SA‘DI
AS A HUMANIST AND LYRICIST

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR
THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
IN
PERSIAN

By
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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
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"M. A., Ph. D.; D. Litt."

DEPARTMENT OF PERSIAN
ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH
ABSTRACT

JARI AS A MUSICIAN AND LYRICIST

Aram Dukht
ABSTRACT

Sadi as a Humanist and Lyricist

The subject of our present essay is 'Sadi as a Humanist and a Lyricist'. Our charted course lies through the lands of the sages to the land of songs, from musing to music. And it is better so, for if in the earlier part of our journey we get bored of the dreary waste of abstract thinking, in the end, we shall be recompensed by a right-about turn into the pastoral- scape of fresh beauty and innocent love, of melodious reeds and sweet symphonies — sure remedies of boredom.

The essay falls into two parts, plus an introduction and conclusion. These parts are again subdivided into chapters and sub-headings. In the introduction, a brief summary is given of the present topic and how it will be dealt with.

The first part — Sadi as a humanist, consists of three chapters:

(i) Humanism
(ii) Sadi as a humanist
(iii) Sadi and Firdawsi compared as humanists.

In the first chapter we have defined humanism, quoting various encyclopaedia, lines and dictionary, and have written
down its chief tenets; so that the reader may understand its nature and later, when we attribute it to Sa‘di, he may be sure that our assertion is true and that we are not imposing upon him one of our personal fads.

In the second chapter, we have critically analysed the rules of humanism and have tried to apply them to the Sheykh’s writings. We have discussed that Sa‘di, though neither the product of Renaissance, nor a disciple of Erasmus, yet was basically as humanistic as any fourteenth-century humanist. He was considerate and compassionate, he was understanding and tolerant. His tears were not tainted with cant; his laugh was not inhibited of grim sobriety. He honoured virtue and detected vice. But his broad vision could distinguish between a devilish sin and a human lapse. His wisdom taught him that the good of mankind lay in the fulfilled fruition of man himself. We have discussed all those humanistic qualities of the Sheykh and have seen that those glittering decorations of humanism filled his proud lapels and he was the most humane of all the humanists.

In the third chapter, we have tried to seek a peer of this Sa‘di the humanist, and our choice have fallen on the old stalwart of Tus - Firdawsi. We found that like Sa‘di, Firdawsi also subscribed to almost all the basic tenets of humanism. We have compared them with each other and have found that the maxims of Gulistān and Dūstān have been realised in the Shāhnāma.
Our second part - Sa'di as a humanist - consists of four chapters:

(1) Definition of Lyricism
(II) Sa'di as a Lyricist
(iii) Sa'di and Khusrav compared as lyricists.
(iv) Sa'di and Hafiz compared as lyricists.

In the first chapter of the second part we have defined lyricism, quoting various encyclopaedias and dictionaries. After assessing lyricism, we passed on Sa'di's position as a lyricist. We have discussed all the qualities of his ghazals and evaluated his poetry according to the definition of lyricism. We have found his ghazals to have all the qualities required for a lyric, hence we have said him to the best lyricist of the Persian language.

Then in the next chapter, we have compared him with Khusrav and have discussed their similarities and dissimilarities.

In our last chapter, we have made a comparative study of Sa'di and Hafiz as lyricists and have discussed their respective lyrical qualities.

In the conclusion, we have briefly revived what we have been discussed in our thesis and we have concluded by giving Sa'di the palm of the best humanist and the best lyricist of the Persian language.
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UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
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ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH

1978
PREFACE
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PREFACE

The Gulistan and Bustan of Sa'di has impressed and fascinated me from my very childhood and I always had an irrepressible urge to explore and to understand all the subtle aspects of this Shirazian Genius. So I felt greatly exhilarated and honoured when the topic "SA'DI AS A HUMANIST AND LYRICIST" was assigned to me for detailed study and research for the award of Ph. D. degree in Persian.

For centuries, the various aspects of the Shaykh have been discussed time and again; yet nothing much has ever been written about Sadi, the humanist. This topic is completely original in itself and the present writer has tried her best to bring out and discuss fully all the humanistic trends in his works. Sadi's lyricism and his mastery in Ghazals have always been acknowledged by renowned poets and profound critics, but here also the present writer has tried to add something quite new and original to this accumulated treasure of the past.

I may be allowed to say that this topic is absolutely subjective in itself and there is very little material available on this topic, specially on the humanistic
element in Sädi's works. It is on this account that it took me several years to make an intensive study of almost each and every line of the Shaykh's voluminous Kulliyat and to make an appraisal of his writings. I had also to work around them in so much as I was required to make a comparative study of Sädi's humanism and lyricism with such brilliant luminaries of Persian poetry, like Ardayfi, Khurasan, and Safi. I have tried my best to present a critical account of the problem under our investigation and to prove that the Shaykh is the most humane of the humanists and the most lyrical of the lyricists of the Persian language. I have succeeded in my attempt or not it is for the esteemed judge to decide.

In the end, a word of explanation, the English translation of all the Persian verses referred to in the present thesis would have definitely enhanced its value. But due to limitations of my own, the translation of all the lines could not be affected. However, I have made an attempt to translate those lines from the Shaykh's Gulistân and Bustân which would enable the reader to understand and appreciate his humanistic aspect. In this connection, the following two works have been of great help to me:

I. The Bustân of Sädi; translated by G.K. Wickers
2. The Gulistan of Sadi; translated by Edward Rehatseh

Lastly, I take the opportunity of expressing my deepest gratification and regards to my most esteemed, learned and noble, supervisor, Professor Nazir Ahmad without whose able guidance it would not have been possible for me to complete my thesis. I also want to express my utmost gratification to my father Mr. S.M. Sadiq Safawi who encouraged and inspired me at every stage of my thesis-writing. I would also like to thank my colleague and friend Dr. S.M. Tariq Hassan whose kind help and suggestions helped me a lot in the completion of my thesis. I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Jagdish Narain Kulshreshtha and Mr. S. Hurain Ashraf who gave me their unfailing assistance. My thanks are also due to the staff of Maulana Azad Library who helped in finding the necessary material.
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RULES OF TRANSLITERATION

The following rules of transliteration, with slight variations at certain places, have been adopted in the present work:

<table>
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## List of Abbreviations

The abbreviations used in this work are as follows:

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INTRODUCTION
The subject of the present essay is Sa'di as a Humanist and a Lyricist. Our charted course lies through the lands of Sages to the land of song, from musing to music. And it is better so, for if in the earlier part of our journey, we get bored of the dreary waste of abstract thinking, in the end, we shall be recompensed by a right-about turn into the pastoral landscape of fresh beauty and innocent love, of melodious reeds and sweet symphonies—sure remedies of boredom and fatigue. And we shall be in the best company all through. It will consist of gentle souls and kindly hearts, of cherubic singers and solitary soloists—some of gentlest souls and sweetest singers of the world.

The essay will fall into two parts, each being again subdivided into chapters. The first part will be about Sa'di the Humanist. We shall begin it by trying to define humanism, so that when later, we attribute it to Sa'di, the reader may be reasonably sure that our assertion is true.
and that we are not imposing upon him one of our pet and personal fads. We shall examine the nature of humanism and shall wonder at the result. For we shall not see a phantom of metaphysical haunted-house, instead, there shall lie before us our own image, life—size and life—like, with light and shadows, pining and smiling, petty and pretty, stumbling and carrying along. Heavens, what a manly and a godly picture—and no wonder it is! For man in his fullness is the true reflection of gods. He loves and he hates, he makes and he breaks, he is jealous and magnanimous, he is vengeful and he is forgiving at once. But, overall, he is for Good and loves Beauty like God Himself.

In our next chapter we shall see the picture of just such a man, the ideal of humanism. He was neither the product of Renaissance nor a disciple of Erasmus. He lived centuries before those two. His name was Sadi of Shiraz. We have said, he was not the product of Renaissance, he was not a product of his own vicious times either. He was like a latter-day Jewish prophet sent from above to advise a degenerated people. But there was a difference here. The prophet of Jehovah preached by threatening with the destruction of the Dooms day; but this Iranian reformer pleaded by holding and the hope of regeneration. The glittering decorations of humanism filled his proud lapels.
He was considerate and compassionate. He was understanding and tolerant. His tears were not tainted with cant. His laugh was not inhibited by glum sobriety. He honoured virtue and detested vice. But his broad vision could distinguish between a devilish sin and a human lapse. He could preach and sermon or cut a joke with equal felicity. He was an admirer of beauty and a votary of love, for he knew that without beauty and love the horizon of humanity would be bleak indeed. In short, he was a wise and good man. His wisdom taught him that the good of mankind lay in the fulfilment fruition of man himself — in the uniform progress of all his faculties, in the balanced growth of all his nature. This was the aim and ideal of Sādī, and this is the aim and ideal of humanism as well.

In the next chapter, we shall try to seek a peer for this Sādī, the humanist. Rank after rank of Persian mystics and moralists, writers and poets, will come under our review. But our choice will fall on the old stalwart of Tūs — Firdawsi. The discovery will amaze us who would have thought of the delicate flowers of humanism blossoming in the craggy battle-field of Shāhnāma? And who would have believed an epic-writer to water those flowers with his bloody inkpot? It is unbelievable, but we shall find that it is just so. He who made the affectionate Īraj fall victi to his fraticidal brothers, he who killed the young Suhrāb by the hand of his own father, he who cut the
throat of the gentle Siyawash with the sparkling dagger of Guruy-i-Zirih, he was the man who had the kindest heart in his bosom and who uttered the most anguishing cry against bloodshedding:

Like Sadi, Firdawsi also based his moral philosophy on human nature. The abstract principles of Gulistan and Bustan are seen in concrete shape in Shahnameh. A careful study of Firdawsi's heroes will lead to the deduction of Sadi's maxims. The difference between them is only that of practice and theory. Firdawsi could illustrate the abstractions of Sadi as none has done before or since. But in the matter of theorising the aged Dihqan was handicapped by his garrulity. This is an art in itself, a kin to the rag of turning, an epigram. And it is just here that we shall see Sadi steal a sly march on Firdawsi. So in the end we shall have to allow a victory on points to the sleet Shirazi.
the lyric is most akin to the spirit of poetry. We the ignorant commons feel in our hearts, though the Aristotelian knowledgeable may not say so in their books, that the essence of poetry lies in Beauty Love and Music. The idea may be logically wrong, but it is not wrong in so much as it represents the opinion of millions and millions of normal human beings. So perhaps it is the whispering of Nature the declamations of the pedants not with standing. And if the essence of poetry is Beauty love and Music, then it is best manifested - in the form of lyric. For a lyric is a short poem, with musical expression centred on same personal emotion - usually love for human beauty. And if this be the lyric, then the Persian Ghazal of the old style is one of its best manifestation. Then we say the old style, we mean the style of the old masters, the of Persian. For during their time the Ghazal, had not lost its purity and simplicity. Its origin had been in love and beauty and those followed that tradition. Its pollution with metaphysics and morals, with the meteoric dust by the heavens and the black mud of the earth, was of later date.

Having discussed the nature of a lyric we shall deal with Sádi as a Lyricist. And here for once, flinging away a cautious writer's customary restraints, we shall indulge in superlatives. But our discarding of cautions and speaking in superlative will be above reprimand and denial. For,
without any doubt and demur, Sādi was the most sweet, the most aesthetic, the most lyrical poet of Persian. He drank in beauty and he lived to love it. And he had a disposition naturally suited to this double purpose. He was modest and simple. He had a receptive mind and a feeling heart. Hope was the anchor of his staunch optimism. Even if in dungeon he could see the sun through the chênk in the wall. He was not a bat, but a skylark.

And the background music of this scenario was the melody of his speech. We again indulge in a sweeping generalisation and assert that, in the past millenium of its splendour, the Persian language did not produce an sweeter poet than him. It is not for nothing that Sādi's countrymen call his ... In his Ghazals he did sing like a nightingale. And the basis of this similarity was that he selected his notes from nature and not from a musical table. He did not hamper his language with the weight of elegance. His words flitted from his heart and perched on his lips. In this matter of language also he followed the old school of Ghazal writers. By his time and even earlier, the idiom of Dari had reached full maturity. Anwārī and Zahir preceded him by a century. Khālī was his contemporary. But as in the matter of theme so - the matter of language Sādi the Ghazal writer broke away from the present and took refuge in the distant past. He chose the model of Rūdakī and became the best lyrist of Iran.
Once again, after introducing Sadi as a lyricist, we shall compare him as such with two other celebrities the world of ghazal "Khusraw and Hafiz".

Following the precedence of time we shall deal with Khusraw first. He was as versatile as Sadi, or perhaps more so. However, we are not concerned here with versatility but with respective merit in a particular form of a particular branch of poetry i.e. with the lyrical Ghazal. Now, the Amir's ghazals happen to be written in two entirely different styles, the one being a true and faithful copy of the Shaykh, and the other the precursor of the well-known \textit{Aal'a}. Without presuming to go into the question of their respective merits, we can safely say that these two styles are as opposed to each other as opposed can be. And it is to this their fundamental dualism that we take exception. As truth is indivisible so is sincerity. When we see Khusraw playing two different tunes we doubt if he is sincere in either. And sincerity being the soul of lyricism an insincere lyric is unimaginable.

A further and darker reflection is cast on the Amir's sincerity by his excessive engrossment with words. He plays with them and he wrestles with them. Often, and oh, how sadly often he seems to take his inspiration from his words and not from his heart this is our chief complaint against him and this is the chief distinguishing feature between him and our Shaykh. The massive wordiness of the Amir also blocks the
...flow of his ideas. Here again Shaykh, with his famous lightness and fluency of speech, scores a point against the Amir. Between the language of Khusraw and Sadi there is the difference of a drag and a mast the one pulls back, the other carries along.

After dispensing with Khusraw, our comparison will lie between Sadi and Hafiz.

A gladiatorial contest, indeed, putting the onlookers and the umpire alike in trembling awe! It is not the case of the proverbial ـ ۳۴ ۳۴ each claiming a decree of supremacy for itself. It is the case of two Suns confronting each other from two different galaxies. Indeed, this is a quandary in which we can echo Hippocrates exclamation of "judgement difficult" with equal bewilderment.

"Two different galaxies" — we should be thankful for this phrase for it points to our only escape from the above impasse. The fame of Sadi and Hafiz rests on Ghazals of two entirely different types. We shall expand on this difference. It will be seen then while Sadi stuck to the old lyrical style, Hafiz adopted and perfected the new types. By the time of Hafiz the scope of the Ghazal had widened to infinity, i.e. there was no limit or prohibition set for its topics. They could be emotional or moral, mystic or philosophic, religious or profane.

The Khawaja was like a free thinking, free-lance sophist, and his subjects were chosen accordingly, he payed lip service to the traditional ghazal and feigned to die with love and
a d pine for beauty. But, infact he was neither a devotee of love nor a slave of beauty. He was only a profound thinker and a great discoverer of truths - truths about God and truths about man, truths about body and soul, about human and physical nature about fate and free will. He is famous as a mystic poet. But we shall show that his mysticism was entering different form that of Sadi. It is true that they both in their ghazals wrote about Divine Beauty. But Sadi approached the subject as an \( \text{शैल्याबोक्ष्य} \) while \( \text{हफीज} \) dealt with it as an \( \text{एकस्त} \). The Shaykh loved the Divine Beauty; the \( \text{खिजवा} \) tried to understand its nature. The difference is fundamental. It will also prove to be decisive for our purpose because it will settle the question of priorities within our terms of reference. A lover's songs are better entitled to be called lyrics than the aphorism of a mystic savant. Hence we shall award the palm of the supreme Persian Lyrist to our Shaykh.

Not only a Supreme Lyrist, the Shaykh is also the most humane Humanist of the Persian language — and this is what the present writer has tried to prove in the present thesis. She has succeeded in proving her point or not, it is for the esteemed readers to decide.

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\( \text{सुराहू में बैरागी नहुस्ली} \)

\( \text{तब्रानी हजारों कुम्बन्धार} \)
SADI AS A HUMANIST

(a) Humanism
(b) Sadi as a Humanist
(c) Sadi in comparison with Firdawsi.
is a late arrival in the field of organized philosophy. So its systematic discussion is also of late origin. But its roots are old and deep — indeed, as old and deep as humanity itself, for, unlike other such systems — e.g. the Kantian Ethics — its code was not 'laid down' but 'evolved' with the human nature. It is not a garden planned and planted, but a virgin valley of natural flora just trimmed and fenced around. It is deeper than a philosophy and more congenial than a code. It is not a law of life, but life itself. It is not life's dictum, but its expose. It does not prescribed how life should be lived, it only shows how evenly-balanced, normally developed human beings live their rich and vivid lives. It is the budding, the flowering, the fruition of that supreme blossom of creation called the Full 'an, for perfection is heavenly and consorts, not with him who is heaven's emigre.

The scope of Humanism being as broad as it is and its roots in time and nature being as deep as they are it is not easy to define it minutely yet comprehensively. However, the task has been attempted by many, and the following definitions are the tentative results of those attempts. It would fruitful to quote from various Encyclopaedia and writers;
Humanism is a system of thought or action which is concerned with merely human interest. Humanism is the philosophy which recognizes the value and dignity of man and makes him the measure of all things, and its main object is to understand and explain human nature. Humanity, with its different aspects, psychological as well as intellectual, is the central object of its interest.

Humanism is the attitude of mind which attaches primary importance to man and to his faculties, affairs, temporal aspirations and well-being. The term Humanism has been derived from Latin's 'Humanus' and it was often regarded as the characteristic attitude of the Renaissance in western Europe. The Greek and Roman classical writers regularly distinguished the 'human' or 'humane' on the one hand from the bestial, and on the other hand, from the divine; but in making the latter contrast, they usually stressed

1. Oxford Dictionary

"Humanism is a system of thought or action which is concerned with merely human interest. Humanism is the philosophy which recognizes the value and dignity of man and makes him the measure of all things, and its main object is to understand and explain human nature. Humanity, with its different aspects, psychological as well as intellectual, is the central object of its interest."

2. Encyclopaedia Britannica

"Humanism is the attitude of mind which attaches primary importance to man and to his faculties, affairs, temporal aspirations and well-being. The term Humanism has been derived from Latin's 'Humanus' and it was often regarded as the characteristic attitude of the Renaissance in western Europe. The Greek and Roman classical writers regularly distinguished the 'human' or 'humane' on the one hand from the bestial, and on the other hand, from the divine; but in making the latter contrast, they usually stressed

some pathetic aspect of the human, such as mortality or fallibility. Medieval Christianity, however, suggested that man's life on Earth was significant only in so far as it affected his soul's expectation of God's mercy after death, and it was against this belittling of his natural condition that the humanist of the Renaissance asserted the intrinsic value of human life before death and the greatness of his potentialities. As ecclesiastical influence waned, the protest of humanism was turned against secular orthodoxies that subordinated man to the abstract concepts of political or biological theory..."  
3. Chamber's Encyclopaedia

"... Thus the word Humanism came to present not only a system of education based on the Greek and Latin classics, but also any system of thought which set out to exalt or defend man in his relation with God, with nature, and with society..."  
4. Encyclopaedia Americana

"The word Humanism has a variety of meanings.

In the history of European thought, it is used in the narrowest sense to ascribe to that kind of study of the Greek and Latin classics which is accompanied by the conviction that these classics contain the highest expression of human value. By extension, it is applied to the liberal arts and specially to those subjects like Grammar and Rhetorics which were considered by their practitioners to be most directly relevant to the right conduct of life. Literature, ethics, and politics are, in this way, included among the humanistic disciplines, distinguished from the natural sciences on the one hand and from the metaphysical and theological speculation on the other. Finally, Humanism may mean any philosophical or ethical system centered on the concept of the dignity and freedom of man.

