The Divan-i

HAFIZ

translated & edited by
H. Wilberforce-Clarke

SUFISM / POETRY / PERSIAN LITERATURE

The Divan-i Hafiz is a complete verbatim translation of all of Hafez's *ghazals*, *rubaiyats*, *qita'at*, *masnavi*, the *saqinameh*, the *moghaninameh*, *qasaid*, and *mokhamas*. It includes a biography of the poet, description of other translations, index of the personages in the poems, index of the figures of speech used, and copious notes on practically every line in the poems based on Sudi's well known commentary. This new edition features a table which gives the correspondence between the numbers given to the poems in Clarke's translation and the recent authoritative Persian language editions of the Divan of Khanlari and Ghazvini/Ghani. Clarke's word for word translation and its copious notes explaining almost everything make it very suitable for the English speaking student of Hafez who is attempting to learn and understand the Persian. This collection of 693 poems has been used extensively by later translators. Included is a new introduction by Hafez scholar, Michael C. Hillmann.

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Classics of Persian Literature

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The Dīvān-i-Hāfiz

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Introduction by
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HÂFEZ AND THE PERSIAN GHAZAL, AND WILBERFORCE CLARKE'S TRANSLATIONS

Persian poetry lovers can feel justifiable frustration that the *ghazal* poems of Hâfez (c. 1320 - c. 1390), the most loved and appreciated lyric poet in the history of the Persian language, remain virtually unknown to poetry lovers in the English-speaking world. Even if much of what makes poetry poetic gets lost in translation, great poetry — which Persian poetry lovers are certain Hâfez's *ghazal*s are — should be so poetically rich that some of its poeticality should survive translation. But in Hâfez's case, it hasn't.[i]

Not that Hâfez amateurs haven't tried their best to make Hâfez's *ghazals* speak to audiences in English, for example in versions by: John Hindley (1800), John Richardson (1802), Herman Bicknell (1875), Samuel Robinson (1875), H. Wilberforce Clarke (1891 and 1970), J.H. McCarthy (1893), Gertrude Bell (1897, 1979, 1995), Walter Leaf (1898), John Payne (1901), Richard Le Gallienne (1905), P.L. Stallard (1937), Peter Avery and John Heath-Stubbs (1952), Abbas Aryanpur Kashani (1984), Michael Boylan (1988), Paul Smith (1986, 1993), David Cloutier (1993), Elizabeth T. Gray, Jr. (1995), and Reza Saberi (1992).[ii]

A.J. Arberry, in "Hâfiz and His English Translators" (1946), and Julie Scott Meisami, in "Hâfiz in English: Translation and Authority" (1995), have reviewed Hâfez translations through the 1980s and found them wanting.[iii]

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[i]John D. Yohannan, *Persian Poetry in England and America: A 200-year History* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1977), provides on overview of the course of Persian poetry in English and Hâfez's near anonymity in English literature.

[ii]Parvin Pursglove, "Translations of Hafiz and Their Influence on English Poetry since 1771: A Study and Critical Bibliography" (D. Phil. Thesis, University College of Swansea, 1983), provides a relatively comprehensive list of Hâfez translations up to the mid-1970s. But it does not include versions in Michael Hillmann's *Unity in the Ghazals of Hafez* (Minneapolis, MN: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976) and Hâfez translations since the early 1980s, including those cited in the text of this essay.

[iii]A.J. Arberry, "Hâfiz and His English Translators," *Islamic Culture* 20 (1946): 111-249; Julie Scott Meisami, "Hâfiz in English: Translation and Authority," *Edebiyat* 6 (1995): 55-79.

Arberry, Meisami and John Yohannan, in *Persian Poetry in England and America* (1977), agree specifically that the first and most popular English translation of the whole of Hâfez's *Divân* [collected poems] called *The Divan-i-Hafiz* by H. Wilberforce Clarke, is "of little literary value."[iv]

Nevertheless, Wilberforce Clarke's versions continue to inspire Iranians who know English and English-speaking translators and who would like to know Hâfez. David Cloutier describes his *Hâfiz of Shiraz: News of Love, Poems of Separation and Union* (1984) as "freely adapted from the literal prose translation of the complete *Divan-i-Hafiz* by H. Wilberforce Clarke."[v] For *Hâfez, Dance of Life* (1988), not only did Mage Publishers choose to parallel handwritten versions and paintings of the original Persian *ghazals* with Wilberforce Clarke's translations, Mage also commissioned new versions by Michael Boylan based on Wilberforce Clarke's.[vi] Elizabeth T. Gray, Jr., cites

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[iv]Yohannan, *Persian Poetry*, p. 175.

[v]David Cloutier, translator, *Hafiz of Shiraz, News of Love: Poems of Separation and Union* (Greensboro, NC: Unicorn Press, 1984.

[vi]*Hafez, Dance of Life* (Washington, DC: Mage Publishers, 1988). In "Hafiz in English," pp. 70-72, Meisami alleges "[Michael] Hillmann's imperviousness to their [Boylan's translations] implications." When Mage Publishers asked me to review a preliminary manuscript of *Hafez, Dance of Life*, I reported in writing that the Wilberforce Clarke and Boylan translations neither reflected essential features of the form and content of the original Persian texts nor exhibited literary or poetic qualities. Having accepted a consultant's fee for that report, I volunteered an "Afterword," which I hoped would bring into the volume salient Iranian and literary critical views as to the special appeal which Hâfez's *ghazals* have for many Iranian readers.

Meisami also asserts, pp. 72-73: "The history of Hâfiz translation in English is a history of ... a power struggle between various agents and agencies operating under specific constraints in which the poet figures as a pawn, and the poems themselves become, increasingly, irrelevant." Meisami may have in mind some Hâfez translations by orientalists in the United Kingdom or appropriation of their translations, such as the 1979 reissue of Gertrude Bell's versions by Idris Shah, a writer with a "Sufi" agenda and no standing as a scholar. But Meisami's conspiracy theory certainly does not hold for such Hâfez translation work in America as Robert Rehder's versions in *Classics of Islamic Literature* (New York, NY: Mentor Classic, 1969), my own translations in *Unity in the Ghazals of Hafez* (Minneapolis, MN: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1976), and Elizabeth T. Gray, Jr.'s, *The Green Sea of Heaven: Fifty Ghazals from the Diwan of Hafiz* (Ashland, OR: White Cloud Press, 1975), Daryush Shayegan's introductory essay called "The Visionary Topography of Hâfiz" notwithstanding. Moreover, ad hoc translations used in university literature courses in America would appear to have the sole aim of communicating to students the nature and special appeal of the Hâfezian *ghazal* as poetry. For that matter, the reprinting of Wilberforce Clarke's translations by

Wilberforce-Clarke's translations as a source in her new translations called *The Green Sea of Heaven: Fifty Ghazals from the Diwan of Hafiz* (1995).[vii]

H. Wilberforce Clarke's Divan-i-Hafiz was first published in 1891 by the Government of India Central Printing Office. In 1970 it underwent an attractive reprinting by Samuel Weiser, Inc.[viii] Now, Iranbooks has reprinted the translations, for which this essay serves as a preface. Aimed at readers who do not know Persian, this preface sketches features of the Persian *ghazal* tradition to which Hâfez was heir and apogée. It highlights contributions to classical Persian lyric expression by Rudaki, 'Omar Khayyâm, Sanâ'i, Rumi, and Sa'di, attempts a characterization of the Hâfezian *ghazal*, and concludes with a suggestion about how readers might use Wilberforce Clarke's translations to advantage.

The word *ghazal* and much of its original import as a kind of lyric statement comes from Arabic literature.[ix] But the verse form which the word *ghazal* identifies became famous through its evolution in Persian poetry as an older Iranian cousin to European sonnets and short odes. The *ghazal* developed in Persian through a combination of indigenous, pre-Islamic elements, Arabic literary antecedents and conventions, and evolving poetic practice in Persian court poetry.

