

Meghdad Shamsolvaezin

Gol o Nowruz, Discovering Mystical Motifs and Thematic Literary Connections

Master's Thesis

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Gol o Nowrūz

Discovering Mystical Motifs and
Thematic Literary Connections

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Introduction

Subject Announcement

This research studies *Gol o Nowrūz* tale by Kāvājū Kirmanī in the field of the literary genre of "mirror for princes". This study reveals the differences between various texts of advice in the field of spiritual purification for the prince. We try to define the new concept of "the spiritual mirror for princes" by examining different stages of the spiritual journey in Kāvājū's work.

Kāvājū's work is more than a list of advice for kings. Kāvājū represents the practical solutions for spiritual dimensions and their origins. Nowrūz passes from dragons which come from false concepts. His work is about the methods of entering the heavenly gates and he considers the connection with the secrets of existence as the duty of the heart and love. He considers the wisdom as the main guide to the right way. The poet invites man to look at an order greater than ours, of which we are a part. By looking at spring and the earth, man learns that nature performs a cycle that shows the power of light and the sun. This is the perception of the value of harmony that creates beauty. The poet invites to the understanding of nature's law in spring, and he leads to the true peace that is possible with love to find a way to achieve true happiness by using the reason. However, he does not suggest using reason to learn and understand the love for worldly purposes. Rather, he invites to use of the heart to learn reason's aspects for celestial purposes. The main goal is love and not reason, but wisdom shows the way to reach true love. The connection between reason and love leads to true happiness because the true connection between them leads to the understanding of truth. The knowledge brings happiness because it is made of light, and ignorance is like a demon that leads to the darkness.

In Kāvājū's tale, the moral advice does not advance the prince's narrative text. The spiritual practices and divine lessons progress the prince's fictional theme and in continue, the spiritual guidance progression drives the improvement of the prince in his spiritual journey. Perhaps it can be said that Kāvājū is one of the best teachers who creates a miniature of Persian mysticism using various mystical motifs. He teaches the basic concepts to the students who are unaware of mystical themes. Kāvājū does not teach kings about controlling the world, but he teaches them how to go through various mystical stages to attain perfection in their inner worlds in the parallel of their reign in their outer world. He believes that a good king makes a good world. His lessons are presented in a context between teacher and student. He further talks about personal mysticism and not society. His path and vision are about the self-construction, not in building society.

The relation between time-line of the story and space-line's observations are related to connected elements behind the interpretations of the events' purposes and the moral advices which come after them. The visual space-line applies a range of events which linked to the central motifs and principal components, which can be identified behind their repetition curtains in various and different meanings. Mostly all the "moral advices" come in this layer. But in parallel, there is a narrow design based on the spiritual development in Nowrūz's life, which is matched with his movement from darkness to light, and from the desire to the wisdom, and also the true transformation from the soldier to the true king. All the mystical advices come in this layer which is much more hidden. Nowrūz's journey from darkness to wisdom also comes in parallel with different levels of inner purification in mystical aspects. In both fields of happiness and grief, the poet avoids arrogance by pushing reasoning toward fate and destiny. Also, the poet tries to advance wisdom talents to pass the mystical obstacles by encouraging the heroic values in reasonable and peaceful fields.

In this thesis, we introduce K̲vāju Kirmānī by studying his biographical details and the concepts of his works. Following the summary of *Gol o Nowrūz*, we bring up the research's problematic question considering the discovery of mystical motifs.

In chapter one, we present the important mirrors for princes in Persian advice literature, and we study the Sufi contribution to royal ethics. We compare different works from Jāmī, Ghazālī, Sa'dī, Sanā'ī, and Nizāmī in the field of ethic treatments to be able to present K̲vāju's impact in advice literature. In the part of morality and mirrors, we try to analyse various moral directions in different moral values for a perfect ruler. we classify various pieces of advice in purification, strong faith for God, true justice, self-knowledge and self-loss. We consider several mystical concepts, such as the hidden meanings behind the forms and the relation between reason and love. In continue, we estimate the ethical values in speech, such as the preference for silence and the importance of ignoring the falsehood. Later, we perform the details of K̲vāju's life by studying his Sufi order. We introduce Abū Eshāq Kāzarūnī who was the founder of the Kāzarūnīya order. In continue, we consider Mas'ud Balyānī who was K̲vāju's principal spiritual master. *Gol o Nowrūz* was dedicated to minister Tāj-al-Din 'Erāqi who lead us to study about Inju dynasty, Muzaffarid government and Chupanids.

In Chapter two, we analyse K̲vāju's stylistic features from epic to romance and we compare his work *Gol o Nowrūz* with different texts such as *Homāy o Homāyūn*, *Vāmiq o Azrā*, *Vīs o Rāmīn* and *Khosrow o Shīrīn*. In continue, we represent the protagonists of *Gol o Nowrūz* considering different figures of friends, opponents and guides.

