

DOĞU DİLLERİ

FARSÇA, ARAPÇA, URDUCA, HİNDOLojİ VE SİNOLOJİ
ARAŞTIRMALARI

II. Cilt - 1. Sayı

1 9 7 1

FUZULÎ AS AN ADVISER

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A well known characteristic of Eastern, and in particular Persian classical poets, is their predilection for imparting advice on morals and manners. Every poet preaches in his own fashion, and Fuzûlî sounds his most didactic note in his *qit'as*. In them he appears as a mature and upright but kind-hearted man, giving advice to those who envy the ignorant and to tricksters and liars, and warning them against the uncertainty and instability of all things in the world. We see in them a strong aversion to worldly wealth traceable to early Islâm and to Şûfism.

The belief that accumulation of worldly possessions is displeasing to God is a frequently recurrent theme in Muslim literature for which there is ample authority in the Qur'ân, e.g.: "The present life is but a spot and a diversion, an adornment and a cause for boasting among you, and a rivalry in wealth and children" (Q LVII, 20), and "Wealth and sons are the adornment of the present world, but the abiding things, the deeds of righteousness, are better with God in reward and better in hope" (Q. XVIII, 46). Al-Ghazâlî (d. 505/III) in his *Ihyâ*, al-Sarrâj (d. 378/988) in his *al-Luma'*, and Hujvîrî (d. 465/1073) in his *Kashf al-Mahjûb*, take the Prophet Muḥammad's saying "poverty is my pride" as the watchword of Şûfism, and accept the view that the founder of Islâm lived plainly and humbly all his life, without changing his austere habits when great power and increasing riches accrued to him in the later years of his mission. In these and other books there are many stories showing how poor or destitute people are God's best beloved and how Muḥammad rejected the proffered riches. The Prophet is reported to have advised one of his companions, Abû Zarr al-Ghifârî, to love the poor and not to care for the rich.¹

Poverty was also one of the attributes of the Prophet's cousin 'Alî. According to al-Sarrâj, after 'Alî's murder his son Ḥasan stated that the entire wealth which 'Alî had left behind was only 400 dirhams.²

1) Ahmad Amin, *Fayz al-Khâṭir*, Cairo 1938-1955, vol. III, p. 184.

2) Abû Naṣr al-Sarrâj, *Kitâb al-Luma' fi'l-Taṣawwuf*, ed. by R. A. Nicholson, Leiden 1914, p. 37.

Through these precepts and examples, together with the influence of later mystic tendencies, poverty acquired a positive value in Islam. For the Şūfis, the way of truth and salvation was to shun worldly wealth and power and material pleasure, and to devote their lives whole-heartedly to God's service. As al-Sarrāj explains, poverty was considered to be one of the preparatory stages on the mystic way; often it was understood in a literal sense as "possessing nothing", but it was also spiritualized to mean the state of "him who does not possess any (worldly) thing and whom no (worldly) thing possesses".¹

The Şūfī authors emphasize that true poverty is not merely lack of wealth, but also lack of desire for wealth; not only must the hand be empty, the heart also must be emptied of all thoughts except love of God. Such was the spiritual state of the Prophets, who devoted themselves exclusively to God's service.

Fuzūlī in one of his *qit'as* warns against pride in worldly possessions, and voices the Şūfī belief that poverty's virtue is to encourage abstemiousness and stimulate trust in God:

Çoğ tefāhür kılma cem'-i māl ile ey hāce kim
Sīm ü zer cem'iyyeti ehl-i gūrūr eyler seni
Bārgāh-ı kurbdan cem'iyyet-i māl-ü menāl
Her ne mıkḍār olsa ol mıkḍār dūr eyler seni
Gerçi ni'met çoğ kifāyetden tecāvüz kılma kim
İmtilā bār-ı bedendür bî-hūzūr eyler seni²

"O wealthy man, do not take pride in your wealth, for the accumulation for gold and silver will make you vain. The more your money and possessions increase, the further you will be from God's presence. Although you have plenty, do not over-eat, for surfeit makes uncomfortable."