The Persian lyric verse tradition in which *ghazal* poems were to play a pre-eminent role began in the ninth century CE with Rudaki (d. 940/1) and other Sâmânid Era (864-1005) court poets, who expressed stylized thoughts and emotions in specific ways with diction and specific images and metaphors which established conventional subjects and techniques later part of the *ghazal* tradition. Here are two lyric poems by Rudaki in translations by A.V.W.

Iranbooks apparently has behind it the publisher's straightforward and commendable desire to encourage readers to appreciate Hâfez's poetry.

[vii]Gray, *The Green Sea of Heaven*, p. 170. Readers will note that orientalists often transliterate Persian words (e.g., "diwan" and "hafiz") as if they were Arabic. This essay transliterates Persian words to approximate their actual pronunciation (e.g., "divân" and "Hâfez," /â/ pronounced like the /a/ in "father").

[viii]*The Divan-i-Hafiz*, 2 volumes (New York, NY: Samuel Weiser, Inc., 1970).

[ix]For a definition of the term in classical Arabic and Persian literatures, see "Ghazal," *Encyclopædia of Islam: New Edition* 2 (1965): 1028-1036. The entry under "Ghazal" in a forthcoming volume of *Encyclopædia Iranica* will likely prove standard.

Jackson. The first poem is a typical love lyric, which Jackson presents in a monorhyme scheme (aabacadaea) typical of classical Persian lyric compositions:

> Live gay with loves dark-eyed, divine!
> 'Tis a vain world, and wind is its sign.
> What cometh, thou shouldest rejoice at,
> No thought take of past, or repine.
> I've won me a musky-tressed beloved,
> Moon-faced, and of angel-born line.
> He's happy who giveth and getteth;
> Who doth not, — his lot is of brine.
> This sad world is wind and cloud merely,
> Let be! — Come bring hither the wine![x]

In his version of the next Rudaki piece, Jackson chooses closed couplets and iambic hexameter to communicate the pervasiveness of regular metrical patterns in classical Persian lyric verse. This poem uses lyrical elements for an occasional purpose: the poet-speaker, in a royal entourage away from his home in Bokhârâ, would like to return home:

> The pérfume sweét of Mulíyân's stréam comes áye to mé;
> Remémbrance, toó, of lónged-for friénds comes áye to mé.
> The sándy roád by Óxus' bánks, that rúgged wáy,
> Silk-sóft beneáth my feét to mé appeárs todáy:
> And Jayhun's waves, for very joy at their friend's face,
> Rise to our waists in blithesome mood with fond embrace.
> Be joyful, O Bokhârâ glad! Long live thou! — since
> Here to thee joyous comes thy life, thy own glad Prince.
> Thy Prince, Bokhârâ, is the Moon, and thou, the Sky;
> In heaven's vault the Moon, behold, is mounting high;

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[x]A.V. Williams Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry* (Boston, MA: Milford House, 1972, first published in 1920), p. 34. I have substituted the words "loves" and "beloveds" for "maids" and "damsel," respectively, in the translation.

A cypress, he! — Bokhârâ, thou a garth ablow,
Anon the cypress shall within the garden grow.[xi]

In the Ghaznavid Era (990-1050) which followed the Sâmânid, the generic Persian *ghazal* continued to develop. The poet Khosravâni composed this generic *ghazal* which exhibits the poet's *nom de plume* in the last couplet, another conventional feature of later technical *ghazal*s:

Hesitate no longer in separation.
for a fire of sadness has touched my soul.
Alas at your hesitation in time of peace,
and alas at your haste in time of war.
My patience in life comes from that haste,
but I hasten to death at your hesitation.
Love of you has never been without separation:
the two have linked together inseparably.
Separation is a whale, and love is a sea —
the whale ever belongs in the sea.
I can't see your face for my tears,
I can't talk for my sobs.
Your face is the sun, and the sun dirt;
your lips are rubies, and rubies mere stones.
I moan in love, remedy-less;
I cry, shameless, separated from you.
Temples and Ganges have never seen
a Buddha like you and a Brahmin like Khosravâni.[xii]

Three Ghaznavid court poets were particularly famous: Farrokhi (d. 1037/8), the poet laureate 'Onsori (d. 1039/40), and Manuchehri (d.c. 1040/1). Farrokhi composed both preludes to panegyric *qasidé* poems that are clearly antecedents of later technical Persian *ghazal*s and generic lyrics called *taghazzol*. Here is a typical lyric by Farrokhi:

Love is fire which water cannot squelch.
O heart, why did you not shun fire?

[xi]Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry*, p. 36, stress marks added.

[xii]Gernot L. Windfuhr analyzes Khosravâni's poem in "Wortmuster bei Xosravani," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 119 (1969): 229-240.

Yes, you did not shun it and you got burned;
you burned and with the heart burns the liver.
You're a bad neighbor, and from bad neighbors
neighbors face difficulty and suffering.
Now for your crime the liver has been hanged,
you're not even aware of its heart's misfortunes.
I undertook several plans and schemes
that the blazing fire might perhaps subside.
I released a cool wind on the burning fire,
thinking such a stratagem might work.
The fire increased a thousand fold from what it was;
the fire became otherwise, and my plans as well.[xiii]

Manuchehri has a famous *qasidé* [panegyric ode] on 'Onsori, which shows both how a lyric preface, in this case a tour de force on a candle, participates in a *qasidé* and how that lyric preface might be separable from it and grow into an independent verse and poetic form, which in fact constitutes one sort of antecedent and inspiration for the *ghazal* verse form. At the same time, such *qasidés* suggest panegyric functions and content of later *ghazals*, composed by court poets with presumably the same duties as *qasidé* poets. The "Ode on a Candle and to 'Onsori" reads in part:

O candle, set on the crown of your soul,
my body lives because of its soul, your soul because of its body.
Your soul reduces your body by a piece every moment,
your body seems continually hidden in your soul.
If not a star, why do you blaze only at night?
If not a lover, why do you weep all over yourself?
You're a star, yes, but your heaven is wax;
you're a lover, yes, but your beloved is your copper pan.
When dying, if fire reaches you, you revive;
when ill, you recover with the lancing of your throat.
You laugh while you weep and, stranger yet,
You're both lover and beloved, both idol and worshipper.
You blossom without spring, and wilt without autumn;

[xiii]Farrokhi, *Divân-e Farrokhi*, edited by Mohammad Dabir Siyâqi (Tehrân: Enteshârât-e Zavvâr, 1970 [2nd edition], pp. 438 (#236, ll. 8653-9).