In Chapter three, we concentrate on spiritual perspectives in *Gol o Nowrūz*, which are gathered in seven platforms of awakening, divine madness, passage, discovery, immortality,

dragons, and divine union. In continue, we conclude our research and we have the complete version of *Gol o Nowrūz* at the end.

Ḳvāju Kirmānī biographical elements

Abu'l-‘Aṭā Kamāl-al-Din Maḥmud b. ‘Ali b. Maḥmud Moršedi, was a Persian mystic poet who was born in Kermān on 24 December 1290 and died in Shiraz in 1349. Referring to *Gol o Nowrūz*, he was born in 689. He grew in an educated family in Kermān and father ‘Ali b. Maḥmud, was one of the elders of Kerman. He named his son Afzal al-Dīn with signature “taḳalloṣ” of Ḳvāju. He traveled to Isfahan, Shiraz, Tabrīz and Kāzarun, and he moved to Arabia from Mesopotamia and returned from Ka'ba to Baghdad. In Baghdad he composed his first verse romance *Homāy o Homāyun* in 1331.¹

Gol o Nowrūz by Ḳvāju was finished in 1341 and dedicated to the Tāj-al-Din ‘Erāqi, and carries praises for mystics Bayāzid Bestāmi, Abu Eṣḥāq of Kāzarun and Amin-al-Din Balyān who were the Ḳvāju’s masters. This romance contains 5,312 couplets and comes in “the hazaj-e mosaddas-e maqṣur meter” same as Nezāmi’s work *Ḳosrow o Širin*. The prince Nowrūz of Ḳorāsān falls in love with Roman's king daughter, moves to the Roman Empire to marry her. The tale includes battles with dragon and helps from guidance.² He was a follower of Sufi order Moršediya, and his nickname “Moršedi” comes from his connection with Shaikh Abu Eṣḥāq Kāzaruni who was the creator of the Moršediya Sufi order.³ He moved to Shiraz stayed there until the end and his tomb is located at the Qur’ān Gate. Ḳvāju’s staying in Shiraz was because of Emād oddīn-Maḥmūd Kirmānī who was his friend and Minister of the Abū Ishāq Shah, who has admired by Ḥāfeẓ. Also Dowlatšāh Samarqandī named him as the owner of knowledge “Malik al-‘Olamā”.⁴

Presentation of the studied text *Gol o Nowrūz*

The story begins with Pīrūz (victorious) who was a medieval king from Sāsān kings’ generation in the land of Khorāsān. Pīrūz wished for a son and God gives him a son in a spring. The new prince, Nowrūz was a charming boy and he became a master in astrology and archery in his young ages.

He was in love with the nature and he has a wish to become a traveller. One day, his passion for hunting took him to an unknown green garden in a dreamy land where a caravan was living. The

¹ Ḳvāju Kirmānī, *Ḳamse Ḳvāju Kirmānī*, éd. Sa’īd Nīāzī Kirmānī, Kirmān, Šahīd Bāhunar-i Kirmān University, 1370, p. 15-22.

² J.T.P. de Bruijn, « Ḳvāju Kirmānī », *Iranica*, 2009.

³ Ḳvāju Kirmānī, *Dīwān Ḳvāju Kirmānī*, éds. Ahmad Soheyli Khwānsārī et Farīd Morādī, Tehrān, Nigāh Print, 1394, p. 9-47.

⁴ Ḳvāju Kirmānī, *op. cit.*, p. 15-22.

leader of caravan who was a merchant, invited Nowrūz to his tent and praised him. His name was Jahān Afrūz Kašmīrī who was a traveller and he was a king in his land but suddenly his kingdom had been destroyed. He explained to Nowrūz that the fortune took his power and his life had been ruined. He went to Syria but finally the fortune led him to Rome and he became a merchant. The merchant explained about Caesar's life in Rome and his beautiful daughter. He portrayed the face of Gol by his description for Nowrūz and he fell in love with the fairy Roman princess. But she didn't want to marry, and also Caesar did not want a groom and he couldn't leave her go. The merchant also explained about the dragon living on the way of Caesar's palace. The only condition for marrying the roman princess was "hunting the dragon". The merchant revealed that Caesar had made a false fiction for people, and he made an untrue dragon figure to scare people who wants to reach the palace. When Nowrūz heard the story, he lost his patience and he forgot his kingdom, palace and his family and friends. After leaving the merchant, Nowrūz became sad and out of control by crying and thinking about his beloved. One day, when he was in the nature, he fell asleep and he saw two birds in his dream sitting on a branch which brought the news of happiness for Nowrūz.