5. The American People Encyclopaedia

"Humanism is a term generally implying practical interest in humanity. Man is essentially a doer, not a thinker, and knowledge must therefore have as its main object the solving of problems pertaining to humanity, the humanist declared. This school of thought developed in the 15th century and

was born of opposition to scholasticism, the main concern of which, claimed the humanists, was with abstraction, such as God, religion etc."

6. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences

"That the word Humanism was appropriated by a famous literary and intellectual movement of the Renaissance, was more or less of a historical accident, but that it should also be applied to several other philosophic movements was only natural. For it is clearly a suitable term to characterize any view of the world for which humanity is the central object of interest; and as such views are numerous, it speedily acquires a plurality of senses. Their common point of interest, however, is always the human aspect, as opposed to superhuman or the merely natural. The most fundamental formulation of philosophic humanism is still to be found in the dictum of Protagoras that 'Man is the Measure of Everything'. This formula lays the sharpest stress on the relativity of all knowledge to human capacity..."

7. The Humanist Outlook

"Humanism is defined in the Oxford English Dictionary as 'any system or action which is concerned with 'merely' human interests'. The point of the word 'merely' here is that it excludes theology. The early humanists, who took Erasmus for their master, were believers in Christianity; but they did not think it right to apply religious tests to every form of intellectual activity. In particular, they attached an independent value to the study of the languages, literature, history and mythology of ancient Greece and Rome; it is for this reason, indeed, that classical studies still go by the name of the "humanities". At the same time they took the first step toward freeing the human mind from religious control.

Freedom of thought and speech was a form of resistance to authority. It rested on the principle for which Prof. Flew argues that one should not be required to accept as dogma what is known to be true. The adherents to this movement were not nationalists in the

1. Introduction by A.J.Ayer.
philosophical sense of the term: they had confidence in the power of human reason, but they did not believe that reason alone, unaided by observation, could discover how the world worked. This open critical spirit has continued to be the distinctive mark of the humanists. The hostility of the humanists to rigid and uncompromising religious dogmas was not evinced only in their fidelity to natural sciences, it extended also to questions of human conduct. This did not mean that their moral principles were necessarily different from those who were held by their religious antagonists. The difference lay in their denying that morality either had a religious basis or needed a religious sanction ..."


"Humanism is the point of view which regards human life as an independent centre of interest, or, in, in old Greek phraseology, the 'helm' by which the universe is steered. In this sense, I contrast it with the more familiar term 'naturalism' — the attempt to understand human life in the light of the forces that operate in

1. London, 1907, p.27
the world around it — and also with supernaturalism that which seeks for the explanation of the world in supernatural powers. From both these points of views, the course of human life is apt to appear in the phrase of Mr. Balfour, as a 'brief and transitory episode in the life of one of the meanest of the planets'; whereas, from the point of view of humanism, it is only by reference to man's life that the rest of the universe gains dignity and significance. Humanism may be described as the attitude of mind which seeks the key to the world in the life of man, or, at any rate, the key to man's life within himself. As Bishop Berkeley says 'human mind and other minds like man's, are the only things that really exist, and consequently, in studying man we are truly studying everything.'

9. Radhakamal Mukerjee: The way of Humanism, East and West

"Humanism may be defined as an integrated

1. Bombay, New Delhi, 1963, p.1
system of human meaning, goals, and values, and harmonious programme of fulfilment, individual and collective. It seeks to clarify and enrich man's goals, values and ideals and achieve his full humanness through bringing him in ever deeper and more intimate kinship and harmony with the surrounding life, society and cosmos. Humanism rests on 'value-realism' which is not an abstract notion but involves the concrete fulfilment of human life and potentialities that is itself invested with the highest value by, and for man's self. Man Kind's universal experience at the level of both the self and society is that the real value of human fulfilment — the aim of all humanists — is supreme...."

10. Ralph Barton Percy: The Humanity of Man

"—— Humanism is essentially a philosophy expressing a reaction against the unnatural stress ascetism places on self—denial. It puts its trust in desire and enjoys life with a

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good conscience. It cultivates the art of happiness. This does not mean that Humanism lacks discipline, but that its self-control is constructive and justified by fruitfulness. Humanism finds no virtue whatever in self-denial and self-torture. It finds the good things of life to spring spontaneously from an original fund of instinct enriched by growth and social intercourse. Humanism is a creed dedicated to man. It idealizes man without divorcing him from nature. Its object is existent man taken in respect of the faculties and achievements which dignify him. Humanism may or may not substitute for religion. It is consistent with theism, but does not degrade man in comparison with God or replace man by God as the only Being worthy of reverence that which dignifies man must be something granted to him by the grace and condescension of another Being. It will not suffice to say that man is a mere receptacle, a beneficiary of salvation .... Humanism is committed to accept human nature and is therefore obliged to take the bad with the good and so construct a supreme concept of
nature which will embrace both the good and the evil as those appear from man's limited point of view...."

11. Crane Brinton: Shaping of the Modern Mind

"..... They (the humanists) believed that man is a measure of all things and that each man is a measure for himself. The tag word is 'individualism' --- these men were great individualists as opposed to the timid conformists of the Middle Ages. They were men who dared to be themselves, because they trusted their own natural powers, in something inside themselves...."

After going through these definitions carefully, we will now discuss Humanism at length and will critically analyse the various social, political, and emotional factors which worked together to give birth to the most multifaceted interesting and complex philosophic ideology --- Humanism.

Humanism is the philosophical and literary movement which originated in Italy in the second half of the fourteenth

1. New York, 1953, pp.29-30
century and diffused into the countries of Europe, coming to constitute one of the factors of modern thought and culture. Humanism was, like its counterpart in religion - Protestantism, the basic aspect of the Renaissance, and precisely that aspect through which Renaissance thinkers wanted to reintegrate man into the world of nature and history and to interpret him in this respect. In this sense, the term Humanism derives from 'humanitas' which at the time of Cicero meant the education of man as such — the education favoured by those who considered the liberal arts to be instruments, that is, disciplines proper to man which differentiate him from the other animals. The humanists held that through classical letters, the 'rebirth' of a spirit that man has possessed in the classical age and has lost in the Middle Ages could be realised — a spirit of freedom that provides justification for man's claim of rational autonomy, allowing him to see himself involved in nature and history and capable of making them his realm. This "return to antiquity" did not consist in a simple repetition of the ancient past but in the revival and development of capacities and powers that the ancients possessed and exercised, but which had been lost in the Middle Ages. The humanists rejected the medieval heritage and chose that of the classical world. The privilege that they accorded to the humanities — poetry, rhetoric, history, ethics and politics — was founded on the conviction that these disciplines alone can educate man as such and can
put him in a position to exercise freedom and to understand the cosmos. This revival of the classics was first started in the great age of Greece by adopting Greek thought in Roman education. The zeal with which Petrarch, who can be called the forefather of Humanism, retraced the classics and the qualities of intelligence and memory which he displayed in interpreting them are unequalled by his predecessors. The richness and ease of his style and the elegant fluency of his Latin were also quite novel features. Petrarch shun all systematic and dogmatic doctrine arbitrarily imposed on man — whether it be scholastic philosophy, law or even political services and discipline. He, like a true humanist, asserted his freedom of choice and of initiative. This new doctrine which recognized man's importance in this world, giving him full freedom to choose and select guided by his own intellect and judgement — a freedom never granted to a man till that time — opened up vast prospects for Petrarch's contemporaries and they traversed them with vigour and sincerity. Calling Petrarch their master, they passed on his message to coming generations. It was a message of freedom and individuality — the chief and basic concepts of Humanism. This message of Petrarch and his successors acquired new dimensions during the 14th century, and Florence, the literary center of Italy, became the center for this new learning also. It was by no accident that
Italy became at once the home of the Renaissance and the cradle of modern thought. It was more ripe for this humanistic mobilization because of two reasons: firstly, it was in Italy chiefly that the connection with antiquity had been preserved, and when the literature of antiquity once more saw the light, the Italians were able to make it their own in a quite special and independent manner, since it was the work of their own past, flesh of their flesh, bone of their bone. The Italians envisaged the Greek literature—which in the fifteenth century became once more the object of enthusiastic study. The great importance for the history of culture of this general return to the literature of antiquity—to the study of antique history, philosophy and poetry—was that it revealed to men the existence outside the pale of the Church, of a human intellectual life, following its own laws and possessing its own history. Secondly, it was owing to the historical circumstances of Italy that this new philosophy flourished and became so popular there: The partition into many small states which were the arenas of continual political struggles, during which usually no stone was left unturned which could lead to attainment and maintenance of power, brought about the dissolution of the social order of the Middle Ages and the a general inclination towards—Humanism.
Thus, in the first half of the fifteenth century, this new philosophy spread to all the parts of Italy to such an extent that eventually Humanism and Italian culture became synonyms. However, since Petrarch's school was not merely Italian, humanistic learning developed outside Italy as well, although its growth was slower, and more fraught with obstacles. This humanistic movement outside Italy—though basically Italian took the shape of an independent product, and later, at the very time when Italian Humanism was losing impetus, Lefure and Bude in France, Colet and More in England, and above all Erasmus gave a European significance to Humanism. It was a long way from Petrarch to Erasmus, and along the road new objectives were discovered and attained, in which at least the names of L. Bruni, L. Valla, G. Pontano and Aldo Manuzio must be mentioned.

However, back to earlier times; gradually Humanism gained more and more impetus in and outside Italy; so much so that it did not merely remain a 'school of thought' or a 'philosophy' — it became a revolt, like Protestantism, against the double standards of society and religion, and it may aptly be called, "The Humanistic Revival" — the basic concept of the Renaissance. Crane Brinton says in his
... once upon time, a pair of fair-haired twins named Renaissance and Reformation, persecuted and abused turned against their wicked but doddering step-mother, the catholic church of the Middle Ages....

Both the Humanists and the Protestants worked together for the emancipation of the mankind. They were conscious rebels and were rebelling against the same thing — against the familiar, but to sensitive minds, painful gap between the 'ideal' and the real; and against a general degradation and de-humanization of the mankind which was a prominent feature of the Middle Ages. This uncomfortable gap between the ideal and 'real' which existed there throughout the Middle Ages, was by the fifteenth century almost too wide for the most ingenious explanations to close. The ideal was still Christian, still an ideal of unity, peace, security, status, organization, the reality was wars, divided authority — even in the Papacy which should reflect God's own serene unity — a great scramble for wealth, and a general humiliation of mankind. In the Middle Ages man was valued according to his union with Church and corporation. The natural man, with

l. p.21
his purely individual, emotional life was of no account, and was not regarded as authorised. (Burkhardt has well shown in his work on the culture of the Renaissance how the propensity to individualism and the need of a purely personal development could not fail to arise under the influence of the historical conditions in Italy in the fourteenth and fifteenth century).

The Renaissance was a protest and revolt against obsolete science and it liberated the inquiring human mind from subjection to the written word or official authority of Church and state. And the Humanism which grew out of the Renaissance and which, indeed, was the inner meaning of the Renaissance, was a return to man and nature from the trammels of an artificial system of life and thought, based upon a super natural conception of the world.

"... The common characteristic of the Humanists is the escape, more or less thorough, from the fetters in which human thought had been confined — an escape into a wider freer world where all facts were relevant, where all theories had to be tested by relating them to their discoveries, and all formulae recast in accordance with their new-old light — an escape whose prime cause was the new enthusiasm for the poets,
historians and philosophers of Greece and Rome, and
the scriptures of the old Testament and
New Testament, regarded no longer through the
distorting medium of allegorical inter-
pretation, but reverently, patiently, and
critically studied....¹

It was along these lines that humanism set out
to emancipate the human being and to quote Protagoras
'to make him the measure of all things'. It was not only
a complex movement of Arts and Philosophy, it was a revolt
against a 'way of life', a system — a system it found
corrupt, overlabored, stale, unlovely and untrue. The
humanists were rebelling against the social and moral code
of their time in which there was absolutely no place for
reason, logic and intellect and when tradition and dogma
ruled supreme. The Church and the state had all the authority
and both these institutions had become corrupt and exercised
undue authority on men and women. The ideal of 'Truth' and '
'Beauty' and 'Modesty' was there alright but it was confined
only to the Holy Books and ethical treatises. Nobody bothered
to teach the common man how he can live his life successfully
on this Earth with the help of his own intellect and reasoning

¹ Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics, New York, 1955, v.VI, pp. 331-32
All the efforts were focussed on religion and the 'life there-after', totally ignoring the fact that this earthly life is also important and that a man can live happily if he is guided by Reason. Man, the most fascinating and the 'Best Creation' of God had forgotten his proper place in this universe. He had forgotten rather, he was 'made' to forget that he was the superior and the supreme in this cosmos and he must try to justify his existence and to achieve and conquer everything which this Universe offers. The Fathers of the Church reduced Man to mere Nothing which was sent to the Earth in disgrace and so here he must compensate for his sins and the soul aim of his life was to live and act according to religion and age old traditions. Happiness and success were regarded ohea and almost irreligious! Reason, that magic - word, was considered blasphemous by those self-appointed demagogues! It was against this abnormal way of life that the Humanists revolted:

"....It was a revolt, more or less complete with a new sense of freedom and individuality, a deliverance from bondage into a world of no restraints. Every shade of free activity, from one end of the spectrum to the other, from the unblushing libertinism of the newly emancipated to the reforming zeal of those who had found the
highest and final standard, is to be found within the rank of the humanists...."

The Humanists believed that we are to seek for the key of the Universe, or at any rate, for the key to man's life within himself. "To be men, to play the game of life beautifully seemed to be their highest ambition. And the reason that they were so much attracted by Greece and all that is Greek was that the ancient Greeks 'played the game of life' to quote Goethe - 'more beautifully than any others and their interest seemed always to lie in life.

".... The Humanists were not called upon by the conditions of their lives, like most modern people, to put forth great efforts for the subjugation of natural forces; they did not get captured by an imperial mission, like that of the Romans, nor was it their tendency, like most oriental people to seek peace in the contemplation of the absolute and infinite They wanted to live beautifully and die beautifully and to behave neither like 'subhuman' nor like superhuman but like 'human'. Their religion their art, their literature were all eminently humane"

1. Lectures on Humanism, by J.S. Ackenzie
This was the reason that the Humanists idealized the Greeks. The Greeks were indeed born Humanists and Humanism — in the broader sense in which we are using it here — is certainly not to be found in the teachings of Comte or the Pragmatists, but rather in the lives and culture of the ancient Greeks. Thus, our modern Humanists chose the Greeks as an ideal for them and for the common people — an ideal not lofty or sublime, but 'humane'.

"... They found that the Greeks — the Romans — were gentlemanly, disciplined, moderate in all things, distrustful of the wild, the excited, the unbuttoned, the enthusiastic, free from superstition and rigidity — but by no means irreligious —, controlled, nature men of imagination not narrow rationalists..."

Inspired by these balanced and 'humane' lives of the Greeks, the humanists tried, through their philosophy which was a more systematic and elaborate form of the above mentioned Greek ideology, to infuse the same spirit in the men and women of their time and to make them behave like healthy human beings, not like religion— obsessed robots! They wanted Reason to be the driving force of the human machinery and

1. Shaping of the Modern Mind
they believed that because of his inherent goodness and reasoning capacity man can be the measure of all things. In other words, Humanism was a return to man and nature from the trammels of an artificial system of life and thought, based upon a supernatural conception of the world. It liberated the man from the unhealthy and crippling influence of the Church and the state, boldly declaring that for a normal and balanced life there must be a harmonious development of human body and soul. Humanism denotes, then, not only a literary tendency, a school of philologists (they were all men of letters who set out a pattern and standard for modern scholarship, studied ancient languages and introduced analytical and historical standards of criticism), but also a tendency of life, characterised by interest for the human, both as a subject of observation and as the foundation of action.

So far we have seen Humanism in a general and broader perspective (because it is in this general and broader sense that the term has been used in the present thesis), now let us cast a hurried glance on the purely philosophical and technical aspect of Humanism and see what philosophical and technical changes it had gone through from the 14th century to our times.

Humanism may chiefly be classified into two distinct systems:

1. The theocentric (which existed even before the Renaissance).
2. The Anthropocentric. (which came into existence during the Renaissance and with which we are chiefly concerned here).

The first fifteen centuries of our era were dominated by the Theocentric system while the last four centuries by the Anthropocentric.

The theocentric type of humanism was preached in the medieval period in Europe and abroad by all the great thinkers of those times such as Anselm (1033-1109 A.D.) 1 Abelard (1079-1142 A.D.) 2 , Aquinas (d. 1274 A.D.) 3 , Duns Scotus (d.1308 A.D.) 4 , etc. "Man, with his complex interests and cultural aspirations received a large acknowledgement in the speculative scheme. This scheme was not anthropocentric; everything in was focused upon God the author and finisher of all creation. That is what distinguishes it from the Renaissance Humanism and the Humanism prevalent during the eighteenth and nineteenth century.

The revolution that took place with the Renaissance and the change that transformed the basic concept of

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2. Ibid, p.174
3. Ibid, p.191
4. Ibid, p.195
Humanism is ill-described as the change from trust in authority to trust in reason. Rather, it was a revolution in the objects of man's rational interest — from thought concentrated on his otherworldly destiny to thought concentrated on his present habitation, — the world of time and space. Everything was changed now: the revival of the great Platonic tradition, in combination with a new interest in facts, i.e. in observation and experiment called into being the new knowledge — the knowledge of the positive sciences of man and nature. The old world outlook, in which man and nature found their status within an order that was supernatural and divine, yielded place to a new one in which man and nature filled the picture, with God fading a little in the background, and nature ever more and more being subjected to the sovereignty of man.

When we turn to philosophy for a dispassionate exhibition of this new world — outlook, we find it explicitly formulated by Descartes (1596-1650 A.D.) "The wheel of thought thus revolved in full circle" — from the Middle Age orthodoxy to the recognition of modern thought, from God as reason to Reason as God, from faith in the God man to faith in man; and thus the ideal of perfected humanity had its birth. This was the ideal that inspired the prophets of Humanism, both

2. Descartes established his famous formula, *Cogito-Ergo-Sum*, i.e. *I think, therefore I exist.*
3. *History of Philosophy,* p. 243
in the . e of the evolution as t h t r — the ideal of condorcet, the Saint Simonians, Comte and others.

But before the nineteenth century has passed, a new outlook was dawning upon men's minds. New ideas were winning ascendancy, some of them theocentric others indifferent and some even hostile to religion. And thus we come to the twentieth century movements in Humanism, like Pragmatism, Marxism, Personalism and existentialism.

This was a brief sketch how Humanism purely technical and philosophical Humanism — has developed and what different ideologies it has represented at various stages. But this was a purely technical Humanism, and as we have said earlier, we are using the term in a much broader and more 'human' sense. We are dealing with it as a 'philosophy of life' which can neither be time bound nor can be confined to a particular period. It came into existence when Adam put his foot on this Earth and will continue to exist till the last man bids farewell.

It was there when no particular "ism" was allotted to it and will remain there even if the term is wiped out from the pages of philosophic treatises. To repeat what we have said in the very beginning of this chapter: Humanism is deeper than a philosophy and more congenial than a code. It is not life's dictum, but life itself. It is not life's dictum, but its exposé. To quote Crane Brinton:
Let us then take Humanism as a kind of cover-all under which may be grouped all men whose world view is neither primarily theological nor primarily rationalistic.... A Humanist can be a theologian trying to do without a personal God, an educational reformer who thinks we have too much of natural sciences and not enough of the humanities, a philosopher who holds that humans are rather more than animals if less than God. So if we limit ourselves to the Renaissance admirers who are usually classed as Humanists, we shall miss much.