eyeless you weep and mouthless you laugh.
You resemble me, and I also resemble you:
friends to others, we're both enemies to ourselves;
we both immolate ourselves for the sake of friends;
our friends are made happy by us, while we suffer.
Pale and melting with affliction, we both weep.
Flames engulf us both, alone and suffering.
What's in my heart I see on your head;
what stands on your head resides in my heart.
You're my confidant, my friend for always;
you commiserate with me, and I with you.
Nature says not to sleep during the day, but for you
I doze throughout the day and am sleepless at night.
Because of separation from your face, I have become an enemy of the sun,
and by being near you dark nights I've become enthralled.
You shine steadfastly, and by that light I read with love
from dark to dawn the poems of 'Onsori.
Master of the masters of the age, 'Onsori:
his nature is without blemish, his heart unalloyed, his faith untainted.
His poetry, like his character, is natural and original.
His character, like his poetry, is charming and beautiful.
Paradise's wealth is the reward for a single word of his,
Khosrow's treasure the price of a single panegyrical couplet.
In reading his poetry, you taste sugar;
In reciting his couplets, you smell jasmine.
His dignity is a mountain wherein lies the Prophet's Cave of Faith;
his nature is an ocean wherein lies the pearl of sagacity.
His poetry resembles Paradise,
in it all that God has promised humankind.
His honeyed words are Kowsar and their substance is Salsabil.
His rhymes and rhythms are flowing streams,
streams of wine delicious beyond description,
offering subtlety of inexplicable delight.
Generosity flows from his hands, humanity from his heart,
just as Tibetan musk comes from Tibet and Aden pearls from Aden.
When he is peaceful, no one knows meadow from cemetery;
when angry, a meadow becomes a cemetery.
His verse and words, his taste and meters,

each statement and complaint, each eulogy and utterance of his
has lofty aims as father, sublimity as mother, and awareness as offspring.
wisdom as paternal uncle, dignity the maternal, and perspicacity the son-in-law.
Lesser poets offer claims, he clear meaning,
Others may master one technique, he many.
No crow ever has a prancing horse's nobility,
although its cry may resemble neighing.
What an excellent horse, a white-footed Arab steed,
hooves scattering the Pleiades shattering granite,
carrying loads like a buffalo and charging like a male lion,
stepping like a wild elephant and bellowing like a rhinoceros,
easy in the saddle and pleasant to rein, elegant stepping and swift-footed.
In comparison Rakhsh is thin and Shabdiz slow
Such a horse can carry me out of this valley,
out of this fearful and burning plain,
so hot that its springs weep like sun-blinded eyes,
and so dry its river beds are like Ahriman's throat.
The surface of the desert has become like an armorer's shop,
from the traces of lizards and the tracks of twisting serpents.
The howling of wolves there is like a bowstring's thrum,
the branches of its plants like an African's tight-twisted curls.
On such a mount I cross such a desert on a night
dark as the day of vengeance and narrow as the day of affliction.
The visage of its sky is washed in azure water;
the hands of its soil are stained with pitch and Khotan musk.
The attendants of the bier shining about Mount Yemen
are like the arc of a bow and its grip.
On that cerulean shield the most fortunate of stars
is like a carnelian beauty mark on an indigo cheek.
My horse runs through the night like a ship in the gulf.
I am fixed on her back like a ship's sail.
Sometimes I race down a slope, sometimes I mount a grade,
like one who disports himself on a slack wire.
The little child in the cradle of my eye will not rest
until I see that might Jupiter of intellect,
until I cling to the hem of the robe of his approval,
until I kiss the ground beneath his feet.

O Manuchehri, in your ignorance
you may be sewing your own shroud.
Will you dare present unembellished verse to him
who, in a gem-studded crown and in a verse-brocaded brocade robe,
is a veritable angelic Âzar or Brahmin idol?
Will you make a petition deserving censure?
Would you improve the design of a peacock's tail,
or plant an elm in the garden of Eden?
Him who awes the world's masters
do not approach in ignorance or in haste.
Where your master sits is like a blazing fire, and
you are like a camel stopping beyond where it belongs.
An ignorant camel may fall by the way side
if unmindful of the lion who slays camels.xiv

In the Saljuq Era (1055-1137), the *ghazal* began to emerge as a prominent form for Persian lyric expression. Here is a typical generic *ghazal* statement by Qatrân (d. 1072), which deals with the core *ghazal* topic of love in the context of another perennial subject in classical Persian lyric poetry, idyllic garden imagery, in this case spring time perfection and the Iranian New Year's celebrated at the vernal equinox each year.

New Year's comes each year for a day;
in seeing you I have a perpetual New Year's.
The rose bush is full of roses for a day;
in your face a rose always blooms for me.
I can pick violets from the garden for a day;
your thick tresses are violets always.
The narcissus appears on the plains one week only;
your eyes are narcissus visible all year long.
The narcissus is not fresh if not wide awake;

[xiv]An adaptation of part of Jerome W. Clinton's almost complete translation in *The Divan of Manuchihri Damghani: A Critical Study* (Minneapolis, MN: Bibliotheca Islamica, 1972), pp. 31-44. Idem, "Court Poetry at the Beginning of the Classical Period," *Persian Literature*, pp. 82-86, discusses this Manuchehri poem. In Heshmat Moayyad's survey article on classical Persian "Lyric Poetry," *Persian Literature*, p. 130, appears a quotation from E.G. Browne's translation of the poem (which exhibits closed couplets) from E.G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, volume 2, pp. 154-5.

your black narcissi are ever fresh asleep or awake.
The jasmine appears in spring; on the hyacinth
of your hair are jasmine night and day.[xv]

Also dating from the Saljuq Era is another sort of lyric expression which inspired Hâfezian *ghazals*: epigrammatical quatrains attributed to the historical figure of 'Omar Khayyâm (1047-1131), whose most famous work was a treatise in Arabic on algebra, which classified types of cubic equations and presented systematic solutions to them and which Khayyâm wrote under the patronage of the chief magistrate in Samarqand. Recognized as a significant study by historians of science and mathematics, it is the most important of Khayyâm's extant works, ten or so short treatises, none of which offers glimpses into their author's personality, except to affirm his importance as a mathematician and astronomer whose published views were politically and religiously orthodox. Nothing is known of Khayyâm's upbringing or family circumstances.

From Samarqand, Khayyâm traveled to Bokhârâ and was likely still in the royal court there when peace was concluded between the Qarakhânids and the Saljuqs in 1073/4. At this time, he presumably entered the service of Malekshâh, who had become Saljuq sultan in 1072. Two of Malekshâh's projects on which Khayyâm presumably worked were the construction of an astronomy observatory in the Saljuq capital at Esfahân in 1074 and the reform of the Persian solar calendar, called "Maleki" after the monarch.

Khayyâm was a relatively important courtier of Malekshâh's, but after the latter's death apparently never again held important positions under other Saljuq rulers. In the mid-1090s, he made the hajj pilgrimage to Mecca and then returned to private life and teaching in his native city of Nishâpur. According to the next news of him, Khayyâm was in Balkh in 1112/3. Several years later, he was in Marv where a Saljuq ruler had summoned him to forecast the weather for a hunting expedition. After 1118, when Sanjar became sultan, no

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[xv]Qatrân Tabrizi, *Divân-e Hakim Qatrân-e Tabrizi* [Collected Poems of Hâkim Qatrân of Tabriz], edited by Mohammad Nakhjavâni (Tehrân: Qoqnos, 1983), p. 113, excerpted from a *qasidé* to Abu Nasr Mohammad, the Saljuq governor of Âzarbâyjân. The lines quoted follow the arrangement in Hâdi Hasan's *A Golden Treasury of Persian Poetry*, second revised edition, edited by M.S. Israeli (New Delhi: Indian Council for Cultural Relations, 1972), pp. 62-65.

record exists of anything Khayyâm did. He died at some eighty-three years of age.

Some of the meager information about Khayyâm's career comes from an acquaintance called Nezâmi Samarqandi (fl. 1120-1157) in a book called *Chahâr Maqâlé* [Four Discourses] (c. 1155). Nezâmi tells of visiting Khayyâm's gravesite in 1135/6. But, surprisingly, in the light of Khayyâm's subsequent reputation as a poet, the anecdotes on Khayyâm appear in the "Third Discourse: On Astrologers," while Nezâmi does not even mention Khayyâm's name in the "Second Discourse: On Poets." In other words, as famous as Omar Khayyâm is the West as a poet, no evidence in Persian suggests that he was a professional court poet or that his poetic activity consisted in more than the occasional, perhaps extemporaneous, composition of quatrains ("rubaí" or *robâ'i* = quatrain; "rubaíyát" or *robâ'iyât* = quatrains), fourteen of which are recorded in manuscripts in the century after Khayyâm's death.

