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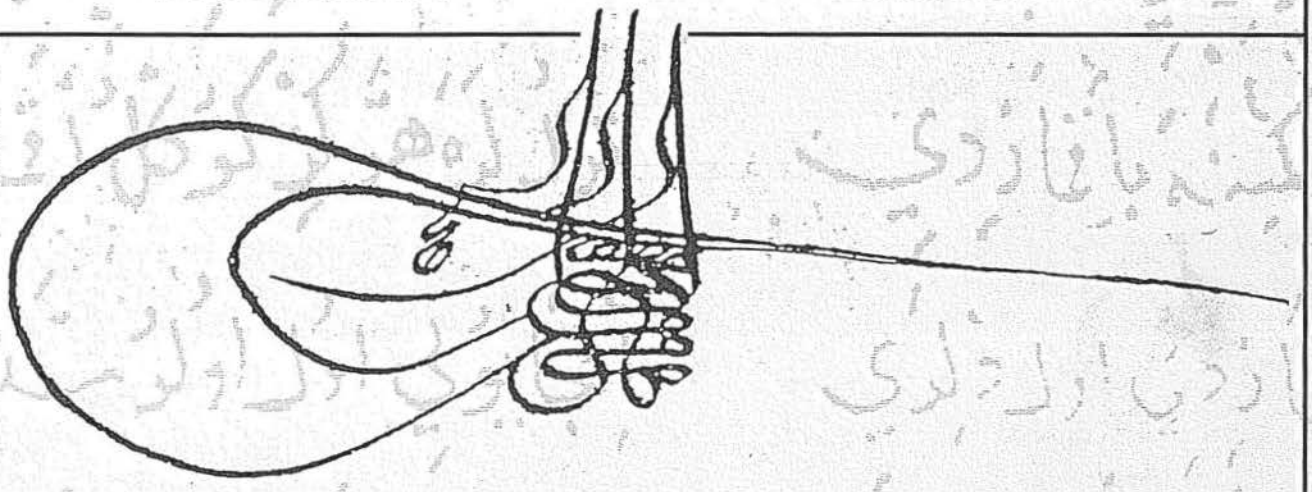

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL FESTSCHRIFT

Essays presented to

ANNEMARIE SCHIMMEL

on the occasion of her retirement
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THE LIFE AND TIMES OF KAMĀL KHUJANDĪ

Leonard Lewisohn

From Khujand to Tabriz

Khujand is a city on the banks of the Jaxartes River (Syr Darya) in the ancient province of Transoxiana, named with romantic ethnocentricity by the Greeks, Alexandreschata, the birthplace of mediaeval Persia's poet of 'Perfection' (**Kamāl**).[1] Today it is a moderately sized city in Tajikistan with a population of 140,000. However, in the fourteenth century, Khujand was a ten-day dromedary's journey from the famous city of Samarkand, destined to be the capital of the empire of Tamerlane (**Tīmūr-i lang**).

According to Jāmī's account in the **Nafaḥāt al-uns,** in his early years, Kamāl Khujandī (d. 803/1400) spent a period of tutelage in the town of Shāsh located on the northern Jaxartes – today Tashkent in the state of Uzbekistan – under a certain Sufī Shaykh Khwāja ᶜUbaydullāh, whose identity, ultimately, remains unknown.[2] Other equally eminent sources, such as the monumental biographical history of famous Sufis, scholars and poets of Tabriz, the **Rawḍāt al-jinān wa jannāt al-janān**, by Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Karbalāᵓī Tabrīzī, renowned as Ibn Karbalāᵓī, pass over this sojourn in Shāsh and encounter with Khwāja ᶜUbaydullāh in silence. Instead, always mindful of the psychological element in his mystics' biographies, Ibn Karbalāᵓī tells quite a different tale:

> My reverend master[3] – may God amplify his graces – recounted on the authority of his venerable master, that when the Master [Kamāl Khujandī] was living in Khujand in his youth, he devoted all his energies to ascetic exercises and spiritual combat, experiencing extraordinary mystical states. His father had but one son, and desired to obtain a position as 'village-chief' for him; despite the fact that the boy's personal preferences ran contrary to his father's wishes, after much insistence and persuasion, he acquiesced to his father's wishes. The latter arranged for his son to wed a local girl.
>
> On the night of their nuptials, according to custom, Kamāl entered the chamber of his young wife. Feigning disdain, the girl said, "Go away." The reverend Master wasted no time, put on his shoes at once, and left the house. He set out on foot across the Qipchāq Desert, abandoning Khujand, and taking with him only one servant by the name of Shaykh Muḥammad to accompany him. Despite repeated warning given by local residents about the dangers of the desert, its aridity, and the savagery of its animals, the youths took no heed, answering "We trust in God – come what may."[4]

Attesting to the poet's graces (**karāmāt**) at this early age, Ibn Karbalāᵓī recounts several miracles wrought by the young **walī**. Crossing the desert each night a camel appears laden with food, kneels before the youths, deposits his load, their dinner, then disappears. In this fashion they survived, protected by Providence, and eventually reached the town of Sarā which became their home in exile. Kamāl acquired many followers there, says Ibn Karbalāᵓī – "the nobles and grandees of that city all adopted an attitude of deference, humble servitude, and veneration towards the Master, and became firm believers in him." Renowned now as a 'Dispenser of supersensory graces,' Kamāl performs several other miracles in Sarā. During a local festival (ᶜ**īd**), the young master bestows some four hundred garments on "the nobles and the plebeians," and gives the local ruler a "purple fur-coat woven with golden embroidery" again produced from

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[1]ᶜAlī Akbar Dihkhudā, **Lughat-nāma**, s.v. "Khujand."

[2]**Nafaḥāt al-uns**, ed M. Tawhīdīpūr (Tehran 1964), p. 612. Both E. G. Browne (**A Literary History of Persia**, Cambridge University Press, 1920, vol. 3, p. 320) and, after him, the Persian translator of this work (ᶜAli Aṣghar Ḥikmat, **Az Saᶜdī tā Jāmī**, Tehran, 2nd edition, 1960/1339 A.H.sh. p. 429, n. 1), have interpreted Jāmī's reference here as an allusion to ᶜUbaydullāh Naqshband, one of the seminal figures in the Naqshbandī Sufi Order, famous as Khwāja Aḥrār (concerning whom, see J. A Gross's excellent study, "The Economic Status of a Timurid Sufi Shaykh" in **Iranian Studies**, vol. 21, nos. 1-2, pp. 84-104). Such attribution, however, is erroneous, since the latter mystic died in 895/1490, an entire generation after Kamāl (d. 803/1400).

[3]The author's references to "reverend master" and "venerable master" allude respectively to: Amir Ṣafī al-Dīn Shāh Mujtabā (d. 983/1575) and Amīr Badr al-Dīn Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ḥasanī Husaynī Lālā (840/1436-912/1507), masters of the Kubrawī Order.