But at the same time we must also bear in mind that there are some very basic concepts of Humanism which are the distinguishing characteristics of a humanist—whether he is a theologian, an educationalist, a historian, a philosopher, a literature, or, like our Shaikh, a poet. These distinguishing features of Humanism are being given below and it will be along these guidelines that we will apply Sa’di as a humanist. Here we are just enumerating them, a fuller discussion will follow in the next chapter when we will apply them to Sa’di’s works:

1. Man is a Measure in Himself and for Himself, or Man is a Measure for All the things.

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1. Shaping of the Modern Mind, pp. 30-31
7. Comprehensive development of body and soul.
8. A Rational Interpretation of Religion and Morality.
9. Exaltation of Freedom
10. Love of Beauty and optimism.
11. Compassion
SADI AS HUMANIST
CHAPTER II

SADI AS HUMANIST

The preceding chapter (in which we have defined Humanism and given its historical background) was to give the reader a general idea about Humanism, so that he can judge for himself how far the present writer is justified in calling Sadi a humanist. Naturally we cannot confine the versatility of the Shaikh of Shiraz in the technical framework of humanism - his genius is too vast and multifaceted to be defined by the term 'humanistic'. He was a lover of humanity and an admirer of this exquisite creation of God - man and his work is profoundly permeated by the same love of humanity and human being. He was not a thinker like Plato, he was not a philosopher like Erasmus, he was simply a full-blooded man, having an intuitive insight into human nature, who realised the worth of man and considered him to be an object of admiration - nay, even idealisation. Humanity and man are the central point of his writings, and he studies and analyses the human
life in all its various aspects. His belief can be summed up for us in the following couplet of Pope:

"Know then thy self, presume not God to scan,
The proper study of mankind is man"

This general 'study' of the mankind is the theme of Sādi's works; therefore it will be unwise to shackle his boundless imagination in the technicalities of any 'ism', yet at the same time this is also a fact that we find Sādi's ideology strikingly close to the philosophy of the humanists of the 14th century; we see the ideals of Schiller and Erasmus realised in the writings of this 12th-century Persian genius. Matthew Arnold says about poetry that 'poetry is the reality, philosophy the illusion. In Sādi's case this proves to be absolutely true; what the humanists tried to define by philosophic maxims and dialectic expression, the clever Shaikh tells us in his witty and interesting anecdotes of himself and others.

As a matter of fact Shaikh's ideas reflect the views of the Renaissance period humanists to such an extent that he may well be called the forefather of this particular school of thought. In the present chapter, we will discuss some fundamental views of the humanists and will see how far does Sādi conform to them:

1. Man is a Measure in Himself and for Himself:

   The famous dicum of Protagoras that 'Man is the
measure of all the things' has been the motto of almost every humanist - from the 14th century to the Modern times. In simpler words, it means that man is the most powerful and admirable creation of God and "it is only by reference to man's life that the rest of the universe gains dignity and significance". It is the name for those aspirations, activities and attainments through which natural man puts on super-nature. The model for the believers of this motto is neither natural man nor a supernatural substitute - it is precisely a duality of natural man and his possibilities of transcendence. They believe that man is the heir of God himself and he is the center point around which this universe rotates.

According to them, man is too superior and independent to be governed by these mundane worldly laws; instead he should himself be the yardstick and the standard for his activities - he should try to understand this cosmos with the help of the faculties granted to him by God and to direct the path of regulate his life according to the relation of things with him self; judging each and every situation on its own and deciding his course of action guided by his own intellect and power of judgement, not by some set moral and social code. This means that there

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I. Lectures on Humanism, by J.S. Mackenzie.
is no moral standard detached from and lying outside man.
The happiness and well being of man, both individually and collectively are the best and only criteria to judge his conduct. Religions and traditional moralities with their uncompromising insistence on conformity, with their constant and stubborn refusal to accept that "the old order changeth yielding place to new — " they with all their restricting shackles cannot help man to fulfill himself either spiritually or materially. So if he wants to live happily and successfully he must free himself from all these and search for real happiness inside himself. This faith in man is best summed by Pico in the famous words he attributed to God in the oration on the dignity of man.

"... I have given you, Adam, neither a predetermined place nor a particular aspect nor any special privileges in order that you may take and possess these through your own decision and choice. The limitations on the nature of other creatures are contained within my prescribed law. You shall determine your own nature without any constraint or barrier, by means of the freedom to whose power I have entrusted you...."
Let us now see how far did Sadi conform to this basic viewpoint of the humanists:

In Sadi's time, for governing the human conduct, there were no worthwhile social, political, or philosophical systems. Religion reigned supreme. It is a matter of wonder, how in such a dry setup, such a daring and liberal soul could have reared its head and flourished! He, with the help of that rare insight which he had into the nature of a man, came to the conclusion that the ideal of humanity can never be achieved by uncompromising rigidity and puritan orthodoxy. (Today, the retreat of religion before the onslaught of the rational and humanist revolution is more the result of the former's uncompromising rigidity than the latter's aggressiveness. The more interfering and fussy is a religion, the narrower is its appeal and the swifter its decay.) Judaism arrived with a peal of thunder, but now is no more than a faint reverberating sound. Islam did better with its spirit of liberty and compromise. Christianity, as reformed by the later days free thinkers is faring the best.

He realised that for his spiritual and material fulfilment, man shall have to look inwards into his own self and conform his conduct to his own personal needs and to the requirements of his society in general. He also realised that man, a free-willed agent of nature, can never
be 'forced' to do anything, and that 'fear - on which most of the religious and social laws were based in those days - can never inspire man to do good and avoid evil. No doubt fear can and does prevent man from doing evil, e.g. fear of legal punishment can stop him from committing social crime, fear of moral accusation can keep him from indulging in immoralities, and fear of Divine punishment can stop him from committing sin. But these legal, moral or religious taboos can only check the evil-doings superficially, but they cannot take out the roots of evil from the society. They can only stop a man from doing evil but they cannot inspire or 'instigate' him to do good. That is to say, if a man does not believe in religion, or if he is sure not to be caught by the social or moral law, he can commit religious and social crimes. (As a matter of fact, all this corruption and double-standards of our society originate from this overlooking of the psychological phenomena by our moralists and socialists).

Sadi, like a true humanist, realised this weakness of our social and moral system and the chaos resulting from this. This moral and social chaos was at its peak during Sádi's time. The period of Sádi was the terror-stricken reign of the deadly Mongols. These Mongols were
corrupt and cruel people who knew nothing of religion and less of morality. Now it is a fact that the ruled always reflect the character of their rulers. So the whole of the Iranian race was totally degenerated and corrupted at that time. (This moral and social degeneration is best depicted in the works of that marvellous satirist of the Persian language - 'Utáid-e-Zákání).

This disgraceful debasing of the mankind - the most noble creation of God - was unbearable to our sensitive humanist, Sádi. He reacted to it and set out to remedy it and to reinstate his fallen idol on the pedestal it rightfully deserved. He was an intelligent man possessing an extra ordinary insight into human nature and psychology, so he at once realised that the fault lies not with man but with the defective moral and social system of our society which did not realise the real worth and dignity of man and chained his sublime and aspiring soul with unnecessary and superfluous laws. Sadi, who had unfailing faith in man, and who believed that this whole universe has been created because of man, wanted to make man 'the measure for every things.' He believed that man is the super-creation of God, the generating force of this universe and every other creation has been created because of man and gains significance only with relation to man. All the mysteries of the
universe are inherent in this of the Divine beauty, because, as Hafiz says:

This of the Divine Beauty is the ruling king of this world and it is for his benefit that have been created:

(The clouds, air, sun and moon each of them are busy for you; so that you earn your daily bread and not waste your time.)

He further elaborates on this and states his point of view in ten consequent couplets of Āvatān - these lines clearly show that he believed man to be the measure of everything:

1. Diwan-I-Hafiz p. 136
2. Kulliyat, p. 68
3. Ibid, p. 373
Nigh is for your comfort, day likewise,
The bright moon and the world-illuminating sun;
Etainer-like, on your account the heavens
Ever spread out the carpet of the spring;
Though wind and snow there be, or rain and s�t,
Though thunder plays polo and lightning wields swords -
All are subservient functionaries,
Who nourish seed for you within the earth!
If you suffer thirst, still seethe not sorely,
For the Carrier in the cloud will bring you water on
His shoulder,
And from the soil He brings the colour and scent of
Sustenance,
A showplace for the eye, and brain, and palate;
Honey He gives you from the bees, and manna from the air,
Fresh dates He gives you from the palm, and date-
Stones by the heap;
The palm-binders all must gnaw their hands,
Confounded that none such a palm has ever bound;
Sun and moon and Pleiades are all for your sake,
Serving as lamps in the roof of your dwelling;
From thorns He's brought you roses, from the ladder
Musk,
Gold from the wineworking, fresh leaves from dry wool.)
Sadi believes that this miraculous and magnificent creation for whose benefit God has created has to be the measure of every thing and it is unnecessary to bind him to any social or moral law. Man is a law in himself and for himself so he cannot and should not conform to any rigid social or ethical code - rather, he should judge and evaluate every situation on its own, and act according to his judgement and the welfare of his fellow beings: For example, if he has to violate any set moral or social law for the larger interest of the mankind, he is free to do so. If a falsehood resulting in conciliation is better than a truth producing trouble.) can be helpful in saving a man's life, it is undoubtedly better than " "; or if kindness proves to be harmful to the society, it no longer remains a virtue, but becomes a vice:

(To have me oy upon the bad is to injure the good; to pardon tyrants is to do violence to dervishes. If thou associatest and art friendly with a wretch he will commit sin with thy wealth and make thee his partner.)

Likewise, Sadi analyses each and every single situation on its own merits and demerits, and tells us different

I. Kulliyät, p. 77
2. Ibid, p. 197
course of action in different situations - sometimes conforming to the ethical values, sometimes contradicting them. On one occasion he says:

\begin{quote}
(Until a matter by management be concluded, The conciliation of an enemy is better than conflict;)
\end{quote}

on another he declares: \(\text{ удар мечом змея, поскольку один из двух преимуществ будет достигнут. Если врагу удастся, ты убьешь змея и если он прервется, ты будешь освобожден от врага.}\) Sometimes he says:

\begin{quote}
Yet if you're soft the foe grows bold;
\end{quote}

And yet another time he advises:

\begin{quote}
Even if you are angry with someone, delay his punishment as long as you can.
\end{quote}

Both his Gulistan and Bustan are full of this rational approach towards things. Here one thing must be pointed out: in the minds of most of Sadi's critics some confusion seem to prevail about the interpretation of various of his sayings relating to human morals. They tend to think that by making man the measure of everything, he

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1. Kulliyat, p.262
2. Ibid, p. 200
3. Ibid, p. 231
4. Ibid. p. 232
5. The attack on the Shaikh's "..." comes from...
is allowing him to exploit the situation according to his own whims and fancies and is giving him permission to violate the social and moral laws to suit his own convenience. The reason for this misunderstanding and confusion no less an august quarter than the reigning monarch of the Shaik's homeland. Says the Shah in his

The Shah bases his strictures on two principles, one religious and the other ethical and sociological. As for religion, one single tradition of the Prophet of Islam should suffice to mollify the royal occuser:

Philosophy

The judgement of morals is also identical with the above Prophetic Tradition, but it needs elaboration and will be dealt with in the detail in the present discussion.
is Sadi's practicality and the apparent contradiction obtaining in his various sayings. For example, in one place the Shaikh says:

(He whom the shah follows in what he says, It is a pity if he speaks anything but what is good)

and at the other, he seems to effect a complete right-about and advises:

(Should he in plain day say it is night, It is meet to shout: 'Lo, the moon and the pleiades)

Likewise, at one time we see him likening an untruth to a " Mendacity resembles a violent blow, the scar of which remains, though the wound may be healed, Seest thou not how the brothers of Joseph became noted for falsehood, and no trust in their veracity remained.

And the next moment, his pen lays down the famous, or infamous according to the outlook of the reader - addicts:

I. Kulliyat, p. 78
2. Ibid, p.103
3. Ibid, p. 211.
In the Kulliyat, there are innumerable instances where he condemns carnal lust and solemnly advises abstinence. The whole of the following ghazal runs in this strain:

\[\text{And he supports his abstract disapproval by pointing to this very practical hazard:}\]

(Cut off the branch that puts its head in the house of your neighbour, because it will cause conflict.)

But against all this may be juxtaposed the entire fifth chapter of his *Mublstan* with its subtle and sweet undertones of permissive and deliberate indulgence.

These contradictions and the very practical approach of the Shaykh in various situations, led the Shaykh's commentators to commit a curious error -- they named him a "Practical Ethicist" and his philosophy of "man is a

I. Kulliyat, p. 693
2. Ibid, p. 693
3. Pious sentiments and aspirations, indeed abound;
   but, they are, as a rule eminently practical......

measure in himself "practical ethics". But this means that their judgment was based only on one half of the whole truth. They either did not appreciate the other half, or failed to be attracted by it. This was an unfortunate omission. We may call Sādī a 'Schizophrenic' if we like, there is a sort of dualism in his writings, but we cannot call him a practical ethicist without shutting our eyes to a very considerable and very important portion of his work. The reason why the Shaykh's critics committed this error is not far to seek. The old principles of morality proclaimed by Sādī had since long lost their significance and, by constant and universal repetition, had become meaningless platitudes. "Be Truthful" and "Be Chaste" had been ineffectually uttered a thousand times, and now the thousand and first utterance could also make no impression. But, 

(In the exuberance of youth, as it usually happens and as thou knowest).

were, indeed, strains new to the ears and not to be found in any of the expositions of the Aristotelian Ethics. They drew immediate attention and demanded some satisfactory explaining away. To confuse the reader all the more, there

I. Kulliyāt, p. 163
was the Shaykh's undeniable phyty on the one hand, and
t here were these hard nuts on the other! But of sheer
panic and confusion, the bewildered critic took the help
that came most handy to him -- that of the euphemistic
term of 'Practical Ethics'. But the apologetic undertones
undertones of this term strikes the ear at once.

This 'Practical Ethics' deserves a closer examina-
tion for determining if it is really a moral system, and,
as such, a useful formula to explain Sadi's seeing
anomalies. Logical scrutiny reveals it to be a hybrid of
pure moral science and Machiavellian opportunism. It says
in effect, 'Sin if you like, but sin to reap a profit'.
In other words, according to this ethical system (if at
all it can be called an ethical system), we may throw the
ethical standards overboard but as long as we can bring
some sel£ish and utilitarian justification in our defence,
we may be dubbed a 'man of convenience' and we may not
be condemned as a downright sinner. Now this is a strange
incongruity of our time-honoured moral law and its
uncompromising moral judgement! In, our ethical
spectrum there are only 'white' and 'black', no 'grey'.
In other words, the moral philosophy recognizes 'good'
and 'bad' but it is not acquainted with the 'Indifferent'

I. Kulliyat, p. 163
or the 'Natural'.

So, it will be a pity if Sadi's philosophy of 'Man is measure in himself' can be defended only by such dubious means as 'practical ethics'. All the works of the Shaykh are so infused with saintly virtues that we may only call him a Machiavellian either through check or imbecility.

Then how is one to defend him? In the simplest and best ways: by summoning in his support the one fundamental law on which the entire framework of ethics is based: that there is no CATEGORICAL LAW in the moral philosophy. The infinity, breadth and expense of this law rudely brush aside any notion of rigid conformity. Briefly, and practically it means that there are no set 'Dos' and 'Don'ts' to regulate man's conduct, that every situation is to be judged on its own merits (as believed and preached by the humanists) and the line of action chosen accordingly.

To take an extreme example, a general taboo against man-slaughter is very necessary for the protection and preservation of mankind. But the death sentence to the criminal continues in this prohibition's spite (or in its support?); and when committed by the hands of Justice, man-slaughter becomes the Supreme Penalty. Surely, to tell a judicious untruth (دُعُوَّةٌ صَدْرِيْنَ) is not more dire than to commit a judicious murder!
The reason and justification of this argument are borne out both by the ancient and modern Ethics. First, let us look into the theory of the ancient Greek philosophers. The Greek ethics enumerates four cardinal virtues: temperance, courage, justice, and wisdom. The first three refer to the three aspects of man's inner self — affection, sensation, and cognition, and the fourth represents the factor of balance and harmony which should obtain in the workings and inter-relation of these three. Temperance keeps the human feelings and emotions in check; courage stands guard on our wilful acts; and justice is to ensure that we do not err in our predicament of realities. But there can be no umpire to adjudge between, and direct the above trio, each one of them might have gone its own capricious way, to the detriment of the other two — rather to the detriment of the human individual and the human society themselves. Temperance could have led to celibacy, courage to foolhardiness, and justice to harshness or downright tyranny. It is in such cases that wisdom supplies the necessary checks and balances and points the proper path of moral conduct. It is on this level that, according to the dispensation of our wisdom, a man's death becomes either a murder or a capital punishment, the untruth becomes a lie or a tactful statement, and sex becomes licentious...
promiscuity or sacred bond of marriage.

Modern Ethics says the something but in its own modern way. It lays down that the moral standard is the Ideal, and that the Ideal in its own turn, is the 'harmorous development of body and soul' (of which more later) -- or the self, which in its turn are the some old virtues. Affection, conation, and cognition. Here the role of the umpire (which was given to wisdom in the old ethical order) is entrusted to a sublimated 'Self Regarding Sentiment'. The result is exactly the same: the is no rigid code of moral conduct, there are no fixed commands and prohibitions, there are only general guiding lines for our moral conduct. The well being of the individual and the society (two facets of the same thing) is the Supreme End, the means to attain that end may be adjusted to the requirement of each particular occasion.

Thus if Sadi's writings and his philosophy of 'an is a measure is viewed in this light, it is hoped that the stigma of 'Practical Ethics' will be transformed into the seal of 'rationality' and 'love of humanity', and when during the argument which is to follow, the term practical will be used (because of the lack of a better word) for various of his sayings, it will not be misunderstood to mean 'opportunism', it will mean: 'that which is helpful
to man for living a successful and happy life — the ultimate goal of a humanist.

Apart from this ethical justification, there are two more things in favour of this Protagorean belief which our Shaykh practised: one is his faith in the basic goodness of man, and the other is the relation, rather the interrelation of the individual and the society. Firstly, Sa'di, like every other humanist, believes that basically every human being is inclined towards goodness. He had faith in 'natural' goodness rather than 'acquired' goodness. Sadi, like Rousseau, observes that everything is good as it comes from the hands of the author of nature and that virtue is very much in the nature of man, and has not to be imported not to be imported or implanted in man's nature. The so-called caprices of man are the results of bad training; an unfair suppression of some of his instincts and an undue obligation of some others, and of disbalanced obeying or commanding. Goodness is thus an original condition, evil is the acquired one. So if man is made the measure of everything and all his emotions and instincts are harmoniously developed, then there is no reason why he will not be good for the society.

Another thing which made Sa'di believe in the 'Man is a Measure' ideology was his belief that even if a man is free from all moral and social taboos, he will not do
anything which is harmful to the society because the welfare of the society, in its turn, is nothing but the welfare of the individual himself; there are two distinct and opposite ways of looking at the society: one is to regard it as an aggregate of which the individuals are the units, like pebbles in a heap of pebble stones, the other is to regard it as an organism of which the individuals are the parts, like limbs in the human body. An aggregate may roughly be said to be a collection of disjointed, unrelated things, having no inter-action or inter-relation in its units. Each of them stands and counts for itself and no more - if one is removed the only change in the aggregate is one minus if one is added the only change in the aggregate is one plus - this and no more.

