 173-174, 213. For more on the complex thematic, symbolic, and structural interrelations of the *nasib* and other sections of the *qasideh*, also see: Sells, "Guises of the Ghūl"; Sells, "Like the Arms of a Drowning Man."

84. On Sharafshâh Ja'fari, see: Tetley, *The Ghaznavid and Seljuk Turks*, 92-94; Hillenbrand, "Ḳazwīn."

tion to Sufi groups in Qazvin or, at the very least, had a strong affinity for this mode of piety.

My translation of the poem will be followed by analysis:

1   If the abode of the dissimulators is the dilapidated winehouse (*kharâbât*),
        amongst the haunters of the winehouse there are disguises for me.

2   Throughout the city all of the lovers are wasted,
        perhaps my beloved idol is in the dilapidated winehouse today!

3   Don't go after asceticism (*zohd*)—get wasted and become a haunter of the winehouse!
        For in life, all prosperity (lit. building up) comes from drunkenness/destruction.

4   Bring that pharaonic cup and place it in my hands!
        For it is the appointed day of Moses and the appointed time.

5   I am not yielding in drinking wine because
        the middle of love's arena is magnificence for me.

6   Any place that is a dwelling for the people of love
        is not a place for the issues of scrolls and spiritual conceits.

7   Between the lover and the beloved there is a inner meaning
        that fails wherever there is words.

8   I am that person who is always prostrated in prayer before love—
        my existence becomes great with this type of worship.

9   Any ode that arose amorously in love
        is like "the seven oft-recited verses" and heavenly greetings for me.

10   There is no regard for me from love for even an hour,
       though from my heart and very soul there is regard for love.

11   In my youthful days I became a prisoner of love—
       where should I seek this place that is among the impossibilities?

12   I am continually going to the court of that lord
       who is master of the kings and king of descendants of the prophet.

13   The beauty of the world, Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'âli, that king
       who is the perfection and bliss of the fortunate ones.

14   Abu 'Ali Sharafshâh ebn 'Ezzâ al-Din
       who is laudable in his ways like Ja'far Barmakid.

103

15   For him, honor is from Ja'far and kingship is from the dervishes (i.e., spiritual elect),[85]
for he is Ja'fari in disposition and dervish (spiritual elect) in (spiritual) station.

16   Ja'far took the heavens under his wings (i.e., he flew in the heavens)[86]
because the spiritual resolve of his son is greater than the heavens.

17   They cite the example of the generosity of Ja'far Barmakid, and for me
the example of the generosity of Sharafshâh is Ja'farian in essence.

18   O you whose service to him is not sufficient!
Punishment and revenge will come to you from the wheels of time.

19   O you whose appointed time is at his court!
His promise is "how far is that which you are promised!" [ref. Qur'an 23:36]

20   You, o offspring of fortune, are the deliverance of the freeborn,
eternal fortune converses in private with you.

21   You with whom the day of union with is great!
You with whom the time of praising is excellent!

22   The orbits are all continually arrayed in accordance with your desire,
your will is in accordance with its turning.

23   If in the creation of domains, there is the domain of the sky,
know that the domain of [your] generosity has many domains.

24   How can one give news of your enemy?
How could I [tell anything about him]? Because he is among the dead [now].

25   [For you,] the land is a game board, and fate and destiny are companions,
the celestial orbits are like chess and they have been defeated.

26   Your enemy is like the king and his fortune the queen—
on the chessboard he is checkmated with your queen.

27   The evil-natured jealous one is not evidence against you—
the words that I say here are testimonies from me.

28   One piece of my evidence is that his oath is sworn
by the truth of the honor of 'Uzza and the efficacy (lit. tool/utility) of Lat.

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85. On the word كَنگَر, which I have translated as "dervish," see: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 429 n10.

86. Line 16 is a reference to Ja'far ben Abi Tâleb, who Prophet Muhammad reportedly said that he saw fly to paradise. On Ja'far bin Abi Tâleb, or Ja'far al-Tayyâr as he comes to be known, see: Vaglieri, "D̲j̲aʿfar b. Abī Ṭālib."

29 In the assembly of eminences, I maintain
    that your presence is better than the gardens of paradise.

30 Since the prophet called "Qazvin" a gate of paradise,
    know that your presence is a garden among the gardens of paradise.

31 I swear by your royal legitimacy (*farr*), I will prove
    that serving you is one of the norms and acts of worship.

32 What pleases you is what pleases the prophet, what pleases the prophet
    is what pleases the creator of the throne and that is among the acts of obedience.

33 The proofs of the excellency of your assembly are
    the *Ka'ba*, holy stone, and pilgrimage of the people in need.

34 Every wise person who has good fortune
    hurries to your assembly from his city and birthplace.

35 He is always saying "take the praise" and "bring the gift";
    the response from you to "bring" is "take," the response to "take" is "bring."

36 If on resurrection day you are the intercessor for people,
    there will not be fear of resurrection nor punishment for sins.

37 You, o just king, will be the first person
    who on the day resurrection meets with Mustafa (Prophet Muhammad).

38 Your character and conduct has been manifested for (all) kings—
    what place do a Bahman and Nuzar have in the story?

39 All of your ceremonies become the source of gifts.
    Your mind is the adornment of right guidance (in all its forms).

40 The mementos of kings are taken from your wise opinions and banner.
    The fine points of treatises are taken from your name and chronicles.

41 Perfection does not increase with the turning of the celestial spheres,
    (but) your perfection of spiritual fortitude and generosity does.

42 The zodiac sign of your insight and spiritual fortitude were ascendent
    such that even the highest point of Saturn is below that banner.

43 Where a reciter declaims a panegyric about you,
    all the fluency of the reciter goes to that recitation.

44 My temptation (i.e., my love) is praising you, o my lord,
    for praise of you is sufficient enough payment for me.

45   Your praise, o my king, when it is in a noble mind,
      it is among the tangible things when I express it.

46   Just as your house, o my king, is the praise of kings,
      my verse in praise of you is the ornament of verses.

47   My wisdom and cultivation of topoi are fresh (lit. virginal).
      They are not comparable to other poets.

48   Because of your fortune, all poets ask me
      every question that is among the most difficult of questions.

49   As long as there are months of Mehr and Tir, and the day of Bahram,
      and as long as there are months, years, days, and hours,

50   may God—great is his glory—repel from you
      whatever is connected to misfortunes or calamities.

51   Time is your aid and assistance.
      God gives you virtue and support.[87]

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87. Mo'ezzi, *Kolliyât-e Divân-e Amir Mo'ezzi (ed. Qanbari)*, 128-30; Mo'ezzi, *Divân-e Amir Mo'ezzi (ed. Âshtiyâni)*, 113-15. Persian text:

مرا میان خراباتیان لباسات است	اگر سرای لباساتیان خرابات است
مگر نگار من امروز در خرابات است	میان شهر همه عاشقان خراب شدند
که عمر را ز خرابی همه عمارات است	مجوی زهد و خرابی کن و خراباتی
که روز وعدهٔ موسی و گاه میقات است	بیار ساغر فرعونی و به دستم ده
مرا میانهٔ میدان عشق دارات است	نیفکنم سپر از بادِه خوردن از پی آنک
نه جای نکتهٔ طومار و جای طامات است	هرَ آن مکان که بوَد اهل عشق را مأوی
که قاصر آید از آن هر کجا عبارات است	میان عاشق و معشوق هست آن معنی
بدان سجودٌ وجودِ مرا کرامات است	من از آن کسم که همی سجده پیش عشق برم
مرا چون سبع مثانی و چون تحیّات است	هر آن سرود که در عشق عاشقانه بخاست
که عشق را ز دل و جان من از مراعات است	مرا ز عشق مراعات نیست یک ساعت
من این محل ز که جویم که از محالات است	به روزگار جوانی اسیر عشق شدم
که سیدِ ملکان است و شاه سادات است	روم مدام به درگاه آن خداوندی
که از کمال و سعادات ذو السعادات است	جمال عالم فخر المعالی آن ملکی
که همچو جعفر برمک ستوده عادات است	ابو علی شرفشاه ابن عزا الدین
که جعفری سیر و کُنگری مقامات است	شرف ز جعفر و شاهی ز کُنگُرست اورا
که همت پسرَش برتر از سماوات است	از آن گرفت سماوات زیر پرْ جعفر
مثل به جود شرفشاه جعفری ذات است	به جود جعفر برمک مثل زَنند و مرا
ز روزگار تورا مالش و مکافات است	آیا کسی که تورا خدمتش کفایت نیست
وعید او بلما توعَدون هیهات است	آیا کسی که به درگاه اوست موعد تو
که با تو دَوَلت پاینده را مناجات است	تو ای نتیجهٔ دولت نجات احراری
تویی که وقتِ ثنای تو خیر اوقات است	تویی که یوم وصال تو خیر ایام است
تورا موافق دوران او ارادات است	مدار چرخ همه بر مراد توست مدام
بدان که ساحت جود تورا مساحات است	اگر ز خلق مساحات ساحت فلک است
نشان چگونه دهم زانکه او زاموات است	خبر چگونه توان دادن از مخالف تو
مدار چرخ چو شطرنج و در میان مات است	زمین چو نطع و قضا و قدر به سان حریف
میان نطع به فرزین خویش شهمات است	مخالف تو چو شاه است و دولتش فرزین
برین سخُن که بگُفتم مرا شهادات است	حسود دیوسرشت تورا شهادت نیست
به حق عزت عزی و اَلت لات است	یکی که شهادت من این بوَد که سوگندش
که حضرت تو از روضههای جنات است	میان مجمع فضال حجت آرم من
بدان که حضرت تو روضهای زروضات است	چو یاب جنّت خواند رسول قزوین را
که خدمت تو زعادات وز عبادات است	به فرِ دولت تو من دلیل بنْمایم
رضای خالق عرش است و آن ز طاعات است	رضای توسِت رضای نبّی رضای نبی
که کعبه و حجر و حج اهل حاجات است	دلایل و حجج مهتری ز مجلس توست
هر آن حکیم که از دولتش بشیارات است	بِه مجلس تو شتابد ز شهر و مولد خویش
جوابِ هات ز تو خُذ جوابِ خُذ هات است	خُذ المدیح و هات العطا همی گوید

Amir Mo'ezzi's poem is a tightly constructed, polythematic panegyric in the tradition-al tripartite structure. There is a clear division between the qalandari introit (*nasib*/strophe) (lines 1-11) and the panegyric antistrophe (lines 13-43 or 48 or 51) with a short "journey" section (*rahil*) (line 12) providing a transition between these two major parts. If we follow Gruendler's modification of Sperl's strophe/antistrophe framework, the panegyric antistrophe could be said to conclude at line 43 with the "metastrophe" beginning on line 44 and divided as follows: reflexive turn towards poetic persona/poetic craft/poetic boasts (*fakhr*) lines 44-48 and a concluding "benediction"/*do'â* in lines 49-51 for the *mamduh*, Sharafshâh Ja'fari. (The distinction that Gruendler makes between the antistrophe and the "metastrophe" is not partic-ularly important to the argument I advance below, but it is certainly a useful terminological intervention for analysis of Persian *qasideh* poetry more generally).[88]

Mo'ezzi opens the strophe/*nasib* (lines 1-11) of his poem with a series of images and exhortations that clearly belong to the poetic world of the rogue's winehouse. Beginning with self-deprecation—a mock-*fakhr* (mock-poetic boast)—he declares: "If the abode of the dissi-mulators is the dilapidated winehouse (*kharâbât*), / amongst the haunters of the winehouse (*kharâbâtiyân*) there are disguises for me." This establishes the tenor for the remainder of the strophe and Mo'ezzi's intention to adopt the "poet as rogue" poetic persona in the introit of

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<div dir="rtl">

نه بیم حشر و نه بیم عذاب زلّت است	به روز محشر اگر خلق را شفیع تویی
که روز حشرش با مصطفیٰ ملاقات است	تو باشی ای ملک دادگر نخست کسی
چه جای بهمنی و نوذری حکایات است	عیان شدست به نزد ملوک سیرت تو
ضمیر تو همه پیرایهٔ هدایات است	رسوم تو همه سرمایهٔ هدایا گشت
ز نام و نامهٔ تو نکتهٔ رسالات است	ز رای و رایت تو تحفهٔ سلاطین است
کمال همت و جودِ تو را زیادات است	کمال را ز مدار فلک زیادت نیست
چنانکه اوج زُحَل زیر آن علامات است	بلند گشت علامات رای و همت تو
همه روانی راوی بدان روایات است	کجا روایت یک مدح تو کند راوی
که از مدیح تو شغل مرا کفایات است	به مدح گفتن تو فتنه‌ام خداوندا
چو منطقی کنم آن را که از جمادات است	ز آفرین تو شاها به خاطر عاطر
در آفرین تو بیتم طراز ابیات است	چنانکه فخر ملوک است بیت تو ملکا
نه از شمار دگر شاعران مقالات است	مرا به حکمت و پروردن معانی بکر
هر آن سوال که مشکلتر از سوالات است	به دولت تو همه شاعران ز من پرسند
همیشه تا که مه و سال و روز و ساعات است	همیشه تا که مه مهر و تیر و بهرام است
هر آنچه متصّل حادثات و آفات است	خدای جلّ جلالهُ ز تو بگرداناد
ز کردگار تورا عصمت و حمایات است	ز روزگار تو را نصرت و مساعدت است

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88. On Gruendler's addition of "metastrophe" to Sperl's strophe/antistrophe terminology, see: Gruendler, *Medieval Arabic Praise Poetry*, 52, 56-59.

this poem. He is a wily poet, whose beloved (*negâr*) holds court in the "dilapidated wine-house" (mock-court) (line 2) and presides over "love's arena" (*maydân-e 'eshq*) (line 5). As we have seen repeatedly in the qalandari poems in this chapter, Mo'ezzi makes it clear that the figures, norms, and values in this carnivalesque space are inversely related to those celebrated in royal panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry. The attendees of his beloved—the "dissimulators" (*lebâsâtiyân*), "haunters of the winehouse" (*kharâbâtiyân*), and lovers (*'âshe-qân*, *ahl-e'eshq*) (lines 1-3, 6)—are all social outcasts (even outlaws) and the disreputable activities that they champion (e.g., drinking, trickery) make a mockery of normative social behavior and modes of religious piety (e.g., *zohd*, Sufi *tâmât*) (lines 3, 6). In this reversed world, love poetry becomes their Qur'an (line 9) and "prayer before love" their highest form of worship (line 8) (mock-*qibla*/*Ka'ba*). The introit/strophe of this poem, in short, reads like a typical qalandari poem.

The poem on the whole, however, is not a qalandari poem. It ultimately has another aim. In an astonishing reversal, by line 12 Mo'ezzi transitions from the carnivalesque poetic world of the strophe to its thematic antitheses, the royal panegyric, in the poem's antistrophe/metastrophe. Mo'ezzi the rogue poet becomes Mo'ezzi the court panegyrist—a persona switch made in line 12, performed in lines 13-43, and elaborated upon in the metastrophe, lines 44-48)—and the mock-court of the "dilapidated winehouse" and "love's arena" (*maydân-e 'eshq*) is suddenly abandoned for the "(royal) court" (*dargâh*) of Sharafshâh Ja'fari ensconced within the city gates of Qazvin (lines 5, 12, 19, 30). "Every wise person (*hakim*)," Mo'ezzi tells us, "hurries" to the "assembly" (*majles*) of this royal court, where Sharafshâh Ja'fari unstintingly showers gifts on poets who praise him in his "ceremonies" (*rosum*) (lines 34-35, 39). The contrast here between the "wise person[s] (*hakim*)" who are attracted to the

108

royal court of the antistrophe and the various roguish figures in attendance at the mock-court of the "dilapidated winehouse" in the strophe is absolute.

The axis of the stylized court of Sharafshâh is not the roguish "beloved idol" of the strophe, but rather an idealized Islamic ruler who possesses extraordinary generosity (*jud*) (lines 17, 23, 41), divine royal legitimacy (*farr*) (line 31), proximity to God and Prophet Mohammad (lines 32, 36-37), justice (lines 37-38), right guidance (*hedâyât*) (line 39), and spiritual fortitude (*hemmat*) (lines 41). Especially noteworthy are a number of specific motifs in the antistrophe/metastrophe that are typically inverted in qalandari poetry. "Fate and destiny," for example, are Sharafshâh Ja'fari's "companions (*harif*)" (line 25)—not the fellow haunters of the winehouse—and his "enemy" (portrayed as associated with pagan idols) is "checkmated" (i.e., defeated) (lines 24-28) instead of the "self" of the qalandari poet. Similarly, terms such "acts of obedience" (*tâ'ât*) (line 32) and "right guidance" (*hedâyât*) (line 39) are given a positive valuation by Mo'ezzi in the antistrophe, and the Ka'ba, holy stone (*hajar*), and sacred pilgrimmage (*hajj*) become the "proofs of the excellency of [Sharafshâh Ja'fari's] assembly" (line 33) rather than objects of mockery, as they do frequently in qalandari poetry.

While it is clear that the poetic worlds of the strophe and antistrophe/metastrophe are inversions of one another at the level of theme, the question is how does this thematic inversion function to create the poem's meaning as a poetic whole? That is, how do these disparate and even seemingly mutually exclusive poetic worlds work together in this poem to achieve Mo'ezzi's larger goal of praising Sharafshâh Ja'fari? Analyzing the poem at a global level reveals that Mo'ezzi has carefully constructed a complex parallel relationship between the diametrically opposed poetic worlds of the strophe and the antistrophe/metastrophe. The roguish "beloved" who presides over the mock-court of the "dilapidated winehouse" and its miscre-

109

ant courtiers (*kharâbâtiyân*, *lebâsâtiyân*) in the strophe is in fact none other than the peerless political ruler he praises in the panegyric antistrophe/metastrophe.

Mo'ezzi makes this parallelism clear in the concluding line of the *nasib*, *rahil*, and opening lines of the panegyric proper (lines 11-15). The first indication of this poetic maneuver comes in the rhetorical question "where should I seek this place that is among the impossibilities?" (line 11). Strategically situated as the concluding hemistich of the introit, this question encourages the audience to look back on the qalandari world of the strophe before transitioning to a new section and ask themselves, "Where can such a Sufi carnival be found?" Mo'ezzi answers in the following line (the *rahil*, line 12), telling his audience that he is headed to such a place now: "the court of that lord / who is master of the kings and king of descendants of the prophet." In the following lines (13-17), he opens the *qasideh's* antistrophe by identifying the nameless "lord" as Fakhr al-Din al-Ma'âli Abu 'Ali Sharafshâh Ja'fari and praising him as *both* a spiritual and political leader.

14   Abu 'Ali Sharafshâh ebn 'Ezzâ al-Din
       who is laudable in his ways like Ja'far Barmakid.

15   For him, honor is from Ja'far and kingship is from the dervishes (i.e., spiritual elect),
       for he is Ja'fari in disposition and dervish (spiritual elect) in (spiritual) station.

16   Ja'far took the heavens under his wings (i.e., he flew in the heavens)
       because the spiritual resolve of his son is greater than the heavens.

17   They cite the example of the generosity of Ja'far Barmakid, and for me
       the example of the generosity of Sharafshâh is Ja'farian in essence.

These lines revolve around wordplays with the term "dervishes" (*kongor*) (lines 15) and the name "Ja'far" (lines 14-17). First, Mo'ezzi lauds Sharafshâh's "ways" and generosity as greater than Ja'far Barmakid (a powerful vizier of the 'Abbasids), describes his *sharaf* (honor, nobility) as coming from Ja'far, and praises him as "Ja'fari in disposition." The "Ja'fars" mentioned in these lines, however, are not all references to Ja'far Barmakid. In the

110

second instance (line 16), Mo'ezzi is referring to Ja'far al-Tayyâr (cousin of Mohammad and brother of 'Ali) and his flight to heaven, indicating too that Sharafshâh is one of his descendents. The ambiguity here, though, is productive because it fuses in the figure of Sharafshâh Ja'fari the political and spiritual capital of both of these important "Ja'fars."

The crucial line for understanding the relationship between the strophe and antistrophe of this poem is, however, line 15:

15   For him, honor is from Ja'far and kingship is from the dervishes (i.e., spiritual elect),
         for he is Ja'fari in disposition and dervish (spiritual elect) in (spiritual) station.

Occurring immediately after the naming of the patron and the transition from the strophe to antistrophe, this line weaves together the oppositional poetic worlds of qalandari and royal panegyric poetry. Mo'ezzi makes explicit here what the reader/listener is likely to have begun to suspect: Sharafshâh Ja'fari is the master of the strophe's winehouse and the antistrophe's regal court. He is a king—as the rest of the panegyric makes clear—but he is not the old idealized Islamic king of the classical panegyric.[89] His "kingship" (*shâhi*) is from the "dervishes" (*kongor*) for he himself is a "dervish in spiritual station" (line 15). He is to be understood as a new type of idealized Islamic ruler: an Islamic king who combines in one person the virtues of a member of the spiritual elect (dervish) and political elite, a Qalandari Spiritual Master-King.[90] The qalandari introit/strophe is thus not frivolous as G.E. Tetley judges it in his brief discussion of the poem.[91] On the contrary, the "oppositional parallelism" that Mo'ezzi constructs between it and the antistrophe/metastrophe serves to portray Sharafshâh

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89. See section on panegyric poetry above and especially studies cited therein for discussion of *qasideh's* portrayal of royal *mamduhs* as idealized Islamic rulers (especially, Sperl's studies).
90. Amir Mo'ezzi's use of qalandari imagery to praise Sharafshâh Ja'fari as a rogue spiritual master-king and express his political legitimacy in these terms has interesting parallels with the later use of the *sâqi-nâmeh* (cupbearer ode) for political purposes. See: Losensky, "Vintages of the Sāqī-nāma," 141ff.
91. Tetley, *The Ghaznavid and Seljuk Turks*, 92-93.

111

as the embodiment of a new model of Islamic kingship and thereby too augments the total eulogistic effect of the poem as a whole.

Similar in many ways to the importance of understanding the intergeneric relations of the monothematic *qalandariyât* discussed in the first part of this chapter, the poetics of the qalandari strophe likewise can only fully be understood when we situate it in its larger field of inter-(thematic)sectional relationships. The simultaneously oppositional and parallel relationship between the strophe and antistrophe/metastrophe of Mo'ezzi's poem demonstrates this point. Without understanding the "oppositional parallelism" of these two sections, the role of the qalandari strophe becomes mere frivolity, and the socio-political import of the identification of Sharafshâh Ja'fari as an idealized rogue Spiritual Master-King is entirely lost.

In the end, whether Mo'ezzi's poem is representative of a more widespread type of panegyric *qasideh* poetry that employed qalandari introits or is only an isolated, idiosyncratic example requires further study. The existence of a qalandari poem ascribed to his father Borhâni, which also possibly was an introit of a longer panegyric poem, does not clarify the issue because it too is dedicated to Sharafshâh Ja'fari. The lack of other examples makes it difficult to know at this stage whether we should interpret this as evidence of a larger tradition or simply the proclivity of a particular patron for this type of panegyric poetry. However, at the very least, the foregoing example illustrates one way in which early poets deployed qalandari themes in the polythematic domain of panegyric court poetry, and it is also a testament to the flexibility of qalandari poetry to lend its oppositional poetics to multiple applications within the broader Persian poetic system.

IV. Conclusion

As with other thematic types of poetry in the Persian poetic system, qalandari poetry can function in several different roles. This chapter focuses on two of its most prominent ones: heterotopic (monothematic) countergenre and carnivalesque introit (*nasib*) in a polythematic panegyric poem.

As a monothematic countergenre, the *qalandariyât* relentlessly inverts, parodies, and mocks the poetic worlds of royal panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry. The poetic world of the monothematic *qalandariyât* is not the "analogue" or "poetic microcosm" of the *mamduh's* court or God's heavenly court, as Meisami has convincingly argued with respect to panegyric and religious-homiletic poetry.[92] Rather, it is an "analogue" or "poetic microcosm" of the rogues' winehouse: a mock-court of sorts in which the qalandari poet mercilessly mocks and parodies the normative world of medieval Islamic society and its poetic embodiments. The heroism, glorious achievements, and praiseworthy qualities of the *mamduh* in the panegyric are replaced here by the celebration of the decidedly anti-heroic drunkenness and depravity of the most marginal social (even antinomain) figures in the *qalandariyât*. The glorification of normative Islam (represented in concepts such as religion/*din*, piety/*taqvâ*, Islamic law/*shari'at*, etc.) and admonition to repent (*towbeh*) from the transient pleasures of this world featured so prominently in religious-homiletic poetry are mocked with shocking temerity in the *qalandariyât* as the rogue poet pledges to "repent from repenting" and proudly flaunts his transgression of a wide array of social and religious prohibitions. Nothing is off limits in the "revers[ed] world" of the winehouse: even infidelity (*kofr*) and apostasy can be virtues. The poetic world produced by this carnivalesque counter-logic is what I have termed the heterotopic world of the Sufi carnival.[93]

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92. Meisami, "The Grand Design: Medieval Persian Poetic Microcosms"; Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms."
93. The relationship between the carnivalesque poetics of qalandari poetry and historical developments within

113

The second half of this chapter explored the function of qalandari poetry in polythematic *qasideh* poetry through a close reading of one of Amir Mo'ezzi's panegyrics. This *qasideh* is one of the earliest complete examples of qalandari poetry and the only early example of a classical polythematic *qasideh* with a qalandari introit (*nasib*). It thus offers us a unique, if small, window into the way(s) in which qalandari poetry operated within the domain of polythematic *qasideh* poetry. The "oppositional parallelism" observed in the interrelation between the strophe and antistrophe/metastrophe of this panegyric *qasideh* represents one way in which qalandari poetry was capable of operating in conjunction with other thematic sections in polythematic poems to produce meaning at the level of the whole poem. In this particular case, Mo'ezzi deploys the thematic opposition of the qalandari strophe and royal panegyric antistrophe/metastrophe to portray his *mamduh* as an idealized Islamic ruler, a Qalandari Spiritual Master-King, who is simultaneously lord of both domains. The complementary function of the qalandari strophe in this royal panegyric *qasideh* should also serve as a warning against any simplistic or decontextualized readings of the poetics of the Sufi carnival.

Persianate Sufism more broadly is an important issue that I cannot address here. The *qalandariyât* must first and foremost be understood and analyzed as a intergeneric poetic game because any analysis of this poetry's "cultural politics" or "cultural poetics" must be rooted in a deep understanding of its poetics and how it functions in the larger Persian poetic system. I hope to treat this topic in greater depth in my revision of the dissertation for publication. For an example of the complex and at times counter-intuitive relationship between "transgressive" literature and its social/historical context, see: Stallybrass and White, *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression*.

Chapter 3

The Poetics of the Sufi Carnival:
Metaphoric Force Dynamics and the Construction
of a Radical Sufi Spiritual (Inter-)Subjectivity

I. Beyond Representation:
Sufi Symbolism, Force Dynamics, and Poetry as "Meaning Event"

The shocking nature of the *qalandariyât's* imagery has led many to speculate on the meaning and function of this poetry in the premodern Islamicate world. At first blush, it is perplexing: how could a poetics that appears openly to reject the hallmarks of Islamic piety in favor a carnivalesque celebration of wine, beauty, and transgression of socio-religious norms become one of the central aesthetic expressions of medieval Islamo-Persianate culture? Even more counterintuitively, how could poetry that caustically derides Sufis as spiritual charlatans be written by some of the leading Sufi poets of medieval Persian literature?

Most scholars have answered these and other similar questions by turning to the long tradition of Sufi hermeneutics laid down in various Sufi poetic commentaries, treatises, and especially lexicons (*estelâhât*).[1] These works, in different ways, graft Sufi poetic symbols onto the tradition's metaphysical framework, often even attempting to fix universal equivalents for specific images. Proponents of this approach assert that Sufi imagery and its stock characters are "symbolic references encoded in poetic language," as Leonard Lewisohn argues in his in-depth discussion of Hâfez's carnivalesque (*rendi*) poetics, which can only be properly deciphered with the aid of Sufi hermeneutical materials.[2] Sufi poems, in this mode of analysis, are really only stylized presentations of Sufi thought. The nature of poetic imagery

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1. For prototypical examples of this mode of interpreting qalandari poetry, see: Feuillebois-Pierunek, *A la croisée des voies célestes*; Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz." De Bruijn, a more sensitive reader of poetry, remarks in his brief study of the *qalandariyât* of Sanâ'i that the "shocking nature" of the *qalandariyat* imagery and its "connotation of disrespectability" is "essential to the effect the author wanted to achieve through the choice of this imagery." However, in the end, he still ultimately reduces the imagery of the *qalandariyat* to a "set of symbolic allegories" that are used only in a "figurative sense." See: de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 80, 85-86.
2. Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz," 55.

and form are accidental—certainly not essential for understanding the meaning the poet seeks to communicate to the audience through his poem.

While I do not want to dismiss the importance of Sufi hermeneutics as an interpretative tradition, I do want to critique the tendency among some of its proponents to reduce the diverse and dynamic Persian Sufi poetic tradition to the status of an encoded data repository that can only be decrypted with the blunt instrument of its interpretative framework.[3] This view of Sufi poetry has contributed to the current state of Persian literary studies where it is not uncommon, for example, to find studies on Persian Sufi poets that read largely as intellectual biographies or histories of Sufi thought. Many of these works provide erudite discussions of these poets' themes, imagery, and their possible connections to Sufi metaphysics. These works, of course, are important in their own right, but they analyze Sufi poetry as everything except what it is—that is, *poetry*.

This symbolist approach to Sufi poetry, as one of its proponents terms it, has been sharply criticized in recent years by a number of leading scholars of Persian literature. Julie Scott Meisami has repeatedly reproved the tendencies to read Persian poetry as only a "vehicle" for the poet's thought or a type of mystical ciphertext that can be "decod[ed]" in "a certain predetermined, not to say overderminded, manner."[4] Fatemeh Keshavarz similarly has criticized the way in which most scholarship on Sufi poetry generally and Rumi's poetry in particular has reduced it to little more than "suitcases" filled with mystical meaning and symbols that it interprets through a "mechanical process" of "sifting through standard manuals of speculative mysticism."[5] This approach, as Meisami and Keshavarz have shown, does not

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3. Sufi hermeneutics is an important interpretative tradition within Sufism and it also undoubtedly informed the poetry of many Sufi poets (especially after the thirteenth century). I part ways with the Sufi symbolists not because I think they are always wrong in the associations they make between individual poetic symbols and Sufi concepts (although, as I mention subsequently, the works of Meisami and Keshavarz have shown that sometimes they are). Rather, my argument is that they fail to appreciate the way in which these poetic images are not just archetypal symbols representing this or that concept but rather dynamic poetic imagery that performs the meaning its seeks to communicate. There are ways to incorporate insights from the Sufi hermeneutic tradition while not reducing each poem to a mystical ciphertext whose meaning can be determined by decoding its symbols in a mechanical way.

4. For a representative sampling (but my no means exhaustive list) of Meisami's criticism of these tendencies in Persian literary scholarship, see: Meisami, "Allegorical Techniques in the *Ghazals* of Hāfez"; Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 239-42; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 48-50, 387-403; Meisami, "Nāsir-i Khusraw."

5. Keshavarz, *Reading Mystical Lyric*, 18-20, 72-74. Meisami and Keshavarz are the most well-known critics

116

hold up well under scrutiny: close analyses of individual poems show that the purportedly real esoteric "Sufi" meanings posited for each poetic image in Sufi lexicons frequently do not work when "plugged" into specific poetic contexts.[6]

Even more problematic in my view, however, is that the Sufi hermeneutic approach critically misunderstands the way in which poetry constructs meaning according to cognitive linguistics. As cognitive linguists have shown in recent decades, meaning is not just represented in abstract systems of arbitrary signs and symbols (i.e., natural languages) that our brain then converts into "mentalese" like a binary code converter. Rather, meaning is constructed, and even felt, by the readers as they semantically simulate the images, colors, motions, etc. as prompted by the text and experience the emotional and somatic changes in their body that are evoked in this process.[7] This more nuanced and deeply embodied understanding of meaning creation corroborates the point that sensitive literary critics of Sufi texts such as Meisami, Keshavarz, and Michael Sells have made for some time: meaning in these mystical texts is not just represented or explicated; rather, these texts often perform the meaning they seek to communicate through the complex interplay of their imagery, formal features, and sonic elements.[8] Sells, in his work, develops a useful concept he terms "meaning event" for these semantic moments in mystical literature when the text itself enacts the meaning it seeks to express.

> Meaning event indicates that moment when the meaning has become identical or fused with the act of predication. In metaphysical terms, essence is identical

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of this view, but Alice. C. Hunsberger and even de Bruijn have also criticized this approach as well: de Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry*, 122; Hunsberger, "'On the Steed of Speech'".

6. Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 240-42; Keshavarz, *Reading Mystical Lyric*; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 48-50, 387-403; Keshavarz, "Flight of the Birds"; Meisami, "A Life in Poetry."

7. For a full and highly readable overview of the cognitive linguistics' new understanding of meaning creation and comprehension, see: Bergen, *Louder Than Words*. Bergen describes the concept of semantic simulation, or "embodied simulation," as the idea that "we understand language by simulating in our minds what it would be like to experience the things that language describes...[it] is the creation of mental experiences of perception and action in the absence of their external manifestation" (13-14). These "simulations" almost always occur in the cognitive unconscious (*not* to be confused with the Freudian concept of the unconscious), but the listener/reader is able to infer a tremendous amount of sensorimotor and affective meaning from them that they would not be able to through a disembodied, purely mentalese conception of language comprehension. Although there is still some debate on the exact details of semantic simulation and the precise ways in which it utitilizes the sensorimotor regions of the brain in meaning construction (the so-called strong vs. weak embodied view), the existing research indicates at a minimum that our embodied (sensorimotor) experiences play an important role in how we construct meaning from language (especially, metaphoric language). See Bergen's book for an overview of the rapidly expanding literature on these topics.

8. See studies in footnote 6, chapter 3 above, and also: Meisami, "Imagery as an Argument."

117

with existence, but such identity is not only asserted, it is performed...It is the semantic analogue to the experience of mystical union. It does not describe or refer to mystical union but effects a semantic union that re-creates or imitates the mystical union.[9]

The propensity of mystical authors to inscribe "meaning events" into their works makes it essential, as Keshavarz has argued, to "observe [Sufi poems]...in action" in order to come to terms fully with how they "attemp[t] to evoke in the reader an event that is...structurally analogous to the event of mystical union," as Sells characterizes it.[10] Meaning events will not be found in the Sufi hermeneutic lexicons or commentaries (even if they aid us in our reading of poems). They require a deep, close reading and analysis of the "poetics" of Sufi poetry, in Jonathan Culler's sense of this term.[11]

This chapter will take up this charge in the context of the *qalandariyât*. Moving beyond the symbolist approaches that have largely read them as only versified expositions of the esoteric symbolism of the "blame-seeking" (*malâmati*) school of Sufism,[12] I will provide a poetic analysis of qalandari poetry, exploring the various ways in which these poems enact meaning. I focus here in particular on the "force dynamics" of the *qalandariyât's* carnivalesque imagery and how it both performs meaning and, in the final analysis, helps inculcate the radical spiritual subjectivity needed for the true Sufi lover. The "force" that pervades qalandari poetic imagery, I will argue, seeks to evoke in the reader the feeling of loss of volition and even the complete loss of self that the Sufi ideally strives for in the "winehouse of love."

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9. Sells, *Mystical Languages of Unsaying*, 9.
10. Sells, *Mystical Languages of Unsaying*, 10; Keshavarz, *Reading Mystical Lyric*, 12, 20, 36-39, 77.
11. The distinction I make throughout this paper between Sufi hermeneutic or symbolist approaches and my approach (which is indebted to the studies of Meisami, Keshavarz, Sells, among others) is largely the distinction of "hermeneutics" vs. "poetics," as elaborated by Jonathan D. Culler. Culler, in his classic study, argues that poetics is the study of the "devices, conventions and strategies of literature, of the means by which literary works create their effects"—in short, the study of "how works produce the effects they have for readers"—whereas hermeneutics is the "practice of interpretation, whose goal is to discover or determine the meaning of a text." While not mutually exclusive and typically used in tandem, they are two different modes of interpretation, and a lack of focus on poetics in particular leads to a rather poor understanding of how a literary text produces meaning. For a summary, see: Culler, *Structuralist Poetics*, vii-viii.
12. Pourjavady, "Rendi-ye Hâfez (1)"; Pourjavady, "Rendi-ye Hâfez (2): zuhd va rendi"; Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*; de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry"; Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 559-78; Feuillebois-Pierunek, *A la croisée des voies célestes*, 235-53; Lewis, "HAFEZ viii. HAFEZ AND RENDI"; Dahlén, "The Holy Fool in Medieval Islam"; Lewisohn, "Sufi Symbolism in the Persian Hermeneutic Tradition"; Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz."

118

This meaning is performed by the text and felt by the reader, but is not reducible to the lexical equivalents of the words on the page.

Losing the Self and the Force Dynamics of Poetic Imagery

9   The station of the lover and beloved is outside of the two worlds,
for the knocker of the door of our beloved is in the heavens.

10   Drink the dregs and extinguish (*fanâ*) the self if you want eternity,
for the provisions for the journey of self-annihilation (*fanâ*) are the dregs of the
dilapidated winehouse (*kharâbât*).

...

15   Lose both worlds and don't stick around to gain
because not remaining on the road is your boast.

16   O 'Attâr, in this path be annihilated from both worlds!
Those who are annihilated in essence remain on the path of lovers.[13]

The lines above are taken from one of 'Attâr's *qalandariyât*. He opens the poem in typical qalandari fashion, first apostrophizing the imagined audience with "Come! For our *qibla* (prayer direction) is the corner of the dilapidated winehouse (*kharâbât*)" and then, turning to the winebearer, orders wine to be brought for the audience members: "Bring wine! For a lover is not a man of spiritual conceits." This is not the time nor place for "spiritual conceits," "religion," "Sufi cloaks," "prayer beads," and "rational thought" for the poet is in the dilapidated winehouse where the wine of self-dissolution flows and the beloved "checkmates" the "Magian monastic," cincture-wearing lovers who have grown drunk enough to rend that final "veil," the illusionary individual self that makes them believe they are truly separate from their divine beloved, God.

The lines that open this section appear in the second two-thirds of the poem. In a not uncommon pattern, 'Attâr adopts a more didactic tone in this later section, telling his imagined audience members that the "station (*maqâm*) of the lover and beloved is outside the two worlds," and that the "provisions" for the requisite "journey of self-annihilation" to this "sta-

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13. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 33-34. Persian text:

مقام عاشق و معشوق از دو کون برونست که حلقهٔ در معشوق ما سماواتست
بنوش دُرد و فنا شو اگر بقا خواهی که زاد راهَ فنا دردیَ خراباتست
...
بباز هر دو جهان و ممان که سود کنی از آنکه در ره ناماندنت مباهاتست
ز هر دو کون فنا شو درین ره ای عطّار که باقی ره عشاق فانی ذاتست

119

tion" are the "dregs of the dilapidated winehouse (*kharâbât*)." He explicitly fuses together the carnivalesque imagery of the rogue's winehouse portrayed in the opening section with the classical terminology of medieval Persian Sufism (e.g., *fanâ*, *maqâm*) in these later lines.

While the poem does treat a few different topics, it is principally concerned with the Sufi idea of "self-annihilation" (*fanâ*), which is introduced in the second line with the images of the "morning rend[ing] the veil (of the self)" and a chessboard whose "pawns" are going to be "push[ed] forward" for "checkmate" (i.e., destruction of the self). After line ten, the poem almost exclusively focuses on *fanâ*, beginning with 'Attâr's exhortation to his audience there—"drink the dregs and extinguish (*fanâ*) the self if you want eternity"—and concluding with his self-exhortation to self-annihilation in the *takhallos* (signature verse) of lines 15-16.[14] *Fanâ* is *the* requirement for "remain[ing] on the path of lovers," and indeed it is their "boast" (*mobâhât*) (mock-*fakhr*).

'Attâr's focus here on self-annihilation (*fanâ*) is not unique or surprising. It has been a cornerstone of Sufi thought since at least the early Sufi of Baghdad, Jonayd (d. 910), who propounded this concept as a way to reconcile the Islamic conception of God/Existence's unity (*towhid*) with the multiplicity of the phenomenal world. Jonayd averred that in the pre-eternity preceding creation, humans existed only in a form of "selfless existence in God," as Ahmet T. Karamustafa terms it, and the ideal Sufi must aim to return to that state by "dy[ing] before [he or she] die[s]," to adapt the famous saying of Prophet Mohammad (*hadith*) that Sufis later frequently employed in discussions of *fanâ*. According to Jonayd, this "death" or "passing away" of the psychosocial self (ego) is the only way for the Sufi aspirant to achieve true mystical union with God—that is, to realize or effect *towhid*.[15]

Jonayd and many later proponents of this concept frequently justified it on the basis of a *hadith qodsi* (divine saying) in which God purportedly said to Prophet Muhammad:

> My servant draws near to Me by means of nothing dearer to Me than that which I have established as a duty for him. And My servant continues drawing

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14. For more on the *takhallos*, or "signature verse," see: Losensky, "Linguistic and Rhetorical Aspects of the Signature Verse (*Takhallus*) in the Persian *Ghazal*."
15. Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 16-17.

nearer to Me through supererogatory acts until I love him; and when I love him, I become his ear with which he hears, his eye with which he sees, his hand with which he grasps, and his foot with which he walks.[16]

Identifying the Sufi notion of *fanâ* with God's claim in this *hadith qodsi* that he in some way commandeers his servants' faculties and bodies when "[he] loves [them]," Jonayd not only provided divine sanction for this particular Sufi conceptual construct, but he also laid the metaphoric foundation for a Sufi poetics of *fanâ* predicated on an antagonistic force relationship. Although the verb used in the original Arabic of this divine saying is a form of the Arabic copula *kâna* ("to be"), Sufis have understood this image of God "being" or "becoming" their faculties and members of their bodies as an overwhelming experience of complete bodily possession and surrender of the individual self and all of its ancillary components (e.g., will, self-control). As Jonayd explicitly says in his account of his own experience of self-annihilation, "an overpowering vision and a refulgent brilliance took possession of me and induced in me a new state of *fanâ*," completely destroying his own self and existence.[17] Later Sufis, such as Rumi, often compared this state of *fanâ* to being drowned in the ocean (i.e., God), where as he explains in detail to his disciples in the *Fihi mâ Fihi*, spiritual aspirants can only truly be said to have achieved self-annihilation when the only movement that emanates from their body is the force of the waves and the ocean currents in which they have drowned.

> It is like a fly: when it flies, its wings move, its head moves, all of its members move. When it is drowned in honey, all its members become the same and do move at all. "Being drowned" is such that he [who has drowned] is not involved, he no longer makes any exertion on himself, he no longer acts, nor moves. He has been drowned. Whatever action comes from him, does not arise from him—it is not his action, [but rather] the action of the water. If he is still thrashing about in the water, then we would not call him "drowned." Or if he is screaming, "Help! I am drowning!" then we would not call that "drowned." Now, people think saying "I am God" (*anâ al-haqq*) is a claim of greatness...[but actually] it is great humility because saying "I am God's servant" affirms two existences: one of his own, and another for God. However, the one who says "I am God" has made himself non-existent, he has thrown his "self" to wind. He who says "I am God" means "I do not exist—everything is he. There is no existence except God; I am completely pure nonexistence—I

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16. Translation of William A. Graham, cited in Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 16.
17. Jonayd cited in: Green, *Sufism*, 37.

121

am nothing." There is more humility in this, [but] people do not understand this. When a man serves God, his servanthood is involved, although it is for God. He sees himself, his own actions, and God. He is not "drowned" in the water. The one who is drowned is one who does not move or act at all, but whose movements are only those of the water.[18]

As Rumi remarks repeatedly throughout this elaborate comparison of *fanâ* to being drowned, the experience of self-annihilation and the resulting transformed state of the mystic is one in which the individual is vanquished and replaced by an alternative animating force. Before being "drowned," the individual moves his or her body, speaks, and acts in various ways through his or her exertion of force on the body—even "serv[ing] God" falls into this pejorative category because it "affirms two existences" (i.e., God and his servants). When the wayfarer on the Sufi path reaches its apotheosis—the moment when God "drowns," "t[akes] possession of," or, as God puts it in the *hadith qodsi*, "loves" the mystic—his or her individual self and the force it formerly exerted on his or her body is supplanted by an external force: God. Unsurprisingly, God—whether portrayed directly (as in the *hadith qodsi*) or represented metaphorically as the ocean, the beloved, sun, etc.—is broadly conceived of in the Sufi imaginary as an overwhelming force. God is a force so strong that he has no problem overcoming the greatest force of them all, the illusory "self" of human beings, the human ego. Dispatching it with ease, seizing control of the mystics' bodies, God (literally) only knows what they will do in this transformed state because he is now the force that animates them. They may even be moved to utter that paradoxically blasphemous and exceedingly "humble" phrase of the paradigmatic self-annihilated mystic, Mansur al-Hallâj, "I am God" (*anâ al-haqq*), as Rumi points out in the preceding quotation.

While these portrayals of self-annihilation differ in certain ways, they are all similar in the sense that God in all of them is conceptualized as an antagonistic force that overcomes an opposing force, i.e., the self of the mystic (the agonist), to adopt the terminology of the linguistics concept of "force dynamics." First developed by Leonard Talmy in his seminal ar-

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18. Rumi (Mowlavi), *Fihi mâ fihi (ed. Sobhâni)*, 40-41. For an alternative English translation (which I have benefited from too), see: Rumi (Mowlavi), *Signs of the Unseen*, 45-46.

ticle, "Force Dynamics in Language and Cognition" (1988),[19] force dynamics, he argues, is a "semantic category" that provides a framework for understanding and describing

> how entities interact with respect to force [in language]. Included here is the exertion of force, resistance to such a force, the overcoming of such a resistance, blockage of the expression of force, removal of such blockage, and the like...includ[ing] 'letting', 'hindering', 'helping', and still further notions not normally considered in the same context.[20]

In force dynamics, there are two primary actors who each exert different levels of force upon one another. The "agonist" is the "focal point of attention" in the linguistic interaction between these two entities. In the beginning, it manifests an "intrinsic force tendency" either to stay at rest or do/continue doing a particular action/motion. The second figure is the "antagonist" who is so named because it is the other entity that interacts with the agonist, either employing or restraining (e.g., "letting") its force in order to influence the intrinsic force tendency of the agonist. While it is easier to see how this model applies to physical imagery (e.g., "the child knocked the glass off the table"), Talmy's argument is actually much broader. He maintains that force dynamics is "one of the preeminent conceptual organizing categories in language" more broadly,[21] and indeed it is

> a fundamental notional system that structures conceptual material pertaining to force interaction in a common way across a linguistic range: the physical, psychological, social, inferential, discourse, and metal-model domains of reference and conception.[22]

Force dynamics, in other words, extend beyond the purely physical to include portrayals of psychological and social interactions as well, which are understood as "psychosocial 'pressures'" (e.g., "he pushed himself to finish writing the book," "X government pressured Y government to change their Z law").[23] Even deeply psychological concepts such as "will"

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19. Talmy, "Force Dynamics in Language and Cognition."
20. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, I:409. It is important to point out that the concept of "force" in the study of "force dynamics" in linguistics should not be confused with the understanding of force in modern physics. Rather, "force" in force dynamics is based on the understanding of force in premodern "folk" or "naive" physics. See: Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, I:410, 455-461.
21. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, I:461.
22. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, I:410. He repeats almost the same assertion on page 461 as well.
23. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, I:409, 412-413.

and "desires" are conceptualized as internal forces that either *push* the individual to engage in certain actions or, conversely, *restrain him or her* from doing so.[24]

In the years since Talmy introduced the concept of force dynamics, it has been studied in great detail and developed by a range of different linguists (e.g., Steven Pinker, Ronald Langacker, Ray Jackendoff, Per Aage Brandt, Eve Sweetser, Mark Johnson, Zoltán Kövecses) who have illuminated the variety of ways in which it influences language and thought more broadly.[25] The details of this voluminous literature are not essential here. What they all have shown is that force dynamics pervades language and structures in fundamental ways both how we conceptualize events and experiences and construct meaning about them. The framework of force dynamics thus is a useful lens for analyzing the imagery of Sufi poetry because it foregrounds the way in which it operates and constructs meaning in each poem while allowing us also to connect it to broader extra-textual dimensions, such as elements of Sufi thought/experience like *fanâ*.

No scholar of Sufism would find the claim that 'Attâr's poem and Rumi's mini-sermon above—or, for that matter, much of the 1,000-year plus history of Sufi literature, poetic and prose alike—revolves around the concept of self-annihilation to be controversial. I want to argue here, however, that not only is the concept of *fanâ* central to Sufi literature but its conceptual—if not experiential—force dynamics have also fundamentally structured the metaphoric world of Sufi poetry on multiple levels. The force of the Beloved and the overwhelming moment/state of *fanâ* animates not only the annihilated Sufi but the entire poetic world of Sufi poetry and, especially, as I will argue below, the *qalandariyât*, which can be understood perhaps as its most extreme type. In other words, the conceptualization of God as a force that acts upon and through his mystical lovers did not just stay restricted to the metaphoric portrayal of self-annihilation itself. To a great degree it structured the most prominent metaphoric representations of God and the symbols and topoi that came to be associated with him and self-annihilation (e.g., wine, drunkenness, transgression, love sick-

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24. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, I:412-413, 430-440.
25. Pinker, *How the Mind Works*; Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion*; de Mulder, "Force Dynamics"; Kövecses, "Metaphor and Emotion."

124

ness), both in terms of the imagery and its underlying metaphoric schemas. All of these poetic elements continually perform force—a force originating in God, but flowing into and overwhelming all who can remove that one force that blocks even God: the individual, illusionary self.

In the remainder of this chapter, I will highlight and analyze poems that exemplify important re-occurring "forces" within the poetic world of the *qalandariyât*, illustrating in greater depth how the force dynamics of *fanâ* have shaped a wide variety of images and motifs in qalandari poetry more broadly. Many of these topoi show up in multiple poems (e.g., wine, beauty, intoxication, love, disruption and transgression)—sometimes playing a minor role, other times the lead. The poems I have selected to discuss in each section below feature one particular image or motif more strongly, illustrating it more clearly or at length. However, none is exclusive to any one poem and indeed all are part of the *qalandariyât's* broader poetic repertoire that each poet marshals in different ways in each poem to achieve different poetic effects. Nor are these "force dynamics" exclusive to qalandari poetry, although it certainly is among the most "forceful" types of poetry for reasons that will become clear below.

II. The Poetics of the Sufi Carnival:
The Force Dynamics of the *Qalandariyât's* Carnivalesque Metaphoric World

Driven to Death: Love, the Self, and the Impossibility of Social Re-Integration

1   At the crack of dawn, our master awoke
        and went from the mosque to the vintner.

2   He went from the circles of the men of religion
        to being within the loops of the (non-Islamic) cincture.

3   He drained a jug of dregs instantly.
        He cried out and he became a dregs-drinker!

4   When the wine of love started taking its effect on him,
        he became disinterested in the good and bad of the world.

5   Stumbling like those drunk from a morning draught,
        he went with a goblet of wine in hand towards the bazaar.

6   An uproar arose amongst the people of Islam.
        How strange! This spiritual master became one of the infidels!

7   Everyone was asking: "How did this loss happen?
        How did such a master become so treacherous?"

125

8   Whoever gave him advice made his chains tighter—
in his heart the advice of people were thorns.

9   The people had pity on him;
around him many were gathering to look upon him.

10   Such a dear master became despised
in the eyes of the people of the world from one drink of wine.

11   Our master had became infamous and quite drunk.
When he sobered up for a bit,

12   he said: "If I have been a rancorous drunk, it is licit,
all must become engaged in this work.

13   It is proper for any who have become brave and a rogue
if they become rambunctious drunks in the city."

14   The people responded: "This beggar should be executed!"
The number of people who were calling for his execution became overwhelming.

15   The master said: "Make haste! Look at this affair!
This Magian beggar has become boastful!

16   May a hundred thousand souls be sacrificed to him whom
the life of sincere ones is given!"

17   He said this and let out a fiery sigh
and then went up the ladder of the gallows.

18   From stranger and fellow city-dweller, man and woman,
rocks were piled upon him from every direction.

19   When he gave up his soul, the master in his heavenly ascent
in truth was initiated into all the secrets.

20   Eternally in the sanctuary of union with the beloved,
he tasted the fruit of the tree of love.

21   The story of the Hallâjian master of our day
expanded the chests of the spiritual elite.

22   Inside the chest and the fields of the heart,
his story became the guide of 'Attâr.[26]

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26. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 193-195 #251. Persian text:

از در مسجد بر خمّار شد	پیر ما وقت سحر بیدار شد
در میان حلقهٔ زنّار شد	از میان حلقهٔ مردان دین
نعرهای دربست و دردیخوار شد	کوزهٔ دردی به یک دم درکشید
از بد و نیک جهان بیزار شد	چون شراب عشق در وی کار کرد
جام می بر کف سوی بازار شد	اوفتانخیزان چو مستان صبوح
کای عجب این پیر از کفّار شد	غلغلی در اهل اسلام اوفتاد
کانچنان پیری چنین غدّار شد	هر کسی میگفت کین خذلان چبود
در دل او پند خلقان خار شد	هرکه پندش داد بندش سخت کرد
گرد او نظّارگی بسیار شد	خلق را رحمت همی آمد بر او

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On a formal level, this poem—which I have classed as a "rogue anecdote" in my typology—is intriguing. It is twenty-two lines long, making it difficult to locate it comfortably within the standard *ghazal-qasideh* formal binary. It is quite similar in length and structure to a twenty-line "rogue anecdote" by Sanâ'i,[27] and both of these poems are examples *par excellence* of the considerable formal variety of early monothematic poems in the pre-classical or pre-technical *ghazal* period. The term "*ghazal*," as it comes to be understood in this later period (ca. post-Sa'di, thirteenth century), is not really applicable. Nor does it fit our conceptions of a *qasideh*.[28] When faced with poems such as these, it is not surprising that many early editors of divan manuscripts chose to organize their poems based on thematic criteria rather than form.

The poem is well structured with regard to its internal organization and segmentation. Its internal patterning and the inter-relation of its segments are not incidental either; these structural features play an important role in the way in which it constructs meaning as a poem.[29] In Table 2 is a basic breakdown of its divisions, which I delve into in detail below.

Table 2: Section Summary of 'Attâr's Rogue Anecdote Poem

Section (Lines)	Subjects
1 (1-5)	Mock-*rahil* from mosque to winehouse, drinks wine of love which causes certain transgressive acts
2 (6-10)	Entrance of drunk master into market bazaar causes uproar among Muslims and provokes certain reactionary responses, including censure

پیش چشم اهل عالم خوار شد
تا از آن مستی دمی هشیار شد
جمله را می‌باید اندر کار شد
هر که او پر دل شد و عیّار شد
دعوی این مدعی بسیار شد
کین گدای گبر دعوی‌دار شد
جان صدیقان برو ایثار شد
وانگهی بر نردبان دار شد
سنگ از هر سو برو انبار شد
در حقیقت محرم اسرار شد
از درخت عشق برخوردار شد
انشراح سینهٔ ابرار شد
قصهٔ او رهبر عطار شد

آنچنان پیر عزیز از یک شراب
پیر رسوا گشته مست افتاده بود
گفت اگر بدمستیی کردم رواست
شاید ار در شهر بد مستی کند
خلق گفتند این گدایی کشتنی است
پیر گفتا کار را باشید هین
صد هزاران جان نثار روی آنک
این بگفت و آتشین آهی بزد
از غریب و شهری و از مرد و زن
پیر در معراج خود چون جان بداد
جاودان اندر حریم وصل دوست
قصهٔ آن پیر حلاج این زمان
در درون سینه و صحرای دل

27. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 666-68.
28. For discussions of the development of the *ghazal*, see: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation"; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal"; Bausani, "Ghazal, ii. in Persian Literature."
29. Meisami has emphasized the importance of structure in Persian poetry in other contexts as well. See: Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 190-243.

127

C (11)	Center: master sobers up enough to respond to normative Muslims
3 (12-16)	Dialogue/debate between elements of sections 1 (winehouse) & 2 (representatives of normative Islamic world, i.e., spiritually uninitiated mass), acceptance of irreconcilability
4 (17-20)	Impossibility of re-integration into normative society performed: driven to death, ascent to heaven (*me'râj*), return to sanctuary of love, i.e., ultimate winehouse
X (21-22)	Cap: 'Attâr steps outside of poetic anecdote, asserts importance of the poem and its enlightening effects, and includes his poetic signature (*takhallos*)

The poem can be divided into four primary sections with a bisecting center line (C) that divides these sections into two larger blocks (1-2, 3-4) and concludes with a "cap" (X) (Meisami's term). With the exception of section 4 (which is only four lines), each section is exactly five lines, and the center line occurs at approximately the mid point of the poem (11) (cap lines are traditionally counted separately). Parenthetically, I would note, though, that it is also possible to read line 11 as the opening line of section 3, thus giving us two equal ten-line larger sections. For reasons that will become clear in my discussion below, I am more inclined towards the former division, but not emphatically so. The general thrust of my analysis below holds true regardless of which of the division schemas one adopts.

Section 1 (1-5) opens with the "master" waking up and heading from the "mosque to the vintner" (mock-*rahil*), which establishes these two institutions as opposing spaces in the poetic geography of this qalandari poem in both a spatial and spiritual sense. There is a physical distance between the two institutions that has to be traversed, but the "waking up" of the master in the first hemistich also gestures towards the fact that these two worlds differ in a more fundamental way, too—a point that will be made abundantly clear in the rest of the poem. In the following lines the master is inducted into the winehouse cult, forsaking the "circles of the men of religion" and binding himself with the cincture of non-Islamic minorities (*zonnâr*) (mock-investiture), and he enthusiastically participates in its solemn rite of imbibing prodigious amounts of the "wine of love" (3-5). The section concludes with him "stumbling like the drunks in the morning," with "a goblet of wine in hand," heading to the city's marketplace. This image transitions us smoothly from section 1 to 2, as the master re-

128

turns from his mock-*rahil* to the bazaar, attempting reintegration into a normative social space.

Section 2 (6-10) is the inverse of section 1. It revolves around the reactions of the "people of Islam" gathered in the marketplace to the master's new, transformed "drunken" self. His appearance immediately engenders an "uproar" among them. As in the translation above, "an uproar" (*gholgholi*) is the first word of this section in the original Persian (6), foregrounding the absolute incompatibility of the winehouse (section 1) and the normative social spaces of the Islamic world (section 2) (here, the bazaar, but one could include others as well, e.g., the mosque of first line). The outraged Muslim crowd, or as he later calls them, "people of the world," now regard him as a "treacherous" "infidel" who, as these words suggest, has invaded Islamdom. They heap opprobrium on him for his "one drink of wine"—the sacred rite of the winehouse world of section 1. The stark contrasts, harsh language, inverted values, and differentiated poetic geography of this section set up and sharpen the conflict between the worlds of section 1 and 2 that the second half of this poem will seek to resolve.

Line eleven marks a turning point in the poem. Whether we consider it as a center line or the opening line of the second ten-line larger section, it shifts the poem in an important way. The master, "infamous and quite drunk," "sober[s] up for a bit" and engages the spiritually ignorant masses who are casting blame upon him. His "sobering up" in the middle of the poem (11) is crucial because only in this state can he converse with the "people of the world." Here the poem pivots as it inverts the "waking" that the master does in line one, which is both a literal and spiritual awakening that leads him into the drunken state that he must "sober up" from in the middle of the poem after he re-traces his mock-*rahil* and ends up back in a normative social space (i.e., the market). In his sober state, he attempts (12-13) to reconcile the winehouse world of section 1 and normative society (represented by the market and its crowd) of section 2, explaining why this "work" and associated behaviors are "licit" for those who have become "rogues" (*'ayyâr*). The people gathered respond only with demands for his execution (14), which he willingly accepts as the wages of the work of the winehouse. Indeed he encourages them, telling them to "make haste!" and taunting them with

129

a prayer that there be many thousand more like him willing to sacrifice themselves for "him whom the life of sincere ones is given."

The last line of section 3 transitions us to the final section (17-20) where he is sacrificed, meeting his end on the "gallows" and ascending (*me'râj*) to the "sanctuary of union with the beloved" where he "part[akes] of the tree of love." The "heavenly ascent" here is really a return to the original primordial state of union (as discussed in the previous section) that he tasted (i.e., "wine of love") in his foray in the winehouse world of section 1. By the end of line twenty, in other words, the master is brought back full circle to the winehouse world. But this time he returns to the eternal, master winehouse, the sanctuary of union, where the tree of love grows and the self has been permanently extinguished by death. The basic patterning of this poem is thus as follows: presentation of conflicting winehouse and normative Islamic worlds in sections 1 and 2, pivot in C to failed attempt at reconciling them in section 3, and finally, expulsion of the rogue master from the normative order through execution in section 4, leading ultimately to a heavenly reconciliation. The patterning of the individual sections adds an additional level of meaning to this complex poem. Its structure embodies the paradoxical deep interrelation and irreconcilability of these worlds.

'Attâr concludes the poem with a cap (21-22) in which he steps outside of the poetic anecdote (1-20) and discusses the poem itself. He tells us that this poem has presented the "story" (*qesseh*) of the "Hallâjian master" of his day and, passed among the "spiritual elite," it "became the guide of 'Attâr." The reference to Hallâj in the closing lines—again, the self-annihilated mystic *par excellence* in the Sufi imaginary—makes explicit what a informed reader would have already intuited: the figure of the master and his shocking behavior should be understood as resulting from his self-annihilated state (*fanâ*). God is in control of him like the servant in the *hadith qodsi* mentioned by Jonayd or the drowned man in Rumi's story. This poem, in fact, is a performance of *fanâ* in which *God is the operative force*—a point I will return to momentarily.

The concluding image of the poem—or, more specifically, the story (*qesseh*) within it—personified as the spiritual "guide" or "leader" (*rahbar*) of 'Attâr is also significant for a

130

number of reasons. At a basic level, his assertion that one of his "guides" was a "story" about a Hallâjian master will certainly be of interest to scholars of 'Attâr—among whom there has been a longstanding debate about the poet's connection or lack thereof to a particular Sufi master or order.[30] However, more interesting for my purposes in this study is the portrayal of the poem as a force that "expands" the chest of the "spiritual elite" in a literal, affective, and spiritual sense simultaneously. The term 'Attâr uses in these lines, "*ensherâh*," is rich in meaning. It can denote literal expansion of the chest (i.e., as the result of breathing in air during the recitation of the poem) and metaphorically be understood as "cheerfulness." It can be read as an allusion to God's "expansion" of the chests of Mohammad and other chosen ones in the Qur'an (6:125 and 94:1), which uses the first form of the same Arabic root as *ensherâh*.[31] In the context of this poem, its notion of "expansion" also almost certainly gestures toward the experience of "spiritual expansion" (*bast*) in Sufi thought: an experiential state induced by God in which the aspirant is granted joy and spiritual insight. The poetic anecdote plays this multifaceted role, 'Attâr informs us, effecting "expansion" of the "chests" and "heart[s]" of the spiritual elite, and even "lead[ing]" them. The poem is not just any force; it is implicitly compared here in its ability to produce "expansion" in its audience members to the greatest force there is (or, rather, the force behind all forces): God. This is a staggering claim for the power of poetry, but it is important to point out too that 'Attâr specifies that it only has this effect on the "spiritual elite" (line 21). Only they can experience its power because they have rid themselves of their selves (or are on the path to this goal) and therefore

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30. See Austin O'Malley's overview of this debate in: O'Malley, "Poetry and Pedagogy."

31. The text of the Qur'anic passages are as follows:

فَمَنْ يُرِدِ اللّٰهُ أَنْ يَهْدِيَهُ يَشْرَحْ صَدْرَهُ لِلْإِسْلَامِ ۖ وَمَنْ يُرِدْ أَنْ يُضِلَّهُ يَجْعَلْ صَدْرَهُ ضَيِّقًا حَرَجًا كَأَنَّمَا يَصَّعَّدُ فِي السَّمَاءِ ۚ كَذَٰلِكَ يَجْعَلُ اللّٰهُ الرِّجْسَ عَلَى الَّذِينَ لَا يُؤْمِنُونَ

"Thus God guides whomsoever He please by opening wide his breast to surrender; and straitens the breasts of those He allows to go astray, (who feel suffocated) as if they were ascending the skies. Thus will God punish those who do not believe." (6:125)

أَلَمْ نَشْرَحْ لَكَ صَدْرَكَ

"Have we not opened up your [Mohammad] breast" (94:1)

Translation and Arabic text from: *Al-Qur'ān*.

can be animated ("expanded") by the force of God/the poem. The closing image of the poem as a force acting upon the "spiritual elite" is a fitting conclusion to a poem that relates the story of the self-annihilation of a "Hallâjian master," his resulting behavior, and the reactions it provokes in a profoundly "self-ish" world.[32] It also is only the final "forceful" image of a poem replete with force dynamics.

The poem opens with the master's mock-*rahil* to the vintner's home and participation in the winehouse rites of imbibing wine and strapping on the cincture. Wine is undoubtedly the main player in the poem. It is the reason for the winehouse itself, and its effects ultimately lead to the execution of the master. I will discuss its variegated manifestations at length both in this poem and others below. But there is a step that proceeds the introduction of the wine. The drinking of the Sufi's spiritual wine and the experience of the self-dissolution that it engenders presuppose a decision on the part of the Sufi to engage in this action—that is, in the first instance, to go, as the master does in the opening lines (1-2), from the mosque to the winehouse. While the decision to engage in a particular action or go to a place where that behavior is possible seems almost too simple to merit mentioning, it is actually consequential in terms of force dynamics and draws our attention to a crucial point for the discussion of the poetics of *fanâ*: the existence of the individual's will and volition. In the state of self-annihilation the individual and his (self) will is replaced by God. God becomes the animating force of his body, as we saw earlier. Prior to this state of *fanâ*, however, the animating force of the mystic's body is the self and he must act upon his own body in physical, psychological, and spiritual ways in order to bring himself to the winehouse, even to make possible the consumption of the self-destroying wine introduced in line 3.

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32. 'Attâr's image here of the poem effecting a powerful transformation in the spiritually elite audience members is a reflection of a broader understanding in medieval Persian literature of poetry as powerful force. This broadly Ibn Sinian view of poetry as a force can seen clearly in writers as diverse as Nezâmi 'Aruzi, Mohammad al-Ghazâli, 'Attâr, Nasir al-Din Tusi, and Shams-e Qays. Nezâmi 'Aruzi in his *Chahâr Maqâleh* (c. 1157), for example, maintains that poetry "through 'making [the reader] imagine' (*ihâm*, reading this word in its literal meaning)...excites/stirs/creates/evokes" (*bar angizad*) emotions in the reader and "causes/brings about great events." See: 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahâr maqâleh va ta'liqât*, 123. Also see remainder of 'Aruzi's chapter on poetry for stories of poetry's impact on its listeners/readers: 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahâr maqâleh va ta'liqât*, 123-50. For more on this understanding of the power of poetry in the medieval Persianate world, see: Bürgel, *The Feather of Simurgh*; Lewisohn, "The Sacred Music of Islam"; Landau, "Nasīr al-Dīn Tūsī and Poetic Imagination in the Arabic and Persian Philosophical Tradition," 21ff; O'Malley, "Poetry and Pedagogy."

132

This point is important because it is easy to underestimate the latent force dynamics of imagery such as the opening lines of the poem. These lines do not contain the more direct "cause and effect" type of force imagery that we see in much of the poem, but the decision of the master to abandon the mosque and head for the winehouse implicitly expresses something equally profound: we must paradoxically, through our own actions, dispatch our will, or at least maneuver ourselves in a physical, psychological, and/or spiritual sense into a space (physical and metaphoric) where God can eliminate our selves—the source of our volition that moved us there in the first place. The movement of the body—indeed, any physical entity—is never neutral in terms of force dynamics. All "sentient entit[ies]" in this framework are understood according to Talmy to be "essentially inert, requiring *animation* by the psychological aspect. By itself, the body lacks an intrinsic force tendency...It is the pysche that imbues the body with force properties—that is, animates it."[33] Any movement is the result of some force, although sometimes its origin requires a bit of linguistic excavation work. The source of the actions and movements of imagery in Sufi poetry thus can be read as a barometer of or index for the spiritual state of the mystic and those surrounding him or her. The animation of the imaginal entities in the poem—to follow Talmy's terminology—are not just linguistic adornments, but rather a performance of different types of force, and their origin and nature carry significant implications for the understanding of the poem as a meaning event.