[4]Ibn Karbalāᵓī, **Rawḍāt al-jinān wa jannāt al-janān**, edited by Jaᶜfar Sulṭān al-Qurrāᵓī (Tehran 1965), vol. I, p. 501.

the **mundus invisibilis**, for "whatever the master willed to happen would at once become manifest from the Divine **arcanum**."[5]

According to this hagiography, Kamāl Khujandī already appears at an early age as a Sufi master of great charisma, **karāmāt**. Yet still it remains unknown whether or not the poet actually dwelled in Shāsh as Jāmī says, or stopped off in Sarā as Ibn Karbalā'ī states, since neither of these accounts is buttressed by other sources, such as the **Rashaḥāt ʿayn al-ḥayāt**. Certainly the fact of central historical importance and, culturally speaking, the most significant event in the poet's biography, is his journey to and residence in Tabriz for most of the remaining years of his life, concerning which issue all historical accounts are in unanimous concordance.

Life in Tabriz, Exile in Sarā(y)

After Shiraz and Samarkand, Tabriz was one of the three main cultural centres of late fourteenth- and early fifteenth-century Persia, as well as the land's political capital for most of the poet's lifetime. A description of the vast sub-quarter of Tabriz known as the Rubʿ-i Rashīdiyya, so named after the grand vizier of the Mongol rulers Ghāzān Khān and Abū Saʿīd, the historian Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍlullāh, in a letter to his son Saʿd al-Dīn, describes some of the monumental grandeur of this mediaeval metropolis in the beginning of the fourteenth century:

> [In this quarter can be found] 24 caravansarays, 1500 shops, and 30,000 houses....[There are] gardens, baths, stores, workshops, papermills [with]...workmen and artisans brought from every town and district...[as well as] Qur'an readers, **mu'adhdhins** and doctors of theology, domiciled in the Kucha-i ʿUlamā (Rue des Savants)....[There are also] 6000 or 7000 students, 50 physicians from India, China, Egypt, and Syria, each of whom is bound to give instruction to ten pupils...[with] a hospital (**dāruʿsh-shifā**) with its oculists, surgeons and bone-setters...and allowances in kind and money made to all of them.[6]

Rashīd al-Dīn, architect of this mini-city, was a great patron of scholars and Sufi poets as well. He was directly responsible for the compilation of the **Dīwān** of another Sufi poet, the illustrious Humām Tabrīzī (d. 714/1314), and furthermore bequeathed large sums of money towards the maintenance of that poet's **khānaqāh** in Tabriz.[7]

Although this glorious period at the beginning of the thirteenth century was quite transient, for, following Rashīd al-Dīn's execution (in 1318), the entire Rubʿ-i Rashīdiyya, along with its hospitals, col-leges, and libraries, was pillaged and destroyed by the citizens of Tabriz in a fit of anti-Semitic fanaticism, nonetheless the city of Tabriz remained a bright jewel in the Persian crown and virtually the commercial and cultural centre of Iran during the rest of the century.[8] Despite this destruction, Tabriz's glory did not wane: the city even became the centre of a famous school of Persian minature painting during the century, the so-

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[5]Ibid.

[6]The following account is E. G. Browne's translation from the **Mukātibāt-i Rashīdī** given in his **A Literary History of Persia** (Cambridge University Press, 1956), III, p. 86. For a detailed discussion of this famous quarter see **The Cambridge History of Iran: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods**, vol. 5 (ed. J. A. Boyle, Cambridge University Press, 1968), pp. 407, 511. A. H. Morton, in an unpublished paper on "The Letters of Rashīd al-Dīn: Ilkhanid Fact or Timurid Fantasy?" delivered at the School of Oriental & African Studies, University of London, in a conference on 'The Legacy of the Mongols' in March 1991, has proven the author of these letters was not Rashīd al-Dīn, but a Timurid romancer who "succeeded in producing something approaching a historical novel, epistolary in form of course."

[7]See Dr. R. ʿAywaḍī's introduction to the **Dīwān-i Humām Tabrīzī** (Tabriz 1970), introduction, p. 51.

[8]"At this period [early 14th century], Tabriz had taken the place of Baghdad as the principle commercial centre in Western Asia." See E. J. W. Gibb's introduction to his translation of **Ibn Battuta: Travels in Asia and Africa** (London 1929, p. 349 n. 27). B. Fragner also observes that "Baghdad continued to be an economically important city, but in the 8th/14th century Tabriz, the seat of the Il-Khāns, had taken precedence over all other cities in Iran. The ravages of the Mongol invasion which had set other cities far back from their former stage of development, had long since been repaired in Tabriz"—**Cambridge History of Iran**, vol. 6, p. 524. V. Minorsky also notes (**Encyclopaedia of Islam**, 1st ed., s.v. "Tabriz") that, although Sultaniyya was at the time of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's visit to Persia the **de facto** political capital of the Il-Khanid Empire, during the reign of Ghāzān Khān (1295-1304) Tabriz "attained its greatest splendour" and was "the real centre of the empire which stretched from the Oxus to Egypt."

called 'School of Tabriz."[9] The following excerpt from the travelogue of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who visited the city in 1326 in the entourage of Sultan Abū Saᶜīd, gives some idea of the grandeur that still remained of Tabriz's commercial centre:

> We came to a great bazaar, called the Ghazan bazaar, one of the finest I have seen the world over. Every trade is grouped separately in it. I passed through the jewellers' bazaar, and my eyes were dazzled by the varieties of precious stones that I beheld. They were displayed by beautiful slaves wearing rich garments with a waist-sash of silk, who stood in front of the merchants, exhibiting the jewels to the wives of the Turks, while the women were buying them in large quantities and trying to outdo one another. As a result of this I witnessed a riot—may God preserve us from such! We went on into the ambergris and musk market, and witnessed another riot like unto it or worse.[10]

Although the city changed hands over the course of the poet's lifetime, becoming the object of sieges leveled by the various warring armies of jealous Muzaffarid, Jalāyirid, Turcoman and Timurid rulers, the poet seems to have been on the best of terms with Sultan Ḥusayn Ibn Uways Jalāyir (rg. 776-84/1374-83). In his **Memoirs of the Poets** Dawlatshāh Samarqandī relates how Sultan Ḥusayn "built a house of great beauty for the Master [Khujandī] in the vicinity of Tabriz, giving numerous bequests to his almshouse (**langar**)."[11] This Sufi hospice contained a vast enclosed garden and was located three miles (**nīm farsang**) outside Tabriz at the Mount-of-Saints (Walīyānkūh) and was to be celebrated by the poet in the following verses, which not only express his affection for the district, but also allude, by way of a poetic conceit, to the five hundred Sufi saints said to be interred in this 'heavenly graveyard':

زاهدا تو بهشت جو که کمال ولیانکو خواهد و تبریز

Go seek Paradise, oh pietist:
Kamāl prefers Tabriz
and the Mount-of-Saints.[12]

از بهشت خدای عزوجل تا به تبریز نیم فرسنك است

From the kingdom of heaven
in God's glory and excellence,
to the town of Tabriz
is but half a league.[13]

There even exists an occasional quatrain (actually a **dū-baytī**) composed by Kamāl to commemorate – and perhaps defend before jealous rivals' criticism his acceptance of – this house, which demonstrates its historical existence:

گر گوشهٔ بسازد سلطان حسین ما را در قلب شهر نبود کس را بما نزاعی
با مطربان خوش گو شام و صباح باشد در گوشهٔ حسینی عاشق را سماعی

If within this city's midst
King Ḥusayn has built a niche
for me, no one should dispute,
since there the lovers hold a concert

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[9]Cf. E. Schroeder, "Ahmed Musa and Shams al-din: A Review of 14th-Century Painting," **Ars Islamica** (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1939), vol. 6, pp. 126-129.