The Shaykh, does not uphold the theory of society being an aggregate. He maintains that our society is less of an aggregate, more of an organism. Had the society been like an aggregate, the coming and going of an individual would also have signified one plus or one minus and no more. But it is not so. If a Newton gets born or an Akbar passes away, society is immensely affected thereby. Thus the human society is like an organism of mutually dependant parts having a chain of inter-relation and inter-action. This inter-relation of the individual and the society serves as an equilibrium between the two (because the
individual is sure to get in return what he give to others, i.e. society.) It is a sort of mutual give and take between the individual and the society, so even if there are no moral or social bindings for man and he himself is the measure for everything, this inter-relation and interaction of the society and individual will let him be selfish or self-centered, and will inspire him to do good and not to harm the society in any way. Sadi very clearly defines this relation of the individual and the society in the following famous words:

I. This faith in the basic goodness of man and the inter-relation of the individual and society is best described by Darwin in the fourth chapter of the Descent of man where he has accumulated examples of co-operative behaviour among social animals. Says he:

"It can hardly be disputed that the social feelings are instinctive or innate in the lower animals, and why should they not be in man?"

He concludes the chapter with what may be regarded as the classical statement of the humanist view on the social basis of morals:

"The social instinct - the prime principle of man's moral constitution - with the aid of active intellectual powers and the effects of habit, naturally lead to the golden rule 'As ye would that man should do to you, do ye to them like wise', and this lies at the foundation of morality."

2. Kulliyät, p.87
(The sons of Adam are limbs of each other
having been created of one essence.
When the calamity of time afflicts one limb
the other limbs cannot remain at rest.
If thou hast no sympathy for the troubles of others
thou art unworthy to be called by the name of a man.)

This clearly shows that Sadi too, like every other
humanist, believed that individuals are parts of the
society like limbs in the human body and that every individual's welfare is closely linked with
the welfare of his fellow beings:

Thus, when man is basically good, a being with
principles and with a certain goal in front of him, and
when the relationship of the individual and the society is
inter-depandant, he will not do anything which is harmful
to the society even if he is free from social and moral
binding and is a measure in himself. So it will not be
hazardous, as feared by most of our faint-hearted moralists,
to substitute blind obedience with discriminating choice.
So our Shaykh, having faith in these two basic concepts
of humanism (i.e. basic goodness of man, and the inter-
relation of the individual and the society), boldly deol...
Free Will to be the guiding force for all men. He raises man from the pedestal of a robot to the throne of the son of God.

Let us now see, in the light of his sayings, how far does Sadi, conform to the maxim of Protagoras and what practical 'practical' wisdom he has to teach to his readers:

He says in Mustan:

(Goodness and mercy have their place, But to be good-natured with bad men is bad! Put no pillows round the mean man's head; Better on a stone the head of one who injures others! Practice not good with evil men, you who have good fortune. Only an ignorant fool plants trees in salty soil!

I. Kulliyat, p. 320
I say not, care not for mankind;  
But waste not generosity on those not human!  
In manners be not mild with one who's rough;  
One does not stroke a dog's back like a cat's!  
(Yet, to be fair, a grateful dog  
is better in conduct than people who're thankless.))

Kindness and <i>ṣanād</i> is commendable in our social system  
and we are advised to be kind to all and sundry, whether  
they deserve it or not. But Sadi, that great Persian humanist  
does not believe in this. He does not say like Ghazâlî:

<code>
باور کنیم که در حالی که بی‌درباری نمی‌دهیم، یکی‌یکی که باید گرفتار باشد، 
یکی‌یکی که باید بدون این که سخن به‌داریم، 
اثری نمی‌چسبد، اگر اینکه سخن به‌داریم.
</code>

instead, he defies the social reformer and boldly deal ars

<code>
که اینجا ای‌باید، باید بگویم:
</code>

He was not insensitive or hard, he was not unfeeling or callous – he was humanity itself (much more human than our so-called social reformer) and it was his love of humanity which made him say 

<code>
که اینجا ای‌باید، باید بگویم:
عکس‌هایی از مرگ و مرد، من درون می‌دهم، و مرا، اینجا بگویم 
سربار که ساختمان‌هایی بی‌پاس که پری‌ها بی‌پاس، پیل.
</code>

I. K̄imiyā-1- Saʿādat, pp. 126-27
2. Kulliyāt p.80
(A tree which has just taken root
May be moved from the place by the strength of a man
But, if thou leavest it thus for a long time,
Thou canst not uproot it with a windlass.
The source of a fountain may be stopped with a bodkin
but, when it is full, it cannot be crossed on an ele-
phant.)

Thus, in order to stop him at the very initial stage, he
lays down the rule strictly:

(To do good to wicked persons is like
Doing evil to good men)

and

(Condonation is laudable but nevertheless
Apply no salve to the wound of an oppressor of the peop-
l He who had mercy upon a serpent
Knew not that it was an injury to the sons of Adam.)

Kindness towards animals is morally commendable, but
according to Sadi, if it proves to be injurious to man then:

. Kulliyat p.60
2. Ibid p. 199
The following extract of Bustan states the Shaykh's point of view in this regard:

(I've heard a man once knew a household's care, For wasps had made their nest upon his roof; His wife, however, said: 'Lay not a finger on them, Lest from their home the poor things be dispersed'. The wise man at this betook him to his business. At length, one day, they stung the wife. And she, imprudent as she was, by gate and roof and lane Did cry for help, the while her spouse was saying: 'Take not, good wife, a sour face before mankind; You yourself said the "poor" wasps should not be killed...
How to evil men should one do good?
Long suffering but magnifies the bad in evil men.
Then by a hard you see mankind tormented.
Torment his gullet with a sword that’s sharp!
What dog is there for whom a table’s spread?
Instruct him, rather, to be given a bone!
How well the village-elder coined that saw:
The beast that kicks is better heavy-laden!
If kindliness is practised by the watch,
No one can sleep at night for fear of thieves.
Within the ring of conflict, cane and lance
Are a hundred-thousand times more valuable than sugarcane.

Not everyone deserves a gift of property:
One asks for property, another to be properly told off.
If you caress the cat, he’ll carry off the pigeons;
Ratten up the wold; in pieces he’ll tear Joseph.

Forgiveness and generosity can be said to be the
height of morality and one of the most noble qualities of
man. But here also, Sadi makes, man the measure and preaches
that which is practical, or in other words, which is Ṣahih and
helpful for living a happy life. He does not believe in the
Christian ideal and does not offer his other cheek!

Rather, he believes in the more practical and humanistic
approach of Islam which says: “eye for an eye and ear for an
ear.” Sadi advises his fellow beings to take their revenge

I. "you must love your enemies and do good and lend without
expecting any return and you will have a rich reward".
Old Testament.

2. "Life for life, eye for eye, nose for nose, ear for ear,
tooth for tooth, and wounds equal for equal". But if
any one remits the retaliation by way of charity,
it is an act of atonement for himself (translation by
Abdullah Yusuf Ali). Sometimes Sadi inspires us “to
retaliate by way of charity” also, but mostly he prac-
tises the first half of the Ayat.
from their enemies and to destruct and destroy them:

(Strike the head of a serpent with the hand of a foe)

(Do not pity the weakness of a foe because when he gains strength he will not spare thee.)

(It is not the part of wise men to extinguish fire and to leave burning coals or to kill a viper and leave its young ones.)

(Who despises an insignificant enemy resembles him who is careless about fire.)

I. Kulliyat, p. 199
2. Ibid, p. p. 199
3. Ibid p. 80
4. Ibid, p. 198
5. Ibid, p.96
(It is narrated that an oppressor of the people, a soldier, hit the head of a pious man with a stone and that the dervish, having no means of taking vengeance, preserved the stone till the time arrive when the king became angry with that soldier, and imprisoned him in a well. Then the dervish made his appearance and dropped the stone upon his head. He asked: 'Who art thou, and why hast thou hit my head with this stone?' The man replied: 'I am the same person whom thou hast struck on the head with this stone on such and such a day."

When thou seest an unworthy man in good luck
Intelligent men have chosen submission.
If thou hast not a tearing sharp nail
It will be better not to contend with the wicked.
Who grasps with his fist one who has an arm of steel
Injures only his own powerless wrist
Wait till inconstant fortune ties his hand,
Then, to please thy friends, pick out his brains).

(Extinguish it today, while it may be quenched,

I. Kulliyat, p. 196)
Because when fire is high, it burns the world.
Allow not the bow to be spanned
By a foe because an arrow may pierce.)

One thing must be borne into mind: Sàdi uses the term جم in the broadest sense of the term. He does not mean the جم of a particular individual, but the جم of the entire mankind and human society. His hero, or بند, is the real man -- symbolic of every human quality --- and the 'enemy' whom Sàdi wants to destroy (or advises his hero to destroy) is the symbolic enemy of humanity and human being.

On the contrary, if the enemy is of an individual only and human welfare (in the larger sense) is not at stake, then we see this believer of جم completely transformed -- his love and compassion for his fellow beings (the same love and compassion which earlier, in a different situation, made him say جم ) makes him sing a completely different tune: we see him advising the king to have mercy on his enemies:

I do not condone his act, my lion,
He is my brother, and he is my kin.
To him I show my favor and my aid,
And to him I grant my love and my care.

(When you have mastery of your enemy,
Ill-treat him not, for his is sorrow and to spare!)

I. Kulliyát, p. 239
A living foe who's broken to your skirt-hem
Is better than one whose blood lies on your neck!

Here the enemy is of an individual (the king) only,
so our self-sacrificing humanist advises the king to
forgive him.

All the Shaykh's sayings were focussed on the life and
welfare of the human being, sometime condemning a certain
thing (because it is harmful to man) another time recommend­ing it because it is advantageous to human being and human
society at large, hence the contradiction which we have
discussed earlier. We have already seen how he wants to
destroy the enemy, now see his other side also where he is
all compassion and sympathy:

("Treat mankind gently. O you who have good fortune!
Lest God evil hardly with you on the morrow;
Subordinates' hearts should never broken be,
Lest you one day become subordinate."

In the famous of:

(One given to generosity lacked resources,
His wherewithal not being to his munificence' measure.)

I. Kulliyāt, p. 277
2. Ibid, p. 275
He says that one should not hesitate to even sacrifice one’s life for his fellow beings, because:

(A body, live of heart, asleep beneath the soil, is better than a world of live men dead at heart: Never will a live heart know destruction, what matter if the body of a live-heart dies?)

We have seen earlier that he says:

but that was when kindness to animals could have proved harmful to human being, otherwise, he thinks that if one is kind to animals, all his sins will be forgiven by God:

I. Kulliyat p. 276
2. Ibid., p. 276
(One in the desert found a thirsty dog,
   With naught of his life but the last gasp left;
   That man of securly ritual made his hat a bucket,
   Binding his turban thereto as a rope;
   His loins he girt in service and opened up his arms,
   And gave the helpless dog a draught of water
   As all of which the Messenger proclaimed that man's condition

As pardoned by the Arbiter of Sins!

And he draws a conclusion from this, inspiring man to be kind
to his fellow beings:

(For if the Truth makes a kindness to a dog,
How shall a benefit to a good man done be missed?)

These examples will suffice to show that Sadi, like
a true humanist, had faith in the famous maxim of Protagoras
and evaluated and analysed each and every situation on its own, giving man the right to choose his own course of action. Now we will give some more examples from his Gulistan and Bustan which will show how rational and 'practical' his approach was towards life and what useful tactics he practised and preached for a happy and successful life. Both his Gulistan and Bustan are full of these worldly tactics, here we will reproduce only a few of them

I. Kulliyat p. 276
Dread him who dreads thee, 0 sage.
Although thou couldst cope with a hundred like him.
Seest thou not when the cat becomes desperate
How he plucks out with his two claws the eyes of a tiger?

(Saline earth will not produce hyacinths
Throw not away thy seeds or work thereon
To do good to wicked persons is like
Doing evil to good men.)

(Account him not a friend who knocks at the door of prosperity.
Boasts of amity and calls himself thy adopted brother, I consider him a friend who takes a friend's hand.
When he is in a distressed state and in poverty.

('In the sea there are countless gains,
But if thou desirest safety, it will be on the shore.)

I. Kulliyat p. 85
2. Ibid, p. 82
3. Ibid, p. 92
4. Ibid, p. 92
(Until a matter by management be concluded, the conciliation of an enemy is better than combat.)
When you cannot break a foe by force,
You can fasten trouble's door by favour
Does harm from an adversary give you concern
Tie his tongue with the spell of kindness!
Instead of spikes, spread gold before the foe,
For kindness blunts sharp teeth.
Kiss the hand it is not meet to bite!
Deal with the victors by guile and self-abasement!
Rustam by skilful management came to bondage,
And Isfandiyar escaped not his noose
The foe can be skinned as occasion serves;
Conciliate him, ten, as though with a friend!
Strike not against a force that's bigger than your own,
For one can't strike a lanceet with the finger!
And if you are the more powerful to the fight,
Manly it is not to do violence to the powerless
If you elephant-strong or lion-clawed,
Peace in my view is better than war;
And if the foe asks peace, turn not your head away,
But if it's war he seeks, turn not aside your bridle!
Forsake not the veteran elder's sound devising,
For many a matter the ancient has experienced:
Brass foundations can be overthrown
By youths with force, by veterans with good judgment!)

These couplets of Sadi are the best advice that can be
given to a king about war tricks. Sadi was a well-travelled
man who had experienced life in all its and all his
sayings in Gulistan and Bustan are based on his own experience
of this world. He knew this world and its ways and wanted
others to benefit from his experiences. In the following
he tells us how to live in this world:

I. Kulliyât, p. 456
As we all know Sadi was not a recluse, he was well-versed in all the worldly matters, so all the observations of the "about this world and its social set-up are based on truth. He knows that inspite of our efforts, we cannot live peacefully in this world, because whatever we do, we will always be criticised by others:

I. Kulliyāt, p. 456
(But none escapes the hand of cruel tongues.
Be he a self-displayer or a worshipper of the Truth,
Let but a person choose the nook of solitudes
Having no great liking for society,
And they 'll reproach him with: 'Hypocrisy and fraud!'
He flees from men as does a demon!
Or if he's smiling-faced and mixes easily,
They 'll reckon him not chaste or abstinent;
A rich man by backbiting they will flay,
Saying: 'If there's a Pharaoh in this world it's he!
Yet if one destitute should weep hot tears,
They 'll call him 'luck-inverted, murky-eyed.'
But if he grows content and self-preservation,
He's bound to fall foul of some folk's aspersions:
Such a mean fellow will die like his father,

I. Kulliyât, p. 456
Letting go wealth and bearing off regret!
No man finds escape from the hands of others,
And he who's caught has no recourse but to endure.

Thus:

(If in the world there's one who has escaped the world,
He's one who's shut his door against mankind upon himself)

(Reveal not thy grief to enemies
Because they will say 'La haul' but rejoice)

Only Sadi could say that one should not disclose
his misfortunes to one's enemies because:

The following two couplets from Būstān are typical
examples of Sadi's practical approach towards good and bad:

(For your own sake, care for the yeoman,
For the happy labourer does more work.)

He advises us to be kind and sympathetic to the
labour-class not because it is morally recommended, but for
the every practical reason:

I. Kulliyāt p. 153
2. Ibid, p. 229
Same can be said about the following couplet:

(Th' militia that is not content with the prince
Will not keep watch on the borders of the realm.)

Sadi whole-heartedly agrees with that of his
Gulistan who did not teach the three hundred and and
sixtieth trick of to his student because he believed that

(Do not give so much strength to thy friend that, if
he becomes thy foe, he may injure thee.)

The entire eighth chapter of Gulistan is full of this invaluable practical wisdom of Sadi. Here
we are giving a few of the Shaykh's witty and practical observations:

(A disciple without intention is a lover without
money; a traveller without knowledge is a bird without wings; a scholar without practice is a tree
without fruit, and a devotee without science is a house without a door.)

Here the phrase of is noteworthy. Sadi,
inspite of being a poet and a lover does not hesitate

1. Kulliyat p. 239
2. Ibid, p. 101
3. Ibid, p. 209
in criticising love, and with an amused smile on his lips he mildly condemns.

(Property is for the comfort of life, not for the accumulation of wealth.)

(Everyone thinks himself perfect in intellect and his child in beauty.)

(Musk is known by its perfume and not by what the druggist says.)

(Satan cannot conquer the righteous and the sultan the poor.)

(The Most High sells a fault and conceals it, and a neighbour sees it not, but shouts.)

(Anyone as associating with bad people, although their nature may not infect his own, is supposed to follow their ways to such a degree that if he goes to a tavern to say his prayers, he will be supposed to do so for drinking wine.)

1. Kulliyat, p.196
2. Ibid, p.201
3. Ibid, p.205
4. Ibid, p.207
5. Ibid, p.213
6. Ibid, p.210-II
(As long as an affair can be arranged with gold, it is not proper to endanger life.)

(Wrath beyond measure produces estrangement and untimely kindness destroys authority. Be neither so harsh as to disgust the people with thee nor so mild as to embolden them.)

(However much science thou mayest acquire Thou art ignorant when there is no practice in thee Neither deeply learned nor a scholar will be A quadruped loaded with some books. What information or knowledge does the silly beast possess Whether it is carrying a load of wood or of books?)

1. Kulliyat p.198
2. Ibid, p. 199
3. Ibid, p. 197
2. Harmonious Development of Body and Soul:

The foregoing discussion is so much inter-connected with the present one that it (i.e. 'Man is a Measure ...') will remain incomplete if we do not supplement it with yet another basic concept of humanism that of: "a harmonious development of the body and soul of man". As a matter of fact, this belief is the natural and necessary result and outcome of the humanists' fundamental principle that 'man is the measure of everything'; when man is the measure in himself and he is generating force.

All his aspects and faculties must be taken into account and there should be a harmony in his spiritual and material life. In other words, they believed that nature is the realm of man and that the features which tie him to nature (his body, his needs, his sensations) are essential to him to the point that he cannot abstain from them or ignore them. Thus, the humanists, while exalting the soul of man for its powers of freedom, did not forget the body and that which pertains to it and they craved for a harmonious development of both. According to the Encyclopaedia of Social Science:

"..... Humanism was essentially a protest against the dehumanizing and depersonalizing of man .........and its polemic was directed
against the intellectualistic assumptions of the traditional logics which systematically ignored the psychological side of man and the influence of volitions, desires, emotions, purposes, biases and personality on our process of thought ......

Ralph Barton Perry says in his Humanity of Man:

"Humanism is essentially a philosophy expressing a reaction against the unnatural stress which asceticism places on self-denial. This does not mean that humanism lacks discipline, but that its self control is constructive and justified by fruitfulness. Humanism finds no virtue whatever in self-denial and self torture. It finds the good things of life to spring spontaneously from an original fund of instincts enriched by growth and social intercourse. Humanism is a creed dedicated to man. It idealizes man without divorcing him from nature. Its object is existent man taken in respect of the faculties and achievements which dignify him..... Humanism is committed to accept human nature and is therefore

1. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.
2. Humanity of Man by Ralph Barton Perry
obliged to take the bad with the good and so construct a supreme concept of nature which will embrace both the good and the evil as these appear from man's limited point of view.

In the natural man humanism envisions the union of a physical nature with the spiritual perfections....

(This union of physical nature with the spiritual perfections' when interpreted by the humanists, becomes the famous humanistic epithet: 'harmony of body and soul').