From this perspective, the poem's opening lines set up the force transfer that occurs in the third line. The master's volitional force—perhaps supplemented by his spiritual awakening in line 1—moves him from the mosque and its "circles of men of religion" to the winehouse and its "loops of the (non-Islamic) cincture" where he can "drain a jug of dregs." The introduction of wine into his body is, however, an inflection point in the poem. It produces a transformation in the force dynamics of the body of the poem that mirrors the transformation of the force dynamics in the intoxicating moments of *fanâ*. No longer does the will of the

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33. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, I:435.

master animate his body and the poem's imagery; rather, now, as the "wine of love start[s] taking its effect on him" (4), his rational self begins loosing control of his body as it engages in increasingly carnivalesque inversions of normative social behavior and belief throughout the remainder of the poem. The fusion of the emotion of "love" with the intoxicating substance of "wine" in the antagonistic force entity of the poem is noteworthy on several levels. Within the context of the poem, it functions to connect the wine and the winehouse of the opening section with the "tree of love" in the "sanctuary of union" where the master ends up after the ultimate self-annihilating experience of being executed (*à la* Hallâj) (20). It thus establishes a parallelism at both the poetic and symbolic levels: the worldly winehouse where he finds the self-dissolving "wine of love" in the beginning of the poem is paralleled by the ultimate place of self-dissolution, the "sanctuary of union" where the "tree of love" originates. The winehouse, in this sense, can be read as a microcosm or earthly analogue for the heaven sanctuary where self-annihilation is inescapable.[34] It also identifies the true source of the force of these antagonistic entities: both wine and love, fused in this image, have their origin in God, and both—not surprisingly—draw heavily on force dynamics in their metaphoric configurations, as we will see repeatedly below.[35] They can in many cases be understood as metonymic, even ontological, force vectors of God.

The action of drinking the wine in line 3 produces an immediate change in the master's state, which is expressed psychosocially in his "bec[oming] disinterested in the good and bad of the world" and physically in his action of "cry[ing] out" and "stumbling like those drunk from a morning draught" towards the bazaar. Interestingly, the hemistich referenced in this latter image also sonically and orthographically performs the undulation of the figure of the drunk master "falling and getting up" (as it literally reads in Persian) through the rapid alternation of long and short vowels (orthographically *alefs* ا stand straight up while the other vowels *u* و and *i* ی remain at the text line or dip below it) (full line: *uftân-khizân cho mastân-*

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34. For poems as analogs and microcosms, see: Meisami, "The Grand Design"; Meisami, "Poetic Microcosms."

35. For more on emotion and its grounding in the EMOTION IS A FORCE superordinate metaphor, see: Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion*; Kövecses, "Metaphor and Emotion."

134

e sabuh / اوفتانخیزان چو مستان چو صبوح). The antagonistic force here, the "wine of love" as it is termed in line 4, is an external substance that enters the master's body as a result of his own actions, but then begins "taking its effect on him," producing these "out of control" actions and implicitly indicating that it has supplanted his rational, worldly self as the prime mover of his body and mind. The master's lack of agency in this interaction is highlighted in the active and passive verbs attributed to these two figures in line 4. While the wine "tak[es] its effect on him" (lit. "works on him"/*dar vey kâr kard*), he can only "bec[ome]" (*shod*) something—a point which other passive uses of the "poetic refrain" (*radif*) *shod* referring to him emphasize as well (e.g., 3, 6-7, 10, 15, 19-20).[36] The transfer of "self control"—that is, control of the force to make one's body move, speak, and act in the world—occurs as the intoxicating effects slowly commandeer his senses. Although it is not as explicitly stated here as in other poems, his loss lucid self-awareness is clear by line 11, since he must "sober up" at this central point in the poem in order to address the crowd in a rational way that they will understand.

While these physical (imaginal) manifestations of the force of intoxication are an important and common poetic means of expressing the intensity of *fanâ*, they are actually only secondary effects. The movement of the body, as discussed above, is always the product of a force—whether internal or external—and so its actions are indicative of its position in a field of conflicting force tendencies. In the Sufi worldview, the intrinsic force tendency of unawake "people of the world" is to engage in the "ways of the world." Their actions are guided by their selves—both intellect (*'aql*) and lower, carnal self (*nafs*)—and their worldly logic. In contrast, the self-annihilated Sufi lover is compelled by God, often through media such as wine and love, to engage in behaviors that directly attack the logic of the self and its worldly constructs (including superficial modes of religious piety, normative social and political institutions, and legal frameworks). This is the role of rogues in the literary-poetic imagination of Persian Sufi literature. Their self-annihilation is not intended only to be a self-transformation;

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36. I would like to thank Paul Losensky for drawing my attention to this point. For more on the "poetic refrain" (*radif*) in the Persian tradition, see: Lewis, "The Rise and Fall of a Persian Refrain"; Losensky, "'Demand, Ask, Seek'."

they have a social role to play as well. They become another medium for channeling God's "force" into the world. Their actions are deconstructive performances of the illusionary nature of the world, and they are meant to affect (read: exert force on) their audience members and thereby the world as whole.[37]

This social dimension is reflected in this poem in the form of a second transfer of force, which occurs appropriately at the transition point between the first two sections. The first section concludes with the master "stumbling," overcome by the intoxicating effects of wine, "with a goblet of wine in hand towards the bazaar." The reaction to his appearance in the bazaar (a normative social space) is immediate and fierce: he throws all of the "people of Islam" in the market into an "uproar." Indeed, this is the first word of the section—underlining, as I mentioned previously, the irreconcilability of these two force entities—and the original Persian "*gholghol*" onomatopoeically performs the meaning as well. The master is the cause of this imaginal and textual-sonic strife, and he is thus fittingly identified as "one of the infidels." However, in the end, he is still only conceptualized as a proximate cause or embodiment of the force of wine (which, as we learn later, is itself also still one remove from the ultimate causal force). The closing lines of this section return to the image of wine, reminding us that this all happened "from [i.e., due to] one drink of wine"—a point emphasized in the following center line (11) as well.

Important also to note is that the "people of Islam," the "people of the world," in this section are not just passive entities in this encounter. Although the emotive force of the master's shocking transformation and transgressive behavior initially overpowers their self-control as they erupt into a furor (a prototypical image predicated on the EMOTION IS A FORCE superordinate metaphor), they respond too with a type of psychosocial force. They pepper him with "advice" (*pand*)—presumably counseling him to change his behavior—which is an argumentative exertion of force that he naturally perceives as painful "chains" and "thorns" digging into his carnivalized body (8). His experience of their words as forces

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37. For a narrative rendition of the transformative effects of the carnivalesque performance on audience members, see the discussion of 'Erâqi's dramatic conversion to the qalandar path in chapter four.

acting upon him corroborates Talmy's view in which argumentation is portrayed in force dynamic terms,[38] and it echoes 'Attâr's concluding image of his poem as a force acting upon the "spiritual elite." In this understanding of language, words and texts are not just abstractions; they are force projections that seek to transform and move their audience in various ways. This is a much more deeply embodied conception of language and meaning production than the symbolist perspective allows.[39]

The argumentative contestation between the master and the "people of Islam"/"people of the world" that begins in section two continues in section three (12-16). The psychosocial force of the townspeople's warnings cannot overwhelm the wine-fortified master. After "sober[ing] up for a bit" in the center line, he responds, *not* with another shocking carnivalesque bodily performance as in the first section, but rather with argumentative force. His response is parallel to the "advice" of the townspeople in a formal sense (verbal persuasion), but its content is mock-*pand*: he defends his drunkenness as "proper for any who have become brave and a rogue ('*ayyâr*)." He even proselytizes a bit, exhorting all to "become engaged in this work" (12-13). As expected from this audience, it is made abundantly clear in line 14 that his arguments have not moved this crowd at all—in fact, his slightly more "sober" attempt at persuasion seems to have only inflamed them further. They go from having "pity on him" and "despis[ing]" him in the second section to overwhelmingly calling for his "execution" by the end of the third.

The calls to execute the master and his acceptance of this sentence mark the shift to the fourth section of the poem as well as another transformation in the force dynamics. The psychosocial force of the arguments between the master and townspeople that play out in sections 2-3 ultimately end in a stalemate that must be resolved by other means in the fourth section. The move in the fourth section is to physical force, as the "people of Islam/the world" string him up on the gallows, and "stranger and fellow city-dweller, man and woman" alike all pelt him with "rocks...from every direction." The intense physicality of the force in this

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38. For Talmy's discussion of force dynamics in argumentation, see: Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, 452-54.
39. This is a project that I plan to take up in the revised and expanded version of the present study.

137

image is obvious, and it parallels in inverted fashion the intensity of the master's physical performance of drunkenness in the first section. From the perspective of the "people of Islam/the world," the master represents a dangerous, rogue, even "infidel" force (6) that threatens the foundations of normative Islamic society if not eliminated in one way or another. Since their arguments proved ineffective in changing his position, they determine that execution—that final elimination of an animated body—is the only force powerful enough to overcome the master's wine-fueled obstinacy.

The effect of the execution image in the fourth section is augmented by the master's enthusiastic embrace of it. He does not just accept it; he spurs the crowd on, telling them to "make haste." The image here of the master suddenly giving up the fight he has carried on valiantly throughout the poetic anecdote and enthusiastically accepting his fate at the hands of this crowd of "people of Islam/the world" seems strange at first because the contestation between the two force entities that has structured the poem is suddenly ripped out. The executioners, of course, believe they have triumphed in their battle with this rogue force, but as the remainder of the poem makes clear, their victory is an illusion. His paradoxical embrace of this death sentence is itself his final bodily riposte to their resort to physical force *and* his ultimate victory over them. In his embrace of bodily death, he performs *fanâ* in dramatic fashion on a public stage which negatively mirrors his earlier antinomian actions. His lack of resistance (read: lack of exertion of force) to the townspeople's push to execute him demonstrates the same lack of self that his earlier behavior reflected and leads back to the same point of origin: the experience of *fanâ*. He comes full circle in the poem: the overpowering experience of wine-fueled *fanâ* in the winehouse (section 1) impels him to engage in a range of antinomian and paradoxical behaviors (sections 2-3), including accepting death, which returns him to that eternal winehouse in the sky, the "sanctuary of union with the beloved" where the "tree of love" grows and from which the "wine of love" flows (section 4).

The play of forces in this long, narrative-heavy poem reveals something important about the Sufi carnival of selflessness and the radical—in both senses of the term—force that emanates from it: this force is irreconcilable with society in a spiritual sense. It does not rec-

138

ognize the legitimacy of normative social frameworks (e.g., religious and legal proscriptions, norms of comportment) because they operate to control the actions and selves of society that ultimately are themselves illusionary. Its poetics performs this inescapable contestation at both the formal and imaginal levels. But in the end, the ultimate paradox is this: earthly forces can only control the *fanâ*-possessed body by destroying it; however, in destroying the body, they enable the ultimate re-integration of the self in the eternal selflessness to which we all—them included—will return at death. Their force is powerless to challenge the ultimate force of God that flows through the servants that "he loves."

The Self Transformed: Defeat, Intoxication, and Disruption

In Sufism, death is conceived of as an ultimate release from the "veil" of the phenomenal world and joyous re-union with the divine Beloved. Some Sufis even commemorate the anniversary of a Sufi saint's death as their "wedding day" ('*ors*) with God. The story of the execution of the Sufi martyr of love, Hallâj, at the hands of spiritually uninitiated "people of the world" (alluded to in the poem above) certainly exerted a powerful force on the Sufi imaginary. It is an extreme example, though, that illustrates the extraordinary power of the experience of *fanâ* and functions as an object lesson on the difficulties—if not impossibility—of re-integration into normative society and modes of piety after this experience.

Death in the bodily sense, however, is not a primary focus of Sufi poetry. More common in the voluminous archives of Sufi poetry are poems that celebrate the radical transformation engendered by the experience of self-annihilation in the life of the mystic. We saw this perspective previewed above in the first two sections of 'Attâr's poem where the force of God's wine drove the master to engage in numerous sacrilegious and scandalous behaviors. In this heterotopic poetic space, Sufis do not flee earthly life in pursuit of bodily death, but rather they disrupt normative society and institutions that they can no longer re-integrate into. They destabilize the purportedly pious foundations of social order and transgress its boundaries, revealing them all to be fundamentally flawed earthly constructs. These actions simultaneously are engendered by and performances of a certain type of death. But this death is the "death before death" of *fanâ*: the death of the individual psychosocial "self" that is construct-

139

ed by society and polices the body in accordance with its norms and proprieties. Earthly death, as we saw in the preceding poem, may provide permanent entrance to the eternal Sufi carnival in the "sanctuary of union" and thus ultimate release from the psychosocial self, but the more common focus in Sufi poetry on bringing the Sufi carnival to earthly life suggests that these forms of carnivalesque poetry are much more interested in preparing the Sufi aspirant for that "death [of the psychosocial self] before [bodily] death." They do not disengage from earthly life so much as show how it must be transformed through the revolutionary spiritual power of self-annihilation experienced in mystical union.

The poems that I will treat in the second half of this chapter revolve in different ways around the transformed life that the mystics who die before (bodily) death are compelled to lead.[40] Despite the name, these figures are certainly not zombie-like and they do not inspire dark dirges for the transient world or exhortations to repent from its evils *à la* religious-homiletic poetry. Indeed, nowhere is Persian poetry more alive and lively than when celebrating them and their carnivalesque and anacreontic adventures with their tavern-mates and beloveds. The highly charged and overflowing nature of this poetry is not accidental; it is integral to the way it conveys meaning. It does not just describe or represent the path to, moment of, and self-annihilated (inter-)subjectivity resulting from mystical union. It textually performs this self transformation in the force dynamics of its imagery and thereby, as 'Attâr suggests above, acts as a pedagogical catalyst for the "spiritual elite" among its audiences—a point to which I will return in the conclusion of this chapter.

The qalandari poems that could be discussed under the rubric of "the self transformed" are quite numerous. While many of the symbols and topoi they use are shared to varying degrees, I discuss them here in three sections, each treating one of the particularly prominent motifs in this body of poetry: namely, love/beloved, wine/intoxication, and disruption/destruction. Admittedly, this division is only a practical measure, however; as the reader will see, variations on all of these symbols appear in different degrees in most of these

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40. As Karamustafa reminds us, "[p]assing away from consciousness of earthly existence, however, is not total annihilation of the individual since even after *fanā'*, the self survives in a transformed fashion." See: Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 17.

poems.

The Self, Defeated:
The Power of Love/Beloved and Elimination of the Divided Self

The traditional Sufi conception of the human psyche understands there to be multiple psychological selves and mental forces within each person that often come into conflict over the actions they want the body to perform. Sufi psychological schemas can get quite complicated, and develop historically in different ways, but they are united in their portrayal of the human body as a site for internal contestation between different psychological, mental, and spiritual forces. The most common of these are the "lower self/ego" (*nafs*), intellect/wisdom (*'aql/kherad*), and "spirit/soul" (*ruh/jân*), the last of which is ensconced in the heart and connected to the divine. These psychological entities are also frequently re-enforced by various auxiliary forces that act upon the body and aid one or the other internal force. The opening lines of 'Erâqi's poem below illustrate this point well:

1   Whoever had a goblet fall into his hands
     fell to the level of the libertines, rascals, and wine-worshippers.

2   Whoever had a drink fall into his hands
     lost his heart, religion, and wisdom.

3   Whoever saw the intoxicating eyes of the beloved
     fell drunk although he did not taste any wine,

4   and when the heart became caught in his locks,
     it fell, trapped like a fish in a net.

5   The army of love again rushed out to attack,
     and the hearts of the lovers were defeated.[41]

The full poem is a ten-line *ghazal* that features a prominent center line (5) surrounded by two four-line sections (1-4, 6-9) and a concluding signature (*takhallus*) cap (10). The "poetic refrain" (*radif*) of "fell" (*oftâd*)—which is the final word in each Persian line—repeatedly draws the audience's attention to the fundamental point of the poem: truly "falling" in love

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41. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 77-78. Persian text:

رند و قلاش و می‌پرست افتاد	هر کرا جام می بدست افتاد
هر که را جرعه‌ای بدست افتاد	دل و دین و خرد زدست بداد
ناچشیده شراب مست افتاد	چشم میگون یار هر که بدید
ماهی‌آسا میان شست افتاد	وانک دل بست در سر زلفش
قلب عشّاق را شکست افتاد	لشکر عشق باز بیرون تاخت

141

with the Beloved is experienced *à la fanâ* as an uncontrollable force acting upon the lover. Whether one is "falling" or being "fallen upon," the event is conceptualized as an experience of force. One typically does not fall on purpose; rather, something external (e.g., another body, rock) or internal (e.g., drunkenness, sickness) causes one to fall by overcoming the body's intrinsic force tendency to continue standing, walking, etc. Similarly, when something falls on another, it initiates a force transfer. Whether the "falling" force can overcome the object it falls upon and initiate a transformation in that entity depends on the relative strength of its forces. But it is a force interaction nonetheless. In the first section, the "falling" is done by a "goblet [of wine]" (1) and a "drink [of wine]" (2) which fall into the hands of the lover. In both cases, these vessels of wine initiate dramatic changes in this figure. Line 1 portrays it knocking the figure down in terms of social rank by causing him to fall "to the level of libertines, rascals, and wine-worshippers." Line 2 moves inward and shows the wine dispatching the internal forces of the lover's "heart, religion, and wisdom." The entities themselves are constituent components of the psychosocial self that guides the body to act in various ways. The cases of "religion" and "wisdom" are more clear because here they are to be understood as mental constructs that serve as psychosocial extensions of normative society which push the lover to constrain his behavior and comport himself in socially and religiously acceptable ways. Even the "heart" is an obstacle that must be overcome by or given over to the control of the Beloved—as we see in line 5. Nothing can remain in the hands of the self-annihilated lover.

The following two lines invert the doer of the action of falling, but the performance of force does not abate. The lover is now not being "fallen upon" by another entity, but rather is forced to fall as a result of the Beloved. In line 3 it is the amorous intoxication caused by the sight of the Beloved's eyes that knocks the lover off his balance, and in line 4 it is the locks of the beloved that ensnare the lover's heart, causing him to "f[all], trapped like a fish in the net." The image of the net and its entrapment of the lover's heart captures both the initial exertion of force necessary to seize the heart and the sustained force required to restrain it from fleeing its capture and imminent death, as the net does in the case of fish. This evocative im-

142

age of the heart, thrashing about in the net of the Beloved's tresses, struggling against the death it knows awaits it, concludes the first section of this poem and transitions to its climax in the center line (5). Here, the "army of love" comes "rush[ing] out to attack" and slaughters the hearts of the lovers—the final remnant of their psychosocial selves—in an awe-inspiring and decisive finale to the series of events that *befell* the lover(s) in the first section.

The second half of the poem (6-10) shifts rather dramatically from the rich and intense imagery of the first half to a more didactic treatment of the topic.

6   The lover that let go of the world
       quickly was brought near to his beloved.

7   Whoever did not devalue the world,
       his spiritual fortitude fell terribly low.

8   Whoever has the wine of "am I not" in his head
       does not have patience for existence,

9   and whoever has not gotten rid of his self,
       his feet were barred from the path of love.

10   Beware, 'Erâqi! Cut yourself from existence—
       Your share of existence happens to be non-existence.[42]

The poem, as the second half makes quite explicit, treats the "path of love" (9) and especially its *sine qua non*: self-annihilation. Both sections of the poem revolve around this concept, but they elaborate it in very different ways. The first section imaginally performs the wild and drunken experience of self-annihilation that 'Erâqi then discusses in a more sober, even homiletic, mode in the second half. The struggles in the first section between the forces of love (e.g., wine, the beloved, tresses) and its obstacles (e.g., the presumably high social status of the lover, "heart, religion,...wisdom," and normal consciousness) are battles in the war over control of the lover, as line 5 makes clear in its memorable image of the "army of love" marching out to deliver the final blow. Despite the differences between these images, the play

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42. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 77-78. Persian text:

زودِ با دوستش نشست افتاد	عاشقی کز سر جهان برخاست
همّت او عظیم پست افتاد	هر که پا بر سر جهان ننهاد
در سرش بادهٔ الست افتاد	سر جان و جهان ندارد آنک
در رهِ عشق پای بست افتاد	وانکه از دستِ خود خلاص نیافت
نیستی بهرهات ز هست افتاد	هان عراقی، ببُر ز هستی خویش

143

of force dynamics in each shares a common force pattern: it is the lover and the constituent elements of his inherent psychosocial self that are acted upon and ultimately overcome by stronger external forces related to the Beloved/love. These "self-ish," worldly elements are all obstacles that must be defeated and dispatched in order for the lover to "rid" himself of his self and "cut" himself "from existence" (9-10)—i.e., to be self-annihilated on the "path of love" (8-10). To adapt Meisami slightly, the imagery of the first section models the argument of the second,[43] and this parallelism is not only conceptual or symbolic. The force dynamics of the concept of *fanâ* treated in the second section are metaphorically (*majâzi*) embodied and performed in the imagery of the first section.

'Erâqi's poem reflects Sufi psychology's broader understanding of the body as a site of contestation for multiple forces, both internal and external. This notion dovetails well with the concept of the "divided self" in force dynamics literature, which similarly sees each movement of a body—even mental transformations—as the result of a psychosocial force prevailing over the individual's psyche and thus moving the body to act in the manner it desires.[44] There is an important difference, however, in the way in which proponents of force dynamics and Sufi psychology understand the self, the body, and the range of force dynamic scenarios available to them. Whereas force dynamics presuppose a psyche that is ultimately moved to act in various ways, Sufi psychology reaches its zenith not in one internal self (or metonymic figuration of a self) emerging victorious and bringing the body under its control, but rather in the complete dissolution of the concept of self and return to a divine inter-subjectivity in which there is only one force animating the whole universe and all of its manifested forms. It is not just the "divided self" that must be overcome by a particular psychosocial force; it is the self *itself* that must be vanquished by the "army of love," as 'Erâqi says, and replaced.

The replacement of the self, the "I" of the poet-lover, with the force of this divine inter-subjectivity is performed in Sufi poetry in a variety of ways. Often it is the powerful and

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43. For Meisami's discussion of "imagery as argument," see: Meisami, "Imagery as an Argument."
44. Talmy, *Toward a Cognitive Semantics*, I:431-435.

144

shocking imagery that does this poetic work, as we have seen above. But not always. The next poem by Sanâ'i is notable not so much for its imagery, but rather the way the entire poem is structured on the incessant juxtaposition of the radically different actions, aims, and inclinations associated with the pre- and post-self-annihilated Sufi who is now ruled by the personification of divine inter-subjectivity, "Love" (1).

1   Since I made my *qibla* the winehouse—how can I practice pious devotion?
        Love became king over me—how can I act as king?

2   The *Ka'ba* of my friend is the dilapidated winehouse and putting on the pilgrim's
             vestments is gambling.
        I have chosen this religion/path—how can I practice pious devotion?

3   Since I have been involved with wine, I have less inclination towards wind.
        I have become heavenly—how can I spin in the wind as a mill?

4   Your love works only with the destitute—
        since on its [love's] path I do not have the blessing of poverty—how can I be
             poor?

5   He [Love] wants me to be a rascal—I want the same as he.
        He is my lord—how can I be lord over him?

6   I have never begged at his door for soul or wisdom.
        How can I beg for worldly things like dust, wind, water, and fire?

7   I desire what he desires. Since in his harvest grounds
        I am less than straw, how can I be lyngourion?[45]

8   Since I am a slower swimmer than straw floating on top of the ocean,
        how can I be acquainted with the pearls in the depths of the ocean?

9   He who has a face of beauty is nothing but faithful.
        How can I who have love in my heart be unfaithful?

10   Love wants swiftness from me, but I am at work on matters of the heart—
        how can I be swift until I have abandoned the heart?

11   I say to wisdom: "Why do you tell me to escape from wine?"
        It says to me: "How can I claim to be clean and pure before the pure souls (if I
             don't)?"

12   Since I am aware that the beautiful youths are in the dilapidated winehouse,
        how can I guide the ascetics to any place save there?

13   Having been drunk with the Magian beauties in the winehouse,
        how can I engage in hypocritical asceticism with the disgraced people of
             religion?

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45. Lyngourion (or lyncurium or tourmaline) is a form of amber that is capable of producing/holding an electrostatic charge and thus can attract straw.

14   Since he always loves me more without Sanâ'i,
        how can I rid myself of Sanâ'i except through wine?

15   He is intent on casting Sanâ'i to the ground.
        How can I strive to make Sanâ'i heavenly?

16   My nature has an imprint from him, so it tells me: "Don't desire!"
        How can I practice poverty in order to get his provisions?

17   I was able to separate myself from the whole world,
        but how can I be helpless to separate myself from separation?[46]

The poem is a seventeen-line rogue ode that presents in kaleidoscopic fashion the transformations experienced by the conquered, selfless lover. While it lacks the clearly identifiable internal segmentation of the other poems discussed above, the repetition of its poetic refrain (*radif*) "how can I..." (*chun konam*) at the end of each line structures it in a different manner. The hemistichs are not parts of larger segments, but rather present in rapid a series of contrasts the utter incompatibility of two different Sanâ'is: Sanâ'i before and after "Love became king over [him]," as the first line tells us.

The portrayal of Love as a King who takes control of his subject, Sanâ'i, is not incidental. It simultaneously harkens back to the *hadith qodsi* discussed above and also reveals something important about the state of the self-annihilated mystic's internal psychosocial force relations. God and his act of loving his servant in the *hadith qodsi* are fused and personified in the image of King Love. Like the servant in that saying, the poet-subject in Sanâ'i's

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46. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 393-94. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

قبله چون میخانه کردم پارسایی چون کنم   عشق بر من پادشا شد پادشایی چون کنم
کعبه یارم خراباتست و احرامش قمار   من همان مذهب گرفتم پارسایی چون کنم
من چو گرد باده گشتم کم گرایم گرد باد   آسمانی کرده باشم آسیایی چون کنم
عشق تو با مفلسان سازد چو من در راه او   برگ بی‌برگی ندارم بی‌نوایی چون کنم
او مرا قلاش خواهد من همان خواهم که او   او خدای من بر او من کدخدایی چون کنم
کدیهٔ جان و خرد هرگز نکرده بر درش   خاک و باد و آب و آتش را گدایی چون کنم
من چنان خواهم که او خواهد چو در خرمنگهش   از کهی گر کمتر آیم کهربایی چون کنم
بر سر دریا چو از کاهی کمم در آشنا   با گهر در قعر دریا آشنایی چون کنم
او که بر رخ حسن دارد جز وفاکاریش نیست   من که در دل عشق دارم بی‌وفایی چون کنم
بادپایی خواهد از من عشق و من در کار دل   دست تا از دل نشویم بادپایی چون کنم
با خرد گویم که از می چون گریزی گویدم   پیش روح پاک دعوی روشنایی چون کنم
شاهدان چون در خراباتند من زان آگهم   زاهدان را جز بدانجا رهنمایی چون کنم
با نکورویان گبران بوده در میخانه مست   با سیه‌رویان دین زهد ریایی چون کنم
چون مرا او بی سنایی دوستر دارد همی   جز به سعیِ باده خودَ را بی‌سنایی چون کنم
او بر آن تا مر سنایی را به خاک اندر کشد   من برآنم تا سنایی را سمایی چون کنم
طبع من ز او طبع دارد پس مرا گوید مخواه   من ز بهر برگشان این بینوایی چون کنم
از همه عالم جدا گشتن توانستم ولیک   عاجزم تا از جدایی خود جدایی چون کنم

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146

poem no longer maintains control of himself. However, in this poem, the focus is not so much on control of the physical body (e.g., ears, eyes, hand, foot), but rather on control of Sanâ'i's will. Sanâ'i only "desire[s] what It [Love] desire[s]" (7)—a necessity for the self-annihilated Sufi as Love itself sharply reminds Sanâ'i near the end of the poem ("Don't desire!" 16). Ultimately, the self and its will (a psychological force) are inseparable, and any trace of the latter will be an insurmountable obstacle on the path to *fanâ*. Until you surrender your subjective sovereignty, you will not be a self-annihilated subject of King Love, as 'Erâqi says in another qalandari poem:

> If you want to attain such success [i.e., the drunken self-dissolution obtained only
> through the cupbearer in the rogue's winehouse],
> you must strive to abandon your own aims and desires.

> [For] when you have forsaken your own will,
> all you desire will be in your embrace.[47]

Sanâ'i's poem revolves around his internal battle with and implied renunciation of an entire army of earthly psychosocial forces (e.g., personal desires, normative frameworks of religion and society, wisdom, material attachments) which sought to move his illusionary self to act in ways contrary to the will of King Love. They are symbols, but they are also embodiments of the very real constituent forces of the divided self that exert considerable psychosocial force on individuals in real life. A Sufi on the path of self-annihilation must, as Sanâ'i makes clear, reject all of these—a point that he drives home to the audience by highlighting the stark distinctions between the pre- and post-self-annihilated Sanâ'is. Structurally, the *radif* plays the critical role. It repeatedly foregrounds their antithetical natures by juxtaposing the "I" of the old, pre-self-annihilated Sanâ'i and his various actions and beliefs with the new self-annihilated Sanâ'i who incredulously questions at the end of most lines "how can I do x, y, z" (*chun konam*) (there are a few variations on this basic pattern, but the general point still obtains). The interrogative *radif*, *chun konam?*, is understood to be counterfactual—ridicu-

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47. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 84-85. Persian text:

در ترک مراد خویشتن کوش   خواهی که بیابی این چنین کام

گیری همه آرزو در آغوش   چون ترک مراد خویش کردی

147

lous even—and would elicit a negative reaction from both Sanâ'i's new, self-annihilated self and the audience. Although Sanâ'i poses them as rhetorical questions, his position is clear: one would be a fool to advocate/engage in the beliefs and practices he is questioning. And what Sufi aspirant would dare disagree with a self-annihilated poet-saint (i.e., Sanâ'i's poetic persona in this poem)?

This expectation—one might even say solicitation—of audience assent points to a second role for the *radif*. It functions not just to illustrate the mutually exclusive nature of the pre- and post-self-annihilated worldviews, but also to prompt audience members to reflect on them in a type of poetically mediated self-examination since Sanâ'i's refrain of "how can I do x, y, z" naturally impels audience members to then ask themselves, "How can *I*, the audience member, still do x, y, and z if Sanâ'i does not?" This self-examination, however, should not be misinterpreted as a passive or force-neutral process. As Foucault famously insisted, self-examination is a particularly potent "technology of the self" that aims at self-transformation.[48] It is a tool of self-governance that interrogates the individual's psyche, seeking to control and modify "thoughts [and] conduct," and in this role it is a bearer of what proponents of force dynamics would call "psychosocial force." Sanâ'i's modeling of a Sufi self-examination here should be understood in this sense. With the considerable weight of the poet-saint's name bearing down on any dissenter from the implied correct responses, the poem pressures the audience to assent to the logic of Sanâ'i's annihilated self performed throughout the poem. Its aim ultimately is not just rhetorical embellishment. It is perlocutionary: the poem aims to catalyze the surrender of the audience members to King Love by prompting them in the process of self-examination to act upon the psychosocial forces they discover dividing their self and inhibiting the ascendancy of his sovereignty over them.

The Intoxicated and Love-Sick Self: Wine and the Beloved in the Winehouse of Self-Dissolution

Sanâ'i in lines 11-14 of the preceding poem takes up the now familiar anacreontic im-

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48. "Technologies of the self," such as self-examination, "permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct, and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection, or immortality." See: Foucault, *Technologies of the Self*, 18.

148

age complex, informing the audience that he has been "drunk with the Magian beauties in the winehouse," and concludes by asking "how can I rid myself of Sanâ'i except through wine?" Wine in the imaginal world of Sufi poetry is, as Sanâ'i intimates, one of the surest cures for the illusionary notion of self that afflicts humanity. Dispensed exclusively by the beloved-*cum*-cupbearer in his chain of carnivalesque winehouse clinics, its ways of neutralizing the Sufi's self and its various pathological internal divisions are legion, as we saw in preceding poems by 'Attâr and 'Erâqi.[49] There is one other remedy that can rival wine's potency and it is hinted at in these lines too: beauty and the love it evokes in the Sufi. The ubiquity of the conjunction of wine and love in Sufi poetry is so obvious as scarcely to merit mentioning, and they are not infrequently even directly fused into one image (e.g., "goblet of love," "wine of love"), as in 'Attâr's poem above and 'Erâqi's immediately below.

1   'Erâqi again has broken his vow of repentance;
     from love's goblet he has become drunk and mad with love.

2   He has been distracted by the idols' locks
     and continually intoxicated by the eyes of the fair ones.

3   How fine is the depravity in the winehouse,
     snatching the tresses of the beloved and falling unconscious!

4   It is not strange at all if from love of fair ones
     a mad one broke his chains.

5   He circled around the locks of the moon-faced ones,
     like a fish suddenly he got caught in a net.

6   In old age he threw his heart and religion to the wind,
     and was freed from the shackles of the world.

7   He rejected both worlds like a qalandar
     and sat in the house of idols.

8   The lips of the cupbearer called him to drink some wine,
     and 'Erâqi broke a vow of repentance that had endured for thirty years.[50]

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49. For justification and theoretical reasoning behind use of masculine gender for God and the cupbearer in the context of medieval Persian poetry, see chapter four.

50. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 245. Persian text:

عراقی بار دیگر توبه بشکست   ز جام عشق شد شیدا و سرمست

پریشان سر زلف بتان شد   خراب چشم خوبانست پیوست

چه خوش باشد خرابی در خرابات   گرفته زلف یار و رفته از دست

149

The poem opens with 'Erâqi becoming "drunk and mad" in the Beloved's winehouse from "love's goblet" and breaking "his vow of repentance" (an image that is deeply connected to self-dissolution, as we will see below). Wine is not explicitly mentioned in the first line, but it is implied and does appear in the last line of the poem, which returns the reader to the opening image connecting the consumption of wine and the breaking of 'Erâqi's thirty-year vow of repentance. The strategic placement of this image complex in the initial and final lines of the poem underlines its importance and gives the poem a strong sense of poetic unity.[51] In terms of structure, it is also noteworthy that the midpoint of the poem "approach[es] the locks of the moon-faced ones" (5) ("approach[ing]" is an alternative translation for the Persian *be-gard-e…gasht*). Showcasing at the center of the poem the beautiful beloveds who have intoxicated 'Erâqi in lines 2-4, he brings to the fore the third part of the holy trinity of wine/drunkenness, beauty/love-sickness, and self-dissolution by having the poem "circl[e]" (lit. "staying around") (*begard*) them. Variations on these three general themes appear together throughout Sufi poetry and there has been no shortage of scholarly discussions about what they symbolically "mean." However, what is often lost in these discussions is a full appreciation of how the different permutations of these symbols work together through their shared metaphoric foundations to augment the power of this poem's imaginal world.

In the poem above, this imaginal collaboration begins in the opening line with the image of "love's goblet" making 'Erâqi "drunk and mad with love (*shaydâ*)." This image directly fuses the emotion of love and the intoxicating substance of wine through both the possessive construction of "love's goblet" and the assertion that this drink has led to both drunkenness and love-sickness. The interrelation of these two forms of mind/body-altering states is then reinforced in the second line with the shift to a beauty-induced intoxication at the hands of the "fair ones" and again in the concluding line where the perennial pinnacle of

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ز سودای پری‌رویان عجب نیست   که گر دیوانه‌ای زنجیر بُگسَست

بگرد زلف مه‌رویان همی گشت   چو ماهی، ناگهی افتاد در شست

به پیران سَر دل و دین داد بر باد   شد از بند جهان آزاد و وارست

بر آفشاند آستین بر هردو عالم   قلندروار در میخانه بنشست

لب ساقی صلای باده در داد   عراقی توبهٔ سی‌ساله بشکست

51. The poet's "return" in the final line to the same image, theme, and even sometimes wording of the first line is a not uncommon feature of the poetry of this period. See: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 441-43; Matthew Thomas Miller, "'The Ocean of the Persian'."

beauty, the cupbearer, "call[s] ['Erâqi] to drink some wine." The linguistic landscape of Persian facilitates this blending too. The semantic overlap in terms for falling/being in love and becoming drunk is as significant in Persian as in English. In this poem, for example, 'Erâqi specifically speaks of being "intoxicated by the eyes of the fair ones" (*kharâb-e cheshm-e…*). The word *kharâb*—drunk, intoxicated, broken, wasted—is very similar to the English "drunk" in the sense that it is more typically used for alcohol-induced intoxication, but it can be used in amorous contexts as well.

The association between the emotion of love and various forms of intoxicants is not, however, an arbitrary linguistic convention common to English and Persian; nor is it simply a creative Sufi adaptation and sublimation of courtly anacreontic imagery. It is motivated, cognitive linguists would argue, by the fact that the metaphoric frameworks of both love and intoxicants share key characteristics. They are both portrayed as external elements that (1) enter, (2) overtake, and (3) induce involuntary changes in the bodies of their hosts. They are, in other words, conceptualized as forces external to the individual that produce altered bodily states like "drunkenness," "love-sickness," "insanity," or "bewilderment," in which the individual loses control of his body and is made to act in accordance with the "will" of the intoxicant or love. Cognitive linguists call this basic patterning a COMPULSION FORCE image schema, and the fact that both love and wine share this foundational schema naturally leads them to also share a range of other similar conceptual or primary metaphors (e.g., CAUSES ARE PHYSICAL FORCES, PRESSURIZED CONTAINER, EVENT STRUCTURE).[52] These similarities, of course, do not mean that all metaphoric realizations of amorous or intoxicant themes will be compatible. It does mean, though, that their metaphoric foundations are structured in similar ways and so they can more easily interoperate and combine together to form rich poetic tapestries of mutually reinforcing imagery.[53]

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52. For an overview of primary or conceptual metaphors, see: Lakoff and Johnson, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, 45-59.

53. Work on the metaphoric framework of emotions has been done most prominently by Zoltán Kövecses who draws on Leonard Talmy' notion of the "force dynamics" language, amongst others. Kövecses argues that emotions in a large number of world languages are structured on the EMOTIONS ARE FORCES "master" or "superordinate metaphor." See: Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion*; Kövecses, "Metaphor and Emotion." He argues that the "skeletal schema" of emotion is "Cause -> Emotion -> Response," which is the simple

151

The point that interests me here is how the force inherent in the metaphoric foundations of the opening image of "love's (wine) goblet" transfers and re-appears rhizomatically throughout the imagery of this poem. The first transfer occurs with the implied ingestion of the emotive intoxicant. It immediately engenders a transformation in the state of 'Erâqi's body, causing him to become "drunk and mad with love." Individuals do not move from one state to another without the exertion of some force. One does not become "drunk" or "fall in love" unless the intoxicant (alcohol) or an attractive person acts on his or her internal psycho-somatic equilibrium, *causing* him or her to move to a new state. The poet gestures to the latter type of intoxicant in the second, third, and fifth lines, specifically fingering the "idols" and "fair/moon-faced ones" of the winehouse and the "tresses of the beloved" for rendering him "unconscious" and "distract[ing]," "intoxicat[ing]," and, ultimately, entrapping him like a fish. The capture of 'Erâqi "like a fish suddenly...caught in a net" at the center of the poem is the symbolic realization of love/intoxication's ultimate victory over 'Erâqi's self and self will. The same force that entered and supplanted 'Erâqi's self-control through intoxication in line one here manifests in a different form, exerting such a powerful attractive force on him and other "crazed" lovers that they "br[eak] [their] chains" and fall into love's trap where love will eliminate any vestigial illusion of self will. The image of the fish caught "suddenly" (the rapidity adding intensity) in the net is apropos. The net engulfs the body of the catch and restrains it from realizing its instinctual flight response. The self-fish may thrash against the net, but it will eventually be "drowned" and seized by the fisherman for his purposes, like God's loving commandeering of the saint's body in *fanâ*.

Self-annihilation is not the end point. Dispatching the sober, rational self is only the first step. *Fanâ* is only realized when, in the place of this worldly self, love has fashioned a

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rendering of what he argues is the full cognitive model for emotion metaphors: Cause->Emotion->Control->Loss of Control->Behavioral Response. See: Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion*, 51-86. It is also important to point out the difference between metaphors of emotion and relationship. Although the latter involves emotions (especially in the case of love), they are not essentially about emotions and they typically have a different metaphoric structure (typically, COMPLEX SYSTEMS or INTERACTIVE RELATIONSHIPS metaphors). See: Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion*, 87-113. Not surprisingly, rational mental activity is structured on an antonymic master metaphor MENTALITY ACTIVITY IS MANIPULATION. That is, when we are engaged in mental activity, we are in control and exerting our own force on something else, manipulating it. See: Kövecses, *Metaphor and Emotion*, 196-97.

152

"mad," intoxicated self that can no longer be bound by the normative modes of piety ("religion") and social strictures of the world. As 'Erâqi says in another poem,

> The winehouse rascal cannot be contained in the Sufi lodge—
> how could the corner of a little nest contain the phoenix?[54]

The image he uses in these lines—a PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor—is reproduced in a slightly different form in the poem above. Instead of bursting out of the Sufi lodge, 'Erâqi here breaks his "[earthly] chains," "shackles of the world," and repentance and throws "his heart and religion to the wind" (1, 4, 6-8). There is a tangible force here, and an urgency to this imagery. He is impelled to do these things. He is a crazed lover who has been so overpowered by love and its handmaidens, wine and beauty, that he no longer has any control of himself. Even the sacrosanct normative frameworks of the world—represented in the chains, shackles, and, especially, "religion" and repentance—cannot arrest the overflowing force driving him to be "free[]...like a qalandar" (6-7). These symbols are bearers of an extraordinary degree of psychosocial power and so destroying them—especially after they controlled 'Erâqi for thirty years, as he says here—is a way of registering the extraordinary power of the intoxicating forces of love.

The destruction of repentance, in particular, plays a prominent role in the poem. The centrality of the "breaking repentance" motif is partially attributable to the fact that "repentance" (*towbeh*) is the central imperative of the religious-homiletic poetry (*zohdiyât-mow'ezeh*) that the *qalandariyât* generically counter, as I discussed in chapter two. But there is something else happening here too. Repentance functions in qalandari poetry as a symbol for the daily assent to the internalized framework of normative socio-religious rules that guide the behavior of the religious self. To repent means to reaffirm the divided self and subjugate the self to another form of psychosocial sovereignty—not the sovereignty of King Love, but rather the lordship of the *shari'ah* (Islamic law), religion (*din*), ascetic piety (*zohd*), etc. While in daily life these Sufis like Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi would not advocate openly

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54. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 246-47. Persian text:

در صومعه نگنجد رند شرابخانه   عنقا چگونه گنجد در کنج آشیانه

153

renouncing these normative frameworks, at the highest spiritual levels they too must be dispensed with because they affirm a separate self that is subject to their regulations. (This antinomian logic also motivates Rumi's assertion above that even worship and servanthood *vis-à-vis* God is problematic because they presuppose two existences).[55]

The motif of "breaking repentance" does mock the religious-homiletic call to repentance, but it is also a metaphoric performance of the destruction of the religious self and its associated psychosocial forces (e.g., religion, piety, asceticism). It is only after the thirty-year reign of the religious self's normative framework is broken that love's intoxicating wine and beauty can exert its self-annihilating force, overwhelming the poet, driving him to altered states, pulling him, inducing behaviors in him, etc. This poem models this process, not just through descriptive explanations or a symbolic code, but also in the force dynamics of its metaphoric imagery.

The Disrupted/Disrupting Self: Uproar and Transgression in the Wider World

The Persian word used in the preceding poem for "intoxicated," *kharâb*, means both "drunk" and "broken/ruined." It is also etymologically and metaphorically linked to the word used frequently for the qalandar's hangout, the *kharâbât*, meaning both "ruins" and, in Sufi poetry, "dilapidated winehouse." The direct connection between these central qalandari terms and the concept of "destruction" is emblematic of the fact that qalandari poetry is deeply invested in a poetics of destruction and disruption. In this sense, Sohrawardi's famous denunciation of the historical qalandars is applicable to poetic qalandars as well: they aim to destroy normative customs (*takhrib al-ʿâdât*).[56] Their destruction is not senseless, however. It has a higher purpose and proceeds from a higher source. The dissolution of the self, as we saw in the preceding poem, does not lead to quiescence; rather, its absence is filled by the intoxicating force of love which compels the self-annihilated individual to engage in a wide range of

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55. "Religious subjectivity" is not inherently worse than other forms of subjectivity, but, as the *malamâtis* (blame-seeking) Sufis understood, it is particularly dangerous for Sufi aspirants because it can give the illusion of spiritual advancement while actually functioning as its greatest obstacle. The self—in all forms—must be destroyed; not made into a new form.

56. See Karamustafa's discussion of Abu Hafs ʿOmar Sohrawardi's famous characterization of them in: Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*, 34-36.

destructive and disruptive behaviors. It is this palpable compulsion in qalandari poetry to destroy, upend, and transgress all norms and values that has piqued the interests of many readers, and we have already seen many such examples.

There is one sub-genre of qalandari poetry, though, that employs these motifs in a highly concentrated manner: the "city-disturber" (*shahr-âshub*) qalandari poems. As I suggested in chapter one, likely some of the earliest instantiations of this type of poetry can be found among the *qalandariyât* of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi (although more work on the connections between these early proto-"city disturber" poems and the classical *shahr-âshub/shahr-angiz* poetry of the later Persian and Ottoman traditions is still needed).[57] The name that later Persian, Urdu, and Turkish litterateurs gave this type of poem is apropos, as we see in the first example from 'Erâqi:

1   All of the sudden my idol came raving drunk to the market!
        A clamor arose in the bazaar!

2   Many hearts happily went down to the quarter of melancholic longing for him.
        Many souls were overcome with despair from love of his face.

3   His love passed once through the monastery and idol temple—
        a believer went forward without his heart, a magian without his cincture.

4   In the quarter of the winehouse, his beauty cast a glance—
        a tumultuous roar poured out the door of the vintner's house.

5   In moments of prayer, his face lit up the imagination—
        cries and wails rose from the pious ones.

6   A drunk got a gulp from the goblet of his lips—
        he came drunk and strutting to the gallows (ref. Mansur al-Hallâj).

7   The flame of his candle-like face fell on a burnt one—
        from the burning of his heart, flames of light rose up.

8   The breeze of his threshold passed over the fire—
        from this raging fire a rose without thorns grew up.

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57. For more on the later development of this genre, see: Golchin-Ma'âni, *Shahr-âshub dar she'r-e Fârsi*; Bernardini, "The Masnavi-Shahrashubs as Town Panegyrics"; Sharma, "Generic Innovation in Sayfi Bukhârâi's *Shahrâshub Ghazals*"; de Bruijn, "Shahrangīz 1. In Persian."

9 One night, suddenly he threw off the veil from his face—
   a hundred suns rose in every direction in that dark night.

10 The morning breeze told a story from the dust at his threshold—
   a hundred forlorn wailings rose from the heart of the love-sick one.

11 When, o when, will his lips come down to grant the soul a kiss?
   From all of these 'perhaps' and 'maybes' the soul of the desiring buyers has died![58]

   To say that 'Erâqi's poem here focuses on the myriad disturbances and "clamor" in-cited by the appearance of his "raving drunk" idol in the city would be to state the obvious. This is after all the *raison d'être* of *shahr-âshub* poetry. However, the poem does not open with the city in an uproar. A state of peace and order is presupposed and hinted at in the be-ginning of the poem: a time when people proceeded along their legally, socially, and reli-giously ordained paths, a time when rationality, religious law (*shari'a*), and the established rules of social comportment (*adab*) governed people's minds, hearts, and public behavior, a time when antinomian elements were under control and safely relegated to domains outside the centers of urban life. The implied imaginal world here at the outset of the poem is in a state of inertia—not in the sense of lack of movement, but in the sense that everything in this pre-*shahr-âshub* city is proceeding along its preordained path. The city is the social equiva-

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58. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 151-52. Persian text:

شور از سر بازار به یکبار برآمد	ناگه بت من مست به بازار برآمد
بس جان کَه ز عشق رخ او زار برآمد	بس دلَ که به کوی غم او شاد فروشد
مؤمن ز دل و گبر ز زنار برآمد	در صومعه و بتکدَه عشقش گذری کرد
شور و شغبی از در خمار برآمد	در کوی خرابات جمالش نظر افگند
فریاد و فغان از دلِ ابرار برآمد	در وقتِ مناجات خیال رخش افروخت
سرمست و خرامانَ به سر دار برآمد	یک جرعه ز جام لب اوَ می‌زده‌ای یافت
از سوز دلش شعلهٌ انوار برآمد	در سوخته‌ای آتش شمع رخش افتاد
از آتشَ سوزان گل بی خار برآمد	باد در او بر سر آتش گذری کرد
صد مهرِ ز هر سوَبه شب تار برآمد	ناگاه زَ رخسار شبی پرده براندَاخت
صد نالَهٌ زار از دل بیمار برآمد	باد سحر از خاک درش کرد حکایت
کز بوک و مگر جانٍ خریدار برآمد	کیَ بوک فروشد لبِ او بوسه به جانی

This poem is likely an imitation of the following two poems by Sanâ'i and 'Attâr:

آه از دلِ عشاق به یکبار بر آمد	روزی بتِ من مست به بازار برآمد

One day my idol came raving drunk to the market!
Sighs rose from the hearts of the lovers!

Source: Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 141.

فریاد ز کفار به یکبار برآمد	عشقِ تو ز سقسین و ز بلغار برآمد

Your love came all the way from Turkistan and Bulgaria!
Screams rose up from the infidels!

Source: 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 224.

lent of the pre-annihilated self. Like a series of ants or lemmings following the trails laid out for them, its denizens go through the motions of normative Islamic urban life. Then, in an instant—"suddenly," as the poem above says—the entrance of the beloved upends this psycho-social equilibrium: "my idol came raving drunk to the market! / A clamor arose in the bazaar!" (1). Much of the power of city-disturber poetry emanates from this transformative moment of rupture when the roguish beloved collides with normativity and destroys or, at the very least, shakes its foundations.

The figure of the rogue beloved is the antagonistic element in this event and is often portrayed, as in the poem above, as an external force that invades the normative confines of the city and overtakes it, instantly revealing the illusionary nature of its normative powers of control.[59] (Note too how the intoxicating forces of beauty and wine are united again here in the figure of the "raving drunk" idol). The force dynamics of this imaginal scene tell us a story that we are familiar with. The normative city and its various constituent components (e.g., bazaar, denizens) are the agonist, and they are acted upon by the superior force of the rogue figure which involuntarily produces actions and evokes emotive responses (causing other in- or semi-voluntary actions) in everyone with whom he comes into contact. The "clamor," "longing," "tumultuous roar," "cries," and "wails" in the poem are all examples of extreme emotive responses that are not typically understood to emerge voluntarily in a vacuum. One is forced, or at least pushed, to display such responses by a transformation of one's inner emotional state. They presuppose an external force acting upon one, dispatching one's normal rational self, and driving one to engage in these reactive behaviors, such as leaving behind one's "heart" and symbol of one's religious identity (3), and gladly "strutting to the gallows" *à la* Hallâj (6).

This point is highlighted especially in the imagery of this poem as its versatile poetic refrain *bar âmad*—"came," "arose," "became," "overcame," and similar such verbs—repeat-

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59. Alternatively, in some other city-disturber poems the antagonistic element—roguish beloved, wine, or love—bursts out of the winehouse and into the city proper. This alternative scenario is a related version of the same idea: the antagonistic element is penned into the carnivalesque winehouse space through the force of normative strictures.

157

edly portrays the forced actions caused directly and indirectly by the appearance of the *shahr-âshub* figure. All of this poem's lines are structured on the following pattern: the arrival or appearance of the beloved or other embodiment of his force engenders a movement, behavior, or emotive response in members of the city's population. In most verses, this cause and effect pattern maps nicely onto the first and second hemistich respectively. (The exception to this generalization is only line 2, in which both hemistichs contain separate cause and effect actions). The fact that each line ends with forced action, presented through construals of the intransitive compound verb *bar âmad*, not only emphasizes the finality and inescapability of the power of the roguish beloved, but it also underlines the normative city and its denizens' diminishing sense of agency. Most verses, in fact, eliminate entirely the city-subject in the second hemistich. After the arrival of the beloved in the first hemistich, the subject of the second becomes a generic expression of the beloved's force acting through the city or city-subjects (e.g., "clamor," "tumultuous roar," "cries and wails," "flames," "a hundred suns"). However, even lines that show the city-subjects engaged in some action in the second hemistich do not portray the actions as initiated by them (2-3, 6, 11); instead, they are reactions that proceeded or arose from (*bar âmad*) the beloved's impact on the them and are focused squarely on their loss of self-control and, ultimately, self (e.g., being "overcome by despair," abandoning heart and religious identity, "strutting to the gallows," dying).

The structure of the poem models the progression towards self-annihilation as well. The first half of the poem (1-5) focuses on the exertion of the rogue beloved's force and the behavioral/emotive reactions it produces in city spaces and its populace. Beginning with line 6, however, the poem segues to an extended treatment of self-annihilation: the true aim of the beloved. The image of a city dweller "drunk" from a "gulp from the goblet of his lips" "strutting to the gallows" (another clear allusion to Hallâj) leads the audience to a three-line section that features two classic figurations of self-annihilation: the incineration of a lover in the flames of the beloved (7-8) and the beloved's visage as a "hundred suns" whose appearance instantly destroys the "dark night" of separation (read: illusion of individual subjectivity) (9).

With the goal of the beloved realized, the poem concludes with a two-line cap that re-

158

flects back on the poem and the poet respectively. Line 10—similar to the image of a poem as a spiritually "expansionary" (*bast*) force in 'Attâr's earlier rogue anecdote—portrays the poem (or at least lines 7-9) as a "story" that has evoked "a hundred forlorn wailings from the heart of a love-sick one" (10). Even the "story"—a verbal force vector—of the rogue beloved has the power to induce uncontrollable emotive responses in the "love-sick" audience members. This line also parallels line 2 with its focus on the beloved's quarter and the "forlorn" (*zâr*) hearts of its visitors, and the parallelism between the opening and closing of the poem continues in the final line where its rhetorical questioning of "when, oh when, will his lips come down to grant the soul a kiss" and image of the dead "desiring buyer" brings to a close the poem that opened with the poet's "idol" coming down to the bazaar (i.e., the place where "buyers" congregate to obtain the objects of their desire). A fitting end: the death of the "buyers" in the bazaar of the world—whether bodily as in the case of Hallâj or in its spiritual form of self-annihilation—is the ultimate form of disruption or destruction that the *shahr-âshub* figure aims to effect.

Although not foregrounded in this city-disturber poem by 'Erâqi, another one of the principal ways in which disruption and destruction are performed in qalandari poetry is through the use of highly transgressive imagery. The *shahr-âshub* poem of Sanâ'i below is illustrative of this tendency.

1   That Christian cincture-worshipping idol incited an uproar in the city
     when he came strutting out of the dilapidated winehouse!

2   He rent the veil of shame with a goblet in hand,
     he sipped wine as he raised the flag of infidelity.

3   He has gone beyond the door of non-existence and self-existence—
     non-existence is the yield for one who goes beyond existence.

4   He is like an idol—that rogue-hearted adherent of the Christian monk's way—
     who only wounds the hearts of the lovers with his sword.

5   At that moment when the spy of the beauty of his visage
     jumped out from behind the veil of thought and desire (*havâ*),

6   you did not see a single pious saint who looked upon him
     and did not that very moment strap the forty-knotted Christian cincture around his
              waist.

159

7   Sometimes in the dust of the winehouse, he gave life to an earthly mortal
        who then became a worshipper of the (winehouse's) dust.

8   How can we shout, "Here we are! At your service!"[60] at the door of the *Ka'ba* of
                spiritual bluster
        when we do not find a place to sit in the idols' temple?![61]

The poem opens with a prototypical city-disturber image of the beloved "incit[ing] an uproar in the city" when he "strut[s]" out of the confines of the dilapidated winehouse. In contrast to 'Erâqi's poem, however, Sanâ'i shifts the focus quickly away from images of disruption and destruction after this opening image. Instead, he spends most of the first four lines detailing the transgressive nature of the beautiful "idol" through a dizzying mix of non-Islamic imagery. The figure of the city-disturber is portrayed as a "cincture-worshipping," "rogue-hearted adherent of the christian monk's way" who emerges from the "dilapidated winehouse" not only with a "goblet in hand," but indeed armed with a "sword" and bearing the "flag of infidelity (*kofr*)." The fact that these images are somewhat contradictory (e.g., Christian monks would not be considered "infidels") is not the point. Sanâ'i has marshaled this array of non-Islamic symbols and transgressive actions to achieve a certain effect. He wants the reader first to construct an image of the beloved as an extreme embodiment of peripherality and weakness in the Islamic city. The beloved is lower and more outside of the circles of power than even the "people of the book." He bears the combined socio-religious stigma of a religious minority, rogue, drunk, and even infidel.

However, despite his lowly status, he does not act his station. Not only is he no longer restrained by "shame" or "modesty" to keep his transgressive behaviors and non-normative beliefs hidden in peripheral sites like the "dilapidated winehouse"; he is now declaring open

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60. The phrase "Here we are [usually: Here I am]" (*labbayk*) is part of the *talbīyah* prayer said by Muslim pilgrims on the *hajj*.

61. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 89. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

شور در شهر فگند آن بت زنارپرست
چون خرامان ز خرابات برون آمد مست

پردهٔ شرم دریده قدح می در کف
شربت خمر چشیده علم کفر بدست

شده بیرون ز در نیستی و از هستی خویش
نیست حاصل شود آنرا که برون شد از هست

چون بت است آن بت قلاش دل رهبان کیش
که به شمشیر جفا جز دل عشاق نخست

اندر آن وقت که جاسوس جمال رخ او
از پس پردهٔ پندار و هوی بیرون جست

هیچ ابدال ندیدی که درو در نگریست
که در آنساعت زنار چهل گردن بست

گاه در خاک خرابات بجان باز نهاد
خاکیی را که ازین خاک شود خاک پرست

بر در کعبهٔ طامات چه لبیک زنیم
که به بتخانه نیابیم همی جای نشست

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160

rebellion against the established Islamic order as he "rais[es] the flag of infidelity (*kofr*)" (1-2). The poem turns in the second hemistich of line 4 to a portrayal of the actions to which the city-disturber subjects the city's populace. This midway transition gives the poem a nice sense of balance with most of the first three and a half lines dedicated to description of the city-disturber beloved (minus the obligatory opening city uproar image) and then the following three and a half lines dedicated to his effects on the city's populace. In this second section, the nature of the rebellion he is seeking to bring to fruition becomes clear: he puts to the sword the "hearts of lovers" and even converts the city's "pious saint[s]" to his new syncretic, roguish religion through the force of his beauty. So strong is his allure that "you did not see a single pious saint who looked upon him / and did not that very moment strap the forty-knotted Christian cincture around his waist" (6). (Although not my principal point here, note that the same force-dynamic framework (FORCE COMPULSION schema, PRESSURIZED CONTAINER metaphor, etc.) subtends this imagery too: a rogue force that cannot be contained or defended against bursts out and overwhelms the polity, inducing emotive and behavior responses as it moves through the city).

The second section concludes with the city-disturber having returned to the winehouse where he infuses the poor city "mortal[s]" who have fallen in the dust of the winehouse with "life." The paradox in this line is rich: true "life" can only be found in the dead dust of the "dilapidated winehouse"—literally, the place of "ruins," the place where structures have been destroyed. Only when you have become a follower of the rogue beloved (i.e., surrendered your self-control) and brought yourself to worship the most abject part of his winehouse (i.e., its "dust") are you truly ready to be obliterated and given the true life that the winehouse offers. The nature of the "life" force that the city-disturber is giving to these "earthly mortal[s]" is not spelled out directly in line 7, but we know from line 3 that the "life" of the winehouse is the paradoxically "self-existence"-annihilating "life" granted in *fanâ*. The self-destroying effect of this "life" is re-enforced in the final line of the poem, as "he" (the city-disturber beloved/antagonist) and "them" (the city's populace, saints, etc./agonists) dissolve into a collective "we" who together, as one rogue, city-disturbing mob, rhetorically

161

ponder how they could ever "shout, 'Here we are! At your service!' at the door of the *Ka'ba* of spiritual bluster / when we do not find a place to sit in the idols' temple?!" The beloved's disruption of the city has had its intended effect: he has destroyed the individuated life of the "earthly mortal[s]" and put in its place the divine inter-subjective "we" that animates the self-annihilated and drives them to destroy and disrupt the psychosocial frameworks that control and thus reaffirm the illusionary self.

I will conclude with one final point. A constant throughout this poem and the *qalandariyât* more broadly is their rich deployment of transgressive and carnivalesque symbols and imagery. In this poem in particular, the beloved is made to embody a little of every marginal socio-religious group as he triumphantly enters the city bearing the standard of the infidels and converts the pious saints of the Islamic city to his wine and cincture-worshipping, christian, rogue cult (the almost absurd juxtaposition of so many adjectives should serve as an indication of just how intensely Sanâ'i tries to make this point). Sufi and non-Sufi poets throughout the history of Persian poetry have intuitively understood that there is an undeniable power to this potent imagery. However, *pace* Sufi symbolists, the source of its poetic effect cannot be found in the esoteric glosses provided for each of these images in Sufi lexicons and commentaries. Rather, it lies, I would argue, in the degree to which it inverts the audience's expectations. The degree of the inversion of expectations is important not just because it shocks the audience, but also because it communicates something very important about the force dynamics of this imaginal scene.[62]

It goes against every rational expectation that the very embodiment of socio-political marginality and weakness (e.g., the infidel flag-waving, christian beloved) could enter the center of an Islamic city, upend its psychosocial foundations, and drive some of its most central figures (e.g., pious saints) to abandon its normative frameworks. The unacknowledged component of this scene is the normative force that has constructed this expectation and established the degree to which it is unthinkable not to be so—a binding force holding the fab-

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62. de Bruijn points to the "shocking nature" of the *qalandariyât* imagery as "enhanc[ing] their effect." See: de Bruijn, "The *Qalandariyyāt* in Persian Mystical Poetry," 85.

162

ric of Islamic cultural hegemony in place. It is this psychosocial force of normativity—made tangible in the real world through the disciplinary powers of governmental, religious, and community/family agents and institutions—that renders beliefs and actions licit or illicit, thinkable or unthinkable, rational or insane. Literature, of course, is no stranger to the machinations of power and cultural hegemony. It is deeply imbricated with them and often reproduces them in complex ways. Qalandari poetry is no exception. As we see in the poem above, it too employs the symbols of the highest ideals and normative frameworks of the medieval Islamic world, but it does so to demonstrate that they pale in comparison to the self-annihilating force of God embodied in the figure of the roguish beloved. This carnivalesque move is not entirely unflattering. It affirms the undisputed worldly hegemony of the normative order while harnessing the power associated with that status to achieve a particular poetic effect. The rogue beloved and his effortless destruction of all norms and sacred laws, in other words, are not purely abstract or arbitrary symbols; they are textual performances of the truly extraordinary nature of the self-annihilating force of God and his earthly embodiments. In these metaphorical enactments of the force dynamics of *fanâ* the beloved must transgress and destroy the most sacrosanct norms and symbols because it is only in the unthinkable obliteration of these purportedly unassailable metaphoric embodiments of psychosocial force that God's overwhelming power can hope to be portrayed in mere words.

III. Conclusion

Since at least the time of Jonayd, the need for the destruction of the self, or "self-annihilation" (*fanâ*), has been a central tenant in Sufism. While Sufi commentators and modern scholars alike have long linked qalandari poetry and *fanâ* at the conceptual level, the argument that I make here is that this connection goes much deeper: the metaphoric foundations of qalandari poetics is to a large degree structured upon the force dynamics of self-annihilation. The overwhelming experience of the destruction of the self in mystical union, when God takes possession of and animates the mystic like an ocean moving a dead body, as Rumi says, is not just described or explained in qalandari poetry. It is performed in a symphonic series of forceful imagery predicated on the FORCE COMPULSION schema and related primary/con-

163

ceptual metaphors. While each metaphoric figuration differs, they dovetail with and re-en-force one another because of their shared force-dynamic patterns. The anacreontic, transgres-sive, and disruptive imagery of *qalandariyât's* carnivalesque poetics is therefore not incidental or reducible to a symbolist confection. Its focus on intoxication, love-induced mad-ness, and destruction and transgression of normative frameworks of behavior and belief is motivated by the fact that the myriad permutations of these topoi embody and perform the metaphoric force dynamics of *fanâ* in the different yet complimentary ways discussed above.

This level of meaning cannot be captured in a fixed, dictionary definition of poetic symbols in the manner of lexicons (*estelâhât*) of the Sufi hermeneutic tradition. These poems and their imagery do not just represent Sufi thought in versified form. They are also "meaning events," in Sells words, that seek to "effec[t] a semantic union that re-creates or imitates the mystical union"—a much richer understanding of meaning creation that can only be glimpsed when, as Keshavarz exhorts, we "observe [the poems]...in action." As meaning events, their function in the Sufi context goes beyond mere symbolic representation. In their "re-cre-at[ion]" of the force dynamics of *fanâ*, they have a perlocutionary objective as well: they aim to inculcate a radical Sufi (inter-)subjectivity by modeling the force-dynamic postures re-quired of the true Sufi lover *vis-à-vis* God and the world.[63] These poems, in short, *mean* not just through symbolic representation but also evocation. They want the reader to experience a self-transforming poetic event that is, as Sells suggests, "structurally analogous" in some way to the Sufi experience of self-dissolution, and the force dynamics of their metaphoric imagery is one of the principal ways they achieve this poetic effect.[64]

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63. Austin O'Malley in his dissertation has pointed to this perlocutionary dimension of 'Attâr's works as well. See: O'Malley, "Poetry and Pedagogy."
64. Sells, *Mystical Languages of Unsaying*, 10.

Chapter 4

Embodying the Qalandari Beloved: Embodiment, (Homo)eroticism, and the 'Straightening' of Desire in the Hagiographic Tradition of 'Erâqi

I. *O Boy!* Straightening 'Erâqi's Homoerotic Initiation to the Qalandari Way

The conversion of 'Erâqi to the qalandar's antinomian mode of Islamic mystical piety is one of the most emblematic stories of Sufi (homo)eroticism in Persian literature.[1] According to the widely cited anonymous biography of 'Erâqi, one day as young 'Erâqi was teaching the traditional Islamic sciences, a wild band of qalandars[2] rushed into his assembly, disturbing not only the day's lesson and the orderly piety of its congregants but indeed the very core of 'Erâqi's being.[3]

> Suddenly a group of qalandars arrived and entered the assembly with all their merry commotion. They began to do *samâ'* and sing a *ghazal*.
>
> We moved our belongings from the mosque to the dilapidated wine house (*kharâbât*)
> We crossed out the pages of asceticism (*zohd*) and miracles
>
> We sat in the ranks of lovers in the Magian quarter
> We took goblets from the hands of the dilapidated winehouse's libertines (*rendân-e kharâbât*)

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1. I have used "(homo)eroticism" with parentheses at different points in this essay and its title to emphasize the predominant role homoeroticism played in representations of Sufi love theory while at the same time indicating what I would term its ultimately "ambierotic" nature. Sufi eroticism can, so to speak, "go both ways" and it often does. However, in my view, the dominance of homoeroticism in much medieval Persianate Sufism should be indicated in some way for both historical and theoretical reasons, and so I resort to this terminological tactic at times to foreground the largely homoerotic nature of Sufi cultural production.