When the prince woke up from the dream, he cried so much like Farhād. Nowrūz decided to ask his father for his permission for a journey to Rome, but he refused. But some friends explained about Nowrūz's tragic and sorrowful situation to the king and they said that Nowrūz is trapped in the magic. The king asked his wise philosopher Mehrāsb, to advise Nowrūz and prevent him from the journey. Then Mehrāsb tried to inform the prince about the dangerous way of an unplanned journey. The wiseman continued his advices by telling an ancient story about a minister who named Muhammad who was a scholar who fell in a forbidden love with his servant. At the end of the story, the wiseman concluded that the forbidden love does not always bring the happiness and he advised Nowrūz by preventing him from going on the path of love. The prince replies to Mehrāsb: "You are a wise man you do not know about the secret of love. The wisdom cannot see the meanings which are hidden behind the secrets. The way of love is infinitive and the lover is drowning in the ocean of love. I ask you to help me and please prepare my horse and send a kind friend to be along with me. I will move out from the darkness like a bird and will travel to find my beloved in Rome." In continue Nowrūz told an ancient story about Behzād and Parīzād which was about the true love.

After telling this story, wiseman found out that the advice was useless, then he returned and he decided to send his son "Mehran" to accompany the prince and take care of him. Mehrān went to the prince palace and he told a story to advice the prince. He told the story of "Mehr and Mehrbān" which is about not getting lost for a magic and picture.

This story was about a king from the "Fereydūn and Īraj" kingdom generation who built their kingdom near to the Tigris river. He had traveled along the Tigris river searching for the water of life and he settled in Tāq Kasrā. He had a beautiful girl named Mehr and one of the wealthy men of the city, called Mehrbān was in love with her.

Mehrbān was a wealthy knowledgeable powerful man in the kingdom court. He revealed his secret for his close friend who helped him to meet Vafādār who was a servant of Mehr. Mehrbān found Vafādār and began to serve him by giving him gifts. Finally, Mehrbān revealed his secret and Vafadar got angry at first but when Vafādār saw his sorrow, he promised to do his best. Vafadar made a secretive meeting between Mehrbān and Mehr on the ship and in the water.

Mehrbān ordered the ships to be decorated with colourful silk fabrics. Mehrbān also drove with some of his servants and friends to prepare for the Tigris River. When they met, Mehrbān had no power to sit next to her, but Mehr said: "If you are not drunk, get up and ask my divine wine cup if you worship divine drunkenness of love." After their meeting, Mehrbān boarded the ship and departed from there. After several days, Mehrbān decided to go to the side of the river by night and to find Mehr and talk to her about love. But when his boat was thrown into the water, suddenly a stormy thunder began and the sea water came up. The sailors told Mehrbān that they should return but he refused and they continued their journey until the Tigris. But the storm overthrew the boats and the ship. When Mehr saw a broken ship from far, she realised that something had happened to Mehrbān. She quickly reached Vafādār and sent him for help. Vafādār found Mehrbān and saved him. After a few days, he asked Vafādār to see Mehr again and he prepared a great party to celebrate their new life. After hearing the story, Nowrūz began to cry sadly. He answered: "You won't have a remedy for a hapless lover until you become a poor and hapless lover without any choice. I will tell you a story of love to stop you retelling the story of wisdom to a drunk madman. This story will stop you laughing at lovers and sitting on the adviser's chair." Nowrūz told the story of Kamāl and Jamāl to prevent his friend advising him.

The story was about a young votary man in Kermān named Kamāl who was a knowledgeable famous young man who believed that love is just an imagination. Šaraf was a servant and a close friend to Kamāl. One day, Kamāl met a fairy girl named Jamāl and he fell in love with her. When Šaraf found out about his friend's story, he gave him advice and he said: "There are many beautiful girls around you and I don't understand why you fell in love just like that! She is fine but not a fairy idol. What you saw in her really?" For six years, Šaraf was repeating these stories whenever he was with Kamāl and the story of Kamāl's love also became famous in seven countries. Suddenly in a new spring, while Šaraf was hunting in the desert, he saw Jamāl and he fell deeply in love with her. When Šaraf completely lost his patient, he decided to talk with Kamāl. He said: "O my light! I blamed you and now, I am in love. I feel the sorrow of love now. Don't blame me because both of us are on the same spot. I was blaming you because I was sleep and now, I lost my existence because of this love. And please don't ask who hunted me! The true lover does not ask the story of a broken heart; and who is always on the way, does not ask for a destination."