When we go through Sadi's works, the fact instantly strikes us that Sadi too believed in this basic concept of Humanism and wanted man to follow all the instincts of nature along with his spiritual aspirations. He did not believe in the doctrine of 'Innate Depravity' according to which the original sin of Adam has been engrained in the very nature of man, and so the function of the society was to curb and suppress everything (i.e. his feelings, desires, instincts, emotions) that is natural in man. He did not consider passions and emotions to be the diseases of the soul as considered by most of our moralists and social reformers - neither his cardinal maxim was 'abstain and bear'. He loved life and wanted to cultivate it, such as it has pleased God to grant it to us - a curious mixture of spiritualism and materialism. He believed that man should heartily and gratefully accept what nature had bestowed upon him and
should not wrong the great and all-powerful Giver by refusing, annuling or disfiguring His gift. He believed in man's spiritual transcendence, but at the same time, he did not want man to despise or ignore his bodily urges, his emotions, his instincts. His motto may be said to be "live comfortably to nature" and "follow nature". In other words, he wanted man to live and act according to his instincts and emotions which had been implanted in human nature by the Greater Himself - how and to what extent he can he employ these instincts and emotions in various situations should be left to his own 'Free Will' (which is a simpler way of saying that in every situation man should be a measure in himself. It is in this way, as said earlier, that both these concepts of humanism - harmonious development of body and soul and man is a measure in himself - are interdependent).

Now this principle of Free Will and of letting man follow his natural instincts had always been a very controversial point with our social reformers, and after reading the above lines, he may accuse the humanists in general and Sadi in particular, of giving man undue liberties and allowing him to ignore all moral and social laws. At a glance, he seems to be justified in his forebodings, but when we look at it closely and analyse the various psychological and philosophical factors on which these two concepts have been based, we come to the
conclusion that this fear is absolutely baseless. But before entering into a fuller discussion of these factors to justify the humanists, specially our Shaykh, let us first listen to what social reformer has to say against the principle of Free Will and of a healthy development of all the natural instinct of man. To put it briefly and bluntly he fears that these two things, combined together, may turn man into scoundrels. They may run amuck and injure or destroy their fellow beings. Being free agents they may choose to act selfishly and refuse to follow those laws of 'live and let live' which are essential for the continuance of all social life. Are these moralists really justified in their fears? Are the humanists mistaken in putting their faith in man? Can we not entrust the task of prevention to the individual itself? If we do, will our trust be betrayed? To answer these questions we should get a peep into our mind.

If we examine closely our mental phenomena, we will observe that our instincts and impulses backed by emotions present a list of alternative activities before our will. The latter chooses from that list some particular action for the moment. It is prompted in its choice by the idea of the measure of pleasure which that particular action is likely to give to us. (In psychological jargon, this is called the law of Hedonic Selection). It is like your seeing the menu of a restaurant and selecting from it some particular dish
which appears delicious to you. The dishes are there, you have only to make a choice. In the same way, our instincts lay down different modes of action before our will, and it selects one from that panel of possible alternatives. This act of choice is neither good nor bad; it is the 'object' of choice which determines the moral quality of the act of the will. Again, it is not the object of choice presented by some instincts which are good and the objects presented by others which are bad. It is the habitual suppression of some instincts and the habitual gratification of the other which is bad. Thus, it is wrong to call some instincts good (or social) and some bad (non-social). The instincts, as given to us by God, are all good; it is after getting related to objects that they deserve these epithets: anding together of men for achieving some common goal seems to be the most social thing in the world, but a band of robbers strikes out at the very roots of social security. Eating food appears to be a peculiarly personal affair of the individual. But every morsel of wholesome nourishment swallowed by a brave soldier strengthens the sinews of national defence.

All of these instincts and innate tendencies are accompanied by their relative emotions. For example, we have the instinct of curiosity with the emotion of wonder, the instinct of flight with the emotion of fear, and so on. Now emotions accompanying some instincts are pleasurable
While those accompanying others are painful. Psychology tells us that man always seeks pleasure and avoids pain. This is such a fundamental principle of human life, that it has been raised by the psychologists to statutory dignity and is termed the Law of Hedonic Selection. As was hinted earlier, the case against the fundamental principles of humanism (i.e. man is the measure of everything, and harmonious development of body and soul) is based upon this same law. It is feared by the faint-hearted sociologists that individuals, if left to his own desires, will always seek to gratify those instincts which give him pleasure and suppress those which give him pain. Constant repetition will help to form habits and habits will grow into character (for character is a bundle of habits). More or, the mind will develop dispositions to feel and act towards certain objects in certain set ways. The habit of will will always dispose man to act uniformly. And, as at the root of all such actions will be the desire to seek pleasure and avoid pain, only those activities will be indulged into which give pleasure and those avoided which give pain. There will be no harmonious development of the self, but a lop-sided growth. Furthermore, and this is what particularly concerns us here, we will become selfish. What we do for ourselves is called self-gratification and all self-gratification gives pleasure. What we for others usually involves some amount
of self-sacrifice, and all self-sacrifice is painful to some degree. This is the reason that our social reformer challenges these views of the humanists. They fear that by following these principles, we will habitually indulge in self-gratification and avoid self-sacrifice, we shall become self-centred and anti-social. This, when carried to extreme, will herald the law of the jungle and the end of the society.

Are they justified in their thinking? Do the humanist really allow man to go astray and harm the society, or is there some solid and psychological reason behind their principle of free will and harmonious development of bodily instincts? Yes, there is, and it is founded upon those very psychological laws on which the case against the humanists has been based: Pleasure and pain are of various kinds. The kind with which we dealt above is the lowest. It is that elementary type of pleasure which the animals also have. But certainly man is higher than animals. He is capable of feeling some higher and indirect forms of pleasure and pain also. In the early stages of his growth, i.e. the childhood, reward and punishment supply the indirect basis of pleasure and pain. Later, praise and blame suffice. This is on a higher and ideal level. By association the individual learns to link mentally certain of his activities with this higher form of pleasure and
and certain others with this higher form of pain, and he tries to avoid the one and to go in for the other. The Habits of Will are formed which ultimately combine to make character.

The instinct which counts most and is relied upon most by the humanists in the complex process of character formation is the instinct of self-assertion or self-display with its accompanying emotion of elation. It will ship in the growth of a strong sentiment around the individual's self. This is called the 'Self-Regarding Sentiment' (we have discussed in the previous discussion what this Self-Regarding sentiment is). By its means we idealise our self into the position of an idol. In whatever we do, we have an eye to the glory of our idol; i.e., we strive to do that which we may add to its honour, we try to avoid that which may turn to its discredit. We feel sorry if it is degraded; we feel pleasure if it is exalted. Mark this last statement and we see how the idealisation of self supplies the pleasure pain basis for our actions. We give reins to our instincts and tendencies only so far as they do not injure our self-regarding sentiment, i.e., so far as they do not bring dishonour to us.

This idealisation of self works some other wonders too. It introduces us to new types of pleasure and pain in the process of self development. Nay, not only this but it transmutes the very qualities of pleasure and pain
In the lower level what pain is more tortuous than death? In the higher levels, what bliss is more perfect than the bliss of a dying martyr? Indeed it is in cases such as these when the total abnegation of self becomes its complete fulfilment, and where to lose oneself may rightly and truly be said to find oneself. Or take another example, a monkey snatches away an apple from the hands of a child: what sobbing lamentations ensue! A woman sacrifices her ornaments for the national ornaments: How serene is her contentment!

In both instances, the acquisitive instinct sustains an injury. But in the case of the woman a strongly developed self-regarding sentiment is there to transform its pain into pleasure, while in the case of the child it is not.

Another important point in this connection. Human self is a curiously elastic thing. An egoist (a self-centered, anti-social individual) narrows down the conception of self to his own person. So long as he is able to dine well, he worries little if his children starve; so long as his own home is not approached, he cares not if an enemy invades the country on the other as humanist, or an altruist so extends the conception of his own self that it covers his entire home, his home town, his home country and even wider horizons. He rejoices if others are happy, he grieves if others are in misery. The boys of a school cheering frantically their football team is a familiar spectacle.
Those boys identify their selves with their school; the idea of their own self includes the idea of their school, the victory of their school team is regarded by them as their personal victory. This same sentiment when expanded further envelopes the whole humanity in itself and a fully developed self completely identifies itself with the society and sees its own pleasure and pain in the pleasure and pain of the entire humanity. Sadi, that great humanist, meant the same thing when he wrote his famous lines:

While we have been discussing the self and its instincts and sentiments, you may be wondering what have become of our arch villain, the Free Will. In fact it has been all along there, silently yet decisively helping the individual to make the right but difficult choice. Had it not been there, it would have been difficult for our martyr to disregard the joint promptings of his instincts

I. Kulliyat p.87
of flight and self-preservation and to decide in favour of his self-regarding sentiment. So you see, our supposed villain of the piece proved to be, if not a hero, at least a very necessary evil.

After discussing at length our mental and psychological phenomena, we can be sure that the humanists are justified in their thinking; and what useful possibilities will open for the social training of the individual if, instead of crushing the growth of his self, it is helped to develop and expand towards deeper and broader maturity.

Sadi too, being a born humanist, realised this. He felt that to make the individual a good or social man (both things ultimately meaning the same) it is not necessary either to disturb the natural plan or balance of his instincts, or by stifling his free will and individuality, to turn him into a robot. The thing can be accomplished in better and healthier ways — by letting all his natural instincts and tendencies to grow harmoniously, by assisting him to develop sentiments of the right type, by letting him acquire habits of the right kind, by aiding him to form a broad and well-proportioned conception of self, in one word, by making him a measure in himself, and by a harmonious development of his body and soul. This is the reason that on one hand, we see the Shaykh extolling man for his spiritual capabilities and inspiring him to attain further heights;
and on the other, he appreciates man's mundane qualities as well and thinks them to be a necessary part of his existence. At one time, we see him writing pages and pages about

and reciting the following memorable lines:

or

and at the other, we see him devoting two full chapters to and uttering those famous words:

Let us now cite a few examples from the Shaykh's to prove our point. First, we will deal with the spiritual side of the Shaykh, and then we will bring out the less spiritual but more colourful and interesting aspect of his personality:

1. Kulliyat p. 466
2. Ibid, p. 447
3. Ibid, p. 120 163
4. Ibid, P 120
I remember having once walked all night with a caravan and then slept on the edge of the desert. A distracted man who had accompanied us on that journey raised a shout, ran towards the desert and took not a moment's rest. He replied: 'I saw bululs commencing to lament on the trees, the partridges on the mountains, the frogs in the water and the beasts in the desert so I bethought myself that it would not be becoming for me to sleep in carelessness while they all were praising God'.

Yesterday at dawn a bird lamented, Depriving me of sense, patience, strength and consciousness

One of my intimate friends who had perhaps heard my distressed voice Said: 'I could not believe that thou Wouldst be so dazed by a bird's cry.' I replied: 'It is not becoming to humanity That I should be silent when birds chant praises.'

(Externally the dervish shows a patched robe and a shaved head but in reality his heart is living and his lust dead.)

I. Gullistan p. 131
(To the friends of God a dark night
Shines like the brilliant day.
This felicity is not by strength of arm
Unless God the giver bestows it).

(Take the road of kind and liberal men:
Why stand you still? Take the hand of one who's down
Indulgent be, for those who are men of Truth
Are customers at the lustreless emporium;
The generous man's a saint, if you would have the truth
Generosity's the practice of that King of Men, 'Ali!)

1. Gulistan p.213
2. Rustan p. 274
3. Ibid, p. 310
I've heard that once, before dawn, on a feast-day, from a hothouse there emerged Bayazid; all unaware, a pan of ashes was poured from a mansion down onto his head, at which he said, turban and hair dishevelled, and rubbing his palms in gratitude upon his face; "My soul! I'm fit for the Fire - shall I, then, look askance at ashes?"

Great ones look not upon themselves;
Ask not regard-for-God from one who's self-regarding.
Greatness lies not in reputation or report;
Eminence is not pretension or conceit;
At resurrection, him you 'll see in Paradise
Who for the idea quested, but let Pretension go!

The best manifestation of this spiritualism is in his Qasā'id, we are writing below the Matl'as of a few of them:

I. Nastān p.310
2. Kulliyāt, p. 446
Now see this soft-spoken humble Darvīsh transformed into a witty, smart, and vivacious man who understands and respects human nature in all its aspects and who, with an understanding smile on his lips teaches man how to behave in different situations. He knew that in order to live a rich and successful life, only spiritual development is not enough, instead, there should be a harmonious development of both the body and the soul of an individual. So he helps and encourages man to develop his desires, instincts, and emotions to a broader and higher level. He feels that every instinct and feeling which has been implanted in

1. Kulliyāt, p. 485
2. Ibid, p. 489
3. Ibid, p. 492
human nature by the Creator like, pleasure, pain, love, hate, anger, revenge, compassion etc. play an important role in the development of man's character and personality. Thus, all of these instincts and emotions should be encouraged and properly attended to. In Sadi's writings we see him experiencing all of these feelings and emotions and giving them their due importance.

Love is perhaps the strangest of all human emotions be it . Now this latter type of love has always been looked down upon by our moralists. They consider it to be undignified, childish and even immoral. But our Shaykh thinks differently. He thinks that it may be childish, but it can definitely not be called 'immoral! It is a part, and a very integral part of our existence; a weakness (if at all it can be called weakness) but a very sweet, enjoyable and pleasant weakness which can aptly be called 'the last infirmity of a noble mind. It is a natural instinct of man and so it is nothing to be ashamed of. It is an aspect of human life, like so many others, so it must be accepted and treated like one; and one should talk about it frankly and without feeling any embarrassment as the Shaykh himself does. He says very simply and in a matter of fact tones:

I. Gulistan p.163
The syllable of shows that Sadi thinks love to be a natural phenomena in human life which every one experiences - and the Shaykh is no exception:

(In the exuberance of youth, as it usually happens and as thou knowest)

He too loved and the ” and loved with the full intensity of his sensitive heart:

I. Gulistan, p. 163
2. Ibid, pp. 166-67
3. Ibid, pp. 167-68
(I remember having in the days of my youth passed through a street, intending to see a moon-faced beauty. It was in Temun, whose heat dried up the saliva in the mouth and whose simun boiled the marrow in my bones. I took refuge in the shadow of wall. All of a sudden, from the darkness of the porch of a house a light shone forth, namely a beauty, carrying in her hand a bowl of snow-water. I took the beverage from her beautiful hands, drank it and began to live again.

Blessed is the man of happy destiny whose eye Alights every morning on such a countenance One drunk of wine awakens at midnight One drunk of the cupbearer on the morn of resurrection

(I remember that one night a dear friend of mine entered when I jumped up in such a headless way that the lamp was extinguished by my sleeve).

Sadi sees a good looking boy busy with his Arabic lessons (و ن و ه ف). The poetry is instantly attracted by his soft and sweet looks and utters the following delightful lines:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{تاء \ م \ س} & \\
\text{ك \ م \ س} & \\
\text{ح \ م} & \\
\text{ك \ م} & \\
\end{align*}
\]

(When thy nature has enticed thee with syntax It blotted out the form of intellect from our heart Alas, the hearts of lo ers are captive in the snare We are occupied with thee but thou with Amru and Zaid)

1. Kulliyat p. 166
2. Ibid p. 166
The way he narrates the famous anecdote of the Qasi shows that he did not blame the Qasi for indulging in amorous activities, rather, he had all his sympathies for the love-lorn Qasi! Let us quote a few lines from the above anecdote to enjoy the beautiful narration of the Shaykh:

(I heard that at dawn the king with some of his courtiers arrived at the pillow of the qasi, saw a lamp standing, the sweetheart sitting, the wine spilled, the goblet broken and the qasi plunged in the sleep of drunkenness, unaware of the realm of existence. The king awakened him gently and said: 'Get up for the sun has risen.' The qasi, who perceived the state of affairs, asked: 'From what direction?' The sultan was astonished and replied: 'From the east as usual.' The qasi exclaimed.)

The entire fifth chapter of the Gulistān and third chapter of Bustān, the Shaykh describes love in all its
various, colourful aspects - so much so that it made some of his more orthodox critics to frown disapprovingly and to declare these two chapters, specially the "..." to be indecent and injurious to our morals! (The humble writer hopes that they might revise their opinion after reading the present discussion about the harmonious development of body and soul.) What the Shaykh has to say about these so-called moralists is another story:

(A certain class are wont to sit with pleasant boys, claiming to be pure-dealers, men of insight; take it from me, worn out by many days; the fasting man at table eats regret;)

"The recognition of the place of pleasure in the moral life brought the humanists to the defence of Epicurus whom the Middle Ages considered the philosopher of impiety. In their eyes (the humanists') Epicurus was the master of human wisdom, the philosopher who saw man in true nature...."

1. Kulliyat p. 365
2. Encyclopedia of Philosophy, p
Sadi too realized that to seek pleasure is in the very nature of man. So he put his faith in desires (as we have already seen and discussed) and enjoyed life with a good conscience. He wanted to cultivate the art of happiness, and wished to experience and enjoy what this world has to offer. He did not consider happiness to be 'immoral' or 'evil' as considered by most of ethicists and moralists.

To them, happiness is almost like a disease and they are afraid of it, they feel guilty when they are happy. In fact, they are afraid of happiness because they have no confidence in themselves and in their morality. They think that happiness might spoil them and damage their moral sense. They do not want to taste the pure nectar of happiness because they fear that it might intoxicate them and make them lose their sense of proportion. But our Shaykh is definitely not so faint-hearted, neither is his morality so superficial and skin-deep. He thought that being happy or unhappy has nothing to do with one's morals, and even if it has, then happiness can definitely make an individual a better human being. If one is happy and enjoy life one's outlook will be cheerful and one will be better-disposed towards one's fellow beings. Besides, he observed that God has created man to live a rich and happy life, so he must make the best of it and take the maximum out of it. He advises us to 'be merry' and to make the best use of
whatever we have:

(Property is for the comfort of life, not for the accumulation of wealth. A sage, having been asked who is lucky and who is not, replied: 'He is lucky who has eaten and sowed but he is unlucky who has died and not enjoyed.'

Pray not for the nobody who has done nothing, who spent his life in accumulating property but has not enjoyed it.

(Two men took useless trouble and strove without any profit when one of them accumulated property without enjoying it, and the other learnt without practising what he had learnt.

He wanted to enjoy the beautiful things in life, even if it was sometimes against the wishes of his Shaykh.

I. Kulliyāt, p. 196
2. Ibid., p. 196
(Despite the abundant admonitions of the most illustrious Shaykh Abulfaraj Ben Jusi to shun musical entertainments and to prefer solitude and retirement, the budding of my youth overcame me, my sensual desires were excited so that, unable to resist them, I walked some steps contrary to the opinion of my tutor enjoying myself in musical amusements and convivial meetings. When the advice of my shaykh occurred to my mind, I said:

If the qasid were sitting with us, he would clap his hands
If the muhtasib were offering wine, he would excuse a drunkard,

With all his conceptions of love, beauty and happiness, Sadi knew that in the emotional spectrum of man, there are some other shades too - not as pleasing but definitely as important as these, e.g. anger, hate, feeling of revenge etc. Sadi understood even this side of the human nature and did not condemn or ignore these sentiments; instead he thinks them to be a necessary part of life and some useful suggestions for the gratification of these instincts of man:

I. Kulliyāt p. 117
(A youth said to his father: 'O wise man, give me for instruction one advice like an aged person'.

He said: 'Be kind but not to such a degree that a sharp-toothed wolf may become audacious.'

Who has power over his foe and do him is his own enemy.

With a stone in the hand and a snake on a stone it is folly to consider and to delay.)

(Compliance in times of calamity is blamable. It is also said that by complaisance an enemy will not become a friend but that his greed will only be augmented.

Speak not kindly or gently to an ill-humoured fellow because a soft file cannot clean off inveterate rust)

1. Kulliyat p. 199
2. Ibid, p. 204
3. Ibid, p. 211
3. Religion

The Encyclopaedia of Philosophy says about the religious beliefs of the humanists:

"For all its antipathy towards asceticism and theology, Humanism did not have anti-religion or anti-christian character. Its interest in defending the freedom and value of man drew it into discussing the traditional problems of God and providence and of the soul, its immortality and its freedom - discussions that were frequently concluded in much the same terms as that accepted by the medieval tradition. However, in the context of humanism these discussions assumed a new significance because they had the purpose of understanding and justifying the capacity for initiative of man in the world. This capacity was defended even in the religious sphere, for the religious discussions of the humanists had two principal themes: the civil function of religion and religious tolerance."