As time passed, increasing numbers of quatrains attributed to Khayyâm appeared in manuscripts. Several of these manuscripts came to the attention of Edward FitzGerald (1809-1883), who had been studying Persian and had gotten interested in Sa'di and Hâfez. FitzGerald's study of Khayyâmic quatrains inspired him to compose *The Rubaíyát of Omar Khayyám*. By FitzGerald's death, his poem (the 1879 and fourth edition of 101 quatrain is standard) had begun to receive favorable critical attention. But its extraordinary fame, making it the most popular poem of the Victorian Age, did not commence until later.

A comparison of *The Rubaíyát of Omar Khayyám* with the Khayyâmic Persian quatrains which FitzGerald had read and studied reveals that the themes, tone, and imagery of his poem are close to those in the Persian quatrains, but that FitzGerald's poem is not a translation in any sense. Interestingly, the world-wide popularity of The *Rubaíyát of Omar Khayyám* drew scholarly attention in Iran to Khayyâm as a poet. He now has a place there as a leading figure in classical Persian literary poetry, along with Rumi (1207-1273), Sa'di (c. 1215-c. 1290), and Hâfez (c. 1320-c. 1390).

The Persian quatrains attributed to Omar Khayyâm present a rationalist intellectual who sees no reason to believe in a human soul or an afterlife. The speaker would like to live a springtime garden life, much like what the speaker in stanzas 11 and 12 of FitzGerald's poem describes. But haunting awareness of his own mortality and an inability to find answers either in science or religion lead the speaker to a modified carpe diem stance: in this far from perfect world, in which human beings do not have a decent chance at happiness, they should nevertheless endeavor to make the best of things.

In the orthodox Moslem Saljuq age, Khayyâmic quatrains were a bold, individualistic, non-establishment voicing of skepticism. Because literary Iranians throughout history have seemed to feel special appreciation for other Iranians who refuse to accept the view of the powers that be and who live their own lives, Khayyâm has been understandably mythologized into a figure quite different from what the known facts about his life and times imply. As for the influence of Khayyâmic images and themes on Hâfez, the following sampling of Khayyâmic quatrains illustrates shared characteristics, although Hâfez often develops an optimistic or spiritual context for such images and themes. Nevertheless, the palpable Khayyâmic element in Hâfez means that any reading, for example religious or "mystical," which fails to take the Khayyâmic element into account, misses a core thematic feature of many *ghazal*s.

- 1 -

A water's drop found the sea.
A speck of dirt joined the earth.
Our living in the world is what?
A fly appears and disappears.

- 2 -

Spring clouds have cleansed the tulip's cheek,
So rise and fill your cup — the time is right.
This lawn of grass, your scenery today,
will spring tomorrow from your dust.

- 3 -

Drink wine: the universe means your demise,
intends the death of your pure life and mine.
Be seated on the grass and drink bright wine,
for here will bloom blooms from your dust and mine.

- 4 -

In splendor monarchs faced the world
from palace towers which touched the sky.
A dove now perches there instead
and coos and coos: O where and why?

- 5 -

This ancient caravanserai called the world,
home of the multi-colored steed of night and day,
is where a hundred Jamshids feasted, and
a hundred Bahrâms ruled in splendor, and left.

It was the later Saljuq Era poet Sanâ'i (d. 1131 or 1140) who brought the *ghazal* to the fore in Persian poetry. Sanâ'i's poetry also incorporated the descriptive, romantic, and panegyric lexicon and content of earlier poets into a didactic context of Sufism, or Islamic mysticism, as in this *ghazal*:

That Christian-sash-worshipping idol brought upheaval to the city
when at dawn he emerged intoxicated from the tavern
the curtain of secrets torn, goblet of wine in hand
a drink of apostacy tasted, the flag of apostacy in hand
By means of intoxication, he came out from his own existence;
nothingness is the result for him who has come out of existence.
What sort of idol is that tavern-loving, monastic idol
who has wounded nothing with his cruel sword but lovers' hearts?
At that time when the spy-like beauty of his face
burst forth from behind the curtain of thought and passion
you would not see any pious men looking at him
who then did not tie a forty-meter Christian sash about themselves
Sometimes the beloved placed again in the dirt at the tavern
an earthling who becomes from this earth an earth-worshipper

At the door of the Ka'ba of idle talk, what answer should we give
who find in the house of idol worship a place to sit.[xvi]

But, as the next lyric shows, in Julie Scott Meisami's translation, Sanâ'i composed earlier "secular" love poems as well. This poem serves as a reminder that determination of mundane and gnostic levels of import in a given Persian *ghazal* depends upon clues in the text and not upon any supposed symbolic denotation to particular vocabulary *in vacuo*. Readers should note that the beloved in this poem is male, as the beloved is in most classical Persian *ghazals*.[xvii]

Once again you have saddled up your horse,
and preferred the road to home.
To me you have brought the path of wakefulness,
and made my heart lost and sorrowful.
You have put on the coat of mail instead of fox-skin robes,
and have taken up the spear instead of the wine-cup.
You have stretched your hands toward bows and arrow,
and turned your face towards battle and ambush.
You think not of Time's affliction,
nor do you have mercy on the earth's creatures.
For so long as I do not see your moon-like face,
I will rain dew from my eyes upon the Pleiades.
When I lie down to sleep, because of your absence,
my bed will be sorrow, and my pillow, confusion.[xviii]

As for Sufistic lyric verse, a tradition important in the appreciation of Hâfezian *ghazals*, the greatest Sufi *ghazal* poet was still to come, Jalâladdin Rumi (1207-1273). As the story about Rumi goes, after the disappearance of a beloved named Shams, Rumi became as creative and inspirational as that of any literary-religious figure in history. He composed the bulk of the much

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[xvi]Sanâ'i, published source of the translation forgotten.

[xvii]Ehsan Yarshater, "The Theme of Wine-drinking and the Concept of the Beloved in Early Persian Poetry," *Studia Islamica* 13 (1960): 40-53.

[xviii]Julie Scott Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), p. 250. Meisami's chapter called "*Ghazals*: The Ideals of Love," pp.†237-298, focuses on Sanâ'i and Hâfez in characterizing the technical Persian *ghazal* verse form as embodying a basic "ethical dimension."

loved Sufi lyrics in Persian that comprise the *Divân-e Kabir* [The Great Collection (of Lyric Poems)] or, as it is also called, the *Divan of Shams of Tabriz*. Here follows an especially appreciated example of these lyric poems, in a version by Rumi editor and translator Reynold Nicholson (1868-1945):

> This is love: to fly heavenward,
> To rend, every instant, a hundred veils.
> The first moment, to renounce life;
> The last step, to fare without feet.
> To regard this world as invisible,
> Not to see what appears to one's self.
> "O heart," I said, "may it bless thee
> To have entered the circle of lovers,
> To look beyond the range of the eye,
> To penetrate the windings of the bosom."[xix]

Rumi later, so the story goes, became interested in a disciple of his called Chelebi Hosâmoddin Hasan, who prevailed upon the Sufi master and poet to compose a didactic and inspirational verse guide for Sufi disciples. Thus began Rumi's most famous work, called *Masnavi-ye 'Ma'navi* [Spiritual Couplets], which, in some 26,000 closed couplets, is an encyclopædic compendium of Sufi lore, combining anecdotal narratives, didactic commentary, and passages describable as ecstatic reflections and outbursts. *Spiritual Couplets*, more often referred to simply as "The *Masnavi,*" begins with the most famous metaphorical description of the human condition in Middle Eastern literatures. In Talat S. Halman's translation, replicating the closed couplet pattern of the original, the passage reads:

> Listen to the reed, how it tells its tales;
> Bemoaning its bitter exile, it wails:
> Ever since I was torn from the reed beds,
> My cries tear men's and women's hearts to shreds.
> Let this separation slit my sad breast
> So I can reveal my longing and quest.