[10]**The Travels of Ibn Battuta**, trans. E. J. W. Gibb (New York 1929), pp. 101-102.

[11]**Kitāb Tadhkirat al-shuᶜarā**, ed. E. G. Browne (London 1901), p. 324.

[12]Most of the references to Kamāl Khujandī's poetry in the present article are to the excellent critical edition by K. Shidfar (Moscow, 1975), the **Dīwān-i Kamāl al-Dīn Masᶜūd Khujandī**, although some occasional use is also made of ᶜAzīz Dawlatābādī's edition (Tehran 1958) of the poet's **Dīwān**. Whereas the latter text is almost entirely without annotated alternate readings of the text and pro-vides only 944 **ghazals**, 2 **qaṣīda**, 1 **mustazād**, 87 **qiṭᶜa**, 1 **mathnawī**, 31 **rubāᶜī**, 8 **mulammaᶜ**, and 9 **takbayt**–amounting to just 6984 lines, the critical edition of Shidfar is meticulously edited from six ancient MSS., providing alternate versions of couplets and words in footnotes to the text, featuring some 978 **ghazals**, 4 **qaṣīda**, 101 **qiṭᶜa**, 1 **mustazād**, 37 **rubāᶜī**, 11 **mulammaᶜ**, 1 **mathnawī**, and 7 **takbayt**–con-taining altogether 7335 lines. The above verse occurs in ghazal #571 in Shidfar's edition.

[13]Cited by Dawlatābādī, **Dīwān-i Kamāl Khujandī**, introduction, p. 4.

and play sweet tunes and strains
both vespers and matins
in the scale of 'Ḥusayn.'[14]

Despite the fact that Dawlatshāh claims that this house was built for the poet by Sultan Ḥusayn in *791/1390* following his return from a four-year exile in Sarā, after the Khān of the Golden Horde, Tuqtamish, raided and ransacked Tabriz in 787/1385, bearing off to his capital city (Sarā) Tabriz's artisans, savants and scholars, including Kamāl Khujandī, this statement is historically inaccurate, for Sultan Ḥusayn was slain in *784/1382* and succeeded by his brother, Sultan Aḥmad Jalāyir.[15] The latter prince ruled Azarbaijan, and its capital city Tabriz, until Tuqtamish's invasion obliged him to flee. (He recovered control of the city after the departure of the Golden Horde forces, but was once again driven out by Tamerlane's attack and capture of Tabriz in 788/1386.) Thus, Sultan Ḥusayn's bequest of a house to Kamāl Khujandī could only have occurred during the years 1374-83, which was the period of his reign in Tabriz, and not in 791/1390 as Dawlatshāh asserts.

Following Tuqtamish's invasion, as noted above, the poet was forcibly transported to Sarā,[16] the Golden Hoarde capital on the Volga River, the same city where he had resided in his youth, after abandoning his father and wife in Khujand. Even if it is unclear exactly how long Kamāl was detained there, most historians[17] follow the dictum of Dawlatshāh that the spell amounted to four years. (Jāmī altogether omits to mention the exile.) Ibn Karbalā'ī affirms that the period was exactly eleven years, stating that, "according to the chronicles of history, when Tuqtamish Khān pillaged Tabriz in the year 787[/1385], he took the master with him. The latter remained there until the year 798[/1396]. During this period he recalled with longing his life in Tabriz, nostalgic to return to its lovely countryside. In the end Tamerlane attacked Tuqtamish Khān and pillaged the city of Sarāy, bringing the reverend master back to Tabriz...."[18]

Ibn Karbalā'ī's account of these events is actually quite accurate. We do know that Tīmūr ransacked Sarā in 1396, thus effectively crushing the power of the Golden Horde.[19] So it is reasonable to assume, as Ibn Karbalā'ī claims, that Tamerlane was responsible for rescuing Kamāl and allowing him to return to Tabriz.

Despite the fact that in Kamāl's **Dīwān** the allusions to political events and rulers are few and far between, so that if in one place he appears to be unaffected by the turmoil surrounding him, boasting nonchalantly:

گر از روی زمین روید غم و درد دل عاشق بروی دوست شادست

Should cares and grief and woe
over the earth's whole surface to grow
the Friend's bright face will still delight
the lover's heart.[20]

—in other places, his exile in Sarā seems portrayed with some bitterness.[21] The following verses, apparently composed when away from his beloved Khujand, seem to indicate this:

ای باد بهار کز تو خوشبوست مجلس بروایح عبیرم
بگذر به خجند و گو بیاران از من که به شهر چین اسیرم

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[14]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #1069.

[15]See V. Minorsky, **Encyclopaedia of Islam**, 1st edition, s.v. "Tabriz," p. 587.

[16]For further information on this city, see W. Barthold, **Encyclopaedia of Islam**, 1st edition, s.v. "Sarāi."

[17]Such as Maᶜṣūm ᶜAlī Shāh, **Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq**, ed. M. Jaᶜfar Maḥjūb (Tehran 1940), vol. II, p. 686; Dh. Ṣafā, **Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Irān** (Tehran 1959-77), vol. III, p. 1133; A. A. Ḥikmat, **Az Saᶜdī tā Jāmī** (Tehran 1960), p. 433; Dawlatābādī (ed.), **Dīwān-i Kamāl Khujandī**, introduction, p. 5.

[18]**Rawḍāt al-jinān**, vol. I, pp. 501-502.

[19]See H. R. Roemer, "Timur in Iran" in **The Cambridge History of Iran**, vol. 6, p. 73.

[20]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #104.

[21]Although Maᶜṣūm ᶜAlī Shāh (**Ṭarā'iq al-ḥaqā'iq** II, p. 686) cites a verse from a **ghazal** (see **Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #888) in which Kamāl describes himself as a nightingale and Sarā as a lovely garden, this doesn't seem to be the poet's dominant attitude.

زان برد کمال جور آن شوخ کو محتشمست و من فقیرم

O wind of Spring
as you waft to us
the scent of ambergris –
perfume for our symposium –
pass by Khujand and
to my friends convey
news of me, stuck in custody
in this Chinese city.
Tell them: a fool's trespasses
Kamāl suffers to pass
since he's high and mighty;
I'm abased in poverty.[22]

"This Chinese city" referred to above is probably Sarā; Kamāl's dislike for Tuqtamish Khān probably underpins the inspiration of other lines, such as:

این همه خون بناحق که در ایام تو رفت هیچکس را بتو چونی و چرائی نرسید

Through all your years and days
by foul play illicit blood was shed
and yet, the reason why none dares to ask,
and why and wherefore no one knows.[23]

تبریز مرا بجای جان خواهد بود پیوسته مرا ورد زبان خواهد بود
تا در نکشم آب چرنداب و گنجیل سرخاب ز چشم من روان خواهد بود

Tabriz I love, not my soul.
This city like a litany
Runs on my tongue
I long so much to taste again
The Charandāb and Ganjīl river-waters
That blood-filled grief weeps
Like **surkhāb** from my eyes.[24]

غارت چشم تو ما را مفلس و بیچاره سخت مؤمنان را کافری از خان و مان آواره سخت

Your eyes' own banditry it was
which wreaked on us this woe and misery
– one infidel it is who drove
believers off and turned them into refugees.[25]

From Ibn Karbalā'ī's account cited above, the inference that Tuqtamish Khān's invasion of Tabriz was undoubtedly, psychologically speaking, the most traumatic event – and certainly, historically speaking, the central incident in the mature years of Kamāl Khujandī's life, seems obvious. Hence a brief look at the circumstances of this pogrom is not without direct reference to the poet's biography. Fortunately, the editor of the **Rawḍāt al-jinān** has been meticulous enough to have published an entire treatise, entitled **Dhikr-i dār al-sulṭānat-i Tabrīz, wa ash'ār bih taghāyir-i ān āz ḥālat-i 'imārat wa rawnaq bih kharābī**,[26] written by an anonymous author contemporary with this catastrophe.