In another *qit'a* he says:

Ey ki endişe-i māl ile ser-āsīme olub
Dün-ü gün dehrde āşūfte geçer aḥbvālūn
Cem'-i māl eyledüğüñ rāḥat içündür amma
Rāḥatūn eksük olur her nice artar mālūn
Mālī çoğ etme hāzer eyle -azābından kim
Renci artar ağır olduğca yükü ḥammālūn³

1) Ibid, p. 108 (Arabic text).

2) Fuzūlī *Divānı*, ed. by Prof. A. Nihat Tarlan, Istanbul 1950, p. 213

3) Ibid., p. 216

"O you who spend day and night worrying so much over wealth and comfort, you will find that as your wealth increases your comfort will decrease. Do not accumulate wealth, but beware of it; for the heavier the burden the harder will be the porter's toil."

In the following *qit'a* he tells us something about his own life and attitude:

Şarf-ı nakd-i 'ömr edüb men kesb-i 'irfân etmişem
Ehl-i dünyâ hem kemâl-i cehl ile taḥşil-i māl
Dehr bir bāzârdur her kim metâ' 'ın 'arz eder
Ehl-i dünyâ sîm-ü zer ehl-i hüner fazl-ü Kemâl
Kim ki menden nef'bulmaz istemen nef'in anuñ
Ol ki nef'üm yoḥ aña nef'i maña olmaz ḥalâl
İstemen nādân maña ger verse genc-i sîm-ü zer
Kim 'ivezsiz mālâ nâ-dândan taşarrufdur vebâl¹

"While worldly people are making money, I spend my life acquiring insight ('irfân).² The world is a market where everybody offers his goods; a worldly man gold and silver, a craftsman quality and perfection. If nobody gains profit from me, I seek no profit from anybody; for such profit would not be honestly acquired. If an ignorant man gives me treasures of gold and silver, I do not want them; for money taken from the ignorant without recompense is equivalent to sin."

Füzüli in the following verse declares his complete disinterest in worldly riches or power:

Ne mülk-ü māl maña verse çarḥ memnünem
Ne mülk-ü mālden âvâre kılsa maḥzünem³

"Should Fortune bestow on me wealth and worldly goods, I would not be glad. Were it to free me from all wealth and worldly goods, I would not be sad."

Füzüli like Sa'dî, thinks that a man should conceal whatever he may learn about other men's faults, and that he should not seek merit through the borrowed credit of birth and wealth. As he says in this *qit'a*:

1) Füzüli *Divânî*, p. 220

2) While ordinary knowledge is denoted by the term 'ilm, the mystic knowledge peculiar to the Şūfis is called *ma'rifat* or 'irfân. The classical poets, however often used the word 'irfân for all sorts of knowledge and science. The fully developed gnostic ('ārif) had to undergo a long course of discipline and pass through many grades of knowledge. In Füzüli's view, gold and silver do not constitute anybody's wealth, the real wealth being virtue and knowledge.

3) Füzüli *Divânî*, p. 195

Perde çek 'aybına zulmet kimi halkuñ dā'im
 Ger dilerseñ ki naşib ola saña Āb-ı Hayāt
 Kılma hōrşid kimi 'ayb-nümālik ki felek
 Yere şalmaya seni ba'de 'ulüvv-i derecāt
 Cehd kıl zātuñ ola maẓhar-ı āşār-ı qabūl
 Kılma ol cāha tefāḥur ki ola ḥāric-i zāt
 Fazl olur şanma saña menzilet-i aşl-u neseb
 Cāh olur şanma saña keşret-i esbāb-ü cihāt
 'Āriyetden özüñe kılma kâmer tek zînet
 Gayrdan 'āriyetüñ nūr ise hem yazıya at¹

"If you hope for water, of life, always draw the curtain of darkness over the faults of other men! Do not, like the sun, throw light on people's faults, for perhaps then the stars will not cast you from high rank down to the ground! Try to be acceptable through personality, and do not be proud of your high rank, for such pride detracts from the personality! Aristocratic birth does not ennoble you, nor does wealth exalt you. Do not adorn yourself with borrowed finery like the Moon! Even if you have raised a loan of light, throw it away!"