[xix]As quoted in Talat S. Halman, "Jalâl al-Din Rumi: Passions of the Mystic Mind," *Persian Literature*, p. 200.

Everyone is my friend for his own part,
Yet none can know the secrets of my heart.
The flames of love make the reed's voice divine;
It is love's passion that rages in the wine.
The reed cries with the lovers who fell apart,
It rends the chest and tears open the heart.
Nothing kills or cures the soul like the reed;
Nothing can crave or console like the reed.[xx]

For Rumi, then, the proper life is the mystic's quest through love to return to the original condition of proximity to God, the Divine Beloved. *Spiritual Couplets* offers Rumi's vision through precept and anecdote for the life lived for love.

Rumi's intensity of feeling and intense sense of rhythms to express feeling give him a place in classical Persian *ghazal* poetry alongside his contemporary Sa'di, the supreme technical virtuoso of the Persian *ghazal*, and Hâfez, the master of ambivalent lyric expression in the *ghazal*. At the same time, as author of famous Sufistic quatrains, Rumi stands at the opposite end of the thematic spectrum from Khayyâm, whose name is associated with already cited *robâ'is* that question the very existence of a provident God and the immortality of the human soul.

Rumi also stands apart from the mainstream of classical Persian poetry because he was not involved with the court system of patronage. Because of apparently good relations with rulers in Anatolia, he was able to be of service to the poor and otherwise needy. But, whereas the majority of Persian poets praised kings and mundane beloveds, Rumi praised God and divine beloveds, and felt no attraction to temporal power or material wealth.

In addition, Rumi presumably attached little importance to technically and rhetorically correct verse, but chose rhythms and other aural effects that would complement the content of what he had to say. His speaker's passionate love of God was filtered through his creativity into a special Persian style of musical, expressive spontaneity, combining heartfelt views, deep feelings, abundant knowledge and experience, and a feel for the everyday. These verses, translated

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[xx]Halman, "Jalâl al-Din: Passions of the Mystic Mind," p. 203.

by Sufi scholar Annemarie Schimmel, exhibit Rumi's recognition of the spontaneity of his art: My poetry resembles Egyptian bread: / When a night passes over it you cannot eat it anymore. / Eat it at this point when it is fresh / Before dust settles on it!"[xxi]

If Rumi was not a professional Persian poet in a conventional sense, he was likewise not a professional philosopher or theologian. His special place as a religious thinker and Sufi depends less upon originality or complexity of thought than upon intense personal and artistic dedication to convictions and skill through word and deed to communicate to others his sense of God's transcendance and his perception of Nature as providing hints of the divine creator responsible for it, and of man as the highest creature who, beyond body, soul, and mind, possesses a yet deeper spirit or soul that partakes of divine revelation. Prophets and saints are special in this last-named respect because God speaks through them. In death, human beings will be absorbed into God, some residue of the individual perhaps remaining. After all is said and done, Rumi deserves appreciation as an inspired man of great vitality, virtue, and love, whose writings attest to the nobility of the human animal in striving to lead a meaningful life. Here is a classic Sufi statement attributed to Rumi, in an edited version of Nicholson's translation:

> What's to be done, O Moslems? for I do not recognise myself.
> I am neither Christian, nor Jew, nor Zoroastras, nor Moslem.
> I am not of the East, nor of the West, nor of the land, nor of the sea;
> I am not of Nature's mint, nor of the circling heavens.
> I am not of earth, nor of water, nor of air, nor of fire;
> I am not of the empyrean, nor of the dust, nor of existence, nor of enmity.
> I am not of India, nor of China, nor of Bulgaria, nor of Saqsin;
> I am not of the kingdom of 'Iraqain, nor of the country of Khorasan.
> I am not of this world, nor of the next, nor of Paradise, nor of Hell;
> My place is the Placeless, my trace is the Traceless;
> It's neither body nor soul, for I belong to the soul of the Beloved.
> I have put duality away, I have seen that the two worlds are one;
> One I seek, One I know, One I see, One I call.
> He is the first, He is the last, He is the outward, He is the inward;

[xxi]Anne-Marie Schimmel; location of translation forgotten.

I know none other except 'Yâ Hu' and 'Yâ man hu.'
I am intoxicated with Love's cup,
the two worlds have passed out of my ken,
I have no business save carouse and revelry.
If once in my life I spent a moment without thee,
From that time and from that hour I repent of my life.
If once in this world I win a moment with thee,
I will trample on both worlds, I will dance in triumph for ever,
O Shams of Tabriz, I am so drunken in this world,
That only of drunkenness and revelry do I have a tale to tell.[xxii]

Rumi's contemporary Shaykh Moslehoddin "Sa'di" is the second most acclaimed Persian *ghazal* poet — the first is Hâfez — and the most popular moralist in the 1,100 years of imaginative literature in the neo-Persian language. Born in Shirâz between 1213 and 1219 educated there in religion, science, history, literature, and the like, Sa'di embarked as a young man on travels as far east as India and Central Asia, and perhaps as far west as Morocco. He traveled to Syria, Egypt, and Arabia, and perhaps undertook further formal education in Iraq. But no details of his life are known until his return to Shirâz in the mid-1250s.

Sa'di's fame began with the composition in 1257 of a didactic verse composition in closed couplets called *Bustân* [Flower Garden]. In 1258, and only several months before the Mongol leader Hulâgu Khân captured Baghdâd and brought the Islamic caliphate to its end, Sa'di produced an even more influential work called *Golestân* [Rose Garden], a combination of anecdotes and observations about life in rhythmic prose and verse.

Also from Sa'di's middle age date his composition of panegyric *qasidé* and lyric *ghazal* poems constituting the bulk of his famous *Divân* [Collected Poems]. His *ghazal*s are today thought the most stylish and technically perfect in Persian, surpassed in appeal only by those of his later fellow Shirâz poet Hâfez. Here are couplets from one of his most famous *ghazal*s, voicing a conventional lover's plaint at his beloved's departure:

[xxii]Adapted from Reynold A. Nicholson's translation in Jalâloddin Rumi, *Selected Poems from the Dîvâni Shamsi Tabrîz* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1977 (first published in 1898), pp. 124-127.

O camel-driver, slowly depart because my soul's peace is departing
and that heart which I had is with my heart's thief departing.
The beloved has left me alone, helpless and afflicted with love,
as if far from the beloved a sting were going into my bones.
O camel driver, stop the camel litter, do not hasten away with the caravan
for out of love of that flowing cypress my soul seems to be departing.
The beloved departs, robe trailing, and I taste the poison of loneliness.
Seek traces of me no longer, as all signs are from my heart departing.
My proud beloved passed by and left me a sickly life.
I'm like a fiery censer, from my head smoke is departing.
Despite all that injustice and that baseless covenant ,
I hold the beloved's memory in my heart, or it goes on my tongue.
Come again and sit before my eyes, o lovely heart-stealer,
for my disturbed state and screams go from earth to the heavens.
At night I do not sleep until dawn, and I do not heed anyone's advice
I'm not going this way on purpose — from my hands the reins are departing.
I said I would cry until the camel, donkey-like, gets stuck in the mud;
this I cannot do either because with the caravan my heart is departing.
Patience from union with my beloved, turning away from my beloved,
although not my business, my business goes far beyond that.[xxiii]

Sa'di's *ghazal* exhibits his characteristic ability to present conventional images and topics in the smoothest, most lyrical fashion, involving features of verse that the foregoing translation does not begin to communicate. The following transliteration of the couplets translated above, together with a brief commentary thereafter, provide a sense of these features, which are part and parcel of Hâfezian verse patterns as well:

ay sârbân âhesteh row k-ârâm-e **jânam miravad**
v-ân del keh bâ khod dâshtam bâ delse**tânam miravad**
man mândeh'am mah**jur az** u bichâreh-uo ran**jur az u**
gu'i keh nishi **dur az u** dar osto**khânam miravad**
mahmel bedâr ay sâr**bân** tondi makon bâ kâr**vân**
k-az 'eshq-e ân sarv-e ra**vân** gu'i ra**vânam miravad**
u miravad dâman **keshân** man zahr-e tanhâ'i **cheshân**