2. "Qalandars" are one of several antinomian Islamic groups that existed in medieval Islamic societies. These "holy fools," "blame-seeking saints," "rogue mystics," or "God's unruly friends" rejected normative Islamic piety (or at least made others think they did) in order to reach higher levels of spiritual awareness. For more on qalandars as a historic and religious phenomena, see: Karamustafa, *God's Unruly Friends*; Karamustafa, *Sufism*, 155-66; Karamustafa, "Antinomian Sufis."

3. For more on the traditional bio/hagiographic accounts of 'Erâqi, see the following: Ahuja, "Early Years of Shaykh 'Iraqi's Life"; Ahuja, "Iraqi in India"; Ahuja, "Shaykh 'Iraqi's Travels & His Stay in Rum"; Chittick and Wilson, "Introduction"; Chittick, "Fakhr al-Din Ebrahim 'Erâqi"; Miller, "'The Ocean of the Persians'."

It is fitting if the heart beats the drum of honor henceforth
For we raised the flag of fortune to the heavens

We passed all asceticism (*zohd*) and stations (*maqâmât*),
From asceticism and stations we only drew many goblets of toil and
      fatigue

When the qalandars had finished their song and recited their *ghazal*, 'Erâqi was seized by an internal turmoil. Amongst the qalandars he saw a boy [*pesar*] who was without peer in beauty and was desirable to the heart of lovers. A beauty such that if a Chinese painter saw his waving ringlet, he would have been bewildered. He saw that royal falcon [i.e., the beautiful boy] again, and the bird of his heart fell in the trap of love and the fire of loving desire burnt up his rationality. He took off his garments and turban, and gave them to the qalandars, and recited this *ghazal*:

How wonderful it would be if you were my sweetheart!
My intimate friend, companion, and beloved (*yâr*)

The whole world could not contain me in this joyful state
if for but one moment you would be my bosom buddy

After a time had passed, the qalandars left Hamadan and set out towards Esfahan. When they were gone, 'Erâqi was overtaken with yearning and his state of being was transformed. He threw away his books [goes on to list many famous books of traditional Islamic learning]...the master of the sciences became a madman...and he set out on the road towards his friends. After he went two miles on the path, he reached them and recited this *ghazal*:

O boy! Play the qalandar tune if you are our mate
for I have seen that the end of the lane of piety is far[4]

The anecdote is structured on the opposition between the antinomian qalandars and their "way" (*râh*), on the one hand, and the domain of the *madraseh* (school) and the normative modes of piety and behavior (*adab*) associated with this space, on the other. Prior to this event, the biographer has built up the character of 'Erâqi as a religious savant who hails from a high-ranking Hamadanian family and is destined for the highest echelons of the Islamic religious elite. Having mastered all of the rational (*ma'qul*) and traditional (*manqul*) sciences of the classical Islamic curriculum by the age of seventeen, he takes up a teaching position in a

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4.   Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 49-50. Jâmi's account is almost identical: Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 601-02.

166

local *madraseh* (Islamic school) where all soon become enthralled with him. He now presides over an important center of power in medieval Islamic society and is poised to ascend its hierarchical ladder. The 'Erâqi of the beginning of the story, in short, is the embodiment of the Islamic religious establishment and social normativity.

Enter the qalandars. They invade the *madraseh* as an external force. They have come, as the poem they perform says (1-2), from the world of the "dilapidated winehouse" (*kharâbât*) in the "Magian quarter," and the values they embody are the inverse of institutional Islam's sober piety (*zohd*) and the "miraculous deeds" (*karâmât*) of its mainstream Sufi sheikhs (1, 4).[5] The qalandars, however, are not complete aliens in this world. They too were once practitioners of the normative modes of piety associated with the *madraseh* and mosque before they "moved [their] belongings from [it] to the dilapidated winehouse" (line 1). The reader is given the impression that their return to this world is something of a proselytizing mission, with their *samâ'*[6] performance functioning as a "hook" for spiritual adepts such as 'Erâqi who possess the innate spiritual aptitude for the "qalandari way." Their sudden, boisterous appearance and musical/dance performance throws everything into confusion in the austere environment of 'Erâqi's assembly, including the protagonist himself: "When the qalandars had finished their song and recited their *ghazal*, 'Erâqi was seized by an internal turmoil (*ezterâbi dar darun-e sheykh mostowli gasht*)."

The "internal turmoil" 'Erâqi first experiences as a shocked spectator of this transgressive spectacle initiates a radical transformation in him that eventually upends "his state of being." The language the author uses is clear: 'Erâqi does not have volition here. A force has "seized," "overcome," "occupied," or "taken possession of" him and driven him to the madness of tossing away the great books of classical Islamic learning (e.g., Fakhr al-Din al-Râzi's *Tafsir-e Kabir*, Ibn Sinâ's *Eshârât*), forsaking his family and high position in the socio-religious hierarchy of Hamadan, and becoming a "crazed/mad" (*majnun*) itinerant seeking ad-

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5. As mentioned earlier, when discussing poems reproduced within this study, I will parenthetically cite relevant line numbers.
6. *Samâ'* is a Sufi ritual that involves the meditative performance of music, poetry, and even dance. For more on *samâ'*, see: Gribetz, "The Samā' Controversy"; Lewisohn, "The Sacred Music of Islam"; Avery, *A Psychology of Early Sufi Samā'*.

167

mission to this group of socio-religious reprobates. In the space of a few paragraphs, 'Erâqi completely inverts the normative social and religious values of medieval Islamic society that he exemplified at the outset. But what is the source of the "internal turmoil" that suddenly impels 'Erâqi to engage in such incredible actions?

The anonymous introduction and most hagiographies of 'Erâqi after it are exceedingly clear on the primary impetus behind 'Erâqi's internal transformation.[7] It is one member of the wild crew of qalandars in particular who has caught his eye and unleashed the transformative fires of love, a young man of incomparable beauty:

> Amongst the qalandars he saw a boy (*pesar*) who was without peer in beauty and was desirable to the heart of lovers. A beauty such that if a Chinese painter saw his waving ringlet, he would have been bewildered. He saw that royal falcon [i.e., the youth] again, and the bird of his heart fell in the trap of love and the fire of loving desire burnt up his rationality.

This is not an inconsequential event or a minor detail—it is the turning point of the story and the impetus for a dramatic transformation in 'Erâqi's life. Moreover, it begins a sizable passage in which the anonymous hagiographer portrays 'Erâqi as intently focused on this beautiful youth. 'Erâqi proceeds to apostrophize the boy in the second inset poem, imploring him to be his "sweetheart," "intimate friend," "companion," and "beloved," and when he reunites with the qalandar band on the road to Esfahan, 'Erâqi announces his arrival by addressing not the entire "wild crew," but specifically the young qalandar again ("O boy!"/*pesarâ*).[8] If any ambiguity remains on this point, the author dispels it later informing us that 'Erâqi spent "all his time loving [that] youth" (*bâ 'eshq-e pesar beh sar hami bord*) before their fateful separation in a large storm on their trip from Delhi to Somnath.[9]

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7. While the entire qalandari spectacle that he just witnessed (staged for heightened affect in one of the normative centers of the Islamic world—a *madreseh*/Islamic school) would not have been without effect, it is not the primary source of 'Erâqi's transformation, as the original Persian makes exceedingly clear.

8. While some scholars may caution against reading such Sufi imagery as sexually charged, medieval audiences clearly understood this dimension of erotic Sufi poetry. At the very least, the line here between Sufi erotic verse and its more base relatives (e.g., *mojun*) was far more ambiguous. Hence the need for Sufi figures like Ibn 'Arabi and others to write commentaries on their and others' erotic poetry. It would be, as Rambuss avers regarding early modern Christian poetry, "dehistoricizing...to impute an innocence or naïveté concerning the sexual suggestiveness of these devotional aids to their own early modern authors, editors, and users." See Rambuss' discussion of erotic imagery in the Christian context: Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*, 95.

9. Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 50.

The reader of William Chittick and Peter Wilson's rendering of 'Erâqi's hagiography into English in *Divine Flashes*, however, would never know this. They bowdlerize the text, completely scrubbing the figure of the beautiful young man from their translation. Instead, we are told in their account that "the flame of love" catches the "haystack of ['Erâqi's] reason and consume[s] it" after he "beheld this wild crew [of qalandars]" and is "overcome with longing for *them* [the qalandar band]" (my emphasis) after they leave Hamadan.[10] Their decision to de-eroticize this story of 'Erâqi's conversion to the qalandari path through transposing 'Erâqi's "longing" onto a de-sexualized object pronoun, "them" (referring to the qalandar band), is not an isolated instance in their rendition of 'Erâqi's life. They *systematically* eliminate any homoerotic features of the original text. *All* of the stories from his hagiography that I will discuss in this study have been excised from their account or substantially altered in order to "straighten" them. This is clearly not a case of translation error or stylistic editorial intervention. There was a deliberate decision made to heteronormatize 'Erâqi's hagiography.

Chittick and Wilson's refusal to treat the numerous homoerotic anecdotes contained in 'Erâqi's hagiography on their own terms is not unique, however.[11] It is a particularly egregious example of a more widespread tendency in modern scholarship on Sufism and Sufi literature to de-sexualize, allegorize, and/or decidedly "straighten" manifestations of same-sex desire for more comfortable consumption by contemporary (largely heteronormative) audiences.[12] The ways in which this process of heteronormativization is accomplished varies, and

10. Chittick and Wilson, "Introduction," 34-35. Full text of the relevant section: "'Iraqi beheld this wild crew, and the flame of love caught at the haystack of his reason and consumed it....No sooner had they vanished than 'Iraqi was overcome with longing for them."

11. The "heteronormativization" of sexuality in the modern Middle East has been treated in a range of recent studies (Afsaneh Najmabadi, Janet Afary, Scott Kugle, and Joseph Massad's contributions are especially noteworthy). Adopting European discourses on sexuality, modern reformers in the Middle East sought to rid their countries and cultures of the non-heteronormative sexual practices that they believed were partly to blame for their lack of development *vis-à-vis* Europe. Among their primary aims in this campaign were any expressions of same-sex desire, which they had come to believe was "unnatural and abominable" and fundamentally at odds with their project of constructing modern nation states and citizen-subjects. The modernizers' drive to heteronormativize sexuality exerted a profound influence on the way scholars studied and portrayed (or did not) the widespread homoeroticism of medieval and early modern Islamicate literatures and arts. See: Kugle, "Sultan Mahmud's Makeover"; Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*, 26-60, 146-150; Massad, *Desiring Arabs*; Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran*, 113-141, 160-165; Najmabadi, "Re-membering Amrads and Amradnumas."

12. Najmabadi calls this the process of "denial, disavowal, and transcendentalization" of non-heteronormative premodern forms/manifestations of desire. She uses this phrase or variations on it numerous times throughout *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*. Kugle also points to examples of heteronormative straightening in modern treatments of Shah Hosayn's hagiography, in which love is either

169

in some cases it is more obvious than others. Chittick and Wilson take more liberties than most—completely eliminating and radically transforming sections of the original text are not the most common techniques for heteronormativizing premodern Sufi literature. Others, however, engage in similar practices aimed at obscuring or attenuating homoeroticism in less obvious and seemingly less harmful ways. There is, for example, the popular practice of rendering the often masculine poetic figure of the "beloved" in Persian poetry with feminine instead of masculine English pronouns.[13] On the opposite end of this spectrum, there are Iranian intellectuals (e.g., Ahmad Kasravi) and even some contemporary academics (e.g., Zargar) that have not shied away from highlighting non-heteronormative forms of desire, but do so only with what seems to them an obligatory denunciation of it.[14] Perhaps the most telling sign though of heteronormativity's distorting influence on medieval Persian studies is the general lack of disciplinary interest in these topics until quite recently.[15]

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represented as strictly "platonic" or the gender of the beloved is obscured. See: Kugle, *Sufis and Saints' Bodies*, 196-99. A similar situation prevailed in the scholarship on Greek, Roman, and medieval European traditions before the pioneering work of Kenneth J. Dover, John Boswell, and David Halperin, amongst others. They have demonstrated the extraordinary extent to which the modern scholarship had ignored, or at least avoided writing about, the evidence for widespread same-sex desire in Greek, Roman, and medieval Europe. See: Dover, *Greek Homosexuality*; Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality*; Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*; Boswell, *Same-sex Unions in Premodern Europe*.

13. Although Persian poetry is in an important sense ambierotic—i.e., the beloved can be both male and female and the lover/beloved dyad can be gendered differently depending on performance context—I would follow Meisami, Yarshater, and others in arguing that the beloved is more typically gendered male than female and would have been understood as such by most medieval audiences. Meisami even calls the male gender of the beloved in the *ghazal* "a standard convention of the genre." See: Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 62, 245-251. On this point, also see: Yarshater, *She'r-e Fârsi dar 'ahd-e Shâhrokh*; Shamisâ, *Shâhed-bâzi dar adabiyât-e Fârsi*; Shamisâ, *Sayr-e ghazal dar she'r-e Fârsi*, 50-54; Southgate, "Men, Women, and Boys"; de Bruijn, "BELOVED"; Yarshater, "Love-Related Conventions in Sa'di's *Ghazals*"; Meisami, *Structure and Meaning*, 187; Anonymous, "HOMOSEXUALITY iii. IN PERSIAN LITERATURE"; Lewis, "Sexual Occidentation," 717.

14. See studies by Najmabadi and Afary cited in footnote 11 of the current chapter, and on Ahmad Kasravi, see: Ridgeon, *Sufi Castigator*. Also see Zargar's concluding section in his chapter on *shâhed-bâzi*, which is a more measured and scholarly denunciation of the practice, but is nevertheless exactly that: Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics*, 115-19. While most scholars (with a few exceptions) do not engage in the vituperative tirades against same-sex desire(s) as some of the modernist Iranian intellectuals do, their modern—and likely unconscious—heteronormative biases shape their work on these topics in less obvious ways.

15. Both Everret Rowson and Ehsan Yarshater have argued recently that there is a relative dearth of studies on sexuality (and especially non-heteronormative manifestations of it) in the medieval Islamicate world. See: Yarshater, "Love-Related Conventions in Sa'di's *Ghazals*"; Rowson, "HOMOSEXUALITY ii. IN ISLAMIC LAW." And the situation is even more pronounced in Sufi studies. There are simply no studies focused on forms of Sufi eroticism between Ritter's 1955 chapter-length treatment of the topic (in German) and the recent works of Shamisâ, Kugle, Lewis, Bashir, Lewisohn, Zargar, and Ridgeon. Although these are all excellent studies in their own right, several of them are problematic in the way they conceptualize and present Sufi eroticism. See: Shamisâ, *Shâhed-bâzi dar adabiyât-e Fârsi*; Kugle, *Sufis and Saints' Bodies*; Lewis, "Sexual Occidentation"; Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz"; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*; Ridgeon, "The Controversy of Shaykh Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī." In general, I would agree with Valerie Traub that this lack of focus on these issues in Middle Eastern/Islamic studies can be attributed to a large degree to the disciplinary training of scholars of Middle Eastern studies. See: Traub, "The Past is a Foreign Country?" Islamic studies, as Kugle has pointed out more generally, has been "stubbornly reticent to

170

While space does not permit me a full review of this literature here,[16] I do want to suggest that these different techniques for "dealing with" uncomfortable forms of desire are part of what Karma Lochrie calls the "heterosexual paradigms of scholarship."[17] They are examples of the academic "protocols and proprieties" that Lauren Berlant and Michael Warner argue (re)produce an "invisible heteronormativity" and structure interpretative strategies, modes of analysis, and hierarchies of disciplinary priorities in the modern academy.[18] The rise of sexuality studies and queer theory in the last several decades was a direct response to this exclusionary regime of power/knowledge. The diverse range of studies associated with these fields has sought to "unsettle," "dismantl[e]," and "denaturaliz[e]" heterosexuality and its academic corollaries through a "recovery of cultural meanings that are lost, obscured, or distorted in work that either ignores questions of sexuality or attends only to hegemonic or heteronormative understandings of it," as Glen Burger and Steven F. Kruger put it in their book, *Queering the Middle Ages*.[19] Central to these projects is the critical rereading of sources and examination of their interpretations in the existing secondary literature for signs of "straightening"—that is, interpretative techniques of heteronormativizing non-heteronormative expressions of desire in these sources.[20] In the field of Persian and "Islamicate sexuali-

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embrace advances in social theory that might disturb their philological and textual expertise"—a point which Bashir has echoed as well. See: Kugle, *Sufis and Saints' Bodies*, 14; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 23. Therefore, it is not a stretch of the intellectual imagination to question whether the power of the academy's "invisible heteronormativity" is a factor when, for example, scholars elect to assign the subject of homoeroticism only a small section in a comprehensive study on a poet whose poetry is thoroughly suffused with expressions of same-sex desire.

16. A full review of this literature would require a massive study of a large body of Oriental, Middle Eastern, and Islamic studies scholarship on the scale of Edward Said's *Orientalism*, Najmabadi and Massad's more recent work cited in preceding notes, or Joseph Boone's new work: Boone, *The Homoerotics of Orientalism*. I hope to undertake such a research project in the opening chapter of my second book project.

17. Lochrie, "Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies," 180.

18. Berlant and Warner, "What Does Queer Theory Teach Us about X?", 348-49.

19. The long quote here is from: Burger and Kruger, "Introduction," xvi. On queer theory's attempt "unsettle," "dismantl[e]," and "denaturaliz[e]" the modern regime of heterosexuality, see: Berlant and Warner, "What Does Queer Theory Teach Us about X?", 348; Dinshaw, "Chaucer's Queer Touches/A Queer Touches Chaucer," 77, 79, 91; Fradenburg and Freccero, "Introduction: Caxton, Foucault, and the Pleaures of History," xvii-xix; Lochrie, "Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies," 180. For works more associated with the history of sexuality approach, see: Halperin, *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*; Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality*.

20. Studies by scholars of medieval and early modern religious literature like Simon Gaunt, Karma Lochrie, and Richard Rambuss have demonstrated the variety of ways in which contemporary critics have "straightened" pre-/early modern religious literature through their interpretations, from switching the gender of poetic figures to "desexing" mystical literature when the sexual aspect of a mystical relationship conflicts with heterosexual norms (i.e., feminized Christ with female mystic, or male mystic with masculine Christ). See: Rambuss, "Pleasure and Devotion," 260ff; Gaunt, "Straight Minds / 'Queer' Wishes"; Lochrie, "Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies," 187ff; Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*.

171

ties" studies—as Kathyrn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi term the field in their recent collection of essays—this work has just begun.[21]

Pointing out obvious omissions and misrepresentations of primary sources in the secondary literature—e.g., Chittick and Wilson's heteronormative makeover of 'Erâqi's hagiography—is foundational work for this young field. But it is really only the first step in what must become a broader critical assessment of the scholarly tradition we have inherited and the implicit interpretative strategies and frameworks upon which it is built.[22] In this study, I want to focus on one particularly subtle example of interpretative "straightening" which occurs in many scholarly treatments of medieval Sufi hagiographic materials. It is the tendency to reduce Sufi "love play" with real (even if imagined) bodies—such as 'Erâqi's qalandari boy—to a recondite theory of the appreciation of beautiful "metaphoric" (*majâzi*) forms, so abstract, in fact, that the gender of the object of desire has little to no real significance anymore, as several scholars explicitly argue.[23] While such theoretical treatments of Sufi "love play" are correct in a philosophical sense and by and large faithfully follow the Sufi theoretical treatises in their presentation, they become problematic when they use the Sufi assertion that earthly beloveds are only "metaphoric" bridges to the real, divine Beloved as license to dismiss the importance of the body and the sex-gender regime inscribed upon it as irrelevant to the study of such spiritual practices.[24] This tendency to deemphasize the embod-

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21. There are a number of studies (of varying quality) that have begun to seriously engage the topic of Islamicate sexualities. The following is a representative sampling of book-length treatments. There are two exceptional collections of essays on this topic edited by Kathryn Babayan and Afsaneh Najmabadi and Everett K. Rowson and J.W. Wright Jr. See: Wright Jr. and Rowson (eds.), *Homoeroticism in Classical Arabic Literature*; Babayan and Najmabadi (eds.), *Islamicate Sexualities*. On sexuality in the Qur'an, religious law (*shari'a*), and hadith, see: Ali, *Sexual Ethics and Islam*; Kugle, *Homosexuality in Islam*. For literary studies of sexuality, see (amongst others cited in this chapter): Andrews and Kalpakli, *The Age of Beloveds*; Amer, *Crossing Borders*. On sexuality and gender in early modern Iran and the transition to heteronormativity in Iranian modernity, see: Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*; Afary, *Sexual Politics in Modern Iran*; Najmabadi, "Re-membering Amrads and Amradnumas." For historical studies of sexuality, see: El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World*; Ze'evi, *Producing Desire*. On sexuality in Sufism, see studies cited in remainder of this chapter.

22. Everything from the topics and sources we choose to our analytical approaches are structured to a certain degree by the field of knowledge that we operate in. These are precisely what Lochrie, Berlant, and Warner mean when they talk about the heterosexual "paradigms," "protocols and proprieties" of the modern academy.

23. For representative examples of this approach, see: Feuillebois-Pierunek, *A la croisée des voies célestes*, 279; Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz"; Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics*.

24. This is not to say that these works ignore these aspects entirely or that their strategies of de-emphasizing the body are identical. However, they neither foreground the gendered earthly beloved nor the embodied desires of the Sufi practitioner as objects worthy of serious analysis. I also do not mean to say that the complex Sufi theoretical framework that underlies these practices is not important; it just does not tell the

172

ied form and escape to the ungendered and desexualized realm of philosophical terminology and archetypal symbols, I would argue, is part of what Afsaneh Najmabadi has called Persian modernity's "drive to reconfigure Sufi male homoeroticism as 'purely' allegorical and transcendental"—something, that is, that can be "enjoyed metaphorically" but should not "be confused with the real."[25]

This flat and bodiless portrayal of Sufi eroticism is not only theoretically problematic, however; it is also in marked contrast to the majority of existing Sufi hagiographies, which focus intently on the embodied and gendered beloveds that these poets utilized as "metaphoric," or as I prefer, "embodied" (*majâzi*) bridges to the divine.[26] My analysis here will foreground these bodies and the discourses of desire that center on them as a way of challenging the disembodied and desexualized manner in which Sufi (homo)eroticism is frequently treated.[27] The way in which the body (and its associated desires, actions, etc.) function in these accounts as the site of discursive conflict also suggests, as I argue in the conclusion, that Sufi erotic practice should not be understood as a flight from the body and sexuality, but

whole story, as I hope to show below and the work of Kugle and Bashir has already shown. There are a few recent exceptions to this general pattern, in particular see the discussions of Sufi erotic practices in the following works: Pourjavady, "Stories of Ahmad al-Ghazālī 'Playing the Witness' in Tabriz"; Kugle, *Sufis and Saints' Bodies*; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*.

25. Najmabadi, in her important work on the transformations of discourses on "sexuality" in early modern and modern Iran, has argued that Iranian modernity "closeted the male beloved into the premodern and rendered Sufi love as transcendental." See: Najmabadi, *Women with Mustaches and Men without Beards*, 55-56. Similarly, Babayan and Najmabadi stress the importance of not "swing[ing] [pun intended?] unwittingly toward figures such as the oversexed, lusting woman or the sexless, transcendental mystic man." See: Babayan and Najmabadi, "Preface," xii. Their arguments on this point have interesting similarities to Gaunt, Lochrie, and Rambuss' observations about the "desexing" of medieval and early modern Christian mystical literature in the Euro-American academy. See: Rambuss, "Pleasure and Devotion," 260ff; Gaunt, "Straight Minds / 'Queer' Wishes"; Lochrie, "Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies," 187ff; Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*. Finally, Scott Kugle also points out that the modern Wahhabi movement (a "fundamentalist" brand of Islam associated with Saudi Arabia and the numerous global institutions that they have funded) has also played an important role in disembodying Islam. See: Kugle, *Sufis and Saints' Bodies*, 14, 271, 286-287.

26. Both Kugle and Bashir point to the pervasive lack of attention paid to the body and embodiment in their recent works. See: Kugle, *Sufis and Saints' Bodies*; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*. Also see Caroline Walker Bynum's pioneering work and critique of the de-emphasis on the body in medieval Christian studies (see footnotes 28 and 91 in this chapter).

27. I follow Georges Bataille here in opting to employ the term "eroticism" when discussing Sufi love theory and spiritual practices—a form of what he would term "sacred eroticism." The virtue of this term is that it is capable of capturing erotic activities from the base to the sacred and thus reproducing the productive ambiguity, carnal-divine range, and metaphoric potency of *'eshq* (lit. "passionate love") and its derived terms (*'âsheq*/lover, *ma'shuq*/beloved, *'eshq-bâzi*/love play, etc.), which are the most frequently utilized terms for these English concepts in Sufi love poetry and theoretical treatises. For the use and controversy surrounding the use of *'eshq* in the Sufi tradition, see: Lumbard, "From *Hubb* to *'Ishq*." On Bataille's concept of eroticism, see: Bataille, *Eroticism*.

173

rather an effort to harness them for spiritual ends.[28]

II. Reading *Majâz* as "Embodiment":
Earthly Love and Embodied Lovers as Bridges to God, the (Real) Beloved

The figure of the beautiful qalandari youth in 'Erâqi's hagiography is simultaneously a stock figure *and* the most powerful character in the narrative. Although highly stylized like the beloved of the medieval Persian lyric, he is the locus of the poet's desire and a catalyst for all sorts of dramatic transformations in 'Erâqi's behavior.[29] It is his beauty that sets fire to 'Erâqi's heart and catapults him beyond the territorial and spiritual confines of his local *madraseh* and mosque. While 'Erâqi's predisposition to fall in love is a necessary precondition, it is the sight of the youth that first "disturbs" 'Erâqi-the-Traditional-Pious-Muslim and then transforms him into a heedless lover on the rogue's path. In this respect, the youth in the above story is a functional character, playing a well-established role in Persian Sufi literature: he is the so-called "metaphoric" (*majâzi*) "trainer beloved" for the young spiritual novice.[30] In this capacity, he will help mature 'Erâqi's love into the higher divine forms of love.[31] The

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28. My thinking here has been inspired by Caroline Walker Bynum and, in particular, the work of some of her later critical allies who have all sought in different ways to embody religion and resist efforts (both within the historical tradition itself and by modern scholars) to disembody spirituality. See: Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*; Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*. Despite Bynum's push to embody religion, however, Richard Rambuss, Karma Lochrie, and Simon Gaunt have all pointed out that she seems to recoil from embodying desire in the religious context, especially when that desire is homoerotic. See: Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*, 43-49; Gaunt, "Straight Minds / 'Queer' Wishes"; Lochrie, "Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies," 187ff; Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*, 17. Rambuss in particular takes Bynum to task for the way she chastises modern readers for reading imagery in a sexualized manner—i.e., reading it "that way." So I am inspired here then both by Bynum's work and the works of Rambuss, Lochrie, and Gaunt, who push Bynum to take her conclusions on religion and embodiment further. For Bynum's discussion of spiritual desire and embodiment in medieval Christianity, see: Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity*, 329-41. Also see footnote 91 in this chapter.

29. The "qalandar (male) youth" here really only has two distinguishing features: his "qalandari-ness" and his staggering, heart-ravishing beauty. He is an embodiment, in short, of the qalandari way and the ideal of the young male as the pinnacle of beauty—both of which figure prominently in 'Erâqi's poetry and later hagiographic tradition. The general contours of this hagiographical anecdote would be familiar to anyone familiar with qalandari poetry because it is, in all likelihood, a product of the anonymous author's interweaving of common Sufi hagiographic topoi with a biographical reading of 'Erâqi's qalandari poetry—a "anecdotization" of his poetry, if you will.

30. "Trainer beloved" is a term of my own invention and does not correspond exactly to any original Persian equivalent. Since the Persian term *shâhed* is primarily used in the context of *shâhed-bâzi* (spiritual gazing upon a beautiful individual as a reflection of God's beauty), I felt the need to create a term for examples of "practice" or "training" love, like those subsequently described.

31. The topos of the pious Sufi figure falling in love with a earthly beloved is well-established in medieval Sufi literature. While presented initially as a cause of great scandal, in the end this earthly beloved (who is sometimes non-Muslim) engenders a transformation in the Sufi that allows him to reach even higher levels of spiritual advancement and divine love. For example, see the stories of Sheykh San'ân and the Christian girl (Ritter also mentions a few other less well-known stories like this: Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 400-02). For the way the topos of a pious figure falling in love with an earthly beloved as a means of advancing on spiritual path is parodied in "obscene" literature (*mojun*, *sokhf*), see: Sprachman, "Le beau garçon sans merci"; Sprachman, *Licensed Fool*.

young qalandar fulfills his duty well, as we subsequently learn. He leads 'Erâqi all of the way to India, where he eventually becomes a disciple of the great Sufi master Bahâ' al-Din Zakariyâ of Moltân (d. 1262, or between 1266-8). Under the direction of this capable master, 'Erâqi reaches the highest levels of divine love—in no small part due to the erotic training he received during his time as lover of his first beloved, the qalandar youth.

The use of an earthly beloved as a "trainer" for, "metaphoric bridge" to, or "mirror" of the divine Beloved is part of a well-developed theoretical tradition in medieval Sufism. According to this school of thought, earthly love (*'eshq-e majâzi*) is a "metaphor" (*majâz*) for "real" or "divine" love (*'eshq-e haqiqi*), and it functions, as it is often said, as a "bridge" (*qantarah*) to "the real" (*al-majâz qantarat al-haqiqah*/"metaphor is the bridge to the real"). The (in)famous Sufi 'Ayn al-Qozât Hamadâni (d. 1131), who is most frequently cited on this point, recommends to his readers in the beginning of his first chapter treating "passionate love" (*'eshq*) that "if you do not have love for the creator, at least once try to fall in love with a created being (*makhluq*) so that the value of these words may be productive for you."[32] Earthly (*majâzi*) love has a pedagogical function in his view: it trains the spiritual adepts in the ways of love and guides them to its more elevated levels. Rumi makes this latter point as well in a famous passage from the *Masnavi*, saying: "whether being in love (lit. loverhood) comes from this side or the other / eventually it will guide us to that side (lit. eventually it is a guide for us to that side)."[33]

Love is understood as a spectrum to these Sufi luminaries, and it is firmly anchored in the created world. The contiguity, even imbrication, of earthly and divine love on this spectrum is what enables a Sufi master like Muhammad Zangi (ca. 700/1300) to counsel his readers in the *Nozhat al-'âsheqin* that if a Sufi aspirant is not advancing on the spiritual path, then he should promptly be sent to the "dilapidated winehouse" (*kharâbât*) (a house of ill-repute) where he can fall in love with a "beautiful youth" (*javâni sâheb-e jamâl*) and thereby be

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32. Hamadâni, "Tamhidât," 96 #137.
33. Rumi (Mowlavi), *Masnavi-ye Ma'navi (ed. Sorush)*, 1:111. Original Persian text:
عاشقی گر زین سر و گر زان سرست   عاقبت ما را بدان سر رهبرست

175

trained to be a better lover of God, the real Beloved.[34] Zangi's advice is not atypical. It echoes similar points made by 'Ayn al-Qozât, Rumi, and 'Erâqi, and it is in fact a divinely sanctioned training technique, according to medieval Sufi theorists. God too makes use of earthly beloveds to train and "season" (mature) his chosen lovers for higher forms of divine love.[35] 'Ayn al-Qozât makes this point quite explicit in his discussion of the famous Arab lovers Laylâ and Majnun:

> Do you know why [God] placed all of these veils on the path? [God did so] in order that the lover [and] his eye would become more "seasoned" (lit. cooked, met. mature) until it can bear encountering God without a veil. Dear one, Layla's beauty is bait placed in a trap. Do you know what the trap is? Since the eternal hunter wanted to make a riding horse (*markab*) out of Majnun's being (*nehâd*) and he (Majnun) was not yet ready to fall into the trap of eternal love's beauty (where you are destroyed), [God] ordered that love of Layla make a riding horse of Majnun's being for a while until he became "seasoned" enough through that love to bear the love of God. Dear one, see what [the Qur'an] says about Moses: "And we brought him close" [19:52]. Have you not seen that when there is an excellent riding horse—worthy of none except the king—that first a horse trainer mounts it and breaks it in, transforming its wildness and stubbornness into tameness and reserve.[36]

In this spiritualized reading of the famous love story of Laylâ and Majnun, God employs Laylâ to "season" Majnun and "break [him] in" for himself. The trainer beloved (Laylâ) may not be the ultimate goal, but neither is she inconsequential in the affair. God uses her and her embodied form to spark the fire of love in Majnun and fan its flames until Majnun has been "cooked" enough to be ready for "real" (*haqiqi*), divine love.

Erâqi makes a similar point in his treatise on love theory, the *Lama'ât*. Flouting the artificial confines of the modern regime of heterosexuality, 'Erâqi portrays God "trap[ping]" the heart of King Mahmud with the charms of his beautiful slave Ayâz:

> Love is a bride's color-mixing beautician
> that paints Truth in the colors of "metaphor" (*majâz*)

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34. Zangi also largely repeats here 'Ayn al-Qozât's argument quoted above. See: Zangi Bokhâri, "Nozhat al-'âsheqin," 139-41. I am indebted to Ritter's work for pointing me to Zangi's treatise. See: Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 451-52. For more on the theoretical literature underpinning the concept of earthly love as a bridge or "trainer" for higher forms of love, see: Ernst, "The Stages of Love in Early Persian Sufism," 449ff; Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics*. Also see studies cited in footnote 41 of this chapter on the theoretical underpinnings of *shâhed-bâzi*.

35. While I dislike the traditional use of the pronoun "he" for God, I have decided to retain the masculine gendering of God in this study in order to draw out the homoerotic dimension of this classical pattern.

36. Hamadâni, "Tamhidât," 104-105 #148. For another translation of the same passage, see: Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 452.

176

> It beautifies with its comb the tresses of Ayâz
> so as to trap the heart of Mahmud[37]

God/Love becomes a cosmetologist in these lines, patiently adorning Ayâz and his flowing locks in hopes that the desire his beauty will evoke in Mahmud will eventually guide him to love for God. 'Erâqi's image here is particularly instructive. It foregrounds in an unforgettable way—God as hairdresser and matchmaker for the most famous same-sex lovers in Islamicate culture—the radical spiritual potency of even the most superficial elements of the human form.

While the centrality and pedagogical potential of the human body is not easy to reconcile with the still too common portrayal of Sufis as world-renouncing spiritual seekers, it does not appear to be problematic for medieval Sufis.[38] They value the bodies of these earthly trainer beloveds precisely for their immediate perceptibility to even the most base Sufi aspirants. This point comes through especially clearly in the *earthly love/beloved as toy* metaphor that several Sufi figures employ to explain their perspective on the earthly-divine love spectrum. Rumi and Zangi, for example, both compare earthly love/beloveds to the toy sword a father gives to his son in order that he may practice with it and prepare himself for the real battles of adulthood.[39] Rumi advises his readers that they should

1   Consider it a gift from God that you have experienced afflictions in love's quarters!
     Pass beyond "metaphoric" (*majâzi*) love—the final destination of love is God

2   The fighter gives his son a wooden sword
     So he will become a master of it and (then) take the sword into (real) battles

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37. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 471; 'Erâqi ('Irâqi), *Divine Flashes*, 83. The Persian text is:

عشق مشاطه ایست رنگآمیز   که حقیقت کند به رنگ مجاز
تا به دام آورد دل محمود   بطرازد به شانه زاف ایاز

38. Both Bynum and Kugle comment on the way modernity's mind/soul-body dualism—partly attributable to a particular (mis)interpretation of Descartes—has obscured modern scholars' reading of the more deeply embodied spirituality of the medieval period. Whether modern scholars' disembodied approach to Sufi love theory that I have been arguing against here can justifiably be attributed to the influence of modernity's (re)conceptualizations of the body is a broader question that would require a separate study. The disembodied approach also has certain commonalities with the traditional "Life, Works, and Thought" approach to the study of Sufis which has tended to cast them as individual spiritual seekers divorced from their larger socio-political contexts. See: Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 6, 189-302; Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption*, 183, 235, 237; Safi, *The Politics of Knowledge in Premodern Islam*, 125-57; Kugle, *Sufis and Saints' Bodies*, 11, 13, 86-87.

39. For Zangi's use of this image, see: Zangi Bokhâri, "Nozhat al-'âsheqin," 139. Rumi and Zangi's image of earthly love as a pedagogical tool may be traceable to either/both Sanâ'i and Ahmad Ghazâli.

3   Love for humans is the wooden sword (in the matter of love)
        When you become entangled at the end (of love's path), that love will be transformed
                into love for God

4   In the beginning, for years, Zoleykhâ's love was for Yusof
        [but] in the end it became love for God [and] it made her turn away from Yusof[40]

Rumi's brief excursus on *majâzi* love and the role of earthly trainer beloveds is telling on a

number of levels. He clearly gives a positive valuation to earthly, "metaphoric" forms of

love, instructing readers to regard it as a "blessing" or "gift from God," and then proceeds to

illustrate its pedagogical utility through the images of the toy sword and the famous lovers

Yusof and Zoleykhâ. He tells us that although the "final destination of love" for Sufis should

be God, earthly love and beloveds *play* a critical role in the spiritual journey: "Love for hu-

mans is the wooden sword (in the matter of love)," as he says. One could read this metaphor

as trivializing earthly love, as many modern scholars have, either implicitly or explicitly.

However, this is a misinterpretation. The *earthly beloved as toy* image conveys in the most

tender and familiar terms the naturalness and the necessity of the embodied experience of

love for Sufi spirituality. *'Eshq-bâzi* (literally, love play), as many Sufi theorists term this

practice, is in modern pedagogical terms a type of play-based, experiential learning in which

the earthly beloved functions as a scaffold for the divine instructor (God).

        Rumi concretizes this point through the example of Yusof and Zoleykhâ. He tells us

without even a hint of judgment that it was only by starting out on the path of love with her

earthly beloved, Yusof, that Zoleykhâ came to truly love God. In fact, it was only after en-

gaging in love play with him "for years" that she had matured enough to cross the "metaphor-

ic" bridge and reach "real," divine love. And that is fine, Rumi, adopting the demeanor of

spiritual father, seems to be saying—just as children on the path of love must learn to play

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40. Rumi (Mowlavi), *Kolliyât-e Shams (ed. Foruzânfar)*, 1:22-23. Original Persian text:

عشق مجازی را گذر بر عشق حقست انتها   این از عنایتها شمر کز عشق آمد ضرر
تا او در آن استا شود شمشیر گیرد در غزا   غازی به دست پور خود شمشیر چوبین می‌دهد
آن عشق با رحمان شود چون آخر آید ابتلا   عشقی که بر انسان بود شمشیر چوبین آن بود
شد آخر آن عشق خدا می‌کرد بر یوسف قفا   عشق زلیخا ابتدا بر یوسف آمد سال‌ها

I am indebted to Chittick's treatment of this topic in his work on Rumi's thought for directing me to this
poem. See: Chittick, *The Sufi Path of Love*, 200-06.

178

war with their wooden swords before being sent into battle, so too must lovers "play" with an earthly beloved or two before being worthy of engaging in *eshq-bâzi* with God. In any case, as 'Ayn al-Qozât and 'Erâqi indicate above, it is likely God who is playing the role of match-maker in this affair, employing the peerless beauty, Yusof, to "season" and "break in" Zo-leykhâ for himself. If these trainer beloveds' bodies are God's own instructional aids, should we really dismiss or trivialize them as "*just* toys" in the pejorative sense of that English phrase? This, I maintain, would be an unfortunate misreading.

It is true, though, that Rumi, like other Sufi figures, does open his discussion of earth-ly love and trainer beloveds by pushing the reader to "pass beyond 'metaphoric' (*majâzi*) love" to the "real," divine form of love of God. This exhortation, however, should not be in-terpreted as license to disregard the embodied bridge to divine love or its physical form. It could understandably be interpreted this way, but such an interpretation does not square well with the existing Sufi literature. Neither the Sufis discussed above nor the Sufi hagiographic accounts we will look at later exhibit the compulsion to rush across the bodily bridge that guides and pushes them along love's spectrum to "the final destination of love" (God the Beloved). And in fact, many of them openly celebrate the spiritual efficacy of embodied forms at great length and focus intensely on the physical beauty of the trainer beloved's body.

Nowhere can this be seen as clearly as in the Sufi ritual of *shâhed-bâzi* (n.b. literally "witness-*play*"), which can be understood as a ritualized form of the love play (*'eshq-bâzi*) of the Sufi saints and earthly trainer beloveds discussed above. In theory, it was a meditative technique in which Sufis would gaze at a beautiful human being, termed a "witness" (*shâhed*), who served in this ritual context as a "reflection" or "likeness" (*tamassol*) of God's limitless beauty manifested in a visible, phenomenal form (*surat*). While frequently discussed only in these abstract theoretical terms, it was a historical practice that counted amongst its proponents some of the most illustrious Sufis of the medieval period, including Ahmad al-Ghazâli (d. 1126), 'Ayn al-Qozât Hamadâni, Ruzbehân Baqli (d. 1209), Owhâd al-Din Ker-

mâni (d. ca. 1238), and the primary focus of this study, 'Erâqi.[41] According to its proponents, it was an unparalleled spiritual catalyst Sufi aspirants in their quest to reach the higher levels of divine love.

The *shâheds* that these Sufis employed in this ritual were equally historical as well. They were fleshy, corporeal human beings chosen for their role above all others on account of their extraordinary physical beauty. 'Ayn al-Qozât is insistent on this point, emphasizing to his readers in a number of places that the "metaphoric *shâhed*" (*shâhed-e majâzi*) must have a "beautiful face."[42] The external beauty of the *shâhed* is in almost all accounts the only qualification necessary for their role in this ritual. They could theoretically be either male or female; however, more often than not they are portrayed as male youths in Sufi theoretical treatises, poetry, and hagiographic literature.[43] Some Sufis even went so far as to claim prophetic precedent for their preference for male youths in this ritual, citing a number of prophetic traditions (*hadith*) in which Prophet Muhammad reportedly indicated that God appeared to him as a "beardless male youth" (*amrad*, pl. *mord*).[44]

In the following section, we will see some representative examples of how *shâhed-bâzi* is presented in Sufi hagiographic literature. But I want to emphasize here the way in

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41. For more information on the theoretical Sufi literature on *shâhed-bâzi*, see: Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 448-519; Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz," 43-49; Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics*, 85-119; Ridgeon, "The Controversy of Shaykh Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī." For an overview of *shâhed-bâzi* in Persian literature, see: Shamisâ, *Shâhed-bâzi dar adabiyât-e Fârsi*.

42. Hamadâni, "Tamhidât," 297, 321.

43. Given the assumed normativity of same-sex desire in medieval Persianate societies, this is not surprising (see further discussion of this point below). A number of exceptional studies have been done in the previous decade and a half on these same issues in the context of the Islamicate world. They have shown that pre- and early modern Islamic societies typically regarded same-sex attraction between men and young men to be natural, although religious and legal proscriptions existed to discourage carnal actualization of the desire. While the degree to which Muslims could act on such a desire was constrained by religious and legal prohibitions and varied by historical context, class, etc., the desire itself was considered natural. See: Anonymous, "HOMOSEXUALITY iii. IN PERSIAN LITERATURE"; Rowson, "HOMOSEXUALITY ii. IN ISLAMIC LAW." Even towering Islamic religious figures, such as Abu Hanifah and Jâmi, openly admitted to their attraction to young men. See: El-Rouayheb, *Before Homosexuality in the Arab-Islamic World*, 113; Algar, "JĀMI ii. And Sufism"; Algar, *Jami*, 70–71, 121. See stories of same-sex desire in the biographical materials of Bâbâ Feghâni as well: Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, 33, 44, 51–52. The only same-sex desire/act that was clearly pathologized in some medieval Islamicate medical literature is *'obnah*—i.e., the desire of a male to be penetrated. See: Rosenthal, "Ar-Razi on the Hidden Illness". In the literary realm, same-sex objects of desire are more common than opposite sex. See studies cited in footnote 13 of this chapter.

44. The issue of whether this *hadith* is real or a later fabrication is irrelevant here. The important point is that Sufis made use of it in their arguments for the permissibility of engaging in *shâhed-bâzi* with young men. For a full overview of these *hadiths* and their variations, see: Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 459-61; Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics*, 191-192 n41-42; Ridgeon, "The Controversy of Shaykh Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī," 9-10.

which this meditative technique ritualized the use of bodies for spiritual purposes. In this practice the body of a beautiful person becomes the primary pedagogical tool for progressing towards the divine side of love's spectrum, for getting over the "metaphoric" bridge to "real" love. It can function so effectively as instructional scaffolding for love because of its unique capacity to embody to the greatest extent possible the limitless beauty of God and thus act as the most efficient "trap" to capture the immature lover. This is a powerful statement about the importance of embodiment in medieval Sufism, and it is a point that has not been duly emphasized in contemporary Sufi studies.[45]

The recovery of this more deeply embodied Sufi spirituality will require a shift in both the texts we choose to focus on and our modes of interpreting them. We would do well to begin this process with a new and thicker translation of the complex Sufi concept of *majâz*. Although traditionally translated as "metaphor," or in its adjectival usage as "metaphoric" (*majâzi*), this abstract rendering is somewhat misleading even if technically defensible in a philosophical sense. *Majâz*, as the preceding discussion makes clear, has a much richer meaning in Sufi texts than is typically captured by the word "metaphor" in both contemporary English and traditional Perso-Arabic language theory where it is primarily conceptualized as a rhetorical device or linguistic confection that is figuratively representative of and thus to some extent opposed to the "real" (*haqiqat/haqiqi*), actually existing literal object.[46]

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45. Prominent exceptions to this general point include the previously cited studies of Kugle and Bashir, who have both begun to draw out some of the implications of using the body/embodiment as an analytic lens in the study of Sufism.

46. This is obviously a simplistic portrayal of a large body of thought on metaphor, but what I am trying to point to is the distinction between the linguistic conception of metaphor as figurative (as opposed to literal) language and the Sufi ontological re-interpretation of this dyad, which I discuss subsequently. It is important to add, however, that the metaphoric/literal (*majâz/haqiqeh*) distinction in Perso-Arabic language theory should not lead to a reduction of metaphor to "mere ornament" or optional "aesthetic embellishment." I completely agree with Shahab Ahmed when he argues that the creation and use of linguistic "metaphor" and "metaphoric imagery" functioned in Islamicate cultures as a "explorative mode of meaning-making" that "posse[s] a significance quite beyond the strictly 'literary,' aesthetic,' or 'ornamental' significance that is generally ascribed to it." See: Ahmed, *What is Islam?*, 389-93. Metaphor not only gives form to abstract concepts and ideas, but indeed, it imaginal embodies and performs them, expressing their myriad meanings in much richer ways than literal description (for this reason, I prefer to talk of imagery as "imaginal embodiments"). This is an important distinction that dovetails well with arguments I advance in chapter three of this work and will elaborate further in the coming monograph. For an overview of the concept of *majâz* in Perso-Arabic language theory, see the following and studies cited therein: Reinert, de Bruijn, and Robinson, "Madjāz." Also, it is important to note here that the notion of "metaphor" and "metaphoric" language as only linguistic ornament is deeply problematic and has been roundly repudiated by cognitive linguists in recent decades. See, for example: Lakoff and Johnson, *Metaphors We Live By*; Lakoff, "The Neural Theory of Metaphor"; Bergen, *Louder Than Words*; Gibbs Jr. and Colston, *Interpreting Figurative Meaning*. I would especially recommend Bergen's work, which

181

This linguistic meaning of metaphor/*majâz* as "unreal" or "imaginal" (read: disembodied) is operative in the Sufi conception of this term as well, but with an important modification. Sufis adopt this framework and utilize it to structure their metaphysical worldview, mapping *majâz*/metaphor and *haqiqat*/"the real" onto the world and God/The Real respectively. In this creative reinterpretation, the entire phenomenal world and all of its "forms" (*surat*) function as metaphoric embodiments of the true ontological ground of all existence, God (*haqiqat*). The world and its forms therefore may be "metaphoric" in a philosophical sense, but for medieval Sufis "metaphor" (*majâz*) meant embodiment in all of its experiential variety (somatics, language, aesthetics, etc.).[47] As 'Erâqi says in a poem set in the site of the Sufi's mystical union with The Real, the "dilapidated winehouse" (*kharâbât*):

> No one knows the secrets of the dilapidated winehouse except the drunk—
> what does the sober one know about the secrets in these quarters?
>
> When I experienced the drunkenness of the libertines,
> I realized truly that apart from this work [i.e., union with The Real], it is [all] *majâz*[48]

Thus, in the Sufi context, perhaps we should render the famous phrase "metaphor/the metaphoric is the bridge to reality" (*al-majâz qantarat al-haqiqah*) as "embodiment is the bridge to Reality." The translation of *majâz*/*majâzi* as embodiment/embodied certainly better captures the full meaning of the term in medieval Sufi thought. It also has the virtue of semantically foregrounding and re-embodying Sufi spirituality, making it more difficult to reduce the *majâzi* trainer beloveds and *shâheds* rife throughout Sufi works to the status of "metaphor" (read: unreal). It encourages us to fully reckon with them—and all of their bodily

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reviews the most recent research in this field in an accessible way.

47. Ahmed, in his recent book, makes a related argument as well, averring that "[w]e also need to understand that metaphor and paradox are not merely discursive configurations of meaning, but are also praxial configurations of meaning: that is to say that it is not only words that can be made meaningful in terms of metaphor and paradox, but *actions* as well" (emphasis original). While I only encountered Ahmed's work in the final stages of revising this present study and thus I am only able to engage it here in passing, his notion of *majâz* as "praxial" dovetails well with my contention that we should read *majâz* as embodiment. He also recognizes the problem with the standard translation of *majâz*/*majâzi* as "metaphor/metaphoric," and instead usually employs hyphenated phrases such as "earthly=metaphorical" and "Seen/Metaphoric" to capture the range and import of this word in Sufism. See: Ahmed, *What is Islam?*, 391-96. Also, see Jamal Elias' work for discussion of how images and imagination—what I would term "imaginal embodiments"— play a central role in giving form to the formless: Elias, *Aisha's Cushion*.

48. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 80. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

اسرار خرابات بجز مست نداند   هشیار چه داند که درین کوی چه راز است

تا مستی رندان خرابات بدیدم   دیدم به حقیقت که جز این کار مجاز است

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182

particularities—as the ineluctable flesh and blood bridge to the divine.

III. The Embodied Performance of Love in Sufi Hagiographic Literature: The Case of Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi

As we saw in the story of 'Erâqi's conversion to the qalandari rite, nowhere is the embodied nature of the bridge to "real" love foregrounded as vividly as in Sufi hagiographic accounts. Hagiography as a mode or genre purports to portray the embodied life of its saintly subject as an object lesson to posterity.[49] The idealized life that these accounts present to the reader is not a transparent historical representation of lived reality; much to the chagrin of positivists, these works are not "repositories of factual information," as Jawid A. Mojaddadi warns us in his important study of Sufi hagiographic literature.[50] They are often trying to accomplish a wide range of goals in their narratives of saintly lives, from constructing transhis-

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49. A great deal of work remains to be done on the various genres of medieval Persian biography/hagiography (*tabaqât*, *tazkereh*, *seyar*, *malfuzât*, and *moqaddemeh-ye divân*). The scholarship that does exist has almost exclusively been done by scholars of Sufism. Their scholarship in the last fifteen years has played a critical role in problematizing the use of these bio-/hagiographical sources as transparent historical documents or "repositories of factual information," as Jawid A. Mojaddadi says in his recent study of the *tabaqât* genre. However, from the perspective of literary studies, a key point that these aforementioned studies have overlooked is that these biographical traditions are often also interpretive constructs which are predicated (in varying degrees) upon a biographical reading of the poetry of these poets (*à la* the vida/razo genre in Troubadour poetry). Several scholars of Persian literature have suggested that medieval and early modern biographers of Persian poets produced their works at least in part through biographical readings of the poets' poetry; no scholar though has ever made a systematic attempt to study the literary/interpretative process by which these biographers utilize poetry in these works. In general terms, I view Sufi poets' hagiographic materials as a product of the author's interweaving of some basic historical information (e.g., place of birth, approximate lifespan) and common Sufi hagiographic topoi with biographical readings of their poetry—a "anecdotization" of their poetry, if you will. My own views are closest to those of Suzanne Stetkeyvch, who argues in the Arabic context that there is a close connection between the common topoi of the genre of poetry that a poet becomes most closely associated with and the biographical anecdotes ascribed to him. See: Stetkevych, "Archetype and Attribution in Early Arabic Poetry," 364. This does not mean that all biographical anecdotes are entirely constructed through biographical readings of poetry or that no poems were composed for specific historical events/persons. (We know, for example, that panegyrics were composed with specific historical patrons and circumstances in mind and even the highly stylized figures and symbols of lyric/*ghazal* poetry can be used to reference historical figures/situations, especially in specific performance contexts, as Lewis has argued. See: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 99-104, 109-111. However, this does not mean that the biographers of these poets had access to any of this context-dependent, "historical" information when they were crafting their biographies of these individuals. It seems equally likely given the historic remove of many of these poetic biographers that they used the poet's poetry—with its highly stylized and conventional imagery that with a little interpretative finessing can be made to address a whole range of historical figures and incidents—as one of their primary sources for the poet's "bio-/hagiography." For scholars of Persian literature who have pointed out the connection between poets' poetry and their biographical anecdotes, see: Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 263, 322; Safâ, *Târikh-e adabiyât dar Irân*, 3/1: 571-572, 577; Baldick, "The Poems of Fakhr al-Dīn 'Irāqī," 16-17, 26-27, 129-131, 253-254; de Bruijn, *Of Piety and Poetry*, xv; Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 18; Losensky, *Welcoming Fighānī*, 17-90; Davidson, *Poet and Hero in the Persian Book of Kings*, 32, 36 n15; Lewis, "The Semiotic Horizons of Dawn in the Poetry of Hāfiz," 276 n6. On a similar phenomenon in the vida/razo tradition of Troubadour poetry, see: Poe, "Old Provençal Vidas as Literary Commentary"; Poe, *From Poetry to Prose in Old Provençal*; Poe, "Toward a Balanced View of the Vidas and Razos"; Poe, "The Vidas and Razos"; Burgwinkle, *Love for Sale*.

50. Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism*, 180.

183

torical Sufi identities to establishing normative practice and belief, as a great deal of recent research has shown.[51] Far from devaluing these works, however, this less positivistic understanding of medieval Sufi hagiography actually highlights why they are ideal sources for the study of a variety of different embodied phenomena.

Regardless of their disparate aims, one of the principal features that all hagiographic accounts share by definition is that they seek to achieve their goals through a telling of a saint's lived reality—or, at least, what they believe/want us to believe was his or her lived reality. Hagiography exists as a mode/genre because the lives and bodies of saints are believed to exude power, and it can channel this power only to the extent that readers assume a correspondence between the literary representation of the saint's life and his or her real life. Medieval Sufi hagiography is no different in this respect. Its ability to construct Sufi identities and orthodoxy/orthopraxy is predicated on its readers' belief that the actions and views presented in these accounts are really those of the saint to whom they are attributed.

The importance of the body in Sufi hagiography makes these works ideal for the study of embodiment in medieval Sufism more broadly. They present the reader with a discursively constructed lived reality in which Sufi beliefs and practices are corporealized and performed through the bodies of Sufi exempla and their saintly associates. The bodies that populate this genre may not be historical in a positivistic sense, but they do provide us with a historical understanding of the ways in which bodies and embodied phenomena (e.g., desire) were discursively constructed in the time period of their authors. As a mode/genre, hagiography is both indebted to, and distinct from, Sufi theoretical treatises: it clearly draws from them as it embodies them in the life of its idealized subject. At the same time, though, hagiography is also a historically specific interpretation of Sufi theory—a fact which opens up other fruitful avenues of inquiry.[52]

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51. On these points, see: Hermansen, "Religious Literature and the Inscription of Identity," 317-20; Cornell, *Realm of the Saint*, 63-64; Hermansen and Lawrence, "Indo-Persian Tazkiras as Memorative Communications"; Mojaddedi, *The Biographical Tradition in Sufism*; Ohlander, "Between Historiography, Hagiography and Polemic"; Steinfels, "His Master's Voice"; Pourjavady, "Stories of Ahmad al-Ghazālī 'Playing the Witness' in Tabriz"; Stewart, "The Subject and the Ostensible Subject"; Ohlander, "Mecca Real and Imagined," 34-35, 43-44.

52. Depending on the historical particularities of the hagiography under consideration, the interpretation of Sufi

184

In the remainder of this study, I will return to the hagiography of 'Erâqi and examine the ways in which Sufi erotic practices are constructed and policed in it. His hagiography is by no means the only one that contains stories relevant to the present discussion. Similar stories can be found in accounts of Ahmad al-Ghazâli, Owhad al-Din Kermâni, Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and many later figures as well.[53] However, there are few Sufis whose hagiographic accounts are so replete with performances of Sufi eroticism, thus making 'Erâqi's an ideal place to start a wider reassessment of the construction of love, desire, and even, as I will argue in the concluding section, sexuality in medieval Sufism.

The example of 'Erâqi's "love play" with his qalandari trainer beloved discussed in the opening section of this chapter is the most famous story in his hagiographic tradition. It is not anomalous, however. It is only the first of an interrelated series of anecdotes that fall into one of two general (and heuristic) categories that obtain across Sufi hagiography more broadly. The first consists of stories that portray a Sufi lover's amatory apprenticeship under a trainer beloved. The story of 'Erâqi and the qalandari boy is a prototypical example of this type, and we saw many other such examples in the second section of this chapter. The second category of stories is focused on celebrations of earthly beauty, and most commonly, the beauty of male youths. Often times such stories specifically portray the practice of *shâhed-bâzi*, but there are also other less well-defined celebrations of beauty, such as the "Hasan the Singer" story we will discuss shortly. Far from being quaint anecdotes that can be harmlessly dispensed with in modern renderings (as Chittick and Wilson do), such stories of the embodied performance of erotic spiritual practices play a central role in constructing a distinct Sufi form of sexuality.

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theory and beliefs presented in it may be closer to the classical or "high" Sufi theoretical tradition or represent a more vernacular understanding of Sufi theory. Hagiographic materials are, as Bashir observes, "embedd[ed] in epistemological paradigms particular to the historical setting in which they were produced." See: Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 4.

53. For a representative selection, see accounts discussed in: Shamisâ, *Shâhed-bâzi dar adabiyât-e Fârsi*; Pourjavady, "Stories of Ahmad al-Ghazālī 'Playing the Witness' in Tabriz"; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*; Ridgeon, "The Controversy of Shaykh Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī." Similar stories of the same-sex earthly "trainer-beloveds" and *shâheds* of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and many other medieval Sufi lumanries can be found in the *Majâles al-'oshshâq*. See: Gâzargâhi, *Majâles al-oshshâq*.

185

A Poetic Defense of Sufi Eroticism: The Stories of the Departure from Moltân and Hasan the Singer of Peerless Beauty

After losing his beloved qalandari youth and joining Bahâ' al-Din Zakariyâ's Sufi lodge, 'Erâqi stays in Moltân for approximately twenty-five years, according to most accounts. There is little information reported about his life or activities during these two and half decades. All we are told is that after some initial controversy about 'Erâqi's somewhat antinomian comportment in the Moltân lodge, Zakariyâ eventually realizes his elevated spiritual station and promptly marries his daughter to him—a marriage which produces at least one child, a son named Kabir al-Din. After these events, the anonymous biographer flashes forward immediately to the death of Zakariyâ in the following sentence, depicting him naming 'Erâqi as his spiritual successor (*khalifeh*) and leader of the Sohrawardi lodge in Moltân. Medieval Sufi lodges—especially politically and economically powerful ones like the Sohrawardi lodge in Moltân—were not strangers to the messy battles for power that sometimes occurred upon the death of powerful leaders or other radical changes in the local political scene. According to the anonymous biographer, such a struggle over succession flared up immediately after the death of Zakariyâ. A group opposed to 'Erâqi within the Sufi lodge allied with a disgruntled local ruler to prevent 'Erâqi from assuming leadership of the Sohrawardi lodge under the pretense that he "does not preserve his [Zakariyâ's] traditions, spends all of his time absorbed in poetry, and his spiritual retreats (*khalvat*) are with young men (*amradân*)."[54] The narrative clearly pushes the reader to believe that these accusations are decidedly secondary to larger political machinations in bringing about the deposal of 'Erâqi. However, it is not incidental to the larger narrative that one of the pretexts proffered for rejecting 'Erâqi's succession relates to his erotic practices. It indicates to the reader for the first time that there is something socially suspect about 'Erâqi's close association with young men. The narrator does not defend 'Erâqi from the charge in this particular case. He leaves that tension in the text here, but it foreshadows an anxiety that will re-manifest repeat-

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54. Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 52-53; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 602-03; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 600.

edly throughout the account in a series of stories that all revolve around 'Erâqi's interactions with beautiful male youths.

The first such example is the elaborate story of "Hasan the beautiful singer," which occurs after 'Erâqi is forced to leave Moltân and goes on the *hajj* pilgrimage.[55] He settles in Anatolia, where he studies the works of Mohyi al-Din ibn 'Arabi (d. 1240) with his foremost disciple and step-son, Sadr al-Din Qunawi (d. 1274), in Konya and eventually wins the affection of the celebrated local ruler, Amir Mo'in al-Din Parvâneh (d. 1277). Amir Parvâneh becomes a loyal supporter of 'Erâqi and builds him his own Sufi lodge in Tuqât. It is here that the story of the beautiful singer Hasan is set.[56]

According to the anonymous biography and Jâmi's *Nafahât al-Ons*, one day Amir Parvâneh comes to 'Erâqi and brings him some gold. 'Erâqi rejects it, saying that he cannot "deceive [him] with gold," and instead asks him to bring "Hasan the singer."[57] Hasan, however, is not any old singer: he is the Justin Timberlake of medieval Anatolia! The accounts describe Hasan as "without peer in beauty and pleasing in elegance" and report that "people had placed the seal of his love on their hearts and tossed their souls to the wind out of love for him." Such is their love for this premodern heartthrob that when Amir Parvâneh's messenger arrives to take Hasan to 'Erâqi's lodge, "ten thousand *men* from among Hasan's lovers gathered and forbid it [i.e., forbid him to leave]." Hasan is only successfully dispatched to Tuqât after the local governor begins hanging the members of Hasan's entourage that are defying Amir Parvâneh's orders to have Hasan sent to 'Erâqi's lodge.

Contrary to Chittick and Wilson's rendering of this scene, the focus in the original story is squarely on the peerless beauty of Hasan and the fervent love it has evoked in the men of his town.[58] While his musical skills and melodious voice are part of his powerful al-

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55. Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 52-53; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 602-03; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 600.

56. Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 53-55; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 603; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 600.

57. Both the anonymous introduction and Jâmi relate the same story with some differences in wording. I have based my translations on the anonymous introduction. See: Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 55-56; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 603; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 601.

58. As in the case of the story of 'Erâqi's qalandari "trainer beloved," Chittick and Wilson completely eliminate sections of this story and transform the remainder of the narrative, "straightening" it by removing the central focus of the story: Hasan's beauty and the force it exerted on those around him. Hasan's beauty is

187

lure, his effect on his army of lovers and 'Erâqi cannot be reduced to the impact of these technical skills alone. The hagiographer's passing mention that most of the men in love with Hasan are not true lovers (*'âsheq*), but rather only fornicators (*fâseq*), reinforces the point that the extraordinary interest in Hasan is a product of his physical beauty more than anything else. Moreover, Chittick and Wilson's account here also misses the antithesis created by the anonymous author between the gold that Amir Parvâneh first brings (and 'Erâqi rejects) and Hasan's beauty, which is the currency that Sufi lovers such as 'Erâqi trade in.

When Hasan finally arrives in Tuqât, 'Erâqi goes out to meet him, and after settling him in his Sufi lodge, they commence a three-day marathon of *samâ'*.[59] Although it is not made explicit in the narrative, it is likely that Hasan's role in 'Erâqi's lodge would have been both as a *samâ'* musician and, more importantly, a *shâhed*. The writings of 'Ayn al-Qozât Hamadâni, Ruzbehân Baqli, and other prominent Sufi figures indicate that the singer (*qavvâl*) may also function as a *shâhed* in some cases, and given 'Erâqi's strong association with this practice and Hasan's celebrated beauty, it is likely that premodern readers would have understood Hasan as functioning in this dual role. He would have been seen, in other words, as providing spiritual fuel to the *samâ'* session through both his beauty and melodious poetic recitation.[60]

Nothing in the narrative itself comments directly on the scene or offers a defense of 'Erâqi's actions in this anecdote (as will be the case in later episodes). All that we are told is that these three days of *samâ'* with Hasan are a very poetically productive period for 'Erâqi: "he composed many good poems in these three days," the narrator reports, and he lists the first line of three of these poems in particular.[61] These poems were clearly not chosen at random. They have both theoretical and narrative import for the hagiography. Although the narrative itself does not address the cultural anxiety that we learned earlier clouds 'Erâqi's asso-

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never even mentioned and his "lovers" become "admirers," which we are led to believe admire him for his music skills, not his beauty. See: Chittick and Wilson, "Introduction," 50-51.

59. On *samâ'*, see footnote 6, chapter 4.
60. See: Hamadâni, "Tamhidât," 321; Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 513-15; Ridgeon, "The Controversy of Shaykh Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī," 9.
61. Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 56.

188

ciation with beautiful youths, the poems take this issue head on and mount a vigorous defense of the use of earthly beauties as spiritual catalysts.

The first poem opens with the image of Love (*'eshq*) as the *simorgh* (a phoenix-like figure), treating Love as an abstract, unknowable force in the opening seven lines before embodying it in the remainder of the poem in a beloved with a face, lips, eyes, and locks that entrap the poet.

1   Love is a phoenix for whom there is no trap.
      In both worlds there is no sign or name for it.

2   Indeed no one has found its quarter,
      for there are no footprints in its field.

3   In its heaven of soul-enlivening union,
      there are no pure wine-drinkers except from its lips.

4   The entire world drinks its cup to the bottom,
      although the world is not outside the cup.

5   My morning and night are its cheeks and tresses,
      although where it is there is not morning or night.

6   Suddenly if it casts off the veil from its face,
      it will unsuccessfully come face to face with the world—for it [the world] does
            not exist.

7   O morning breeze, if you pass by its [Love's] quarter
      we only have this message for it:

8   O tranquil heart—our very soul is you—
      not even one moment is tranquil without you.

9   Everyone in this world is desirous of something,
      [but] there is no other aim or desire for us save your lips.

10   Everyone who has a beloved carries his name on his lips,
      [but] our beloved does not have a name.

11   Since your lips and eyes intoxicated us
      our sweetmeats have been nothing but your sugar and almonds.

12   Since our hearts became entangled in your tresses
      our work has been nothing but lassos and traps.

13   The fortunate one in both worlds is your lover—
      he has no ill-wisher!

189

14   Begin a love affair with 'Erâqi!
           Even though he is not worthy of such a blessing.[62]

    'Erâqi focuses on describing the abstract force Love (*'eshq*) until the midpoint of the poem (lines 7-8) where he pivots, apostrophizing the morning breeze and requesting it to take a message to Love. The transition here from the treatment of Love in the first seven lines to the inset message to Love in the final seven lines is crucially important. It marks both an important structural feature of the poem's organization, and it poetically performs the necessary transformation of Love into the figures of the Beloved and Lover. As 'Erâqi himself details in his prosimetric work on Sufi love theory, the *Lama'ât*, before love enters the world, it is without "name or sign"—a point which 'Erâqi reiterates in this poem here as well. In its descent/emanation into the created world (which actually creates the world itself, ref. line 6), it takes on the forms of beloved and lover and sets in motion the eternal quest of the lover (human beings) for the beloved. This process is mirrored in this and the two subsequent poems and plays out throughout 'Erâqi's biography as he falls in love with one beautiful beloved after another.[63]

    The shift from Love to the beloved/lover dyad is emphasized in this poem through the device of an inset love letter. The unknowable and "veil[ed]" Love (*'eshq*) becomes a slightly more knowable Beloved (*ma'shuq*) (line 10) in the second half of the poem—a point which is

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62. Full translation of this poem is provided in Appendix I. Persian text taken from: 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 234-35. See other version here: 'Erâqi (Hamadâni), *Kolliyât-e 'Erâqi (ed. Nafisi)*, 159-60. Persian text of portions translated above:

<div dir="rtl">

عشق سیمرغ است کورا دام نیست   در دو عالم زو نشان و نام نیست

پی به کوی او همانا کس نبرد   کاندر آن صحرا نشان گام نیست

در بهشت وصل جان‌افزای او   جز لب او کس رحیق آشام نیست

جمله عالم جرعه‌چین جام اوست   گرچه عالم خود برون از جام نیست

صبح و شامم طره و رخسار اوست   گرچه آنجا کوست صبح و شام نیست

ناگه از رخ گر براندازد نقاب   سر به سر عالم شود ناگام، نیست

ای صبا گر بگذری در کوی او   نزد او ما را جز این پیغام نیست

ای دل آرامی که جان ما تویی   بی تو ما را یک نفس آرام نیست

هرکسی را هست کامی در جهان   جز لبت ما را مراد و کام نیست

هر کسی را نام معشوقی که هست   می‌برد، معشوق ما را نام نیست

تا لب و چشم تو ما را مست کرد   نقل ما جز شکر و بادام نیست

تا دل ما در سر زلف تو شد   کار ما جز با کمند و دام نیست

نیکبختی را که در هر دو جهان   دوستی (چون) توست دشمنکام نیست

با عراقی دوستی آغاز کن   گر چه او در خورد این انعام نیست

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63. For full account of 'Erâqi's love theory in the *Lama'ât*, see: 'Erâqi ('Irâqi), *Divine Flashes*; Miller, "'The Ocean of the Persian'." For the important differences between earlier theories of love (e.g., Ahmad al-Ghazâli's) and 'Erâqi's, see: Pourjavady, "The Concept of Love in 'Erâqi and Ahmad Ghazzāli"; Miller, "'The Ocean of the Persian'."