Describing in detail all the ravages wreaked and blood spilled by Tuqtamish's troops, the author recounts how, during "the first and second invasions, some ten thousand devout monotheists in Tabriz and

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[22]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #715.
[23]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #523.
[24]**Dīwān**, ed. Dawlatābādī, introduction, p. 5.
[25]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #199.
[26]This treatise is transcribed and printed in its entirety by Ja'far Sulṭān al-Qurrā'ī, editor of the **Rawḍāt al-jinān**, vol. 2, pp. 640-659.

its neighbouring boroughs were massacred and up to one hundred thousand prisoners taken."[27] Many of the Sufis and savants of Tabriz perished during this onslaught, many others were tortured, such as Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Bazzāzī, the grandfather of the foremost disciple of Muḥammad Shīrīn Maghribī (d. 810/1408), the greatest Sufi poet of Tabriz contemporary with Kamāl Khujandī. Bazzāzī, recounts the author, was "forced to carry a vat of wine on his shoulders running from quarter to quarter in Tabriz, chased and lashed by horsemen."[28] A vivid description of his own sufferings is also provided by the anonymous author:

> Throughout Tabriz I beheld utter destruction. Some fifty thousand devout unitarians were taken prisoner, chaste ladies were taken from their husbands' sides, and pretty daughters seized from their mothers. Holy scriptures were ripped up and their pages scattered to the winds. Pulpits were overturned.
>
> ...The Tatars took me prisoner, and during the night I was brought to the central mosque. I entered the building and saw the entire place brightly lit with fires in every corner, the Tatar infidels obliging the Muslims to walk through these as a kind of torture. They stood drinking in the corners passing flasks of wine about among themselves. Women were raped. I saw many other atrocities that were committed.[29]

Kamāl composed a brief elegy of five couplets, a sort of mild 'protest poem' mourning this holocaust. From the reference in it to a certain 'Mīr Walī' – one of the defenders of Tabriz and the commander-in-chief of Tabriz under Sultan Aḥmad Jalāyir – it is evident how staunchly he opposed Tuqtamish himself. These verses also contain a brief reference to the attempted redevelopment and restoration of the Rashīdiyya quarter by certain citizens of Tabriz shortly before the invasion:

گفت فرهاد ما به میر ولی که رشیدیّه را کنیم آباد
زر به تبریزیان بآجر و سنگ بدهیم از برای این بنیاد
بود مسکین بشغل کوه کنی که ز موران کوه و دشت زیاد
لشکر پادشاه توقتمیش آمد و هتف این ندا در داد
لعلِ شیرین نصیبِ خسرو شد سنگ بیهوده می کَنَد فرهاد

"Come," said Farhād, our valiant mason, to Mīr Walī
"We'll give Tabrizis gold, to buy us bricks and stones.
We will restore the Rashīdiyya city-quarter."
The wretch was hard at work in the quarry
when all at once, like desert ants on march
the troops of Tuqtamish swarmed the plain.
A hidden voice was heard behind the scenes:
"Khusraw usurped the lips of Queen Shīrīn;
Farhād, the mason, struck the rock in vain."[30]

It goes without saying that Tabriz, whose name – according to the canons of Persian poetic etymology, through which the Sufi poets created their most refined puns – means 'melancholy' or 'running fever' (**tabrīz**), was viewed with a great deal of nostalgia by Kamāl Khujandī. His predilection for Tabriz shown in the couplets about Walīyānkūh cited above was common among poets in this period and is even echoed by contemporary religious movements such as the 'Kabbalists' or Ḥurūfīs, devotees of the mystic Faḍlullāh Astarābādī (740/1339 – executed 796/1393) who replaced Mecca with Tabriz as the holy city of his new religion.[31] However, as with most Sufi poets, the geography of Kamāl's poetry is an 'inscape,' an interiorized landscape, the cities of which are centers of consciousness and realms of the Soul, rather than the materialistic worldly jungle of the modern 'realistic' poet:

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[27]Ibid., p. 656.
[28]Ibid.
[29]Ibid., p. 655.
[30]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #990.
[31]See Muḥammad Jawād Mashkūr, **Fitna-yi Ḥurūfiyya in Barrasīhā-yi Tārīkhī**, vol. 48, No. 4 (1969), p. 139.

اشك از دمشق دیده ز سودای مصر دل مانند سیل دجلهٔ بغداد میرود

Like the Tigris when it floods,
From the Damascus of my eyes,
My tears pour down a torrent
into the Egypt of the heart.[32]

Khānaqāhs and Patrons

Ibn Karbalā'ī is completely silent about Sultan Ḥusayn's bequest of the house to Kamāl Khujandī and ignores the previously cited **dū-baytī** from the poet's **Dīwān**, which demonstrates its existence. He does, however, record that another **khānaqāh** was given to the poet by a certain Shaykh Kujujī – a statement which tallies with the historical references in the poet's **Dīwān** (these references, however, Ibn Karbalā'ī again ignores). The following **dū-baytī** contains a direct, albeit disparaging, reference to the "**khānaqāh** of Khwāja Shaykh," which is described as being in exactly the same location as in Ibn Karbalā'ī's account.

جواب گفته های ما به تبریز که میگویند گاه و بیگاه
به پستی و بلندی مینماید به پیش بیت کعبه بیت جولاه
تو گوئی خانقاه خواجه شیخست بجنب مسجد خواجه علیشاه

Our riposte is prepared to the tales they tell
from time to time in Tabriz – "The Ka'ba's shrine
is like, in loftiness, to the spider's web in lowliness."
Go, say to them from me, "The mosque of 'Alīshāh like this
appears beside the **khānaqāh** of Khwāja Shaykh."[33]

Examination of other references in the **Rawḍāt al-jinān** to Shaykh Kujujī reveals his full name as Khwāja Ibrāhīm Thānī Ibn Aḥmad Shāh Ḥājjī Ṣadīq Kujujī. He was the great-grandson of Shaykh Muḥammad Kujujī (d. 677/1278) who was one of Tabriz's famous saints.[34] This same Khwāja Ibrāhīm (who, during the last half of the fourteenth century apparently inherited the post of 'Shaykh al-Islām' of Tabriz – a common practice during this period) is eulogized by Ibn Karbalā'ī in a passage in which the history behind the above-cited verses is related:

> When the Master [Khujandī] was brought back [from exile in Sarā] by Tamerlane, this time he settled in Walīyānkūh. All the folk of Tabriz, nobles, plebeians, humble people and high officials alike were completely devoted and committed to him. Even the supreme master of Sufi shaykhs and ministers of state, Khwāja Ibrāhīm Thānī Kujujī, renowned as 'Khwāja Shaykh' – God have mercy upon him – built a **khānaqāh** and a **madrasa** for him in the vicinity of the Khwāja 'Alīshāh edifice, of which the dome and some of the interior walls are still standing [circa 1590 – when Ibn Karbalā'ī composed his **tadhkira**]. Despite the fact that he took great pains to persuade Kamāl to settle there, the latter declined his invitation, retorting that "The head of Kamāl never bowed down before Heaven's own dome, yet you would trick me into bowing my head beneath a little cupola that you have set up."[35]

Khwāja Ibrāhīm Thānī or "Khwāja Shaykh" also possessed a Sufi center (**zāwiya**) of his own in Tabriz.[36] According to some authorities, a separate Kujujīyya **ṭarīqa** existed.[37] He was also an intimate associate of the Kubrawī Shaykh, Ismā'īl Sīsī – master of the poet Maghribī. Dawlatshāh's account of Khwāja Shaykh Kujujī illustrates, first of all, the vital cultural position that the Sufi center held in the

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[32]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #298.