"The civil function of religion was recognised on the basis of the correspondence between the heavenly and earthly city. The heavenly city was
'norm' or the ideal of man's civil life, but precisely because it was, its recognition meant the commitment of man to realize, as much as possible, its characteristics in the earthly city. Religion, according to Manetti, was the confidence in the values of man's work, in the success of this work, and in the reward that man will find in future life. For a humanist, the fundamental function of religion was to support man in the work of civil life. in political work, and activity."

The recognition of this social function of religion one of the most striking aspects of Sadi's works - a quality which makes him totally different from his contemporaries as well as his predecessors. As we have said earlier, the age of Sadi was an age of pure asceticism and rigid religion. The Iranian people because of their continuous suppression by their conquerors, specially by the Mongols, had lost their moral integrity. The whole society was suffering from a moral degeneration. The Mongols were sheer despots caring little for religion and less for morality and their reign was absolutely a reign of terror. People felt insecure and lived in constant terror and tension. They were restless and scared - scared that the axe of their ruthless emperor's
wrath might fall upon them anytime. They were miserably probing their way in utter darkness with no one to look unto who could guide them and in whom they could put their faith. This constant restlessness and mental tension made them to search for some solace which could calm their tortured and tormented souls and give them the desperately needed reassurance and strength. Thus out of sheer desperation, they turned to the thing which came most handy—religion. Disillusioned by this world, they sought shelter in the heavenly abode of that other world. Religion became the first and foremost thing in their life. Disheartened and dejected by the miseries of this world they ignored it altogether and concentrated on the 'life there—after'. This obsession with religion was a reaction, and as every reaction is, it was violent and unbalanced: In their pursuit of religion and an 'after-life', they forgot their earthly life. Religion became dogma and had no social function at all. The sole purpose of religion became to guide the human being not to live this life successfully, but to achieve salvation in that other world. They presumed that religion need not have only relation with the practical aspect of human life, neither did they believe in a rationalistic approach to religion so that it should not clash with the natural instincts and tendencies of man (making him follow double-standards in life).
Sadi was the first man who revolted against this puritanism and rigidity in religion. He realised that the religion of that age denied and discouraged man's natural social tendencies, instead, it encouraged a self-centered pre-occupation with one's own virtue and one's own salvation. In the words of that great humanist, Florence Nightingale "it (religion) has been too concerned with smuggling man selfishly into heaven, instead of setting him actively to regenerate the earth". We see the same thinking reflected in the following verses of this Iranian humanist:

(A pious man came to the door of a college from a monastery. He broke the covenant of the company of those of the Tariq. I asked him what the difference between a monk and scholar amounts to? He replied: 'The former saves his blanket from the wave whilst the latter strives to save the drowning man.

I. Kulliyat p. 129
This preference of reason on religion, or \( \text{لا on } \text{رب} \) is the gist of all the Shaykh's religious beliefs. Unlike our orthodox Mullahs, he did not see any anomaly between Reason and Religion. He, like the M'tazalites, observed:

\[
\text{كُلُّ شَأْنَ ٍ مِّلَّ خَالِقَ} \\
\text{كُلُّ شَأْنَ ٍ مِّلَّ خَالِقَ} \\
\]

This, when put in simpler words means that if the principles of religion have been conveyed to us correctly, and if our reason is sound and our judgement unbiased, then there cannot be any contradiction between reason and religion, because religion is based on reason. If there appears to be any contradiction between the two, then either that particular principle of religion has been contorted and twisted somewhere, sometime, or there is some fault in our reasoning. Thus, when there is no paradox existing between intellect and religion, then there is no harm in applying reason to religious laws and assessing and evaluating each and every situation in the light of our intellect. Therefore, we should not be too rigid and unyielding in our religious views because it is possible that in the multi-coloured spectrum of human temperament and circumstances, a religious law holds good in one situation but not in another. For example, killing someone is the most condemnable act according to our religious law;
but to a rational and for-sighted man, killing a person who is harmful to the society, is commendable, and for the very reason for which it is condemned by religion - for the survival of the mankind. Sa'di upholds the same rationalistic and practical approach when he says:

(Whoever slays a bad fellow saves mankind from a calamity and him from the wrath of God.)

and further:

(Condensation is laudable but nevertheless Apply no salve to the wound of an oppressor of the people He who had mercy upon a serpent Knew not that it was an injury to the sons of Adam.)

Such deviations from the set path of religion the path shown to us by the Mulas are often seen in the Shaykh's writings. He was a humanist, first and foremost, and his main concern was with the social and moral welfare of man in this world. For him the only religion was the religion of humanity (which in its turn is nothing

I. Kulliyāt p. 199
but what every religion teaches us), so he judged and evaluated every situation in relation with man and interpreted the religious (as well as moral) laws in accordance with man's welfare. His approach was purely humanistic, rational and practical. His religion was not the rigid, uncompromising, inhuman and suffocating religion of the Puritans, where God is not less than a tyrant whose orders (i.e. the religious code) has to be followed to the last word, without any modification or relaxation whatsoever— one inch this side or that side and you are doomed! Sadi's humanistic heart revolted at this exploitation of man. He realised that this is not religion but pure fanaticism and he set out to break this facade and to tell people what religion is—real and true religion. He boldly declared that religion is far from dogmatic rigidity. It is liberal, reasonable, practicable, rational, natural and gives full allowance to man's emotions and instincts; in short, it is based on human nature and psychology. It is this religion with its refreshing shades of licentious individualism that the Shaykh advocates in his writings (and his so-called 'deviations' from popular religious belief depict, in fact, the very soul of religion). Let us now cite a few examples to drive home our point and to see the Shaykh's rational and practical approach towards religion:
It is related that a hermit consumed during one night ten makkah of food and perused the whole Qur'an till morning. A pious fellow who had heard of this said: 'It would have been more excellent if he had eaten half a loaf and slept till the morning."

This is no other than our Shaykh!

(A hermit, being the guest of a padshah, ate less than he wished when sitting at dinner and when he rose for prayers he prolonged them more than was his wont in order to enhance the opinion entertained by the padshah of his piety.

O Arab of the desert, I fear thou wilt not reach the Ka'bah

Because the road on which thou travellest leads to Turkestan

When he returned to his own house, he desired the table to be laid out for eating. He had an intelligent

1. Gulistān - p. 118
2. Ibid, p. III
son who said: 'Father, hast thou not eaten anything at the request of the sultan. He replied: 'I have not eaten anything to serve a purpose. The boy said: Then likewise say thy prayers again as thou hast not done anything to serve that purpose.'

(One night I was sitting with my father, remaining awake and holding the beloved Quran in my lap, whilst the people around us were asleep. I said: 'Not one of these persons lifts up his head or makes a genuflection. They are as fast asleep as if they were dead.' He replied: 'Darling of thy father, would that thou wert also asleep rather than disparaging people.')

This mild reproof of the old and wise father to his young captious son is directed towards all those who, proud of their own chastity, look down upon others whose attitude towards religion is somewhat casual.

Sadi wanted man to be practical and to try his best for achieving success in life. He did not believe in leaving things to fate, instead, he disapproved of those who do not struggle in life, being weak and lazy and camouflage their weakness by showing it as their faith in God, (ذکری ). They say: 'What can we do when everything is in the hands of the ALMIGHTY', Sadi thought it to be a wrong interpretation

I. Gulistan, p. III
or religion - God has not said that man should forsake his efforts and be lethargic and lazy; this is certainly no at all. What He says is that man should try his best and then leave the result to God. Sadi condemned those who have this wrong attitude towards life and inspired and encouraged them. In the anecdote of when a man saw that God gives food even to a paralysed for who could not get it herself, he stopped searching for his livelihood and confined himself to a cave, thinking that God will give him food as He gives to that fox. See how Sadi gets him admonished by the Divine voice:

I. Kulliyat p. 260
When he for weakness lacked all stamina and sense,
A voice came to his ear from out the wall:
Go, be a reviving lion, you rogue!
Cast not yourself down like a crippled fox!
So strive that like the lion you leave somewhat:
How be with leavings sated like a fox?
Though a man have a massive, leonine neck,
If like a fox he casts him down - a dog is better far!
Get goods into your grip and sup with others,
Cook not your ears for others' superfluity;
Eat while you may by your own strong arm,
For in your own scale-pan will lie your effort;
Toil manfully and co-fruit bring to others;
The effeminate man eats by others' toil!
0 youth ! Take the aged pauper's hand,
Not casting yourself down that your hand may be taken,
God will forgive that one among His servants
By whose existence mankind lives at ease
The head that has a brain will practise generosity;
The meanly-minded lack both case and kernel!
Good he will see in both abodes
Who to God's creatures brings some good.)
(The last three couplets show Sadi's socialistic approach to religion; but of this later).

The following is not less than a blasphemy in the eyes of our puritan mullahs where such mercenary thing as eating is preferred over the Divine pursuits:

(Hearing of a man of cleanly soul sprung, knowledgeable and much-travelled, in Outer Byzance, I and some travellers, desert-roaming, Made our way to behold this man. He kissed us each on head and eyes and hands, Seated us in dignity and honour; then sat down himself, Sādī. In gracious ways and converse, warmly he proceeded Yet was his pot-hearth wondrous cold! All night no rest or slumber did he know For tasbīh and takhlīl - no more did we, for hunger"

Here also Sadi's approach was purely practical. He thought that everything should be proportionate and balanced in a man's life - excess of anything, be it religion or

I. Buṣtān, p. 250
I pray, is not good; A man is hungry and his host, being a chaste man, keeps him engaged in religious discourse (in "اَتْبَعْنَا لَمِنْ آدمٍ" ) without giving him food. Our Shaykh could not appreciate this one-sided behaviour and voiced his resentment thus:

To our rationalist Sadi, the formalities of religion are not important at all, what is important is that man should be basically good and should care for his fellow beings. True and real religion lies not in the minute trifling details of prayers, but in being kind to your fellow men:

I. Kuliyyat, p. 357
In childhood I conceived desire of fasting, not knowing which was left yet, which was night.
A devotee, a local pious man, taught me to wash my hands and face:
Say first "In God's Name" as practice prescribes;
Second fix your mind; and third, wash the palms;
Item, massage your head, then rinse your feet—and there it is, all finished in the Name of God!
The ancient village-headman heard these words and lost his temper: 'A foul person, execrated one!' Did you not call it error to use toothpicks while in fast?
But is it right to eat the sons of men when they are dead and wash first your mouth from what should not be said? Then it will be washed free of edibles!

About such self-righteous, pharisaical hypocrites who consider these formalities to be the very soul of religion, and about their so-called religious discourses, Sa'di says with an amused smile:

I. Kulliyāt - p.313
(On the highway of argument the lawyers now set out,
Castling about with 'Why?' and 'That we grant not';
They opened on each other wide the door of discord,
And craned their necks to utter 'May' and 'Aye'.
So that you'd say that cocks, all apt to battle,
Had set about each other, beak and claw;
One, as though drunk, beside himself with rage,
Another, both hands beating on the ground;
Together in a tangle-knot they fell,
Which none could manage to unravel.

As we have said earlier, Sadi believed in the harmonious
devolution of body and soul. Even his religious approach
shows that he gave much importance to human feelings and
emotions. His insight into human nature made him realise that
'fear' can never be a good inspiration for anyone and this
is the reason that most of our religious to orders are
carried out only half-heartedly by people (because most of
the religious laws are based on fear - fear of God, fear of
sin, fear of punishment etc. etc.). And because of this
constant fear, our religious leaders have lost their self-
confidence and have become rigid, and pessimistic. They
are not sure that even their good deeds will be rewarded.
On the contrary, Sādi, like every other humanist was an optimist by temperament so his religious approach was also optimistic. His God was not A Cruel Despot, but A Loving Friend who cares for men and wants them to lead a happy life. (Sadi was not like the Asha'irah who do not include Justice in the Qualities of God and so are afraid of punishment inspite of their good deeds. Sadi's belief was more like the Metazelites' who think God to be Just). He was confident that if a man is really good and virtuous then he need not be afraid, he will be rewarded by God. Neither did he think that one should be a recluse in order to be chaste and pious. In the preface of Gulistān, he says that once he decided to live in seclusion and to cut off his ties from this world, but soon a friend of his made him realise that this is not a healthy way to live in this world, he must mix up with people and be happy and gay.

Let us quote the Shaykh himself to enjoy his beautiful diction:

\[
\text{بیناری دیو های کوچک دو رستهی مراد شنیم، پیل، سیاه}
\text{بودهو که در حالی که تاک اندام بسته می‌کرد}
\text{زیادی که خوش‌نی نیشان داده‌راند.}
\]

I. Kulliyāt p. 71
After maturely considering these sentiments, I thought proper to sit down in the mansion of retirement. I continued in this resolution till a friend entered at the door, but I would give him no reply nor lift up my head from the knees of worship. He looked at me aggrieved and said: Now, while thou hast the power of utterance, speak, O brother, with grace and kindness.

This friendly reproach was enough to bring him out of his temporary melancholy! He at once realised that:

(It is against propriety, and contrary to the opinions of wise men that the Zulfiqar of A'li should remain in the scabbard and the tongue of Sa'di in his palate).

The famous anecdote of some (although its historical authenticity is doubtful) clearly and boldly describes the Shaykh's unusually liberal and practical outlook. (Allow me to say that the fertile imagination of Sadi has conjured up this whole anecdote for the sole purpose of showing how broad-minded and practical one should be in life; and, whether authentic or not, it successfully suffices in conveying the Shaykh's message). It teaches us quite a few things:

1. Sadi did not see any harm in

or in behaving according to the situation, even if,

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I. Kulliyat p. 71
- sometimes, it clashes with one's religious ideals. We can say that he believed in a sort of (the much criticised) Taqayyah of the Shiās! He gave us an extreme example of this when he worshipped the Brahman's Devta at Sommat.

(That idolkin I gave a kiss upon the hand. Curses be on him, and upon the idol-server! An infidel I became myself, in blind acceptance, for some days, became a Brahmin in the stations of the Zand.)

2. One should not hesitate in killing a " to save one's life:

I. Kulliyāt p. 380
(At sight of me the Brahmin was discomfited
A sure disgrace, to have the cat out of the bag!
He rushed away, and I upon his heels,
And down into a pit I cast him,
For I knew that if he remained alive,
He'd try to have my blood,
Having report of a malefactor's doings,
Remove his power when you first become aware.

3. The last few couplets of this anecdote are full of
invaluable practical wisdom. In the end, he summed up his
own teachings in one couplet:

Do not forsake thy work, for it is thine own

(No other counsel lies in Sa'di's pages
If you dig out a wall's foundations, stand by it no longer'.

One more—and perhaps the most striking example of Sadi's
rational attitude and of his so-called deviation from
popular religious believe is where he narrates that a man saw
the Devil ِشیطَس in his dream:

(I know not where I've seen, but in a book,
That someone in his dream saw the Devil;
A fir-tree in stature, a hur to see,
Light gleaming from his countenance like the sun.

I. Kulliyāt, p. 236
He went up and said: "Can this be you?
Is it not rather an angel, so fair?
You, whose face is thus fair as the moon,
Why are you, in the world, a bed-time tale for ugliness?
Why has the artist in the emperor's portico
Made you morose-faced, ugly and corrupt?

Now Sādi, with a twinkle in his eyes and a mischievous
smile on his lips makes the Devil retort:

(Seeing which words, the Devil laughed and said;
"This is not my farm,
But the pen is in the fiends' palm!
Their root from Paradise I overturned;
Now in vengeance they depict me ugly!")

Apart from his rationalistic attitude towards religion,
the religious views of Sadi, like a true humanist, were
profoundly permeated by the spirit of tolerance. The
concept of tolerance which has come to be affirmed in the
modern world as an effect of the wars of religion in the
sixteenth and seventeenth century implies the possibility
of a peaceful coexistence between the various religious
confessions which remain different from each other and
are not reducible to a single confession. For Sadi, (as
well as for the humanists) instead, the attitude of
tolerance derived from the conviction of the fundamental
unity of all the religious beliefs of mankind and therefore
the possibility of a religious peace between each and every
religion - be it Judaism, Islam, Christianity or Hinduism. Sadi's age was the age of rigid religion; there were different schools of thought (Hanafi, Shafei, Hambali, etc.) and each of them clung to his own set of ideals and virtues, condemning others'. In such an atmosphere of non-cooperation when every one thought that the only way to heaven was through his religion, it is surprising how a man of such modernistic ideas as Sadi could survive. He thought that every religion is to be respected and every one has a right to follow his own religion because they all are different means to reach one single goal — God. No religion can be said to be better than others because a 'fundamental unity' interconnects them. All this argument and tussel about religion is foolish and useless because nobody has got a right to criticise or condemn other's beliefs — to every man his religion is the best because he is born in it and is emotionally attached to it:

I. Kulliyat p. 351
(A Jew was debating with a Musalman
Till I shook with laughter at their dispute.
The Moslem said in anger: 'If this deed of mine
Is not correct, may God cause me to die a Jew'.
The Jew said: 'I swear by the Pentateuch
That if my oath is false, I shall die a Moslem
like thee.'

Should from the surface of the earth wisdom
disappear
Still no one will acknowledge his own ignorance).

In yet another anecdote in Bustan Sadi observes that for God
there is no difference between a Muslim and a pagan or a Jew
and a Christian. He loves all and wants us also to love
every one without any consideration of his caste or creed.
Sadi says that once Prophet Ibrahim called a passer-by
for lunch. When that man come and started eating without
saying "Bismillah", Khalil asked his religion and on
knowing that he was not a Muslim:

وَكَذَٰلَكَ كُرْسِيُّ نَجْرَانَ رَفُّهَا إِلَىٰ رَبِّكَ

(Meanly he drove him forth, seeing him as foreign
for the filthy's exorable to the pure).

I. Kulliyat, p. 279
Now look how God admonishes His Prophet for looking down upon a man and humiliating him:

(From the Maker Majestic straightway came an angel, A woe-somely uttering reproof: 'O Friend! A hundred years I've given him his duly-bread and life Yet you've an aversion to him all in a moment!

I. Kulliyat, p.27
Though he prostrates himself before a fire, 
Why hold you back the hand of bounty?
Tie no knots on beneficence's bond, 
Saying: 'Here's fraud and here's deceit, there's
strickery and craft.'
A poor bargain drives the learned exegete
When he for bread sells science and humanities; 
For how should reason or Religious Law give ruling
That men of wisdom may give faith for worldly things?
Yet you must take, for one possessed of wisdom
Will gladly buy from those who cheaply sell!

But the most important and striking thing in Sadi's
religious attitude is neither his rational approach nor his
religious tolerance — the thing which differentiates
him from others and makes him a true humanist is his idea of
the social function of religion. It is most astonishing
how in a time when religion was considered to be something
supernatural and its sole aim was supposed to be pave man's
path to Heaven, could Sadi conceive of its social aspect.
(He was most modern in this sense, because it is a theory
propounded by later Christian thinkers and humanists). Sadi
thought that religion — at least the religion which has been
handed down to us — attaches for great importance to loving
God than to loving one's fellow man. Further more, it puts
forward as the main motive for loving and helping one's
neighbour the assurance that such conduct is pleasing to God
and will earn a substantial reward in the life hereafter.
This appeal to "posthumous self-interest", (in John Stuart Mill's
phrase) never impressed our humanist poet. He was a practical
and reasonable man, having an extra-ordinary insight into human nature, and his way of inspiring man for doing good was much more simple and effective - he inspired man to do good not by some vague hope of getting rewarded in the other world, but by showing him its every practical advantages in this very world. He, being a humanist, was more concerned about this humble domain of men and made less heed to the much-longed-for other world. Of course he too, like our religious reformers, advised men to help others and to make them happy, but his motive in doing so is completely different. He says:

Because:

Here he advises us to be kind and lenient to the poor not because we will be rewarded for this in Heaven, but for the very practical reason that if we satisfy him, he will work for us more heartily and efficiently. Likewise, he advises the king to take care of his people because:

(In bestowing office, recognize the well-endowed man, For the penniless man bows his head)

I. Kulliyat p. 228
If the king is cruel to people, Sadi does not frighten him with the punishment he will receive in the End, instead, he says:

(Do you hear of the Persians' Khusraus
Who practised oppression against their subjects?
That grandeur, that kingship do not endure:
Nor endures that tyranny over one single peasant!
See the error committed by the tyrant:
The world endures, but he and his tyrannies have gone!