190

emphasized too in the pronoun switch from the third person "it/he/she/its/his/her" (*u*) of the first seven lines to the second person "you/your" in the remainder of the poem. While Love may be traceless (line 1) or only veiledly glimpsed in the morning or night (lines 5-6), the Beloved of the second half of the poem has lips, eyes, and tresses that excite considerable desire in the poet and ultimately trap and enslave him (lines 9, 11-12). This is the nature of the lover's condition, as 'Erâqi says in line 12: "since our hearts became entangled in your tresses / our work has been nothing but lassos and traps."

The image complex in line 12 of "locks," "lassos," and "traps" is central to the poem's function here. At a poetic level, the "lassos and traps" of the second hemistich are extensions of the "tresses" image of the first hemistich (the tresses, locks, and curls of the beloved in medieval Persian literature symbolically function as "traps" or "snares" for lovers). However, the relation between these images has a metaphysical layer as well because the "tresses" of the beloved in traditional Sufi hermeneutics are also a symbol for the manifested, phenomenal "*majâzi*" world.[64] The line, re-read with this in mind, makes a much stronger statement: since 'Erâqi's soul has become "entangled" in the "metaphoric" (*majâzi*) world, he has dedicated "all [his] work" to the embodied "lassos and traps" that will eventually lead him to his real (*haqiqi*) Beloved. This love play with the embodied "tresses" of the Beloved is not something to be ashamed of—these are the machinations of Love itself. As we saw earlier, it is Love/God itself/himself who is the matchmaker in these affairs, lovingly coaxing his chosen lovers into these "traps," these honeypots of his infinite beauty embodied.

The last line of the first poem nicely segues into the second poem identified by the anonymous author as inspired by Hasan's presence in Tuqât. It concludes by entreating the Beloved to "begin a love affair with 'Erâqi," and the second poem picks up exactly where the first leaves off: with 'Erâqi "entangled" in the "tresses" of the phenomenal world and looking for the Beloved. The second poem is one of 'Erâqi's famous *tarji-bands* (strophic poems),

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64. For tresses as a symbol of the phenomena of the manifested world in the Sufi hermeneutical tradition, see: Nurbakhsh, *Sufi Symbolism (I-XVI)*, 1:76-77. Given the context of this poetic citation in 'Erâqi's hagiography, it is likely that the anonymous author had this interpretation in mind. Please note, however, I am not endorsing here the uncritical use of Sufi lexicons for the interpretation of Sufi poetry. For my views on sufi lexicons, please see chapter three.

191

and it elaborates in exquisite poetic detail for a full seven stanzas (56 lines) the poet's pursuit of an elusive beloved in the poetic world of the winehouse.[65] It develops the story of the "love affair" that 'Erâqi seeks in the second half of the first poem, but there are no abstract or philosophical discussions of love here as in the first and third poems. The winehouse world of the second poem revolves around a more concrete, even if still somewhat distant, beloved: one who has seduced the poet-lover (5:2) and entrapped him (6:4; 7:4) through "amorous glances," "coquetry," "fair cheeks," luscious lips, and "beautiful images and idols." [66] The gender of the beloved is not left ambiguous either. In the second line of the poem, 'Erâqi makes it explicit by asking his readers to "recite the secret of the two worlds from the pleasant down of the idol's [beloved's] cheek." He then reinforces the masculine gendering of the beloved in his later identification of him as a "cupbearer" (*sâqi*) with a "downy cheek" (4:3) that puts even Khidr and the waters of life to shame.[67] Homoeroticism suffuses the poem and animates its poetic world as the poetic gaze remains firmly fixed on this young male Beloved throughout its fifty-six lines.

The young ephebe that 'Erâqi is "pining for" in this poem is ultimately a figuration of the divine Beloved. The poem does not allow much room for ambiguity on this point. However, as 'Erâqi quite explicitly asserts in a number of lines, he is still striving to reach the divine Beloved—despite his best efforts, he has *not* reached him yet (1:3; 3:1,7; 5:6; 6:6). 'Erâqi begins the poem with a direct statement of this fact, clearly informing the reader of his position on the earthly/divine love spectrum:

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65. The extraordinary length of this *tarji'-band* prevents a full analysis of it here. However, a full translation of this poem is provided in Appendix I. The poem itself is a masterpiece and was apparently one of 'Erâqi's most famous poems in the medieval period. In addition to appearing in the anonymous introduction, it also is cited in Kâshefi's poetic treatise and 'Abd al-Nabi Qazvini's famous *Tazkereh-ye Meykhâneh*. There is a disagreement over the length of this *tarji'-band*. Qazvini lists it as fourteen *bands* long, Nafisi puts it at fifteen, but Mohtasham in her critical edition splits these longer versions into two separate *tarji'-bands*. As elsewhere, I have followed Mohtasham's edition here. See: 'Erâqi (Hamadâni), *Kolliyât-e 'Erâqi (ed. Nafisi)*, 133-40; Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 74; 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 91-98, 264-268; Qazvini, *Tazkereh-ye may-khâneh*, 50-56. On the figure of 'Abd al-Nabi Qazvini, see: Losensky, "'Abd al-Nabī Qazvīnī." On Kâshefi, see the opening pages of chapter one (and accompanying footnotes) and: van Ruymbeke, "Kashifi's Forgotten Masterpiece"; van Ruymbeke, "Kāshifī's Powerful Metaphor."

66. Since stanzaic poems are typically cited by stanza and line, I have used the following in-text citation format when discussing this poem: stanza:line(s).

67. The figure of the cupbearer in Persian poetry—like many of its European counterparts as well—has a long tradition of being understood as a beautiful, youthful male—in short, a Ganymede figure. See: Yarshater, "The Theme of Wine-Drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry," 48-53.

192

> Sit, drink wine, and be merry
> with the rogues in the winehouse!
>
> Recite the secret of the two worlds from the pleasant down of the idol's cheek—but
> don't reveal it!
>
> I have been seduced by beautiful images and idols
> (and) for this reason I am not arriving to the master artist.[68]

Far from incidental, it is 'Erâqi's "*not* arriving to the master artist [the divine Beloved]" that is the driving force of the poem. The "master artist" has "seduced" him, and he has fallen in his "traps" (i.e., the "beautiful images and idols"), but "[the Beloved] has not yet become [his] intimate" (3:1; 6:4).[69] 'Erâqi hopes to "one day" reach the divine Beloved (6:6-7), but it is clear that in this poem he remains throughout at some remove from this "seducer of the age" whom he seeks to "catch a whiff of" in the winehouse (3:1; 5:2; 6:4; 7:4), as he says in the poetic refrain:

> I am drinking a goblet in the winehouse
> in hopes that I will catch a whiff of you.[70]

To put it in terms of Sufi love theory, the poet here is stuck on the metaphoric, embodied bridge to the divine Beloved. The poem as a whole, in fact, reads as a sustained meditation on the Sufi lover's predicament: they have awoken to the reality that there is a divine Beloved above and beyond all of these earthly beloveds, but they are drawn to the embodied forms of beauty (the Beloved's "tresses," "idols," and "bait") in the phenomenal world that reflect him while they await reunion with the "master artist" (1:2-3; 6:4; 7:1, 4). While true Sufis will never be completely satisfied with these *majâzi* embodiments of the Real (they should always be searching like 'Erâqi in this poem), this does not mean that they will not avail themselves of divine assistance when the divine Beloved offers one of his beautiful, em-

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68. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 264-68. Persian text:

در میکده با حریف قلّاش   بنشین و شراب نوش و خوش باش
از خطّ خوش نگار بر خوان   سرّ دو جهان ولی مکن فاش
بر نقش و نگار فتنه گشتم   زین رو نمی رسم به نقّاش

69. See 'Ayn al-Qozât and 'Erâqi's quotes above on the Beloved's use of earthly beloveds as "traps."
70. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 264-68. Persian text:

در میکده می‌کشم سبویی   باشد که بیابم از تو بویی

193

bodied tresses ("his curls grabbed my hand") to help pull them across the bridge (7:4). Even at the end of this poem, however, 'Erâqi has not quite crossed the bridge. He is left still searching for "whiffs" of the Beloved in the winehouse—an excellent metaphor for the Sufi lover's practice of contemplating the beauty of the Beloved in the form of earthly beloveds. For like the bodily sensation of catching a wafting whiff, *shâhed-bâzi* simultaneously grounds the lover in a present embodied reality while pointing to something beyond it, or rather to something that is there, but is only perceptible in residual form.

The final poem listed by the anonymous author as being composed by 'Erâqi in his encounter with Hasan is a long *ghazal* reminiscent of the more theoretical treatment of Sufi love theory seen in the first poem. It is the only one of the three that Jâmi also reproduces in his account of 'Erâqi's hagiography, making it doubly important and, apparently in Jâmi's view, capable of encapsulating the message of all three poems.[71] It begins with the cosmic, pre-eternal image of Love bringing "the nine spheres" into "motion, searching" (*tak u tâz*)—a "motion" and "search," we should note, that was just elaborated in a microcosmic form for the reader in the preceding poem.

1   Who knows which instrument is the instrument of Love's merriment
        whose bow sets the nine spheres in motion, searching?

2   It brought the whole universe into a dance with one stroke of the bow;
        the soul of the world is itself a melody of this musician (*pardeh-navâz*).

3   The world is a veiled echo of this tune (*pardeh*)—who knows
        what this song (*pardeh*) is and what secret is in this tune/veil (*pardeh*)?[72]

Punning in these lines on the word *pardeh* ("veil" or "tune, song, musical mode"), 'Erâqi again returns in this poem to explicate in rich poetic imagery the Sufi metaphysics of love. Love, the necessary existent, does not just create the world, but brings "the whole universe into a dance with one stroke of the bow" (line 2). The created world is only an "echo,"

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71. Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 603; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 601.
72. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 322. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

کز زخمهٔ او نه فلک اندر تک و تاز است   ساز طرب عشق که داند که چه ساز است

خود جان جهان نغمهٔ آن پردهنواز است   آورد به یک زخمه جهان را همه در رقص

کین پرده چه پردست و درین پرده چه راز است   عالم چو صدائیست ازین پرده که داند

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194

a veiled version, of Love's song (*pardeh*), but within it there is hidden a secret that the

cognoscenti can discover (lines 3-4).

4   There is a secret in this song/veil (*pardeh*)—when you come upon it (lit.
      experientially know it/*beh-shenâsi*),
   you will understand (*dâni*) why The Real is in the binds of metaphor (*majâz*).

5   You will understand why Mahmud's mind
   is always distraught in the tresses of Ayâz,

6   (and) why the beauty of the fair ones' faces—who all are the essence of coquetry—
   is in need of the need of the lovers' hearts.

7   Love appears each moment in a different color,
   in one place coquetry, in another need.

8   When it appears in the form of the lover, all is painful pining;
   when it appears in the garb of the beloved, all is merriment and music.

9   From that spark that Love struck from the fair faces of the beautiful idols,
   the lovers' hearts are all on fire and melting and withering away.

10   The path of Love is very close and merry;
   any way other than this is long and far.

11   A drunk that is drunk on the path of Love,
   his merry drunken dreams are the very essence of prayer.

12   Last night when they did not permit us to enter the Sufi lodge,
   I went to the door of the winehouse and saw it was shut too.

13   But then a song arose from within the winehouse:
   "'Erâqi, lose yourself, for the door of the winehouse is open!"[73]

   The second section of this poem centers on a sharp yet subtle riposte to the narrative's

omnipresent "accusers" (*modda'iyân*). As we saw earlier and will see again, anonymous crit-

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73. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 322. Persian text:

<div dir="rtl">

رازیست درین پرده چو آنرا بشناسی   دانی که حقیقت ز چه دربند مجاز است

معلوم کنی کز چه سببِ خاطر محمود   پیوسته پریشان سرِ زلف ایاز است

محتاجِ نیازِ دلِ عشاق چرا شد   حسن رخِ خوبان که همه مایهٔ ناز است

عشقست که هَر دم به دگر رنگ برآید   نازاسَت یَکی جای و دگر جایِ نیاز است

در صورت عاشق چو برآید همه سوزست   در کسوت معشوق چو آید همه ساز است

زان شعله که از رویِ بتانِ عشق برافروخت   قسمِ دلِ عشاق همه سوز و گداز است

راهیست رهِ عشق بغایت خوش و نزدیک   هَر رُه که جز اینست همه دور و دراز است

مستی که خراب رهِ عشقست در آن ره   خواب خوش مستیش همه عین نماز است

در صومعه چونْ بازَ(راه) ندادند مرا دوش   رفتم بَه در مَیکده دیدم که فرازست

از میکده آواز برآمد که عراقی   در بازِ تو خود را که در میکده باز است

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195

ics are repeatedly portrayed as suspecting and defaming 'Erâqi throughout the hagiography because he spends a great deal of time hanging around "fair face[d] beautiful idols" (lines 6, 9) such as the qalandari boy, Hasan, and other unnamed earthly (male) beloveds (*pesar*, *amrad*). Such congresses would have been viewed as fraught with the possibility for sexual indiscretions; however, 'Erâqi suggests in this poem that their suspicion of his moral probity is a product of their spiritual ignorance. They do not properly understand the nature of earthly beauty and its spiritual potency in the hands of a Sufi master. To paraphrase the main thrust of lines 4-6, 'Erâqi gently rebukes these anonymous figures, saying "if you knew the secret I know, you would understand why The Real (i.e., God) is contained in the 'metaphoric' earthly beloveds described throughout this hagiography." While the nature of the "secret" is left somewhat vague here, discerning this secret will, he promises, allow them to "understand (*dâni*) why The Real is in the binds of metaphor/embodiment (*majâz*)"—in other words, how "The Real (*haqiqat*)" is perceivable through phenomenal, metaphoric forms/bodies (*majâz*) (lines 3-4). He illustrates this theoretical point in the following line (again) through the example of the famous same-sex lovers of the Persian literary tradition, Mahmud and Ayâz, cautioning the reader that they will only understand Mahmud's love for his slave Ayâz when they "come upon (lit. experientially know/*be-shenâsi*)" this secret in Love's (God's) "song/veil" (*pardeh*) (lines 4-5).

The "secret" of Love and the "dance" and "searching" of lovers and beloveds that it initiates with its tune (lines 1-2) is that all of existence is to some extent the product of one great cosmic love affair. As Sufi love theorists like 'Erâqi explain at length in their treatises, Love is the origin of everything, and it creates the universe in order to know itself through the "love play" (*'eshq-bâzi*) of beloveds and lovers.[74] Lovers of all types and stripes—divine, earthly, same-sex, and heterosexual alike—participate in this primordial tango whether they are conscious of its metaphysical implications or not. Love excites them to desire through the beauty of their beloveds ("the spark that Love struck from the fair faces of beautiful idols"),

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74. Again, see citations in footnote 63, chapter 4 on the difference between 'Erâqi and earlier Persian Sufis' theories of love.

196

igniting the fires of Love in the lovers' hearts (lines 1-2, 6-9).[75] To Sufis like 'Erâqi, the cosmic force of desire drawing lovers to their beautiful beloveds is as real and fundamental to the operation of the universe as gravity and it can be channeled for unparalleled spiritual advancement on the "path of Love" (*râh-e 'eshq*, line 10). Critics (including some Sufis, see line 12) who do not "(experientially) know" this secret are simply not yet far enough along on the spiritual path to understand the higher erotic arts of Sufi love play (*'eshq-bâzi*). They should, in the view of the anonymous hagiographer and 'Erâqi, recognize their spiritual immaturity and withdraw their misguided accusations.

Their aesthetic contribution to 'Erâqi's hagiography aside, these poems capture in verse some of the most recondite and subtle points of Sufi love theory, and the author of this work marshals them here to legitimate 'Erâqi's seemingly endless number of spiritual rendezvous with earthly beloveds both before and especially after this episode. Their shared focus on the necessity of "metaphoric/embodied bridges" forms an integral part of the hagiography's defense of the spiritual and poetic utility of earthly beloveds for the mystical lover. In other words, it is important that these poems are not passed over as only incidental ornamentation for a biographical anecdote recounting 'Erâqi's request to Amir Parvâneh to bring "Hasan the Singer of peerless beauty" for a *samâ'* session. They function as a form of poetic argumentation whose effect on the reader is augmented by the imaginative performance context into which the anonymous hagiographer places them. The anonymous author's defense of 'Erâqi's erotic practices is not just stated in the hagiography; it is imaginatively performed for the reader by the very individual whose presence, the author realizes, provokes social opprobrium from some quarters of the medieval Islamic establishment. With all eyes on him in the story, so to speak, the "beautiful idol" of this *samâ'* assembly (e.g., Hasan) performs 'Erâqi's poetic self-defense. By the time readers reach the end of his performance, they should understand—theoretically, at least—why 'Erâqi is always so interested in beautiful youths (*amradân*) like Hasan, the qalandari youth, and the numerous others discussed later in

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75. See 'Erâqi's treatise on Sufi love theory, the *Lama'ât*, on this point: 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 451ff; 'Erâqi ('Irâqi), *Divine Flashes*. For a summary of the primary theoretical points of his love theory in this work, see: Miller, "'The Ocean of the Persian'."

197

his hagiography: for him, they are the "tresses," the "lassos and traps," of the Beloved that function as the means by which the "seducer of the age" (i.e., God/the Beloved) "trap[s]" lovers like him and lures/pulls them across the "metaphoric/embodied" bridge to himself. They embody his absolute beauty to a certain degree and the desire evoked by these beautiful human bodies can catalyze (when properly channeled) the cosmic love affair with the ultimate Beloved who is beyond form yet reflected in all of them. These poems, strategically inserted into 'Erâqi's prose hagiography, present with poetic flair the theoretical case for this deeply embodied understanding of Sufi eroticism.

Meditating on Embodiments of Beauty: Stories of 'Erâqi Engaged in **Shâhed-bâzi**

While the stories of 'Erâqi's qalandari trainer beloved and the beautiful singer Hasan are the most elaborately developed episodes in 'Erâqi's hagiography, they are not the only stories about his erotic interests. Another set of related anecdotes are principally concerned with exculpating 'Erâqi from charges of improper conduct with *shâheds* (all of which are, again, *completely* excised from Chittick and Wilson's version of 'Erâqi's hagiography). These stories are interesting as much for what they do not say as for what they do say. Their foci, objects of censure, and implicit textual assumptions all provide important insights into the discursive construction and policing of desire in medieval Persianate Sufism.

The first story appears in Dowlatshâh Samarqandi's account of 'Erâqi's life in *Tazker-at al-Sho'arâ*. Although the story of 'Erâqi falling in love with the qalandari youth and following him to India is the most common explanation offered in 'Erâqi's hagiographic tradition for his travel to India, Dowlatshâh maintains that a different event precipitated this migration. According to his sources, 'Erâqi began his Sufi training in Baghdad under the tutelage of the great Sufi master Shihâb al-Din Abu Hafs 'Omar Sohrawardi (d. 1234) and there he spent his time "with the beautiful ones, gazing purely upon young men" (*beh nazar-e pâk-e al-fatâ*). This practice, however, eventually led to a strain in 'Erâqi and Sohrawardi's relationship:

> It is related that Sheykh 'Erâqi was always with the beautiful ones, gazing purely at young men (*al-fatâ*). One day Sheykh Shihâb al-Din was told that 'Erâqi was in the market, seated face to face with a young (male) horse-shoe

198

maker (*pesar*), gazing at him. Sheykh Shihâb al-Din rebuked Sheykh 'Erâqi and said: "This gazing that you do starts a fire in the dervish's house of honor. Do you not see that critics lie in ambush and level allegations against the ascetics!" 'Erâqi, in response, said: "O my Sheykh, where is he not that you are seeing duality?" Finally the Sheykh grew tired of 'Erâqi's impudence and 'Erâqi pleaded with him and wept until the Sheykh was pleased with him (again). (But) in punishment for this insolence, he said: "You must go to India and be refined like silver in the metallurgic shop in that center of asceticism there. You must be in that obscurity."[76]

Sohrawardi rebukes 'Erâqi twice in this account, but not for the reasons one might initially suspect.[77] His initial castigation of 'Erâqi—i.e., "[t]his gazing that you do starts a fire in the dervishs' house of honor..."—is focused on his irresponsible practice of this controversial spiritual technique in the middle of the town market where "critics lie in ambush and level allegations against the ascetics." It reads primarily as an expression of exasperation at 'Erâqi's lack of regard for the public image of Sufis. Sohrawardi's response to this news does register a considerable degree of anxiety about this erotic practice amongst Sufis, but it is important to note that his criticism in this account is not directed against the practice of *shâhed-bâzi per se* or its underlying homoeroticism. Indeed, the source of the anxiety is not made explicit in the account. Rather, it haunts it and assumes that the reader will possess the proper cultural knowledge to understand what about the scene has the potential to "start a fire in the dervishs' house of honor."

Sohrawardi's second rebuke of 'Erâqi in this anecdote is no help in this matter either. Dowlatshâh tells us he grows "tired" of 'Erâqi and dispatches him to India, partly in punishment, but more for additional spiritual refinement. The progression of the dialogue between them makes clear, however, that 'Erâqi's sin in this second instance is not *shâhed-bâzi*. Sohrawardi's patience with 'Erâqi runs out due to the extraordinary "impudence" (*gostâkhi*) and "insolence" (*jor'at*) that 'Erâqi displays towards him in his cheeky reply to his warning about the premodern public relations nightmare that the open practice of *shâhed-bâzi* creates for the Sufis. 'Erâqi's response—"O my Sheykh, where is he not that you are seeing duali-

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76. See: Samarqandi, *Tazkerat al-sho'arâ (ed. 'Abbâsi)*, 238; Samarqandi, *Tazkerat al-sho'arâ (ed. 'Alâqeh)*, 373.
77. Please note, my concern here is with how Dowlatshâh presents Sohrawardi's critique of 'Erâqi's practice of *shâhed-bâzi*, *not* Sohrawardi's views of *shâhed-bâzi* as a historical figure.

ty?"—actually goes beyond "cheeky"; it is confrontational and insulting in the extreme because in it 'Erâqi is implicitly calling into question Sohrawardi's spiritual knowledge. He is saying, in effect, "haven't you reached the station in which you realize all is one and God's beauty is reflected in everything and, especially, in these beautiful human forms that I gaze at?" The insult is compounded by the fact that 'Erâqi's response unfairly impugns Sohrawardi while not even addressing the main point of his admonition, which revolves around the problems ("fire," "allegations") that 'Erâqi's open association with beautiful youths causes for Sufis as a social group and institution. The relationship between a Sufi disciple and master in medieval Sufism was strictly hierarchical, and the master was to be regarded as second only to God in the disciple's universe. Defying or disrespecting him in the flagrant way 'Erâqi does in this anecdote would have been regarded by later Sufis reading this account as a grave breach of Sufi protocol (*adab*) and ample reason for him to be dispatched to India for "refine[ment]."

There is, however, still a piece missing from this picture. If Sohrawardi is upset because of the public *way* 'Erâqi practices *shâhed-bâzi* and his subsequent insolent response, then what is the source of Sohrawardi's original anxiety regarding *shâhed-bâzi* that causes him to fear for the reputation of his Sufi order and impels him to confront 'Erâqi in the first place? What precise element of *shâhed-bâzi*, in other words, provokes the "critics" to make "allegations" against 'Erâqi and the other Sufis who engage in such erotic spiritual practices? The second anecdote that I will discuss clarifies what issue is really at stake here.

Returning to the accounts of the anonymous biographer and Jâmi, the next major event in 'Erâqi's life is his departure for Cairo. As was the case when he departed from Moltân, 'Erâqi is forced to leave his Sufi lodge in Tuqât due to political circumstances. The Mongols execute his patron, Amir Parvâneh, on the suspicion that he had aided the Mamluks in their invasion of Anatolia, and 'Erâqi comes under suspicion by association. He flees to Cairo, where he attempts to free Parvâneh's son who has been imprisoned there by the Mamluks. This endeavor brings him into contact with the sultan of Cairo. After a series of impressive exhibitions of his spiritual status and moral probity, the sultan of Cairo grows so im-

200

pressed with 'Erâqi that he gives him a daily allowance and names him the chief sheykh of Cairo. 'Erâqi is back on top of the world after losing his Sufi lodge, and nearly his life, just weeks earlier due to his connection to the suspected traitor Amir Parvâneh.[78]

However, events quickly take a turn for the worse once again. "Friends" of the sultan, as they are later referred to, inform him that 'Erâqi has taken a particular liking to the beautiful son of a local cobbler in the Cairo market:

> One day he ['Erâqi] was passing through the shoe market, and his gaze fell upon a boy (*pesar*) and he became enamored with him. He went to him and said hello and asked the cobbler: "Whose boy is this?" The cobbler said: "He is my boy." The Sheykh ['Erâqi] stretched out his hand and grabbed the lips of the boy and replied: "Is it not oppression that a mouth, lips, and teeth such as these are the companion of leather?" The cobbler replied: "We are poor people and our craft is this. If his teeth do not tear leather, then they won't eat bread." The sheykh asked him: "How much does this boy earn per day?" He replied: "Four dirhams per day." The Sheykh ordered: "I will give him eight dirhams per day, and he must not do work like this anymore." Everyday the Sheykh would go with his friends and sit in the shop and gaze at him [the boy] without a care in the world, recite poetry, and cry.[79]

Drawing on the topos of the beautiful artisan youth, the anonymous biographer portrays 'Erâqi here as stopped in his tracks while passing through the market when his glance (*nazar*) falls upon the beautiful son (*pesar*) of a cobbler. Not content to just appreciate such beauty from afar, he actually grabs the youth's face imploring the father not to oppress the possessor of such fine beauty with this vulgar work. The father, present for the duration of the story, replies by citing their poverty and the need for the boy's labor. His response does not evince any particular concern about 'Erâqi's erotic interest in the boy; it only expresses a practical reality of their menial life.[80] His son might be beautiful, but unless his beauty is helping the family eat, he must work leather. The father's response—whether intended this

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78. Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 59-62; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 604; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 601-02.

79. Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 63; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 604; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 601-02.

80. These details about the youth and his family's poverty and menial occupation certainly add a class/power differential to this relationship. However, as we will see in the anecdote about 'Erâqi and the Damascus governor's son mentioned below, the youth does not necessarily have to be of subordinate social class, nor in any case should we expect the comportment of qalandari Sufis like 'Erâqi to precisely match the normative models of elite same-sex relationships. Such Sufis often deliberately transgressed social boundaries and challenged normative models as they selectively adopted and creatively re-interpreted key components. The complex story of how Sufi *shâhed-bâzi* fits into the larger socio-historical phenomenon of male same-sex relations in medieval Islamicate societies is a much larger topic that I cannot treat here.

way or not—is read by 'Erâqi as an indirect request for remuneration for the use of his son. 'Erâqi pledges to pay his father almost twice as much as he earns the family daily if he is freed from such menial work and put at his disposal. The work the youth is to do in exchange for 'Erâqi's patronage is not made explicit in the negotiations—all involved seem to intuitively understand what 'Erâqi wants with the boy—but, we soon learn that the father readily accepts 'Erâqi's offer and his son is now serving as the new *shâhed* for 'Erâqi's Sufi entourage: "Everyday the Sheykh ['Erâqi] would go with his friends and sit in the shop [of the cobbler] and gaze at him [the beautiful youth] without a care in the world, recite poetry, and cry."

The concluding, tranquil scene of 'Erâqi and his entourage reciting poetry and crying as they peacefully gaze upon their beautiful *shâhed* does not last long, however. The familiar suspicion of 'Erâqi's erotically charged spiritual sessions soon returns to the narrative when some "opponents" (lit. "accusers"/*modda'iyân*) report to the sultan that 'Erâqi has been cavorting with a beautiful youth in the market. Like 'Erâqi's opponents in Moltân, these "friends [of the sultan]" attempt to dislodge this foreign upstart from the sultan's good graces with a classic smear campaign. They seize the opportunity presented by 'Erâqi's flamboyant display of love for this cobbler's son in the middle of the Cairo market to raise doubts about his moral rectitude and spiritual sincerity. Such is the intensity of the social anxiety produced by the proximity of beautiful young males and older men that they assume that these rumors alone will be sufficient cause for his speedy dismissal from the sultan's inner circle.

The way the anonymous author—followed almost verbatim by Jâmi—develops the remainder of the anecdote illustrates clearly for the first time the *cause* of the anxiety that has haunted this and similar stories of 'Erâqi's erotic spiritual practices throughout the hagiography. The sultan, in his interrogation of the "opponents," is concerned with ascertaining one fact and one fact alone.

> The opponents conveyed this news to the sultan [i.e., news of 'Erâqi's practice of *shâhed-bâzi* with the cobbler's son]. He [the sultan] responded by asking them: "Does he take this boy with him at night, or not?" They replied: "No." He asked: "Does he take this boy into private quarters in the shop?" They replied: "No." He then requested an ink pot and pen and wrote: "Give the servants of the Sheykh ['Erâqi] five additional dinars per day beyond the allotted amount." He sent it to the royal registrar's office (*divân*) so they would note it

202

in the royal records. The [sultan's] companions thought that it was a dismissal letter. When its contents were revealed, they lost hope and did not have any other opportunities to impugn ['Erâqi's character].[81]

The sultan's line of questioning in this anecdote reveals that it is the possibility for—even appearance of—illicit sexual contact in the practice of *shâhed-bâzi* that evokes the constant surveillance and suspicion of 'Erâqi throughout his hagiography. According to Islamic law, sexual acts are only licit within the confines of heterosexual marriage or concubinage. Physically acting upon any bodily desire—hetero- or homoerotic in nature—in the form of a sexual act with anyone that falls outside of one these highly regulated legal categories would be a grave spiritual failing, and this is the point that the sultan is driving at in his interrogation. He wants to know if 'Erâqi is really a spiritual master or just a licentious charlatan using the Sufi technique of meditating on earthly embodiments of beauty as a cover for his illicit sexual affairs. When the "opponents" concede that 'Erâqi has not attempted to orchestrate any opportunities for sexual improprieties between him and the youth by taking him into more "private quarters," the sultan not only exonerates him of the charges leveled against him, but his esteem for 'Erâqi actually increases and he rewards him with an increase in his daily allowance. In a final act rich with symbolic significance, he writes down this order for a "good behavior bonus" and submits it to the registrar's office (*divân*) so "they will note it in the royal records." At a literal level, it is only 'Erâqi's increase in patronage that is registered in the royal records. However, at a symbolic level, the act of submitting this note to the *divân* means that 'Erâqi's innocence will be recorded in the royal archive for all of posterity. It is a gesture that parallels the goal of the anonymous author and Jâmi throughout their accounts of 'Erâqi's life, which would both become fixtures of the Sufi hagiographic "archive" until the present day.

Implicit in the sultan's nuanced response to this premodern sex scandal is a crucial point that bears emphasizing. Although he does indirectly condemn the actualization of homoerotic desire in sexual acts, his response also makes clear that he sees nothing morally

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81. Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 63; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 604; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 602.

problematic about the practice of *shâhed-bâzi* itself or the same-sex love and desire evoked by the young male's beauty which acts as the spiritual catalyst and fuel for its practitioners. Nothing in this story or any of the others discussed above evinces even the slightest discomfort with homoerotic desire in and of itself—in fact, the sultan even blesses its spiritual efficacy in the end. It is presumed to be a normative, even natural, bodily response of a man to the body of a beautiful young male. The concern that unites all of these homoerotic anecdotes, however, is the proper embodied performance of this desire. They simultaneously construct and defend it, using the bodies of the powerful Sufi saint, 'Erâqi, and his various beloveds to model its proper realization.

IV. Conclusion: Medieval Sufi (Homo)eroticism, Embodied and Contested

The sultan's ultimately positive valuation of this very public display of same-sex desire would not have surprised a medieval or early modern reader in the Islamicate world. They would likely have assumed from the beginning that the pervasive anxiety evinced throughout this hagiography about 'Erâqi's homoerotic spiritual practices was related to the issue of sexual improprieties, not the gender of the object of desire. Medieval critics of *shâhed-bâzi* both within and outside of Sufi circles disapproved of this erotic meditative practice because they viewed it as an exceedingly dangerous temptation to the body at best and possibly just a lightly veiled way to indulge in sensual pleasure under pious pretenses. The famous Sufi critic, Ibn al-Jawzi (d. 1200-1), makes this point in his critique of the Sufi practice of "gazing" in his famous work, *The Devil's Deception* (*Talbis Iblis*):

> Legal scholars and I say that for him whose sexual desire (*shahwah*) is excited by gazing at young males (*amrad*) it is forbidden (in Islamic law) (*haram*) to gaze at them, and when a person claims that his sexual desire (*shahwah*) is not excited by gazing at beautiful young males (*amrad*) he is lying.[82]

In his view, *shâhed-bâzi* would naturally elicit lust (Ar. *shahwah*, Pers. *shahvat*) in all of its male participants and could put even the most pious in danger of committing sexual acts illicit in the framework of Islamic law.[83] While his criticism of *shâhed-bâzi* is frequently

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82. ibn al-Jawzi, *Talbis Eblis*, 258.
83. A full overview of the criticisms of *shâhed-bâzi* and their underlying assumptions would require a separate

cited, the fact that he also boldly asserts the naturalness of same-sex desire in his prohibition of the practice is almost never discussed in the secondary literature. Without even a hint of heteronormative discomfort, he incredulously says to the Sufis who claim that such young males excite no sexual desire in them: "It is not possible. You are lying. How could you not be sexually aroused after catching sight of such a beautiful male youth?!?!", to slightly rephrase his final qualification above. Ibn al-Jawzi, the traditionalist and straight-edged Islamic jurist, even implicitly indicates in his curt, universal qualification—"and when a person claims that his sexual desire is not excited by gazing at beautiful young males he is lying"—that he himself is attracted to young males. The desire itself is completely natural in his view—remember, natural and legal are not necessarily the same thing—and it is the assumed naturalness and near universality of this erotic response that makes the critics of *shâhed-bâzi* like him so vociferously opposed to it. Just as Islamic law enjoins women to dress modestly and men to avert their gazes from them in order to prevent the excitation of lust (*shahvat*), so too Ibn al-Jawzi maintains men must avert their gazes from young males. They are equally natural objects of desire for older males, and *shâhed-bâzi's* ritualized gazing at them is problematic for this reason.[84]

Proponents of *shâhed-bâzi*, as we saw in the theoretical discussions and anecdotes above, do not dispute that desire of some sort is the natural bodily response of an older man to the body of a beautiful young male. They claim, however, that the form of desire they ex-

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study. However, for a representative sample of famous passages, see: Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*; Pourjavady, "Stories of Ahmad al-Ghazālī 'Playing the Witness' in Tabriz"; Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz," 45; Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics*, 90-91, 115-119; Ridgeon, "The Controversy of Shaykh Awhad al-Dīn Kirmānī." The fact that the principal accusation against proponents of this practice was "sexual desire"/"lust" (*shahvat*) and/or actual sexual improprieties can be seen also in accounts like the above and Sufi defenses of the practice (for example, see citations below from Kermâni and Hamadâni that attempt to draw a sharp distinction between *shahvat* and the higher forms of desire/love they claim to experience in *shâhed-bâzi*). There are some indications that the homoerotic nature of the desire did play a role in the critiques of some critics, but it appears that this was because same-sex desires could never be actualized in the framework of Islamic law (unlike heterosexual desire which could at least be realized legally within marriage). It does not seem to be tied to any notion that same-sex desire in and of itself was unnatural; rather, there was no way to actualize the desire in genital sex acts that could be reconciled with Islamic law.

84. Ibn Jawzi's discussion of the danger of beautiful young males stretches for over ten pages and includes a litany of pious figures, including Ahmad Ibn Hanbal and the Prophet Mohammad himself, who all indicate their attraction to young males in implicit or explicit ways in his account. The message of all of these stories and admonishments is clear: sexual desire for male youths is as natural and universal for a man as desire for women, and none are exempted from this temptation of the flesh—not even the prophet Mohammad! See: ibn al-Jawzi, *Talbis Eblis*, 258-69.

205

perience upon sighting a beautiful youth is not carnal, sexual desire (*shahvat*), but a chaste, higher form of desire called "love of the heart" (*mahabbat-e del*) or, more commonly, "passionate love" (*'eshq*).[85] Kermâni, a well-known practitioner of *shâhed-bâzi* and the master of 'Erâqi's second master, Qunawi, is uncompromising on the nature of desire involved in genuine *shâhed-bâzi*:

> In so far as the way and style of spiritual realization is concerned,
> *shâhed-bâzi* is the practice of all righteous ones.
>
> Whoever gazes at a *shâhed* with sexual desire (*shahvat*),
> is not truthful [in his claim]—he is an infidel (*zendiq*) to us![86]

No one should confuse sexual desire (*shahvat*) with "passionate love" (*'eshq*), Kermâni asserts in another poem that reads like an angry response to critics such as Ibn al-Jawzi who do not understand the fine distinctions between the different types of desire excited by earthly beauty:

> What a waste if you think passionate love (*'eshq*) to be base sexual desire (*shahvat*)!
> Shame on you! For you are going very far astray.
>
> Passionate love (*'eshq*) is the water of life of both worlds.
> How can you call it the fire of sexual desire (*shahvat*)?[87]

Sufi lovers like Kermâni contend that this form of desire is not fundamentally lustful (*shahvâni*), but rather has somehow been transformed into a higher, more pure form (*'eshq*) that is not only spiritually catalytic but indeed "the water of life of both worlds." It is this distinction that the author of 'Erâqi's hagiography attempts to capture in the sultan's line of questioning above. He wants the reader to understand that although 'Erâqi may be an unabashed connoisseur of male beauty, he is a profligate Sufi lover (*'âsheq*), *not* a lecher out to

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85. 'Ayn al-Qozât makes an emphatic distinction between "carnal love" (*mahabbat-e nafs*), which he says is "lust" (*shahvat*), and the "love of the heart" (*mahabbat-e del*) involved in *shâhed-bâzi*, for which he earlier uses the more common term *'eshq*. See: Hamadâni, "Tamhidât," 297 #10: 389. Similar claims are made about Ahmad al-Ghazâli's practice of *shâhed-bâzi* in other Sufi hagiographical works, see: Pourjavady, "Stories of Ahmad al-Ghazālī 'Playing the Witness' in Tabriz," 203-05.

86. Kermâni, *Divân-e robâ'iyât-e Owhad al-Din Kermâni (ed. Mahbub)*, 139 #347. Persian text:

آنجا که طریق و شیوهٔ تحقیق است   شاهدبازی طریق هر صدیق است
هر کاو سوی شاهدی به شهوت نگرد   صدیق نباشد بر ما زندیق است

87. Kermâni, *Divân-e robâ'iyât-e Owhad al-Din Kermâni (ed. Mahbub)*, 222 #1044. Persian text:

بر باد اگر تو عشق شهوت دانی   خاکت بر سر که سخت سر گردانی
عشق آب حیات هر دو عالم باشد   تو آتش شهوتش چرا می خوانی

206

engage in illicit sexual acts like those fornicators in the story of Hasan (*fâseq*). True Sufi lovers like Kermâni, 'Ayn al-Qozât, 'Erâqi, etc. would not, after all, disagree with Ibn al-Jawzi when he asserts that "for him whose sexual desire (*shahwah*) is excited by gazing at young males (*amrad*) it is forbidden (in Islamic law) (*haram*) to gaze at them." They would even agree that desire is inevitably and naturally evoked in *any* onlooker who looks upon beautiful youths (*amradân*). But, contrary to Ibn al-Jawzi, they insist that desire comes in more than one form and, as Kermâni admonishes above, "What a waste if you think passionate love ('*eshq*) to be base sexual desire (*shahvat*)! / Shame on you! For you are going very far astray."

In the estimation of the proponents of this view, the distinction between these two forms of desire renders licit the elaborate celebrations of (homo)eroticism rife throughout Persian Sufi poetry and hagiography. However, not everyone was so easily convinced. Ibn al-Jawzi was not an isolated figure in this regard. Many questioned the tenability of this theoretical distinction in praxis—even some prominent Sufi figures did not believe it possible for human beings to completely extricate themselves from the matrix of natural bodily responses such as lust (*shahvat*) through spiritual efforts.[88] It is not surprising then that Sufi eroticism and its related practices such as *shâhed-bâzi* became a hotly contested site of discourse in the medieval period.

Sufis responded on all generic fronts in this discursive war of "define that desire."

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88. Historically many Sufi and non-Sufi figures questioned whether such a compartmentalization of embodied desire is even possible, and there is plenty of historical evidence to suggest that this often was a theoretical distinction *not always* upheld in practice. Many critics, such as Ibn al-Jawzi, unequivocally accused proponents of *shâhed-bâzi* of using it as a cover for the enjoyment of "sexual desire" (*shahvat*). See other accusations of "carnal desire" (*shahvat*) in: Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 448-519; Pourjavady, "Stories of Ahmad al-Ghazālī 'Playing the Witness' in Tabriz"; Lewisohn, "Prolegomenon to the Study of Hafiz," 45. Bashir relates an interesting story where Sheykh Ahrar categorically denies the possibility that even Sufi masters could have a "lust-free" gaze at human object of beauty: "Once when Khwaja Ahrar was instructing disciples on the necessity of averting the gaze from a woman because it would cause lust, a man asked what about a case where there is no lust. Ahrar got angry and said, "Even I cannot have a lust-free gaze; where have you come from that you can do it?" See: Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 149. Ritter and Bashir also relate a series of stories in which pious Sufi figures openly admit their lust for male youths, although they do not engage in illicit sexual relations. See: Ritter, *The Ocean of the Soul*, 478-84; Bashir, *Sufi Bodies*, 144-47. Finally, the entire subtext of these Sufi hagiographic accounts in which the Sufi saint is repeatedly proved pure of sexual improprieties is that there is a real and present danger that Sufis will engage in sexual acts with these male youths whom they are (theoretically) seeing only as the most perfect reflection of God's beauty. Even if these texts ultimately exculpate the Sufi saint from the charges, they reveal not only the naturalness of the same-sex desire itself but also the apparent widespread belief that Sufis were using *shâhed-bâzi* as a pious cover to engage in same-sex sexual acts.

207

Theoretical treatises (e.g., *Tamhidât*, *Lama'ât*) and poetry played an important role in this debate, but Sufi hagiography arguably played an even more powerful role because of its intense generic focus on bodies. Portraying the ideal performance of Sufi eroticism by spiritual leaders such as 'Erâqi, these accounts seek to construct, defend, and police this exceedingly dangerous yet highly productive form of embodied desire which drives those foolish/brave enough to pursue it either to the peaks of spiritual insight or the depths of carnal abasement. The anecdotes discussed above from 'Erâqi's hagiographic tradition are representative examples from this voluminous literature, but they are only the tip of the iceberg. There are other similar stories in 'Erâqi's hagiography, to say nothing of the accounts of numerous other medieval Sufi figures such as Ahmad al-Ghazâli, Kermâni, etc. who figure prominently in discussions of Sufi eroticism.[89] The beloveds in these works—like the qalandar youth and the cobbler's son—should not all be dismissed as only conventional imagery or archetypal symbols, and they especially should not be reduced to bodiless and genderless forms. They should instead be read and interpreted as actors in idealized performances of a particular Sufi

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89. Such anecdotes occur in the most important Sufi and courtly biographical compilations throughout the medieval and early modern period (a full diachronic study of this tradition would be useful addition to the present study). In addition to the anecdotes discussed here, there are three other similar (though less detailed) homoerotic stories in 'Erâqi's biography, which largely repeat the same themes covered already. There are two stories of 'Erâqi playing with "children" (*teflân*) and (male) youth (*pesarân*) which have erotic overtones (especially the second) and the background suspicion of misconduct (especially the first). (Only the second story appears in Jâmi, with the male youth/*pesarân* becoming children/*kudakân*). These stories are ambiguous and do not include any further comment by the anonymous author or Jâmi, except in the first instance in which they note that some reproached 'Erâqi for this behavior, but the Amir defended 'Erâqi. They reinforce the points already made about the societal suspicion about the sexual improprieties associated such practices and 'Erâqi's bodily performance of homoerotic desire. See: Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 57; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 603; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 600-02. The final anecdote with a homoerotic dimension occurs when 'Erâqi enters Damascus (after leaving Cairo). Here, a welcome party arranged by the sultan of Cairo greets him before he even enters the city. Among the prominent scholars, political figures, and other important denizens in this welcome party, there is boy who 'Erâqi spots immediately. This boy is not just any boy—he "possesses extraordinary beauty in complete measure" and, moreover, he is the son of the governor of the city. The anonymous biography tells us that "when his ['Erâqi's] gaze fell on him [the beautiful boy], he lost his heart to him and, in front of everyone [in the welcome party], he ['Erâqi] placed his head at his feet." Although the people of Damascus criticized this, both accounts tell us that the governor himself consented to his beautiful son's new connection with 'Erâqi. See: Anonymous, "Moqaddemeh-ye divân," 63-64; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. Towhidipur)*, 604; Jâmi, *Nafahât al-ons (ed. 'Âbedi)*, 602. None of the accounts tell us any further details about the relationship between the boy and 'Erâqi; however, context would seem to indicate that he became 'Erâqi's new *shâhed* for his *shâhed-bâzi*, or perhaps he became his disciple. Themes of same-sex desire are present in some of Sanâ'i and 'Attâr's medieval biographical accounts as well. The accounts of Sanâ'i and 'Attâr's lives in the *Majâles al-'oshshâq* present them as falling in love with beautiful male youths. See: Gâzargâhi, *Majâles al-oshshâq*, 91-94, 140-142. Finally, similar stories can be seen in biographical stories of many other Sufis from the late pre-modern and early modern period (e.g., Ahmad al-Ghazâli, 'Ayn al-Qozât, Abu Hanifah, Kermâni, Ruzbehân Baqli, Sa'di, Jâmi, Hâfez, Bâbâ Feghâni).

construction of desire. Their embodied form is central to one of the primary functions of these hagiographies in their broader medieval cultural context—namely, to provide a riposte to critics such as Ibn al-Jawzi who argue strenuously for a different understanding of the nature and legal limits of embodied desire.

Foregrounding the embodied beloveds of medieval Sufi hagiographies, as I have in my reading here, also has other important implications for the contemporary study of Sufism and medieval sexuality studies that I would like to mention by way of conclusion. First, the proliferation and centrality of bodies in these hagiographic works not only militates against efforts to reduce this Sufi form of desire to a disembodied or philosophical love of "beautiful forms," but it also helps us to re-embody a particular type of beloved—a same-sex beloved who, as Najmabadi has suggested, often gets obscured and allegorized out of corporeal existence in much modern scholarship. To put it another way, in Sufi theory it may indeed be a desire for a beautiful "form" that "metaphorically" reflects God's beauty, but these works show that for many Sufis this "form" in the phenomenal world of medieval Persianate lands was most frequently a young male's body. The hagiographies of 'Erâqi and many other Sufi lovers do not evince any ambivalence on this point, and indeed they unabashedly foreground these male embodied—*majâzi*—bridges to the divine in their celebrations of homoerotic desire as a spiritually and poetically productive force. These works thus can help us resist the "straightening" impulses of the modern academy's "invisible heteronormativity," as Berlant and Warner term it.

Finally, this more deeply embodied reading of these hagiographic materials—which, as I argue, actually is more true to the original meaning of *majâz* in medieval Persian Sufism—also enables us to re-position Sufi homoeroticism as one of the primary "cultural deployment[s] of sexuality" in the medieval Islamicate world.[90] Once medieval Sufi eroticism is re-embodied and re-contextualized within broader discussions of bodily desires such as Ibn al-Jawzi's, it no longer looks so much like a retreat from sexuality, but rather a distinct Sufi

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90. The term "cultural deployment[s] of sexuality" is taken from: Babayan and Najmabadi, "Preface," vii, x.

inflection of it—a Sufi regime of sexual normativity that sought to harness human sexuality's full range of potentialities for spiritual ends. It endeavored to "discipline and manipulate" natural bodily desires, "using [their] full sensual and affective range to soar ever closer to God," to *critically* adapt Bynum's seminal point from her work on the centrality of "physicality" in medieval Catholic asceticism.[91] Although Sufi eroticism does censure the physical realization of this form of desire in sexual acts, these discursive conflicts over its precise nature show that it cannot be so easily disaggregated from the larger medieval Persianate regime of sexuality that considered the bodies of male youth as natural objects of sexual desire for men.[92] In the end, it is important for the study of medieval Islamicate sexualities that we do not reduce "sexuality" to genital acts alone.[93] "Sexuality," as Simon Gaunt rightly cautions in his treatment of the same topic in medieval French hagiography, is "the configuration of discourses and drives that generate and regulate desire" and even works that "ostensibly seek to deny it," frequently "reinscribe [it]."[94] If, as I have suggested here, we "reinscribe" sexuality in Sufi

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91. My points here are deliberately (and closely) echoing Bynum's famous argument about the importance of the body in medieval Catholic asceticism: "[M]edieval [Catholic] efforts to discipline and manipulate the body should be interpreted more as elaborate changes rung upon the *possibilities* provided by fleshiness than as flights from physicality." "[M]edieval asceticism," should, she maintains, be read as "an effort to plumb and to realize all the possibilities of the flesh...using its full sensual and affective range to soar ever closer to God." See: Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 6, 294-295. However, see important critiques of Bynum's work discussed in footnote 28 of this chapter, which have been equally influential in shaping my thinking on these matters.

92. A spiritual tradition that portrays the divine Beloved in homoerotic terms and makes the beautiful male youth the privileged locus of divine beauty in the world cannot so easily be disassociated from the larger spectrum of same-sex desires that makes it possible to think—even if only metaphorically—of the divine Beloved and male youths in these distinctly homoerotic terms. It is not insignificant that the imaginative world of medieval Persian Sufi poetry and hagiography assumed the normativity of same-sex desire and confidently represented and, indeed, celebrated its edifying potential in chaste, sublimated forms. This positive valuation of same-sex desire is integrally linked to the broader ways in which human desire was constructed in medieval Islamicate societies. Walter G. Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli make a similar point in their fascinating study of Ottoman Turkish homoeroticism: "In much of Ottoman literature, and in many of the European literatures as well, there is an easily observable tendency to dwell on metaphoric (Neoplatonic) interpretations of love. Yet an overwhelming preponderance of evidence indicates that metaphoric love became fashionable to some extent because it was so firmly grounded in down-to-earth sexual love...If the literary expressions of sixteenth-century love at times seem conventional, ethereal, and insipid to us, it is most likely because we are out of touch with the core of sexual desire and sexual activity that gave them power." See: Andrews and Kalpakli, *The Age of Beloveds*, 84.

93. The implicit reduction of the term "sexuality" to physical sexual acts or lust (*shahvat*) is common in the scholarship on Sufi love theory. Some treatments are quite explicit on this point: "for the Sufis in question *shahidbazi* was in no way a sexual practice," Zargar asserts at the outset of his discussion. Echoing Sufi assertions that such practices did not involve "carnal" or "sexual desire" (*shahvat*) and relying on a limited definition of what counts as "sexual," these works disallow consideration of the erotic practices they study as a constituent part of medieval sexuality. See, for example: Zargar, *Sufi Aesthetics*, 85.

94. Gaunt, "Straight Minds / 'Queer' Wishes," 155. On the need to get beyond simplistic sublimation/repression readings of desire in hagiographic works, I also drew inspiration from Virginia Burrus' study on the "sex lives of saints" in the early Christian hagiographic tradition. She argues that these works construct a "countererotics" that is a "radical affirmation of desire" but one which resists normative sexuality. See: Burrus, *The Sex Lives of Saints*.

love theory and re-embody the "metaphoric" beloveds engaged in its associated practices, medieval Persian Sufi eroticism looks a whole lot less "straight" and asexual than the more typical disembodied presentations of it in much modern scholarship.[95]

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95. The point mentioned above bears repeating here. Gaunt, Lochrie, and Rambuss have all shown in the christian context that the "desexing" of mystical literature occurs more frequently when the erotic relationship portrayed conflicts with heterosexual norms. The decision to "dese[x]" mystical eroticism, in other words, is often bound up with researchers' own constructions of "sexuality." See: Rambuss, "Pleasure and Devotion," 260ff; Gaunt, "Straight Minds / 'Queer' Wishes"; Lochrie, "Mystical Acts, Queer Tendencies," 187ff; Rambuss, *Closet Devotions*.

Epilogue

I began the path that led to the present study in 2012 when I read the striking account of 'Erâqi's conversion to the qalandari mode of piety in the anonymous hagiography that is appended to one of the earliest manuscripts of his poetry. He is portrayed in this account, as I discuss in some detail in the opening pages of chapter four, as a rising young Muslim scholar in the important medieval Islamic city of Hamadan. His knowledge of the traditional Islamic sciences and commitment to normative Islamic piety is unquestionable. He is the antithesis of the wild qalandar rogues who burst into his educational assembly in the hollowed grounds of the town's mosque. And then, in an instant, everything changes. The scene that plays out over the next couple of pages contains the seeds of the present study.

The qalandars bring with them not just the beautiful young man whose beauty shatters 'Erâqi's pious foundation, but also a specific type of poetry. As the anonymous author recounts, "[the qalandars] began to do *samâ'* and sing a *ghazal*":

> We moved our belongings from the mosque to the dilapidated wine
>   house (*kharâbât*)
> We crossed out the pages of asceticism (*zohd*) and miracles
>
> We sat in the ranks of lovers in the Magian quarter
> We took goblets from the hands of the dilapidated winehouse's
>   libertines (*rendân-e kharâbât*)
>
> It is fitting if the heart beats the drum of honor henceforth
> For we raised the flag of fortune to the heavens
>
> We passed all asceticism (*zohd*) and stations (*maqâmât*),
> From asceticism and stations we only drew many goblets of toil and
>   fatigue[1]

The poem makes clear that the poetry of the rogues is a direct response to the ethos and institutions associated with the mosque, asceticism, and mainstream Sufism (represented by the "miracles" and "stations"). In their stead, it proposes an alternative mode of carnivalesque

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1. See opening pages of chapter four for a full discussion of this scene.

212

piety practiced by the "lovers" in the "dilapidated winehouse" of the "Magian quarter." The utter incompatibility of these two modes of piety is emphasized too through its imaginal performance context in the anonymous hagiography: its performers, the rogues, arrive at the mosque to perform a poem about *leaving* the mosque and *abandoning* the modes of piety with which it is most closely associated.

However, this qalandari poetry and its shocking carnivalesque poetics is not just a versified portrayal of Sufi antinomianism or a symbolist code, as it typically has been treated in the existing scholarship. It is a new genre of poetry—specifically, a countergenre—and its dynamic "poetics of the Sufi carnival" exerts a profound effect on the development of Persian poetry from medieval to modern times. It is this point—i.e., the *qalandariyât* are first and foremost *poetry* and must be analyzed as such—that is almost completely absent from the existing literature, and even the studies by de Bruijn and Shafi'i-Kadkani that do address aspects of the *qalandariyât qua* poetry disagree about foundational issues, such as whether or not these poems constitute a genre proper or not.

In the first chapter, "Genre Trouble: Historicizing and Computationally Analyzing the *Qalandariyât* and Other Thematic Genres in Early Persian Poetry," I begin by treating this most fundamental of topics in depth: were the *qalandariyât* historically considered a genre in early Persian poetry? The answer, I aver, is "yes." Both my analysis of the earliest sources on genre in Persian poetry—from poetry manuals to *divân* manuscripts—and my computational textual analysis (topic modeling) of one of the earliest thematically arranged *divâns* of Sanâ'i indicate that the *qalandariyât* indeed did function as a discrete—even if flexible and multi-formal—poetic genre in the early period of Persian poetry. It is, in other words, a useful analytical category for exploring the vast tomes of early medieval Persian poetry.

The second chapter, "The *Qalandariyât* and the Early Persian Poetic System: *Qalandariyât* as Heterotopic Countergenre and Oppositional Introit," then positions qalandari poetry—in both its role as a monothematic genre and introit in a polythematic poem—within the broader Persian poetic system. Through close readings of qalandari poems by the genre's foundational poets, Sanâ'i, Amir Mo'ezzi, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi, I demonstrate how it constructs

213

itself as heterotopic countergenre and oppositional introit through its inversion and parodying of royal panegyric (*madh*/*madhiyât*) and religious-homiletic (*zohdiyât*/*mow'ezeh*) poetry. Its carnivalesque poetics is flexible, however, and, as I show through my analysis of Amir Mo'ezzi's qalandari-infused panegyric for Sharafshâh Ja'fari, it can play many—sometimes seemingly contradictory—roles in different contexts. It can both celebrate the perpetual antinomianism and liminality of the qalandars' carnivalesque mode of piety and, in the next poem, combine with royal panegyric poetry to construct a new model of Islamic kingship: a rogue Spiritual Master-King who is lord of both the "dilapidated winehouse" and the royal court in Qazvin.

Chapter three, "The Poetics of the Sufi Carnival: Metaphoric Force Dynamics and the Construction of a Radical Sufi Spiritual (Inter-)Subjectivity," extends chapter two's focus on the poetics of the *qalandariyât*, but it moves to analyze how its "shocking" imagery—as de Bruijn terms it—performs the meaning(s) it seeks to convey. (It was, in fact, this aspect of qalandari poems, such as the one in the story above, that first captured my attention and attracted me to this topic. The way in which the existing scholarship reduced this lively, carnivalesque imagery to little more than a esoteric symbolic code is what convinced me to make this poetry the focus of the present study). I focus specifically in chapter three on the myriad ways in which the "force dynamics" embedded in its transgressive imagery both perform and seek to construct the radical (inter-)subjectivity required of the true Sufi lover. However, this is only one way in which qalandari poetry constructs meaning and creates its particular poetic effects.

Finally, chapter four, "Embodying the Qalandari Beloved: (Homo)eroticism, Embodiment, and the 'Straightening' of Desire in the Hagiographic Tradition of 'Erâqi," directly grew out of out my initial reading of 'Erâqi's conversion to the qalandari way. I remember clearly what struck me about the scene. It was the unapologetic way in which Sufi love theory was embodied and performed by 'Erâqi and his young qalandari beloved in this striking conversion story. There was no abstract, degendered philosophical gloss of the scene urging me to understand the young (male) beloved as only a manifestation of God's limitless beauty in a

214

phenomenal form; rather, it was an object lesson showing how the embodied experience of same-sex desire could function as a powerful pedagogical aid in the arts of Sufi eroticism. As in the case of the existing scholarship on qalandari poetics, I found a tremendous gap between my reading of this text and the other work that has been done on both this particular story and Sufi eroticism more broadly. Using 'Erâqi's hagiographic tradition as a case study, I provide a close reading that militates against the heteronormativizing tendencies in modern scholarship that have attenuated and obscured the strongly homoerotic nature of medieval Persianate Sufi discourses on desire—a "straightening" maneuver that is often accomplished through the disembodiment of the figures of the lover and beloved. Instead, I highlight how medieval authors lingered on the same-sex "embodied" (*majâzi*) bridges to the divine—e.g., 'Erâqi and his qalandari beloved—represented in these texts and I conclude by arguing that Sufi desire should be read not as a flight from sexuality, but rather a Sufi inflection of the prevailing regimes of sexual normativity current in the medieval Persianate world. Sufi eroticism and its various practices/rituals are, in other words, an attempt to harness and police embodied same-sex desire, *not* deny it.

The conclusions that I reach in these chapters have implications that go far beyond the scope of qalandari poetry. In fact, I hope that this study is read as *both* the first detailed study of qalandari poetry *and* a study that uses the *qalandariyât* as a window into larger conceptual debates in Persian literary and Sufi studies. In both cases there are numerous issues that I began to explore here, but still need more detailed elaboration in future studies. There are three topics in particular that I would like to mention by way of conclusion.

First, the wealth of thematic categories used by early Persian litterateurs (discussed in chapter one and Appendix I) and the conclusions I reach with regards to the *qalandariyât* specifically point to the need for a much more fine-grained understanding of poetic genre in early Persian poetry. Detailed case studies on these various different thematic types of poetry will transform the way we write the history of Persian poetry. It is clear that the traditional, form-centric narrative of the development of Persian poetry is incomplete at best. However, an alternative history of generic and literary system development can only be written when a

215

much larger number of studies have been completed on these "types of poetry" that were "in use," as Kâshefi says, by medieval Persian poets and litterateurs.

The second point that needs to be expanded upon in future work is the reading of Persian poems as imaginal embodiments that perform their meaning. The reduction of Persian poetry to the status of versified ciphertexts of Sufi thought is a much broader problem in Persian literary and Sufi Studies, as the work of Meisami and Keshavarz has shown. This is not, in other words, an issue that is restricted to the scholarship on qalandari poetry. The force-dynamics analysis that I present in chapter three and the underlying conception of a poetic text as an imaginal embodied performance of meaning is similarly applicable much more widely. Poetry in general does not just represent schools of thought or theory in a more ornate or embellished form; its full meaning and poetic effects can only be understood when it is studied "in motion," as Keshavarz says. Appreciating this more complex process of meaning creation is only possible when we change the way we approach Persian poetry. The analysis of the force dynamics of poetic imagery is one such way—as I have shown here with respect to qalandari poetry—but it is only one among many lens for genuine poetic analysis, and the *qalandariyât* of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi studied here are only the tiniest selection of a millennium-long poetic tradition. Much work remains to be done on this front.

Finally, an entire book—or better, books—need(s) to be written on the topics touched upon in the final chapter of this study. Heteronormativizing or "straightening" impulses in contemporary scholarship, reconceptualizing the Sufi notion of *majâz* as "embodiment," and re-positioning Sufi eroticism within the broader discursive debates over sexuality in the medieval Persianate world could each become the focus of a monograph in their own right. I am particularly interested to explore in future studies the ways in which the body, as both a discursive site of conflict and the privileged site of the manifestation of God's qualities (e.g., beauty), can be leveraged to complicate and enrich our understanding of the imbrication of sexuality/eroticism and the sacred in the medieval period.

216

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219

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Appendix I

Translations of Qalandari Poems
By Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi

Appendix I Table of Contents

Sanâ'i, Poem 1

ای پسر میخواره و قلاش باش   در میان حلقهٔ اوباش باش

راه بر پوشیدگی هرگز مرو   بر سرِ کوی که باشی فاش باش

مهرِ خوبان بر دل و جان نقش کن   سال و مه این نقش را نقاش باش

کم زنان را غاشیه بر دوش گیر   مجلس میخواره را فراش باش

گر نداری روز درگاه قَدَر   چاکرِ اینانج یا بکتاش باش

میرِ میران گر نباشی باک نیست   چون سنایی بندهٔ یکتاش باش[1]

O boy, be drunk and a rascal!
Be in the circle of the ruffians!

Don't do it in a hidden way!
Reveal to all whose quarter you are in!

Inscribe the love of beauties on [your] heart and soul!
Be the painter of this painting for years!

For the self-deprecators, take the mantle of obedience on the shoulders!
For the wine-drinking sessions, be the chamberlain!

If you have not had a day in the court of power,
be a servant of Inanj or Bektash![2]

If you are not the prince of princes, fear not!
Like Sanâ'i be a unique slave!

---

1. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 312.
2. Bektash, according to de Bruijn, was the male beloved of Râbe'a, who was "a princess and a poet, [who] venerated the reflection of transcendental beauty in the person of a male slave." See:de Bruijn, "BELOVED."

Sanâ'i, Poem 2

آنکه مُستَغنی بُد از ما هم به ما محتاج بود   دوش ما را در خراباتی شب معراج بود

از صفای وقت ما را تخت بود و تاج بود   بر امید وصل ما را مُلک بود و مال بود

حال ما تصدیق بود و مال ما تاراج بود   عشق ما تحقیق بود و شُرب ما تسلیم بود

خادم ما ایلک و خاقان بُد و مَهراج بود   چاکر ما چون قباد و بهمن و پرویز بود

زانکه زلفش ساج بود روی او چون عاج بود   از رخ زلفین او شطرنج بازی کردهام

کعبهی محو و عدم را جان ما حُجّاج بود[3]   بدرهی زر و درم را دست او طیّار بود

Last night, in a winehouse, was the night of *me'raj* for us.
That one who didn't need us, was in need of us.

The hope of union was kingdom and riches to us.
The purity of the moment was throne and crown for us.

Our love was realization and our wine was submission;
our [spiritual] state was verification and our riches were plunder.

Our attendants like Qubad, Bahman, and Parviz;
our servants were chiefs, kings, and great rajas.

I played chess with the rook of his tresses
because his locks were black as obsidian and his face was ivory.

He threw bags of gold and dirams—
our souls were pilgrims for the Ka'ba of effacement and non-existence.

---

3. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 163.

Sanâ'i, Poem 3

هر آن روزی که باشم در خرابات   همی نالم چو موسی در مناجات
خوشا روزی که در مستی گذارم   مبارک باشدم ایام و ساعات
مرا بی خویشتن بهتر که باشم   بِقُرّایی فروشم زهد و طاعات
چو از بندِ خرد آزاد گشتم   نخواهم کرد پس گیتی عِمارات
مرا گویی لباساتِ تو تا کی   خراباتی چه داند جز لباسات
گهی اندر سجودم پیشِ ساقی   گهی پیشِ مُغَنّی در تُحیات
پدر بر خُمِ خمرم وقف کرده ست   سبیلم کرد مادر در خرابات
گهی گویم که ای ساقی قَدَح گیر   گهی گویم که ای مطرب غزل‌هات
گهی باده کشیده تا بمستی   گهی نعره رسیده تا سماوات
مرا موسی نفرماید به تورات   چو کردم حقِ فرعونی مُکافات
چو دانی کاین سنایی تُرَّهاتست   مکن بر وی سلامی خواجه هیهات[4]

Each day that I am in the dilapidated winehouse,
I wail like Moses in his private prayers.

How happy the day that I pass in drunkenness!
Blessed are those days and hours for me!

For me being without self is better than Qur'an recitation
or hawking the wares of asceticism and obedience.

Since I became free of the fetters of wisdom,
I will not build then in this world.

You may say to me: "How long will you remain in disguise?"
But what does a haunter of the dilapidated winehouse know except disguises?

Sometimes I prostrate and do my prayers before the cupbearer;
other times I am in front of the singer paying my respects and offering greetings.

Father dedicated me to vats of wine.
Mother set me firm on the path to the winehouse.

Sometimes I say: "O cupbearer, grab a goblet!"
Other times I say: "O ministrel, give us a *ghazal*!"

Sometimes I drink wine until I am wasted;
other times my cries are so loud they reach even the heavens!

Moses did not command the Torah for me
since I already dealt out retribution to the pharaoh.