[33]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #1022.

[34]See Ḥasan Ḥamza b. Muḥammad al-Palāsī al-Shīrāzī, **Tadhkira-yi Shaykh Muḥammad Ibn Ṣaddīq al-Kujujī**, translated from Arabic to Persian by Najm al-Dīn Ṭāramī (Tehran: Chāpkhāna Pākatchī, 1367 A.H. sh./1947), as well as the **Rawḍāt al-jinān**'s account, vol. I, p. 223. For the biography of his great-grandson, see ibid., II, p. 39.

[35]Ibid., I, p. 502.

[36]Ibid., II, p. 39.

[37]J. Mashkūr, **Tarīkh-i Tabrīz tā pāyān-i qarn-i nuhum-i hijrī** (Tehran 1973), p. 825.

religious culture of mediaeval Persia and, secondly, it demonstrates the central political role played by the **khānaqāh** vis-à-vis the mosque during the fourteenth century.[38] Of Shaykh Kujujī, Dawlatshāh relates,

> He was a gnostic (**ʿārif**) and scholar (**muḥaqqiq**) and wayfarer (**sālik**, on the Sufi Path). In the time of Sultan Uways [Jalāyir, reigned 757/1356 to 776/1374] and the latter's son, Sultan Ḥusayn [reigned 776/1374 to 783/1382], Shaykh Kujujī Tabrīzī was the 'Shaykh al-Islām' and the 'source of guidance' (**marjaʿ**) of the elect and common people, and the princes and notables were all dedicated-in-faith (**muʿtaqid**) to him. He had a splendid **khānaqāh**, which was always filled with musical concerts (**samāʿ**) and an atmosphere of lovely purity (**ṣafā-yi muḥayya**) provided with regular (interior) lighting and carpeting. The post of 'Shaykh al-Islām' of Tabriz along with all the duties pertinent to it belonged to the notable sons of that great master, during the reign of the Amīr Tīmūr Gurgān. Shaykh Kujujī not only was endowed with a developed spiritual temperament (**sulūk**) and virtues (**kamāl**) but was also the author of words of great feeling (**sukhan-i pur ḥāl**) and his **Dīwān** is famous throughout Iraq and Azarbaijan.[39]

From the previously cited passage by Ibn Karbalāʾī and the poet's verse-fragment satirizing 'Khwāja Shaykh' Kujujī, it is obvious that Kamāl was not always on the best of terms with his fellow Sufis in Tabriz. He respected royalty, but disdained the clergy. In fact, his anti-clericalism and ill opinion of pseudo-Sufism permeates his **Dīwān**, for, like a pure mystic, he replaces formalism with an enlightened antinomianism and religious sectarianism with a 'religion of love' (**madhhab-i ʿishq**).

Before discussing another **khānaqāh** provided to the poet, the question about Kamāl's relation to his patrons, the political elite in Tabriz, calls for an explanatory comment. We have seen how Kamāl was particularly indulgent towards the Jalāyirid Persian nobility and especially fond of Sultan Ḥusayn. In this respect, he echoed the views and policies of the Jalāyirid poet-laureate, Salmān Sāwajī (d. 778/1376).[40] In the history of mediaeval Persian Sufi poetry, it is quite a rarity to find a Sufi master-poet or dervish-bard utterly unaffiliated and detached from the Persian nobility. This relationship between the Sufi poets, as exponents of Spiritual Poverty (**faqr**) – and worldly monarchs, the lords of the temporal material treasury, was a marriage of convenience at best, always to be scarred by the constant barbs of their poetic disdain and satire. Many verses were composed by Kamāl Khujandī to emphasize his particular distaste for the ruthless status-seeking and servile favor-currying which characterized the common panegyric poet.

نیست در مجلس ما پیشگه و صف نعال شاه و درویش ندانند کدامست اینجا

A back seat or front row
you cannot see in our assembly;
of precedence or last place, there's no trace.
Who's the dervish, and who's the prince
here, none can know.[41]

سلطان حسن گو سوی دلها نظر گمار ملك آن اوست کاو بنوازد سپاه را
نام کمال خواجه که درویش خوانده ای درویش خوانده ای بغلط پادشاه را

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[38]As in India during this period, the post of Shaykh al-Islām, the archbishop or supreme religious authority in mediaeval Persian cities, was most often held by a Sufi Shaykh, as Aziz Ahmad, "The Sufi and the Sultan in Pre-Mughal Muslim India" (**Der Islam** 1963, pp. 142-143) notes. The central role of Sufi institutions in Muslim society in India during the same period, demonstrated so conclusively in Kh. A. Nizami's "Some Aspects of Khaniqah Life in Medieval India" (**Studia Islamica** 1957, vol. 8, pp. 51-69), is also true of fourteenth-century Persia. See A. A. Rajāʾī Bukharāʾī's **Farhang-i ashʿār-i Ḥāfiẓ** (Tehran 1985), pp. 161-177; and Q. Ghanī, **Baḥth dar athār u afkār u aḥwāl-i Ḥāfiẓ: Tārīkh-i taṣawwuf az ṣadr-i islām tā ʿaṣr-i Ḥāfiẓ** (Tehran 1977; 3rd ed.), vol. 2, part 1, pp. 500-501; Muḥsin Kiyānī, **Tārīkh-i khānaqāh dar Irān** (Tehran: Ṭahūrī, 1990).

[39]**Tadhkirat al-shuʿarā**, ed. M. ʿAbbāsī (Tehran 1337 A.H.sh.), pp. 345-346.

[40]Rashīd Yāsimī's description of Sāwajī's politics in his **Sharḥ-i aḥwāl-i Salmān Sāwajī** (Tehran n.d.) is quite illuminating, and does more to explain the mediaeval Persian poet's difficult position in regard to his patrons than most scholars, such as ʿA. Dashtī, Q. Ghanī, and Dr. Ṣafā, who have written on the subject.

[41]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #17.