The well-known "Mirrors for Princes" such as the *Qābūs-nāma*, the *Si-yāsat-nāma* and *Naşihat al-Mulūk*, and the very widely read *Büstān* and *Gulistān* of Sa'di (d. c. 691/1291), show us how fashionable it was in those days to give advice to high-ranking persons and to warn them against wrong doing and unjust conduct. When political powers were centred in a few hands, the rulers proudly claimed a peculiar excellence and superiority over other men. Fuẓūli finds such pride meaningless and preaches that a minister or a judge should act justly and obey the law;

Ey vezir-i mülk-perver kim nizām-ı mülk için
 İntihāb etmiş cemī-i halkdan sultān seni
 Hall-ü 'aḳdın 'ālemüñ kılmiş mufavveẓ rāyuña
 Nā'ib-i hükm-i ḫilāfet eyleyüb devrān seni
 Kıl hāzer kim olmaya nā-geh mizācuñ münkalib
 Kılmaya ser-mest cām-ı şevket-i divān seni
 Olasan inşāf için manşüb iken ehl-i fesād
 Ede dīn ehline āfet killet-i imān seni
 Etmege ma-müre-i islāmı vīrān kendüve
 A'zam-ı a'vān-u enşār eyleye şeytān seni
 Etmiş iken efḍal-i halk-ı cihān ikbāl ile
 Erzeli ehl-i cehennem eyleye Sübhān seni²

1) Ibid, p. 215

2) Fuẓūli *Divānı*, p. 222

"O Vazîr, whom the Sultân has chosen from among the people to order the affairs of the country, you are the Caliph's deputy, responsible for solving the people's problems. Beware, do not be intoxicated by wine-cup of power. You have been chosen to render justice, do not associate with the wicked and do not maltreat the believers, do not destroy the prosperous lands of Islâm (by wrong commands)¹. If you do, although you are the highest of the world's people, you will one day be the lowest of the dwellers in hell."

Ey kađî-i hüceste-liķā kim Hāk eylemiş
 Şāhib serîr-i mesned-i hükm-i kazâ seni
 Cehd eyle kim mülâhaza-i nef'-i dünyevî
 Hükm-ü kazâda etmeye ehl-i haţâ seni
 Maķbûl-ü halk kılmış iken 'ilm-ü ma'rifet
 Merdûd-u Hâlik eylemeye irtişâ seni¹

"O auspicious Qāzî, who have been chosen to sit on the throne of judgement, do not err under the influence of worldly gain when passing sentence! People esteem you for your knowledge; beware lest bribe-taking may make you unacceptable to God."

In a Turkish *qasîda* (eulogy) written for the Governor of Baghdād, Muḥammad (Meḥmed) pāshā, Fuzûlî first tells how the people were divided into two classes, lower and upper; then how prophets and rulers were sent so that no harm should come to the lower class from the upper; that without the existence of power, there would be no order in the world; and that if the man of power were to see that harm would come to the morth from the candle, he would snuff out the flame even though he himself should be plunged in darkness.²

Fuzûlî frowned upon cruel rulers who, after wronging the people and seizing their money, turned and scatterd favours and benevolences.³

He regarded the pay which Sultāns gave their armies to conquer other countries as a bribe. In fortune's everchanging rotation, he says; neither the country, nor the conquering armies, nor even the ruler himself, can hold on to anything permanent.⁴

The fact that man of learning could be instruments of cruelty was particularly repugnant to him. He would not admit the wicked to the sanctuary of true learning. To him iniquities of the learned were the greatest cause of the wickedness of the time:

1) Fuzûlî *Divânî*, p. 219

2) *Kulliyat-ı Divân-ı Fuzûlî*, Istanbul 1891, p. 215

3) Fuzûlî *Divânî*, ed. by A. Nihat Tarlan, Istanbul 1950, p. 215

4) *Ibid*, p. 224

Ey mu'allim âlet-i tezvîrdür eşrâra 'ilm
 Kılma ehl-i mekre ta'lim-i ma'ârif zînbâr¹