Since you know that Sanâ'i is full of foolish words,
alas!—don't even say hello to him, sir.

---

4. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 73-74.

Sanâ'i, Poem 4

گل به باغ آمده تقصیر چراست   ساقیا جام می لعل کجاست

به چنین وقت و چنین فصلِ عزیز   کاهلی کردن و سستی نه رواست

ای سنایی تو مکن توبه ز می   که ترا توبه درین فصل خطاست

عاشقی خواهی و پس توبه کنی   توبه و عشق بهم ناید راست

روزکی چند بُود نوبت گل   روزه و توبه همه روز بجاست

جز از آن نیست که گویند مرا   یار بود آنکه نه از مجمع ماست

شد به بد مردی و میخانه گزید   نیک مردی را با زهد نخواست

من به بد مردی خُرْسَند شدم   هر قضایی که بُوَد خود ز قضاست

ای بدا مرد که امروز منم   ای خوشا عیش که امروز مراست[5]

The flower has come to the garden—why haven't we done anything?
O Saqi! Where is the goblet of ruby-red wine?

In such a precious time and season,
acting lazily and listlessly is not right.

O Sanâ'i! Don't you repent from wine!
For you, repentance in this season is a sin.

You want love and then you repent—
but repentance and love don't rightly go together.

For but a short time is the time of the flower—
fasting and repentance are always suitable.

They will say nothing other than this about me:
"He used to be a friend but he is not one of our assembly now.

He went the way of disrepute and he chose the winehouse;
he did not want righteousness with asceticism."

[So] I became happy with disrepute—
any judgement itself comes from fate.

Oh woe to the man that I am today!
Oh how great is the life of pleasure that today is mine!

---

5. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 75-76.

Sanâ'i, Poem 5

عشق و شراب و یار و خرابات و کافری   هر کس که یافت شد ز همه اندُهان بری

از راه کج به سوی خرابات راه یافت   کفرش همه هُدیَ شد و توحید کافری

بُگُذاشت آنچه بود هم از هِجر و هم ز وصل   برخاست از تصرّف و از راه داوری

بیزار شد ز هر چه بجز عشق و باده بود   بست او میان به پیشِ یکی بت به چاکری

برخیز ای سنایی باده بخواه و چنگ   اینست دین ما و طریق قلندری

مرد آن بُوَد که داند هر جای رای خویش   مردان به کار عشق نباشند سرْ سری[6]

Love, wine, a friend, the dilapidated winehouse (*kharâbât*), and infidelity (*kâferi*):
whoever found these, became immune to grief.

From the crooked path, they found the way in the direction of the winehouse.
Its infidelity became right guidance and divine unity became infidelity.

They abandoned both separation and union.
They left behind power and the way of judgment.

They became disgusted with all except love and wine
[and] bound themselves around the waist in service to a beautiful idol.

Get up Sanâ'i! Demand wine and a harp:
this is our religion and the Qalandari way!

A true man knows his thoughts in each place.
Men that are engaged in the work of love are serious.

---

6. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 653-54.

Sanâ'i, Poem 6

کردیم بندی و زندانی زهی کافر بچه   بردیم باز از مسلمانی زهی کافر بچه

هر زمانم باز بنْشانی زهی کافر بچه   در صفات پاکبازان در صف ارباب عشق[7]

تا بر اندازی مسلمانی زهی کافر بچه[8]   در مسلمانی مگر از کافری باز آمدی

تازه کردی کیش نصرانی زهی کافر بچه   با رخی چون چشمهٔ خورشید و زلف چون صلیب

صد لباسات عجب دانی زهی کافر بچه   در خرابات قلندر در صف می خوارگان[9]

هست صد یعقوب کنعانی زهی کافر بچه[11]   یوسف عصری و اندر زیر هر موسی ترا[10]

You have cut me off again from the Muslims, o young infidel!
You have made me a prisoner again, o young infidel!

In the ranks of lords of love—those "all-in" gambling types—
you again place me, o young infidel!

It seems you returned from apostasy (lit. being an infidel) to being Muslim only
in order to uproot Islam (lit. being Muslim), o young infidel!

With a face like the fountain of the sun and tresses like crosses,
you renewed the Christian religion, o young infidel!

In the dilapidated qalandari winehouse, in the ranks of the wine drinkers,
you know hundreds of strange disguises, o young infidel!

You are the Joseph of the era, and for you, below each Moses
there are a hundred Jacobs, o young infidel!

---

7. I have elected to follow the variant reading here, which is given by Rezavi and also found in the Kabul manuscript, instead of Rezavi's version of this hemistich:

در میان کم زنان ادر صف ارباب عشق

8. I have elected to follow the Kabul manuscript here and remove these two additional lines that are included in Rezavi's version of this hemistich:

نیست هرگز بی پشیمانی زهی کافر بچه   کشتن و خون ریختن در کافری

تا تو بر درگاه سلطانی زهی کافر بچه   نیست بر درگاه سلطان هیچکس را دین درست

9. I have elected to follow the variant reading here, which is given by Rezavi and also found in the Kabul manuscript, instead of Rezavi's version of this hemistich:

هر زمانی با سنایی در خرابات ای پسر

10. I have elected to follow the variant reading here, which is given by Rezavi (with the exception that Rezavi has وقتی instead of عصری) and also found in the Kabul manuscript, instead of Rezavi's version of this hemistich:

یوسف مصری تویی کز عشق تو گرد جهان

11. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 1008-09. This poem is not listed as qalandariyat in Rezavi's edition, but a similar version is listed in qalandariyat section in the Kabul manuscript page 575.

Sanâ'i, Poem 7

<div dir="rtl">

تا سویِ خرابات شد آن شاهِ خرابات   همواره منم معتکِفِ راهِ خرابات

کردند همه خَلق همی خُطبۀ شاهی   چون خَیلِ خرابات بر آن شاهِ خرابات

من خود چه خطر دارم تا بنده نباشم   چون شاهِ خرابات بُوَد ماهِ خرابات

گر صومعۀ شیخ خبر یابد ازین حرف   حقا که شود بندۀ خرگاهِ خرابات

بشنو که سنایی سخنِ صِدق بِتحقیق   آنکس که چُنو نیست هواخواهِ خرابات

او نیست بجز صورتِ بی هَیأتِ بی روح   افکنده به میدانِ شهنشاهِ خرابات

آن روز مبادم من و آن روز مبادا   بینند ز من خالی درگاهِ خرابات

شیرِ نر اگر سویِ خرابات خرامد   روباه کند او را روباهِ خرابات

آنکو «لِمَن المُلک» زند هم حَسَد آید   او را ز خرابات و علیاللهِ خرابات[12]

</div>

Since that king of the wine house went to wine house,
I have continually been a worshipper on the way of the winehouse.

All of creation was asking for this king—
like the winehouse gang, they were all asking for the king of the winehouse.

What significance do I have if I am not a slave?
Because the king of the winehouse is the moon of winehouse.

If the monastery of the sheykh gets news of these words,
truly he will become a slave of the pavillion of the winehouse.

Listen! for Sanâ'i has words of truth from spiritual realization
The person that is not like him is not an adherent of the winehouse way

He is not except form without figure or spirit,
thrown upon the field of the king of kings of the winehouse.

I hope am not still in existence and the day does not come that
they see me absent from the court of the winehouse.

If a male lion struts towards the winehouse
the fox of the winehouse will make him a fox.

The one who says, "Whose is the dominion?" [who claims dominion] will be jealous
of he who is from the winehouse and trusts in the God of the winehouse.

---

12. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 74.

Sanâ'i, Poem 8

نخواهم من طریق و راهِ طامات ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ مرا می باید و مَسکَنْ خرابات
گهی با می گسارم اندهِ خویش ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ گهی با جام باشم در مناجات
گهی شطرنج بازم با حریفان ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ گهی راوی شوم با شعر و ابیات
گهی شه رخ شوم با عیش و راحت ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ گهی از رنج گردم باز شهمات
نخواهم جز می و میخانه و جام ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ نه مِحنَت باشد آنجا و نه آفات
همیشه تا بُوَم در خمر و در قَمْر ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ بیابم راحتی اندر مقامات
چو طالب باشم اندر راهِ معشوق ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ طلب کردن بُوَد راهِ عبادات
طریقِ عشق آن باشد که هرگز ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ نیابد عاشق از معشوق حاجات
چنین دانم طریقِ عاشقی را ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ که نپْذیرد به راهِ عشق طامات
ز چیزی چون توان دادن نشانی ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ ⁣ که پیدا نیست اندر وی اشارات؟[13]

I do not desire the way of spiritual conceits;
for me, wine is necessary and a place in the winehouse.

Sometimes I drown my sorrows with wine,
other times I do my private prayers with goblet in hand (or: I do prayers to the goblet).

Sometimes I play chess with my companions,
other times I become a singer of verses and poems.

Sometimes I become the rook with a life of pleasure and ease;
othertimes I return from trial and tribulation checkmated.

I desire nothing save wine, a goblet, and the winehouse—
there is not suffering there, nor misfortune.

As long as I am drunk and gambling,
I will find ease in the spiritual stations.

When I am a seeker on the path of the beloved,
seeking itself is the way of worship.

The way of love is such that
the lover will never find what he want from the beloved.

Such I know is the path for a lover—
for he [the beloved] does not accept spiritual conceits on the path of love.

How can you give an indication
of something that has no sign within it?

---

13. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 75.

Sanâ'i, Poem 9

در کوی ما که مَسکَنِ خوبان سعتریست
پیری که از مقامِ منیت تنش جداست
تا روزْ دوش مست و خراب اوفتاده بود
گفتم ورا بمیر که این سخت مُنکَرست
گفتم گَر این حدیث درست است پس چراست
گفت آن وجودِ فعل بُوَد کاندرو ترا
آن کس که دیو بود چو آمد درین طریق
از دستِ خود نهاد کله بر سرِ خرد
گفتم دلِ سنایی از کفر آگَهست
در حقِ اتحادِ حقیقت به حقّ حق

از باقیاتِ مردان پیری قنلدریست
پیری که از بقای بقیت دلش بریست
بر صورتی که خَلق برو بر همی گَریست
گفتا که حالِ مُنکَری از شرط مُنکِریست
کاندر وجود معنی و با خَلق داوریست
با غیرْ داوری ز پی فضل و برتریست
بنگر به راستی که کنون خاصه چون پَریست
هر نکته از کلامش دینارِ جعفریست
گفت این نه از شمارِ سخنهایِ سر سریست
چون تو نه‌ای حقیقتِ اسلام کافریست[14]

In our quarter, which is the dwelling of the roguish[15] fair-faced ones,
amongst the rest of the men, there is an old, wise qalandar master,

a master whose body is cut off from the station of I-ness,
a master whose heart is exempt from the eternal existing of the rest.

Last night he had been drunk and wasted until morning
in such a way that people were crying over him.

I said to him: "Damn you! This is very unlawful!"
He said: "The state of unlawfulness is one of the (necessary) conditions of denial."

I said: "If these words are true, then why
is there meaning in existence and judgement of people?"

He said: "Because of actions
you judge others, regarding yourself above them.

That person who was a devil when he came to this path,
look closely for now he is an intimate like the fairies."

He pulled the wool over wisdom's eyes—
each point of his speech is a dinar of Ja'far!

I said: "The heart of Sanâ'i is aware of infidelity."
He said: "These are not ill-considered words.

Regarding the unity of truth, I swear,
when you are not (not existing), the truth of Islam is infidelity."

---

14. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 89-90.

15. Shafi'i Kadkani argues that the word سعتری is an old synonym for شاطر یا عیار. See: Mohammad Rezâ Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 304-05.

آه[16] از دلِ عشاق به یکبار بر آمد   روزی بتِ من مست به بازار برآمد

صد شیفته را از غمِ او کار برآمد   صد دلشده را از غمِ او روز فرو شد

باز آن دو بهم کرد و خریدار برآمد   رخسار و خطش بود چو دیبا و چو عنبر

فریاد ز بزاز و ز عطار برآمد   در حسرتِ آن عنبر و دیبای نوآیین

گویند که بر برگِ گلش خار برآمد   رشکست بتان را ز بناگوش و خطِ او

تا سوسن و شمشاد ز گلزار برآمد   آن مایه بدانید که ایزد نظری کرد

پیش از شبِ من صبح ز کهسار برآمد[17]   و آن شب که مرا بود به خلوت بر او بار

One day my idol came raving drunk to the market!
Sighs rose from the hearts of the lovers!

For those hundreds enamored with him, the sun set from pining for him;
for those hundreds charmed by him, their problems were all resolved in pining for him.

His cheeks and light beard are as amber and fine silk;
he put them both together and buyers appeared.

From longing for that amber and fine new silk,
screams arose from the cloth merchants and perfumers.

The idols envy his light beard and the tresses gathered round his ears;
they say that thorns have appeared on petals of his flower.

You should know that God glanced
until lilies and tall trees arose from the garden.

And that night that I was in privacy with him,
before my evening, the sun rose from the mountains.

---

16. Rezavi gives آه and بانگ as variants. In his version of the poem, he has گرد.
17. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 141.

Sanâ'i, Poem 11

دگر بار ای مسلمانان به قلّاشی در افتادم   به دستِ عشق رختِ دل به میخانه فرستادم

چو در دستِ صلاح و خیر جز بادی نمی‌دیدم   همه خیر و صلاحِ خود به بادِ عشق در دادم

کجا اصلی بُوَد کاری که من سازم به قرّایی   که از رندی و قلّاشی سرشتستند بنیادم

مده پندم که در طالع مرا عشقست و قلّاشی   کجا سودم کند پندت بدین طالع که من زادم

مرا یک جامِ باده به ز هرچه اندر جهانِ توبه   رسید ای ساقیان یک ره ز جامِ باده فریادم

نَیَندوزم ز کس چیزی چنان فرمود جانانم   نیاموزم ز کس پندی چنین آموخت استادم

ز رنج و زحمتِ عالم به جامِ می در آویزم   که جامِ می تواند بُرد یک دم عالم از یادم

الا ای پیرِ زردشتی به من بربند زنّاری   که من تسبیح و سجاده ز دست و دوش بِنهادم[18]

O Muslims! I have fallen to rascality once again!
I have dispatched my heart's belongings to the winehouse out of love.

Since I saw goodness and virtue as nothing but hot air,
I threw all my goodness and virtue to the winds of love.

Where is the foundation of that work that I do Qur'anic recitation
for they have kneaded my foundation from libertinism and rascality?

Don't give me advice for love and rascality are written in the stars for me.
How does your good counsel benefit me when I was born under such stars?

For me, a goblet of wine is better than anything that is in the world of repentance.
O cupbearers, come once for my cries are for goblets of wine!

I do not amass things from anyone— my sweetheart told me not to.
I do not take advice from anyone—my master taught me not to.

I solicit help with the suffering and toil of the world from a goblet of wine,
for a goblet of wine can take my mind away from the world in a moment.

O wise Magian elder, strap a cincture on me,
for I have thrown my prayer carpet off my shoulders and my beads from my hands!

---

18. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 359-60.

Sanâ'i, Poem 12

شایسته‌ی اربابِ کرامات نگردی تا مُعتَکِفِ راهِ خرابات نگردی

تا بنده‌ی رندانِ خرابات نگردی از بندِ علایق نشود نفسِ تو آزاد

تا قدوه‌ی اصحابِ لَباسات نگردی در راهِ حقیقت نشوی قبله‌ی احرار

شایسته‌ی سکانِ سماوات نگردی تا خدمتِ رندان نگزینی به دل و جان

اندر صفِ ثانی چو تَحیات نگردی تا در صفِ اول نشوی فاتحه‌ی «قل»

تا در کفِ عشقِ شهِ او مات نگردی شهْ پیل نبینی به مرادِ دلِ معشوق

نزدِ فُضَلا عینِ مُباهات نگردی تا نیست نگردی چو سنایی ز علایق

تا سوخته‌ی راهِ ملامات نگردی[19] محکم نشود دستِ تو در دامنِ تحقیق

As long as you have not become a dweller on the path of the winehouse,
you will not become worthy of the lords of miracles.

Your (lower) self will not become free of the binds of attachments
until you become a slave of the libertines of the winehouse.

You will not become the *qibla* of the nobles in the path of truth
until you become a model/leader for the possessor of disguises.

Until you choose to be in the service of the libertines with your heart and soul,
you will not be worthy of the denizens of the skies.

Until you become the "opening of 'speak'" in the first line,
you will not become the greeting in the second line.

You will not see the bishop according to the desire of the beloved's heart
until you have been checkmated at the hands of his king's love.

Until you are rid of attachments like Sanâ'i,
you will not become the pride of the exalted ones.

Your grasp on the skirt of realization will not become strong
until you are burnt on the path of blame.

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19. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 627.

Sanâ'i, Poem 13

شو بری از نام و ننگ و از خودی بیزار باش
در صف ناراستان خود جمله مفلس‌وار باش
بندهٔ جامِ شراب و خادمِ خَمّار باش
کمزن و قلاش و مست و رند و دردی‌خوار باش
پس به تیغ نیستی با خلق در پیکار باش
چون به کَف آمد ترا این روز و شب در کار باش
وز میان جانْ غلام و چاکر هر یار باش
با غرامت همنشین و با ملامتْ یار باش[20]

ای دل اندر نیستی چون دم زنی خَمار باش
دین و دنیا جمله اندر باز و خود مفلس نشین
تا کی از ناموس و زرق و زهد و تسبیح و نماز
می پرستی پیشه‌گیر اندر خرابات و قمار
چون همی دانی که باشد شخص هستی خَصمِ خویش
طالب عشق و می و عیش و طرب باش و بجوی
با سرود و رود و جامِ باده و جانان بساز
از سرِ کوی حقیقت بر مگرد و راه عشق

O heart, when you claim to speak of non-existence, be tipsy!
Rise above good name and shame, and be free of selfhood!

Gamble away religion and the world, and be a poor beggar!
In the ranks of the deceitful ones, be poor!

For how long honor, hypocrisy, asceticism, prayer, and prayer beads?
Be a slave of the wine goblet and a servant of the vintner!

Make wine-worshipping and gambling your trade in the dilapidated winehouse!
Be a self-deprecator, rogue, drunk, libertine, and dregs-guzzler!

Since you know that for a person existence is his enemy,
go to battle with people equipped with the blade of non-existence!

Be a seeker of love, wine, merriment, and mirth, and seek!
When this has been obtained for you, get to work day and night!

Play a tune with a poem, lute, goblet of wine, and sweetheart!
Be a slave and servant to every friend from the bottom of your heart!

Don't return from the quarter of truth and the way of love!
Be happy with the cost and befriend blame!

---

20. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 311-12.

Sanâ'i, Poem 14

<div dir="rtl">

آن جام لبالب کن و بردار مرا ده   اندک تو خور ای ساقی و بسیار مرا ده

هرکس که نیاید به خرابات و کند کِبر   او را بر خود بار مده بار مرا ده

مسجد به تو بخشیدم میخانه مرا بخش   تسبیح ترا دادم و زنار مرا ده

ای آنکه سر رندی و قلاشی داری   تو مردِ منی دست دگربار مرا ده

ای زاهدِ ابدال چو کردار بِبُردی   سردی مکن آن بادهٔ گفتار مرا ده[21]

</div>

Fill that goblet to the brim, grab it and give it to me!
Drink a little, O Saqi, and give me a lot!

Whoever does not come to the dilapidated winehouse and acts pompously,
do not grant him an audience with you—grant me one!

I gave the mosque to you—now give me the winehouse!
I gave you the prayer beads—now give me the cincture!

O you that are intent on libertinism and rascality,
you are my match—give me your hand again!

O saintly ascetic! Since you took away our work
Don't be cold, give me the wine of sweet speech!

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21. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 586.

عشق بر من پادشا شد پادشایی چون کنم   قبله چون میخانه کردم پارسایی چون کنم

من همان مذهب گرفتم پارسایی چون کنم   کعبه یارم خراباتست و احرامش قمار

آسمانی کرده باشم آسیایی چون کنم   من چو گرد باده گشتم کم گرایم گرد باد

برگ بی‌برگی ندارم بی‌نوایی چون کنم   عشق تو با مفلسان سازد چو من در راه او

او خدای من بر او من کدخدایی چون کنم   او مرا قلاش خواهد من همان خواهم که او

خاک و باد و آب و آتش را گدایی چون کنم   کدیهٔ جان و خرد هرگز نکرده بر درش

از کهی گر کمتر آیم کهربایی چون کنم   من چنان خواهم که او خواهد چو در خرمنگهش

با گهر در قعر دریا آشنایی چون کنم   بر سر دریا چو از کاهی کمم چون در آشنا

من که در دل عشق دارم بی‌وفایی چون کنم   او که بر رخ حسن دارد جز وفاکاریش نیست

دست تا از دل نشویم بادپایی چون کنم   بادپایی خواهد از من عشق و من در کار دل

پیش روح پاک دعوی روشنایی چون کنم   با خرد گویم که از می چون گریزی گویدم

زاهدان را جز بدانجا رهنمایی چون کنم   شاهدان چون در خراباتند من زان آگهم

با سیه‌رویان دین ز هد ریایی چون کنم   با نکورویان گبران بوده در میخانه مست

جز به سعی باده خود را بی‌سنایی چون کنم   چون مرا او بی سنایی دوستر دارد همی

من برآنم تا سنایی را سمایی چون کنم   او بر آن تا مر سنایی را به خاک اندر کشد

من ز بهر برگشان این بینوایی چون کنم   طبع من ز و طبع دارد پس مرا گوید مخواه

عاجزم تا از جدایی خود جدایی چون کنم[22]   از همه عالم جدا گشتن توانستم ولیک

Since I made my *qibla* the winehouse—how can I practice pious devotion?
Love became king over me—how can I act as king?

The *Ka'ba* of my friend is the dilapidated winehouse and putting on the pilgrim's
   vestments is gambling.
I have chosen this religion/path—how can I practice pious devotion?

Since I have been involved with wine, I have less inclination towards wind.
I have become heavenly—how can I spin in the wind as a mill?

Your love works only with the destitute—
since on its [love's] path I do not have the blessing of poverty—how can I be
   poor?

He [Love] wants me to be a rascal—I want the same as he.
He is my lord—how can I be lord over him?

I have never begged at his door for soul or wisdom.
How can I beg for worldly things like dust, wind, water, and fire?

I desire what he desires. Since in his harvest grounds
I am less than straw, how can I be lyngourion?[23]

Since I am a slower swimmer than straw floating on top of the ocean,
how can I be acquainted with the pearls in the depths of the ocean?

He who has a face of beauty is nothing but faithful.
How can I who have love in my heart be unfaithful?

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22. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 393-94.
23. Lyngourion (or lyncurium or tourmaline) is a form of amber that is capable of producing/holding an electrostatic charge and thus can attract straw.

254

Love wants swiftness from me, but I am at work on matters of the heart—
how can I be swift until I have abandoned the heart?

I say to wisdom: "Why do you tell me to escape from wine?"
It says to me: "How can I claim to be clean and pure before the pure souls (if I
      don't)?"

Since I am aware that the beautiful youths are in the dilapidated winehouse,
how can I guide the ascetics to any place save there?

Having been drunk with the Magian beauties in the winehouse,
how can I engage in hypocritical asceticism with the disgraced people of
      religion?

Since he always loves me more without Sanâ'i,
how can I rid myself of Sanâ'i except through wine?

He is intent on casting Sanâ'i to the ground.
How can I strive to make Sanâ'i heavenly?

My nature has an imprint from him, so it tells me: "Don't desire!"
How can I practice poverty in order to get his provisions?

I was able to separate myself from the whole world,
but how can I be helpless to separate myself from separation?

Sanâ'i, Poem 16

<div dir="rtl">

از حلّ و از حرام گذشته است کام عشق
هستی و نیستی است حلال و حرام عشق

تسبیح و دین و صومعه آمد نظام زهد
زنار و کفر و میکده آمد نظام عشق

خالیست راه عشق ز هستی بر آن صفت
کز روی حرفْ پردهٔ عشق است نام عشق

بر نطع عشق مهره فرو باز بهر آنک
از عین و شین و قاف تبه شد قوام عشق

چندین هزار جان مقیمان سفر گزید
جانی هنوز تکیه نزد در مقام عشق

این طُرفهتر که هر دو جهان پاک شد ز دست
با این هنوز گردن ما زیر وام عشق

برخاست اختیار و تصرف ز فعل ما
چون کم زدیم خویشتن از بهر کام عشق

اندر کِنِشت و صومعه بیبیم و بیامید
درباختیم صد الف از بهر لام عشق

برداشت پردههای[24] تشابه ز بهر ما
تا روی داد سوی دل ما پیام عشق

مستی همی کنم ز شراب بلا ولیک
هر روز برتر است چنین ازدحام عشق

آزاده ماندهایم ز کام و هوای خویش
تا گشتهایم از سر معنی غلام عشق

دام است راه عشق و نهاده به شاهراه
با دام و بند خلق سنایی به دام عشق

زان دولتی که بیخبران را نصیبهایست
کم باد نام عاشق و گم باد نام عشق

چون یوسف سعید بفرمودم این غزل
بادا دوام دولت او و چون دوام عشق[25]

</div>

Love's desire passed beyond the licit and illicit.
Existence and non-existence are the licit and illicit of love.

The regime of asceticism (*zuhd*) came with prayer beads, religion, and the Sufi monastery—
The regime of love came with the cincture, infidelity, and the winehouse.

The path of love is free of existence, in such a way that
the name of love is a veil of love because it is an utterance.

On the board game of love, gamble away the pieces, for behold
the arrangement of love was destroyed by the letters L, O, V, and E.

Several thousand souls residing in this station elected to travel,
yet a soul still has not rested in the station of love.

Even stranger, both worlds disappeared completely—
yet despite this, our necks our still yoked with the loan of love.

Power and control no longer proceeded from our actions
when we self-deprecated out of desire for love.

In the fire temple and christian monastery without hope or fear
we gambled away a hundred *alefs* for the *lam* of love.

The veils of uncertainty were lifted for before us
since the message of love came to our hearts.

I am continuously getting drunk from the wine of "yes you are our Lord,"

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24. Rezavi has پرده های here for پردهای. I think this is just a typographical mistake.
25. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 337-38.

and each day it is increased—such is the commotion of love.

We have remained free from our desire and longing
since we have truly become the slave of love.

The path of love is a trap, and it has been laid on the highway.
Sanâ'i is in the trap of love with the traps and binds of createdness.

By means of that fortune that is the lot of the unconscious ones
scant be the name of the lovers and lost be the name of love.

Since Yusef Sa'id ordered this *ghazal* from me,
may the strength of his fortune be as the strength of love.

Sanâ'i, Poem 17

<div dir="rtl">

از خانه برون رفتم من دوش به نادانی — تو قصهٔ من بشنو تا چون به عجب مانی

از کوه فرود آمد زین پیری نورانی — پیداش مسلمانی در عرصهٔ بلسانی

چون دید مرا گفت او داری سر مهمانی — گفتم که بلی دارم بی سستی و کسلانی

گفتا که هلا هین رو گر بر سر پیمانی — دانم که مرا زین پس نومید نگردانی

رفتم به سرایی خوش پاکیزه و سلطانی — نه عیب ز همسایه نه بیم ز ویرانی

در وی نفری دیدم پیران خراباتی — قومی همه قلاشان چون دیو بیابانی

معروف به بی سیمی مشهور به بی نانی — همچون الف کوفی از عوری و عریانی

این باخته دراعه و آن باخته بارانی — این گفته که بستانی وان گفته که نستانی

می گفت یکی رستم ز ان ظلمت نفسانی — می گفت یکی دیگر ما «اعظم برهانی»

این گفت «انا الاول» کس نیست مرا ثانی — و آن گفت «انا آلاخر» تا خلق شود فانی

ماندم متحیر من ز ان حال ز حیرانی — گفتم که چه قومند این ای خواجهٔ روحانی

گفت اهل خراباتند این قوم نمی‌دانی — آنها که تو ایشان را قلاش همی دانی

هان تا نکنی انکار گر بر سر پیمانی — کایشان هذیان گویند از مستی و نادانی

از این گنهی منکر در مذهب ایشانی — باید که تو این اسرار از خلق بپوشانی

زنهار از این معنی بر خلق سخنرانی — پندار که نشنیدی اندر حد نسیانی

ای آنکه ز قلاشی بر خلق تو ترسانی — در زهد عبادت آر چون بوذر و سلمانی

در خدمت این مردم تا تن به نرنجانی — حقا که تو بر هیچی چون زاهد اوثانی

چون شاد نباشم من از رحمت یزدانی — دیدار چنین قومی دارد به من ارزانی

تا دید سنایی را در مجلس روحانی — بادست به دست او زین زهد به سامانی

امروز بدانست او کان صدر مسلمانی — چون گفت ز بی خویشی «سُبحانی و سُبحانی»[26]

</div>

I left my house last night in ignorance.
Listen to my story—you will be astonished!

A luminous master came down from the mountain.
His Muslim-ness was found in the square of Balsani.

When he saw me, he said: "Are you up to going to the party?"
I said: "Yes! I am, wholeheartedly!"

He said: "If you fulfill your promise, get up, lets go!"
I know you will not disappoint me from now on."

I went to a merry house, fine and royal even,
no fault could be found with the neighbors, no fear of destruction (i.e., neighbors are good
        and no fear of destruction).

In it I saw a person amidst the wise elders of the dilapidated winehouse—
a group of rascals like the demons of the desert,

famous for being penniless, well-known for not even having bread,
just like a Kufic *alef* in nakedness.

This one lost his wool garment, that one his slicker,

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26. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 666-68.

258

This one said: "You are taking it!" Another said: "You are not taking it!"

One was saying: "I am liberated from that carnal darkness!"
Another was saying: "How great is my proof!"

One said: "I am the first, for me there is no second."
Another said: "I am the last until creation passes away."

I remained astonished from my state of perplexity,
and I asked: "O spiritual master, what group is this?!?!"

He said: "Don't you know? This group is from the dilapidated winehouse.
They are who you know as the rascals.

Beware! Don't deny them if you are loyal to your vow
for they rave and speak nonsense due to drunkenness and ignorance.

Because of these sins, you are denying their way and religion.
You must conceal these secrets from the people.

Beware of speaking of such things with people.
Imagine that you didn't hear (anything), like it's forgotten.

O you who are afraid for what may happen to people because of roguery,
bring worship to your asceticism like a Abu Zar and Salman.

So long as you do not endure hardship in service of these people,
truly you will be on the path to nowhere like the ascetics of idols.

How can I not be merry when out of mercy, God out of his bounty
allows me to visit such a motley crew?

When he saw Sanâ'i in the spiritual assmebly,
he was empty-handed from the well-designed good asceticism (i.e., he was getting nothing out of the asceticism)

Today he found out that leading Muslim
said this when self-annihilated: "Glory be to me, Glory be to me!"

Sanâ'i, Poem 18

خانهٔ طاعات (طامات) عمارت مکن   کعبهٔ آفاق زیارت مکن
نامهٔ تلبیسِ (ابلیس) نهفته مخوان   جامهٔ ناموس قضاوت مکن
گر ز مقامِ تو بپرسد کسی   جز به خرابات اشارت مکن
قاعدهٔ کارِ زمانه بدان   هر چه کنی جز به بصارت مکن
سر به خرابات و خرابی در آر   صومعه را هیچ عمارت مکن
چون همه سرمایهٔ تو مفلسی‌ست   در رهِ افلاس تجارت مکن
چون تو مخنث شدی اندر روش   قصهٔ معراج عبارت مکن
تا نشوی در دینْ قلاش‌وار   خرقهٔ قلاشان غارت مکن
گر تو شدی الکن در راهِ دین   دعوی مردی و عبارت مکن
عمر به شادی چو سنایی گذار   کار به سستی و حقارت مکن[27]

Do not build a house of spiritual conceits/acts of obedience.
Do not go on pilgrimage to the *Ka'ba* of the world.

Do not read the scroll of deceit/devil in hiding.
Do not judge the cloak of dishonor.

If someone asks you of your station,
don't indicate anything except the dilapidated winehouse.

Know well the rules of the work of the world.
Whatever you do, do it with spiritual insight.

Turn towards the dilapidated winehouse and debauchery.
Do not build up the Sufi monastery.

Since all of your stock is poverty,
do not do business in the way of indigence.

Since you have become a wuss (*mukhannas*) on this path,
don't gesture towards the story of the *me'raj*.

Until you become roguish in religion,
don't plunder the mantles of the rogues.

If you have become a stammerer on religion's path,
don't claim to be so eloquent and manly.

Pass your life with mirth like Sanâ'i.
Don't do weak and contemptible work.

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27. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 506.

Sanâ'i, Poem 19

شور در شهر فگند آن بت زناریرست   چون خرامان ز خرابات برون آمد مست

پردهٔ شرم دریده قدح می در کف   شربت خمر چشیده علم کفر بدست

شده بیرون ز در نیستی و از هستی خویش   نیست حاصل شود آنرا که برون شد از هست

چون بت است آن بت قلاش دل رهبان کیش   که به شمشیر جفا جز دل عشاق نخست

اندر آن وقت که جاسوس جمال رخ او   از پس پردهٔ پندار و هوی بیرون جست

هیچ ابدال ندیدی که درو در نگریست   که در آنساعت زنار چهل گردن بست

گاه در خاک خرابات بجان باز نهاد   خاکیی را که ازین خاک شود خاک پرست

بر در کعبهٔ طامات چه لبیک زنیم   که به بتخانه نیابیم همی جای نشست[28]

That Christian cincture-worshipping idol incited an uproar in the city
when he came strutting out of the dilapidated winehouse!

He rent the veil of shame with a goblet in hand,
he sipped wine as he raised the flag of infidelity.

He has gone beyond the door of non-existence and self-existence—
non-existence is the yield for one who goes beyond existence.

He is like an idol—that rogue-hearted adherent of the Christian monk's way—
who only wounds the hearts of the lovers with his sword.

At that moment when the spy of the beauty of his visage
jumped out from behind the veil of thought and desire (*havâ*),

you did not see a single pious saint who looked upon him
and did not that very moment strap the forty-knotted Christian cincture around his
     waist.

Sometimes in the dust of the winehouse, he gave life to an earthly mortal
who then became a worshipper of the (winehouse's) dust.

How can we shout, "Here we are! At your service!"[29] at the door of the Ka'ba of
     spiritual bluster
when we do not find a place to sit in the idols' temple?!

---

28. Sanâ'i, *Divân-e Sanâ'i (ed. Rezavi)*, 89.
29. The phrase "Here we are [usually: Here I am]" (*labbayk*) is part of the *talbīyah* prayer said by Muslim
     pilgrims on the *hajj*.

'Attâr, Poem 1

<div dir="rtl">

قلاش و قلندر شدم و توبه شکستم — دی در صفِ اوباش زمانی بِنشَستم

از دَلُق برون آمدم از زرق برستم — جاروبِ خرابات شد این خرقهٔ سالوس

مَی دادم و مَی خوردم و بی مَی ننشستم — از صومعه با میکده افتاد مرا کار

تسبیح بیَفکندم و زنار ببستم — چون صومعه و میکده را اصل یکی بود

معذور بدار ار غلطی رفت که مستم — در صومعهٔ صوفی چه شوی مُنکرِ حالم

از باده که خوردم خبرم نیست که هستم — سرمست چنانم که سر از پای ندانم

عیبم نکنی باز اگر باده پرستم — یک جرعه از آن باده اگر نوش کنی تو

تقدیر چنین بود و قضا نیست به دستم — اکنون که مرا کار شد از دست چه تدبیر

تا چند زنی لاف که من مستِ الستم[30] — عطار درین راه قدم زن چه زنی دم

</div>

Last night I sat for a bit in the ranks of the ruffians—
I became a rogue and rascal and broke my repentance.

This robe of hypocrisy became the broom of the winehouse.
I shed my dervish cassock and was liberated from hypocrisy.

My work was transferred from the hermitage to the winehouse.
I gave wine, drank wine, and never sat without it.

Since both the hermitage and the winehouse were of the same foundation,
I tossed aside my prayer beads and fastened the cincture around my waist.

Why do you, Sufi, deny my state in the hermitage?
Forgive me if I did something wrong, I am drunk.

I am so drunk that I do not even know heads from tails.
[I am so drunk] from this wine that I drank, I am not even aware I exist.

If you drink but one draught of that wine,
you will not find me sinful if I am a wine-worshipper.

Now that all affairs are out of our hands, what can one do?
Such was my fate, and destiny is not in my hands.

'Attâr walk on this path! Why are you talking?
For how long will you brag that "I am drunk with the wine of 'am I not' (*alast*)?"

---

30. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 392-93. Shafi'i-Kadkani doubts the attribution of this poem to 'Attâr (Shafi'i-Kadkani, *Qalandariyeh dar târikh*, 313).

'Attâr, Poem 2

چو زلفِ خود بشولیده درآمد   نگارم دوش شوریده درآمد
به شب اَز روزَنِ دیده درآمد   عجایب بین که نورِ آفتابم
نهان از راهِ دزدیده درآمد   چو زلفش دید دل بُگُریخت ناگه
به ترسایئْ نترسیده درآمد   میان دربست از زنارِ زلفش
چو رندئْ دردنوشیده درآمد   چو شیخی خرقه پوشیده برون شد
لباسِ کفر پوشیده درآمد   رِدایِ زهد در صحرا بِیَنداخت
تفی از جانِ شوریده درآمد   به دلْ گفتم چبودت گفت ناگه
فتوحی بس پسندیده درآمد   مرا از من رهانید و به انصاف
چو بیرون شد جهانْ دیده درآمد[31]   جهانْ عطار را داد و برون شد

My beloved appeared last night frenzied, enamored.
Like his tresses, he came out disshelved.

See the wondorous things that the light of my sun
shown through the window of my eyes at night.

When the heart saw his tresses, it suddenly fled
and came back by a hidden path.

Around its waist it bound a *zonnâr* cincture of his locks,
and it fearlessly coverted to Christianity.

It came out like a sheykh clad in a Sufi mantle.
It came out as a dregs-drinking libertine.

It threw its mantle of asceticism in the field
and came out again with the garments of infidelity on.

I said to the heart: "What is up with you?"
It suddenly responded: "Suddenly a heat came from this frenzied soul!"

It set me free from me—truly
it was a most pleasing conquest/spiritual opening.

The beloved gave the world to 'Attâr and left—
when he left, the world became truly visible.

---

31. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 227.

263

'Attâr, Poem 3

سحرگاهی شدم سوی خرابات که رندان را کنم دعوت به طامات
عصا اندر کف و سجاده بر دوش که هستم زاهدی صاحبِ کرامات
خراباتی مرا گفتا که ای شیخ بگو تا خود چه کار است از مهمات
بدو گفتم که کارم توبهٔ توست اگر توبه کنی یابی مُراعات
مرا گفتا بُرو ای زاهدِ خشک که تر گردی ز دردیِ خرابات
اگر یک قَطره‌ی دُردی بر تو ریزم ز مسجد بازمانی وز مناجات
برو مفروش زهد و خودنَمائی که نه ز هدت خرند اینجا نه طامات
کسی را اوفتد بر رویْ این رنگ که در کعبه کند بت را مُراعات
بگفت این و یکی دُردی به من داد خِرف شد عقلم و رست از خرافات
چو من فانی شدم از جانِ کهنه مرا افتاد با جانان ملاقات
چو از فرعونِ هستی باز رستم چو موسی می‌شدم هر دم به میقات
چو خود را یافتم بالای کونین چو دیدم خویشتن را آن مقامات
برآمد آفتابی از وجودم درونِ من برون شد از سماوات
بدو گفتم که ای داننده‌ٔ راز بگو تا کی رِسَم در قُربِ آن ذات
مرا گفتا که ای مغرورِ غافل رسد هرگز کسی هیهات هیهات
بسی بازی ببینی از پس و پیش ولی آخر فرومانی به شهمات
همه ذراتِ عالم مست عشقند فرومانده میان نفی و اثبات
در آن موضع که تابد نور خورشید نه موجود و نه معدوم است ذرات
چه می‌گویی تو ای عطارِ آخر که داند این رموز و این اشارات[32]

I went one morning to the winehouse
to invite the rowdy libertines to spiritual conceits,

staff in hand and prayer carpet on my shoulder
for I am an ascetic possessing miraculous powers.

A denizen of the dilapidated winehouse said to me: "O sheykh!
Tell us what business do you have [with us] of importance?"

I said to him: "My business is your repentance!
If you repent, you will find favor."

He said to me: "Go you dry ascetic!
Get moistened first by the dregs of the winehouse!

If I pour but one drop of the dregs on you,
you will be cut off from the mosque and private prayers.

Go! Don't sell your asceticism and self-righteousness arrogance
for here they won't buy your asceticism and spiritual conceits!

This color only falls on the faces of those who
venerate idols in the *Ka'ba* itself!"

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32. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 11-12.

He said this and then gave me a bit of the dregs—
my rational mind was stupified and was liberated from silly fables.

When my old soul was annihilated,
I met the beloved.

When I was saved from pharonic-existence,
like Moses each moment I was seeing God.

When I found myself above the two worlds,
when I saw myself at that [elevated] station,

a sun came out of my own existence—
my inner life went beyond the skies.

I said to him: "O knower of the secret!
Tell me when I will arrive to proximity of the essence."

He said: "O arrogant ignoramus!
one would never arrive—oh, alas!

You will see many games all around
but in the end you will be stunned in checkmate.

All particles of the earth are drunk with love,
astonished between negation and proof.

In that place that the light of the sun shines,
particles are not existent nor non-existent."

What are you saying, 'Attâr?
Who knows these mysteries and divine signs?

'Attâr, Poem 4

بترکی بُرد دین و دل ز دستم   درآمد دوش ترکِ نیم مستم

کنون من بی دل و بی دین نشستم   دلم برخاست دینم رفت از دست

به شیشه توبه‌ی سنگین شکستم   چو آتشْ شیشه‌ای می پیشم آورد

من از ردّ و قبول خَلق رستم   چو یک دُردی به حَلق من فرو رفت

میان گبرکان زنار بستم   ز مستی خرقه بر آتش نهادم

به صد مستی ز کفر و زهد جَستم   چو عزمِ زهد کردم کفر دیدم

که نَفْسِ من بت و من بت پرستم   پس از مستی عشقم گشت معلوم

همی هستم چنان کز عشق هستم   چه می‌پرسی مرا کز عشق چونی

چه گویم چون نه هشیارم نه مستم   چه دانم چون نه فانی‌ام نه باقی

بلندِ کون بودم، کرد پستم[33]   چو در لاکون افتادم چو عطار

Last night my half-drunk Turk came sauntering in,
with his all Turkishness he took (from my hands) my heart and religion.

My heart rose up—I lost my religion!
Now I am lovesick and without religion.

He brought me a glass of wine like fire;
with that glass I broke a hard vow of repentance.

When some dregs had passed through my throat,
I was liberated from rejection and acceptance by the people.

Due to drunkenness, I placed my Sufi mantle on the fire
[and] amidst those fire-worshippers I fastened the cincture.

When I turned towards asceticism, I saw infidelity (*kofr*);
with [the aid of] a lot of wine, I leapt back from this infidelity, this asceticism.

After becoming drunk with love, it was made clear to me that
my (lower) self is an idol and I am an idol-worshipper.

Why do you ask me, "How are you doing with love?"
I am always like this for I exist from love.

What do I know? Since I am neither annihilated nor subsisting.
What can I say? Since I am neither sober nor drunk.

Since I fell into non-existence like 'Attâr,
I was exalted, [but] existence debased me.

---

33. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 390-91.

'Attâr, Poem 5

<div dir="rtl">

دادیم دل از دست و پی یار گرفتیم   ما بار دگر گوشه خمّار گرفتیم

پس در ره جانان پی اسرار گرفتیم   دعوی دو کون از دل خود دور فکندیم

و از آرزوی او کم اغیار گرفتیم   از هر دو جهان مهر یکی را بگُزیدیم

ترک خودی خویش بیکبار گرفتیم   گفتند خودی تو درین راه حجاب است

در کوی رجا دامنِ پندار گرفتیم   ای بس که چو پروانه‌ی پَر سوخته از شمع

از کعبه‌ی ظاهر ره خمار گرفتیم   از کعبه‌ی جان چونکه ندیدیم نشانی

چه خرقه چه تسبیح که زنار گرفتیم   از خرقه و تسبیح چو جز نام ندیدیم

اندر ره دین شیوه کُفّار گرفتیم   زین دین به تزویر چو دل خیره فروماند

پس ما به یقین مذهب عطار گرفتیم[34]   چون هرچه جز او هست درین راه حجاب است

</div>

We once again took up a corner in the vintner's place.
We gave away our heart and followed the trail of the friend.

We threw off the claims of both worlds on our heart;
then on the trail of the beloved, we took the path of secrets/mysteries.

Out of both worlds, we chose the love of only one
and out of desire for him, we regarded others as less worthy.

They said: "Your self is a veil on this path,"
so at once we abandoned our selves.

Oh how often that like a moth burnt by a candle
we attached ourselves to fancy thoughts in the quarter of hope.

Since we did not see any sign of the ka'ba of the soul,
we took the path of the vintner from the external *Ka'ba*.

Since we did not see but good name in the Sufi mantle and prayer beads,
we buckled the cincture around our waist—really, what are mantle and prayers beads?!

Since the heart is bewildered by this deceitful brand of religion,
we have taken up the way of the infidels in the path of religion.

Since whatever is other than he in this path is a veil,
we took up the religion of 'Attâr with certainty!

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34. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 491-92.

'Attâr, Poem 6

<div dir="rtl">

زنار مغانه بر میان بستم	از عشق تو من به دیر بِنْشَستم
زنار چرا همیشه نَپْرَستم	چون حلقهٔ زلف تست زناری
چون حلقه زلف تست در دستم	گر دین و دلم ز دست شد شاید
در زلف تو دست تا بپیوستم	دست‌آویزی نکو به دست آمد
خوردم می عشق و توبه بشکستم	چون ترسایی درست شد بر من
گویی ز هزار سالگی مستم	زان می که به جرعه‌ای که من خوردم
بسیار بر آن دریچه بنشستم	در سینه دریچه‌ای پدید آمد
من چشمهٔ دل به بحر پیوستم	صد بحر از آن دریچه پیدا شد
زان صید که اوفتاد در شستم	طاقت چو نداشتم شدم غرقه
از رسم و رسوم این جهان رستم	جانم چو ز عشقِ آن جهانی شد
امروز بدین صفت که من هستم	باور نکنند اگر به نطق آرم
هیچم، همه‌ام، بلند و پستم	نه موجودم نه نیز معدومم
تو دانی و تو که من برون جستم³⁵	عطار درین چنین خطرگاهی

</div>

I seated myself in the monastery out of love for you.
I strapped the Magian cincture around my waist.

Since the ringlets of your tresses are a cincture,
why don't I always worship the cincture?

If my religion and heart are lost, it is proper
since I am knocking at your door.

A good pretext came about
since I grasped your locks.

When Christianity was made clear to me,
I drank the wine of love and broke my repentance.

When I drank just a sip of that wine
it seems that I am drunk for a thousand years!

In my breast a window appeared;
I remained near that window for a long time.

A hundred seas gushed forth from that window—
I linked the fountain of my heart to this sea.

Since I did not have strength to withstand [this sea], I was drowned—
I am of that prey that was caught in the net.

When my soul, because of love, became of that world,
I was liberated from the customs of this world.

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35. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 389-90.

They would not even believe if I put into words today
the way that I am.

I am not existent, I am not non-existent
I am nothing, I am everything—I am exalted, I am vile.

'Attâr, in [saying] such you are in a dangerous zone.
You know and only you that I have escaped from (that dangerous place).

'Attâr, Poem 7

<div dir="rtl">

پس در قمارخانه مناجات می‌کنیم   ما ره ز قبله سوی خرابات می‌کنیم

گاهی ز صافِ میکده هَیهات می‌کنیم   گاهی ز دَردِ دُرد هیاهوی می‌زنیم

مست و خرابْ کارِ خرابات می‌کنیم   چون یک نفس به صومعه هشیار نیستیم

از بهر دردیی چه مُراعات می‌کنیم   پیرا بیا ببین که جوانانِ رند را

ما بی‌نفاق توبه ز طامات می‌کنیم   طاماتیان ز دُردیِ ما توبه می‌کنند

نه دعویِ مقام و مقامات می‌کنیم   نه لافِ پاک‌بازی و رندی همی زنیم

بر آرزویِ کشف و کرامات می‌کنیم   ما را کجاست کشف و کرامات کین همه

بر اهلِ دین به کفر مباحات[36] می‌کنیم   دُردی‌کشیم و تا بنباشیم مرد دین

با کس نه داوری نه مکافات می‌کنیم   گو بد کنید در حقِ ما خَلق ز انکه ما

می‌ده که کار می به مهمات می‌کنیم   ای ساقی اهلِ درد درین حلقه حاضرند

بی یک پیاده بر رخ تو مات می‌کنیم   سلطانِ یک سوارهٔ نَطعِ دو رنگ را

با شاهدانِ روح ملاقات می‌کنیم   ما شبروانِ بادیهٔ کعبهٔ دلیم

هم یک دو روز کارِ خرابات می‌کنیم[37]   در کسبِ علم و عقل چو عطار این زمان

</div>

We are taking the road from the *qibla*[38] towards the dilapidated winehouse,
then we will do our prayers in the gambling house.

Sometimes we cause an uproar from the pain of the dregs;
other times we sigh from the pure wine of the winehouse.

Since we are not sober for a moment in the hermitage,
we will do the work of the winehouse drunk and wasted.

O wise elder! Come and see how gentle we are
to the youthful libertines just to get some dregs!

Those full of spiritual conceits are repenting from our dregs
while we, without hypocrisy, are repenting from their spiritual conceits!

We are not boasting of "going all in" and debauchery,[39]
nor claiming any exalted states or stations.

Where are all our enlightenment and miracles?
For all we desire is enlightenment and miracles.

We are dreg-drinkers so we are no longer men of religion.
We are rendering infidelity lawful for the people of religion![40]

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36. Keshavarz said she thinks this may be مباهات instead of مباحات.
37. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 509-11.
38. The *qibla* is the direction in which Muslims pray. It is determined by the location of the *Ka'ba*, the holiest shrine in Islam, toward which all Muslims pray.
39. The oldest manuscript (Majles 2600) reads *rendi* here instead of *mardi*, which seems to make more sense in this context so I have opted for this alternative reading.
40. A textual variant could change the meaning of this line to "we boast of infidelity to the people of religion." Regardless of which way we read this line, the valorization of infidelity (*kofr*) over (*din*) remains.

Tell the people to do bad to us! For we
do not retaliate against or judge anyone.

O Saqi! The people of the dregs in this circle are ready!
Give them wine for we are doing the essential work of the wine.

Without a pawn, with your face (also: rook)
we will checkmate the king of the chess board.

We are the night-riders of the bedouin tribes of the heart's *Ka'ba*.
We meet and converse with the *shâheds* of the soul!

Regarding acquiring rational and learned knowledge, like 'Attâr this time
we take up the work of the winehouse for a day or two.

'Attâr, Poem 8

ما گبر قدیم نامسلمانیم   نامآورِ کفر و ننگِ ایمانیم

گه محرم کم زن خراباتیم   گه همدم جاثلیق رهبانیم

شیطان چو به ما رسد گُله بِنْهَد   کز وسوسه اوستاد شیطانیم

زان مرد نهایم کز کسی ترسیم   سر پای برهنگان دو جهانیم

درماندهایم و راه بس دور است   ما راه بکار خود نمیدانیم

ما چاره به کار خویش چون سازیم   چو جمله به کار خویش حیرانیم

کی باشد و کی بُوَد که ناگاهی   این پرده ز کار خویش بِدْرانیم

هر پرده که بعد از آن پدید آید   از آتش معرفت بسوزانیم

زآنجا که درآمدیم از اول   جان را سوی آن کمال بِرْسانیم

عطار شکسته را به یک دفعت   از پردۀ هر دو کون بِرْهانیم[41]

We are the old, non-Muslim Magians!
We are the ones famous for infidelity and we are the shame of our faith!

Sometimes we are the self-deprecating companions of the haunters of the dilapidated
        winehouse;
other times we are dear friends of the monks' prelates!

When Satan comes to us, he bows before us
for in temptation we are his master.

We are not that type of man that we fear anyone—
we are the naked ones of the two worlds.

We are helpless and the road is very long.
We don't know how to take care of our own affairs.

How can we remedy our affairs
when we all are bewildered by our business?

When may it be that
we suddenly tear the veil from our work?

Every veil that appears after that
we burn with the fire of real knowing

From that place that we came from in the beginning,
we send our souls to that perfection.

In one fell swoop we liberate
poor, broken 'Attâr from the veil of both worlds.

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41. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 506-07.

272

'Attâr, Poem 9

<div dir="rtl">

نعرهزنان رقص‌کنان دردنوش   مست شدم تا به خرابات دوش

ز آتشِ جوشِ دلم آمد به جوش   جوشِ دلم چون به سرِ خُم رسید

گفت درآی ای پسر خرقه‌پوش   پیر خرابات چو بانگم شنید

گفت ز خود هیچ مگو شو خموش   گفتمش ای پیر چه دانی مرا

خرقه و سجاده بیَفْکَن ز دوش   مذهب رندان خرابات گیر

در صف اوباش برآور خروش   کم زن و قلاش و قلندر بباش

دردی عشاق به شادی بنوش   صافی زُهّاد به خواری بریز

پنبهٔ پندار برآور ز گوش   صورت تشبیه برون بر ز چشم

پردهٔ تو بردر و با خود بکوش   تو تو نه‌ای چند نشینی به خود

رخت سوی عالم دل بر بهوش   قعر دلت عالم بی‌منتهاست

چند بُوَد پیش تو گوهرفروش[42]   گوهر عطار به صد جان بخر

</div>

Last night I went drunk to the winehouse—
wailing, dancing, dreg-drinking.

My heart was boiling when it came to the lid of the wine cask—
from the fire of my heart's excitement, the vat boiled too!

When the elder of the winehouse heard my shout,
he said: "Come in, o mendicant boy!

I said to him: "What do you know of me?"
He said: "Don't say anything about yourself—be silent!

Take up the religion of the winehouse libertines!
Throw down your mendicant cloak and prayer rug from your shoulders!

Be a self-deprecating rascal and rogue!
Line up in the ranks of the ruffians [and] shout!

Pour out the purity of the ascetics with contempt!
drink the dregs of lovers with joy!

Take the pale form of likeness out your eyes
and remove the cotton of futile thought from your ears!

You are not you! How long will you remain with yourself?
Tear the veil of yourself and strive with yourself!

The depths of your heart are a world without end:
go to the world of the heart aware!

Buy the gems of 'Attâr with a hundred souls—
what worth really are all of the gem-sellers before you?"

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42. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 361.

www.manaraa.com

'Attâr, Poem 10

در دیرِ مغان راهِ خرابات گرفتیم   ما ترکِ مقامات و کرامات گرفتیم

ترکِ سخنِ عادت و طامات گرفتیم   پی بر پیِ رندانِ خرابات نهادم[43]

اکنون کم سالوس و مراعات گرفتیم   آن وقت که خود را همه سالوس نمودیم

یارب که به یک دم چه مقامات گرفتیم   در چهرهٔ آن ماه چو شد دیدهٔ ما باز

ور عقل درو مات نشد مات گرفتیم   بس عقل که شد مات به یک بازی عشقش

با دلشدگان راهِ مناجات گرفتیم   چون عقل شد از دست ز مستی می عشق

آن شیوه ز اسرار و کرامات گرفتیم[44]   چون شیوهٔ عطار درین راه بدیدیم

We have abandoned stations and miracles.
Ee have taken the way of the winehouse in the Magian hermitage.

We followed in the footsteps of the winehouse libertines.
We forsook both customary eloquency and spiritual conceits.

We ourselves used to exhibit all kinds of hypocrisy,
now we've got less hypocrisy and regard.

When our eyes were opened upon the visage of that fair moon,
o my lord, what stations we achieved in just a fleeting moment!

Many an intellect has been checkmated in a game of his love,
and if the intellect is not checkmated in it, we consider it checkmated.

Since intellect has been lost through the drunkenness of love's wine,
we took the way of prayers with the enamored ones.

Since we saw the way of 'Attâr in this path,
Out of all the secrets and miracles, we took that way.

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43. Keshavarz feels this should be read as نهادیم, but Tafazzoli does not gives this as a variant.
44. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 491.

'Attâr, Poem 11

عشقِ تو ز سقسین و ز بلغار برآمد   فریاد ز کفار به یکبار برآمد

در صومعه‌ها نیم شبان ذکرِ تو می‌رفت   وز لات و عزی نعرهٔ اقرار برآمد

گفتم که کنم توبه در عشق ببندم   تا چشم زدم عشق ز دیوار برآمد

یک لحظه نقاب از رخِ زیبات براندند   صد دلشده را زان رخِ تو کار برآمد

یک زمزمه از عشق تو با چنگ بگفتم   صد نالهٔ زار از دلِ هر تار برآمد

آراسته حسنِ تو به بازار فرو شد   در حالْ هیاهوی ز بازار برآمد

عیسی به مناجات به تسبیح خجل گشت   ترسا ز چلیپا و ز زنار برآمد

یوسف ز می وصلِ تو در چاه فرو شد   منصور ز شوقت به سرِ دار برآمد

ای جانِ جهان هر که درین رهٔ قدمی زد   کارِ دو جهانیش چو عطار برآمد[45]

Your love came all the way from Turkistan and Bulgaria!
Screams rose up from the infidels!

In the monasteries you are remembered late at night,
and from the pagan goddesses 'Uzza and Lat came a wail of profession.

I said that I will repent (and) close the door on love,
(but) in the blink of an eye love bounded over these walls (and came in).

But for a moment the veil was lifted from your beauty—
the issues of the enamored ones were resolved by your face.

I sang a tune of your love with my harp;
a hundred forlorn wails came from the heart of each string.

Your beauty came adorned down to the market,
instantly the market burst into an uproar.

Jesus in his private prayers with his prayer beads was humbled;
the christian abandoned his cross and cincture.

Joseph fell in the pit from the wine of union with you;
Mansur (al-Hallaj) went to the gallows because of his desire for you.

O soul of the world! Whoever has trotted this old path,
like 'Attâr, their problems in both worlds were resolved.

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45. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 224.

'Attâr, Poem 12

<div dir="rtl">

ما بار دگر گوشهٔ خمّار گرفتیم   دادیم دل از دست و پی یار گرفتیم

دعوی دو کون از دلِ خود دور فکندیم   پس در رهِ جانان پی اسرار گرفتیم

از هر دو جهان مهرِ یکی را بگزیدیم   و از آرزویِ او کم اغیار گرفتیم

گفتند خودی تو درین راه حجاب است   ترکِ خودیِ خویش به یکبار گرفتیم

ای بس که چو پروانهٔ پَر سوخته از شمع   در کویِ رجا دامنِ پندار گرفتیم

از کعبهٔ جان چونکه ندیدیم نشانی   از کعبهٔ ظاهر رهِ خمّار گرفتیم

از خرقه و تسبیح چو جز نام ندیدیم   چه خرقه چه تسبیح که زنّار گرفتیم

زین دین به تزویر چو دل خیره فروماند   اندر رهِ دین شیوهٔ کفار گرفتیم

چون هرچه جز او هست درین راه حجاب است   پس ما به یقین مذهبِ عطار گرفتیم[46]

</div>

We again have chosen a corner in the vintner's house.
We lost our hearts and followed the friend.

We tossed aside the claims of both worlds on our hearts,
then we took up the path of the sweetheart, looking for secrets.

We chose from both worlds the love of one,
and we regarded others as less because of our desire him.

They said: "Your self is a veil on this path,"
so we abandoned ourselves.

Oh how many of us like moths burnt by the candle's flame!
We held onto imagination in the quarter of hope.

Since we didn't see any sign from the Ka'ba of the soul,
we took the road from the external Ka'ba to the vintner's house.

Since we saw nothing but name and fame in Sufi mantles and prayer beads,
what are Sufi mantles and prayer beads (to us)?! We fastened the cincture on our waists.

Since the heart has been astonished and debilitated by this deceitful religion,
we have taken to the way of the infidels in religion.

Since anything other than him is a veil on this path,
we have taken up the religion of 'Attâr with certainty!

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46. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 491-92.

'Attâr, Poem 13

بیار باده که عاشق نه مرد طاماتست   بیا که قبلهٔ ما گوشهٔ خراباتست

پیاده‌ای دو فرو کن که وقت شهماتست   پیاله‌ای دو به من ده که صبح پرده درید

چه جای دُردفروشانِ دیر آفاتست   در آن مقام که دل‌های عاشقان خون شد

چه مرد دین و چه شایستهٔ عباداتست   کسی که دیرنشینِ مغان بُوَد[47] پیوسته

میان ببسته به زنار در مناجاتست   مگو ز خرقه و تسبیح ازانکه این دل مست

برون گذر که برون زین بسی مقاماتست   ز کفر و دین و ز نیک و بد و ز علم و عمل

شود یقینْت که جز عاشقی خرافاتست   اگر دمی به مقامات عاشقی برسی

از آنکه لذت عاشق ورای لذاتست   چه داند آنکه نداند که چیست لذت عشق

که حلقهٔ در معشوقِ ما سماواتست   مقام عاشق و معشوق از دو کون برونست

که زاد راه فنا دردی خراباتست   بنوش دُرد و فنا شو اگر بقا خواهی

که گرد دایرهٔ نفی عین اثباتست   به کوی نفی فرو شو چنان که بر نایی

هر آنچه هست به جز دوست عزی و لاتست   نگه مکن به دو عالم از آنکه در ره دوست

که آن سجود وی از جملهٔ مناجاتست   مخند از پی مستی که بر زمین افتد

که شاه نطعْ یقین آن بود که شهماتست   اگرچه پاک‌بری مات هر گدایی شو

از آنکه در ره ناماندنت مباهاتست   بباز هر دو جهان و ممان که سود کنی

که باقی ره عشاق فانی ذاتست[48]   ز هر دو کون فنا شو درین ره ای عطار

Come! For our *qibla* is the corner of the dilapidated winehouse!
Bring wine! For the lover is not a man of spiritual conceits!

Give me a goblet or two for the morning has rent the veil!
Push forward a pawn or two for it is time for checkmate!

At that stage in which lovers' hearts are broken (lit. made bloody),
where is the place of the dregs-seller of the monastery of misfortunes (i.e., this world)?

One who is always a Magian monastic,
how could he be a man of religion or suitable for worship?

Don't talk of the Sufi cloak and prayer beads
since this drunken heart bound itself with the cincture in prayers.

Go beyond infidelity and religion, good and bad, (rational) thought and action,
for outside of these there are many other stations!

If you but even for a moment reach the station of love, you will become certain
that everything other than love is but superstitious fables.

What does he know who does not know what the pleasure of love is?
For the pleasure of the lover is beyond simple pleasures.

The station of the lover and beloved is outside of the two worlds,

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47. The text in Tafazzoli's divan of 'Attâr originally reads مغانست here. However, he lists بُوَد as a variant and Keshavarz says this is a better reading because it corrects the meter.

48. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 33-34.

for the knocker of the door of our beloved is in the heavens.

Drink the dregs and extinguish the self if you want eternity,
for the provisions for the journey of self-annihilation (*fanâ*) are the dregs of the dilapidated
      winehouse.

Go down to the quarter of negation such that you don't return
for the roundness of the circle of negation is proof itself.

Don't mind the two worlds since in the path of the friend
anything other than the friend is 'Uzza and Lat.

Don't laugh at the drunk who has fallen on the ground
for that prostration of his is a type of private prayer.

Even though you are the clear winner, be checkmated by every beggar
for the king of the board is certain to be checkmated.

Lose both worlds and don't stick around to gain
because not remaining on the road is your boast.

O 'Attâr, in this path be annihilated from both worlds!
Those who are annihilated in essence remain on the path of lovers.

'Attâr, Poem 14

<div dir="rtl">

ترسا بچه‌ای دیدم زنار کمر کرده   در معجزهٔ عیسی صد درس ز بر کرده

با زلف چلیپاوش بِنْشَسته به مسجد خوش   وز قبلهٔ روی خود محراب دگر کرده

از تختهٔ سیمینش یعنی که بناگوشش   خورشید خجل گشته[49] رخساره چو زر کرده

از جادویی چشمش برخاسته صد غوغا   تا بر سر بازاری یکبار گذر کرده

چون مه به کله‌داری پیروزه قبا بسته   زنار سر زلفش عشاق کمر کرده

روزی که ز بد کردن بِگْرِفت دلش کلی   بُگذاشته دست از بد صد بار بتر کرده

صد چشمهٔ حیوان است اندر لب سیرابش   وین عاشق بی دل را بس تشنه جگر کرده

دوش آمد پیر ما در صومعه بُد تنها   گفت ای ز سرِ عُجبی در خویش نظر کرده[50]

از خویش پرستیدن در صومعه بِنْشَسته   خلق همه عالم را از خویش خبر کرده

بُگْریخته نفس تو از یار ز نامردی   چون بار گران دیده از خلق حذر کرده

برخیزی اگر مردی در شیوهٔ ما آیی   تا شیوهٔ ما بینی در سنگ اثر کرده

یک دردی درد ما در عالم رسوایی   صد زاهد خودبین را با دامن تر کرده

در حلقه چو دیدی خود دردی‌خور و مستی کن   وانگاه ببین خود را از حلقه به در کرده

چون کوری قرایان عطار عیان دیده   بینایی پیر خود صد نوع سمر کرده[51]

</div>

I saw a christian youth—he had belted a cincture around his waist
(and) learned by heart hundreds of lessons on Jesus' miracles.

He sat merrily in the mosque with his locks like crosses
and made another prayer niche with the *qibla* (direction of prayer) of his face.

The sun (even) was embarrassed and became pale
from those silvery plates that are his cheeks.

Hundreds of uproars have arisen from the magic of his eyes
every time he has passed by a bazaar.

Like the moon, with the haughtiness he has strapped on a turquoise cloak.
The lovers strapped on the (non-Islamic) cincture of the tips of his tresses.

The day that he lost interest in mistreating (the lovers),
he set about abusing them a hundred times worse!

A hundred fountains of life are in his succulent lips,
and he has made this poor lovesick lover very thirsty.

Last night our master came. He was alone in the Sufi lodge.
He said: "O you who look at yourself with such self-importance!

Out of self-worship you took up a place in the Sufi lodge
and informed all of earthly creation about yourself.

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49. The two oldest manuscripts both read خجل کرده here.
50. This line is not in the oldest manuscript (Majles).
51. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 585-586 #736.

Your lower self has escaped from the friend out of cowardice.
When you saw that the load was heavy, you avoided people.

You will rise up if you come as a man in our way.
So that you see our way, we have made impressions in stone.

One bit of dregs from our pining in the world of infamy
stained (with wine) the garments of hundreds of self-absorbed ascetics.

When you see your self in the circle, drink dregs and get wasted!
And then look at your self—you self has been dispatched from the circle to the door!" (or:
you have been transformed from the door knocker to the door)

When 'Attâr saw clearly the blindness of the Qur'an reciters,
he spread the insight of his master in a hundred ways.

'Attâr, Poem 15

پای‌کوبان کوزهٔ دردی به دست   عزم آن دارم که امشب نیم مست

پس به یک ساعت ببازم هرچه هست   سر به بازار قلندر در نهم[52]

تا کی از پندار باشم خودپرست   تا کی از تزویر باشم خودنمای

توبهٔ زهاد می‌باید شکست   پردهٔ پندار می‌باید درید

چند خواهم بودن آخر پای‌بست   وقت آن آمد که دستی بر زنم

هین که دل برخاست غم در سر نشست   ساقیا در ده شرابی دلگشای

دور گردون زیر پای آریم پست   تو بگردان دور تا ما مردوار

زهره را تا حشر گردانیم مست   مشتری را خرقه از سر برکشیم

بی جهت در رقص آییم از الست[53]   پس چو عطار از جهت بیرون شویم

I have resolved that tonight [I will be] half drunk,
dancing with a goblet of dregs in hand.

I will burst into the Qalandar bazaar
and within an hour I will gamble away everything (that exists).

For how long will I be showy because of deception?
For how long will I worship myself because of [my own] illusory thoughts?