Mehrbān regretted blaming the prince and promised him to accompany him in his journey to Rome, when he heard the story. Then Nowrūz asked his father for the permission and the king finally accepted and demanded some of his old friends to accompany the prince. I was in spring when Nowrūz and his

friends arrived at a green garden and celebrated until they got drunk. Secretly, Nowrūz leaves drunk friends for the aim of Rome. They lost him and they turned back to the palace. King got so worry about him getting lost in the desert. When Nowrūz arrived at the Rome frontiers, he fought with a stranger named Šervīn (son of king Šervān) who tried to kill him. Then Nowrūz forgave him and found out that he was in love with princess Salmī, daughter of Salm (who was a close friend of Qaiser). Nowrūz promised him to help him and they continued the journey toward Salm's palace. Nowrūz met a slave named Yāqūt and offered him some pearls when they arrived at Salm's palace. Yāqūt who was on of Salm's servers informed the king and he ordered to bring Nowrūz to his palace. The king had suspected that Nowrūz might be the soldier of enemy. Nowrūz didn't tell him his real name and he made a story about his friends and rubies and some thieves who robbed them. King thought about the rest of rubies and promised Nowrūz to help him. He decided to trick Nowrūz and kill all of them and take what is the rest of rubies. Then they made a big fete for Nowrūz for poisoning him. But Yāqūt talked to Nowrūz and informed him about the danger. So Nowrūz changed his poisoned wine with the king's wine. When he slept, Nowrūz killed him and took all the diamonds and treasure. When the soldiers woke up, Kūrang who was their leader was ruined by Šervān army. When Nowrūz sat on the throne he prepared for Salmī and Šervān marriage. Then he continues his journey and reaches the Roman temple with two locals as friends. On the way, they reached a mountain slope where a garden appeared in the desert. Nowrūz asked about a young man who was sitting under a cedar tree with a crown on his head. The local residents explained that prince Farroḡ from Shām who had fallen in love with "Gol", asked Kaiser to marry her daughter. Farroḡ prepared an army for a war against Kaiser but he failed. Then Nowrūz left the mountain and continued his journey until he saw a castle of marble where an old Christian monk lived. Nowrūz explained his story and the priest told him: "You will achieve your dreams when you do not scare from talismans on your way because they are just some imaginations and they will disappear by saying the great name of God. As you did good to your friend, you will also see happiness". In continue, the priest told the story of Naṣr and Naṣīr which happened in Ḳorāsān.

The story was about a king who had a son named Naṣīr who was a very religious and ascetic prince. The prince's only wish was to travel to Mecca and when his father saw his son's passion, he finally accepted. The king advised his son to find his wealthy friend and stay in his palace when he arrives at the Tigris river in Baqdad. When Naṣīr left, he reached a fountain where some thieves attacked him and killed all of his friends, but Naṣīr managed to escape and reach Baghdad where he found Naṣr. Naṣr called all the doctors and treated and fed him. Then he prepared a feast for Naṣīr where he met fairy-faced girl in the garden and became unconscious. When Naṣr found the prince in the garden, he found out about the prince love for one of the fairies of Naṣr haram. But Naṣr didn't say anything and promised to help the prince. Finally, they made a big fete for the marriage and the prince didn't find out about the secret. After the wedding, the prince decided to turn back to Ḳorāsān with his new bride. But on his way, somebody revealed the secret about his wife who was the Naṣr's beloved. The prince

was shocked and he realised what he did. On the other hand, in Baqdad, Naşr who was not in a good situation, decided to leave Baqdad to see his beloved for the last time. But Naşr got lost in the desert and a shepherd found his body. The shepherd gave him some sheep and he became a rich and famous man after a while and he built a castle. When Naşîr heard his name from people, he found him and he went to his castle with the girl. They explained to Naşîr that they searched for him and could not find him. Also, she explained Naşr lived with her like a brother. Naşr and Naşîr story by the priest was about being faithful about love.

When the priest's story was over, the prince left and arrived at a village where he met a merchant named Baḳtafrūz, after two months. Baḳtafrūz also was husband of Gol's nursemaid. The merchant who was one of the Caesar's servers, also was on the way toward Rome. When Nowrūz arrived, some thieves attacked their convoys, then Nowrūz began to fight with them and he killed their leader Towsan. Nowrūz captured all the thieves for Baḳtafrūz and then he left toward the desert at night. Nowrūz reached a mountain on the top of Kaiser's palace where he found a hidden dark road where led him to the house of the dragon. The prince reaches the dragon's valley toward a deep well with boiling fire. Nowrūz kills the dragon by mentioning the name of God. Nowrūz carried the dragon to the palace of Caesar who heard about his victory from his soldier. When people found Nowrūz, they took him to the palace of Caesar. When Nowrūz and Caesar met, Caesar asked about him and Nowrūz introduced himself as a soldier of the Iranian corps who was led to kill dragons by fortune. He also asked Caesar to marry his daughter, Gol. When Caesar heard his demand, he didn't show his anger and tried to make some new conditions such as killing the wild black giant who did not know anything but death. But Baḳtafrūz warned Nowrūz about the danger of black giant because he was sure that Kaiser wants to kill him. But Nowrūz fought the black giant "Şabal Zangî" and defeated him in front of people. On the other hand, Gol's nursemaid revealed that Gol fell love with the Nowrūz during the battle. When Nowrūz was looking for an opportunity to find Gol, he saw Gol's nursemaid who told him that Gol was watching him during the fight and she fell in love. When the nursemaid found out about Nowrūz's love as well, she told him that he should be happy as the luck of fortune was with him. The next morning, the prince went to the palace of Caesar asking about Gol again. But Caesar invited him to be patient and suddenly one soldier brought the news of the danger of Farrokrūz's army who were close to the palace. On the other hand, when the prince who was tired of the Caesar's games became lonely after the feast, he decided to search for Gol. When Nowrūz found Gol, she was sleep. Nowrūz put the ring in Gol's hand and he left. The next morning, Gol finds out about the ring and her nursemaid revealed the secret about the prince's love. The princess was so happy about this news and asked her servant for a celebration and wine. Nowrūz finally returned from the war where he defeated Kaiser's enemies. Kaiser told him that he was preparing for marriage and they should not rush. At night, prince saw two birds talking about Ṭūfān Jādū who was a black magician and who was dangerous for Gol. Next morning, everyone was talking about the kidnapping of Gol. The witch had stolen Gol from her