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

Eyleyüb nādāna 'arz-ı fazl-ü izhâr-ı hüner
 Şermsâr etmek 'atâ ummak nedür zulm-i şarîh
 Sen bilürsen mücmelen ondan ne alursan velî
 Bilmez ol kim alduğun senden hasendür yâ kabîh
 Zâhiren şatmak hüner almak 'atâ bir bey'dür
 Tîfl nādândur buyurmaz şer' anuñ bey'in şahîh²

"To expect a reward for presenting knowledge and displaying skill to the insensitive is an obvious injustice. You know well what you are getting from him; but he does not know whether what he is getting from you is good or bad. Selling skill and buying a gift is a commercial transaction. But the man without understanding is a child. The laws of religion do not regard the transaction as legal."

Fuzûlî, again like Sa'dî, ridicules the hypocrisy of so-called Şûfîs who make a vain pretence of spiritual knowledge and use false piety as a cloak for their sins. The following *gît'a* is an example:

Şadâyi ney harâm olsun dedün ey şöfî-i câhil
 Yele verdün hılâf-ı şer'ile nâmûsun islâmûn
 Bu endâm ile vecdiyyâtdan dem urmak istersen
 İlâhî ney kimi sūrâh sūrâh ola endâmûn³

"O hypocritical Şûfî, by saying that flute-playing is illegal,⁴ you have acted against God's Law and dishonoured Islâm. With such a bodily form you boast of ecstasies; would to God that your body might become as full of holes as a flute."

Fuzûlî believes that man comes into the world innocent of all sin, and that God has given man freedom to choose between good and evil. God has imposed duties upon man and has made them known to man through His

1) Ibid, p. 215

2) *Fuzûlî Divânî*, p. 226

3) Ibid, p. 224

4) Some of the mystics believed that music awakens in the soul a memory of celestial harmonies heard in a state of pre-existence, before the soul was separated from God. Hujvîrî says that "music is a divine influence, which stirs the heart to seek God." (*Kashf al-Mahjûb*, tr. Nicholson, p. 65).

prophets. God is essentially Just, and by sending the prophet Muhammad and the Qur'ān, He has given man a chance of attaining to eternal bliss. He is always ready to help with His succour and guidance those who are well-disposed. Man for his part has the capacity to perform all the duties imposed on him.¹ At the same time, Fuzūlī emphasizes that a child's pure and innocent soul must be directed towards good by upbringing and training: "Do not be heedless. Restrain child from frivolous activities. Do not neglect to teach him the way of learning and politeness!"

Fuzūlī in some of his *rubā'īs* again urges humility and pursuit of perfection, saying that the world is a place of pain and suffering, and that there is no permanence or stability in worldly rank and fortune or in worldly joy and happiness.

علم وادبست مایه عز و شرف گوهر که نباشد چه گشاید ز صدف
تا فرصت کار هست بی کار مباش میسند که بیهوده شود عمر تلف²

"The source of honour and respect is learning and politeness. When there is no pearl, the shell has nothing. While there is a chance to work, do not idle, do not let your life go to waste in vain!"

ای کرده بصد خون جگر جمع متاع آیا چه شود حال تو هنگام وداع
با خلق نزاع از پی دنیا کم کن دنیا نه متاعیست که ارزد بنزاع⁽³⁾

"O you, who with a hundred troubles have collected wealth, how will you feel at the moment of farewell? Why do you quarrel so much with people over this lower world's wealth? This world is not an item worth quarreling over."

The Qur'ān in many passages enjoins careful observation of nature and history. This, together with well-known sayings of the Prophet, such as "seek knowledge even in China" or "acquisition of knowledge is the duty of every Muslim man and Muslim woman", encouraged probing into the secrets of nature and into the past and present of mankind. From the mystic point of view, acquisition of knowledge is one of the first stages on the road. 'Azīz al-Dīn Nasafī, in his *kitāb al-insān al-Kāmil*⁴ remarks that a man must

1) Fuzūlī, *Persian Divān*, ed. by Prof. H. Mazioğlu, Ankara 1962, pp. 611-617, 625.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 665.