The veil of fancy thoughts must be rent!
The repentance of the ascetics must be broken!

The time has come for us to clap and dance.
How long will we remain bound?

O my cupbearer! Pour me that merry, heart-opening wine!
Make haste! For the heart has risen up [and] melancholy has set in.

Send [that wine] around until we, like men,
make the far-off celestial spheres subject to us.

We make Jupiter take off its mantle!
We make Venus drunk until resurrection day!

So, like 'Attâr, we leave reason and direction behind.
We have been dancing without rhyme or reason or direction since "am I not your Lord?"
   (pre-eternity)

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52. Majles Manuscript reads: در دهم.
53. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 41 #55.

281

'Attâr, Poem 16

صد حلقهٔ زلف در بناگوش	ترسا بچهٔ شکرلبم دوش
زان حلقهٔ زلف حلقه در گوش	صد پیر قوی به حلقه میداشت
گفتا که به یاد من کن این نوش	آمد بر من شراب در دست
چون مینوشی خموش و مخروش	در پرده اگر حریف مایی
تا مردْ زبان نکرد خاموش	زیرا که دلی نگشت گویا
ناخورده شراب گشت مدهوش	دل چون بِشنْود این سخن زود
در سینهٔ من فتاد صد جوش	چون بستدم آن شراب و خوردم
کردم همه نیک و بد فراموش	دادم همه نام و ننگ بر باد
وز پای درآمدم تن و توش	از دست بشد مرا دل و جان
آورد دو عالمم در آغوش	یک قطره از آن شراب مشکل
شد هر دو جهان از آن سیهپوش	یک ذرهٔ سوادِ فقر در تافت
در شیوهٔ فقر شد وفا کوش	جانم ز سر دو کون برخاست
بر جان و دلش دو کون بِفْروش	هر کو بخرد به جان و دلْ فقر
کفر آیدت این حدیث منیوش[54]	ور دین تو نیست دین عطار

Last night my sweet-lipped Christian youth
had a hundred rings of curls around his cheeks.

He had a hundred strong wise men in that assembly,
all enslaved by that tress' ringlet.

He came to me with wine in hand!
He said: "Drink this in memory of me.

If you are our mate in secret,
be silent and don't scream when you drink the wine,

because no heart can speak
until the man makes the tongue silent."

Upon hearing these words, the heart quickly
without even drinking wine became stupefied.

When I grabbed that wine and drank,
a hundred excitations rose up in my chest.

I threw [good] name and shame to the wind,
I forgot all good and bad.

My heart and soul were both lost.
I became weak in body and constitution.

A drop of that hard wine
brought both worlds within my embrace.

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54. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 360.

One black particle of poverty radiated out
and both worlds became clad in black.

My soul let go of both worlds
and became loyal in the way of poverty.

Whoever buys poverty with his heart and soul,
sell the two worlds for that heart and soul!

And if your religion is not the religion of 'Attâr,
don't listen to that which seems to you to be infidelity in this story!

گبری کهنیم و نام بُرداریم   ما مرد کلیسیا و زنّاریم

شش‌پنج‌زنان کوی خمّاریم   دریوزه‌گران شهر گبرانیم

با جملهٔ زاهدان به انکاریم   با جملهٔ مفسدان به تصدیقیم

در دیر مغان مغی به هنجاریم   در فسق و قمار پیر و استادیم

سالوس و نفاق را خریداریم   تسبیح و ردا نمی‌خریم الحق

گاهی مستیم و گاه هشیاریم   در گلخن تیره سر فرو برده

گاهی عَوریم و گاه عیاریم   واندر ره تایبانْ نامعلوم

در حضرتِ حق چه مرد اسراریم   با وسوسه‌های نفس شیطانی

کاندر کف نفس خود گرفتاریم   اندر صف دین حضور چون یابیم

این است که دوست دوست می‌داریم   این خود همه رفت عیب ما امروز

بی او به بهشت سر فرو ناریم   دیریست که اوست آرزوی ما

او به داند اگر سزاواریم   گر جملهٔ ما به دوزخ اندازد

در دوزخ و در بهشت با یاریم   بی یار دمی چو زنده نَتْوان بود

جز یار ز هرچه هست بیزاریم   بی او چو نه‌ایم هرچه باداباد

فارغ ز دو کون همچو عطّاریم[56]   در راه یگانگی و مشغولی[55]

We are men of the church and cincture!
We are those old Magians and infamous ones!

We are the beggars of the Magian's city!
We are the 'all-in' dice players of the vintner's quarter!

We assent when with all of the corrupters;
we deny when with all of the ascetics.

In corruption and gambling we are masters and guides.
In the Magian monastery we are Magians *par excellence.*

We verily are not buying prayer beads or mantles;
we are buyers of hypocrisy.

We have bowed our head in the dirty bathhouse boiler room;
sometimes we are drunk and other times sober.

Unknown in the path of repenters,
sometimes we are secretly wicked and other times openly renegades.

With the temptations of the devilish lower self,
in the presence of the Truth, what men of secrets are we!

How can we be in the ranks of religion,
when we are seized in the clutches of our own lower selves?

---

55. Keshavarz prefers the Ms. Sultanati variant here—i.e., ز مشغولی.
56. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 499 #623.

This all has gone completely, [but] today our sin is
that we love the friend.

It has been a long time that he has been our desire;
without him we will not accept heaven.

If he throws all of us into hell,
he knows better if we are worthy.

Since without the friend it is not possible to be alive,
we are with the friend in heaven or hell.

Since we cannot exist without him, come what may—
we are weary of everything that exists, save him.

When busy in the path of unity,
we are detached from both worlds like 'Attâr.

'Attâr, Poem 18

<div dir="rtl">

پیر ما از صومعه بُگُریخت در میخانه شد   در صف دردیکشان دردیکش و مردانه شد

بر بساط نیستی با کمزنان پاکباز   عقل اندر باخت وز لایعقلی دیوانه شد

در میان بیخودان مست دردی نوش کرد   در زبانِ زاهدانِ بیخبر افسانه شد

آشنایی یافت با چیزی که نَتْوان داد شرح   وز همه کار جهان یکبارگی بیگانه شد

راست کان خورشید جانها برقع از رخ بر گرفت   عقل چون خفّاش گَشت و روح چون پروانه شد

چون نشان گم کرد دل از سرّ او افتاد نیست   جان و دل در بی نشانی با فنا همخانه شد

عشق آمد گفت خون تو بخواهم ریختن   دل که این بِشْنود حالی از پی شُکرانه شد

چون دل عطار پر جوش آمد از سودای عشق   خون به سر بالا گرفت و چشم او پیمانه شد[57]

</div>

Our spiritual master fled from the Sufi lodge (and) went to the winehouse.
In the ranks of dregs-drinkers, he became a dregs-drinker and manly.

He lost his rationality and went crazy from madness
in the domain of non-existence with the 'all-in' gambling types, the self-deprecators.

Amongst the drunken mad ones (lit. those without selves), he drank dregs;
he became infamous amongst the unenlightened ascetics.

He became intimately familiar with something that cannot be described
and all of the sudden all mundane matters became foreign to him.

Truly, when the sun of souls took the veil from its face,
the intellect became as a bat and the soul as a butterfly.

When the heart lost the signposts, non-existence fell out of the innermost part of his heart.
The soul and heart in the abode beyond signs and descriptions are housemates with self-
        annihilation.

Love came and said: "I want to spill your blood!"
The heart, when it heard this, at that moment went after a gift of gratitude.

When the heart of 'Attâr boiled from the madness of love,
blood rose up to his head and his eyes became goblets!

---

57. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 209 #266.

'Attâr, Poem 19

راستی چست و به هنجار کشی
مست گردانی و در کار کشی
گاهم از کعبه به خمّار کشی
گاهم اندر رهِ اسرار کشی
گاهم از میکده در غار کشی
از مصلام به زنّار کشی
هر دمم در رهِ کفّار کشی
اندرین واقعه بر دار کشی
خون خوری تن زنی و بار کشی
همچو گلبن ستم خار کشی
خاک در دیدهٔ اغیار کشی
باده بر چهرهٔ دلدار کشی
در رهِ عشق چو عطار کشی[58]

هر دمم مست به بازار کشی
می عشقم بِچشانی و مرا
گاهم از کفر به دین باز آری
گاهم از راه یقین دور کنی
گه ز مسجد به خرابات بری
چون ز اسلامِ مَنَت ننگ آید
چون مرا ننگِ رهِ دین بینی
بس که پیران حقیقت‌بین را
ای دل سوخته گر مرد رهی
بر امید گل وصلش شب و روز
آتش اندر دل ایام زنی
بویی از مِجمَرهٔ عشق بری
غم معشوق که شادی دل است

Each moment you are dragging me to the bazaar,
truly quickly and in the most excellent way you drag me.

You make me taste the wine of love, intoxicate me,
and draw me in to these affairs.

Sometimes you bring me back from infidelity/unbelief (*kofr*) to religion;
other times you drag me from the *Ka'ba* to the vintner!

Sometimes you take me far afield from certainty;
other times you pull me along the way of secrets!

Sometimes you take (me) from the mosque to the dilapidated winehouse;
other times you drag me from the winehouse to the cave!

Since you feel ashamed of my Islam,
you drag (me) from my prayer carpet with the (non-Islamic) cincture!

Since you see me as a shame on the face (lit. way) of religion,
every moment you are pulling me along the path of infidels/unbelievers (*koffâr*)!

Oh how many the truth-seeing spiritual masters
you have led to the gallows in these (spiritual) happenings!

O my afflicted heart! If you are a man on the path,
you suffer, keep quiet, and carry the burden.

In hope of the flower of union with him, night and day
you tolerate oppression by thorns like a rose bush.

---

58. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 643-644 #802.

287

You set fire to the heart of days
(and) fling dirt in the eyes of strangers.

You carry the scent of the incense-burner of love.
You drink wine in celebration of the visage of the sweetheart.

You tolerate the pining for the beloved, which is the happiness of the heart
in the way of love like 'Attâr.

'Attâr, Poem 20

ما رند و مقامر و مباحی‌ایم   انگشت‌نمای هر نواحی‌ایم
خون‌خواره چو خاک جرعه از جامیم   خون ریز ز دیده چون صُراحی‌ایم
هر چند که از گروه سلطانیم   نه قلبی‌ایم و نه جناحی‌ایم
جانا ز شراب شوق تو هر دم   بی صبح و صبوحی و صباحی‌ایم
گر سوختگان تو مباحی‌اند   بس سوخته‌ایم و بس مباحی‌ایم
ما فقر و صلاح کی خریم آخر   چون خاک مقام بی‌صلاحی‌ایم
در بتکده رند و لاابالی‌ایم   در مصطبه مست لافلاحی‌ایم
کافور رباحی ار بُوَد اصلی   کافور نه کافری رباحی‌ایم
تا در رسد این می تو ای عطار   حالی ز پی[59] می مُلاحی‌ایم[60]

We are rogues, gamblers, and libertines!
We are infamous in all regions!

Like dirt, we are bloodthirsty for a gulp from the goblet.
Like a flask, we shed bloody tears from our eyes.

Although we are from the king's entourage,
we are not in the middle of the formation nor on the flank.

O soul! Each moment we are without morning, morning draught, and dawn
because of the wine of desire for you.

If the ones burnt (by the fire of your love) are libertines,
we are very burnt and indeed very much libertines.

How can we buy poverty and righteousness
since we are the dirt of the station of impiety.

We are the rascal and reckless ones in the idol temple!
We are the damned drunks of the winehouse!

If Rabahi camphor is the genuine kind,
we are Rabahi (i.e., genuine) infidels, not camphor.

Until this wine of yours arrives, o 'Attâr,
for now we are searching for the white grape wine.

---

59. Keshavarz believes that the Tafazzoli's reading of ز بی is a typographical error.
60. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 486 #605.

'Attâr, Poem 21

بار دگر پیر ما مفلس و قلّاش شد   در بن دیر مغان رهزنِ اوباش شد

میکدهٔ فقر یافت خرقهٔ دعوی بسوخت   در رهِ ایمان به کفر در دو جهان فاش شد

ز آتش دل پاک سوخت مدعیان را به دم   دردی اندوه خورد عاشق و قلّاش شد

پاک بری چُست بود در ندب لامکان   کم زن و استاد گشت حیله گر و طاش شد

لاشهٔ دل را ز عشق بار گران برنهاد   فانی و لاشیء گشت یار هویداش شد

راست که بنمود روی آن مه خورشید چهر   عقل چو طاوس گشت وهم چو خفاش شد

وهم ز تدبیر او آزر بتساز گشت   عقل ز تشویر او مانیِ نقاش شد

چون دل عطار را بحر گهربخش دید   در سخن آمد به حرف ابرِ گهرپاش شد[61]

Again our master has become a poor beggar and rogue.
He has become a rascal bandit in the Magian monastery.

He found the winehouse of poverty and burnt the cloak of self-righteousness.
He was revealed (became infamous) in both worlds to be on the path of faith in infidelity.

He completely burnt up the disputers with breathe from the fire of the heart.
He guzzled the dregs of pining (and) became a lover and rogue.

He was a quick and clear winner in gambling in the place of no place.
He was transformed into a masterful self-deprecator, he became a trickster and mate.

He put a heavy load on the corpse of the heart because of love.
(When) he was annihilated and rendered non-existent, the friend became manifest to him.

Right at the moment when that sun-like moon displayed his face,
the intellect became like a peacock (i.e., beautiful but shallow) and estimation (*vahm*) became
       like a bat (i.e., fled from the sun).

Estimation (*vahm*) became like Azar the idolmaker (Abraham's father) from his own efforts;
the intellect became a painter like Mani out of shame.

When he saw 'Attâr's heart was a pearl-scattering ocean,
he started speaking (and) he became a pearl-scattering cloud through speech.

---

61. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 200-201 #257.

'Attâr, Poem 22

از در مسجد بر خمّار شد	پیر ما وقت سحر بیدار شد
در میان حلقهٔ زنار شد	از میان حلقهٔ مردان دین
نعرهای دربست و دردیخوار شد	کوزهٔ دردی به یک دم درکشید
از بد و نیک جهان بیزار شد	چون شراب عشق در وی کار کرد
جام می بر کف سوی بازار شد	اوفتانخیزان چو مستان صبوح
کای عجب این پیر از کفّار شد	غلغلی در اهل اسلام اوفتاد
کانچنان پیری چنین غذّار شد	هر کسی میگفت کین خذلان چبود
در دل او پند خلقان خار شد	هرکه پندش داد بندش سخت کرد
گرد او نظارگی بسیار شد	خلق را رحمت همی آمد بر او
پیش چشم اهل عالم خوار شد	آنچنان پیر عزیز از یک شراب
تا از آن مستی دمی هشیار شد	پیر رسوا گشته مست افتاده بود
جمله را میباید اندر کار شد	گفت اگر بدمستییی کردم رواست
هر که او پر دل شد و عیّار شد	شاید ار در شهر بد مستی کند
دعوی این مدعی بسیار شد	خلق گفتند این گدایی کشتنی است
کین گدای گبر دعویدار شد	پیر گفتا کار را باشید هین
جان صدیقان برو ایثار شد	صد هزاران جان نثار روی آنک
وانگهی بر نردبان دار شد	این بگفت و آتشین آهی بزد
سنگ از هر سو برو انبار شد	از غریب و شهری و از مرد و زن
در حقیقت محرم اسرار شد	پیر در معراج خود چون جان بداد
از درخت عشق برخوردار شد	جاودان اندر حریم وصل دوست
انشراح سینهٔ ابرار شد	قصهٔ آن پیر حلاج این زمان
قصهٔ او رهبر عطار شد[62]	در درون سینه و صحرای دل

At the crack of dawn, our master awoke
and went from the mosque to the vintner.

He went from the circles of the men of religion
to being within the loops of the (non-Islamic) cincture.

He drained a jug of dregs instantly.
He cried out and he became a dregs-drinker!

When the wine of love started taking its effect on him,
he became disinterested in the good and bad of the world.

Stumbling like those drunk from a morning draught,
he went with a goblet of wine in hand towards the bazaar.

An uproar arose amongst the people of Islam.
How strange! This spiritual master became one of the infidels!

Everyone was asking: "How did this loss happen?
How did such a master become so treacherous?"

Whoever gave him advice made his chains tighter—
in his heart the advice of people were thorns.

---

62. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 193-195 #251.

The people had pity on him;
around him many were gathering to look upon him.

Such a dear master became despised
in the eyes of the people of the world from one drink of wine.

Our master had became infamous and quite drunk.
When he sobered up for a bit,

he said: "If I have been a rancorous drunk, it is licit,
all must become engaged in this work.

It is proper for any who have become brave and a rogue
if they become rambunctious drunks in the city."

The people responded: "This beggar should be executed!"
The number of people who were calling for his execution became overwhelming.

The master said: "Make haste! Look at this affair!
This Magian beggar has become boastful!

May a hundred thousand souls be sacrificed to him whom
the life of sincere ones is given!"

He said this and let out a fiery sigh
and then went up the ladder of the gallows.

From stranger and fellow city-dweller, man and woman,
rocks were piled upon him from every direction.

When he gave up his soul, the master in his heavenly ascent
in truth was initiated into all the secrets.

Eternally in the sanctuary of union with the beloved,
he tasted the fruit of the tree of love.

The story of the Hallâjian master of our day
expanded the chests of the spiritual elite.

Inside the chest and the fields of the heart,
his story became the guide of 'Attâr.

'Attâr, Poem 23

<div dir="rtl">

ما درد فروش هر خراباتیم   نه عشوه فروش هر کراماتیم

انگشتزنان کوی معشوقیم   وانگشتنمای اهل طاماتیم

حیلتگر و مهره دزد و اوباشیم   دردیکش و کمزن خراباتیم

در شیوهٔ کفر پیر و استادیم   در شیوهٔ دین خر خرافاتیم

گه مرد کلیسیای و ناقوسیم   گه صومعهدار عزی و لاتیم

گه معتکفان کوی لاهوتیم   گه مستمعان التحیاتیم

گه مستِ خرابِ دردی دردیم   گه مست شراب عالم الذاتیم

با عادت و رسم نیست ما را کار   ما کی ز مقامِ رسم و عاداتیم

ما را ز عبادت و ز مسجد چه   چه مرد مساجد و عباداتیم

با این همه مفسدی و زراقی   چه بابثْ قربت و مناجاتیم

برخاست ز ما حدیث ما و من   زیرا که نه مرد این مقاماتیم

در حالت بیخودی چو عطاریم   پروانهٔ شمع نور مشکاتیم[63]

</div>

We are the dregs-sellers of every dilapidated winehouse.
We are not the coquetry-sellers hawking every saintly miracle.

We are the finger-snapping dancers of the beloved's quarter.
We are the infamous ones for the people of spiritual conceits.

We are tricksters, dice-stealing cheaters, and rascals.
We are the dregs-drinkers and self-deprecators of the dilapidated winehouse.

In the way of infidelity, we are elites and masters.
In the way of religion, we are the asses carrying fanciful stories.

Sometimes we are men of church and church bells;
other times we are monks of the pagan goddesses 'Uzza and Lat.

Sometimes we are monks in the quarter of the divine;
other times we listen to heavenly greetings.

Sometimes we are drunk and wasted on the dregs of pining;
other times we are drunk on the wine of the world of essence.

We have no care for (normative) customs and habits.
How could we be from the station of (normative) customs and habits?

What is there for us in mosques and worship?
Are we men of mosques and worship?!

With all of this deception and trickery,
what matter are proximity and private prayers to us?

This story of us and I arose from us
because we are not men of these stations.

We are in the state of selflessness like 'Attâr.
We are the moths of the candle of the light of the niche.

---

63. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 486-487 #606.

'Attâr, Poem 24

<div dir="rtl">

پیشم آمد مست ترسازادهای

بی سر و پایی ز دست افتادهای

گفت هین برخیز و بسْتان بادهای

گشتم از می بستدن دل دادهای (گفتم ار می بستدی دل دادهای)[64]

دل شد از کار جهان چون سادهای

در صف مردان شدم آزادهای

پیش او چون من به سر استادهای

دُر ز چشم دُرفشان بگشادهای[65]

دوش وقت صبح چون دل دادهای

بی دل و دینی سر از خط بردهای

چون مرا از خواب خوش بیدار کرد

من ز ترسازاده چون می بستدم

چون شراب عشق در دل کار کرد

در زمان زنار بستم بر میان

نیست اکنون در خرابات مغان

نیست چون عطار در دریای عشق

</div>

Last night, in the wee hours of the morning, a christian youth
came to me drunk, like a lover.

Without heart or religion, (he was) one who had been led off the path;
without head or feet, (he was) a lost soul.

When he woke me from a pleasant dream,
he said: "Quickly, get up and grab some wine!"

When I took the wine from that christian youth,
I became a lover from taking that wine. (Mss. Maj and Sul. variant: "I said: 'If you take this wine, you are a lover'")

When the wine of love worked on my heart,
my heart abandoned mundane matters like an unadorned beauty

Instantly, I fastened a (non-Islamic) cincture around my waist.
I became a freeborn noble in the ranks of the real men (variant: drunkards).

There is not in the winehouse of the Magians
before him a servant like me.

In the sea of love, there are none like 'Attâr:
one who scatters pearls from his pearl-scattering eyes.

---

64. Ms. Majles (Maj) and Sultanati (Sul), the two oldest manuscripts, both read گفتم ار می بستدی دل دادهای here.
65. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 603-604 #756.

'Attâr, Poem 25

وز دلشدگان نعرهٔ هیهات برآمد   دی پیر من از کوی خرابات برآمد

سرمست به معراج مناجات برآمد   شوریده به محراب فنا سر به برافکند

از مشرق جان صبح تحیات برآمد   چون (جون) دردی جانان به ره سینه فرو ریخت

با دوست فرو شد به مقامات برآمد   چون دوست نقاب از رخ پر نور برانداخت

آن دیده پدید آمد و حاجات برآمد   آن دیده کزان دیده توان دید جمالش

محبوب قرین گشت و مهمات برآمد   مقصود به حاصل شد و مطلوب به تعین

واقبال بدان بود که شهمات برآمد   بد باز جهان بود بدان کوی فروشد

بیخود شد و از دین و کرامات برآمد   دین داشت و کرامات و به یک جرعه می عشق

تا نفی شد و از ره اثبات برآمد[66]   عطار بدین کوی سراسیمه همی گشت

Last night our master came out of the quarter of the dilapidated winehouse,
and a cry of "alas" rose up from the enamored.

Crazed, he bowed his head down in the *mehrab* of self-annihilation;
he ascended on a heavenly journey (*me'raj*) in private prayers dead drunk.

When he poured the dregs of the sweetheart down his throat,
the morning of greetings and prayers dawned from the east of his soul.

When the friend threw down the veil from his brilliant face,
he melted with the friend and arose in the station.

That eye appeared with which one can see his beauty;
that eye appeared and wishes were fulfilled.

The goal was reached and the object desire was realized.
The beloved became a companion and all sorts of important matters came up.

He [the master] was a bad gambler of the world, he came down to this quarter (of gamblers)
and it was good fortune that checkmating occurred.

He had religion and saintly miracles, and with one gulp of the wine of love
he lost himself and abandoned religion and saintly miracles.

'Attâr was always rushing headlong to this quarter
when he was negated and he left the path of proofs.

---

66. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 221-222 #284.

'Attâr, Poem 26

<div dir="rtl">

ساقیا توبه شکستم جرعه‌ای می ده به دستم   من ز می ننگی ندارم می‌پرستم می‌پرستم

سوختم از خویِ خامان بر شدم زین ناتمامان   ننگم است از ننگ و⁶⁷ نامان توبه پیش بت شکستم

رفتم و توبه شکستم وز همه عیبی برستم   با حریفانْ خوش نشستم با رفیقان عهد بستم

من نه مرد ننگ و نامم فارغ از انکار عامم   می فروشان را غلامم چون کنم چون می‌پرستم

دین و دل بر باد دادم رختِ جان بر در نهادم   از جهان بیرون فتادم از خودیِ خود برستم

خرقه از تن برکشیدم جام صافی در کشیدم   عقل را بر سر کشیدم در صف رندان نشستم

خرقه را زنار کردم خانه را خمّار کردم   گوشهٔ در باز کردم زان میان مردانه جستم

ساقیا باده فزون کن تا منت گویم که چون کن   خیزم از مسجد برون کن کز می دوشینه مستم

گر چو عطارم که آبم می‌برد از دیده خوابم   بس که از باده خرابم نیستم واقف که هستم⁶⁸

</div>

O, my cupbearer! I have broken my repentance! Give me a draught of wine!
I have no shame of wine—I am a wine-worshipper!

I was burnt by temperament of these (spiritual) simpletons—I rose above these amateurs.
My shame is of the honorable ones—I broke my repentance before the idol.

I went, broke my repentance, and was freed from all sin;
with my mates I sat merrily—I made a covenant with my friends.

I am not a man of shame and good name—I have gone beyond public disavowal.
I make myself like a slave to winesellers since I am a wine-worshipper.

I threw religion and heart to the wind—I have tossed my soul outside the door (like trash or
    something that will be taken).
I have left the world—I have freed myself from self-worshipping.

I tore the Sufi mantle from my body—I drew a goblet of pure wine.
I cast off my intellect—I sat in the libertines' company.

I made my Sufi mantle a cincture and my house the vintner's.
I cracked the door open and bravely searched about.

O my cupbearer! Give me more wine so I tell you what to do.
Get up and get me out of the mosque; send me outside for I am still drunk from last night's
    wine.

If I am like 'Attâr whose tears take sleep from my eyes,
I am so wasted on wine that I am not even aware that I exist.

---

67. Keshavarz believes that a و is missing here.
68. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 391-92.

پیر ما خرقهٔ خود چاک زد و ترسا شد   شکن زلفِ چو زنار بتم پیدا شد

روح از حلقهٔ او رقص‌کنان رسوا شد   عقل از طرهٔ او نعره‌زنان مجنون گشت

بس دل و جان که چو پروانهٔ نا پروا شد   تا که آن شمع جهان پرده برافکند از روی

طفل راه است اگر منتظر فردا شد   هر که امروز معاینهٔ[69] رخ یار ندید

که همه عمر من اندر سر این سودا شد   همه سرسبزی سودای رُخش می‌خواهم

که دلم از می عشق تو سرِ غوغا شد   ساقیا جام می عشق پیاپی در ده

مست آمد به وجود از عدم و شیدا شد   نه چه حاجت به شراب تو که خود جان ز الست

زانکه با هستی خود می‌نتوان آنجا شد   عاشقا هستی خود در ره معشوق بباز

کی تواند نفسی سایه بدان صحرا شد   روی صحرا چو همه پرتو خورشید گرفت

قطره‌ای چبُوَد اگر گم شد و گر پیدا شد   قطره‌ای بیش نه‌ای چند ز خویش اندیشی

که ز دریا به کنار آمد و با دریا شد   بود و نابود تو یک قطرهٔ آبست همی

زانکه چشم و دل عطار به کل بینا شد[70]   هرچه غیر است ز توحید به کل میل کشم

The ringlets of his cincture-like locks of the idol appeared;
our master rent his cloak and became a christian!

Intellect, from his tresses, became crazy, wailing!
Spirit, from his ringlets, became infamous, dancing!

When that candle of the world tossed away the veil from his face,
many hearts and souls became like the fearless moth.

Whoever has not seen the face of the friend today
is a child on the path if s/he is waiting for tomorrow.

I want all the dark scruff (light beard) of his face,
for all of my life was expended in this scruff/love.

O my cupbearer, continuously pour goblets of the wine of love
for my heart has become the leader of the uproar due to your wine of love!

No! How could one have need of your wine? For out of pre-eternity (Qur'an reference)
the soul came drunkenly into existence from non-existence and became manifest.

O my lover! Lose (gamble away) your existence on the beloved's path
for you cannot go there with your existence.

When all of the rays of the sun fell upon the field,
how long could a (lower) self be a shadow in this field?

You are not more than a drop—how could you even think of yourself?
What is a drop if it was lost or found?

---

69. Tafazzoli has معاینه here, but I believe this is just a spelling mistake.
70. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 192-193 #249.

297

Your existence or non-existence is only a drop of water
that came to the shore of the ocean and returned to the ocean.

I blind whatever is other than divine unity (*towhid*)
because the eyes and heart of ʿAttâr have been completely opened.

298

'Attâr, Poem 28

<div dir="rtl">

تائبان را به شرابی دو سه در کار کشیم   ساقیا خیز که تا رخت به خَمّار کشیم

اوفتان خیزان از خانه به بازار کشیم   زاهد خانه‌نشین را به یکی کوزهٔ دُرد

خیز تا پیش مغان دُردی خمّار کشیم   هوست هست که صافی دل و صوفی گردی

به یکی جرعه میش در صف کفّار کشیم   هر که را در ره اسلام قدم ثابت نیست

انا گویان خودی را به سر دار کشیم   هر که دعوی اناالحق کند و حق گوید

وقت نامد که خط اندر خط زنار کشیم   چند داریم نهان زیر مرقّع زنار

هرکه گوید که دهد خنجر انکار کشیم   هیچکس را ندهد دنیی و دین دست بهم

که ز دین بار نیابیم مگر بار کشیم   گر تو دین می‌طلبی از سر دنیی برخیز

اندرین راه غم عشق چو عطار کشیم[71]   گر ازین شاخْ گل وصلْ طمع می‌داریم

</div>

O my cupbearer! Get up so we can go to the vintner
(and) drag those (pious) repenters into the mix with a goblet of wine or two!

[Get up so] we can drag that sedentary ascetic, stumbling, from his house
to the bazaar with a jug of dregs!

Do you desire to become pure of heart and Sufi?
Get up so that before the Magian we can quaff the dregs of the vintner!

[Get up so] whoever is not sure-footed in the way of Islam,
we may drag him into the ranks of the infidels (*koffâr*) with a gulp of his wine!

[Get up so] whoever claims "I am the Truth" and says it truly
we can drag his "I am"-saying self to the gallows!

How long will we hide (our) (non-Islamic) cincture under (our) ragged dervish cloaks?
the time has not come to for us to ignore the rule of the (non-Islamic) cincture!

Worldly things and religion don't go together.
Pull the knife of denial on whoever says that they do!

If you are searching for religion, abandon worldly things
for we will not gain admittance from religion unless we carry a burden.

If you desire the flower of union from that branch,
take love's path of pining like 'Attâr!

---

71. 'Attâr, *Divân-e 'Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 504-505 #630.

‘Attâr, Poem 29

خط به دین برزد و سر بر خطِ کفار نهاد   پیر ما بار دگر روی به خمار نهاد

خرقهٔ سوخته در حلقهٔ زنار نهاد   خرقه آتش زد و در حلقهٔ دین بر سر جمع

سر فرو برد و سر اندر پی این کار نهاد   در بن دیر مغان در بر مشتی اوباش

می‌خوران نعره‌زنان روی به بازار نهاد   درد خمار بنوشید و دل از دست بداد

گفت کین داغ مرا بر دل و جانْ یار نهاد   گفتم ای پیر چه بود این که تو کردی آخر

گلم آن است که او در رهِ من خار نهاد   من چه کردم چو چنین خواست چنین باید بود

گفت آری زده‌ام روی سوی دار نهاد   باز گفتم که اناالحق زده‌ای سر در باز

از پی پیر قدم در پی عطار نهاد[72]   دل چو بشْناخت که عطار درین راه بسوخت

Our master again turned his face towards the vintner!
He scratched out religion and surrendered to the infidels!

He lit his Sufi mantle on fire, and in front of the assembly of religion,
he put the burnt mantle on the buckle of his cincture!

Deep in the Magian monastery with a handful of rogues,
he bowed his head in acceptance and devoted himself to this work.

He quaffed the vintner's dregs and tossed his heart to the wind.
Drinking, screaming, he headed for the market.

I said: "O master! What have you done?!"
He said: "The beloved put this brand on my heart and soul.

What could I do?! Since he wanted it like this, it must be like this—
my flower is that one that put thorns on my path."

Again I said: "You have proclaimed 'I am the Truth'?! Gamble away your head!"
He said: "O yes, I have proclaimed that!" and headed towards the gallows.

When the heart realized that ‘Attâr was burnt up in this path,
it stopped following the master and took up the path following ‘Attâr.

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72. ‘Attâr, *Divân-e ‘Attâr (ed. Tafazzoli)*, 120.

'Erâqi, Poem 1

سَبحه به کف و سجاده بر دوش   کردم گذری به میکده دوش

سرمست و ز جام عشق بیهوش   پیری بدر آمد از خرابات

کاینجا نخرند زهد، مفروش   گفت از سرِ وقت خویش با من:

خرقه بنه و پلاس درپوش   سبحه بده و پیاله بِسْتان

در میکده رو شراب می‌نوش   در صومعه بیهده چه باشی

جان و دل و دین کنی فراموش   گر یاد کنی جمال ساقی

بی‌باده شوی خراب و مدهوش   ور بینی عکس روش در جام

در ترک مراد خویشتن کوش   خواهی که بیابی این چنین کام

گیری همه آرزو در آغوش   چون ترک مراد خویش کردی

دردی دهدت، بخواه سر خوش[73]   گر ساقی عشق از خُمِ درد

گر زهر دهد ترا بکن نوش[74]   تو کار بدو گذار و خوش باش

این کار به گفت و گوی، خاموش[75]   چون راست نمی‌شود، عراقی،

Last night I passed by the winehouse
with prayer beads in hand and a prayer carpet on my shoulder.

An old wise man came to the door of the (dilapidated) winehouse
drunk and nearly passed out from the goblet of love.

At the appointed time, he said me:
"Here they do not buy asceticism, so don't try to sell [your hypocritical wares here]!

Give me your prayer beads and take a chalice [of wine]!
Throw down your Sufi cloak and put on the dervish sackcloth!

Why are you in the monastery in vain?
[Instead,] go in the winehouse and drink!

If you remember the beauty of the cupbearer,
you will forget your heart, soul, and religion!

And if you see his visage in the goblet,
you will become wasted and stupified without wine!

If you want to attain such success,
you must strive to abandon your own aims and desires.

[For] when you have forsaken your own will,
all you desire will be in your embrace.

If the cupbearer of love gives you dregs

---

73. Nafisi has the last three words of this line reading: مخواه سر جوش. However, I have followed Mohtasham's reading.

74. Mohtasham has وگر instead of بکن (which is Nafisi's reading). I have Nafisi's reading here because I cannot make sense of Mohtasham's reading.

75. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 84-85.

301

from the vat of pining, wish to be tipsy!

Entrust the work to him and be merry!
If he gives you poisen, drink it!

Since this matter will not be solved with speech, 'Erâqi,
[Be] silent!"

'Erâqi, Poem 2

<div dir="rtl">

نخستین باده کاندر جام کردند   ز چشمِ مستِ خوبان [ساقی]⁷⁶ وام کردند

ندیمان را مگر هشیار دیدند⁷⁷   شرابِ بیخودی در کام [جام]⁷⁸ کردند

لبِ مَیگونِ جانان جام در داد   شرابِ عاشقانش نام کردند

ز بهرِ صَیدِ دلهای جهانی   کمندِ زلفِ خوبان دام کردند⁷⁹

سر زلفِ بتان آرام نگرفت   ز بسْ دلها که بیآرام کردند

چو گویِ حُسن در میدان فگندند   به یک جوْلان دو عالم رام کردند

ز بهرِ نقلِ مستان از لب و چشم   مُهَیّا شِکّر و بادام کردند

از آن لب کز درصد آفرینست   نصیبِ بیدلان دشنام کردند⁸⁰

به غمزه صد سخن گفتند با جان   به دل ز ابرو دو صد پیغام کردند⁸¹

نهان با مَحرَمی رازی بگفتند   جهانی را از آن اعلام کردند

چو خود کردند رازِ خویشتن فاش   عراقی را چرا بدنام کردند؟⁸²

</div>

The first wine that was put in the goblet
was borrowed from the drunken eyes of the Saqi/fair ones.

Perhaps they saw the companions were yet sober—
[for] they poured the wine of selflessness into their goblets/mouths.

The wine-red lips of the beloved poured it in the goblet—
They called it the "wine of lovers."

[And] for ensnaring the hearts of the world,
the curls of the fair one's tresses were laid out as traps.

The tips of idols' tresses never rested
because of the many hearts that they made restless.

When they threw the ball of beauty in the field,
they tamed the two worlds with only one run.

They prepare the sweetmeats of the drunks with
sugar and almonds from the eyes and lips [of the beloveds].

From those lips—which have a hundred praises!—

---

76. Nafisi puts ساقی here in his edition of this poem; however, the anonymous introduction and Mohtasham's edition have خوبان here. Prof. Keshavarz also prefers ساقی here.

77. Nafisi has the first hemistiche as: چو با خود یافتند اهل طرب را.

78. Nafisi puts جام here in his edition of this poem; however, Mohtasham's edition has کام here. Prof. Keshavarz also prefers جام here.

79. After this line, Nafisi has the following additional line that is not in Mohtasham's edition:
<div dir="rtl">به گیتی هرکجا درد دلی بود   بهم کردند و عشقش نام کردند</div>

80. After this line, Nafisi has the following additional line that is not in Mohtasham's edition:
<div dir="rtl">به مجلس نیک و بد را جای دادند   به جامی کار خاص و عام کردند</div>

81. After this line, Nafisi has the two following additional lines that are not in Mohtasham's edition:
<div dir="rtl">جمال خویشتن را جلوه دادند   به یک جلوه دو عالم رام کردند
دلی را تا بدست آرند، هر دم   سر زلفین خود را دام کردند</div>

82. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 72-73.

rained insults—oh, the tragic lot of the lovesick!

With a glance, they said a hundred eloquent words to the soul.
From the bow of their brows, they shot two hundred messages to the heart.

When secluded with an intimate friend, they revealed a secret.
[Then,] they proclaimed it to the world!

Since they revealed their secret,
Why did they defame 'Erâqi?

'Erâqi, Poem 3

بِنْشین و شراب نوش و خوش باش
باشد که شوی تو نیز قلاش
رو بادهپرست شو چو اوباش
سرِّ دو جهان ولی مکن فاش
سرمست شوی ز چشمِ رعناش
از لوحِ ضمیرْ پاک بِتْراش
در نقشِ وجودِ خویش نقاش[83]

در بزمِ قلندرانِ قلاش
تا ذوقِ می و خُمّار یابی
در صومعه چند خود پرستی
در جامِ جهاننمائ می بین
ور خود نظری کنی به ساقی
جز نقشِ نگار هرچه بینی
باشد که ببینی ای عراقی

In the banquet of the rascal qalandars,
sit, drink wine, and be merry!

So you taste the wine and find drunkenness,
may it be that you too become a rascal.

How long will you be a self-worshipper in the monastery?
Go! Become a wine-worshipper and be as the miscreants.

In the world-displaying cup, see
the secret of the two words, but don't reveal it!

And if you look upon the winebearer,
you will become completely drunk from his lovely eyes.

Except the image of the beloved
erase whatever you see from the tablet of your mind.

O 'Erâqi! May you see
the painter in the image of your own being.

---

83. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 80-81.

'Erâqi, Poem 4

و آن شاهدِ جان انس و جان کو؟   آن مونس و غمگُسارِ جان کو؟

وآن آرزوی همه جهان کو؟   آن جان و جهان کجاست آخر؟

کان یار لطیف مهربان کو؟   حیران همه ماندهاند و واله

آن عیش کجا و آن زمان کو؟   باهم بودیم خوش زمانی

گر عاشق صادقی نشان کو؟   ای دلشده دم مزن ز عشقش

ور بیخبری، ز جان فغان کو؟   گر باخبری از او، نشان چیست؟

دل خسته و جان ناتوان کو؟   ور همچو من از فراق یاری

سرگشته مباش همچنان کو[84]   ای دل مَنِگر سوی عراقی

Where is he? That companion, that intimate friend of the soul
That dear embodiment of beauty (*shâhed*) of the soul of humankind—where is he?

My soul, my world—oh where is he?
That desire of the whole world over—where is he?

All have remained bewildered and enamored with love
of that delicate and kind friend—[but] where is he?

When we were together, the times were great—
Where have that merry life and good times gone?

O enamored one! Don't breathe even of whiff his love.
If you are a true lover, where is the sign [of your love]?

If you have news of him, what is the indication?
If you know naught of him, where is the cry of the soul?

If you, like I, are heartbroken and soul-weary
From separation from the friend—where is the sign of it?

O heart! Don't look at 'Erâqi!
Do not be bewildered as he is.

---

84. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 89.

306

'Erâqi, Poem 5

<div dir="rtl">

می‌نوش، که از می گره‌کار گشادند — ای دل چو در خانه خَمَّار گشادند

در کعبه مرو چون در خَمَّار گشادند — در خود مَنِگَر، نرگسِ مخمورِ بتان بین

در خانه مشین چون رهِ گلزار گشادند — از خود به درآ در رخِ خوبان نظری کن

از یک سرِ مویی که ز رخسار گشادند — بنگر که دو صد مِهر به هر ذره نمودند

از روی جهان زلفِ شب تار گشادند — تا باز گشادند سرِ زلف ز رخسار

بر روی زمین چشمهٔ انوار گشادند — تا مِهر گیاهی ز گِل تیره برآید

از چهرهٔ گل پردهٔ زنگار گشادند — تا لاله‌رخی در چمن آید به تماشا

وز خنده گل مبسم اشجار گشادند — از پرتو مل پردهٔ خورشید دریدند

در هر چمنی کُلبهٔ عطار گشادند — تا کرد نسیم سحر آفاق معطر

کز بوی خوشش نافهٔ تاتار گشادند — مانا که جهان کرد پریشان سر زلفی

در بند در خود در یار گشادند — در گوش دلم دوش صبا گفت: عراقی

آنگاه در مخزن اسرار گشادند[85] — چشمِ سرِ اغیار ببستند ز غیرت

</div>

O heart! When the door of the vintner's house has been opened,
drink! For all tangled messes are unravelled by wine.

Do not look at yourself—look instead at the drunken narcissus of the idols!
Do not go to the Ka'be when the door of the vintner's house has been opened.

Come out of yourself and cast a glance instead towards the beautiful ones!
Don't sit in the house when the path to the rosegarden has opened up.

See how two hundred suns/love are manifested in each particle
from the tip of a single hair that has been pushed aside from his face.

When the tips of the tresses were removed from (beauty's/lover's) cheeks,
the dark tresses of night were removed from the face of the earth.

In order for a love plant (mandrake/mandragora) to sprout from dark soil,
springs of light were scattered on the face of the earth.

In order for a beauty (lit. a tulip-face) to come to the field for a glance,
the rusty veil was removed from the face of the flowers.

From the glow of the wine, the veil of the sun was torn,
and from the laughing of the flowers, a smile appeared on the trees.

When the dawn's breeze perfumed all ends of the earth,
in each meadow a apothecary ('Attâr) shop was opened.

It was as if the tip of a tress had disturbed the whole world—
from the sweet scent of the tress the Tartar's musk bag was opened.

Last night the morning breeze said to my heart:

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85. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 75-76.

"'Erâqi, close the door of yourself for the door of the friend has been opened."

Out of jealousy they closed the eyes of the others—
then the door of the treasure house of secrets opened.

'Erâqi, Poem 6

عشقْ شوری در نهاد ما نهاد   جان ما را در کف غوغا نهاد

گفت و گویی در زبان ما فکند   جست و جویی در نهاد ما نهاد

داستان دلبران آغاز کرد   آرزویی در دل شیدا نهاد

قصهٔ خوبان به نوعی باز گفت   کاتشی در پیر و در برنا نهاد

رمزی از اسرار باده کشف کرد   راز مستان جمله بر صحرا نهاد

از خمستان جرعهای بر خاک ریخت   جنبشی در آدم و حوا نهاد

عقْل مجنون در کف لیلی سپرد   جان وامق در لب عذرا نهاد

بهرِ آشوبِ دلِ سوداییان   خالِ فتنه بر رخ زیبا نهاد

وز پی برگ و نوای بلبلان   رنگ و بویی در گل رعنا نهاد

فتنهای انگیخت شوری درفکند   در سرا و شهرٰ⁸⁶ ما چون پا نهاد

جایْ خالی یافت از غوغا و شور   شور و غوغا کرد و رخت آنجا نهاد

نام و ننگ ما همه بر باد داد   نام ما دیوانه و رسوا⁸⁷ نهاد

چون عراقی را درین ره خام یافت   جان او⁸⁸ بر آتشِ سودا نهاد⁸⁹

Love put an agitation in our constitution
and placed our soul in the hands of an uproar.

[Love] tossed speech to our tongues
and put searching in our essence.

[Love] set in motion the stories of lovers
and put desire in the love sick hearts.

[Love] repeated the stories of the beautiful ones in such a way that
it put a fire in both the young and old.

[Love] disclosed one of the secrets of wine
and scattered the secret of the drunks in the fields.

[Love] poured a draught from the wine cellar on the earth
and put motion into Adam and Eve.

[Love] entrusted Majnun's rationality to the hands of Layla
and set the soul of Vameq on the lips of 'Azra.

[Love] placed a beauty mark of rebellion on the face of Beauty
to disturb the hearts of those mad with love.

[Love] gave the elegant flowers their color and scent
in order to give sustenance to the nightingales.

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86. Mohtasham's texts reads: سرای شهر ما. On the recommendation of Keshavarz, I have opted to follow Nafisi's version of the text here.

87. Mohtasham's text reads دیوانهی رسوا. On the recommendation of Keshavarz, I have opted to follow Nafisi's version of the text here.

88. Nafisi's text reads ما.

89. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 74-75.

309

[Love] stirred up a rebellion—it started a disturbance
in the abodes of our city when it set foot there.

[Love] found the place empty of uproar and tumult,
(so) it incited an uprising (again) and settled down there.

[Love] threw our name and honor all to the wind
and named us crazy and infamous.

When 'Erâqi was still "raw" on this path,
[Love] put his soul on the fire of love.

310

'Erâqi, Poem 7

<div dir="rtl">

ز جام عشق شد شیدا و سرمست   عراقی بار دیگر توبه بشکست

خرابِ چشمِ خوبانست پیوست   پریشانِ سرِ زلفِ بتان شد

گرفته زلفِ یار و رفته از دست   چه خوش باشد خرابی در خرابات

که گر دیوانه‌ای زنجیر بُگْسَست   ز سودای پری‌رویان عجب نیست

چو ماهی، ناگهی افتاد در شست   بگردِ زلفِ مهرویان همی گشت

شد از بند جهان آزاد و وارست   به پیران سر دل و دین داد بر باد

قلندروار در میخانه بِنْشَست   بر افشاند آستین بر هردو عالم

عراقی توبهٔ سی‌ساله بِشْکَست[90]   لبِ ساقی صلای باده در داد

</div>

'Erâqi again has broken his vow of repentance;
from love's goblet he has become drunk and mad with love.

He has been distracted by the idols' locks
and continually intoxicated by the eyes of the fair ones.

How fine is the depravity in the winehouse,
snatching the tresses of the beloved and falling unconscious!

It is not strange at all if from love of fair ones
a mad one broke his chains.

He circled around the locks of the moon-faced ones,
like a fish suddenly he got caught in a net.

In old age he threw his heart and religion to the wind,
and was freed from the shackles of the world.

He rejected both worlds like a qalandar
and sat in the house of idols.

The lips of the cupbearer called him to drink some wine,
and 'Erâqi broke a vow of repentance that had endured for thirty years.

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90. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 245.

'Erâqi, Poem 8

<div dir="rtl">

پسرا، میِ مغانه بده ار حریفِ مایی   که نماند بیش ما را سرِ زهد و پارسایی[91]

کم خانگه گرفتم، سرِ مَصلَحی ندارم   قدحیِ شراب پر کن به من آر، چند پایی؟

نه زر و نه سیم دارم، نه دل و نه دین، نه طاعت   منم و حریفِ کنجی و نوایِ بی نوایی

نه‌ام اهلِ زهد و تقوی به من آر ساغر میِ   که به صِدقِ توبه کردم ز عبادت ریایی

میِ صاف ار نداری به من آر تیره دُردی   که ز دُردِ تیره یابد دل و دیده روشنایی

به قمارخانه رفتم همه پاکباز دیدم   چو به صومعه گذشتم همه یافتم دَغایی

چو شکست توبهٔ من مَشکِن تو عهد، باری   ز من شکسته بررس که: چگونه و کجایی؟

تو مرا شراب در ده که ز زهد توبه کردم   چو ز زاهدی ندیدم جز لاف و خودنمایی

ز غمِ زمانه ما را برهان به می زمانی   که نیافت جز به می کس ز غمِ جهان رهایی

چو ز باده مست گشتم، چه کلیسیا چه کعبه   چو به ترکِ خود بگفتم، چه وصال و چه جدایی

به طوافِ کعبه رفتم، به حرم رهم ندادند   که برو، تو خود که باشی که درون کعبه آیی

درِ دیر می‌زدم شب ز درون ندا شنیدم   که درون درآی عراقی که تو هم حریفِ مایی[92]

</div>

O boy! Give me some Magian wine if you are our companion
for we no longer are fixed on the path of asceticism and piety.[93]

I considered the Sufi lodge to be no importance—I do not intend to be virtuous!
Fill me a chalice and bring it to me! What's the delay?

I have not gold nor silver, nor heart nor religion—not even obedience!
It is only I and my companion in a corner with a song of poverty.

I am not of the people of asceticism and piety—bring me a goblet of wine!
For truthfully I repented from my hypocritical worship.

Bring pure wine, but if you don't have that, bring the dark dregs to me!
for from the dark dregs the heart and eyes will find illumination.

I went to the gambling house and saw only players who went "all in"—
but when I went to the ascetics' lodge, all I found there was deception.

Since I broke my repentance, do not break our convenant—
at least once ask of my broken self: "How are you? Where are you?"

Pour me wine! For I have repented from asceticism

---

91. Nafisi places the following line as the opening line of the poem:
<div dir="rtl">پسرا، رهِ قلندر سزدار بمن نمایی   که دراز و دور دیدم رهِ زهد و پارسایی</div>
Both the line above and the opening line of Mohtasham's edition listed above in the text are very similar to the following beyt that appears in the anonymous introduction immediately after converts to the qalandari path:
<div dir="rtl">پسرا، رهِ قلندر بزن ار حریف مایی   که دراز و دور دیدم سر کوی پارسایی</div>

92. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 108-09.

93. Nafisi places the following line as the opening line of the poem:
<div dir="rtl">پسرا، رهِ قلندر سزدار بمن نمایی   که دراز و دور دیدم رهِ زهد و پارسایی</div>
Both the line above and the opening line of Mohtasham's edition listed above in the text are very similar to the following beyt that appears in the anonymous introduction immediately after converts to the qalandari path:
<div dir="rtl">پسرا، رهِ قلندر بزن ار حریف مایی   که دراز و دور دیدم سر کوی پارسایی</div>

because I saw nothing from ascetics except boasting and ostentation.

Free us from the sorrow of the age with the wine at least once
for one did not find anyone who became free from the sorrow of the world except through
      wine.

When one is drunk from wine, what is a church? What is the *Ka'ba*?
When one has abandoned the self, what is union? What is separation?

I went to circumambulate the *Ka'ba*, but they did not allow me to pass into the sanctuary,
saying: "Go! You?!? Who are you that (you think you can) come inside the *Ka'ba*?!"

At night I was knocking at the monastery's door when from inside I heard a call:
"'Erâqi! Come inside! You also are our companion."[94]

---

94. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 108-09.

'Erâqi, Poem 9

در کوی خرابات فتادیم دگربار   رخ سوی خرابات نهادیم دگربار

از دُرد مغان روزه گشادیم دگربار   از بهر یکی جرعه دو صد توبه شکستیم

در پیش رخش سر بنهادیم دگربار   در کنج خرابات یکی مغبچه دیدیم

در دست یکی مغبچه دادیم دگربار   آن دل که به صد حیله ز خوبان بربودیم

صدبار بمردیم و بزادیم دگربار   یکبار بدیدیم رخش وز غم عشقش

بی‌عشقِ رخش زنده مبادیم دگربار   دیدیم که بی‌عشق رخش زندگی‌ای نیست

با این همه غم بین که چه شادیم دگربار   غم بر دل ما تاختن آورد ز عشقش

بنگر دل و دین داده به بادیم دگربار   شد در سر سودای رخش دین و دل ما

اینک همه در عین فسادیم دگربار   عشقش به زیان برد صلاح و ورع ما

با هستی خود جمله کسادیم دگربار   با نیستی خود همه با قیمت و قدریم

چون نیست شود جمله مرادیم دگربار [95]   تا هست عراقی همه هستیم مریدش

I have set my face towards the the ruins/tavern again.
I have fallen in the lane of the ruins/tavern once again.

For just one drink, I broke a hundred repentances;
once again I broke my fast with the dregs of the Magians' wine.

I saw a Magian boy in the corner of the dilapidated winehouse.
I placed my head before his face once again.

That heart, which I took from fair-faced ones with a hundred tricks,
I gave to a Magian boy once again.

Only once I saw his face, and I died and was reborn a hundred times
from the grief of his love once again.

I saw that without love of his visage life did not exist.
Without the love of his visage may we not live anymore!

Grief from love of him marches on my heart.
With all this grief, see how happy I am once again!

My heart and religion were traded for his visage.
See how I have thrown heart and religion to the wind.

His love bought my self-restraint and rectitude on the cheap,
so now we are in the essence of depravity once again.

With the non-existence of myself, I am all valuable,
but the market stagnates once again with my existence.

As long as 'Erâqi exists, I will be his disciple;
when he is not, I will become the guide.

---

95. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 105-06.

www.manaraa.com

'Erâqi, Poem 10

<div dir="rtl">

در مِحنَت و بلا چه گرفتار مانده‌ام؟   امروز من که بی‌دل و بی‌یار مانده‌ام

در میکده ز بهرِ چه هشیار مانده‌ام؟   در صومعه چو مردِ مناجات نیستم

با اهل مصطبه چه به انکار مانده‌ام؟   با اهل مدرسه چو به اقرار نامدم

قلّاش وار بر در خَمّار مانده‌ام   در کعبه چون نبود مرا جای، لاجَرَم

بازم رهان که در غم بسیار مانده‌ام   ساقی بیار دُردی دَردِ تو یک زمان

از کارِ هر دو عالم بیکار مانده‌ام   در کار شو کنون، غم کارم بخور که من

در کارِ او ببین که چه غمخوار مانده‌ام[96]   کاری بکن که کار عراقی ز دست رفت

</div>

Today, I who remain love-sick and friendless,
how great the trial and tribulations that I have become entangled in.

Since I am not a man of prayers in the monastery,
why have I remained sober in the winehouse?

Since I did not accept the way of the scholars (lit. people of the school house),
why deny the people of the winehouse?

Since there was no space for me at the *Ka'ba*,
necessarily I remained as a rascal at the door of the vintner.

Cupbearer, bring the dregs of your pain just once.
Free me again for I have remained long in grief.

Take action now—commiserate with me over my work, for I
have remained without work in both worlds.

Do something! For 'Erâqi's efforts are lost.
In his efforts see what a companion I have remained!

---

96. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 102-03.

'Erâqi, Poem 11

<div dir="rtl">

گنجی که آن نیابد صد پیر در مناجات   مستِ خراب یابد هر لحظه در خرابات

می‌بیز هر سحرگه خاک در خرابات   خواهی که راه یابی بی‌رنج بر سرِ گنج

با صدهزار خورشید افتد ترا ملاقات   یک ذرّه گر ز آن خاک در چشمِ جانت افتد

نَز خویش گردی آگه، نَز جام، نَز شُعاعات   ور عکسِ جامِ باده ناگاه بر تو تابد

درهم‌[97] عباراتِ تو، پی گُم کند اشارات   در بی‌خودی و مستی جایی رسی که آنجا

حالی چنین که یابد نگذشته از مقامات   تا گُم نگردی از خود، گنجی چنین نیابی

کفرست زهد و طاعت تا نگذری ز عادات   تا کی کنی به عادت در صومعه عبادت؟

میدان که می‌پرستی در دیرِ عُزّی و لات   تا تو ز خود نرَستی، وز[98] دستِ خود نجَستی

در میکده رها کن از سر فضول طاعات   در صومعه تو دانی، می‌کوش تا توانی

مفروش زهد کاینجا کمتر خرند طامات   جان باز در خرابات تا جرعه‌ای بیابی

انداز خویشتن را در بحر بی‌نهایات   لبْ تشنه چند باشی بر ساحل تمنا

تا در کشد به کامت یشک نهنگ حالات   تا گُم کند نشانت دریای بی‌نشانی

اسرار غیب بینی در عالمِ شهادات[99]   چون غرقه شد عراقی، یابی حیاتِ باقی

</div>

One who is inebriated (beyond repair) each moment finds in the tavern/ruins
a treasure one can not find in the prayers of a hundred spiritual guides.

(If) you want to find a path without trial to the treasure,
continually sift the dust at the door of the tavern/ruins each morning.

If even a particle of this dust falls in the eye of your soul,
you will be met with a hundred thousand suns.

And if the reflection of the wine goblet suddenly shines upon you,
you will become unaware of yourself, of the goblet, of the rays of light.

You will arrive to a place in selflessness and drunkenness that there
your words will be jumbled, signs will throw you off track.

Until you have lost yourself, you will not find such a treasure,
such a state one finds only once they have passed beyond the stations.

Until when will you continue worshipping habitually in the monastery?
Until you have passed beyond customary practice, asceticism and acts of obedience are
    infidelity (*kofr*).

As long as you do not escape from yourself and abandon your own efforts,
know that you were worshiping in the temple of 'Uzza and Lat.

In the monastery, you are the one who knows. Try as much as you can
to free yourself in the winehouse from the excess of acts of obedience.

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97. Both Mohtasham and Nafisi have در هم. However, Nafisi has it as در هم شود. Mohtasham also lists this same
  reading as a variant in her notes and she also notes that another manuscript has it read در وهم.
98. I have edited Mohtasham's reading of وز to و از (at the suggestion of Keshavarz), which Nafisi also has.
99. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 78-80.

316

Gamble your soul away in the tavern/ruins so you may get a draught.
Don't sell asceticism for here they seldom buy vain and useless talk.

How long are you going to be thirsty on the shores of desire?
Throw yourselves into the endless sea!

so that the signless ocean looses any sign of you,
so that the teeth of the whale of the states draws you towards its mouth.

When 'Erâqi is drowned, you will find eternal life,
you will see the hidden secret in the world of witnesses/manifestations.

'Erâqi, Poem 12

<div dir="rtl">

می مغانه مرا بهتر از مناجاتست   چنین که حال من امروز در خراباتست

به میکده شدنم بهترینِ طاعاتست   مرا چو می برهاند ز دست خویشتنم

میان بتکده مولای عزی و لاتست   درون کعبه عبادت چه سود چون دل من

چه جای صومعه و زهد و وجد و حالاتست؟   مرا که بتکده و مَصطَبه مقام بُوَد

سپید کردنِ آن نوعی از محالاتست   گِلیمِ بخت کسی را که بافتند سیاه

که پر ز شیوه و سالوس و زرق و طاماتست   کجاست می که به جان آمدم ز دست دلی

مرا (به؟)[100] صحبتِ ایشان بسی مُباهاتست   اگرچه اهل خرابات را ز من ننگ است

مقام اهل خرد نزدش از خُرافاتست   کسی که حالتِ دیوانگانِ میکده یافت

که او برای یکی جرعه در خرابات است[101]   کنون مقام عراقی مجوی در مسجد

</div>

Such is my state today in the dilapidated winehouse
that Zoroastrian wine is better for me than prayers.

Since wine frees me from myself,
going to the winehouse is the best act of obedience and worship.

What use is worship in the Ka'be when my heart
among the idols is a friend of the goddesses 'Uzza and Lat?

Since for me who the idol house and the winehouse are stations,
what place do the monastery, asceticism, ecstasy, and Sufi states have?

For person whose carpet of fortune has been woven black,
washing it is an impossible thing.

Where is wine? For I have been driven to my limit by a heart
which is full of pride, hypocrisy, and useless boasts.

Although the haunter of the dilapidated winehouse are ashamed of me,
for me their company is a great honor.

A person who reaches the state of the mad ones of the winehouse,
the station of the wise ones, before him, is but superstition and fables.

Do not search for the station of 'Erâqi in the mosque now,
for he is in the dilapidated winehouse for a draught now!

---

100. Keshavarz says that she thinks there needs to be a به here.
101. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 106-07.

318

'Erâqi, Poem 13

<div dir="rtl">

فارغ شده ز مسجد وز لذتِ مناجات؟   دیدی چو من خرابی افتاده در خرابات

صد سجده کرده هر دم در دیرِ عُزی و لات؟   از خانگاه رفته، در میکده نشسته

افتاده خوار و غمگین در گوشهٔ خرابات؟   در باخته دل و دین، مُفلِس بمانده مسکین

نه محرمی که از وی یابد دمی مراعات؟   نه همدمی که با او یکدَم دمی برآرد

نه کرده پایمردی با او دمی ملاقات؟   نه هیچ دستگیری دستش گرفت روزی

در ساخته به ناکام با دردِ بی‌مداوات؟   دردش ندیده درمان، زخمش نجُسته مرهم

هم خوشدلیش رفته هم روزگار، هیهات!   خوش بوده روزگاری بر بوی وصلِ یاری

باشد که به شود حال گردنده است حالات[102]   با اینهمه، عراقی امّیدوار می‌باش

</div>

Have you seen one like me who has fallen to depravity in the ruins,
been liberated from the mosque and the joy of private prayers?

[Have you seen one like me who has] left the Sufi lodge and taken a seat in the idol house?
Performed a hundred prostrations each moment in the house of the pagan goddesses
    'Uzza and Lat?

[Have you seen one like me who has] gambled away heart and religion,
a beggar remaining poor, fallen abject and sad in the corner of the ruins?

[Have you seen one like me who has] not a companion that even spent a moment with him,
who has not an intimate friend that shows regard for him for even a moment?

[Have you seen one like me who has] not a helper to lend a hand someday,
no intecessor to meet him at any time?

[Have you seen one like me whose] pain can find no remedy? Whose wound did not search
for an ointment?
Who copes without success with his untreatable pain?

How great was the time with the scent of union with a friend!
Oh, alas! The merriment and that time has gone!

Despite all this, continue to hope, 'Erâqi,
that your situation will change for circumstances are always changing.

---

102. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 103.

319

‘Erâqi, Poem 14

<div dir="rtl">

در کوی خرابات کسی را که نیاز است   هشیاری و مستیش همه عین نماز است

اینجا نپذیرند نماز و ورع و زهد   آنچ از تو پذیرند درین کوی نیاز است

اسرار خرابات بجز مست نداند   هشیار چه داند که درین کوی چه راز است

تا مستی رندان خرابات بدیدم   دیدم به حقیقت که جز این کار مجاز است

خواهی که درون حرم عشق خرامی   در میکده بنشین که ره کعبه دراز است

از میکده‌ها نالهٔ دلسوز برآمد   در زمزمهٔ عشق ندانم که چه ساز است

در زلف بتان تا چه فریب است که پیوست   محمود پریشان سر زلف ایاز است

زان شعله که از روی بتان حسن برافروخت   جان همه مشتاقان در سوز و گداز است

هان تا ننهی پای درین راه به بازی   زیرا که درین راه بسی شیب و فراز است

چون بر در خمخانه مرا راه ندادند   رفتم به در صومعه دیدم که فراز است

آواز ز میخانه برآمد که عراقی   در باز تو خود را که در میکده باز است[103]

</div>

For one in the tavern's quarter who is in need,
his soberness and drunkenness both are the very essence of prayer.

Here, prayer, abstinence, and asceticism are not accepted—
that which is accepted from you in this alley is poverty alone.

One does not know the secrets of the tavern except if drunk—
what does the sober one know about the secrets in these quarters?

Ever since I saw the drunkenness of the libertines,
I saw truly that apart from these efforts it is only allegory (*majâz*).

Do you want to stroll in the sanctuary of love?
Take a seat in the winehouse for the way to the *Ka'ba* is long.

Heart-wrenching cries rise from the winehouses;
in the murmurings of love I do not know who is the instrument.

In the tresses of the idol, so great is the deception
that Mahmud continues to be distraught in the tresses of Ayaz.

From that flame that was struck from the faces of those idols of beauty
the souls of all those pining after them are burning and melting away.

Beware so that you do not set out on this path in play
because on this path there are many ups and downs.

When at the door of the winehouse I was not permitted to pass,
I went to the door of the monastery (and) saw that it was shut.

[But then] a song rose from the winehouse: 'Erâqi!
Lose yourself for the door of the winehouse is open!

---

103. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 80.

'Erâqi, Poem 15

<div dir="rtl">

یقین گردد ترا کو تو، تو اویی   درین ره گر به ترک خود بگویی

بدین ره در نگنجی گرچه مویی   سر مویی ز تو تا با تو باقی است

روان شو سوی دریا، زانکه جویی   کم خود گیر تا جمله تو باشی

مجرد شو، ز سر برکش دوتویی   چو با دریا گرفتی آشنایی

اگر یکبار دست از خود بشویی   بدین دریا گلیمت شسته گردد

که اینجا آبرو ریزد دورویی   ز بهر آبرو یک رویه کن کار

چو تو چیزی نکردی گم چه جویی؟   نخستین گم کنند آنگاه جویند

ازین بستان گلی هرگز نبویی   ترا تا در درون صد خار خارست

میان در بسته بهر رفت و رویی   پس در زان چو جاروبی که پیوست

از آن در آرزوی رنگ و بویی   ترا رنگی ندادند از خم عشق

که ره پر سنگلاخ و تو سبویی   به هُش نه پا درین وادی خونخوار

فتاده در خم چوگان چو گویی   درین میدان همی خور زخم چون تو

عراقی، تا به ترک خود نگویی[104]   نیابی از خم چوگان رهایی

</div>

In this path, if you lose yourself,
you will become certain that he is you and you are he.

As long as a tip of a strand of hair remains of you,
you won't fit in this path even if you are just a strand of hair.

Abandon yourself so that you may be all you really are.
Flow in the direction of the sea, for you are a stream.

When you have become acquainted with the sea,
strip yourself and remove the idea of multiplicity of self.

Your garment will be washed in this sea,
if you have once and for all lost yourself.

For the sake of dignity, be honest,
for here duplicity is shameful.

First they lose, then they search,
for when you have not lost something, what will you search for?

As long as you are stuck inside by a hundred thorns
never will you smell a flower from this garden.

---

104. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 81-82. Nafisi has another poem with the same
    opening and closing lines that Mohtasham does not include in her critical edition:

<div dir="rtl">

ببینی کان چه میجویی خود اویی   درین ره گر به ترک خود بگویی

تو دریایی و پنداری که جویی   تو جانی و چنان دانی که: جسمی

جهان آیینهٔ توست و تو اویی   تویی در جمله عالم آشکارا

چرا پیوسته در بند سبویی؟   نمیدانم چو بحر بیکرانی

از آن در آرزوی رنگ و بویی   ز بیرنگی تو را چون نیست رنگی

به گرد هر دو عالم چند پویی؟   به گرد خود برآ، یک بار، آخر

عراقی، گر به ترک خود بگویی   مراد خود هم از خود بازیابی

</div>

321

Behind the door your are like a broom
that always lies at the threshold of the door for sweeping.

You were not painted from the colors of love;
you only desire the external color and scent.

Set foot with care in this blood-devouring valley
for the path is rocky and you are a fragile jar.

Take the blows in this field
for you have fallen before the head of the polo stick like a ball.

You will not find liberation from the arc of the polo stick,
o 'Erâqi, as long as you do not abandon yourself!