[xxiii]Hillmann, *Iranian Culture*, pp. 66-69, briefly discusses the whole *ghazal* in the context of a treatment of the Hâfezian *ghazal* called "Persian Classicism, Aesthetics of Decoration, and Ambivalence," pp. 65-90.

digar mapors az man **neshân** k'az del ne**shânam miravad**
bogzasht yâr-e sar**kesham** bogzâsht 'aysh-e nâ**khesham**
chon majmari porâ**tesham** k'az sar do**khânam miravad**
bâ ân hameh bi**dâd-u** v'in 'ahd-e bibon**yâd-e u**
dar sineh dâram **yâd-e u** yâ bar za**bânam miravad**
bâz ây-o bar chashmânam ne**shin** ay delsetân-e nâza**nin**
k-âshub-o faryâd az za**min** bar âs**mânam miravad**
shab tâ sahar mi nagh**navam** v-andarz-e kas mi nash**navam**
v-in râh na qâsed mi**ravam** k-az kaf **'enânam miravad**
goftam begeryam tâ e**bel** chon khar foru mânad beh **gel**
v-in niz natvânam keh **del** bâ kârvânam miravad
sabr ze vesâl-e **yâr-e man** bar gashtan az di**dâr-e man**
garcheh nabâshad **kâr-e man** ham kâr az **ânan miravad**

The highlighted syllables show that Sa'di's end rhyme scheme is in the conventional *ghazal* pattern of aabacada et cetera. Sustaining such a monorhyme pattern throughout an English poem of this length would prove daunting, especially with Sa'di's rhyme scheme of five syllables, in no case in which has he either distorted normal Persian word order or used other than everyday vocabulary to achieve the rhyme. In addition, Sa'di also produces a secondary pattern of rhyme, an internal rhyme in every couplet of the *ghazal* except for the opening couplet, creating a four-part unit of each couplet. Again, no unusual words or unusual word order is involved in creating this further sound pattern. Sa'di's lyricism consists, in short, primarily in his use a great deal of craft in an effortless way in taking Persian to its verse limits in producing aural effects.

The most famous Persian *ghazal* poet of all came a century after Sa'di. That was Hâfez (c.†1320-c. 1390), more on whom shortly. A century after Hâfez, with the death of the poet Jâmi (d. 1492), the classical period of lyric Persian poetry came to a close. During the Safavid Era (1501-1722), the centers of *ghazal* poetry became Ottoman Turkey and Mughal India. The prevailing style in *ghazal* poetry then featured rhetorical embellishment and verbal felicity called the "Indian Style." The most famous practitioner was Sâ'eb (d. 1676/7). The Indian poet Mirzâ Asadullah Khân Ghâlib (1797-1869)

is the most famous nineteenth-century *ghazal* poet, with Persian and Urdu *divâns*.[xxiv]

In Iran, a Revivalist period in poetry developed in the eighteenth century, with lip service to earlier simplicity of the classical *ghazals* in the face of the Indian Style. In the nineteenth century, panegyric *qasidés* again became the favored verse form. Still, such poets as Forughi (d. 1857) emulated *ghazal* styles of Sa'di and Hâfez.

The Persian *ghazal* survived into twentieth-century Iran in the hands of traditionalist poets and thrives in Iran today alongside a modernist trend in Persian poetry. Even such modernists as Nimâ Yushij (d. 1960), Mehdi Akhavân-e Sâles (d. 1990), and Forugh Farrokhzâd (d. 1967) composed *ghazals*. As for twentieth-century traditionalist poets, among them Shahriyâr, Ahmad Golchin Ma'âni, 'Emâd Khorâsâni, Hushang Ebtehâj, and Simin Behbahâni, to name only a handful among scores of *ghazal* poets, Ebtehâj and Behbahâni are particularly well known and appreciated for their *ghazals*, even in modernist circles. In short, the curious impression which exists in some orientalist circles that the Persian *ghazal* does not figure significantly in the life of Persian poetry at the end of the twentieth century is false.[xxv] A the same time, the great and remarkable continuing significance which the Persian *ghazal* has for literate, Persian-speaking Iranians wherever they are has much

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[xxiv]C.M. Naim, "The Ghazal Itself: Translating Ghalib," *The Yale Journal of Criticism* 5 (1992): 219-233.

[xxv]E.g., Frances W. Pritchett, "Orient Pearls Unstrung: The Quest for Unity in the *Ghazal*," *Edebiyat* (N.S.) 4 (1993): 125, asserts: "The Urdu *ghazal* tradition, unlike that of ... Persian ..., is still very much alive." But, as almost every literate, Persian-speaking Iranian in the world can attest, the Persian *ghazal* is very much "alive" today on poetry pages in newspapers, on the radio, and in bookstores. Many Iranians will even to harboring private views of themselves as *ghazal* poets and, if pressed, produce notebooks with their *ghazal* productions in them.

Pritchett's assertion also exhibits a second error in its implication that the *ghazal* verse form crosses language and literature boundaries, between Persian and Urdu for example, so that something she might say about Urdu *ghazals* might have relevance for *ghazals* by Hâfez and Behbahâni. For some lovers of Persian Iranian *ghazals*, even Ghâlib's Persian *ghazals* seem "foreign." Of course, in her writing on Hâfezian *ghazals*, Pritchett ignores the important and voluminous critical writing in Persian on the subject, misrepresents writing in English on the subject, and offers a thesis about the significance of individual *ghazal* couplets which implies unfamiliarity with the nature of *ghazal* composition, as Persian poets themselves describe or imply it in practice.

to do with the name of the poet which usually comes first to mind when the word *ghazal* is spoken.

Shamsoddin Mohammad of Shirâz, whose *nom de plume* was to be "Hâfez," was born sometime between 1317 and 1326. His merchant father, who had some time earlier emigrated from Esfahân to Shirâz, apparently died when Hâfez was young. Hâfez received a traditional education in the Arabic language, Koran studies, sciences, and literature. Hâfez's poetry reveals intimate familiarity with the five centuries of Persian literature before him, knowledge of Islamic sciences, and competence in Arabic. His pen name testifies to this last skill, the word "Hâfez" denoting a person who has memorized the Koran.

Little specific information is available on the private life of the most acclaimed Persian lyric poet in history. Citations in biographical dictionaries, references in chronicles and other historical sources, and potentially autobiographical details in his poems are mostly unverifiable.

At Hâfez's birth, Mahmud Shâh Inju ruled Hâfez's native province of Fârs in the name of the Il-Khânid ruler Abu Sa'id. The latter's successor executed Mahmud in 1335. Anarchy ensued, as Mahmud's four sons strove to gain control over their father's kingdom. One of them, Abu Eshâq, took over Shirâz seven years later and ruled, albeit with opposition, until 1352. During this period, Hâfez composed poems in praise of Abu Eshâq and a vizier of his, proving that he was a seriously regarded court poet by the time he was thirty years of age. More significant, and of special relevance to the appreciation of Hâfez's poetry through translation, is the fact that demonstrably panegyric and occasional elements are part of the warp and weft of his poetic expression. Their lack in a translation signals a diminution of translation accuracy and potential appeal.