Go and tell the Prince of comeliness[42]
turn unto the hearts his surveillance.
One to whom dominion comes
holds dear the army.
The worthy burgher addresses as "dervish"
the 'Perfect' (**Kamāl**) by name;
That's fine, but he's named as "dervish"
by error the King.[43]

دست سلطانان نمی بوسید کمال؟ نیست سلطان را بدرویش احتیاج

Does not Kamāl kiss the Sultan's hand?
The Sultan has no dearth of dervishes.[44]

زین استان نبرد پناهی بکس کمال درویش کوی تو بدر پادشا نرفت

Kamāl will not desert this holy archway
with any man to seek sanctuary:
The dervish who treads your street
turns not for refuge to the King's gate.[45]

Other lines, however, demonstrate that Kamāl did not, in theory at least, oppose accepting the boons of royalty – although he was by no means a court poet after the fashion of Humām or Salmān. He recognized that in the 'strings attached' to the boons and graces conferred by the temporal state, a hidden 'torment,' in fact, exists. With irony, Kamāl writes:

درد و غمت ناشاید بر ما حرام کردن کانعام پادشاهان درویش را حلالست
حدّ جواب سلطان نبود کمال ما را در حضرت سلاطین رسم گدا سؤالست

From us your anguish, pain and grief should not be barred:
A dervish is allowed the grace and favor of the King.
To give the King reply is far beyond the range Kamāl attains;
Before the royal Sultan a beggar's wont is petition.[46]

These two couplets seem designed to reply to the accusation that the Sufi poet should, in all circumstances, spurn worldliness and beware of compromising his reliance on God (**tawakkul**) by accepting the boons of princes. To a lesser degree, they also reiterate the traditional outlook and echo the opinion held by most of the religious classes, **ʿulamāʾ** – that frequenting the company and accepting the gifts of the secular government is unlawful, an opinion voiced by Ghazzālī in the **Kīmiyā-yi saʿādat** "categorically forbidding any contact with sultans or the acceptance of anything from them."[47]

The poet's use of **īhām**, or the poetic device of double entendre, here leaves the reader dazzled by a paradox, which not only far transcends the scope of the initial objection which exists between the dichotomy: 'worldliness vs. spirituality' but poses a second question, the reply to which is obtained by recourse to a higher 'poetic ground.' From this transcendent ground then, the apparent dichotomy, insoluble to the sober mind, frozen in a black and white intellectual wilderness, is obliterated by Kamāl's double-edged sword of poetic irony. Lastly, giving a graceful epilogue to his **ghazal**, Kamāl strikes a note of humility, protesting that his 'Perfection' – a play on his pen name – forbids him to give the sultan a reply, for before 'sultans,' the 'poor,' the dervishes, must ply their trade: petitioning and mendicancy.

Few and far between, however, are the verses in his **Dīwān** which eulogize the rulers of his day, and in only one verse does he have anything favorable to say about Tamerlane:

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[42]The term **ḥusn** in the phrase "Prince of comeliness" (**sulṭān-i ḥusn**) may also be interpreted to mean 'virtue.' Thus the meaning would be primarily moralistic: success in spiritual conduct (**sulūk**) depends upon attention to human relations; to rule in truth you must enrapture the hearts of your subjects.

[43]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #25.

[44]Ibid., #278, **maqṭaʿ**.

[45]Ibid., #270, **maqṭaʿ**.

[46]Ibid., #60.

[47]A. K. S. Lambton, **Continuity and Change in Mediaeval Persia** (London 1988), p. 313.

کمال آن دم که خواهی دید با یاران قرین خود را بگو این دولت از یمن شه صاحب قران دیدم

Kamāl, when you find yourself paired hand
in hand with all your friends and kin;
tell them you see such fortune coming by
blessing of the 'Lord-of-Fortune-in-Conjunction.'[48]

The force and sense of this couplet devolves and depends upon a subtle pun on the two words: **qarīn** and **qirān**. The poet thus claims that proximity (**qarīn**) to his friends may be obtained by recourse to the blessing (**yumn**) of the king who is the 'Lord-of-Fortune-in-Conjunction' or **ṣāhib qirān** – the honorific title of Tamerlane, who was supposedly born during the conjunction of two lucky stars, Venus and Jupiter. But this sense that the poet's welfare and connection with his close circle of friends directly depends upon temporal powers, and such an acknowledgement of gratitude to a 'king' whoever he may be is in general highly untypical of Kamāl's character and poetry. In the following seven verses, selected at random from different sections of his **Dīwān**, one may see how Kamāl disdains all temporal patronage offered by the princes of his day:

کمال از پادشه دارد فراغت بوقت خویش او هم پادشاهست

Kamāl has freedom from the King
for he's a king in his own time.[49]

به چشم حقارت مبین در کمال که آزاده شاهیست بی تخت و تاج

Do not regard Kamāl with scorn,
for he's a Shah, unbound by throne or crown.[50]

زین آستان نبرد پناهی بکس کمال درویش کوی تو بدر پادشا نرفت

Kamāl will not desert this holy archway
with any man to seek sanctuary:
The dervish who treads your street
turns not for refuge to the King's gate.[51]

گو محتسب ز شحنه مترسان مرا که من از پادشاه فارغم او خود چه کس بود

Tell the local constable to make us
fear no more the night patrol.
I'm free of prince and king – they do not worry me –
so what's a constable?[52]

چه سود از ناله و زاری برین در داد خواهان را که سلطان حال مسکینان بازاری نمیداند

For those who stand in court
awaiting justice and settlement,
what avail their grief, what profit
their groans or lament?
What concern or care has a prince
for threadbare paupers of the marketplace?[53]

نطع کمال خوشتر از فرش پادشاهان کز بوریای رندان بوی ریا نیاید

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[48]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #650. The "Lord-of-Fortune-in-Conjunction" refers to Tamerlane, who is consistently addessed with this sobriquet in works such as Yazdī's **Ẓafarnāma** and Dawlatshāh's **Memoirs of the Poets.**

[49]**Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #180.

[50]Ibid., #279.

[51]Ibid., #270.

[52]Ibid., #473.

[53]Ibid., #493.

For Kamāl to kneel from his shagreen mat,
that feels better than the royal carpet.
A rogue's reed-mat at least does not emit
the smell of sanctimony and cant.[54]

عار آید دگر از خلعت شاهی ما را دلق سودای تو زانروز که میپوشیدیم

From the day I donned the habit of your grief
it seems a shame to wear the king's pelisse.[55]

We know that Kamāl dwelled (or was offered accommodation) in two **khānaqāh**s, one of which Sultan Ḥusayn Jalāyir furnished for him between the years 1373-83, and the other was presented to – but rejected by – him sometime after 1396 by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Kujujī following the poet's exile in Sarā.