These examples will suffice to prove that Sadi did not approve of emotionally blackmailing man into doing good to others — instead, he wanted man to do good and to be kind to others because this will help him in living a happy life. Sadi realised that the religion which was preached and practised, was totally individualistic and had no collective or social goal. It was concerned less to relieve others' sufferings than to enhance one's own sanctity and encouraged a sort of selfish charity — men gave money to the poor and were sympathetic to them simply and exclusively for their own spiritual benefit and the welfare of the sufferer was altogether foreign to their

I. Kulliyat p. 246
thoughts. Sadi's compassion for humanity made him revolt against this selfish approach; he wanted to promote and expand the conception of 'self' and to envelope the entire humanity in this single word. He propounded that religion means not only a selfish involvement with one's own chastity in this world and salvation in the other, what it really advocates is the welfare of all the human beings in this world - and consequently - in the other, because:

This one couplet is enough it show how S'adi interpreted religion and what great importance he gave to serving humanity. According to him only those who love and serve their fellow men will enjoy the Heavenly luxuries:

He further says:

I. Kulliyat, p. 243
2. Ibid, p. 243
3. Ibid, p. 277
Sadi believes that if one is kind to men—say, not only to men, even to the animals, God rewards him for this:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{Sadibelligonest that if only } & \quad \text{and following the} \\
\text{and only } & \quad \text{religions formalities is not enough, one must do something} \\
\text{and only then can he be called a truly } & \quad \text{for his fellow men, only then can he be called a truly} \\
\text{true religion a man.} & \quad \text{true religion a man.}
\end{align*} \]

\[ \text{(One in the desert found a thirsty dog,} \]
\[ \text{With naught of his life but the last gasp lef;} \]
\[ \text{That man of seeming ritual made his hat a bucket,} \]
\[ \text{Binding his turban thereto as a rope;} \]
\[ \text{At all of which the Messenger proclaimed that man's} \]
\[ \text{condition as pardoned by the Arbiter of Sins!} \]

And thus he draws the conclusion:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{(For if the Truth ne'er misses a kindness to a dog,} & \quad \text{and following the} \\
\text{How shall a benefit to a good man done be missed} & \quad \text{religion formalities is not enough, one must do something} \\
\text{Sadi believed that only } & \quad \text{for his fellow men, only then can he be called a truly} \\
\text{and only then can he be called a truly } & \quad \text{true religion a man.} \\
\text{true religion a man.} & \quad \text{true religion a man.}
\end{align*} \]

1. Kulliyat p. 276
2. Ibid. p. 276
3. Ibid., p. 275
(Think not, because you've done obeisance,
You've brought a single tit bit to this Presence!
Easing one heart with one act of kindness
Is better than a thousand rak* as at every way-stage!

Before concluding this discussion, let us quote a few more examples to prove our point:

1. 

(A liberal man who eats and bestows is better than a devotee who fasts and hoards.)

2. 

(Strike the head of a serpent with the hand of a foe because one of two advantages will result. If the enemy succeeds thou hast killed the snake and if the latter, thou hast been delivered from a foe.)

3. 

(The Quran was revealed for the acquisition of a good character, not for chanting written chapters.)

I. Kulliyat, p. 200
2. Ibid, p. 199
3. Ibid, p. 209
4. Exaltation of Freedom

One of the most important factors of the humanist revival was their love for freedom. They wanted "The rebirth of a spirit that man has possessed in the classical ages and had lost in the Middle Ages—a spirit of freedom that provided justification for man's claim of rational autonomy, allowing him to see himself involved in nature and history and capable of making them his realm". This new-born sense of man's freedom was the most striking (and most attractive) aspect of Humanism. The Renaissance, like the Protestant Reformation, was not really anarchical. It rebelled against unfair authority, against one set complex of ideals, habits, institutions. Humanism which was the most important offshoot of the Renaissance shared the spirit to the full. The humanists worked hard to discredit an older authority (and in the process, they often used libertarious language too) and demanded freedom for the new education, freedom from the rule of scholasticism, freedom for the individual to follow his own mind and not just parrot Aristotle. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy says about this particular aspect of Humanism:

"The exaltation of freedom was in fact one of the major themes of humanists, but the freedom of which they spoke is that which man can and should exercise in society. The fundamental institutions

I. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy
2x Ebbyx
of the medieval world - the empire, the Church and feudalism seemed to be the guardians of a cosmic order which man had to accept but which he could not modify to the slightest degree. They worked primarily to show that all the material and spiritual goods to which man could aspire derive from the order to which he belongs; that is, the hierarchies which are the interpreters and custodians of the cosmic order. Humanism, which was born in the cities and communes that had fought and were fighting for their autonomy and that saw in traditional hierarchical orders an obstacle rather than an aid to the goods indispensable to man, defended man's freedom to project his life, in the world in an autonomous way."

We are greatly surprised when we see the same urge for individual freedom in Sa'di. He was a humanist to the very core of his heart and had the same approach to life. He believed that man is a free agent of Nature and have all the capabilities of living a free life. He too, like the humanists, revolted against the authority of the empire and religion. Naturally, his way of revolting was different, but the spirit was the same -- both believed in the individual

I. Encyclopaedia of Philosophy.
freedom of man, both wanted to protest against unfair authority both had faith in the basic goodness of man and both wanted man to have the freedom of thought and speech.

Sa'di lived in an age which knew nothing of freedom — that too personal and individual freedom. The Mongols were despotic rulers and were totally different from their sophisticated predecessors — the Iranian kings. Their only way of ruling people was by cruel punishment and unfair authority. What the king ordered had to be followed — no one could question him, no one could voice his opinion. Apart from this, the religious leaders of those days were also exploiting people and giving them pure fanaticism in the name of religion. People were like puppets in the hands of their rulers and these religious heads and had long ago lost whatever concept of individual freedom they ever had.

In such exacting circumstances a sensitive man can react in two ways — either he will become totally lifeless, insipid and will bow to the authority, surrendering completely; or he will become aggressive and will boldly try — as best as he can do to protect his freedom and to protest against the authority.
Saidi belongs to the latter category. He bears aloft the torch of individual freedom even in that darkness of suppression and cruelty. He wanted every man to realise that personal freedom is the birth-right of every individual. He wanted to arouse people from their age-old slumber and to inspire them to regain their lost freedom. For this, he chose not the direct, but the indirect method. He did not write treatises on the value or importance of freedom, neither did he condemn the people for not realising its worth and for not trying to achieve it -- no, he certainly did not believe in these bizarre ways of today's modern reformist. He had a more subtle but much more effective way of conveying his message. He did not tell the people in so many words that freedom is not a thing which they should lose, or that they must be bold and try to cast off the unwanted authoritarianism of the empire and the religion, instead, he showed and proved this by his own behaviour. Every word he uttered and every sentence he wrote was meant to drive home the fact that he was not afraid of the authority, that he dared say boldly whatever he thought to be correct and proper. His entire personality, his whole behaviour was a challenge to authoritarianism. He himself was a living ideal of his ideology and a perfect symbol of individual freedom. To him, freedom of thought and speech was a form of resistance against the authority so he practised it; boldly criticising both the empire and the religion. Never for a
moment moment was his free and aspiring soul chained by the shackles of the political or religious law. He had drank the cup to the full, and neither the fear of punishment nor the temptation of reward could prompt him to change his ideology. One is utterly astonished by the marvellous courage, unabated confidence and untouched sincerity of this bold Shirasian!

But one is even more surprised when one sees that in spite of openly criticising their cruel atrocities, Sa'di was liked and respected by the Mongol emperors. His transparent sincerity, his fearless honesty, and his genuine concern for the humanity touched even the stony hearts of the Mongol Maniacs. Even their deceased minds could sense that here is a man who is really and truly devoted to the cause of humanity and whose criticism is neither biased nor unfair — but a healthy and frank assessment of things. They liked his honest and rational approach to life and listened to whatever he had to say. The Qasidas which he has composed for the Mongol as well as the Iranian Kings, are the best example of Sadi's exaltation of individual freedom. He has a peculiarly individual style of Qasida. The Qasida has always been used for praising the patron and the poet usually applies all his art in writing it, with the result that now when one thinks of Qasida one thinks of fantastic similes and metaphors, far-fetched ideas, highly exaggerated praise of the and a very decorative and artificial diction.
(The Qasaid of the Seljuq period are specially noteworthy for this quality.) But Sa'di sings a different tone: He does not idealise his character, he does not use fanciful similes and metaphors, and his expression is not decoratively complicated. Instead, what does he do? He frankly criticises his work for its good and bad deeds. Be he a powerful Mongol king like Ankiyanun, a just and good-natured Iranian prince like Sa'd ibn-i-Abu Bakr, or a renowned man of letters like 'Ata Malik-Juwayni, Sa'di never hesitates in pointing out his weaknesses and telling him how to remedy them. His praises is always restrained and balanced, his language always sweet and simple, his tone always sincere and soft. Only a few examples from the Shaiykh's Qasidas will suffice to prove to the esteemed reader how completely different his style and approach is from the other Qasida writers. But before quoting from the Shaykh, let us first quote from Anwari and Khaqani -- the two giants of Qasida writing -- only then can the reader fully appreciate the striking difference between Sa'di's qasidas and others'.

Firstly, Anwari:

I. Diwan-i-Anwari, p 183
And now Khāqānī:

What an assemblage of quaint similes, bombastic metaphors, exaggerated praise and affected style! In all this grand show of the poet's art and imagination, the puts on a supernatural air and the reader begins to question the sincerity of the ' . Now listen to the Shaykh and see what is his style of :

II. Kulliyat p. 467
I. Diwan-i-Khāqānī
The Shaykh grabs the reader's attention at the very
very beginning: by the way he starts his Qasida, (that two
a qasida which was meant to be a a New Year Greeting to the
king! Instead of saying something like:

The entire qasida runs on this strain with a here
and one there of the king's praise (as if to merely fulfil
the formality); like:

1. Kulliyat-1, Urfi, p. 34
2. Kulliyat p. 468
3. Ibid, p. 468
Apart from these two or three couplets, the full qasida is devoted to and one wonders how could Sa'di be so outspoken and bold! He himself realises this and says:

A few couplets in the same strain from an eulogy of Abu-Bakr ibn-i-Sa'd:

In yet another Qasida in praise of Sa'd-i-bn-i-Abu Bakr ibn-i-Sa'd, a very favourite king of the Shaykh, he extols the king's virtue in the first few couplets:

1. Kulliyat p. 488
2. Ibid. p. 224
3. Kulliyat P. 223
But after reciting a few lines in this strain, he says:

I. Kulliyat Sa'di, p. 223
2. Ibid, p. 224
One feels surprised at the way Sa'di boldly declares:

It was the integrity of his character and the sincerity of his heart which gives him the courage and confidence to thus admonish and advise the king. A few more lines from his Bustan to show how he advises the kings to be kind and just to their people:

I. Kulliyat p.224
2. Ibid, p. 228
Who can say that these couplets have been taken from an
eleventh century Mathnawi? They are so modern in their
attitudes so liberal and rational in their social
consciousness that they seem to have been taken from some
modern book of political thought. The political ideas of the
Shaykh are indeed as modern as of any political thinker of
today. In a time when no one could conceive of a democratic
government, Sa'di says:

Sa'di's honesty never allows him to shower extravagant
praise on his patron. Even while writing a qasida for the
Mongol emperors, he does not hesitate in condemning their
atrocities and telling them to be kind and generous to
people and not to be proud of their riches and their power,
because these are all temporary. Read the following lines
and you will see for yourself how Sa'di bewares his
and tells him not to give much importance to this world.
The Qasida is titled "..." but there is hardly any ' .. in it, the whole Qasida is devoted to
admonishing Ankeyanun and frightening him with the

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1. Kulliyat p. 228
2. Ibid. p. 460
Even in the  he does not say:

instead, he prays to God to inspire the king to do good:

And after, driving home this point that by praising him against his (the poet's) wishes, he was doing the king a special favour, Sa'di proceeds thus:

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1. Kulliyat p. 462
2. Ibid, p. 223
3. Ibid, p. 224
(Even while comparing the king to Nushirwan, our poet does not forget to compare him with the august Prophet himself!) He praises the king, not for his extraordinary riches, or his supernatural bravery, but for the reason that:

He does not say like other qasida writers that he is lucky to have been born during the days of the , instead, he completely turns the tables and says:

When we go through his qasida carefully, one more fact, and a very significant one, strikes us: mostly those qasidas of Sa’di have this , which are addressed to the kings. Otherwise, the qasidas which he has composed for

1. Kulliyat p. 462
2. Ibid, p. 224
others are not so full of advices and Sa'di has also bestowed praise on his patrons quite lavishly. The point stands proof; read the eulogies he has written for 'Alauddin 'Ata Malik Juwayni, Sahib diwan, a great historian and scholar of his times. These qasidas have all the traditional qualities attributed to this by the Seljuqui qasida writers, and the Shaykh is quite extravagant in his praise of the

Here are a few more couplets from yet another qasida, in praise of Shamsuddin Muhammad Juwayni, Sahib diwan:

I. Kulliyat, p. 451
One is quite confused at this semblance of paradox in Sa'di's qasidas and may well ask, 'why this contrast'? In the humble opinion of the present writer, the disparity in his style is chiefly due to the following two reasons:

I. Sa'di is a man with a highly developed sense of self-respect to him, lavishing undue praise on the royal patrons means self-degradation. He does not want the king to assume that even he - Sa'di, the greatest humanist, the symbol of freedom, can lower himself so as to please the king. His dignity and self-respect never allowed him to do so. He does abhors being taken by the king as one more of their professional admirers. Thus, while addressing the kings, he maintains his dignity. His tone is always balanced; he is not like an eulogist extolling his , he is more like an elder appreciating the good qualities of his younger, but at the same time admonishing them for their weaknesses

(جنس نورانفرشیده، بیضی )

(لا تفرشیان می‌کنند، بلکه، )

so he is most reserved while eulogising a king.

But the case is totally different when he writes a qasida for a literary man and a scholar. They are birds
of the same feather, worshippers of the same idol, and he feels completely at ease with them. If he bestows extravagant praise on them, his self-respect is not injured because in praising them, he is paying homage to the goddess learning itself.

The second reason for this contrast is that Sa'di is a sincere and honest to the very core of his heart and possesses a deep sense of responsibility towards his fellow beings. Most of the kings of those days were cruel and there was total anarchy in the whole country. People, afraid of their rulers, dared not say a word against them, to be neither could they show their resentment and the miseries they were going through. Sa'di was painfully conscious of what was happening around him. He also knew that people do not have the courage to defy their rulers and to tell them how badly they were suffering. Sa'di, with his inherent love of humanity and his bold and courageous nature, took it upon himself to be the representative of the public feelings and to convey to the ruling authorities the real sentiments of the silent majority. He was apprehensive that the passivity of the people against their cruelties, will result in making the rulers all the more callous and ruthless. Sa'di wanted them to realize their cruelty towards people. Naturally, he could not be too aggressive in that time of the Mongol Terrorism, so he chose
a mild but effective way; he criticised them in his poetry; sometimes addressing them directly and condemning them for their atrocities, sometimes indirectly, by saying how harmful cruelty and despotism is for the king and that by being kind to people, the king can have a stable government. The Shaykh chose the Qasida for conveying his message as because it is in qasida only that the poet addresses the king directly. Thus, Sa’di selected this particular of poetry as the link between him and the ruling emperor and this is the main reason that all his eulogies of the kings have minimum possible praise and an abundance of social and moral advices.

Sometimes the Shaykh uses the indirect method and conveys his ideas through symbolic anecdotes. He want to say that the death of a cruel man is good for the society, see how effectively he says it in the following anecdote of the Gullistan:

I. Kulliyat p. 87
(A dervish, whose prayers met with answers, made his appearance, and Hejaj Yusuf, calling him, said: 'Utter a good prayer for me', whereon the dervish exclaimed: 'O God, take his life.' He replied: 'For God's sake, what prayer is this?' The dervish rejoined: 'It is a good prayer for thee and for all Muslims.'

O tyrant, who oppressest thy subjects, How long with thou persevere in this? Of what use is authority to thee? To die is better for thee than to oppress men.

In another anecdote he says:

(An unjust king asked a devotee what kind of worship is best? He replied: 'For thee the best is to sleep one half of the day so as not to injure the people for a while."

In one more anecdote of Gulistan Sa'idi tells us how even a trivial injustice on the part of the king, can encourage his servants to go to the extremes:

I. Kulliyat, p. 87
2. Ibid, p. 95
3. Kulliyat, p. 95
(It is related that, whilst some game was being roasted for Nushirwan the just during a hunting party, no salt could be found. Accordingly a boy was sent to an adjoining village to bring some. Nushirwan said: 'Pay for the salt lest it should become a custom and the village be ruined.

If the king eats one apple from the garden of a subject his slaves will pull him up the tree from the roots.

One more example from Bustan in which inspires the king to be kind and compassionate:

1. Kulliyat, p. 95
2. Ibid, p. 252
(Make a prayer! said the king. 'O prudent one!
For I like a needle am fettered by "the thread."
On hearing which words, the bent-backed elder
Sharply raised a harsh-sounding cry,
Saying: 'God Himself is kind to the just man;
Look to the forgiving and giving of God!
You who never once forgave mankind—
How shall you see ease from fortune?.

Sadi's love of freedom and individualism manifests
itself in religious matters too and he has a distinctly
individual approach towards religion. He does not follow
the set and rigid rules presented to us by the Mulla. He
searches for their rational justification and sees every­
thing in relation with the welfare of man. Much has been
said in this regard in the preceding discussions about
the Shaykh's religion, so here we need not elaborate
on this, only the following one example from the Shaykh's
Kulliyat will suffice to prove the point. The Shaykh says
to serve the humanity is better than

Now there are two things which necessarily follow
individual freedom: self-respect and contentment. If a
Person believes in personal freedom, then naturally his ego or 'self' is highly developed and he never likes to lower and degrade himself at any cost. Another thing which individual freedom initiates is contentment; if one wants to maintain one's personal freedom and self-respect, then he must be content with whatever he has. Because the more are the desires, the less is the freedom. So contentment is necessary to lead a free, dignified and balanced life.

Sa'di knew that individual freedom is impossible unless one has a fully developed concept of 'self' and is contented and satisfied with whatever he has. His Gulistan and Bustan are full of such anecdotes where he extolls self-respect and contentment. Let us make our point clear by illustrating from Sa'di's Gulistan and Bustan.

1. **Self-respect**

To Sa'di, death is preferable than asking a favour from a...

- His qasidas are the best example of his deep sense of self-respect.
- Kulliyat, pp. 137-38
A brave warrior who had received a dreadful wound in the Tatar war was informed that a certain merchant possessed a medicine which he would probably not refuse to give if asked for. The warrior replied: 'If I ask for the medicine he will either give it or refuse it and if he gives it maybe it will profit me, and may be not. At any rate the inconvenience of asking it from him is a lethal poison. And philosophers have said: 'If for instance the water of life were to be exchanged for a good reputation, no wise man would purchase it because it is preferable to die with honour than to live in disgrace.'