3) Fuzūlī, *Persian Divān*, p. 664

4) *Kitāb al-Insān al-Kāmil*, ed. by Marijan Mole, Tehran, Paris 1962, p. 92

first learn the sciences, and that only when he has acquired sufficient knowledge will it be time for him to find a spiritual guide and set out on the path of Truth.

Fuzûlî has this to say about the virtue of acquiring knowledge:

فضیلت نسب واصل خارج ذاتست بفضل غیر خود ای سفلہ افتخار مکن
بانتساب سلاطین و خدمت امرا کہ زایست مزن تکیہ اعتبار مکن
بصنعتی کہ دروہست شرط صحت دست مشو مقید و خود را امید وار مکن
بملک و مال کہ ہستند زایل و ذاہب اساس بنیہ امید استوار مکن
اگر تراست ہوای فضیلت باقی بعلم کوش وز تحصیل علم عار مکن⁽¹⁾

"Superiority of lineage and nobility of birth are accidental. O base man, take no pride in anything but your own virtue. Do not lean on kinship with rulers and service of princes, or take credit for these things, as they are vain. If the prerequisite of a craft is a sound hand, do not commit yourself to it, do not set your hopes on it! Do not base a firm structure of hope on property and wealth, which are impermanent and transitory. If you have a desire for lasting merit, strive for knowledge and do not be ashamed to learn."

In another *qit'a*, addressing people who are proud of their beauty, Fuzûlî insists that beauty lies in inner goodness and not in outward appearance: "To care for the beauty of an ephemeral form is useless. Search for perfection, for that will suit you better."

Fuzûlî in one of his *qit'as* complains that in his time poetry was not appreciated either by learned men ('Ulamā, meaning in particular religious scholars) or by ignorant men. Although the Qur'ānic word that every created thing adores and glorifies God in its own tongue,² or the Prophet's word that "Wisdom comes from poetry,"³ attest that composing poetry is not prohibited to Muslims, nevertheless during the course of the centuries the religious scholars as a class turned to formalism and made their own judgements, one of which was to hold poetry in suspicion. With his gently ironic wit, Fuzûlî says:

1) Fuzûlî, *Persian Divân*, p. 617

2) *Qur'ān*, XVII, 44.

3) *Concordance et indices de la Tradition Musulmane*, by A. J. Wensinck, Leiden 1936, Vol. I, p. 491.

علم‌یند و مردم جاهل	دو گروه‌ند خلاق این عالم
زانکه هستند از هنر غافل	جاهلان شعر را نمی‌دانند
بلکه ناشرع هرزه رباطل	پیش عالم خطاست گفتن شعر
امر من صعب کار من مشکل	آه از این غم که هست در عالم
که باو نیست هیچ کس مایل ⁽¹⁾	کرده ام صرف عمر در کاری

"The people of the world fall into two groups: learned and ignorant. The ignorant know nothing of poetry, because they are heedless of art. According to the learned, composing poetry is wrong, nay rather illicit, dissolute and futile. Alas for all this sorrow! My occupation in the world is hard and difficult. I have spent my life on an art in which no one is interested."

This much is certain, that Fuzûlî was one of those exceptional men who attained the happiness of conceiving desires which the material world cannot satisfy, and that the works which he has left to us reflect this. He calmed the storm in his spirit by writing, and expressed his grief and his inward debates in poetry which is the highest manifestation of language. He sees poetry as a beloved, with fine expressions as her ornaments, and beautiful people as her lovers, e.g. in the verse below:

Şi'r bir ma'sûkdur hüsni-i 'ibâret zîveri
Cân-ü dilden nâzenin ma'hibûblar 'aşıkları

Many beauties like Laylâ had come together in our poet's mind to listen to poetry as Majnûn did, and they had forced him to become a poet too. He could write poetry now, because he had finally acquired sufficient learning. He mentions this poetically in the prefaces to his *Divâns*, and says in a ghazal:

Olmayan gavvâş-ı ba'ır-i ma'rîfet 'ârif degül
Kim şadef terkib-i tendür lû'lü'-i şehvâr söz²

"He who is not a diver in the sea of knowledge cannot know; a man's body is mother of pearl, and his words are pearls."