In 1353 came the capture of Shirâz by the Mozaffarid leader called Mobârezoddin, who had Abu Eshâq summarily beheaded. Mobârezoddin, whose family was to control Shirâz until 1393, imposed strict Sunni Moslem religious practices on the city during his five-year reign, a situation Hâfez laments in his *ghazals*. In addition, Hâfez's signature on a manuscript dated 1355 implies that he had to seek work as a scribe then either because he was

not yet economically established as a poet or because he was out of favor with the Mozaffarid court. In 1358, Mobârezoddin was deposed, blinded, and succeeded by his son Shâh Shojâ'. Hâfez, whose lot improved when Shâh Shojâ' ascended the throne, eulogized this royal patron in a number of poems.

It was during Shâh Shojâ''s reign from 1358 to 1384 that Hâfez's fame began to spread throughout the Persian-speaking world and westward to the Arab world and Ottoman Empire and eastward to Mughal India.

In 1365 Shâh Shojâ''s brother Mahmud laid siege to Shirâz along with the Jalâyerid Shaykh Ovays. In the 1370s, Hâfez may have lived for a year or two in the 1370s in Esfahân or Yazd. But he spent most of his life in Shirâz. In 1384, Zaynol'âbedin succeeded Shâh Shojâ', and internecine feuds continued within the Mozaffarid family. In 1387, Tamerlane, who had massacred 70,000 people in Esfahân, reached Shirâz and brought the Mozaffarid dynasty under his control. He named Yahyâ his local ruler to an end. But Yahyâ's nephew Mansur overthrew his uncle, which brought Tamerlane's wrath down upon Mansur and the whole Mozaffarid family, all of whom Tamerlane proceeded to execute. Hâfez, who had briefly enjoyed the patronage of Yahyâ and Mansur, died shortly before Tamerlane's second invasion of Shirâz in 1393.

Although famous in his own lifetime, Hâfez apparently never authorized or supervised a manuscript edition of his poems. Consequently, the first manuscripts containing all of his *ghazal*s apparently did not get compiled until a generation after his death. This led to persisting textual problems with respect to the authenticity of some *ghazal*s, of some of their constituent couplets, of the order of couplets within *ghazal*s, and of verbal variants. Editorial efforts in Iran since the beginning of World War II have brought the text as close to reliability as seems possible. A further difficulty in the critical appreciation of Hâfez's *ghazal*s is that only with the 1960s did literary criticism and analysis begin to be applied to Hâfez. Fortunately, by the late 1990s, the publication in Iran of new Hâfez commentaries, a new critical edition of Hâfez's *Divân*, and new scholarly and critical writing on many aspects of the Hâfezian *ghazal* have facilitated appreciation of Hâfez's achievement for *amateurs* who know

Persian.[xxvi] But, the healthy state of Hâfez Studies in Iran has not influenced for the better translations of Hâfezian *ghazals* into English.

Dating back to Sir William Jones's (1746-1794) "A Persian Song" (1771), a rendition of the most famous among Hâfez's *ghazals* in the West, more attempts at rendering Hâfez into English have been made than with any other classical Persian poet. But they have shared an already cited common fate: continuing anonymity of the translator and the failure of Hâfez's poems to impinge significantly upon the consciousness of English-speaking poets and other lovers of poetry.

One factor for the unfortunate fact that a poet so revered and influential in his own culture should remain almost speechless in the English-speaking world six centuries after his death is that Hâfez's voice has had no Edward FitzGerald (1809-1883), as Omar Khayyâm's epigrammatic quatrains did, nor a Matthew Arnold (1822-1888) as did Ferdowsi's epic *Shâhnâmé* episode about Sohrâb and his father Rostam. Until a competent English poet who happens also to know Persian attempts to translate Hâfez, readers will have to expect something short of poetry in versions by non-Iranian Persianist scholars or Iranian Persianists or other native speakers of Persian working with English poets who don't know Persian.

Another factor, suggested in foregoing illustrations of classical Persian lyric poetry in translation, is the perhaps impossible task of transmitting through English pervasive aural elements and effects in Hâfezian *ghazals* and the communication in English of the textual richness and resonances of literary allusion, culture-specific allusiveness, conventional images, themes, and vocabulary of that poetry. This is not to suggest that Persian poetry in general is untranslatable. Classical Persian narrative verse, Khayyâmic quatrains and modernist Persian lyric verse would appear to survive English translation. But Hâfezian *ghazals* resist translation.

Those *ghazals*, in recapitulation of earlier observations, are compositions of usually between five and thirteen couplets, the first closed and the others

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[xxvi]E.g., Bahâ'oddin Khorramshâhi, *Hâfez'nâmeh*, third edition (Tehrân, 1990); *Divân-e Hâfez*, 2 volumes, edited by Parviz Nâtel Khânlari (Tehrân, 1980s); and *Hâfezshenâsi* magazine.

open, resulting in a monorhyme pattern of aabaca, etc. Constituent verses exhibit an identical quantitative metrical pattern. The poet's *nom de plume* generally appears in a *ghazal*'s final couplet. The basic subject of most Hâfezian *ghazals* is idealized love, treated with conventional, stylized imagery in an equally conventional diction. That love can be the speaker's emotion and stance as a lover's toward a beloved, as a subject or professional poet toward a ruler or other patron, or as a creator toward his creator. In all three cases or stances, the speaker's imperfections and needs contrast with the beloved's perfection. But, while depicting such amatory, panegyric, and religious modes typical of the verse form up to his day, many Hâfezian *ghazals* are distinctive in their merging, in Hâfez's creation of an ambivalent lyric world in which readers can sense the speaker's love of God or that for a romantic, this-worldly beloved, or both together, or love for a ruler or patron or other object of encomiastic tribute, as well.

If I've avoided the term "mystical" in the foregoing characterization of the realms of love in Hâfez's *ghazals*, it's because I've always been uncomfortable with the notions that lyric poetry might be "mystical" or that poets are sometimes "major philosophers" in their poems[xxvii] or that poetry might be great because of, and not in spite of, its failure to communicate an experience to readers (even if the reason is that the experience is too complicated or spiritual to communicate). Consequently, Hâfez's *ghazals* have never seemed to me as rhetorically or culturally complex or "mystical" as many readers assume. In comparison, for example, I find Petrarchan and Metaphysical conceits more rhetorically intricate, some Miltonic lyrics more culturally allusive and intertextual, and even a poem such as T.S. Eliot's *Four Quartets* (1942) more "mystical." In all of this, however, readers need to recognize that some Hâfez critics operate on an assumption that I do not share that complexity and intellectualism or spirituality per se make poetic statements more poetic. So, in order for Hâfez to be the greatest Persian lyric

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[xxvii]E.g., Talat Halman on Rumi in "Jalâl al-Din Rumi: Passion of the Mystic Mind," *Persian Literature*, edited by Ehsan Yarshater (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press for Bibliotheca Persica, 1988), p. 195.

poet for such critics and readers, his *ghazal*s must seem "deeper" than poems by poets with lesser appeal.

As for the essence of Hâfez's special appeal, one Iranian view sees him as a combination of the questioning spirit of 'Omar Khayyâm, the lyricism and skill at versification of Sa'di, and the intensity of feeling and spirit exhibited in the poetry of Rumi (1207-1273).[xxviii] From another perspective, Hâfez's special appeal has to do with his already cited ability to create a texture of ambivalence in his lyric world, continually enabling readers to sense both physical or material and metaphysical or spiritual planes or dimensions of experience. In addition, above and beyond Khayyâmic echoes in *carpe diem* invitations and assertions to the effect that rational inquiry will not fathom the point to life, his *ghazal*s have a further, special appeal to Iranian readers in their images of "libertines" [*rend*], scandalous models of behavior who answer only to themselves and who disregard what others think or what those in power bid one to do. As this sort of poetic "libertine," Hâfez's poetic persona remains inspirational to readers whose own lives do not often allow for such defiant freespiritedness. Finally, the distinctive *joie de vivre* of Hâfez's lyric speaker and his refusal to submit to discouragement or despair in the face of the difficult times in which he lived give hope to those who have come after him who have found much about which to despair.