palace, but Nowrūz's dream leads him to find the princess and defeating the witch. On the way, Nowrūz was led by a Zebra to a fairy angel who helped him for finding the witch. Then the prince asked for the witch's house from an old priest. The prince finally defeated the witch by using the name of God and made Gol free. Gol and Nowrūz arrived at palace and Mehrān revealed the prince's origin for Kaiser. When Kaiser found out about everything, he asked his astronomers for a suitable day for the wedding. Gol and Nowrūz wedding happened in the legal and Halal way and Nowrūz came back to Iran with his bride. After the marriage, the prince went to the palace of Caesar. He asked him to agree to his return to Iran because of her father's ageing. After their return, the Nowrūz's father died and the prince sat on the throne. Gol and Nowrūz gave birth to their first son Qobad, and after their death he sat on the throne.

Problematic Question

The general purpose of this research is about developing our knowledge about K̲vāju Kirmānī as an important mystic poet from 13th century in Iran. Specifically, we study his work *Gol o Nowrūz* in literary vision concerning mystical motifs and moral advices.

Can we consider K̲vāju's works as a mirror for princes? We try to understand different kind of Persian mirrors by comparing K̲vāju's moral and spiritual directions with other mystical poets who had influenced him. We will have a review on the morality in Sufism, and to draw the mystical context, this research tries to study about various motifs associated with different spiritual stages. We also try to understand that how K̲vāju explains different spiritual levels. By studying about his life, we try to understand his relations with different doctrines, and also to know his influence on royalty, we review different Sufi's mirrors for princes.

Can we consider *Gol o Nowrūz* as a spiritual mirror for princes? If we could, what is a difference between a spiritual mirror and a moral mirror? To achieve this goal, we need to compare other Persian mirrors' moral motifs with Khaju's moral concepts to distinguish the distinctions within Spiritual and Moral mirrors. Also, by discovering different stages of spiritual journey in K̲vāju's doctrine, this article tries to find the connections between mystical elements which comes in a spiritual journey in *Gol o Nowrūz*.

With a full description of *Gol o Nowrūz* by considering stylistics and literary relatives, this research tries to find the primary layer of words which are directly associated with the mystical specific motifs by finding the connections between the elements. In literary layer, this research tries to understand the specific mystical language which is used to lead us toward hidden layers. Moreover, why all mystic poets apply some particular collected words for their poems? Do these layouts bring different abilities for a new hidden language? To make a substantial and reasonable structure for our research, this thesis does not pass from the textual layer and also to prevent making different personal interpretations, this article tries to

make the connection between associated words (primary and secondary), just by applying the meaning layer.

Considering the analysis of the idea, the research's methodology considers the textual layer as the only reliable source for interpretation where we need to face with a straightforward meaning in the textual layer of signification, but by considering our knowledge (historical and figurative) about mystical motifs, we try to recognize other words which bring hidden meanings behind the textual layer. This research tries to find literary and mystical relations between different spiritual journey's stages and celestial motifs. The article also tries to discover how a mystical poem applies the mystical motifs and how he tries to make the connection with other motifs such as Love, Spiritual Journey and Moral Advices. The analysis of the overall theoretical approach and our rationale methods for adopting this approach will be developed by collecting some words which experimentally develop our motifs. This method leads us to open the mystical codes which are hidden behind the curtains of mystical layers. This research also tries to understand how the poet applies the language of nature and tells a story in both worlds containing a visual and semantic motif in parallel. The large field of sources plays a significant role in our analysis. Because it allows us to apply the vast collection of motifs to define our specific mystical words. However, to prevent getting lost in this vast field of texts and sources, this research tries to concentrate on some specific collection of words which have a direct relation with mysticism in the textual layer. Then we try to develop the understanding of our problematic question to find the clearly stated and efficiently answers.