In the preface to his Persian *Divân* he writes:

1) Fuzûlî, Persian *Divân*, p. 635

2) Fuzûlî *Divânî*, p. 72

بدانکه فضیلت شعر نیز علمیت به استقلال و نوعیت معتبر از انواع
کمال که بعضی که انکار این کار نموده اند از ذوقش واقف و به تصرفش قادر
نبوده اند.

من ذوق و سرور را باقی جز سخن نیست در جهان ساقی
سخن نیست در بقای سخن اوست باقی و بی بقا باقی⁽¹⁾

"Poetry is a distinct and valid form of learning. Those who deny this do not enjoy its pleasures. Poetry is the only cupbearer in this world offering eternal joy and the wine of delight. There is no doubt as to poetry's imperishability. It is the only (thing) that does not perish; all else is transient."

At the beginning of his Persian work "*Anīs al-Qalb*", he writes as follows:

دلم درجی ست اسرار سخن درّهای غلطاناش
فضای علم دریا فیض حق باران نیشانش⁽²⁾

"My heart is a chest of pearls, the secrets of language are the unbored pearls within it. The world of learning is the sea. The grace of God is its April rain."

The couplets at the end of "*Haft-Jām*", are in the same tenor:

مشو غافل از نطق حکمت بیان که در جسم انسان جزا نیست جان
چنین است ظاهر برارباب هوش که زنده است گویا و مرده خموش⁽³⁾
نمی ماند از هیچکس غیر نام سخن گوی تازنده باشی مدام
ولی آن سخن گوی که انجام کار نباشی ز تکرار آن شرمسار

"Do not neglect to utter words of wisdom, because if there is a life within the body, it is this and only this. The wise man sees that he who speaks is alive, and that he who speaks silent is dead. Mortal man lives on in this world

1) Fuzūlī, Persian *Divān*, p. 6

2) *Anīs al-Qalb*, Istanbul 1944, p. 1

3) Fuzūlī, Persian *Divān*, p. 675

only in his name. Write poetry so that you may always remain alive; but choose words which you will never blush to hear repeated."¹

In the preface to his Turkish *Dīvān*, Fuzûlî describes poetry as a product of skill and temperament, and explains that learning is necessary to develop the temperament and to create poetry because poetry without learning will remain soulless. In *Anīs al-Qalb* he writes:

الا ای آنکه زیب شاهد گفتار می بندی

خدا را از لباس معرفت مگذار عریان⁽²⁾

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

He himself, so he tells us, become a poet in spite of the difficulties of poetry. He believes in his own poetic talents, and mentions in the following stanza:

Her sözü'm bir pehlevândur kim bulub te'yîd-i Hâk
 'Azm kıldukda dutar tedric ile baħr-ü beri
 Hânda kim 'azm etse mersûm-ü mevâcib istemez
 Hânsı mülkü dutsa degmez kimseye sūr-ü şeri
 Pây-mâl etmez anı âsib-i devr-i rûzigâr
 Eylemez te'sîr aña devrân-ı çarh-ı çenberî
 Kılmasun dünyâda sultânlar maña teklif-i cûd
 Besdürür başumda tevfiķ-i kanâ'at efseri
 Her cihetden fâriğam 'âlemde hâşâ kim ola
 Rızķ için ehl-i beķâ ehl-i fenânuñ çâkeri⁴

1) The idea that man can gain an immortality in this world by leaving a good name in it is probably of pre-Islāmic Persian origin; the most commonly cited example is King Khusrāw Anūshīrvān's undying reputation for justice. Şūfīs regarded the quest for a good name as worldly and irreligious. Some extreme Şūfīs such as the Qalandars deliberately sought a bad name through blameworthy behaviour (*malāmat*), hoping thereby to gain a better prospect of salvation in the next world. As Hāfiẓ Says:

از ننگ چه گوئی که مرا نام زنگست و ز نام چه پرسی که مرا ننگ ز نامست

(*Dīvān-i Hāfiẓ*, ed. by M. Qazvinī and Q. Ghanī, Tehran 1340/1961, p. 33.