* * * *

This introduction has implied that almost any hypothetical English translation of a Hâfezian *ghazal* will fail to communicate important facets of the poetic experience which the original Persian text communicates. Specifically, this introduction has asserted that Hâfezian *ghazal*s in Persian exhibit, in one way or another and in various combinations in different *ghazal*s, all of the features highlighted above through translations of poems by earlier Persian poets. This means that Hâfez translations which do not communicate, through parallel or analogous means and devices in English, cited aspects of alliteration and assonance, allusiveness, ambivalence, chiasmus, conceits,

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[xxviii] 'Ali Dashti, *Naqshi az Hâfez* [A Picture of Hâfez] (Tehran: Ebn-e Sinâ, 1970, 5th printing), pp. 203-5.

meter, panegyric and topical content, end rhyme, pre-Islamic Persian imagery, Moslem Sufi imagery, word play, and the like, as well as echoes of Khayyâmic quatrains and *ghazals* by Rumi, Sa'di, and other poets, do not reflect essential aspects of the experience which readers of Hâfez's Persian originals have.

If my assertions are true, poetry lovers unfamiliar with the Persian language need to approach Hâfez translations warily and get out of them what they can, all the while recognizing that the essential Hâfez remains untransmitted. In the case of Wilberforce Clarke's translations, readers not expecting to hear Hâfez's real voice can nevertheless expect a sense of being transported to a poetic world of experience not unlike the sense which Iranian readers often describe as their experience of Hâfez.

Readers can enjoy the mystery which Wilberforce Clarke's emphasis of "symbolic" imagery communicates as a parallel to the cultural richness and suggestiveness with which the original Persian tantalizes readers. Hâfez's seriousness and almost breathless attachment of importance to relationships and engagement of life's questions come across in Wilberforce Clarke's versions. The characters in Hâfez's poetic world, the Magian elder, the winebearing Sâqi, the inhibiting constable, and the beloved among them, and the scenery of gardens, cypress trees, roses, and nightingales, are there in the English as well. Even Wilberforce Clarke's notes (the argument in most of which I disagree with), become part of a legitimate experience of Hâfezian verse for English-speaking readers today, the sense of experiencing another time and place and other ways of looking at and responding to the world. In short, the trip on which Wilberforce Clarke's translations take readers is worth the fare and leads readers eastward, perhaps even to the Iranian plateau in centuries past, no matter that it may not bring readers to Hâfez's doorstep.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Divan-i-Hafiz is mostly used as a crib for English speakers attempting to read and understand Hâfez in the Persian. The numbers referred to at the top of each poem are, as mentioned in Wilberforce Clarke's own introduction, that of an edition edited by a Major H.S. Jarret in 1881, which is no longer readily available and to an unspecified Indian bazaar edition. To help the reader compare the poems with the original, a table is included which refers to the number of the corresponding poem in the presently more easily available and more authoritative editions edited by Khânlari and by Ghazvini and Ghani. Asterisks refer to poems with no correspondence. Poems included by Khânlari in the appendix are referred to with an "*m*" at the beginning (*molhaqqat*). When in a different section, "*q*" refers to the fragmentary poems (*qita'at*). Ghazvini does not number the uncertain *ghazals* and poems other than *ghazals*. In those cases, page numbers have been given. Naturally, there will be differences with the text used by Wilberforce Clarke, including the order of the couplets.

CLARKE	KHÂNLARI	GHAZVINI
1	1	1
2	12	12
3	11	11
4	7	7
5	8	8
6	5	5
7	9	9
8	3	3
9	4	4
10	10	10
11	6	6
12	2	2
13	*m-1*	*
14	*	*
15	*m-2*	*

CLARKE	KHÂNLARI	GHAZVINI
16	15	14
17	13	13
18	14	*
19	*m-3*	*
20	24	28
21	35	34
22	60	56
23	57	58
24	59	57
25	58	59
26	30	31
27	21	24
28	72	71
29	62	60
30	63	62

CLARKE	KHÂNLARI	GHAZVINI
31	61	61
32	37	37
33	38	36
34	47	46
35	40	39
36	50	49
37	23	27
38	*m-6*	75
39	36	35
40	52	51
41	53	52
42	54	53
43	20	25
44	22	26
45	32	30
46	33	32
47	46	45
48	31	29
49	45	44
50	*m-7*	*
51	34	33
52	44	43
53	68	67
54	65	64
55	66	65
56	69	68
57	42	41
58	67	66
59	78	80
60	77	79
61	*	*
62	27	19
63	17	16
64	48	47
65	18	17
66	49	48
67	87	87
68	86	86

CLARKE	KHÂNLARI	GHAZVINI
69	79	77
70	80	78
71	39	38
72	55	54
73	71	70
74	73	72
75	19	18
76	88	88
77	82	81
78	28	21
79	64	63
80	51	50
81	43	42
82	91	90
83	92	91
84	90	89
85	93	94
86	94	95
87	41	40
88	75	74
89	89	93
90	16	15
91	82	82
92	76	76
93	84	84
94	*	*
95	*m-4*	92
96	*	*
97	29	23
98	83	83
99	*	*
100	85	85
101	*	*
102	70	69
103	74	73
104	*	*
105	56	55
106	25	20

CLARKE	KHÂNLARI	GHAZVINI
107	*	*
108	*	*
109	26	22
110	*m-9*	96
111	*m-10*	97
112	*m-11*	98
113	*	*
114	95	99
115	136	140
116	126	130
117	130	134
118	127	131
119	128	132
120	131	135
121	198	219
122	129	133
123	136	142
124	135	141
125	137	143
126	*m-16*	181
127	133	136
128	132	137
129	138	144
130	140	139
131	139	138
132	194	199
133	195	200
134	191	196
135	192	197
136	193	198
137	190	195
138	189	194
139	196	201
140	141	145
141	177	182
142	147	151
143	145	149
144	116	120

CLARKE	KHÂNLARI	GHAZVINI
145	114	119
146	118	122
147	121	125
148	215	220
149	216	221
150	211	217
151	144	148
152	*	*
153	146	150
154	170	174
155	159	163
156	98	102
157	104	108
158	218	225
159	228	232
160	100	104
161	103	107
162	102	106
163	115	118
164	112	116
165	120	124
166	167	171
167	143	147
168	108	112
169	151	155
170	122	126
171	123	127
172	199	203
173	204	210
174	203	207
175	201	205
176	176	179
177	175	178
178	202	206
179	107	111
180	155	159
181	233	237
182	233	237 *(part)*

CLARKE	KHÂNLARI	GHAZVINI
183	219	224
184	166	168
185	161	165
186	148	152
187	200	204
188	197	202
189	157	160
190	154	158
191	221	226
192	162	166
193	220	227
194	227	231
195	153	157
196	230	234
197	187	192
198	113	117
199	97	101
200	212	218
201	125	129
202	183	188
203	184	189
204	158	162
205	236	241
206	235	*
207	224	239
208	181	186
209	180	185
210	209	214
211	174	177
212	152	156
213	160	164
214	185	190
215	238	243
216	213	208
217	110	114
218	178	183
219	207	213
220	111	115

CLARKE	KHÂNLARI	GHAZVINI
221	188	193
222	179	184
223	164	169
224	150	154
225	*	*
226	157	161
227	210	216
228	223	229
229	172	176
230	169	173
231	239	244
232	106	110
233	222	228
234	182	187
235	171	175
236	225	240
237	101	105
238	208	215
239	206	212
240	232	236
241	163	167
242	186	191
243	226	230
244	217	222
245	142	146
246	117	121
247	105	109
248	183	180
249	229	233
250	*	pp. 365-366
251	*	*
252	*	*
253	99	103
254	119	123
255	124	128
256	*m-20*	238
257	165	170
258	*m-18*	223