'Erâqi, Poem 16

اگر یکبار زلف یار از رخسار برخیزد   هزاران آه مشتاقان ز هر سو زار برخیزد

اگر غمزه‌اش کمین سازد دل از جان دست بِفْشاند   وگر زلفش برآشوبد ز جان زنهار برخیزد

چو رویش پرده بگْشاید که و صحرا به رقص آید   چو عشقش روی بنْماید خرد ناچار برخیزد

صبا گر از سر زلفش به گورستان برد بویی   ز هر گوری دو صد بی‌دل ز بوی یار برخیزد

نسیم لطفش ار ناگه به ترکستان گذر سازد   بسا عاشق که از سقسین و از بلغار برخیزد

نوای مطرب عشقش اگر در گوش جان افتد   ز کونین دست بِفْشاند قلندروار برخیزد

چو یاد او شود مونس ز جان اندوه بنْشیند   چو اندوهش شود غمخور ز دل تیمار برخیزد

دلا بی‌عشق او مَنْشین، ز جان برخیز و سر در باز   چو عیّاران بکن کاری که کار از کار برخیزد

درین دریا فکن خود را مگر دُرّی بدست آری   کزین دریای بی‌پایان گهرْ بسیار برخیزد

وگر موجیت برُباید چه دولت مر ترا زین به   که عالم پیش قدر تو چو خدمتکار برخیزد

حجاب ره تویی، برخیز در فتراک عشق آویز   که بی‌عشق این حجاب از ره دشوار برخیزد

عراقی، هر سحرگاهی برآر از سوز دل آهی   ز خواب این دیدهٔ بختت مگر یکبار برخیزد[105]

If just once the tress of the friend rises from his face,
thousands of grievous sighs will rise from those desiring him in all parts.

If his flirtatious glance lies in ambush, the heart will give up on the soul,
and if his locks are disturbed, the soul will cry out for a truce.

When the veil over his face is opened, the mountains and deserts begin to dance.
When his love shows its face, rational wisdom necessarily must take its leave.

If a gentle breeze carries a scent from his curls to the cemetary,
two hundred love-sick dead would arise from each grave for the scent of the friend.

If the breeze of his kindness suddenly blows towards Turkistan,
many a lover from Sagsin and Bulghar will rise up

If the tune of the musician of his love falls upon the ears of the soul,
the soul will rise up like a qalandar and abandon both worlds.

When the memory of him becomes an intimate friend, grief will leave the soul.
When his sorrow becomes an consoling friend, grief will leave the heart.

O heart! Do not be without love of him—forsake your soul and gamble away your head!
Be as the rogues and do something, for deeds arise from action.

Throw yourself in this ocean so perhaps you may snatch a pearl,
for from this endless ocean often come precious gems.

And if a wave takes you under, what fortune could be better for you than this?
for the world before your power will stand at attention like a servant.

You are the veil on the path; arise and sieze the saddlestraps of love!

---

105. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 87-88.

for without love, this veil of yourself will be difficult to remove.

O 'Erâqi, each morning brings sighs from the burning heart—
perhaps once the eye of your fortune will awake.

'Erâqi, Poem 17

عنقا چگونه گنجد در کنج آشیانه   در صومعه نگنجد رند شرابخانه

برهان مرا ز من باز زان چشم جادوانه   ساقی به یک کرشمه بشکن هزار توبه

بر هم زنم ز مستیْ نیک و بد زمانه   تا وارهم ز هستی وز ننگ خودپرستی

ما و شراب و شاهد کنج شرابخانه   این زهد و پارسایی چون نیست جز ریایی

چون چشم یارْ مخمور در مستی شبانه   چه خوش بود خرابی در گوشه خرابات

او در کنار وانگه من رفته از میانه؟   آیا بود که بختم بیند بخواب مستی

مطرب سرود گفته، هر دم دگر ترانه   ساقی شراب داده، هر لحظه[106] جام دیگر

و آواز او شنیده از زخمه چغانه   در جام باده دیده عکس جمال ساقی

اینست کامرانی، دیگر همه فسانه   این است زندگانی باقی همه حکایت

پیمانه هم لب او باقی همه بهانه   میخانه حسن ساقی می‌خواره چشم مستش

جمله یکیست و احول بیند یکی دوگانه[107]   در دیده عراقی، جام شراب و ساقی

The winehouse rascal cannot be contained in the Sufi lodge—
how could the corner of a little nest contain the phoenix?

O cupbearer! break a thousand vows of repentance with one of your amorous glances—
free me from myself again with those magic eyes.

So that I may be liberated from existence and the shame of egoism,
I will disturb both the good and bad of the age with my drunkenness.

Because this asceticism and piety is not but hypocrisy,
from now on it's us, wine, and a shahed in the corner of a winehouse.

How great is the depravity in the corner of the winehouse
like the eyes of the friend, drunk with the nocturnal inebriation.

Is it that my fortune sees in a drunken dream
him next to me and then I am not even there—could this be true?!

The cupbearer gives wine, each moment from another goblet—
the minstrel sings a song, each moment another love song.

A reflection of the cupbearer's beauty is seen the goblet of wine,
and his voice is heard in the bow's notes.

This is real life—the rest is nothing but stories.
This is happiness—the rest is fables.

The winehouse is the beauty of the cupbearer, the wine-drinker his drunken eyes,
and the goblet too is his lips—all else is pretext.

In 'Erâqi's eyes, the goblet, wine, and cupbearer all are one—

---

106. Mohtasham has هر لحظه‌ای here, but this disturbs the meter, so I have gone with هر لحظه.
107. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 246-47.

325

only a cross-eyed person would see this oneness as multiplicity.

'Erâqi, Poem 18

ساقی بده مغی را درد می مغانه   در صومعه نگنجد رند شرابخانه

بنما مقامری را راه قمارخانه   ره ده قلندری را در بزم دردنوشان

تا جان نهد چو خرقه شُکرانه در میانه   تا بشکند، چو توبه، هر بت که می‌پرستد

پرواز گیرد از خود، بگذارد آشیانه   بیرون شود چو عنقا از خانه سوی صحرا

بر هم زند ز مستی نیک و بد زمانه   فارغ شود ز هستی، وز خویشتن پرستی

با محرمی موافق، با همدمی یگانه   در خلوتی چنین خوش چه خوش بود صبوحی

بر کف می صبوحی، در سر می شبانه   آورده روی در روی با شاهد نکوروی

مطرب سرود گفته هردم دگر ترانه   ساقی شراب داده هر لحظه از دگر جام

نَغمه خروش مستان، دیگر همه فسانه   باده حدیث جانان، باقی همه حکایت

می‌خانه عشق باقی، باقی همه بهانه[108]   نظاره روی ساقی، نظارگی عراقی

The libertine of the winehouse cannot be contained in the monastery—
Cupbearer! Give the wine dregs to a Magian priest!

Let a qalandar into the dregs-drinkers' banquet!
Show a gambler the road to the gambling house

so he may break every idol that he worships,
so he may lay down his soul in thanks like his cloak,

so he may leave his house like the griffin and head towards the flowerly fields,
so he may fly from his own self, forsaking his nest,

so he may become free of existence and self-worship,
so he may disturb both the good and bad of the time with his drunkenness.

How great would be a morning draught in a secluded place like this
with an agreeable companion, an intimate friend,

brought face to face with a fair-faced shahed,
a morning draught in hand with the night's wine still in the veins.

Each moment the cupbearer gives wine from another goblet.
Each breathe the singer sings another tune.

The wine is the speech of the beloved—the rest are all stories.
The tune is the cry of the inebriated—the others are only tales.

The sight is the face of the cupbearer, the spectator is 'Erâqi.
The winehouse is eternal love—the rest is pretext.

---

108. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 100-01.

'Erâqi, Poem 19

<div dir="rtl">

وصال تو هوس عاشقان شیدایی   زهی جمال تو رشک بتان یغمایی

به گاه جلوه مگر دیدهٔ تماشایی   عروس حسن تو را هیچ در نمی‌یابد

به غیر خود نه همانا که رویْ بِنْمایی   بدین صفت که تویی بر جمال خود عاشق

نهانی از همه عالم ز بس که پیدایی   حجاب روی تو هم روی توست در همه حال

ازین بتان همه در چشم من تو می‌آیی   به هر که می‌نگرم صورت تو می‌بینم

از آن سبب که تویی در دو دیده بینایی   همه جهان به تو می‌بینم و عجب نبود

جمال خود به لباس دگر بیارایی   ز رشک تا نشناسد ترا کسی، هر دم

که هر نفس به دگر منزل و دگر جایی   ترا چگونه توان یافتن، به تو که رسد؟

تو خود مقیمِ درون[109] دلش هویدایی[110]   عراقی از پی تو دربدر همی گردد

</div>

O how great your beauty! It is the envy of the Yaghma'i idols!
Union with you is the desire of the mad lovers!

No one perceives the bride of your beauty in the bridal chamber
unless (they have) the eye of a beholder.

The way you are, you are a lover of your own beauty—
indeed, you will not show your face to any other.

In all states, the veil of your face verily is your face;
you are hidden from the world because you are manifest.

Whoever I look at, I see only your face:
it is your face that appears to me in these idols.

I see the whole world through/in you, and thus it is not surprising
that you are the sight in both eyes.

Out of jealously, each moment you adorn your beauty with different clothes
so that none may know you.

How can one find you? How can one reach you?
For each moment you are in another waystation, another place.

'Erâqi wanders continuously as a vagrant in seach of you
(but) you, yourself dwell clearly in his heart.

---

109. Nafisi reads درون as میان.
110. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 240.

'Erâqi, Poem 20

<div dir="rtl">

هر کرا جام می بدست افتاد   رند و قلاش و می‌پرست افتاد

دل و دین و خرد زدست بداد   هر که را جرعه‌ای بدست افتاد

چشم میگون یار هر که بدید   ناچشیده شرابْ مست افتاد

وانک دل بست در سر زلفش   ماهی‌آسا میان شست افتاد

لشکر عشق باز بیرون تاخت   قلب عشّاق را شکست افتاد

عاشقی کز سر جهان برخاست   زود با دوستش نشست افتاد

هر که پا بر سر جهان ننهاد   همّت او عظیم پست افتاد

سر جان و جهان ندارد آنک   در سرش بادهٔ الست افتاد

وانکه از دست خود خلاص نیافت   در ره عشق پای بست افتاد

هان عراقی، ببُر ز هستی خویش   نیستی بهره‌ات ز هست افتاد[111]

</div>

Whoever had a goblet fall into his hands
fell to the level of the libertines, rascals, and wine-worshippers.

Whoever had a drink fall into his hands
lost his heart, religion, and wisdom.

Whoever saw the intoxicating eyes of the beloved
fell drunk although he did not taste any wine,

and when the heart became caught in his locks,
it fell, trapped like a fish in a net.

The army of love again rushed out to attack,
and the hearts of the lovers were defeated.

The lover that let go of the world
quickly was brought near to his beloved.

Whoever did not devalue the world,
his spiritual fortitude fell terribly low.

Whoever has the wine of "am I not" in his head
does not have patience for existence,

and whoever has not gotten rid of his self,
his feet were barred from the path of love.

Beware, 'Erâqi! Cut yourself from existence—
Your share of existence happens to be non-existence.

---

111. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 77-78.

که در رندی مغان را پیشوایم   من آن قلّاش و رند بی‌نوایم

حریف پاکباز کم دغایم   گدای دردنوش می پرستم

نه مرد زرق و سالوس و ریایم   ز بند زهد و قرّایی برستم

همه زنّار شد بند قبایم   ردا[112] و طیلسان یک سو نهادم

که هردم سوی میخانه گرایم؟   مگر خاکم ز میخانه سرشتند

که یکدم با حریفان خوش برآیم   کجایی ساقیا جامی به من ده

درین وحشتسرا تا چند پایم؟   مرا برْهان زخود، کز خود به جانم

ازآن دم کاندرین محنت سرایم   زمانیْ شادمان و خوش نبودم

به صد خواری، که رند ناسزایم   مرا از درگه پاکان براندند

درون بتکده کردند جایم   برون کردند از کعبه به خواری

بریدند، ای دریغا، دست و پایم   درین ره خواستم زد دست و پایی

نه ره پیدا کنون نه رهنمایم   بماندم در بیابان تحیّر

فتاده بر در لطف خدایم   امید از هر که هست اکنون بریدم

که پیوسته ز یار خود جدایم   از آنست این همه بیداد بر من

عراقی گر کند از خود رهایم[113]   ز بیداد زمانه وارهم، هم

I am that poor rogue and libertine
who is a leader in debauchery among the Zoroastrian priests!

I am that dregs-drinking, wine-worshipping beggar.
I am that "all-in" gambling companion who is a little tricky.

I have broken free from the binds of asceticism and Qur'an recitation:
I am not a man of hypocrisy and self-righteous grandstanding.

I put my honorary cloaks and mantles to the side;
now the (non-Islamic) cincture is the tie of all my caftans.

Unless my clay was kneaded in the winehouse,
why I am constantly inclided towards the winehouse?

Where are you, O cupbearer?! Give me a wine goblet
so that I may join the merriment with the companions.

Free me from myself, from myself, my soul:
How long will I remain in this lonely wilderness?

I have not had a period of happiness and joy
since that moment that I have been in this abode of suffering.

They expelled me from the court of pious ones with a hundred aspersions
that I am an indecent libertine.

---

112. I have opted for Nafisi's reading of ردا here, instead of Mohtasham's reading of ردای.
113. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 107-08.

330

They threw me out of *Ka'ba* with contempt;
they gave me a place in the idol-house.

I wanted to go on foot on this route,
but oh alas! My hands and feet were cut off!

I remained in the wilderness of astonishment—
Now I have not found the way or a guide.

I have cut off my hope now in all things existing;
I have fallen at the door of God's kindness.

The reason why so much injustice has befallen me
is that I am continually separated from my friend.

I will be free of the injustice of time
if 'Erâqi frees me from himself.

'Erâqi, Poem 22

بزیر هر خم زلفش هزار نیرنگست رخ نگار مرا هر زمان دگر رنگ است
ازین سبب دلِ عشّاق در جهان تنگست کرشمه‌ای بکند صدهزار دل ببرد
به جای دل سر زلف نگار در چنگست اگر برفت دل از دست، گو برو چو مرا
مرا کجا سر نامست یا غمِ ننگست بدین صفت که منم از شراب عشق خراب
مرا هوای خرابات و نالهٔ چنگست از آن زمان که خراباتیئی دلم بربود
ز عکس چهره تو هر زمانْ دگر رنگست بیار ساقی از آن می که ساغرِ او را
که آشتی، به همه حال، بهتر از جنگست[114] بریز خون عراقی و آشتی وا کن

The face of my beloved idol each moment is a another color,
under the ring of each lock a thousand deceits.

S/he casts but one amorous glance and steals a hundred thousand hearts;
for this reason the hearts of the world's lovers are vexed.

If one loses his heart, say "Go!"
Because instead of my heart, I have the tips of my icon's tresses in my clutch.

Like this I am wasted from the wine of love—
How could I be concerned about my name and honor?

Since that time when haunter of the dilapidated winehouse stole my heart,
I have desired the dilapidated winehouse and the cry of the harp.

Cupbearer! Bring that wine, each cup of which
each moment is another color due to the reflection of your visage.

Spill 'Erâqi's blood and inagurate peace!
For peace, in any state, is better than war.

---

114. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 236-37.

'Erâqi, Poem 23

<div dir="rtl">

کاندر همه شهر شور و غوغاست   از میکده تا چه شور برخاست؟

کز هر طرفی خروش برخاست   تا چشمِ بتم چه فتنه انگیخت؟

کز جرعهاش هر که هست شیداست   تا جامِ لبش کدام مَی داد؟

وان باده هنوز در سرِ ماست   ساقی نظری که مستِ عشقم

وان شیفتگی هنوز برجاست   وان نعره و شور همچنان هست

کان رویِ تو از درِ تماشاست   باری به نظارهای برون آی

در جام جهاننِمای پیداست   پنهان چه شوی؟ که عکسِ رویت

رنگِ رُخَش آخر از چه زیباست؟   گل گر ز رخ تو رنگ ناوَرْد

چشم خوشِ نرگس از چه رعناست؟   ور نه به جمالِ تو نظر کرد

ما را همه مَیل سویِ صحراست   تا یافت بنَفشهْ بویِ زلفت

از جامْ غَرَضْ میَ مصفّاست   ما را چه ز باغِ لاله و گل؟

از گلشن و لاله هر که بیناست[115]   جز حسن و جمالِ تو نبیند

</div>

What uproar has arisen from the winehouse
that throughout the whole city there is now clamor and tumult?!

What rebellion have my idol's eyes incited now
that there are cries coming from all directions?!

Which wine did the goblet of my idol's lips serve
that from a mere draught of it all that exist are enamored!?

O Winebearer! Another glance please, for I am drunk with love [for you]
and the wine is still in my veins [lit. head].

Those cries and tumult continue unabated
and that lovesickness [lit. love-madness] has firmly set in.

Just once come out for a glance!
for that face of yours is worthy of viewing!

Why have you hid? For the image of your visage
is manifest in the world-displaying goblet.

If flowers did not take their color from your countenance,
what made the colors of their faces so beautiful?

And if the cheery eyes of the narcissus did not gaze upon your beauty,
what made them so lovely and haughty?

Since the violet found the scent of your tresses,
We desire only the flowerly fields.

What is there for us in the garden of flowers and tulips?

---

115. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 76-77.

From the goblet our aim is only pure wine.

Whoever has true sight, sees not except your beauty
in the flower gardens and tulip (fields).

'Erâqi, Poem 24

مُطربْ غزلِ ترِ روان کو؟   ساقیْ قَدَحی میِ مغان کو؟

و آنَ راحتِ جانِ ناتوان کو؟   آن مونسِ دلْ کجاست آخر؟

آن صَیقلِ غمزُدای جان کو؟   آیینهٔ سینه زنگِ غم خورد

مخمورِ میم میِ مغان کو؟   از زهد و صلاح توبه کردم

ای زاهدِ خشک جانفشان کو؟   اسبابِ طرب همه مُهَیّاست

ترکِ بد و نیک و سوزیان کو؟   گر زهدِ تو نیست جمله تزویر

جان و دل و دیده در میان کو؟   ور از دو جهان کران گرفتی

زنّار به جای طَیلَسان کو؟[116]   ور بی خبری ز دین عراقی

Cupbearer, where is the goblet of Magian wine?
Minstrel, where is the fresh and flowing *ghazals*?

Where is that intimate friend of the heart,
and where is the comfort for the weak soul?

The mirror of the breast is tarnished with sorrow;
where is that polish that brightens the melancholic soul?

I have repented from asceticism and virtue—I am drunk from wine,
where is that Magian wine?

The instruments of mirth are all prepared.
O dry ascetic, where are those ready to sacrifice themselves?

If your asceticism is not completely deception—
why haven't you abandoned all good and bad, all profit and loss?

And if you have abandoned both worlds,
with what are your soul, heart, and eyes involved?

If you are unaware of religion, 'Erâqi,
where is the (non-Islamic) cincture (that you should wear) instead of the mantle of honor?

---

116. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 98-99.

'Erâqi, Poem 25

<div dir="rtl">

که فارغ آمدم از ننگ و نامِ باده بیار
غلامِ رویِ توام، ای غلام، باده بیار

که آفتاب برآید ز جام، باده بیار
اگرچه روز فرو شد، صبوح فوت مکن

اگرچه صبح خوش آید مُدام باده بیار
به وقت شام، بیا تا قضای صبح کنیم

فتاد از پی دانه به دام، باده بیار
کجاست دانهٔ مرغان که طوطیِ روحم

مگر زبون شود این بدلگام، باده بیار
زبون گرفت مرا توسنِ جهان، ساقی

برای پختن سودای خام باده بیار
نمی‌پزد تفِ غم آرزوی خامِ مرا

مدار خونِ صراحی حرام، باده بیار
درین مقام که خونم حلال می‌داری

همی دهم به تو، بِسْتان تمام، باده بیار
منم کنون و یکی نیم جان رسیده به لب

غلامِ رویِ توام، ای غلام، باده بیار [117]
مرا ز دستِ عراقی خلاص ده نَفَسی

</div>

I am a slave of your beautiful face! O young slave, bring the wine!
for I have freed myself of concern for good name and shame!

Although the sun has set, don't let the drinking die!
for the sun rises from the goblet—so bring the wine!

Come at dinner time so that we can make up for the missed morning draught!
Although wine is pleasing in the morning—please bring the wine!

Where the birds' seed? For the parrot of my spirit has fallen
in a trap looking for seeds on the path—oh, please bring wine!

The wild stallion of the world has deemed me weak—
so that this intractable horse may be tamed, bring the wine!

The warmth of melancholy does not cook my raw desires—
for cooking love that is yet raw, bring the wine!

At this station in which you consider my blood lawful for you,
don't regard the blood the flask (wine) to be unlawful—bring the wine!

Now I have reached near the end, I am almost dead:
I am giving all to you—take it all [and] bring the wine!

Deliver me from 'Erâqi for a moment at least!
I am a slave to your face! O young slave, bring the wine!

---

117. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 101-02.

'Erâqi, Poem 26

<div dir="rtl">

از کَرَم افتاده‌ای را دست گیر   بر درت افتاده‌ام خوار و حقیر

تا شود دردِ دلم درمان پذیر   دردمندم، بر من مسکین[118] نگر

کالبد را کَی بُوَد از جان گَزیر؟   از تو نگریزد دل من یکزمان

داد بیش از مادرم صد گونه شیر   دایۀ لطفت مرا در بر گرفت

از دل و جانم برآید صد نفیر   چون نیابم بوی مهرت یک نفس

در کفِ هجرت کنون ماندست اسیر   دل، که با وصلت چنان خو کرده بود،

کشته‌ای را بار دیگر کشته گیر[120]   باز هجرت قصدِ خونم[119] می‌کند

</div>

I have fallen at your door humble and abject.
Out of generosity and kindness, extend your hand to this fallen one.

I am afflicted—just look at poor me
so that the pain of my heart may be curable.

My heart will not flee from you for even a moment
For when can a body be without a soul?

The wet nurse of your munificence embraced me.
It provided me a hundred more kinds of milk than my own mother.

When I do not find the fragrance of your affection in a breath,
a hundred wretched cries rise from my heart and soul.

The heart that had become accustomed to union
now remains as a captive in separation from you.

Now again separation from you intends to kill me—
the slain one is slain again!

---

118. Mohtasham has میگین here, but I am reading this as a misprint for مسکین because Nafisi has مسکین.

119. Nafisi has جانم instead of خونم here.

120. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 214-15.

337

'Erâqi, Poem 27

ناگه از میکده فَغان برخاست / ناله از جانِ عاشقان برخاست
شر و شوری فتاد در عالم / های و هویی ازین و آن برخاست
جامی از میکده روان کردند / پیشِ او صد روان، روان برخاست
جرعهای ریختند بر سر خاک / شور و غوغا ز جرعهدان برخاست
جرعه با خاک در حدیث آمد / گفت و گویی از آن میان برخاست[121]
سخنِ جرعه عاشقی بِشَنید / نعره زد واز سر جهان برخاست
بختِ من چون شنید آن نعره / سَبُک از خوابِ سر گران برخاست
گشت بیدار چشمِ دل چو مرا / عالم از پیشِ جسم و جان برخاست
خواستم تا ز خواب برخیزم / بنگرم کز چه آن فغان برخاست
بود بر پای من عراقی بند / بند بر پای کی توان برخاست؟[122]

Suddenly a cry arose from the winehouse!
A wail erupted from the soul of the lovers!

Commotion and disorder fell upon the earth!
Tumult arose from every direction!

A goblet had spilled out from the winehouse;
in front of it hundreds more souls arose.

A draught was poured on rich earth;
disorder and tumult arose from the [draught's] vessel.

The draught began to talk with the earth.
From there an initimate exchange began.

A lover heard the eloquent words of the draught.
He cried out and abandoned the world.

When my fortune heard that cry,
it awoke quickly from a heavy sleep.

The eye of my heart awoke when
the world moved from before my body and soul.

I wanted to arise from sleep
to see from where this wailing had come,

[but] on my feet, 'Erâqi, were chains.
Who can rise up with chains on his feet?

---

121. I am following Nafisi's line arrangement here instead of Mohtasham's.
122. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 73-74.

338

'Erâqi, Poem 28

با رند قلندریّ و قلّاش شدیم   ما شیفته‌ی فتنه‌ی نقّاش شدیم

در گرد جهان به عاشقی فاش شدیم[123]   نایافته اتّصال معشوقه هنوز

I have become enamored with the insurrection of the painter.
I have opted for the libertinism of the qalandars and the rascals.
Before being united with the beloved,
I became known around the world as a lover.

---

123. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 342.

'Erâqi, Poem 29

امروز به شهر در پریشان ماییم   ننگ همه دوستان و خویشان ماییم
رندان و مقامران رسوا شده را   گر می‌طلبی بیا که[124] ایشان ماییم[125]

Today, in the city, we are distressed and disheveled.
We are the shame of all the friends and relatives.
We have become infamous libertines and gamblers—
if you are seeking them, come! We are them!

---

124. In Mohtasham's text, she has two ک here back-to-back. I am reading this as a typographic error.
125. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 345.

340

اگر وقت سحر بادی ز کوی یار در جنبد
دل بیمار مشتاقان ز هر سو زار در جنبد

ور از زلفش صبا بوئی به کوی بی‌دلان آرد
ز هر کوئی دو صد بی‌دل روان‌افگار در جنبد

ز باد کوی او در دم تن رنجور جان یابد
ز یاد روی او هر دم دل بیمار در جنبد

چو بینی جنبش عاشق مشو منکر که شوق او
دلش را چون بِجُنباند تنش ناچار در جنبد

چو از باد هوا دریا بجنبد، بس عجب نبود
که از بادِ هوای او دل ابرار در جنبد

ولی چون دیدهٔ منکر نبیند جنبش باطن
ز ظاهر جنبشی بیند دلش زانکار در جنبد

بیا تا بینی ای سالک همای همّت مردی
که در صحرای قرب حق همی طیار در جنبد

ولی حقّ عزیز[126] الدین محمد حاجی آن عاشق
که گرد کعبهٔ وحدت دمی صدبار در جنبد

همه عالم شود مستغرق انوار او آن دم
که دریای روان او و ز شوق یار در جنبد

چو بیند دیدهٔ جانش جمال یار بُخْروشد
دلش را چون عیان گردد رخ دلدار در جنبد

چو انوار یقین در وی فرو آمد بیارامد
دل و جان و تنش چون شد همه انوار در جنبد

جمال صورت ار بیند گُه و صحرا به چرخ آید
کمال وجدش ار یابد در و دیوار در جنبد

بجنبد تا ضمیر او بِدَرَّد پرده‌های غیب
چو بر وی منکشف گردد همه اسرار در جنبد

نشان جام کیخسرو که می‌جویند بِنْماید
ضمیرپاک او آن دم که از اذکار در جنبد

بر آن خوانی که عیسی خورد روحش دم بدم شیند
در آن آتش که موسی شد سمندروار در جنبد

ز دست ساقی همّت دو صد دریا درآشامد
چو شد سرمست برخیزد ولی هشیار در جنبد

در آن سر وقت کان عاشق شود سرمست اگر ناگه
نظر بر کوه اندازد، که و کهسار درجنبد

فضای سینه از صورت چو خالی گشت بِخْرامد
درخت جانش از معنی چو شد پربار در جنبد

بجنبد چون فلک هر سو هزاران پرده پیش او
فراغ دل بسوزاند همه استار در جنبد

فلک گر ز و امان یابد زمین آسا بیارامد
زمین را گر دهد فرمان فلک‌کردار در جنبد

فلک خود از برای آن همی گرد زمین گردد
که در روی زمین مردی چنان عیّار در جنبد

قلندروار کی ز جنبد ز گفت مطرب خوشگو
چو حق با او سخن گوید از آن گفتار در جنبد

زهی آراسته ذاتت باسماء و صفات حق
سزد کز پیش عِزّ تو دو عالم خوار در جنبد

زهی خُلْق کریم تو معطّر کرده عالم را
خجل گشته ازو بادی که از گلزار در جنبد

عراقی کی تواند مدح تو گفتن ولی مفلس
بدانچش دسترس باشد بدان مقدار در جنبد

اگر پیش سلیمانی برد پای مَلَخْ موری
روا باشد که هر شخصی باستظهار در جنبد

زانوار یقین بادا دل و جان و تنت روشن
همیشه تا ز شوق حقّ دل احرار در جنبد[127]

If at dawn a wind arises from the quarter of the friend,
the love-sick hearts of the desirous from all over will beat, pining/

If a breeze brings a scent of his tresses to the lovers' lane,
from every quarter two hundred love-sick and melancholic souls will rise up.

From the breeze of his quarters instantly the sick body is enlivened;
from recalling your visage each moment, the sick heart throbs.

When you see the movement of the lover, do not deny that
when passionate desire for him stirs his heart, his body too must move.

Since the air's breeze moves the ocean, it is not very strange that
the breeze of desire for him excites the hearts of the virtuous,

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126. I have opted for Nafisi's reading which places حقّ عزیز before الدین.

127. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 311-14.

341

but since the eye of the denier does not see the inner motion
and sees only the external movement, his heart will shake with denial.

Come so you can see, o spiritual seeker, the phoenix of the man's spiritual fortitude
that flys ceaselessly in the desert close to the Truth.

Friend of God, 'Aziz al-Din Muhammad Haji, that lover
who dances around the *Ka'ba* of Unity a hundred times each breathe,

the whole world becomes drowned in his lights that moment
that his flowing sea of passionate desire for the friend surges.

When the eye of his soul sees the beauty of the friend, it cries out!
And when the face of his sweetheart is manifested to his heart, it throbs

When the lights of certainty came down to him, they found repose.
When his heart, soul, and body all became light, they began to dance.

If one sees the beauty of his face, the mountains and desert will begin whirling.
If one attains his perfection of ectasy, the doors and walls will tremble.

His inner being moves so to rend the veils of the hidden;
when it does, all secrets will be revealed to him.

The sign of the goblet of Kay Khosrow that they search for is manifested
when his pure conscience is excited from remembering (God).

He always sits at that feast where Jesus ate
and in the fire that Moses witnessed, moving as a salamander.

He drinks two hundred oceans from the hand of the Saqi of spiritual fortitude
when he becomes drunk, he arises and dances soberly.

In that moment in which the lover becomes drunk, if suddely
a glance is cast on the mountain, the mountain—even the whole mountain range!—will
        shake.

When the breast was emptied of forms, it strolled—
the tree of his soul dances when it becomes laden with the fruits of meaning.

Thousands of veils dance before him in every direction like the sky—
the opennes of the heart burning all of the stirring veils.

The sky, if it received quarter from him, would have respite as the earth—
If he orders the earth to be as the sky, it too would orbit.

The sky itself because of this continuously rotates around the earth
that on the earth a man may move like a rogue.

How could he move like a qalandar to the rhythm of the sweet-voiced minstrel
when the Truth speaks with him? It is from this (God's) speech that he dances.

Oh how greatly adorned is your essence with the Truth's characteristics!
It is suitable that before your glory both worlds move abjectly.

Oh how great is your munificent disposition that has perfumed the whole world!
In the presence of it, even the breeze that arose from the rose became ashamed of itself!

How can 'Erâqi can proclaim your praise? But the pauper
is moved by that which is within his reach.

If before one like Soloman an ant takes the leg of a grasshopper,
it is permissible that everyone comes for support.

May your heart, soul, and body always be bright from the lights of certainty
for as long as the heart of the noble ones moves from passionate desire for the Truth.

'Erâqi, Poem 31

<div dir="rtl">

یادِ آن شیرین پسر خواهیم کرد   کامِ جانرا پر شِکّر خواهیم کرد

دامن از اغیار در خواهیم چید   سر ز جَیبِ یار بر خواهیم کرد

آفتابِ روی او خواهیم دید   گر به مهروئی نظر خواهیم کرد

بوی جان‌افزای او خواهیم یافت   گر به گلزاری گذر خواهیم کرد

در خمِ زلفش نهان خواهیم شد   دست با او در کمر خواهیم کرد

چون کمانِ ابروان در زه کند   پیشِ تیرش جان سپر خواهیم کرد

از حدیثِ یار و آبِ چشمِ ما   گوش و دامن پر گهر خواهیم کرد

ماجرائی رفت ما را با لبش   دوستان را ز آن خبر خواهیم کرد

تا عراقی نشنود اسرار ما   ماجرا را مختصر خواهیم کرد[128]

</div>

We will remember that sweet boy.
We will fill our soul with (his) sugar.

We will go away from the strangers.
We will be of one garment.

We will see the sun of his face,
if we glance at a fair, moon-faced one.

We will find his life-giving scent
if we pass by a flower garden.

We will be hidden in the curls of his locks.
We will embrace him, putting our hand around his waist.

When he strings the bow of his eyebrows,
we will make a shield out of our souls in the face of his arrows.

From the friend's story of love and the tears of our eyes,
we will fill our ears and skirts with pearls.

We had an adventure with his lips—
we will inform the friends of it.

So that 'Erâqi does not hear our secrets,
we will cut short the story.

---

128. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 237-38.

<div dir="rtl">

گر نظر کردم به روی ماهِ رخساری چه شد؟ — ور شدم مست از شرابِ عشق دلداری چه شد؟

روی او دیدم سر زلفش چرا آشفته گشت؟ — گر ببیند بلبل شوریدهٔ گلزاری چه شد؟

چشمِ او با جانِ من گر گفته رازی گو بگو — حالِ بیماری اگر پرسید بیماری چه شد؟

دشمنم با دوستان گوید: فلانی عاشقست — عاشقم بر روی خوبان، عاشقم آری چه شد؟

در سرِ سودای زلفِ خوبرویان شد دلم — وز چنان زلف ار ببستم نیز زناری چه شد؟

گر گذشتم بر درِ میخانه ناگاهی چه باک؟ — گر به پیرانسر شکستم توبه یکباری چه شد؟

چون شدم مست از شرابِ عشق عقلم گو: برو — گر فرو شُست آبِ حیوان نقشِ دیواری چه شد؟

زاهدی را کز می و معشوق رنگ و بوی نیست — گر کند بر عاشقان هر لحظه انکاری چه شد؟

های و هوی عاشقان بُگَذَشت از هفت آسمان — نعرهٔ مستان اگر نشنید هشیاری چه شد؟

از خمستان نعرهٔ مستان بگوشِ من رسید — رفتم آنجا تا ببینم حالِ میخواری چه شد؟

دیدم اندر کُنجِ میخانه عراقی را خراب — گفتم: ای مسکین، نگویی تا تو را باری چه شد؟[129]

</div>

If glanced at the fair face of a moon-like beauty, so what?
And if I became drunk from the wine of a sweetheart's love, so what?

I saw his face—why had his tresses been disturbed?
If I see a love-crazed nightingale in the rosegarden, so what?

If his eyes told my soul a secret, say: tell it!
If a love-sick one asks another love-sick one about his state, so what?

My enemy tells his friends: "So and so is a lover!"
I am a lover of beauties! A lover, indeed! So what?

My heart has become embroiled in the love/business of the tresses of fair-faced ones
and if I fasten these locks like a cincture, so what?

If I dropped by the winehouse suddenly, what's to fear?
And if I broke my repentance once in my old age, so what?

When I became drunk from the wine of love, tell my intellect: "Go!"
If the water of life is on sale, who cares about the (lifeless) image on the wall?

The ascetic that has no color or scent of the wine and beloved.
If he spends all his time remonstrating the lovers, so what?

The clamor of the lovers goes beyond even the seven heavens.
If a sober one didn't hear the cry of the drunks, so what?

The wails of the drunks in the winehouse reached me—
I went there to see what happened to the state of the winos.

---

129. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 236.

I saw 'Erâqi in the corner of the winehouse, drunk—
I said: "O poor thing won't you tell (me) what happened to you all of a sudden?"

'Erâqi, Poem 33

<div dir="rtl">

شور از سر بازار به یکبار برآمد   ناگه بتِ من مست به بازار برآمد

بس جان که ز عشقِ رخ او زار برآمد   بس دل که به کویِ غمِ او شاد فروشد

مؤمن ز دل و گبر ز زنار برآمد   در صومعه و بتکده عشقش گذری کرد

شور و شغبی از درِ خمار برآمد   در کویِ خرابات جمالش نظر افگند

فریاد و فغان از دلِ ابرار برآمد   در وقتِ مناجات خیالِ رخش افروخت

سرمست و خرامان به سرِ دار برآمد   یک جرعه ز جامِ لبِ او میزدهای یافت

از سوز دلش شعلهٔ انوار برآمد   در سوختهای آتشِ شمع رخش افتاد

از آتشِ سوزان گلِ بی خار برآمد   بادِ درِ او بر سرِ آتش گذری کرد

صد مهر ز هر سو به شبِ تار برآمد   ناگاه ز رخسار شبی پرده برانداخت

صد نالهٔ زار از دلِ بیمار برآمد   بادِ سحر از خاکِ درش کرد حکایت

کز بوک و مگر جانِ خریدار برآمد[130]   کی بوک فروشد لبِ او بوسه به جانی؟

</div>

All of the sudden my idol came raving drunk to the market!
A clamor arose in the bazaar!

Many hearts happily went down to the quarter of melancholic longing for him.
Many souls were overcome with despair from love of his face.

His love passed once through the monastery and idol temple—
a believer went forward without his heart, a magian without his cincture.

In the quarter of the winehouse, his beauty cast a glance—
a tumultuous roar poured out the door of the vintner's house.

In moments of prayer, his face lit up the imagination—
cries and wails rose from the pious ones.

A drunk got a gulp from the goblet of his lips—
he came drunk and strutting to the gallows (ref. Mansur al-Hallâj).

The flame of his candle-like face fell on a burnt one—
from the burning of his heart, flames of light rose up.

The breeze of his threshold passed over the fire—
from this raging fire a rose without thorns grew up.

One night, suddenly he threw off the veil from his face—
a hundred suns rose in every direction in that dark night.

The morning breeze told a story from the dust at his threshold—
a hundred forlorn wailings rose from the heart of the love-sick one.

When, o when, will his lips come down to grant the soul a kiss?
From all of these 'perhaps' and 'maybes' the soul of the desiring buyers has died!

---

130. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 151-52.

347

من باز رهِ خانهٔ خمّار گرفتم   ترکِ وَرَع و زهد به یکبار گرفتم

سجاده و تسبیح به یک سوی فکندم   بر کف می چون رنگِ رخِ یار گرفتم

کارم همه با جامِ می و شاهد و شمع است   ترکِ دل و دین بَهَرِ چنین کار گرفتم

شمعم رخِ یار است و شرابم لبِ دلدار   پیمانه همان لب که به هنجار گرفتم

چشمِ خوشِ ساقی دل و دین بُرد ز دستم   وین فایده زان نرگسِ بیمار گرفتم

پیوسته چنین می‌زده و مست و خرابم   تا عادتِ چشمِ خوشِ خونخوار گرفتم

شیرین لبِ ساقی چو می و نقل فرو ریخت   بس کام کز آن لعلِ شکربار گرفتم

چون مست شدم خواستم از پای درآمد   حالی سر زلفِ بتِ عیّار گرفتم

آویختم اندر سرِ آن زلفِ پریشان   وین شیفتگی بین که دُمِ مار گرفتم

گفتی کم سودای سرِ زلفِ بتان گیر   چندین چه نصیحت کنی انگار گرفتم

با توبه و تقویٰ تو رهِ خُلدِ برین گیر   من با می و معشوق[131] رهِ نار گرفتم

در نار چو رنگِ رخِ دلدار بدیدم   آتش همه باغ و گل و گلزار گرفتم

المنةُ لله که میانِ گل و گلزار   دلدار در آغوش دگربار گرفتم

بِگرِفت به دندانْ فلکْ انگشتِ تعجب   چون من به دو انگشت لبِ یار گرفتم

دور از لب و دندانِ عراقیْ لبِ دلدار   هم باز به دستِ خوشِ دلدار گرفتم[132]

I again took the road to the vintner's house.
I abandoned asceticism and abstemity once again.

I tossed aside my prayer carpet and prayer beads.
I grabbed some wine whose color was as the face of the friend.

My work now is entirely with goblets of wine, shaheds, and candles—
I have forsaken heart and religion for this work.

My candle is the face of the friend, and my wine the lips of the sweetheart;
my goblet is those same lips, for I have adopted this as my norm.

The merry eyes of the cupbearer stole away my heart and religion,
and I took this benefit from that love-sick narcissus.

I am continually plastered, drunk, wasted like this
since I have become accustomed to (his) merry but bloodthirsty eyes.

When those sweet lips of the cupbearer rained wine and sweetmeats,
oh how many delights I took from those ruby-red, sweet lips.

When I became drunk, I wanted to fall—
presently, I have grabbed onto the locks of the renegade idol.

I was hanging in the those disheveled tresses,
and look at this love-sickenness—I have grabbed the tail of the snake!

---

131. Nafisi: معشوقه.

132. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 297.

You said: "Don't be so enamored with the tresses of the idols!"
What advice is this to give? I could only imagine.

Take the path to eternal paradise with repentance and piety—
I, for one, have taken the path of wine and beloveds to the flames of hell.

I saw the fire was the color of the sweetheart's face.
I consider all gardens, flowers, and rose beds to be fire.

Thanks be to God that amidst the flowers and gardens
I have my sweetheart in my arms once again.

The heavenly spheres were even surprised
when I grabbed the lips of the friend with my fingers.

Far from 'Erâqi's lips and teeth, I grabbed the lips of the sweetheart
with the beloved's sweet hands!

وز غمِ ننگ و نام وارِستیم ما دگربار توبه بِشْکَستیم

کمرِ عاشقانه بر بستیم خرقهٔ صوفیانه بِدْریدیم

نَفَسی شادْمانه بِنْشَستیم در خرابات با می و معشوق

وز دو جزعش¹³³ خُمّار بِشْکَستیم از می لعلِ یار مست شدیم

کز می لعلِ یار سر مستیم شاید ار شور در جهان فکنیم

از طربِ ذرهوار بر جستیم چون بدیدیم آفتابِ رخش

تا بدان آفتاب پیوستیم چنگ در دامنِ شُعاع زدیم

از عراقی چو مهر بُگْسَستیم ذره بودیم و آفتاب شدیم

این زمان نیستیم یا هستیم؟¹³⁴ این همه هست و خود نمی‌دانیم

We have broke our repentance again!
We have been liberated from the grief of good name and shame!

We tore up our Sufi mantles
and buckled the belt of lovers on our waists.

In the dilapidated winehouse with wine and the beloved,
we sat merrily for a moment.

We became drunk from the ruby-red wine of the friend,
and then sobered up with (a glance at) the beloved's eyes.

It is appropriate if we incite a uprising in the world
for we have became drunk on the wine of the friend's ruby-red lips.

When we saw the sun of his face,
we flew up from the merriment like motes.

We grabbed the skirt of the rays
so to attach ourselves to that sun.

We were motes and we became suns
when we tore ourselves from 'Erâqi.

This all exists and we do not know
whether we exist or not at this time.

---

133. Keshavarz thinks this should be جرعه. Nafisi has چشمش here and Mohtasham also gives the variant of جرعش.

134. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 183-84.

350

'Erâqi, Poem 36

<div dir="rtl">

من مست می عشقم، هشیار نخواهم شد   وز خواب خوش مستی بیدار نخواهم شد

زینسان که منم سرمست از بادهٔ دوشینه   تا روز قیامت هم هشیار نخواهم شد

آن رفت که می‌رفتم در صومعه هر باری   جز بر در میخانه، این بار، نخواهم شد

از توبه و قرّائی شوم لیکن   از رندی و قلاشی بیزار نخواهم شد

تا در برم او باشد دل بر دگری نَنْهَم   تا غمخورم او باشد غمخوار نخواهم شد

از یار به هر خشمی آزرده نخواهم گشت   وز دوست بهر زخمی افگار نخواهم شد

تا هست عراقی را در درگه او باری   بر درگه این و آن بسیار نخواهم شد¹³⁵

</div>

I am drunk with the wine of love—I will not become sober,
nor will I awake from the delightful sleep of drunkenness.

The way that I am drunk from the wine of last night
I will not sober up until resurrection day.

The time has past that each time I would go to the door of the monastery—
now I will not go (anywhere) except the winehouse's door.

I become weary of repentance and reciting the Qur'an,
but I will never grow weary of debauchery and rascality.

I won't set my heart on any other until s/he is next to me;
as long as he is my intimate friend, I will not be sorrowful.

I will not be annoyed with each (burst of) anger of the friend,
and I will not be afflicted by each of my companion's wounds either.

As long as 'Erâqi is permitted in (the friend's) presence/court,
he will not go shuffling about to this or that other court.

---

135. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 280-81.

'Erâqi, Poem 37

خوشا دردی که درمانش تو باشی   خوشا راهی که پایانش تو باشی

خوشا چشمی که رخسار تو بیند   خوشا جانی که جانانش تو باشی[136]

خوشی و خرّمی و کامرانی   کسی دارد که خواهانش تو باشی[137]

همه شادی و عشرت باشد ای دوست   در آن خانه که مهمانش تو باشی

گل و گلزار ناید خوش کسی را   که گلزار و گلستانش تو باشی

چه باک آید ز کس آنرا که او را   نگهدار و نگهبانش تو باشی؟

مشو پنهان از آن بیچاره کورا   همه پیدا و پنهانش تو باشی

مپرس از کفر و ایمان بیدلی[138] را   که هم کفر و هم ایمانش تو باشی

برای آن بترک خود بگوید   دل بیچاره، تا جانش تو باشی

عراقی طالب دردست پیوست   به بوی آنکه درمانش تو باشی[139]

How happy the pain for which you are the cure!
How happy the path whose destination is you!

How happy the eyes that look upon your visage!
How happy the heart whose sweetheart is you!

Joy, gaiety, and good fortune
belongs to the one that you desire.

O friend! It is all joy and pleasure
in the house whose guest is you.

Flowers and rose gardens are not even pleasing to one
whose garden is you.

What fear could arise in one
whose guardian and keeper is you?

Do not be hidden from that poor one for whom
all hidden and manifest is you.

Do not ask a lovesick one about infidelity and faith,
for him both infidelity and faith are you.

For that reason, the poor heart abandons itself,
so that you are its soul.

---

136. After this line, Nafisi has the following line:

خوشا آن دل که دلدارش تو گردی   خوشا جانی! که جانانش تو باشی

137. After this line, Nafisi has the following line:

چه خوش باشد دل امیدواری   که امید دل و جانش تو باشی!

138. Nafisi has بیدلی instead of والهی here. Nafisi's reading seems to make more sense to me.

139. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 180.

352

'Erâqi is continually seeking pain,
in the hope that you are its cure!

'Erâqi, Poem 38

<div dir="rtl">

ساقی قدح شراب در دست   آمد ز شرابخانه سرمست

از مجلسیان خروش برخاست   کان فتنهٔ روزگار بِنْشست

آن توبهٔ نادرستِ ما را   همچون سرِ زلفِ خویش بِشْکست

ماییم کنون و نیم جانی   و آن نیز نهاده بر کفِ دست

آن دل که ازو خبر نداریم   هم در سرِ زلفِ اوست گر هست

دیوانهٔ روی اوست دایم   آشفتهٔ موی اوست پیوست

در سایهٔ زلفِ او بیاسود   وز نیک و بدِ زمانه وارَست

چون دید شعاع مهر رویش[140]   در حال ز سایه رخت بربست

در سایه مجو دلِ عراقی   کان ذره به آفتاب پیوست[141]

</div>

The cupbearer came from the winehouse
drunk with a goblet in hand.

I cry rose up from the guests
for the uprising of the age (i.e., the cupbearer) had sat down (amongst us).

He broke our wrong-headed repentance
like his flowing tresses.

It is only us now and half our souls
and even that we are ready to sacrifice.

That heart that we are ignorant of,
if it exists, it is entwined in the curls of his tresses.

It [the heart] is continuously driven mad by his face
and is enamoured of his hair.

It [the heart] is relaxing in the shade of his locks
and is liberated from the good and bad of the age.

When it [the heart] saw the beam of love from his face,
immediately it [the heart] set off on a journey from the shade.

Do not search for 'Erâqi's heart in the shade
for that mote is united with the sun.

---

140. Mohtasham has مهر رویش for the final two words of this hemistich, but Nafisi has روی خویش.
141. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 245-46.

354

'Erâqi, Poem 39

عشق سیمرغ است کو را دام نیست | در دو عالم ز و نشان و نام نیست
پی به کوی او همانا کس نبرد | کاندر آن صحرا نشان گام نیست
در بهشت وصل جان‌افزای او | جز لب او کس رحیق آشام نیست
جمله عالم جرعه‌چین جام اوست | گرچه عالم خود برون از جام نیست
صبح و شامم طره و رخسار اوست | گرچه آنجا کوست صبح و شام نیست
ناگه از رخ گر براندازد نقاب | سر به سر عالم شود ناکام، نیست
ای صبا گر بگذری در کوی او | نزد او ما را جز این پیغام نیست
ای دل آرامی که جان ما تویی | بی تو ما را یک نفس آرام نیست
هرکسی را هست کامی در جهان | جز لبت ما را مراد و کام نیست
هر کسی را نام معشوقی که هست | می‌برد، معشوق ما را نام نیست
تا لب و چشم تو ما را مست کرد | نقل ما جز شکر و بادام نیست
تا دل ما در سر زلف تو شد | کار ما جز با کمند و دام نیست
نیکبختی را که در هر دو جهان | دوستی (چون) توست دشمنکام نیست
با عراقی دوستی آغاز کن | گر چه او در خورد این انعام نیست[142]

Love is a phoenix for whom there is no trap.
In both worlds there is no sign or name for it.

Indeed no one has found its quarter,
for there are no footprints in its field.

In its heaven of soul-enlivening union,
there are no pure wine-drinkers except from its lips.

The entire world drinks its cup to the bottom,
although the world is not outside the cup.

My morning and night are its cheeks and tresses,
although where it is there is not morning or night.

Suddenly if it casts off the veil from its face,
it will unsuccessfully come face to face with the world—for it [the world] does
     not exist.

O morning breeze, if you pass by its [Love's] quarter
we only have this message for it:

O tranquil heart—our very soul is you—
not even one moment is tranquil without you.

Everyone in this world is desirous of something,
[but] there is no other aim or desire for us save your lips.

Everyone who has a beloved carries his name on his lips,
[but] our beloved does not have a name.

---

142. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 234-35.

355

Since your lips and eyes intoxicated us
our sweetmeats have been nothing but your sugar and almonds.

Since our hearts became entangled in your tresses
our work has been nothing but lassos and traps.

The fortunate one in both worlds is your lover—
he has no ill-wisher!

Begin a love affair with 'Erâqi!
Even though he is not worthy of such a blessing.

<div dir="rtl">

در میکده با حریفِ قلّاش	بنشین و شراب نوش و خوش باش
از خطّ خوش نگار بر خوان	سرِّ دو جهان ولی مکن فاش
بر نقش و نگار فتنه گشتم	زین رو نمیرسم به نقّاش
تا با خودم از خودم خبر نیست	با خود نفسی نبودمی، کاش
مخمور میم، بیار ساقی	نقل و می از آن لب شکر پاش
در صومعهها چو مینگنجد	دردی کش و میپرست و قلّاش
من نیز به ترک زهد گفتم	اینک شب و روز همچو اوباش

در میکده می کشم سبویی
باشد که بیابم از تو بویی

ای روی تو شمع مجلسافروز	سودای تو آتش جهانسوز
رخسار خوش تو عاشقان را	خوشتر ز هزار عید و نوروز
بُگشای لبت بخنده بنْمای	از لعل تو گوهر شب افروز
چون زلف تو کج مباز با ما	از قد تو راستی بیاموز
زنهار، از آن دو چشم خونخوار	فریاد، از آن دو زلف کینتوز
ساقی می جانفزای درده	بستان ز من این دل غماندوز
آن رفت که رفتمی به مسجد	اینک چو قلندران شب و روز

در میکده میکشم سبویی
باشد که بیابم از تو بویی

ای مطرب عشق ساز بنْواز	کان یار نشد هنوز دمساز
دشنام دهد به جای بوسه	و ان نیز به صد کرشمه و ناز
پنهان چه زنم نوای عشقش	کز پرده برون فتاده این راز
در پاش کسی که سر نیفکند	چون طرهٔ او نشد سرافراز
در بند خودم، بیار ساقی	آن می که رهاندم ز خود باز
عمریست کز آرزوی آن می	چون جام بماندهام دهنِ باز
گفتی که بجوی تا بیابی	اینک طلب تو کردم آغاز

در میکده میکشم سبویی
باشد که بیابم از تو بویی

ساقی، بده آب زندگانی	اکسیر حیات جاودانی
می ده که نمی شود میسّر	بی آبِ حیاثْ زندگانی
هم خضر خجل هم آب حیوان	چون از لب و خطْ شکرفشانی
گوشم، چو صدف، شود گهرچین	آن دم که ز لعل دُر چکانی
شمشیر مکش بکشتن من	کز ناز و کرشمه درنمانی
هر لحظه کرشمهای دگر کن	بفْریب مرا چنانکه دانی
در آرزوی لب تو بودم	چون دست نداد کامرانی

در میکده میکشم سبویی
باشد که بیابم از تو بویی

وقت طرب است، ساقیا، خیز	در ده قدح نشاطانگیز
از جور تو رستخیز برخاست	ای فتنه روزگار، برخیز
بستان دل عاشقان شیدا	وز زلف دراز خود درآویز
خون دل ما بریز و آنگاه	با خاک درت بهم بیامیز
وآن خنجر غمزهٔ دلاور	هر لحظه به خون ما بکن تیز
کردم هوسِ لبت، ندیدم	کامی چو از آن لب شکرریز
نذری کردم که تا توانم	توبه کنم از صلاح و پرهیز

</div>

<div dir="rtl">

در میکده می‌کشم سبویی
باشد که بیابم از تو بویی

ساقی، چه کنم به ساغر و جام   مستم کن از آن لب غم انجام
با یاد لب تو عاشقان را   حاجت نبُود به ساغر و جام
گوشم سخن لب تو بشْنید   خشنود شد از لبت به دشنام
دل زلف و رخ تو دید ناگاه   افتاد به بوی دانه در دام
سودای دو زلف بی‌قرارت   برد از دل من قرار و آرام
باشد که رسم به کام روزی   در کوی امید می‌زنم گام
ور ز انکه نشد لب تو روزی   دانی چه کنم به کام و ناکام؟

در میکده می‌کشم سبویی
باشد که بیابم از تو بویی

دست از دل بی‌قرار شستم   واندر سر زلف یار بستم
بی‌دل شدم وز خود به یکبار   چون طرهٔ یار برشکستم
گویند چگونه‌ای؟ چه گویم؟   هستم ز غمش چنانکه هستم
در دام بلا فتاده بودم   هم طرهٔ او گرفت دستم
ساقی قدحی که از می عشق   چون غمزهٔ یار نیم مستم
شد نوبت خویشتن پرستی   آمد گه آنک می‌پرستم
فارغ شوم از غم عراقی   از محنت او چو باز رستم

در میکده می‌کشم سبویی
باشد که بیابم از تو بویی[143]

</div>

In the winehouse with the rascal mates—
sit, drink wine, and be merry!

Recite the secret of the two worlds from the pleasant down of the idol's cheek—
but don't reveal it!

I have been seduced by images and beautiful idols
(and) for this reason I am not arriving to the master artist.

As long as I am with myself, I do not know anything of myself;
I wish I was not with my self for even a moment!

I am half-drunk off wine—o cupbearer, bring the sweetmeats and wine
from those sweet lips of yours!

Since the Sufi lodges cannot contain the
dregs-drinkers, wine worshippers, and rascals,

---

143. There is some confusion over whether the *tarji'-band* that Qazvini includes in his *tazkereh* is one
continuous *tarji'-band* or two separate ones. Nafisi and Qazvini list this poem as one long *tarji'-band*;
however, Mohtasham in her critical edition splits it into two separate *tarji'-bands*. See: Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi
(Hamadâni), *Kolliyât-e 'Erâqi (ed. Nafisi)*, 133-40; 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed.
Mohtasham)*, 91-98, 264-268; 'Abd al-Nabi Fakhr al-Zamân Qazvini, *Tazkereh-ye may-khâneh*, 27-56. Also
cited in: Kamâl al-Din Hoseyn Vâ'ez Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 74.

358

I also renounced asceticism.
Now night and day like a rogue

(Refrain:)
I am drinking a goblet in the winehouse
in hopes that I will catch a whiff of you.

O your face is the banquet-illuminating candle!
Your love is the world-burning fire!

Your fair cheeks are more delightful to the lovers
than a thousand *'eids* and *Nowruzs*.

Open your lips with a smile.
Show those night-illuminating pearls between your ruby-red lips.

Don't play crooked with us like your curls.
Teach us nothing but the straight truth from your tall stature.

Beware of those two blood-devouring eyes!
Oh save me from those vindictive locks![144]

O cupbearer, give me that soul-enlivening wine!
Take this melancholic heart from me!

That time has passed when I would go to the mosque.
Now I am like the qalandars day and night

(Refrain:)
drinking a goblet in the winehouse
in hopes that I will catch a whiff of you.

O minstrel of love, play your instrument!
For that beloved has not yet become my intimate.

He gives insults instead of kisses,
even though with hundreds of amorous glances and coquetry!

Why should I play this song of love for him in secret
for this secret has revealed?

Whoever did not sacrifice himself for him
were not exalted like his dangling locks.

---

144. Nafisi has placed this line before the previous line in his edition. I have followed Mohtasham's ordering here.

I am in the chains of my own self—O cupbearer, bring once again
that wine that set me free from myself.

All my life I have remained with my mouth agape like a goblet
such is my desire for that wine.

You said: "search so you may find."
Now I have begun searching for you

(Refrain:)
in the winehouse, where I am drinking a goblet
in hopes that I will catch a whiff of you.

O my cupbearer! Give me the water of life,
the elixir of eternal life.

Give me wine because life is not obtainable
without the water of life.

Both *Khidr* and the water of life are embarrassed
when you scatter sugar from your lips and downy cheek.

My ears, like oyster shells, became pearl-gatherers
when you drop pearls from your ruby-red lips.

Do not draw your sword to kill me!
so you don't become poor of amorous glances and coquetry (i.e., so your coquetry and
amorous glancing won't get out of practice).

Each moment cast another amorous glance!
Deceive me as only you know how!

I was desirous of your lips,
[but] since fortune did not afford me the opportunity,

(Refrain:)
I am drinking a goblet in the winehouse
in hopes that I will catch a whiff of you.

It is time for merriment! Get up, o my cupbearer!
Give me a goblet of that gay wine!

From your like, tumult (or: the resurrection) arose,
o (beautiful) seducer of the age! Get up!

360

Take the hearts of the mad lovers
and hang them with your long locks.

Shed the blood of our hearts
and then mix it with the dirt at your door's threshold,

and sharpen your brave amorous glances each moment
so you can spill our blood.

I pined for your lips—since I didn't
realize my desire with those sugary lips

I made a solemn vow that as long as I can
I will repent from righteousness and abstemity

(Refrain:)
in the winehouse, drinking a goblet
in hopes that I will catch a whiff of you.

O my cupbearer, what can I do with goblets and chalices?
Get me drunk from those sorrow-banishing lips!

Lovers with memories of your lips
have no need for goblets and chalices.

My ears listened to the sweet words of your lips—
they were content with your lips even when they uttered insults.

The heart saw your tresses and visage—
suddenly in hope of getting the bait it fell in the trap.

Love for your disheveled locks
took all peace and stability from my heart.

So I may reach that which I desire one day,
I am strolling in the domain of hope,

and if your lips are not my daily allotment,
do you know what I will do, whether successful or not?

(Refrain:)
I will drink a goblet in the winehouse
in hopes that I will catch a whiff of you!

I have washed my hands of my restless heart
and affixed it to the tresses of my beloved.

I lost my heart and broke myself
like one of my beloved's locks.

They asked: "How are you?"
What can I say? I am the way I am from pining for him.

I had fallen in the trap of misfortune,
[but] his curls grabbed my hand.

O my cupbearer, I am half-drunk
from a goblet of love's wine like the beloved's coquettish glance.

The time for self-worship was done;
the time had come for me to be a wine-worshipper.

Let me free myself from the pining of 'Erâqi.
When I have been delivered from his affliction,

(Refrain:)
I will drink a goblet in the winehouse
in hopes that I will catch a whiff of you.

'Erâqi, Poem 41

<div dir="rtl">

ساز طرب عشق که داند که چه ساز است   کز زخمهٔ او نه فلک اندر تک و تاز است

آورد به یک زخمه جهان را همه در رقص   خود جان جهان نغمهٔ آن پرده‌نواز است

عالم چو صدائیست ازین پرده که داند   کین پرده چه پردست و درین پرده چه راز است

رازیست درین پرده چو آنرا بشناسی   دانی که حقیقت ز چه دربند مجاز است

معلوم کنی کز چه سبب خاطر محمود   پیوسته پریشانِ سر زلف ایاز است

محتاج نیازِ دلِ عشاق چرا شد   حسنِ رخ خوبان که همه مایهٔ ناز است

عشقست که هر دم به دگر رنگ برآید   نازاست یکی جای و دگر جای نیاز است

در صورت عاشق چو برآید همه سوزست   در کسوت معشوق چو آید همه ساز است

زان شعله که از روی بتانْ عشق برافروخت   قِسم دل عشاق همه سوز و گداز است

راهیست رهِ عشق بغایت خوش و نزدیک   هر رهِ که جز اینست همه دور و دراز است

مستی که خرابِ رهِ عشقست در آن رِه   خوابِ خوشِ مستیش همه عین نماز است

در صومعه چون بارِ(راه) ندادند مرا دوش   رفتم به در میکده دیدم که فرازست

از میکده آواز برآمد که عراقی   در باز تو خود را که در میکده باز است[145]

</div>

Who knows which instrument is the instrument of Love's merriment
whose bow sets the nine spheres in motion, searching?

It brought the whole universe into a dance with one stroke of the bow;
the soul of the world is itself a melody of this musician (*pardeh-navâz*).

The world is a veiled echo of this tune (*pardeh*)—who knows
what this song (*pardeh*) is and what secret is in this tune/veil (*pardeh*)?

There is a secret in this song/veil (*pardeh*)—when you come upon it (lit.
       experientially know it/*beh-shenâsi*),
you will understand (*dâni*) why The Real is in the binds of metaphor (*majâz*).

You will understand why Mahmud's mind
is always distraught in the tresses of Ayâz,

(and) why the beauty of the fair ones' faces—who all are the essence of coquetry—
is in need of the need of the lovers' hearts.

Love appears each moment in a different color,
in one place coquetry, in another need.

When it appears in the form of the lover, all is painful pining;
when it appears in the garb of the beloved, all is merriment and music.

From that spark that Love struck from the fair faces of the beautiful idols,
the lovers' hearts are all on fire and melting and withering away.

The path of Love is very close and merry;
any way other than this is long and far.

---

145. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 322.

A drunk that is drunk on the path of Love,
his merry drunken dreams are the very essence of prayer.

Last night when they did not permit us to enter the Sufi lodge,
I went to the door of the winehouse and saw it was shut too.

But then a song arose from within the winehouse:
"'Erâqi, lose yourself, for the door of the winehouse is open!"

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #1 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

ناخورده شراب در خروش آمدهایم   ما رندان را حلقه به گوش آمدهایم

دُردی در دِه که دُردنوش آمدهایم[146]   دست از بد و نیک و کفر و اسلام بدار

</div>

We have pierced our ear with the ring of slavery for the rascals!
Without even drinking wine, we have already began creating a commotion.

Don't deal with good or bad, infidelity or Islam.
Serve the dregs! For we have become dregs-drinkers!

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #2 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

سر را بَدَلِ خرقه درانداختهایم   ما خرقهٔ رسم از سرانداختهایم

گر خود همه جان است برانداختهایم[147]   هر چیز که سدِّ راه ما خواهد بود

</div>

We have cast off the mantle of tradition.
We have discarded our heads like our cloaks.

Whatever will be an obstacle on our path,
even if our own souls, we have tossed aside .

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #3 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

دُردی کش و رند و دربدر خواهد بود   تا دل به غم عشق تو در خواهد بود

هر روز به صد نوع بتر خواهد بود[148]   بر لوح نوشتهاند کاین بی سر و بن

</div>

As long as the heart is wracked with the pain of love for you,
it will be a dregs-drinker, rascal, and vagrant.

It is written on the tablet of fate that this poor one
each day will become worse in a hundred ways.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #4 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

بی صبری و بی قراریم بار آورد   زانگه که مرا عشق تودرکار آورد

جان برد و ازین متاع بسیار آورد[149]   تسبیح و ردا صلیب و زنّار آورد

</div>

After love for you took hold of me,
it made me inpatient and unsettled.

---

146. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 292.
147. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 292.
148. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 292.
149. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 292.

It brought prayer beads and Sufi mantle, cross and Christian cincture—
it took my soul, and it brought a lot of these things.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #5 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

در ترسایی گفت و شنو خواهم کرد   در عشق تو دین خویش نو خواهم کرد

دستار به میخانه گرو خواهم کرد[150]   زنّارِ چهارْ کرد برخواهم بست

By loving you, I will convert to another religion.
I will converse as a Christian.

I will fasten the four-fold cincture around my waist
and pawn my turban in the winehouse!

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #6 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

خمّار و خرابات نشین می‌خواهد   سودای توام بیدل و دین می‌خواهد

دیوانگی توام چنین می‌خواهد[151]   من می‌خواهم که عاقلی باشم چُست

I am in love with you—he wants me without heart or religion;
he wants [me to be] a vintner and haunter of the winehouse.

I want to be a quick, wise man,
[but] I am crazy for you—[and] that is how he wants it.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #7 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

اکنون من و دَردِ نو و دُردی کهن   آن رفت که گفتمی من از زهد سخن

و امروز به میخانه شدم بی سر و بن[152]   دی سرو بُن صومعهٔ دین بودم

Those days have passed when I used to talk about asceticism;
now I [have] new pains and old dregs.

Yesterday I was a cyprus tree in the courtyard of a religious Sufi hermitage,
and today I have gone to the winehouse as a broken man.

---

150. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 292.
151. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293.
152. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #8 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

حیرانی و زیر و زَبَری می‌خواهد   معشوقه نه سر نه سروری می‌خواهد

چون یار مرا قلندری می‌خواهد[153]   من زاهد فوطه پوش چون دانم بود

</div>

The beloved does not want high position or lordship;
he wants bewilderment and destruction.

How would I know how to be a mantle-wearing ascetic
when the friend wants me to be a qalandar!

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #9 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

دستار به میخانه فرو اندازم   چون با سرو دستار نمی‌پردازم

وین طرفه که هر دو کون در می‌بازم[154]   اندر همه کیسه یک درم نیست مرا

</div>

Since I do not pay any attention to head and turban,
I throw my turban down in the winehouse.

There is no money in all my purses—
it is wonder that I gamble away both worlds.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #10 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

وین سرخی روی خود به زردی بدهم   در عشق بزرگیم به خردی بدهم

سجّاده گرو کنم به دُردی بدهم[155]   از صافی دین چو قطره‌ای نیست مرا

</div>

In love, I give my greatness to the lowliness,
and I give this healthy red to the sickly yellow.

Since there is not even a drop left of the purity of religion for me,
I pawn my prayer carpet for some dregs.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #11 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

دوش آمد و زلف داد در دست مرا   ترسابچه‌ای که توبه بشکست مرا

زنّار چهارْ کرد بر بست مرا[156]   در رقصِ چهارْ کرد برگْشت وبرفت

</div>

The Christian youth who broke my repentance
came last night and placed his tresses in my hand.

---

153. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293.
154. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293.
155. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293.
156. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293.

He did the four-step dance and left.
He fastened the four-fold Christian cincture around my waist.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #12 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

نه میل دلم به داوری بینی تو | نه در سرِ من سَرِسری بینی تو
تا گمراهی و کافری بینی تو[157] | اینجا که مَنم نقطۀ دردی بفرست

You will not see desire for lordship in me.
You will not see my heart inclined towards judgement.

Here where I am, send a bit of dregs,
until you see deviation and unbelief!

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #13 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

سودا چه پزی که کارخام است ترا | تا در بُنۀ خویش مقام است ترا
دُردی خرابات حرام است ترا[158] | تا صاف نگردد دلت از هر دوجهان

As long as you can remain in your place,
what are dreaming up that your work is still raw?

As long as your heart is not pure of both worlds,
the winehouse dregs are illicit for you.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #14 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

دُردی درکش که مردِ مائی آخر | تا چند ز زاهد ریائی آخر
ای رندِ قلندری کجائی آخر؟[159] | ما را جگر از زهد ریائی خون شد

How long will you remain a hypocritical ascetic?
Drink some dregs so you can finally be our mate!