2) *Anīs al-Qalb*, Istanbul 1944, p. 1

3) *Ma'rīfat*. This may mean knowledge or learning, but may also mean the mystic's insight into the truth.

4) Fuzûlî *Dīvānī*, p. 224

"Every word of mine is a champion, backed by God, who when he sets out slowly subdues the sea and the land. Wherever he goes, he demands no tribute; whichever land he seizes, no evil from him touches anyone. The changes of time do not trample him underfoot; and the turning sphere does not influence him. Let not Sultāns assume a duty of generosity to me in this world. The crown of contentment on my head suffices me; I have needed nothing in the world. Does it befit people of eternity to be slaves of people of transience for the sake of daily bread?"

The above poem expresses Fuzūlī's whole philosophy very well.

Fuzūlī's Persian work *Anīs al-Qalb* is a long *qaṣīda*. This *qaṣīda* is a *naṣīḥatnāma* (letter of advice) of the type usually written for Sultāns. The *qaṣīda* advises the Sultān how to act, and how best to serve the people. It explains, in what were for the age very advanced terms, the proper relations between the people, the Sultān and the government, and describes very candidly how an oppressive ruler stands in the eyes of the people.

In his advice to the Sultān, Fuzūlī says:

فراغی نیست اهل حرص را زیرا اگر شخص

شه ایران شود البته باید ملک تورانش⁽¹⁾

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

خلاق را فراغی نیست در دور شه ظالم

بلای گوسفندست اینکه باشد گرگ چوپانش⁽²⁾

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

مزن از پی ترتیب تحت ای حاکم ظالم

به نخلی کز پی نفع تو پروردست دهقانش⁽³⁾

1) Fuzūlī, *Anīs al-Qalb*, p. 5

2) Ibid.,

3) Ibid..

"Oh oppressive ruler, the peasant has planted a palmtree so that you may take advantage of it. Do not cut it down to make yourself a throne."

چه میسازى چنان تختى كه خواهد رفت چون كشتى

بآن آبی كه می ریزد فقیر از نوك مرگانش⁽¹⁾

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

تو در اموال دهقان چون شریكان بهره داری

بشرط آنكه از هر آفتی باشی نگهبانش⁽²⁾

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

ترا باید كشیدن وقت فوت مال او تاوان

تو چون آفت شدی بر مال او بر کیست تاوانش⁽³⁾

"If the peasant's property is damaged, it falls to you to pay compensation; if you damage it, who will pay then?"

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

گل قرب سلاطین راست خار از چوب دربانان

نمی ارزد امید گنج بیم زهر ثعبانش⁽⁴⁾

"Oppressive Sultāns have doorkeepers with cudgels. If to be close to them is to be close to a rose, then the cudgals are the thorns. The hope of treasure is not worth the fear of snake-poison."

Next he speaks disapprovingly of those connected with the palace:

1—4) Fuzûlî, *Anis al-Qalb*, p. 5.

ره دیوان سلطان هر که بشناسد مخوان مردم
 که مردم را نه رسم است این که باشد رفیق
 دیوانش⁽¹⁾

"Do not count those who know the way to the Sultān's court as gentlemen; for it does not become a gentleman to associate with his courtiers."²

Finally he says that servility to rulers is useless:

چرا باید نهادن سر بتعظیم کی و کسری
 چرا باشد کشیدن منت از فغفور و خاقانش⁽³⁾

"Why bow your head to honour kay and Kistrā? Why suffer the taunts of Faghfūr and Khāqān?"⁴

In this *qaṣīda* he remarks that men remember God only when they are in difficult situations:

کسی تا غم ندارد یادی از ایزد نمی آرد
 خدا جوی اربود کس بهتر از شادیست احزانش⁽⁵⁾

"The man with no grief does not bring God into his mind. For the God-seeker, grief is better than joy."