Chapter 1

Ḳvāju as educator of princes

Ḳvāju lived most of his life in Shiraz and he had a good relationship with the Mongol government which was centered in Tabriz at the last years of their rule. He donated poems to the Il-Khanid leaders such as Abu Sa'īd Bahādor Khan and Arpā Khan from Il-khans. He also dedicated his poems to the Moẓaffarid Mobārez-al-Din, and Abu Eshāq from the Inju dynasty. He requested the minister's advisers and particularly the influential leaders of the nation, for an official position as a court poet. Concurrently with advancing his work at courts, Ḳvāju advanced his association with leading religious teachers and Sufi masters. Ḳvāju praised both spiritual Sufi leaders and official rulers. He also settled at the Sufi's *kānaqāh* of 'Alā-al-Dowla Semnāni (d. 1336) for a short time. Ḳvāju's *nesba*, which was Moršedi, shows his connection with the Sufi order of Abū Eshāq Ebrāhīm b. Šahrīar Kāzarūnī. Abū Eshāq Kāzarūnī was the founder of the Moršediya or Kāzarūniya order. The later years of Ḳvāju's life in Shiraz matched with Hafez's young age, and his influence is evident in Hafez. Both Hafez and Ḳvāju applied the same specific spiritual themes and mystical topics. Brown believes that Hafez's *divān* comes as an answer to Ḳvāju's work. After a slight visit at Isfahan and Kermān, he stayed in Shiraz forever. According to the *Mojmal-e Faṣiḥi* (845/1441), Ḳvāju died in 1349 at Shiraz. However, there are two other dates for his death, which are 1352 by Browne and 1360 by Sa'īd Nafisi. Ḳvāju among Sa'īdi and Hafez holds an exceptional place in the growth of Persian literature, especially in ghazal and combining various unique innovations to the previous designs. He was an influential ancestor of Hafez, especially in the integration of secular and spiritual themes. Many of Hafez's phrases, allusions, and metaphors reflects Ḳvāju's poetry. In continue, we study about all Ḳvāju's works in detail.⁵

Ḳvāju's works

Sanāye' al-kamāl

The first *divān*, called *Sanāye' al-kamāl* (qualities of perfection), is introduced by an unnamed explanation saying that the volume was collected during the poet's serve under his employer, the minister Tāj-al-Din Aḥmad. *Sanāye' al-kamāl* includes *qasidas*, *qet'as*, and *quatrains*. The ghazals contains two parts of *safariyāt* and *hażariyāt*. The lyrics were written

⁵ J. T. P. Bruijn, *Persian Sufi Poetry: An Introduction to the Mystical Use of Classical Persian Poems*, Routledge, 2014, 228 p., (« Social Science »), p. 116-7.

under the title *Badāye‘ al-jamāl* (Wonders of beauty), including the ghazals about love or *Šowqiyāt*.

Kamsa

Ḳvāju wrote his *Kamsa*, which is a set of five mathnawis, following the *Kamsa* of Neẓāmi of Ganja. Ḳvāju's *Kamsa* contains *Homāy o Homāyun*, *Gol o Nowrūz*, *Rowżat-al-anwār*, *Kamāl-nāma* and *Gowhar-nāma*.

Homāy o Homāyun

The poem describes the mystical experiences and adventures of the Persian prince Homāy in his journey toward China to reach Chinese princess, Homāyun.

Homāy o Homāyun contains 4,435 couplets (1331), and Ḳvāju wrote it the Neẓāmi's *Eskandar-nāma* motaqāreb meter.

Ḳvāju wrote *Homāy o Homāyun* in Baghdad when he was returning to Iran in 1335 and when he was trying to find a place "as a court writer" by donating lyrics to the leaders of his time. His verse romance *Homāy o Homāyun* (1331) was devoted to the latest Mongol leader, Il-khanid Sultan Abu Sa‘id Bahādor and the minister Ġiāt-al-Din Moḥammad who was the leader of the Jāmi Jam. *Homāy o Homāyun* is a romance among two complex characters from the Persian epic, produced by Ḳvāju inside an adventurous love story containing mystical motifs obtained from fairy stories.

Gol o Nowrūz

In *Gol o Nowrūz* (1341-42) his purposes are presented in an obvious way by praising both of his masters Bāyazīd Bistāmī and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm Kāzarūnī. *Gol o Nowrūz* in 5,312 couplets comes in the Neẓāmi's *Kosrow o Širin* mete hazaj-e mosaddas-e maqṣur. *Gol o Nowrūz* was dedicated to the minister Tāj-al-Din ‘Erāqi, including praises for Bayāzid Bestāmi and Abu Eṣhāq of Kāzarun and Amin-al-Din of Balyān.

Rowżat-al-anwār

Ḳvāju follows Nizāmī's *Makhzan al-asrār* theme in *Rauzat al-anvār* (The Meadow of Lights) in 1342–43. *Rowżat-al-anwār* contains 2,037 couplets and praises for the founder of the Moršediya and Ḳvāju's master. *Rowżat-al-anwār* is dedicated Šams-al-Din Maḥmud Šāyen who was secular leader, the minister and judge. *Rowżat-al-anwār* is an imitation of Neẓāmi's *Maḥzan al-asrār*, and reflects a similar theme in representative episodes. Ḳvāju describes the mystical qualifications in the mirrors of princes in twenty maqālāt.