In most of the main historical chronicles, Kamāl Khujandī's relationship with Amīr Mīrānshāh, the Timurid governor of Azarbaijan (between 1396-99) appears an integral element of his biography. This relationship between the prince and the poet was in fact quite legendary. Of Mīrānshāh's character, Dawlatshāh informs us that "he ruled Azarbaijan with complete autonomy for a few years. He was a prince of pleasing appearance, of a poetic disposition (**ahl-i ṭab^{c}**) and peaceful nature, so that poets wrote poems praising his virtues and eminence."[56] Ehsan Yarshater notes that "besides his love of poetry, Mīrānshāh was also interested in mysticism (**^{c}irfān**) and history. According to the author of the **Ḥabīb al-siyar**, Mīrānshāh was utterly devoted to Kamāl Khujandī and his belief in him was overwhelming.[57]

It would seem that Kamāl Khujandī also reciprocated his patron's affection. According to a contemporary of Kamāl, the Tabrizi poet Mu^{c}ādhī, many of the Sufi poets of Tabriz vied among themselves in eulogizing the character of the Timurid prince:

شیخ مرشد کمال ملت و دین دوش میگفت رمزی از سر حال
که شهنشاه میر میرانشاه پادشاهی است بس فرشته خصال
در جوابش جمال دین صوفی گفت او خسروی است فرخ فال
بعد از آن در میان معاذی گفت پادشاهی است با جمال و کمال

Kamāl-i Millat u Dīn, master of the Path
Last night in ecstasy cried out this parable:
"What a prince is Mīrānshāh – seraphic in nature,
so full he is of graces!"
Jamāl-i Dīn Ṣūfī to this chimed in:
"Well-omened he is, like Khusraw in fortune."
Between the two, Mu^{c}ādhī, put in this word,
"Indeed he is a King with 'Kamāl' and 'Jamāl'."[58]

Khwāndamīr's account in the **Ḥabīb al-siyar** underlines the intimate relationship between Kamāl Khujandī and Mīrānshāh:

I heard from my late father that Mīrzā Mīrānshāh was particularly devoted to Shaykh Kamāl. One day he went to the shaykh and placed before him a jewel-studded belt as an offering. Contrary to his custom, the shaykh picked it up and took it to another room. A moment later he returned and found his companions incommoded. "Friends," he asked, "why are you all out of sorts?" One of those present said, "They have backaches."[59] The shaykh smiled and said, "Bring the belt and distribute it [to the poor]."[60]

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[54]Ibid., #519.
[55]Ibid., #722.
[56]**Tadhkirat al-shu^{c}arā**, ed. Browne, p. 330.
[57]**Shi^{c}r-i fārsī dar ^{c}ahd-i Shāh Rukh** (Tehran University Press 1955), p. 62.
[58]'Kamāl' means perfection or virtue, and 'Jamāl' means beauty. These verses are cited by Dawlatābādī, **Dīwān-i Kamāl Khujandī**, introduction, p. 6.
[59]The point of this story is not apparent in English. "Backache" in Persian is euphemistically called "waist ache," the same word as belt (**kamar**). Because he did not immediately distribute the worth of the

The eminent historian, ᶜAlī Ḥusayn Wāᶜiẓ al-Kāshifī narrates the same story in a slightly different manner:

> Prince Miranshah Mirza, when governing Tabriz for his father, became a disciple of Meghrebi, and never failed waiting on him once every week, until the arrival of Kamál Khejendi whose brilliant wit and charming manners quite captivated the young Prince. From that period he ceased to visit Meghrebi, but called twice a week on Kamál, which cruelly wounded his own Master's feelings. It was Kamál's practice to entertain his guests every morning with a grand breakfast which cost him large sums of money in consequence of the great numbers of his visitors. The Prince, aware of this circumstance, sent him a very splendid golden girdle or waistband, set with precious stones of great value. The lavish Kamál immediately sold this gift for a large sum of money, the whole of which he expended in giving a magnificent breakfast to the entire city of Tabriz. The prince, perceiving that Meghrebi and his disciples were the only persons absent from the feast, asked Kamál the reason, he answered, "Meghrebi is afflicted with pain." The Prince asked, "what pain?" The poet replied, "pain of the waist."[61]

Commenting on the latter version of this story in his **Literary History of Persia**, E. G. Browne observed that, "If it be true, however, as stated by Rieu (**Pers. Cat.**, p. 633) that Kamāl superseded Maghribi in the favour of Timur's son Mirānshāh, the Governor of Adharbayjan, it is possible that the relations between the two poets were not of the most cordial character."[62] However, in his Persian translation of Browne's work, ᶜAlī Aṣghar Ḥikmat rejects Browne's view, remarking: "The rank of Shaykh Kamāl and Shaykh Maghribī, who were persons of a Sufi temperatment, detached from the world, realized gnostics, and enlightened men, is much higher than that they should be engaged in competition with each other, as Rieu conjectured, in worldly affairs, or courting the favour of Princes."[63] An examination of the **Dīwāns** of Maghribī and Kamāl Khujandī proves the existence of considerable disagreements and differences between the two poets, at least as far as matters of Sufi poetic symbolism and the expression of certain esoteric doctrines was concerned.

Dawlatshāh also mentions Mīrānshāh's patronage of the poet:

> Due to his need for support and having to provide for his guests, Kamāl Khujandī fell into debt. One day, Mīrānshāh came to visit the Shaykh, and the Prince's servants ran into the Shaykh's orchard, plundering his apricot trees. The Shaykh only smiled and remarked to the servants, "O Mongols, you are plundering the orchard, while poor Kamāl has fallen into debt, and the creditors have frozen the assets of this orchard to cover my debt." On learning that Kamāl was indeed in debt for 10,000 dinars, Mīrānshāh provided him this sum.[64]

"The Shaykh was greatly valued by sultans and rulers, so that his subtle temperament and graces were appreciated," concludes Dawlatshāh.

Death and the Posthumous Myth

Although the precise circumstances of Kamāl's death are passed over in silence by Ibn Karbalāᵓī, one of the poet's devoted admirers and intimate associates, Mashriqī Tabrīzī (d. 859/1454),[65] composed the following chronogram to commemorate his death in 803/1400:

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belt to the poor and deserving, as a Sufi should do when he receives a gift, his companions were stricken. Thackston's note – see reference in following footnote.

[60]Translation by W. Thackston, **A Century of Princes: Sources on Timurid History and Art** (Cambridge, Mass. 1989), p. 113.

[61]This story is related by Sir Gore Ouseley in his handwritten introduction to a fifteenth-century manuscript of the **Dīwān** of Ḥāfiẓ and Maghribī in the Bodleian Library (Add. 175) in Oxford, the source of which is given in the same author's published work on **Biographical Notices of the Persian Poets** (London 1844, p. 106) as the "Witticisms" of Kāshifī. I have been unable to locate the original Persian text of this book.

[62]**A Literary History of Persia**, III, p. 332.

[63]**Az Saᶜdī tā Jāmī** (Tehran 1960), p. 448.

[64]**Tadhkirat al-shuᶜarā**, ed. M. ᶜAbbāsī, pp. 367-368.

[65]See the author's "The Life and Poetry of Mashreqi Tabrizi" in **Iranian Studies** (vol. 22, nos. 2-3, 1989) for a detailed account of this poet's connection to Kamāl Khujandī.

عارف حق شناس شیخ کمال که جهان را به شعر تر بگرفت
تاسخن راسخن برون افتاد کس سخن همچو آن بزرگ نگفت
هشتصدوسه گذشت کان خورشید همچو مه درسحاب غیب نهفت

The Perfect Shaykh: Kamāl the Master
– indeed a gnostic man of Truth –
the world he possessed
with poetic purity and freshness of his verse.
Since the day that first when Speech
upon the earth was swept
none had heard the like of the speech
which that eminent poet did speak.

Though in the year eight hundred and three
his sun did set – yet I see
he lives, awake, secluded,
a moon by clouds concealed, secreted
within the supersensory sphere.[66]

The overall accuracy shown by Mashriqī's other chronograms reinforces the above date's authenticity. In one verse, obviously composed sometime between the age of forty-one and sixty, Kamāl predicts that he will attain sixty years of age:

گفت کمال عاقبت در سر زلف ما رسی هم برسم بشصت چون عمر گذشت از چلم

"Kamāl," she said, "you'll reach at last my tresses' tip."
(She's right of course) my age has got to forty
– it should get to sixty yet.[67]

With this in mind, we may say that the poet was born sometime around 1340 and probably lived to be sixty years old.