Our heart aches from hypocritical ascetisim!
O you roguish rascal! Where, oh where are you now?!

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157. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293.
158. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293.
159. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 293.

368

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #15 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

روزی صد ره به دست خود خود را کشت   از بس که دلم بسوخت زین کاردرشت

تا باز کنم قبای آدم از پشت[160]   جامی دو، می مغانه خواه از زردشت

</div>

So much has my heart been burnt from this tough work,
it kills itself a hundred times each day.

Ask for a goblet or two of Magian wine from Zoroaster
so I may remove the cloak of Adam from my back.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #16 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

جز دُردِ قلندری امان می ندهد   زین دَرد که جز غصهٔ جان می ندهد

در صومعه هیچ کس نشان می ندهد[161]   آن آه به صدق کز قلندر خیزد

</div>

For this pain, that causes nothing save sorrow of the soul,
only the *qalandari* dregs can provide respite.

Those sincere sighs that arise from the *qalandars'* lodge,
none alike are ever emitted in the Sufi hermitage.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #17 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

عُجْب آورد و شوق ونیازت ببرد   گر زهد کنی سوز وگدازت ببرد

کاین رندِ قلندر از نمازت ببرد[162]   زنهار به گرد من مگرد ای زاهد

</div>

If you practice asceticism, it will take away your pain and anguish;
it will bring self-conceit and take away passionate desire and need.

Beware, o ascetic! Don't come around me
for this rogue of the *qalandars'* lodge will take you away from your prayers!

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #18 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

فانی شوی و به یک زمان باز رهی   خواهی که ز خود به رایگان باز رهی

تا از بد و نیک دو جهان باز رهی[163]   یک لحظه به بازارِ قلندر بگذر

</div>

If you want to be liberated from yourself with no effort,
if you want to be annihilated and liberated in an instant,

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160. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 294.
161. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 294.
162. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 294.
163. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 294.

pass by the bazaar of the qalandar lodge for a moment
so you may be liberated from the good and bad of both worlds.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #19 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

جوشیده چو گشت شد مباح ای ساقی   از تفِّ دلم می به صباح ای ساقی

بر روی و ریا کنی صلاح ای ساقی[164]   مستی و مُقامری بسی بهتر از آنک

</div>

O cupbearer! From the heat of my heart the wine in the mornings
boiled [and] thus became licit, o cupbearer!

Drunkenness and gambling are much better
than practicing piety superficially and hypocritically, o cupbearer!

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #20 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

هم گل به گلاب روی شست ای ساقی   هم سبزهٔ سرمست برُست ای ساقی

کی توبهٔ ما بود درست ای ساقی[165]   چون یاسمن لطیف را شاخ شکست

</div>

Both the drunken greenery has grown, o cupbearer.
and the flowers have washed their faces with rosewater.

Since the branch of delicate Jasmine broke,
how could our repentance be sound or right, o my cupbearer!?

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #21 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

می در ده و توبه بشکن و چنگ بساز   بر آب روان و سبزه ای شمع طراز

می‌گوید: رفتم که دگر نایم باز[166]   خوش باش که نعره می‌زند آب روان

</div>

With flowing water and herbs, o my Tarazi candle,
pour the wine, break [our] repentance, and play your instrument.

Be merry! For the flowing water cries out
[and] says: "I went so I will not come again."

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164. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 294.
165. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 295.
166. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 297.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #22 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

مستان شبانه را شراب اندر ده ساقی به صبوحی می ناب اندر ده
آوازه به عالم خراب اندر ده[167] مستیم و خراب در خرابات فنا

Cupbearer, pour the pure wine as a morning draught.
Pour the wine for the drunks that haunt the night.

We are drunk and wasted in the winehouse of self-annihilation—
spread the rumor in the broken world.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #23 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

دل از شر و شور در شراب افتاده مائیم به عقل ناصواب افتاده
در کنج خرابات خراب افتاده[168] آزاد ز ننگ و نام سر بر خشتی

We have fallen into misguided reason.
Our hearts have fallen from commotion into the wine.

Liberated from shame and good name,
we have fallen, asleep and drunk in the corner of the winehouse.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #24 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

وز جام پیاپی لبالب توبه هر روز برآنم که کنم شب توبه
در موسم گل ز توبه یارب توبه[169] و اکنون که شکفت برگ گل برگم نیست

Each day I intend to repent at night,
repent from the endless goblets of wine filled to the brim.

But now the flowers have bloomed—I have no provisions.
In the time of flowers, o Lord, repentance from repentance!

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #25 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

خورشید همی رود سراسیمه ز شب برخیز که ماه می‌زند خیمه ز شب
کاندر شکند تمام یک نیمه ز شب[170] شمع آر و شراب و نُقل و خندان بنشین

Get up! For the moon is pitching a tent from the night.
The sun is running headlong from the night.

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167. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 297.
168. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 297.
169. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 298.
170. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 299.

Bring a candle, wine, and sweetmeats, and sit merrily—
the full moon is disappearing at midnight!

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #26 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

فارغ ز فساد و ایمن از کَوْن دهید   یک دم به طرب بادهٔ خوش‌لَوْن دهید

فرعَوْنی مَی به دست فرعَوْن دهید[171]   تا غرقه شود در آب فرعونِ هوا

</div>

Just once give the beautifully-colored wine mirthfully.
Go beyond the corruption and security of the universe.

So you drown the pharaoh of desire in water,
give the pharaonic goblet of wine to the pharaoh.

Qalandari *Robâ'i* #27 from the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* of 'Attâr:

<div dir="rtl">

جامی دو، می، از بهر خرابی در ده   ای ترک قلندری شرابی در ده

زان پیش که خاک گردد آبی در ده[172]   وین بستهٔ حرص عالم فانی را

</div>

O qalandari Turk! Pour some wine!
Pour a goblet or two of wine to get us wasted!

And give this greedy prisoner of the transient world
some water before he turns to dust.

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171. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 300.
172. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 300.

Appendix II

Early Persian Poetic Terminology, A Review of the Sources

The following is a detailed overview of the earliest discussions of Persian genres and thematic categories, which I summarize briefly in the first chapter of this study.

(1) The first extant discussion of Persian poetics occurs in **Kaykâvus ebn Voshmgir's Qâbus-Nâmeh** (completed 1082)—a work in the "mirror for princes" genre that also contains two chapters treating topics related to poetry. In this work Kaykâvus discusses poetry in terms of the following thematic categories: *madh* (pangyric), *ghazal* (love), *hejâ* (invective, lampoon, satire), *marsiyat* (elegy), *zohd* (ascetic, religious-homiletic), and *towhid* (divine unity). Also, he mentions poems on the topics of lover's unity (*vesâli*), separation (*ferâqi*), blame (*malâmat*), reproach (*towbikh*, *'etâb*), seasons (winter/*zemestâni*, spring/*bahâri*, summer/*tâbestâni*, fall/*khazâni*), "old age and reproach of the world," "women or in praise of wine and wine drinkers," and "making war, shedding blood, and in praise of brigands."[1] It is not always clear when he is discussing these thematic categories whether he is referring to constituent thematic sections (*ma'nâ*) of a larger polythematic poem or monothematic poems. He mentions "those eloquent words that you say in poetry on *madh* and *ghazal* and *hejâ*..." (*ân sokhan keh gu'i andar she'r dar madh va ghazal...*) and later refers to poetry "on *zohd* and *towhid*" (*bar zohd va towhid*). In some cases, it seems that he is referring to specific thematic types of poetry, such as in the preceding example of *zohd* or *towhid*, or when he discusses "a panegyric" (*madhi*) (the indefinite indicating that he sees this as a distinct thematic type of

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1. Kaykâvus ebn Voshmgir, *Qâbus-Nâmeh*, 189-95. Also, see Lewis' discussion of this material here: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 50-53; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 132.

poetry and not just a section in a larger polythematic poem) and poems (*sorud*, *do beyti*) on

the seasons, "old age and reproach of the world," "women or in praise of wine and wine

drinkers," "making war, shedding blood, and in praise of brigands."[2]

(2) **Nezâmi 'Aruzi**, writing in 1157 in his ***Chahâr Maqâleh***, employs the words *madh* (pane-

gyric), *hajv/hejâ* (satire, invective), and *habsiyât* (prison poems) in reference to poetry.[3] In a

couple of cases at least, he seems to understand *madâ'eh* as a thematic category, using it in

the context of discussing the poetry of Rudaki and the *masnavi* of Ferdowsi ("*ash'âr-e Ruda-*

ki va masnavi-ye Ferdowsi va madâ'eh-e 'Onsori") and collectively referring to a set of pane-

gyrics with the plural of *madh* again later.[4] 'Aruzi's use of *hajv/hejâ* occurs in reference to

Ferdowsi's purported satire of Mahmud, and he mentions the term *habsiyât* when he briefly

discusses Mas'ud Sa'd Salmân (and he seems to include poems of both the *do-beyti* and

qasideh forms in this thematic category).[5] It is also interesting to note that he remarks that po-

ets need to know the different "styles and types of poetry (*toroq va anvâ'-e she'r*)"—a sug-

gestive comment that is similar to similar remarks by Khâqâni, Sa'di, and Kâshefi, but is un-

fortunately too vague to be of much utility here.[6]

(3) The next important discussion of Persian poetry occurs in **Râduyâni's *Tarjomân al-**

balâgheh (w. before 1113). Although his work is primarily focused on poetic devices, he does

at times discuss poetry in thematic terms. He has a couple of chapters discussing poetic de-

vices specific to panegyric poetry (*madh*) (specifically, *al-madh al-movajjah* and *ta'kid al-*

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2. Kaykâvus ebn Voshmgir, *Qâbus-Nâmeh*, 191.
3. 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahâr maqâleh va ta'liqât*, 105, 127, 134, 138, 150, 158.
4. 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahâr maqâleh va ta'liqât*, 104-105, 127.
5. 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahâr maqâleh va ta'liqât*, 150-151, 158.
6. 'Aruzi Samarqandi, *Chahâr maqâleh va ta'liqât*, 128.

madh bi-mâ yoshbihu al-dhamm) and an ambiguous reference to "*ghazal*" which is unclear whether he means a separate form, thematic category, or amatory introit of the *qasideh*, as Lewis notes.[7] His 69th chapter on "*fî al-kalâm al-jâme'*" also treats the topic of "poetry adorned with homiletics, wisdom, and complaint of the times" (*she'r ârâsteh gardânad beh hekmat va mow'ezeh va shekâyat-e ruzgâr*).[8] However, it seems he understands the inclusion of these themes as a literary figure/device that appears in a larger poem and not a thematic genre, per se.

(4) Written shortly after Râduyâni's treatise is the similarly important work on Persian poetics by **Rashid al-Din Vatvât**, entitled ***Hadâ'eq al-sehr fî daqâ'eq al-she'r*** (c. 1155). He mentions a number of different thematic categories in his work, and his concluding section in particular is especially noteworthy in this regard. In this section, he provides brief definitions of the following thematic terms: "*madh va madih va medhat*," which he says mean "praise" (*âfarin*), and "*hajv va hejâ*," which he says mean "reproach/imprecation" (*nafrin*).[9] He also mentions an elegy (*marsiyeh*) of Esmâ'el-e 'Ebâd,[10] and the "poems" (*ash'âr*) of Mas'ud Sa'd Salmân that he composed "*dar habs*" (in prison or on prison).[11] Like other poetic treatises both before and after his, he mentions the thematic categories of *madh/sanâ/âfarin*, *hajv/nafrin*, *zamm*, *hekmat*, *mow'ezat*, and *shekâyat-e ruzgâr* when discussing poetic figures/devices relevant to these themes[12] and, in the case of *madh*, also several times in descriptions of

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7. al-Râduyâni, *Tarjomân al-balâgheh*, 53, 76-78, 81-82.
8. al-Râduyâni, *Tarjomân al-balâgheh*, 130-33. Also see Lewis' discussion: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 60-61. Beeleart, reviewing both Persian and Arabic manuals on this figure of speech, claims that it is possible that this is a Persian innovation. See: Beelaert, *A Cure for Grieving*, 34 n19.
9. Vatvât, *Divân-e Rashid al-Din Vatvât Sa'id bâ ketâb-e hadâ'eq al-sehr fî daqâ'eq al-she'r (ed. Nafisi)*, 705.
10. Vatvât, *Divân-e Rashid al-Din Vatvât Sa'id bâ ketâb-e hadâ'eq al-sehr fî daqâ'eq al-she'r (ed. Nafisi)*, 648.
11. Vatvât, *Divân-e Rashid al-Din Vatvât Sa'id bâ ketâb-e hadâ'eq al-sehr fî daqâ'eq al-she'r (ed. Nafisi)*, 702.
12. Vatvât, *Divân-e Rashid al-Din Vatvât Sa'id bâ ketâb-e hadâ'eq al-sehr fî daqâ'eq al-she'r (ed. Nafisi)*, 655-658, 687, 698-701.

poems he is introducing into the text.[13] Also noteworthy is that it is clear—as Lewis notes in his analysis of this text—that Vatvât still understands the "*ghazal*" as one of the potential "themes" (*ma'nâ*) that poets can employ in the introit (*tashbib*) of the *qasideh* and a term which, according to Vatvât in his concluding section on terminology, operates as synonymous with *nasib* and *tashbib* in referring to the amatory introit of the *qasideh*.[14]

(5) Although the ***Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*** (c. ca. late twelfth-early thirteenth century) of **'Attâr** (d. ca. 1221) is not the first known thematically-organized collection of *robâ'iyât*, it is the earliest anthology of this type that remains extant in its entirety.[15] In this work, 'Attâr organized a selection of his *robâ'iyât* into fifty thematic chapters. 'Attâr's thematic division is noteworthy for what it reveals about the ways in which poets of this period understood thematic genres and sub-genres more generally. Moreover, as I noted earlier, his division of the *robâ'iyât* in the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* shares important similarities with the thematic divisions and order of other thematically-arranged collections of poetry from the early period. These similarities indicate that his thematic categorization was not idiosyncratic or exclusive to the formal genre of the *robâ'iyât*, but rather was part of a broader understanding of poetic genres that cut across formal boundaries in the early Persian poetic system.

    In his introduction to the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*,[16] 'Attâr states that the reason he undertook

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13. Vatvât, *Divân-e Rashid al-Din Vatvât Sa'id bâ ketâb-e hadâ'eq al-sehr fi daqâ'eq al-she'r (ed. Nafisi)*, 672, 703.

14. Vatvât, *Divân-e Rashid al-Din Vatvât Sa'id bâ ketâb-e hadâ'eq al-sehr fi daqâ'eq al-she'r (ed. Nafisi)*, 651, 705.Also see Lewis' discussion: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 61-62; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 132.

15. The first known thematic collection of poetry is a compilation of *robâ'iyât* (quatrains) from various poets produced by Abu Hanifeh 'Abd al-Karim b. Abi Bakr near the end of the twelfth century for the Seljuk Mohyi al-Din Mas'ud b. Qılıč Arslan in Ankara. Unfortunately, only selections of this work have survived, according to Hellmut Ritter, and in any case, the manuscript was not accessible to the author (Ritter, "Philologika XI. Maulānā Galāladdīn Rūmī und sein Kreis," 245; Ritter, "Philologika XVI. Farīduddīn 'Aṭṭār. IV," 195). I want to thank Austin O'Malley for drawing my attention to this work and, especially, for helping me with the German.

16. The foregoing discussion of 'Attâr's *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* and his introduction to this work is focused primarily on its implications for understanding concepts of genre in early Persian poetry. For more detailed information on the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, see Shafi'i Kadkani's introduction to his edition of the work: Shafi'i-

the project of compiling and organizing his *robâ'iyât* was that while there were a great number of *robâ'iyât* that already appeared in his *divân*, "seekers" were not deriving any benefit from them because they were difficult to find and record. He therefore set about making a selection of them and organizing them into fifty thematic chapters.[17] While the vast majority of the chapters treat exceedingly specific topics (e.g., "On themes that are connected to the candle," "On themes that are connected to flowers," "On speaking in the language of the moth with the candle," amongst others),[18] it is also clear that many of these highly specific thematic chapters are part of larger thematic groupings of chapters.[19] For example, 'Attâr dedicates four chapters to the topic of "divine unity" (*towhid*); however, he treats this theme from a different perspective in each chapter (see footnote for full list).[20] Similarly, there are twelve chapters that treat different aspects of the topic of "the beloved" (*ma'shuq*),[21] two chapters that specifically elaborate themes related to "the lover" (*'âsheq*),[22] and another five-thirteen

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Kadkani, "Moqaddameh." For more detailed information specifically on 'Attâr's introduction to the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, see chapter 1 of: O'Malley, "Poetry and Pedagogy."

17. 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 70-71. It should be noted that 'Attâr also indicates that he did not put all of his *robâ'iyât* into the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*. After making a selection and putting those into the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, he then left the remainder of his *robâ'iyât* in his divan.

18. For full list of the chapters, see: 'Attâr, *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*, 72-74.

19. Benedikt Reinert also has observed that the more specific categories of the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* can be grouped into a smaller number of more general categories; however, we may disagree on the exact number of these more general categories and which chapters should be included in each category. It is unclear though because he does not give specific chapter names nor does he indicate which edition of the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* he is working from (and the numbers he gives do not seem to correspond to Shafi'i Kadkani's edition of the *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* that I am working from) (Reinert, "AṬṬĀR, FARĪD-AL-DĪN").

20. "On the unity of God (Exalted be His Rank)"/در توحید باری عزّ شأنه; "On themes that are connected to divine unity"/در معانی‌یی که تعلق به توحید دارد; "On the explication of divine unity in the words of seclusion(?)"/بیان توحید به زبان تفرید; "On the explication of the passing away of divine unity and self-annihilation in seclusion"/در بیان محو شده‌ی توحید و فانی در تفرید; and "On the explication of whatever is not divine unity is non-existence and effacement"/در بیان آنکه هر چه نه توحید قدم است همه محو و عدم است.

21. Below is the full list of twelve chapters on the topic of "the beloved" (معشوق): "On showing desire to the beloved"/در شوق نمودن به معشوق; "On separating from the beloved"/در فراغت نمودن از معشوق; "On when one does achieve union with the beloved"/در آنکه وصل معشوق به کسی نرسد; "On complaining about the beloved"/در شکایت کردن از معشوق; "On thanking the beloved"/در شکر نمودن از معشوق; "On descriptions of the arrival of the beloved"/در صفت آمدن معشوق; "On descriptions of the face and tresses of the beloved"/در صفت روی و زلف معشوق; "On descriptions of the eyes and eyebrows of the beloved"/در صفت چشم و ابروی معشوق; "On descriptions of the fresh beard and beauty mark of the beloved"/در صفت خط و خال معشوق; "On descriptions of the lips and mouth of the beloved"/در صفت لب و دهان معشوق; "On descriptions of the waist and stature of the beloved"/در صفت میان و قد معشوق; "On the coquetry, infidelity, and disease (love-sickness) of the beloved"/در ناز و بی‌وفایی و بیماری معشوق.

22. "On the description of the helplessness and impotence of the lover"/در صفت بیچارگی و عجز عاشق and "On the description of the pain of the lover"/در صفت دردمندی عاشق.

377

additional chapters that treat related love themes.[23] These two more general categories of chapters on "divine unity" and love themes are also joined by groups of chapters on the inter-related topics of praise of the Prophet Mohammad (chapter two) and his companions (chapter 3), and then—after the group of chapters on "divine unity" (chapters one,[24] four to seven)—there is another set of chapters that treat various topics broadly associated with Sufi spiritual concerns (chapters eight to twenty-eight, forty-nine).[25] The thematic foci and order of these larger thematic groupings of chapters are quite similar to the content and order of the themat-ic divisions of the earliest, non-alphabetically-arranged manuscripts of the *divâns* of Sanâ'i, 'Attâr, and 'Erâqi as well.

For the purposes of the present study, the most important feature of the thematic divi-sions in 'Attâr's *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh* is his designation of one of the chapters as "on *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât* poetry" (*dar qalandariyât va khamriyât*).

(6) **Mohammad 'Owfi's** *Lobâb al-albâb* (c. 1221) is an interesting work for a number of rea-sons. 'Owfi quite readily uses formal genre terms (*qasideh*, *ghazal*, *robâ'i*, *do beyt*, *qet'eh*, *masnavi*, and *tarâneh*) throughout his work, but he also employs a rich array of thematic

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23. The reason for the rather inexact range provided here is that many of the chapters that treat "Sufi spiritual concerns" also contain love poetry. See footnote 25 immediately below on this point. However, I would definitely put the following chapters firmly in the more general love category: "On themes that are connected to flowers"/"در معانی که تعلق به گل دارد", "On themes that are connected to the morning"/"در معانی که, "On speaking in the language of the moth with the candle/"در معانی که تعلق به شمع دارد", "On themes that are connected to the candle/"تعلق به صبح دارد, "On Speaking in the language of the candle"/"در سخن گفتن به زبان پروانه با شمع. Reinert also places the chapter "On *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât*"/"در سخن گفتن به زبان شمع قلندریات و خمریات in the category of chapters on the theme of love (Reinert, "AṬṬĀR, FARĪD-AL-DĪN"). I certainly agree that the *qalandariyât* and *khamriyât* are deeply connected to love (*ghazal*) poetry as we have seen in the case of Sana'i's *qalandariyât*.
24. Chapter 1, "On the unity of God (Exalted be His Rank)"/"در توحید باری عزّ شأنه, is placed before the chapters on Prophet Muhammad and his companions because it treats the theme of "divine unity" in reference to God, who must be treated first.
25. Several of these chapters on "Sufi spiritual concerns" contain love themes as well. Love themes pervade Sufi poetry so it is impossible to neatly separate the category of chapters with love themes from those that focus more on Sufi spiritual matters. There are chapters that more clearly focus on one or the other theme, but more detailed work needs to be done on the poetry of this work in order to reach more specific conclusions. For the purposes of the present work, these details are not important. The general point remains that we see evidence in 'Attâr's thematic division of his poems in this work that poets in this period had these genres and sub-genres (especially, the *qalandariyât*) in mind when composing their poetry and therefore we are justified in discussing the *qalandariyât* as a genre.

378

terms for describing poetry. Often times it is relatively clear that he is referring to isolated

thematic units within larger poems; other times, however, he seems to be explicitly discussing

thematic types of poetry. In this work, 'Owfi writes brief introductions for each of the poets

that he includes in his anthology and frequently in these discussions he employs thematic cat-

egories to describe the types of poetry for which each poet is famous. For example, when in-

troducing Kesâ'i Marvazi (d. ca. 1000-1), he claims that "most of his poems are on asceti-

cism (*zohd*) and homily (*va'z*), and the virtues (*manâqeb*) of the house of prophecy," but he

also mentions that he composed panegyric (*madh*), elegy (*marsiyat*), and poetry on wine,

apology ('*ozr*), narcissuses, and a washboy (*gâzor-bachcheh*) as well.[26] In his discussion of

another early poet, Khosrowi Sarakhsi (d. before 1005), he asserts that his poetry is "full of

hekmat," although his citation of several excerpts from panegyrics after this statement indi-

cates that his *hekmat* poetry occurred in panegyrics.[27] Similarly, when discussing Abu al-Faraj

al-Runi (d. after 1102), he says "most of his poems are on panegyric" (*qasâ'ed-e u aksar dar

madh ast*),[28] and, in contrast, "most of the poems" of Abu Bakr al-Balkhi al-Vâ'ezi (d. ?) "are

towhid [poems] and [on] the virtues of the companions of the prophet and selected friends."[29]

In his introduction to Suzani (d. 1166 or 1173), 'Owfi asserts that he focused more on satires

(*hazliyât*), although he did also compose "two or three *qasideh-ye towhid*."[30] Later he relates

that "most of [Khâqâni's] poetry is on *jedd* (serious matters), wisdom (*hekmat*), description of

the *Ka'ba* and desert bedouins, and praise (*na't*) of the prophet."[31] Although there is still some

ambiguity in a few of these instances (e.g., the latter terms mentioned in discussion of

Kesâ'i), it seems clear from 'Owfi's discussion of the types of poetry that are associated with

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26. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 415-18.
27. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 399-400.
28. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 590.
29. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 685.
30. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 550-55.
31. 'Owfi, *Lobâb al-albâb*, 573.

each poet that the aforementioned thematic categories are capable of functioning as names for both thematic types of poetry and isolated thematic units within larger polythematic poems.

Additionally, 'Owfi several times uses thematic categories in an adjectival sense to modify formal genres of poetry. For example, he mentions a "divine unity qasideh" (qasideh-ye towhid) when discussing 'Attâr,[32] a "spring qasideh" (qasideh-ye rabi'i) in his section on Hâtemi Haravi,[33] and a "self-praise qasideh" (qasideh-ye mofâkherati) written by Sultan 'Alâ' al-Din Abbâsi.[34] He also mentions the following thematic topics in various places in his introductions and discussions of poets: poetry on wine, hunting, battlefields, fortresses, swords, pens, fruits (apple, pomegranate), horses, winter, flowers, nuts, snow, fire, bakers boy (kâk-pazi), patience, and bloodletting (fasd). Lastly, as Lewis points out in his discussion of this work, he uses the term ghazaliyât at least twice too and the phrase "on love" (dar ghazal) at least once (indicating he understands the term ghazal primarily as a theme, not a form).[35]

(7) The next important poetic treatise is the **al-Mo'jam fi ma'âyir-e ash'âr-e al-'ajam** of **Shams-e Qays al-Râzi** (written between 1220-1232). In this work he mentions lines "on ele-

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32. 'Owfi, Lobâb al-albâb, 669.
33. 'Owfi, Lobâb al-albâb, 81.
34. 'Owfi, Lobâb al-albâb, 84-85.
35. 'Owfi, Lobâb al-albâb, 76, 657. The term "ghazal" is still flexible enough for 'Owfi to say that a qasideh is made of lines of both madh and ghazal (i.e., love theme), and there are several examples in his text where he explicitly introduces amatory introits to qasidehs as a "ghazals." Although I did not attempt a systematic review of all of the poems that 'Owfi introduces in his text as "ghazals," I did review the sections of several prominent poets and found the following examples in which 'Owfi labels a poem as "ghazal," but, according to editors of the divans of these poets, these "ghazals" are actually the amatory introit to longer qasidehs: (1) "ghazals" of Amir Mo'ezzi ('Owfi, Lobâb al-albâb, 447-49), which according to both editions of Mo'ezzi's divan, are the introits of panegyric qasidehs. See: Mo'ezzi, Kolliyât-e Divân-e Amir Mo'ezzi (ed. Qanbari), 162-163, 565-566; Mo'ezzi, Divân-e Amir Mo'ezzi (ed. Âshtiyâni), 174-176, 648-650. And, (2) the "ghazal" of Abu al-Faraj Runi ('Owfi, Lobâb al-albâb, 593), which according to Mahmud Mahdavi Dâmghâni, is the introit to a panegyric qasideh (note: there are some intervening lines in Dâmghâni's edition). See: Runi, Divân-e Abu al-Faraj Runi (ed. Dâmghâni), 30-31. It is possible that 'Owfi may genuinely have thought that these were "ghazals" in a formal sense if they were circulating in his time period as separate poems (which raises other interesting questions!). It is difficult (if not impossible) to know the answer to this question, but it does at least strengthen the possibility that the "ghazal" in 'Owfi's understanding of the term was still more of a thematic rather than a formal category. See also: Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 62-63.

380

gy" (*dar marsiyeh*),[36] "panegyric" (*madh, madh va âfarin*),[37] *ghazal*, satire/invective (*hazl, hajv*),[38] praise of prophet (*na't*),[39] and "complaint of the times" (*shekâyat-e ruzgâr*),[40] and the writing of poetry "on asceticism (*zohd*) and homily (*mow'ezat*) for the carnal self and praise and sanctification of God."[41] At times it is clear that he is referring to specific themes within a poem, but other times it seems he is using these terms in a more categorically sense of a distinct thematic genre. On that note, it is important to point out here that when Shams-e Qays discusses "*madh* and *âfarin*," he discusses it in the context of the type of panegyric that Bahrâm Gur purported presented in the court of Khosrow Parviz. Shams-e Qays specifies that this "*madh* and *âfarin*" was in prose (*nasr*) and was not poetic verse (*manzum*) in the way Persians in the early period of New Persian Poetry understood the term "poetry" (*nazm, she'r*).[42] Despite this very significant formal difference, he still uses the term *madh*, indicating that these thematic categories were flexible enough in Shams-e Qays' mind that he could even employ them with non-poetic forms of writing.

Another important discussion that appears in *al-Mo'jam* is Shams-e Qays' treatment of the *ghazal*. Lewis has previously examined the well-known section where he defines the *ghazal* and concluded that Shams-e Qays makes it clear that the *ghazal* has developed by this point into an "independent form" of sorts.[43] Other sections support this view too, especially when he lists the "*ghazal*" as one of the "types (*ajnâs*) of poetry (*she'r*) and types (*anvâ'*) of poetic composition (*nazm*)," alongside a wide range of other literary terms, including: *nasib, tashbib, robâ'i, mozdavaj, mosarra', moqaffâ, mahdud, mojamma', beyt-e qasideh, loghaz,*

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36. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 223, 411.
37. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 225, 311, 335, 365, 367-369, 402, 411-413, 417-419, 451.
38. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 226, 367, 373, 411, 454-455.
39. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 406.
40. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 226, 467.
41. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 225.
42. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 225.
43. Lewis, "Reading, Writing and Recitation," 63-64; Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 133.

381

mo'ammâ, *motakallaf*, and *matbu'* (it is interesting that some of these show up in *robâ'i* collections as categories).[44] However, to what extent this "independent form" is defined by formal characteristics is not entirely clear. The only defining characteristics that Shams-e Qays provides in his brief definition of the *ghazal* are that it is monothematic in its focus on love themes and that it is a "shortened" poem (*maqsur*)—that is, presumably, "shortened" or "cut-off" (as Lewis translates it) in comparison to the longer and frequently polythematic *qasideh* (which he discusses in the following paragraph as composed of "different themes and descriptions of *madh*, *hejâ*, *shokr*, *shekâyat*, and others").[45] Moreover, as Lewis too notes, Shams-e Qays also later mentions the "*ghazal*" several times in reference to the amatory introit of the *qasideh*, which points to the continuing flexibility of this term in this period.[46]

The last section of Shams-e Qays work that I would like to draw the reader's attention to is a long section in the conclusion of his treatise in which he discusses the different "types of discourse and forms of poetry," such as:

> romantic and erotic introits, praise (*madh*) and dispraise, encomium (*âfarin*) and imprecation, gratitude and grievance, stories and tales, question and reply, wrath and reconciliation, haughtiness and humility, disdain and forbearance; the mention of regions and customs, the descriptions of the heavens and the stars, the depiction of flowers and streams, the reporting of winds and rainstorms, the similes of night and day and descriptions of steeds and arms; stories of war and battle and the arts of congratulation and consolation in the manner of the most excellent and learned of the poets and the most poetic of the excellent and learned. In the movement from theme to theme and the substitution of one figure (*fann*) for another, he should consider a graceful conclusion and an elegant inception obligatory. He should strive to the utmost to consider the degrees of those whom he praises. He ought not to praise kings and sultans except with royal terms of description such as those mentioned in the chapter on hyperbolic description. Ministers and princes he should praise for prodigies of the sword and pen and the drum and banner; sayyids and the 'ulama for nobility of descent and purity of lineage, for abundant culture and plenteous learning, for untainted honor and great merit. Let him describe the asceticism and repentance of the ascetics and pious, and their attention to the

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44. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 342, 416, 419.
45. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 226, 418-419.
46. Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 411, 416-419, 423.

glory and majesty [of God].[47]

The picture that emerges from this selection is that there was a great deal of variety in the thematic types of poetry that existed. Some of these thematic concerns we see echoed in other accounts described above and below (e.g., *zohd*, *jang*, *madh*, descriptions of various objects and phenomena).

(8) 'Attâr was not the only poet to thematically arrange a collection of *robâ'iyât*. The thirteenth-century poet **Jamâl al-Din Khalil Shervâni** compiled over 4,139 *robâ'iyât* from three hundred different poets into his ***Nozhat al-Majâles*** (c. middle of thirteenth century) and organized them into seventeen chapters (*bâb*) and ninety-six subsections (*namat*) on the basis on poetic theme.[48] The order and content of this work's thematic sections is similar in important ways to 'Attâr's *Mokhtâr-Nâmeh*. It has larger chapters on broad poetic themes such as wine, love, and the beloved with smaller subsections on more detailed sub-themes (e.g., on the cup-bearer, private prayers, "the wine drinking of the beloved," amongst many others). However, since Shervâni's compilation does have more than twice as many thematic categories as 'Attâr's work, it is not surprising that he has both even more detailed subsections on the same topics as 'Attâr and also several sections/subsections on topics that are not covered at all in 'Attâr's compilation, such as poems on spring and fall, different musical instruments (e.g., separate categories for "*ney va daf*" and "*chang va ney va gheyrehomâ*"), panegyric poems,

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47. I have used Clinton's translation of this passage with a few minor changes: Clinton, "Shams-i Qays on the Nature of Poetry," 107-08. The Persian text is below (Qays al-Râzi, *al-Mo'jam*, 448):

و باید که در افانین سخن و اسالیب شعر چون نسیب و تشبیب و مدح و ذم و آفرین و نفرین و شکر و شکایت و قصه و حکایت و سوال و جواب و عتاب و استعتاب و تمنع و تواضع و تأبّی و تسامح و ذکر دیار و رسوم و وصف آسمان و نجوم و صفت ازهار و انهار و شرح ریاح و امطار و تشبیه لیل و نهار و نعت اسب و سلاح و شکایت جنگ و مصاف و فن تهانی وتغازی از طریق افاضل شعر او اشعار فضلا عدول ننماید و در نقل از معنیی به معنی و تحول از فنی به فنی خروجی لطیف و شروعی مستحسن واجب داند و در رعایت درجات مخاطبات و وجوه مدایح باقصی الامکان بکوشد ملوک و سلاطین را جز باوصاف پادشاهانه چنانکه در فصل اغراق بیان کرده است نستاید و وزرا و امرا را به اوابد تیغ و قلم و طبل و علم مدح کند. سادات و علما به شرف حسب و طهارت نسب وفور فضل و غزارت علم و نزاهت عرض و نباهت قدرت ستاید و زهاد و عباد را به تبتل و انابت و توجه حضرت عزت، صفت کند.
48. Riâhi, "NOZHAT AL-MAJĀLES."

383

amongst others.[49] The sheer number and specificity of the thematic categories stand as a testament to the considerable sophistication with which poets and literati of this period thought about thematic types of poetry.

For the purposes of the present study, it is important to point out that the highest concentration of protopypical qalandari *robâ'iyât* are found in the fourth subsection of the first chapter which is titled "On Spiritual Conceits" (*dar tâmât*),[50] with several other *qalandariyât*-type *robâ'i* (some of which are less prototypical than others) scattered throughout the other subsections of first chapter of the collection,[51] the chapter "On Wine Poetry" (*khamriyât*),[52] the chapter "On Love and Descriptions of Love and its States,"[53] and the chapter "On Love" (specifically the subsections "On Becoming Infamous"/*dar rosvâ shodan* and "On Dishonor"/*bad-nâmi*).[54] Even though Shervâni puts most of the qalandari *robâ'i* in the chapter "On Spiritual Conceits" (*dar tâmât*), it is striking that he places most of them together in one place. I would suggest that this indicates that he thinks of these poems as a subtype of *tâmât* poetry. The fact that some qalandari *robâ'is* bleed out of this grouping and can be found in chapters on wine and love is not surprising given the *qalandariyât's* frequent overlap with

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49. Shervâni, *Nozhat al-Majâles*, 5-10.
50. Shervâni, *Nozhat al-Majâles*, 154 #94-97 & 99-100, 155 #101, 156 #107-110. According to Shervâni, the authors of these *robâ'iyât* are as follows: Owhad al-Din Kermâni (#94-97), Ahmad-e Jâm, anonymous, Abu Sa'id Abu al-Kheyr, anonymous (#107-108), Jamâl Shervâni (the compiler himself, #109-110), respectively.
51. It seems that the opening chapter of this collection was not titled by the original author. Riâhi has supplied the title of "On Divine Unity and Spiritual Knowledge" (در توحید و عرفان) for this section in brackets. The first two sub-sections of this chapter also appear to have been supplied names by the editor (same as chapter names). The third subsection has the title of "On Advice" (در نصیحت) and the fourth subsection, where the highest concentration of *qalandariyât robâ'i* appear, is titled "On Spiritual Conceits" (در طامات). See preceding footnote for specific poems within this last section. For the rest see the following: Shervâni, *Nozhat al-Majâles*, 141 #3, 145 #33, 146 #42, 149 #59, 152 #85. According to Shervâni, the authors of these *robâ'iyât* are as follows: Owhad al-Din Kermâni, 'Omar Khayyâm, Mo'in al-Din Bakhtiyâr, Kermâni, Amir Mo'ezzi, respectively.
52. Shervâni, *Nozhat al-Majâles*, 176 #230 & 232, 178 #243, 179 #255, 181 #268, 184 #286 & 289. According to Shervâni, the authors of these *robâ'iyât* are as follows: anonymous (#230, 232), Yamin Sabat Esfahâni, Kamâl al-Din Esmâ'il Esfahâni (#255, 268), Amir Mo'ezzi, anonymous, respectively. I should also note that depending on how one defines the boundary between wine poetry (*khamriyât*) and *qalandariyât*, there could be more poems in the wine poetry (*khamriyât*) section that we could consider *qalandariyât*.
53. Shervâni, *Nozhat al-Majâles*, 247 #751, 249 #769 & #770 & #773. According to Shervâni, the authors of these *robâ'iyât* are as follows: Jamâl Shervâni, anonymous (#770, 773), respectively.
54. Shervâni, *Nozhat al-Majâles*, 529-531 #2947 & 2957-2965. According to Shervâni, the authors of all of these *robâ'i* are anonymous, except #2957 which is from Seyyed Ashraf.

384

these genres (as has been noted previously).

(9) **Nasir al-Din Tusi's** (d. 1273) *Me'yâr al-ash'âr* only discusses poetry in formal terms as far as I can tell, in particular mentioning *qasideh*, *ghazal*, *qet'eh*, *robâ'i* (*chahâr-beyti*, *do-beyti*, *tarâneh*), *masnavi*, *mossamat*, and *ourâmeh*.[55]

(10) In the *Kanz al-Fawâ'ed* (late 13th/early fourteenth century) **Hoseyn Mohammad Shâh Shahhâb Ansâri** mentions *qasideh-ye tahayyoti* (greeting *qasideh*),[56] *towhid-e khodâ va na't-e rasul, va madâ'eh-e seyyed, sanâ va medhat*,[57] *madh* and *ghazal* (as themes),[58] *madh* and *hajv* (in the section on *tahsif*),[59] and "*pand, hekmat, shekâyat-e ruzgâr*" in the section on *kalâm-e jâme'*.[60]

(11) **Shams al-Din Fakhri Esfahâni** in *Me'yâr-e Jamâli* (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century) uses the thematic categories of *na't*[61] and *madâ'eh* in a generic sense.[62] Also, numerous times (especially in second half of book) Fakhri Esfahâni refers to whole poems as "*dar madh*" and then specifies them further by adding "*dar sefat-e shamshir/hosn*/etc." in a way that seems to indicate that he considers the entire poem itself to be a *madh* poem which treats subsidiary themes.[63] Further, in a section entitled "on the names and genres of poetry that are common amongst the poets," he discusses the *qasideh*, *qet'eh*, *ghazaliyât*, *tarji'ât*, *masnavi*,

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55. Tusi, *Me'yâr al-ash'âr*, 5, 18, 20, 42, 48, 60, 62, 66, 68, 80, 95, 104-105, 111, 117, 121, 125, 128.
56. Ansâri, *Kanz al-Fawâ'ed*, 1.
57. Ansâri, *Kanz al-Fawâ'ed*, 11.
58. Ansâri, *Kanz al-Fawâ'ed*, 27.
59. Ansâri, *Kanz al-Fawâ'ed*, 33, 45.
60. Ansâri, *Kanz al-Fawâ'ed*, 57.
61. Fakhri Esfahâni, *Me'yâr-e Jamâli*, 141.
62. Fakhri Esfahâni, *Me'yâr-e Jamâli*, 142.
63. Fakhri Esfahâni, *Me'yâr-e Jamâli*.

and *zu al-qâfiyatayn*.[64] The *ghazal*, in these discussions, is a well-defined form of poetry between 7-11 lines, and although he gives standard etymology about the *ghazal's* connection to love, women, etc., he also says it can treat topics on wine, ruins, flowers, basil (*rayhân*), instruments, and meat.[65]

(12) Another poetic anthology that employs some thematic terms in its organization is **Mohammad ebn Badr Jâjarmi's *Mo'nes al-Ahrâr*** (composed 741/1341). In addition to many poems illustrating various poetic devices and rhetorical figures of Persian poetics (e.g., *tajnis*, *tashbih*, *radif/moraddaf*, *loghaz va mo'amma*, *su'âl va javâb*, acrostic/*tawshih*, divided metaphor/*taqsim*, description/*vasf*[66]) and the formal categories of *moqatta'ât*, *fardiyât*, *tarji'ât*, and *roba'iyât*, it includes the following thematic categories (in the this order): divine unity (*towhid*), praise of the prophet (*na't*), wisdom-homiletic-advice (*al-hekmeh va al-mow'ezeh va al-nasiheh*), eulogy (*marâsi*), chronograms (*tavârikh*), invective/satire (*al-hazliyât va al-ahâji*), facetiae (*motâyebât*), oaths (*qasamiyât*), and complaint (*shekâyat*).[67] It also contains the category love (*ghazaliyât*), which in this case seems to be denote both a formal and thematic category. The *ghazaliyât* category here includes several poems by 'Attâr and 'Erâqi that I would classify as *qalandariyât*, in addition to many *ghazals* on love themes more generally.[68] It is worth noting that some of these *ghazals* are quite long, many times run-

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64. Fakhri Esfahâni, *Me'yâr-e Jamâli*, 242-45.

65. Fakhri Esfahâni, *Me'yâr-e Jamâli*, 243.

66. This includes a poem "in description of wine," along with poems that decribe instruments, bathhouses, amongst other things.

67. Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e avval)*; Jâjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e dovvum)*. On the poetic genre of chronograms, see: Losensky, "MĀDDA TĀRIḴ."

68. 'Erâqi, *Kolliyât-e Fakhr al-Din 'Erâqi (ed. Mohtasham)*, 80, 106-107, 264-268, 280-281.

عراقی:

دل در گره زلف تو بستیم دگر بار
وز هر دو جهان مهر گسستیم دگربار

عطار:

ترسا بچه‌ای دیدم زنار کمر کرده

ning 12-15 lines and even in a couple of instances running over 20 lines, indicating that the

term *ghazaliyât* here should only loosely be understood as a formal category and likely as

much a thematic designation as a properly formal one.[69]

Near the end of his anthology, Jârjarmi has an entire section of *robâ'iyât* that he sub-

divides thematically. Some of the categories are similar to his previous sections in that they

treat poetic devices and rhetorical figures in Persian poetics (e.g., *tajnis*, *mo'ammât*, *tazmin*,

su'âl va javâb) and the following shared thematic categories: divine unity (*towhid*), praise of

the prophet (*na't*), invective/satire (*hazliyât*), elegy (*marâsi*), and complaint (*al-shekâyat*).

However, he also includes other categories, such as parodical *robâ'i* (*dar robâ'iyât-e*

naqizeh); *robâ'i* describing "wine" (*dar wasf-e sharâb*),[70] "the spring time and herbs" (*dar*

wasf-e bahâr va rayâhin), "the harp, flute, and daf," "flowers," and "candles"; and a large

number of sub-categories of *robâ'iyât* on love and the beloved that are not paralleled in his

earlier sections.[71]

(13) The final collection of thematically arranged *robâ'iyât* that I will survey here is con-

tained in the recently discovered *Safineh-ye Tabriz* (c. between 1342-3 and 1344-5).[72] It is

entitled ***Kholâsat al-ash'âr fi robâ'iyât*** and the compiler of the *Safineh-ye Tabriz*, Abu al-

Majd Mohammad ben Mas'ud Tabrizi, himself collected and organized the *robâ'iyât* that ap-

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در معجزهٔ عیسی صد درس ز بر کرده

Other obvious *qalandariyât* by Mir Kermâni (983-984) and Owhadi (1018).

69. These exceptionally long examples are by a poet named Majd al-Din Hamgar, see: Jârjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e dovvum)*, 1004-07.

70. None of these appear to be *qalandariyât* in a strict sense of the term.

71. Jârjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e avval)*; Jârjarmi, *Mo'nes al-ahrâr (jeld-e dovvum)*.

72. Tabrizi, *Safineh-ye Tabriz*, 593-612. See also Seyed-Gohrab's discussion of this collection: Seyed-Gohrab, "Literary Works in Tabriz's Treasury," 124-26. There is also another collection of *robâ'iyât* by Kermâni (collected and organized by Amin al-Din Hâj Bolleh) that immediately precedes the *Kholâsat al-ash'âr fi robâ'iyât*. It is a small collection (581-592) so I will not discuss it in detail but it does include such categories as "towhid," "separation," "love," "sufism," "Islamic law," ritual purity/طهارة, "reason and knowledge," "travel," amongst a few others.

pear in its fifty (thematic) chapters. In most respects, the thematic chapters of this collection appear to be quite similar to the previous collections discussed here. It contains chapters on "*towhid* and spiritual knowledge (*ma'refat*)," "*tâmât*,"[73] "wisdom and homiletics (*hekmat va mow'ezat*)," "panegyric" (*madh*), "invective" (*hejâ*), "description of candles," "description of *samâ'* sessions," and "flowers and herbs," and thirty-seven chapters on topics related to love.

I would also like to point out that the works in the *Safineh-ye Tabriz* contain a number of indications which demonstrate that by the mid-fourteenth century the *ghazal* has continued to develop more fully into a formal category and is beginning to loose its more exclusive earlier association with love themes alone (as Lewis has argued). For example, there is a collection of "*ghazaliyât*" by Jalâl al-Din 'Atiqi that are on the topics of "*towhid and tâmât*" ("*Ghazaliyât fi al-towhid va al-Tâmât*").[74] This section is also interesting because it contains several *ghazals* that I would label as *qalandariyât*, which corroborates the connection between the term "*tâmât*" and *qalandariyât* that we saw earlier in the *Nozhat al-Majâles*.[75]

(14) **Tâj al-Halâvi** in his ***Daqâ'eq al-She'r*** (fourteenth century) discusses the following terms in a chapter in which he sets out to "clarify" "some of the types of poetry and genres of verse and stipulations of panegyrics and words" (*ajnâs-e she'r va anvâ'-e nazm va sharâ'et-e madâhi va loghâti*) that are "common" and "current" amongst the "masters" and "lords of this art" and "science": *nasib*, *tashbib*, *ghazal* (read: separate form on love themes), *robâ'i*, *masnavi*, *moraddaf*, amongst others.[76] He also mentions the following thematic genres: *hab-*

73. Tabrizi, *Safineh-ye Tabriz*, 594. Chapter on *tâmât* only contains five ruba'i and maybe two-three appear to be *qalandariyât*, but it is not entirely clear.
74. I would not agree with Seyed-Gohrab that "*tâmât*" in this title should be translated as "great calamities" as he suggests in his brief mention of this work in: Seyed-Gohrab, "Literary Works in Tabriz's Treasury," 117. For more on the word "tâmât," see my discussion of Shafi'i-Kadkani's view on this issue in footnote 70, chapter 2. See: Tabrizi, *Safineh-ye Tabriz*, 440-41.
75. Tabrizi, *Safineh-ye Tabriz*, 440-41.
76. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 81-87. Lewis also discusses this work: Lewis, "The Transformation of the Persian Ghazal," 133-34.

siyât (of Mas'ud Sa'd Salmân),[77] *marsiyeh/marâsi*,[78] *hazliyât*,[79] and *mahâji*.[80] In his discussion of various poetic devices/figures, he also employs the following thematic categories: *madh*,[81] *hazl*,[82] *madh va hejâ*,[83] *madh va zamm*,[84] *hajv va madh*,[85] *sanâ/âfarin* and *hajv/nafrin*,[86] and, finally, "*mavâ'ez, nasâ'eh, shekâyat-e ruzgâr, va amsâl-hâ.*"[87]

(15) **Sharaf al-Din Râmi** (d. 1374) in ***Haqâ'eq al-hadâ'eq*** only mentions the terms *hekmat*, *mow'ezat*, and *shekâyat-e ruzgâr* in his *kalâm-e jâme'* section.[88]

16) **'Atâ Allâh Hoseyni's** ***Badâ'e' al-sanâ'e'*** (15th century) contains a section near the end, entitled "On the meanings of some of the common words amongst the poets that are in need of explanation," in which he discusses the terms *tashbib*, *nasib*, *ghazal*, *mosarra'*, *mozdowj* (*masnavi*), *moqaffâ*, *mojamma'*, *beyt al-qasideh*, *matbu'*, *motakallaf*, *khasi* (type of *robâ'i*), *jazâlat*, *salâsat*, *ertejâl*, and *sahl al-momtane'*.[89] Although he cites Shams-e Qays discussion of *nasib/tashbib* earlier (in which Shams-e Qays mentions *ghazal* in the context of *nasib/tashbib*), Hoseyni clearly differentiates it from the introit of the *qasideh* in a subsequent section on *ghazal* in which he says it deals with love themes and sometimes mentions the generosity and bravery of beloved.[90]

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77. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 95.
78. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 81-82.
79. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 75.
80. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 81.
81. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 61, 66, 82.
82. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 34, 40, 59.
83. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 42.
84. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 53-55.
85. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 73-75, 78.
86. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 78.
87. Tâj al-Halâvi, *Daqâ'eq al-she'r*, 94.
88. Râmi, *Haqâ'eq al-hadâ'eq (ed. Kâzemi Emâm)*, 123.
89. Hoseyni, *Badâ'e' al-sanâ'e' (ed. Qobâdiyâni)*, 309-14.
90. Hoseyni, *Badâ'e' al-sanâ'e' (ed. Qobâdiyâni)*, 310.

17) **Hoseyn Vâ'ez-e Kâshefi's** *Badâ'e' al-afkâr fi sanâ'e' al-ash'âr* (w. ca. second half of fifteenth century)[91] explicitly discusses both formal and thematic categories in his treatment of the "divisions and genres/types of poetry" (*aqsâm va anvâ'-e she'r*).[92] After general remarks about poetry, he delineates the formal "genres" (*anvâ'*) of Persian poetry (*qasideh*, *ghazal*,[93] *qet'eh*, *robâ'i/do-beyti/tarâneh*, *fard*, *masnavi*, *mosammat*, *tarji'ât/tarji'band/tarkib/ movassat*),[94] the "divisions of [Persian] poetry" (*aqsâm-e she'r*) (*moraddaf*, *sahl-e momtane'*, *zu al-now'eyn*, etc.), and the important technical terms of Persian poetry (*maqta'*, *matla'*, *nazm*, *nasib*, etc.) before concluding his introduction with a section entitled "on words that are in use regarding genres/types of poetry" (*dar bayân alfâzi keh dar anvâ'-e she'r mos- ta'mel mi-bâshad*). In this final section, he describes (often at some length) the following thematic categories of poetry: *towhid*, *na't*, *manqabat* (i.e., *manâqeb*), *mow'ezeh*, *asrâr* (in which he categorizes the poetry of 'Attâr, Rumi, and 'Erâqi), *madh/medhat*, *hajv/hejâ*, *jedd*, *hazl*, *motâyebeh*, *marsiyeh*, *monâzereh*, *khamriyât*, and *qasamiyât*.[95] It is clear in the cases of *towhid*, *manqabat*, *mow'ezeh*, *asrâr*, *marsiyeh*, *khamriyât*, and *qasamiyât* at least that Kâshefi sees these thematic categories as types or genres of poetry because he discusses them as referring to entire poems. (See further discussion of this point in introduction to the first chapter). Finally, like other treatises above, in the *kalâm-e jâme'* section he mentions "*mavâ'ez va*

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91. Marta Simidchieva has analyzed this work in depth and positioned it within the tradition of Persian poetic treatises: Simidchieva, "Imitation and Innovation in Timurid Poetics."

92. Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 69.

93. The *ghazal* has clearly developed by this point to a well-defined formal genre. Although he provides the traditional definition of the *ghazal* as a form that treats various love themes, he does also specify that it should be between five and fifteen lines, and ideally in between these two figures. He also provides (although prefaces it by saying this is "in custom of the general populace/*dar 'orf-e 'âm*") a rather lengthy description of three different types of *takhallos* used in *ghazals* in a later section (in addition to a more standard discussion of the *qasideh's takhallos* in its traditional Arabic meaning of "transition"). He does later mention that the (amatory) *nasib* is also called "*ghazal*," but his previous definition makes it clear that this meaning co-existed with the formal term "*ghazal*" as an independent poem as he discussed earlier. It is also noteworthy that he does not mention any other themes in reference to the *ghazal* than love-related themes. See: Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 71, 79-80, 134-135, 173-174.

94. Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 71-75.

95. Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 81-83.

390

nasâ'eh va shekâyat-e ruzgâr va hekâyat-e nakâyet-e advâr va amsâl-e ân"[96] and he says that

hajv/hejâ is opposite (*zedd*) *madh*, and *jedd* is opposite/contradictory to (*naqiz*) *hazl*.[97]

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96. Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 146-47.
97. Kâshefi Shirâzi, *Badâ'e' al-afkâr*, 82.

Appendix III

Classification Table of *Qalandariyât* in Sanâ'i's MiM and KM Manuscripts

Qalandariyât Poems (QP)

73 Total Poems:
60 MiM
23 KM (6 KM *qalandariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

	MiM 34	MiM 72/KM 15
MiM 2	MiM 35	MiM 73
MiM 3	MiM 36	MiM 76
MiM 4/KM 18	MiM 37	MiM 77
MiM 6	MiM 38	MiM 79
MiM 7	MiM 39	MiM 80
MiM 8	MiM 40	MiM 82
MiM 9	MiM 42/KM 9	MiM 84
MiM 10	MiM 43	MiM 85
MiM 11	MiM 45	MiM 86
MiM 13	MiM 47	MiM 87
MiM 14	MiM 48	MiM 88/KM 16
MiM 15	MiM 50	KM 12
MiM 16	MiM 51/KM 17	KM 20 (MiM gh 362)
MiM 17	MiM 55	KM 25
MiM 19	MiM 56	KM 29 (MiM gh 7)
MiM 20/KM 10	MiM 57/KM 8	KM 84 (MiM gh 223)
MiM 21	MiM 58	KM 92 (MiM gh 158)
MiM 22	MiM 61	KM 101 (MiM gh 265)
MiM 23	MiM 65	KM 111
MiM 27	MiM 67/KM 11	KM 115
MiM 28	MiM 69/KM 14	KM 139
MiM 31	MiM 70	KM 145
MiM 32	MiM 71/KM 13	KM 149 (MiM gh 43)
MiM 33		KM 157

Qalandari Theme (QT) Poems

179 Total Poems:
32 MiM
153 KM (79 KM *qalandariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

MiM 1

MiM 5

MiM 12

MiM 18

MiM 24

MiM 25

MiM 26

MiM 29

MiM 36/KM3

MiM 41/KM 5

MiM 44

MiM 46

MiM 49/KM 2

MiM 52/KM 7

MiM 53

MiM 54

MiM 59

MiM 60

MiM 62

MiM 63

MiM 64

MiM 66

MiM 68

MiM 74/KM 108

MiM 75/KM 6

MiM 78

MiM 81

MiM 83

MiM 89

MiM 90

MiM 91

MiM 92

KM 1

KM 4

KM 19

KM 21 (MiM gh 35)

KM 22 (MiM gh 287)

KM 23 (MiM gh 77)

KM 24 (MiM gh 47)

KM 26 (MiM gh 103)

KM 27 (MiM gh 83)

KM 28 (MiM gh 175)

KM 30 (MiM gh 51)

KM 31 (MiM gh 16)

KM 32 (MiM gh 25)

KM 33 (MiM gh 173)

KM 34 (MiM gh 41)

KM 35 (MiM gh 56)

KM 36

KM 37

KM 38

KM 39 (MiM gh 324)

KM 40

KM 41 (MiM gh 163)

KM 42 (MiM gh 78)

KM 43 (MiM gh 191)

KM 44

KM 45 (MiM gh 400)

KM 46

KM 47

KM 48

KM 49

KM 50

KM 51 (MiM gh 189)

KM 52 (MiM gh 284)

KM 53 (MiM gh 121)

KM 54 (MiM gh 161)

KM 55

KM 56 (MiM gh 156)

KM 57

KM 58

KM 59 (MiM gh 65)

KM 60 (MiM gh 66)

KM 61 (MiM gh 194)

KM 62 (MiM gh 340)

KM 63

KM 64 (MiM gh 48)

KM 65 (MiM gh 174)

KM 66

KM 67 (MiM gh 140)

KM 68

393

KM 69 (MiM gh 89)	KM 106 (MiM gh 330)	KM 144 (MiM gh 130)
KM 70 (MiM gh 315)	KM 107	KM 146 (MiM gh 143)
KM 71	KM 109	KM 147 (MiM gh 60)
KM 72 (MiM gh 333)	KM 110 (MiM gh 192)	KM 148 (MiM gh 213)
KM 73 (MiM gh 283)	KM 112 (MiM gh 99)	KM 150
KM 74 (MiM gh 55)	KM 113 (MiM gh 81)	KM 151
KM 75	KM 114 (MiM gh 285)	KM 152
KM 76	KM 116 (MiM gh 238)	KM 153
KM 77	KM 117	KM 154
KM 78	KM 118 (MiM gh 202)	KM 155
KM 79	KM 119	KM 156 (MiM gh 405)
KM 80 (MiM gh 153)	KM 120	KM 158
KM 81 (MiM gh 149)	KM 121	KM 159
KM 82	KM 122 (MiM gh 30)	KM 160
KM 83	KM 123 (MiM gh 364)	KM 161
KM 85	KM 124 (MiM gh 407)	KM 162 (MiM gh 58)
KM 86	KM 125	KM 163 (MiM gh 308)
KM 87	KM 126	KM 164
KM 88 (MiM gh 76)	KM 127	KM 165 (MiM gh 171)
KM 89 (MiM gh 242)	KM 128 (MiM gh 157)	KM 166 (MiM gh 193)
KM 90	KM 129	KM 167 (MiM gh 46)
KM 91	KM 130 (MiM gh 181)	KM 168
KM 93	KM 131 (MiM gh 45)	KM 169 (MiM gh 367)
KM 94	KM 132 (MiM gh 123)	KM 170 (MiM gh 142)
KM 95	KM 133	KM 171 (MiM gh 365)
KM 96	KM 134 (MiM gh 299)	KM 172 (MiM gh 139)
KM 97 (MiM gh 103)	KM 135 (MiM gh 90)	KM 173 (MiM gh 108)
KM 98 (MiM gh 80)	KM 136 (MiM gh 91)	KM 174
KM 99	KM 137	KM 175 (MiM gh 195)
KM 100	KM 138 (MiM gh 128)	KM 176 (MiM gh 360)
KM 102 (MiM gh 148)	KM 140	
KM 103	KM 141 (MiM gh 152)	
KM 104 (MiM gh 105)	KM 142	
KM 105	KM 143	

Borderline QP-QT Poems

18 Total Poems:
10 MiM
9 KM (3 KM *qaladariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

MiM 15

MiM 16

MiM 19

MiM 20/KM 10

MiM 22

MiM 37

MiM 38

MiM 55

MiM 61

MiM 82

KM 12

KM 20 (MiM gh 362)

KM 25

KM 84 (MiM gh 223)

KM 111

KM 115

KM 149 (MiM gh 43)

KM 157

Borderline QT-QP Poems

19 Total Poems:
4 MiM
17 KM (7 KM *qalandariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

KM 79

MiM 36/KM3

MiM 52/KM 7

MiM 62

MiM 66

KM 43 (MiM gh 191)

KM 52 (MiM gh 284)

KM 54 (MiM gh 161)

KM 57

KM 61 (MiM gh 194)

KM 85

KM 94

KM 100

KM 103

KM 113 (MiM gh 81)

KM 130 (MiM gh 181)

KM 143

KM 154

KM 176 (MiM gh 360)

Borderline QT-NQT Poems

106 Total Poems:
10 MiM
98 KM (57 KM *qalandariyât* are classified as *ghazals* in MiM)

MiM 12	KM 58	KM 102 (MiM gh 148)
MiM 18	KM 59 (MiM gh 65)	KM 104 (MiM gh 105)
MiM 41/KM 5	KM 60 (MiM gh 66)	KM 105
MiM 44	KM 63	KM 106 (MiM gh 330)
MiM 63	KM 64 (MiM gh 48)	KM 107
MiM 64	KM 65 (MiM gh 174)	KM 110 (MiM gh 192)
MiM 74/KM 108	KM 66	KM 112 (MiM gh 99)
MiM 83	KM 67 (MiM gh 140)	KM 114 (MiM gh 285)
MiM 90	KM 68	KM 116 (MiM gh 238)
MiM 92	KM 69 (MiM gh 89)	KM 118 (MiM gh 202)
KM 4	KM 70 (MiM gh 315)	KM 121
KM 19	KM 71	KM 122 (MiM gh 30)
KM 22 (MiM gh 287)	KM 72 (MiM gh 333)	KM 123 (MiM gh 364)
KM 26 (MiM gh 103)	KM 74 (MiM gh 55)	KM 125
KM 27 (MiM gh 83)	KM 75	KM 127
KM 31 (MiM gh 16)	KM 76	KM 128 (MiM gh 157)
KM 32 (MiM gh 25)	KM 78	KM 129
KM 33 (MiM gh 173)	KM 81 (MiM gh 149)	KM 131 (MiM gh 45)
KM 39 (MiM gh 324)	KM 82	KM 132 (MiM gh 123)
KM 40	KM 87	KM 134 (MiM gh 299)
KM 41 (MiM gh 163)	KM 88 (MiM gh 76)	KM 135 (MiM gh 90)
KM 42 (MiM gh 78)	KM 89 (MiM gh 242)	KM 136 (MiM gh 91)
KM 44	KM 90	KM 138 (MiM gh 128)
KM 46	KM 93	KM 140
KM 49	KM 95	KM 141 (MiM gh 152)
KM 50	KM 96	KM 142
KM 51 (MiM gh 189)	KM 97 (MiM gh 103)	KM 146 (MiM gh 143)
KM 53 (MiM gh 121)	KM 98 (MiM gh 80)	KM 148 (MiM gh 213)
KM 55	KM 99	KM 150

KM 152	KM 163 (MiM gh 308)	KM 171 (MiM gh 365)
KM 155	KM 164	KM 172 (MiM gh 139)
KM 156 (MiM gh 405)	KM 165 (MiM gh 171)	KM 173 (MiM gh 108)
KM 159	KM 166 (MiM gh 193)	KM 174
KM 160	KM 167 (MiM gh 46)	KM 175 (MiM gh 195)
KM 161	KM 169 (MiM gh 367)	
KM 162 (MiM gh 58)	KM 170 (MiM gh 142)	

Appendix IV

R Script for Topic Modeling and Visualization

```
#imports required libraries

library(tm)
library(XML)
library(RCurl)
library(plyr)
library(lda)
library(LDAvis)
library(dplyr)
library(stringi)
library(servr)
library(topicmodels)
library(networkD3)

#sets working directory (modify path as needed)
setwd("/Users/MTM/Documents/TextAnalysisWithR/Corpus")

#loads files into corpus
filenames <- list.files(getwd(), pattern="*.txt")

#reads files into a character vector
files <- lapply(filenames,readLines)

#creates corpus
docs <- Corpus(VectorSource(files))

#begins preprocessing
docs <-tm_map(docs,content_transformer(tolower))

#removes problematic symbols
toSpace <- content_transformer(function(x, pattern) { return (gsub(pattern, " ", x))})
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, "-")
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, """)
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, """)
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, '.')
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, """)
docs <- tm_map(docs, toSpace, """)

#removes punctuation
docs <- tm_map(docs, removePunctuation)

#removes numbers
docs <- tm_map(docs, removeNumbers)

#removes stopwords
docs <- tm_map(docs, removeWords, stopwords("en"))

#removes whitespace
docs <- tm_map(docs, stripWhitespace)
```

398

```r
#Stems document
#docs <- tm_map(docs,stemDocument)

#fixes common orthographic issues and plurals/indefinite forms
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "نكو", replacement = "نيكو")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "سيه", replacement = "سياه")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "دلها", replacement = "دل")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "طاعات", replacement = "طاعت")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "پسرا", replacement = "پسر")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "شاعران", replacement = "شاعر")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "شعری", replacement = "شعر")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "عاشقان", replacement = "عاشق")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "گبران", replacement = "گبر")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "پردهٔ", replacement = "پرده")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "کم زن", replacement = "کمزن")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "کمزنان", replacement = "کمزن")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "کم زنان", replacement = "کمزن")
docs <- tm_map(docs, content_transformer(gsub),
        pattern = "عیاران", replacement = "عیار")
....[continues similarly for dozens of lines]

#removes stop words
myStopwords <- readLines("/Users/MTM/mallet-2.0.8RC2/persianstoplist.txt")
docs <- tm_map(docs, removeWords, myStopwords)

#Creates document-term matrix
dtm <- DocumentTermMatrix(docs)

#converts rownames to filenames
rownames(dtm) <- filenames

#collapses matrix by summing over columns
freq <- colSums(as.matrix(dtm))

#creates descending sort order
ord <- order(freq,decreasing=TRUE)

#saves all terms in decreasing order of frequency
write.csv(freq[ord],"word_freq.csv")

#sets parameters for TM
burnin <- 1000 #number of times it will run before recording any results
```

```r
iter <- 5000 #total number of iterations
thin <- 500 #number of iterations skipped, i.e., will record results ever x number of
        iterations
seed <- 10 #use list or one number so topic model is reproducible
nstart <- 1 #number of repeated random starts
best <- TRUE

#sets number of topics
k <- 16

#runs LDA using Gibbs sampling
ldaOut <-LDA(dtm,k, method="Gibbs", control=list(nstart=nstart, seed = seed,
        best=best, burnin = burnin, iter = iter, thin=thin))

#writes results
ldaOut.topics <- as.matrix(topics(ldaOut))
write.csv(ldaOut.topics,file=paste("LDAGibbs",k,"DocsToTopics.csv"))
ldaOut.terms <- as.matrix(terms(ldaOut,35))
write.csv(ldaOut.terms,file=paste("LDAGibbs",k,"TopicsToTerms.csv"))
topicProbabilities <- as.data.frame(ldaOut@gamma, row.names = filenames)
write.csv(topicProbabilities,file=paste("LDAGibbs",k,"TopicProbabilities.csv"))

#function that creates json for LDAvis visualization
topicmodels_json_ldavis <- function(fitted, corpus, doc_term){
 # Find required quantities
 phi <- posterior(fitted)$terms %>% as.matrix
 theta <- posterior(fitted)$topics %>% as.matrix
 vocab <- colnames(phi)
 doc_length <- vector()
 for (i in 1:length(corpus)) {
  temp <- paste(corpus[[i]]$content, collapse = ' ')
  doc_length <- c(doc_length, stri_count(temp, regex = '\\S+'))
 }
 temp_frequency <- inspect(doc_term)
 freq_matrix <- data.frame(ST = colnames(temp_frequency),
                 Freq = colSums(temp_frequency))
 rm(temp_frequency)

 #converts results above to json for visualization
 json_lda <- LDAvis::createJSON(phi = phi, theta = theta,
                  vocab = vocab,
                  doc.length = doc_length,
                  term.frequency = freq_matrix$Freq)

 return(json_lda)
}

json_ldaOut <- topicmodels_json_ldavis(ldaOut, docs, dtm)

#creates visualization
serVis(json_ldaOut, out.dir = "Persian_vis46", open.browser = FALSE)

#creates new directory for storing results
```

dir.create("[file name]")[1]

---

1. This topic modeling script is an amalgamation of several different standard topic modeling scripts with the addition of my own modifications in various places.