Kamāl-nāma

Ḳvāju produced his masnavī, *Kamāl-nāma* (The Book of Perfection), in the Neẓāmī's *Haft peykar* meter "khafīf" in 1343. *Kamāl-nāma* is a collection of twelve sections, each with a progression of a mystical lesson, an allegorical tale toward a moral result. *Kamāl-nāma* is an allegorical tale about a journey beginning from a "tavern" and continues with a gathering with Reason, which leads to an ascetic life. The hero of the tale meets essential elements of Earth, Air, Water and Fire which lead him to greater spiritual substances. On the way of searching for the House of God, he meets his spiritual leader who presents the instruction which is given to the student. This brief part of a romantic tale mentions Sanā'ī's *Sayr al-'ibās*, Khaqānī's *Tuhfat al-'Irāqayn* and 'Attār's *Muṣṭibat-nāma*.

Kamāl-nāma contains 1,884 couplets in two different parts comparable to *Sayr al-'ebād ala'l-ma'ād* by Ṣanā'ī, and *Maḳẓan al-asrār* by Neẓāmī.

Gowhar-nāma

Gowhar-nāma (1345) contains 1,022 couplets comes in *Ḳosrow o Širin* meter. *Gowhar-nāma* is a eulogy in appreciation of the minister of the Moẓaffarids, Bahā'-al-Din Maḥmud and Saljuq vizier Neẓām-al-Molk of Ṭus (1018-92). *Gowhar-nāma* is a mystical dialogue between a spiritual master called dāneš-afruz as a moral guidance and his disciple.

Sām-nāma

It seems *Sām-nāma* mathnawi also belongs to Ḳvāju which comes in a similar theme to *Šāh-nāma* and in the motaqāreb meter. *Sām-nāma* is epic tale about the Rustam's grandfather. At the end of *Sām-nāma* the poet call himself as Ḳvāju which is a confirmation of his signature. *Sām-nāma* is similar to *Homāy o Homāyun* with different heroes.

Some other texts which attributed to Ḳvāju are *Mafātīḥ al-qolub* (1346) which is a collection from his poetry; *Resālat al-bādiya* (1347) about his journey to Mecca; *Resālat Sab' al-maṭāni* (1347) and *Resālat monāẓara-ye šams o saḥāb*.⁶

Ḳvāju Kermāni revealed his fellowship to Abu Eshāq Kāzaruni in his poems. He wrote his two maṭnawis, *Rawzat al-anwār* (1342) and *Kamāl-nāma* in 1343 when he resided in Kāzarūniya kānaqāh. In both maṭnawis, Ḳvāju praised Abu Eshāq, and he represented himself as his devotee. Ḳvāju Kermāni also was attached to the Inju court.

⁶ J. T. P. Bruijn, « Ḳvāju KERMĀNI », *Ḳvāju KERMĀNI*, *Encyclopaedia Iranica online*, 2009.

K̲vāju's life elements

After K̲vāju's works, we need to study about Abū Eshāq Kāzarūnī and the Kāzarūnīya as his Sufi order. Afterward, we study about K̲vāju's main master Mas'ud Balyānī and his life. As *Gol o Nowrūz* was dedicated to minister Tāj-al-Din 'Erāqi who was one of the ministers of Mubārīz al-Din Muhammad from Muzaffarid dynasty, we need to study about Inju court to be able to reveal the connections between K̲vāju and Tāj-al-Din 'Erāqi.