Kamāl's posthumous fame was not strictly confined to his success as a poet. Kamāl al-din Ḥusayn Gāzargāhī's comment in the **Majālis al-ʿushshāq** (composed circa 909/1503) that "some speak of Kamāl Khujandī as a poet, others consider him a saint (**az awliyāʾ**). To all appearances he would seem to be a bridge between these two classes – the saintly aspect predominating over the poetic aspect of his personality,"[68] emphasizes the fact, as does also Dawlatshāh's account, that the effect of his personality also manifested itself in a strictly 'spiritual' (the Sufis might say 'transcorporeal') manner as well. In many of the hagiographies of this period, and especially in the **Rawḍāt al-jinān**, the fact that "a man's biography does not end with his death" – as Massignon remarked of Ḥallāj – proved true in respect to Kamāl Khujandī. After his death, in posthumous myth, Kamāl Khujandī appears as a celestial figure, part of the heavenly pantheon of immortal Sufi masters, perceived by mystics in visions over the succeeding centuries as one of 'five hundred' patron saints, who were to act as 'saviors' of Tabriz from military invasion and natural disaster. The following tale related by Ibn Karbalāʾī concerning his master, Amīr Ṣafī al-Dīn Shāh Mujtabā (d. 983/1575), is a good illustration of the poet's myth:

> My master declared that in the year 941 A.H. [1534 A.D.], when the Turks invaded Tabriz, the populace was extremely afraid that this foreign army would plunder and pillage the city and take its citizens captive At the same time, the townsfolk were afflicted with the plague, and general anxiety concerning this calamity prevailed. Then one day, in the late afternoon, a dear friend of ours, of sympathetic heart (**ahl-i dilī**), by the name of Mawlānā ʿAbdullāh, honoured our house with a visit, and related:
>
> > Today, after performing my noon prayers, I was transported from myself in an ecstasy (**ghaybatī**). I saw myself in a vast mansion, wherein was seated, in the highest seat of an assembly, a master of radiantly pure appearance. A voice informed me that this was Shaykh Kamāl Khujandī. Another person entered the assembly, and Kamāl rose half out of his seat as a sign of respect. It was

[66] **Rawḍāt al-jinān**, I, p. 510.
[67] **Dīwān**, ed. Shidfar, #701.
[68] Bodleian Library MS. Add. Ouesley 24, f. 102.

announced: "This is the Sultan of Gnostics, Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī." The grand master, Shaykh Khujandī, then commented, "We are five hundred persons who protect and guard this city, lest any misfortune befall it." Then, turning to the Sultan of Gnostics, he remarked, "And you also are among them."

As soon as he said this, I regained ordinary consciousness, and immediately set out to see you, to relate my vision, so as to dispel, God-willing, any anxiety you may feel about the present circum-stances.

And it so passed as our dear friend had indeed foretold, that the city remained secure against all injury.[69]

Periods of Life . . . Elements of Myth

According to the foregoing account, the central events in the life of Kamāl Khujandī may be subsumed under six periods:

1) Birth in Khujand circa 1340.
2) Life in Tabriz (in the **khānaqāh** bequeathed him by Sultan Ḥusayn Jalāyir circa 1374-83).
3) Forced emigration to the Golden Horde capital, Sarā, and subsequent exile there for eleven years following Tuqtamish's invasion and plunder of Tabriz in 787/1385.
4) Return to Tabriz in 798/1396; declining to take up residence in the **khānaqāh** prepared for him by Shaykh Ibrāhīm Ṣadīq Kujujī.
5) Residence in a **khānaqāh** at Walīyānkūh, three miles outside Tabriz, during the reign of Mīrānshāh (from 795/1392 to 798/1395) until his
6) Death in 803/1400.

However, these are but the external events – albeit important to the preceding biographical study – but nonetheless inadequate to provide either a general overview or a psychological understanding of the profound effect of the ideas and images of the poet on later generations. Analysing the political opinions and the economic circumstances of a poet is important no doubt to illuminate his material conditions, but mere knowledge of these will never provide us with any insight into his character as a spiritual being. To grasp this inner history and contemplate this spiritual vision, one should instead map out "the inner journey of the poet" (as Kathleen Raine defined it)[70] – employing a methodology which approaches mystical poetry **from within** – instead of imposing a terminology alien to the symbolism and the tradition of the Sufis themselves.

To explore this vision, it would be best to examine and analyse: (a) the 'myth' of the poet as reflected in subsequent Sufi hagiography and literary criticism, and (b) the archetypal contents (**maʿānī**) and symbolic topoi of his **Dīwān** as well as the esoteric Sufi doctrines which underlie the theosophical doctrine (**mashrab**) of the poet. The way has now been signposted through Kamāl Khujandī's temporal biography; it is hoped in a future study to explore the depths of his poetic spirituality as well.

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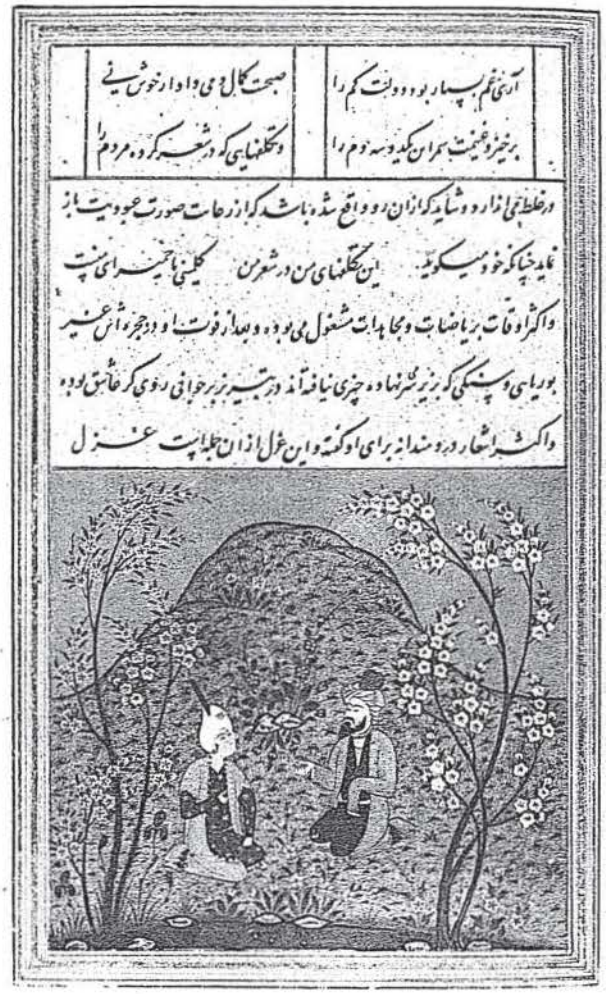
[69]**Rawḍāt al-jinān**, II, p. 510.

[70]Cf. her two essays "Premises and Poetry" in **The Inner Journey of the Poet** (London 1982), pp. 14-25, and "The Use of the Beautiful" in **Defending Ancient Springs** (Golgonooza Press 1985), pp. 156-176.



The Poet Kamāl Khojandī conversing with a young man in a landscape
Bodleian Library, Ouseley Add. 24, fol. 102a