Of those who are pious only in appearance, he says:

نه از بهر خدا تعمیر مسجد میکند زاهد
 برای خود فروشیهاست این تزین دکانش⁽⁶⁾

1) Fuṣūlī, *Anīs al-Qalb*, p. 5

2) Al-Ghazālī has the same idea and says that; "Whenever a man accedes to authority, he drifts away from God," and he specifies the problem by asking, "is it permissible to cross a bridge seeing that it has been built by the government out of stolen goods and with forced labour? He claims that any material benefits derived from rulers and their functionaries are religiously forbidden, because all the money which they possess is either stolen or is suspect of being so. (S. D. Goitein, *Studies in Islamic History and Institutions*, Leiden 1966, p. 206).

3) Fuṣūlī, *Anīs al-Qalb*, p. 7

4) Kay and Kistrā (=Khusraw) are names of Irānīan rulers, Faghfūr is the Chinese ruler, and Khāqān the Turkish.

5-6) Fuṣūlī, *Anīs al-Qalb*, pp. 10 and 5

"The ascetic does not repair the mosque for God's sake. He decorates his shop only to sell himself."

The language of the poem is stronger than that of the usual "advice" literature, and has almost the qualities of a revolutionary manifesto directed against the Sultān and palace, who represented the government and high officials of the age.

The ideas which we find when reading Fuzūlī's works lead to the conclusion that he must have been no less highminded as a man than he was great as a poet. In his poems he shows us the road to human perfection, and teaches us to be of good character and of service to humanity. A good man he thinks, should not occupy himself with the empty ambitions of this temporary life. He compares the accumulation of wealth to the ever growing toil of a porter whose burden is increased. He exposes the evils of oppression and bribery, and mocks those who after acquiring money in this way do charity in the hope of entering heaven. A man should be judged according to his worth as a man; aristocratic birth in Fuzūlī's view has never ennobled anyone. The essential good qualities in a man are honesty, liberality, selflessness and charity. It is also desirable that a man should keep secrets, show tolerance, and not be censorious of the faults of others. In his poems, Fuzūlī condemns hypocrisy and teaches modesty and humility. His own embodiment of these noble qualities gives him a great humility; he shows pride only in the face of those who do not recognise his art, and of the ignorant who claim to be learned. Fuzūlī is convinced that the acquisition of knowledge will bring a man to virtue and perfection. He therefore attaches great importance to learning, and emphasizes its part in a man's moral development, as well as its role in art. "Poetry without learning" he says "is like a wall without foundations." From his own works we can see that he devoted his whole life to the acquisition of knowledge, and that he was a man with wide-ranging ideas who considered all the problems of the age. He also explains, in a beautiful verse,¹ that the only profit to be gained from this short life is to win the favour and get the consent of the friend.

Fuzūlī's ideas are, of course, not entirely new. Sa'dī likewise had stressed contentment (*qanā'at*), kindness, modesty, tolerance, and sincerity, and had condemned hypocrisy and looking for faults in other men instead of one's self. For the Şūfis also, life's purpose is to attain to the vision of the Friend. But by Fuzūlī's time the morality and the mysticism of the poets had generally

1) Fuzūlī *Divānı*, p. 197

Kim ola dōst rızası hemin saña hāşıl

Rızā-yi dōstdur aşı-i temettü' ey gāfil

become conventional and artificial. Fuzûlî, on the other hand, convinces his reader that he sincerely means what he says. He has a high moral concept which gives value only to human character and cares nothing for worldly success. Although we know so little of Fuzûlî's private life, we cannot help feeling that besides teaching his ideal he must have tried to practise it, not sanctimoniously, but with modesty and good humour. This is why his philosophy of endurance in the face of suffering, and virtue in the face of error, was novel and daring in his own time and never loses its freshness in any age.