Abū Eshāq Kāzarūnī

Abū Eshāq Ebrāhīm b. Šahrīār Kāzarūnī was born in 352/963 in Kāzarūn and died in 426/1033. He became an expert in the medieval sciences and he followed Sufi's educations. He was the founder of the Kāzarūnīya Eshāqīya Sufi in 4th/10th century. Abū Eshāq was attracted to taṣavvof thoughts and medieval studies, and finally, he became a Sufi Master. Abū Eshāq's principal master was Abū 'Alī Ḥosayn b. Moḥammad Fīrūzābādī Akkār who was a follower of the great Sufi master 'Abdallāh b. Kāfif. Abū Eshāq was also influenced by different Sufi masters such as Ḥāreṭ Moḥāsebī and Abū 'Omar at the beginning of his approach to Sufism. But in fact, Abū Eshāq turned to the Sufism by an overwhelming sight from Abū 'Alī who became his greatest master. Abū Eshāq received high regard from his masters and followers after admitting into Sufi thoughts and practices. Abū Eshāq's k̲ānaqāh as a primary model of Sufism organization was destructed during Safavid. There are different biographies from Abū Eshāq's life in secondary sources; The Persian versions are *Ferdaws al-moršedīya* by Maḥmūd b. 'Oṭmān and *Maršad al-aḥrār* by Moḥammad Kāzarūnī which were written in 8th/14th from the first Arabic version 5th/11th by Abū Bakr K̲aṭīb. It seems that Kāzarūnīya order did not provide any text except for *Rawzat al-anwār* and *Kamāl-nāma* by K̲vāju, and two Persian translation of Abū Eshāq's life from K̲aṭīb Abu Bakr Moḥammad's Arabic version. Abū Eshāq is represented as an entirely forward conservative and serious master. He avoided the companionship of monarchs by supporting simple life and donation, following other Sufi masters. According to 'Aṭṭār in *Tadkera al-awliā'*, he was a vegetarian, and he refused to eat meat on the way of visiting Mecca. 'Aṭṭār also describes mysterious stories about Abū Eshāq's tomb and his promise to the followers who visit his grave about achieving their wishes. Ebn Baṭṭūṭa also describes some memories of mystics who travelled from India and China to Kāzarūn for visiting Abū Eshāq's convent and asking for his blessing.⁷

⁷ B. Lawrence, « ABŪ ESHĀQ KĀZARŪNĪ », *ABŪ ESHĀQ KĀZARŪNĪ Iranica*, 1983.

Kāzarūnīya

Kāzarūnīya as Sufī order (ṭariqat) was also named as Eshāqiya and infrequently as Moršediya, particularly in Turkey. But Kāzarūnīya order persisted Kāzarun of Fārs, until the beginning of the Safavid in the 10th/16th century. Abu Eshāq did not marry, and he left no children to obtain control of the order, but his first followers who were in the same family who continued the Kāzarūnīya order. Especially Kaṭīb Abu Bakr Moḥammad (d. 502/1108), who wrote his biography in Arabic. The other members of his family were Kaṭīb Abu'l-Qāsem 'Abd-al-Karīm (d. 442/1050), Kaṭīb Abu Sa'd Zāher (d. 458/1066) and Kaṭīb Abu Ḥāmed Aḥmad. Kaṭīb Abu'l-Qāsem led Abu Naṣr Ruzbehān Baqli (d. 606/1209) for a new concept about love in Sufism, to create a new order which named Ruzbehāniya and came out from Kāzaruniya. Jamāl-al-Din Abu Ḥāmed Aḥmad b. Moḥammad and Kaṭīb 'Abd al-Raḥmān Moršedi were the last masters of Kāzarūnīya order.

According to Ebn Baṭṭūṭa, the name of Abu Eshāq b. Moḥammadšāh Inju (d. 758/1357) who was the governor of Fars, came after Abu Eshāq Kāzarūnī because of his father's respect for the master. When Shah Esmā'il Šafawi captured Fārs in 909/1503, the Kāzarūnīya order movement ended, but interestingly, Kāzaruniya appeared in the ports of India and south of China over maritime commerce connections between Persian Gulf and South and East Asia. Kāzarūn was the main center connecting Shiraz and the Persian Gulf port where Kāzarūnīya influenced traders on the way of India and China who honored the thought of Abu Eshāq. At the beginning of the 20th century, the people of Konya still regarded their respect for Abu Eshāq. According to Baṭṭūṭa, when Kāzaruni traders were traveling over the ocean to China, they would make a pledge to Abu Eshāq for their protections, which were payable to the servants of Kāzaruni zāwia at the ports. On the Malibar coast of southern India, Ebn Baṭṭūṭa also attended the Kāzaruni zāwias in Calicut. Shaikh Šafi-al-Din Kāzaruni (Abu Eshāq's nephew), described Kāzarūnīya appearance in India but the actual presence of the Kāzarūnīya order in the name of Eshāqiya's order was in Anatolia and Rumelia. There is no evidence of Kāzarūnīya's action of war or confrontation. According to one of the Kāzarūnīya's followers from Aksaray, Eshāqiya's zāwia was established in Aleppo in 747/1343 which proves the Kāzaruni appearance in Anatolia at the beginning of 8th/14th century. Further, in the 9th/15th century, there was the appearance of the influence of the Eshāqiya in Anatolia. Yıldırım Bāyazid (r. 1389-1402) also founded an Eshāqi zāwia in Bursa (802/1400). There are not many historical texts about the Kāzarūnīya or Eshāqiya expansion in Turkey except some representations of the zāwias in Bursa, Konya, Erzurum, and Edirne. Çömezzade Mehmed Šawqi Efendi (d. 1100/1688) wrote the Turkish version of the Persian biography of Abu Eshāq, *Ferdaws al-moršediya* by Maḥmud b. 'Oṭmān. There is a wrong approach which comes from *Siāḥat-nāma* by Evliya Çelebi which describes that Abu Eshāq was buried in Erzurum. Evliya