(I heard that a dervish, burning in the fire of poverty and sewing patch upon patch was told by some one, 'Why sittest thou? A certain man in this town possesses a benevolent nature. If he becomes aware of thy case, he will consider it.' He replied: 'Hush! It is better to die of inanition than to plead for one's necessities before any man.')

I. Kulliyat p. 134
(A man of heart was befallen by favor, And was told: 'Ask what's-his-name for sugar Said he: The bitterness of dying I'd prefer, my boy, To bearing the cruelty of a sour face!)

2. Contentment:

The Gulistan and Bustan of Sa'di are so full of such anecdotes which extoll the virtue of contentment that selection has become very difficult. However, here are a few examples, picked at random from his Kulliyat:

(A sick man having been asked what his heart desired replied: 'That it may not desire anything'.)

(A beggar can be sated with one dirham of silver, Faridun but half-sated with all the realms of the Persians:

The custody of realms and empire's but affliction,
The beggar's an emperor, in name only 'beggar'.

What can be a better peroration of this discussion than a quotation from the Shaykh's Gulistan itself in which he defines freedom in a beautifully symbolic way:

1. The Shaykh has devoted two full chapters to fre\(\text{قاست}\) in
Gulistan and Bustan.
2. Kulliyat, p. 136
3. This p. 147
(A sage was asked: 'Of so many notable, high and fertile trees which God the most high has created, not one is called free, except the cypress, which bears no fruit. What is the reason of this? He replied: 'Every tree has its appropriate season of fruit, so that it is sometimes flourishing therewith, and looks sometimes withered by its absence; with the cypress, however, neither is the case, it being fresh at all times, and this is the quality of those who are free'.

Place not thy heart on what passed away; for the Tigris will flow after the Caliphs have passed away in Baghdad.

If thou art able, be liberal like the date tree, And if thy hand cannot afford it, be liberal like the cypress.

I. Kulliyat, pp. 210-11
5. Aesthetic Sense and Cheerful Outlook:

The charm of the colourful personality of Sa'di lies in its countless facets and infinite variety. And when he projects this variety onto the pages of his literary writings, they also partake of its spectral hues. His love of beauty and his optimistic attitude towards life is one more — and perhaps the most attractive — aspect of his humanism. J.S. Mackenzie, in his Lectures on Humanism, says about this particular quality of the humanists.

"To be men, to play the game of life beautifully seemed to be their (the humanists') highest ambition. And the reason that they were so much attracted by Greece and all that is Greek was that the ancient Greeks, 'played the game of life' — to quote Goethe — more beautifully than others and their interest seemed always to lie in himself...."

The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences stresses this love of beauty of the humanists in the following words:

"The humanists were one and all scholars with a great love for learning and a genuine appreciation of beauty of form and thought...."

1. Lectures on Humanism
2. The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences.
Ordnine Brinton hints at the cheerful outlook of the humanists thus:

"These humanists and artists were not going to be like the late Medieval decadents, worried and obsessed with sin, while they tried to enjoy themselves. The humanists were cheerful, optimistic, and enjoyed life with a good conscience. Theirs was to be no dreadful Dance of Death, but a cheerful Dance of Life ......."

All these definitions suffice to show that temperamentally, all the humanists were cheerful and loved beauty in every form. When we critically observe this phenomena, we see that it was born out of a reaction against the asceticism, gloom and the general pessimism which prevailed in those ages, the humanists, while revolting against the depersonalizing and dehumanizing of man also rebelled against this pessimistic and deceased outlook towards life, giving it a healthy and cheerful touch.

The cheerful outlook of S'adi is a necessary product of his humanism. As can be interpreted by the above definitions, a humanist is never dour, never sour, never bitter. Darkness never clouds his outlook. If the e is a chink in a dungeon which lets in light, he glues his eyes to that

I. Ideas and Men.
chink and forgets all about the surrounding gloom. He adores beauty and knows that beauty consorts not with gloom and darkness but dwells in sunshine, and brightness, and beaming smiles. He leaves behind the bats and the owls to get stuck in the nocturnal pitch of the neither world, and soars himself, like the sky lark, to the celestial glories of the man. And what humanist, what adorer of beauty, what connoisseur of pretty things is fit to hold a candle to that "سیاوش" that "สะา" that "شمس" that "میلاد" that Sa'di, that Prodigal Son of Shiraz, who returns like a nightingale to the rose garden of his homeland and tenders meek apology for his wandering lust in such disarming verse:

2

His love of beauty manifests itself in various forms. There are his innumerable lyrics in which he praises his pretty sweet-heart. Selection is made invidious by abundance. However, a few examples may be cited:

1, Kulliyat p.450
2, Sa'di is such a worshipper of beauty that he thinks it a sin not to admire and appreciate beautiful faces:
3. Kulliyat p. 717
Then there are the poet's offerings of adoration at the shrine of Nature's Beauty. In the Persian literature, it is hard to find anything which can equal the following, and in the literature of any language it is hard to find anything which can surpass it:

I. Kulliyat p. 671
2. Ibid. p. 653
3. Ibid. p. 454
سخنرانان کمک‌های غیرلزوم برای پایداری به گویاها کردند. به‌طوری‌که می‌توانستند این ساختمان‌ها را به‌طور کلی بازسازی کنند. سپس برای بررسی خطرات پیش‌بینی شده، به‌طور گسترده‌ای بررسی‌های مداوم انجام شد.

با توجه به بحران مه‌سالاری در منطقه، برای جامعه‌بایندهای مهاجر، برنامه‌های مربوط به ویزای موقت و محدودیت‌های ورودی اجرا شد. در جریان این پروژه، بیش از ۱۵ هزار جمعیت در روز مورد مراجعات قرار گرفتند. سپس برای بهبود شرایط مهاجران، برنامه‌های ترویجی و کمک‌های مالی اجرا شد.

در این مرحله، به‌طور گسترده‌ای بررسی‌های مداوم انجام شد. سپس برای بهبود شرایط مهاجران، برنامه‌های ترویجی و کمک‌های مالی اجرا شد.
And again the following in which Nature's beauty serves as a setting for human loveliness and indistinguishably blends with it in colour and freshness:

I. Kulliyat p. 443
2. Ibid.
But Sa'di's description of Beauty is not the only manifestation of his love for it. He has drank the cup to the full. He is possessed with it. His body and soul are steeped in it. It spills from his pen and imbues his writings. The case is like the case of the mystic lover (which also Sa'di was to a certain extent) who adores his Divine Beloved so that his entire being becomes a mirror for His Effulgence. Read Sa'di's big kulliyat of verse and prose from end to end and the exquisite beauty of his writing will manifest itself in every page, in every verse, in every sentence. About this melodious phrase of Gulistan "angan darroun ba khak ast" an anecdote makes the great Taftazani to say: "I wish Sa'di would have given this one phrase to me and taken my entire Mutawwal from me"! The pages of Taftazani's trustworthy biographies are silent about the truth of this anecdote, but the pages of the Shaykh's Kulliyat bear eloquent testimony to the truth of the point which this anecdote tries to make ---- that point being that the works of other literary authors cannot compete in eloquence and beauty with the writings of Sa'di.
Just read these few lines from the Preface of Gulistan and decide for yourself whether they can be equalled in their magical beauty:

(Laudation to the God of Majesty and glory! Obedience to Him is a cause of approach and gratitude in increase of benefits. Every inhalation of the breath prolongs life and every expiration of it gladdens our nature; wherefore every breath confers two benefits and for every benefit gratitude is due.)

(He told the chamberlain of the morning breeze to spread out the emerald carpet and, having commanded the nurse of vernal clouds to cherish the daughters of plants in the cradle of the earth, the trees donned the new year's robe and clothed their breast with the garment of green foliage, whilst their offspring, the branches, adorned their heads with blossoms at the approach of the season of the roses. Also the juice of the cane became delicious honey by His power, and the date a lofty tree by His care.)
The entire Preface of Gulistan is an exquisite piece of art, and, not even poetry, what to say of prose, can match it in its subtlety of imagination, beauty of diction, and richness of style. Mulla Jami, the Master of the Latter Days, about whom it was said wrote his Baharistan to emulate the Gulistan of the Shaykh And what did Jami rear up? Not a fresh and fragrant garden but a stuffy hat-house! Compare the following examples from and Jami registers this jejune complaint about an obstinate lover:

Now see what human touch is given to this very complaint from the Shaykh's literary magic:

1. Kulliyat p. 73
2. Ibid. p. 75
3. Baharistan-i-Jami, p. 3
4. Ibid, p. 55
5. Kulliyat p. 159
(His friends, who considered his position, pitied his state, gave him advice and at last confined him but all to no purpose.)

Even on the sweetness of a dainty voice Jami could not dwell without gagging and stifling it with full-mouthed bombast:

And now behold the ultimate in contrast: Sa'idi makes fun of an ugly voice — and with what felicity! Hearken to his Sanjari:

(My lord, thou hast injured me by turning me away for ten dinars from this place because where next went they offered me twenty dinars to go to another locality but I refused. The amir smiled and said: 'By no means accept them because they will give thee even fifty dinars.'

1. Baharistān-i-Jāmī, p.48
2. Kulliyāt p.157
Or again read this about his "

(Asked him what his monthly salary was. He replied: 'Nothing.' He further inquired: 'Then why takest thou this trouble?' He replied: 'I am reading for God's sake.' He replied: 'For God's sake do not read.')

Or, read the following anecdotes and see how injurious ugliness was to our Shaykh's fine senses:

(I saw a musician. Thou wouldst have said he is tearing up the vital artery with his fiddle-bow. His voice was more unpleasant than the wailing of one who lost his father.)

(When the harper began to sing
I said to the host: 'For God's sake
Put mercury in my ear that I may not hear
Or open the door that I may go away.')

1. Kulliyat p. 157
2. Ibid, p. 117
No one ever saw him twice in the same place.

As soon as the shout rose from his mouth

The hair on the bodies of the people stood on end

And the fowls of the house, terrified by him, flew away

Whilst he distracted our senses and tore his throat.)

But the voice of that Shriul-voiced singer

My Shaykh had often told me to abandon musical entertainments and had given me abundant advice, I did not mind it. This night my propitious horoscope and my august luck have guided me to this place where I have, on hearing the performance of this musician, repented and vowed never again to attend at singing and convivial parties.

It was his extreme love of beauty which made him utter this memorable quip:

So overwhelmingly is his passion

I. Kulliyāt p. 137
for beauty that the glimpse of a pretty, glowing face is more rewarding to him than the riches of this world;

And the reason for composing Gulistan (which the Shaykh tells us in its preface) is not less poetic than the book itself:

(The next morning when the intention of returning had prevailed over the opinion of tarrying, I saw that my friend had in his skirt collected roses, sweet basil, hyacinths and fragrant herbs with the determination to carry them to town; whereon I said: 'Thou knowest that the roses of the garden are perishable and the season passes away', and philosophers have said: 'Whatever is

1. Kulliyat p. 137
2. Ibid, pp.72-73
not of long duration is not to be cherished."

He asked: 'Then what is to be done?' I replied:
'I may compose for the amusement of those who
look and for the instruction of those who are
present a book of a Rose Garden, a Gullistan,
whose leaves cannot be of whose spring the vicissi-
tudes of time will be unable to change into
the inconstancy of autumn... After I had uttered
these words he threw away the flowers from his
skirts, and attached himself to mine, saying
'When a generous fellow makes a promise he
keeps it.'... In short, some roses of the
garden still remained when the book of Rose-
garden was finished.)

The best compliment that can be bestowed on this magical
work of Sa'di can only be in his own magical verse:

Now something could be said about Sa'di's optimistic out-
look on life. This cheerful outlook is the result of his
cheerful disposition. His long life was lived under the
constant shadows of the Tartar Terror. A sizable part of it
was passed in wandering through the ruins of the medieval
Islamic society which had recently been uprooted by the
invading Mongol hordes. He had penned with blood the elegy
of the last Abbasid Caliph and the murdered "children

1. Kulliyat p. 73
2. Ibid, p. 503
of the Uncle of Mustafa. He had stumbled upon the stormy battle-fields of the crusades and was condemned by the Christians to dig trenches at Tripoli. But neither social revolutions nor political upheavals, neither bodily torture nor emotional shock, could alter the innate good humour and the sturdy optimism of this serene humanist. He uses the memory of that Tripolitan -trench-digging to rail his ragging wife with this delightful quip:

(Compare this with Khaqani's , where that morose grumbler writes ninety odd verses complaining about his captivity which was for less rigorous than that of Sa'di. The limit of irascibility is reached when he threatens to forsake Islam and embrace Christianity.)

The Mongol cataclysm and the destruction of the Caliphate were not subjects for levity. But even here the characteristic reaction of Sa'di is not defeatist or despairing but brave and hopeful. In such dire circumstances hope cannot be

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1. Kulliyat p. 503
2. Ibid. p. 123
3. Ibid. (Compare this with Khaqani's )
sustained without a firm faith in the goodness of things. Not only hope and faith, but a supremely bright outlook is also needed which can discern in the surrounding destruction any vestige of promise for future betterment. (Here the term 'future' has reference to this world as well as to the next). Sa'di as a humanist possessed to the fullest extent all the three qualities mentioned above, viz. hope, faith and a bright vision. And so when he sees blood-thirsty tyranny bent upon killing and destroying the entire Muslim world, on the one hand he tries to blunt the dagger of the murderer with threats of divine retribution and on the other, he soothes the aching wounds of the Muslims with the balm of future hope. Thus, if the have weltered here in blood, then verily for them is the highest paradise as the lowliest recompense in the future world "

The point is well brought out when Sa'di's elegy on Musta'sim is compared with Khaqani's lamentation on the . Khaqani was a morose man, and unlike

I. Kulliyat, p. 308
Sa'di, captivity at the hands of Shirwanshah had increased that moroseness. So when he visits the ruins of Madain and laments over the memory of the vanquished and destructed Sasanian Empire he brings forth nothing but blood and tear. In an elegy of fortytwo verses not a single flame of hope flickers to relieve the tomb-like darkness of the trembling palace. Outside, the fire of the Tigris:

and inside, the hooting of the owl induces headache whose agony can only pacified by the rosewater of the visitor's tears.

So much for the ruined imperial residence. Now for its imperial residents and their empire:

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1. Diwan-i-Khaqani, p. 322
2. Ibid, p. 322
3. Ibid, p. 322
At the end of this poignant dirge the poet throws in something about

But this is not morbidity, stark and staring. The deceased mind the poet is full of skulls and skeletons and gory dust. And his despairing imagination cannot look forward to any further redemption either, for him all hope has been eternally swallowed up by the devouring earth:

This was how Khaqani reacted to the greatest of the Iranian defeats: no faith in God's mercy, no hope of Nature's recompense; a passive resignation, a total pessimism.

In contrast, what is Sa'di's reaction to the greatest of the Islamic defeats? This temperamentally sanguine and optimist man never loses hopes, never accepts defeat. Instead, he bravely addresses himself to make the best of a very bad job. He has to work against very great odds. It is as yet (and for a very long while to come) profitless to try for the overthrow of the Mongols so he sets for himself humbler and more practicable targets. On the one hand, by understanding sympathy and reassuring praise he strives to sustain the morals of the few Muslim princes who have

1. Diwan-i-Khaqani, p. 323
2. Ibid, p. 323
succeeded by showering gold and showing pliability, to secure the friendship of the Mongols:

And again,

on the other hand, this brave soul, by his wise precepts and bold rebukes - tries to harness the Mongol Brute himself:

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1. Kulliyat p. 225
2. Ibid., p. 477
3. Ibid., pp. 460-61
The second verse above has pointed reference to the notorious drinking orgies of the Mongols. Likewise, the third with its mention of the siege and the ballista (سَلْسَلَة) has a special application to their cruel tactics, and admonished them in terms and language which are easily understandable to their martial minds.

In other Qasidah, the poet's language becomes stronger and his tone harsher:

I. Kulliyat p. 468-69
Surely, in a qasidah to threaten the patron with *must* seem the limit of rudeness and offence. But if the Shaykh was to be effective, he could not afford to be euphemistic. He was not dealing with the exquisite sensibilities of the old and refined princely order of Persia for whom the mildest and softest of pleadings like the following was remonstrance enough:

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Instead, he had to harness the wild Mongols and it could only be done by means of strict chastisement and restraint. Sa'di himself hints at this in a qasida addressed to Ankeyānūn:

Not only for political or social calamities, but for his personal inflictions also Shaykh has the same optimistic attitude. Read the following anecdote and admire his capability of discerning a silver lining in every dark cloud:

---

I. Kuliyat p. 446
2. Ibid. 493
3. Ibid, p. 140
(I never lamented about the vicissitudes of time or complained of the turns of fortune except on the occasion when I was barefooted and unable to procure slippers. But when I entered the great mosque of Kufah with a sore heart and beheld a man without feet I offered thanks to the bounty of God, consoled myself for my want of shoes.)

Although most of the Shaykh's writings have an ethical and reformatory aspect, yet they do not have even a vestige of bitterness in them. The preaching of Sa'di is not meant to hurt anyone and his tone is never harsh - instead he always have an amused smile on his lips and a mischievous twinkle in his eyes while uttering such quips:

(The teeth of all men are blunted by sourness, but those of the qasal by sweetness.)

Some more examples to enjoy the Shaykh's beautiful diction and subtle humour:

(It is related that hermit consumed during one night ten mahn of food and perused the whole Qura till morning. A pious fellow who had heard of this said: 'It would have been more excellent if he had eaten half a loaf and slept till the morning.')

I. Kulliyat p. 210
2. Ibid, p. 118
Sa'di says that even the wasps donot like the honey of a morose and irritable man:

\[
\text{حَدَّثَنِي إِبْرَاهِيمُ بْنُ مُحَمَّدُ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ أَنَّ بِحَرَامِ بُهْرَانَ:}
\]

\[
\text{نَحْلُ الْبَيْضَةَ رَجَلًا مَعْنِيًّا وَكَلَّامًا،}
\]

\[
\text{فَلَمْ يُحَدَّثَ لَهُ بِحَرَامِ بُهْرَانَ وَلا يَسْتَخْرِجَ لَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّرِّ.}
\]

He further observes:

\[
\text{فَلَمْ يُحَدَّثَ لَهُ بِحَرَامِ بُهْرَانَ وَلا يَسْتَخْرِجَ لَهُ عَلَيْهِ السَّرِّ.}
\]

(Next day he too began to trot about the world
Upon his head he'd honey, but vinegar above his brows:
Much he wandered, crying, up and down,
But not even flies would settle on his honey

I. Kulliyat p. 317
2. Ibid, p. 317
His wife said to her husband playfully;  
Bitter is the honey of a sour-faced man  
Any ugly nature takes a man to hell,  
From Paradise a goodly disposition comes;  
Go, rather drink warm water from the channel's brink  
Than cold rose-juice sold by a man of sour face  
It is prohibited to taste that person's bread  
Who folds his brows as though they were a tablecloth;  
Make not, good fellow, matters harder for yourself,  
For he of evil nature has a fortune all upturned;  
Grant, then, you have of gold and silver nothing;  
But can you not, like Sa'di, have a pleasant tongue

Let us close this discussion by quoting what Sa'di has himself written about this particular aspect of his writings and which is the best criticism one can offer him:

I. Kulliyat p. 216
Most of the utterances of Sādī being exhilarant and mixed with pleasantness, shortsighted persons have on this account lengthened the tongue of blame, alleging that it is not the part of intelligent men to spend in vain the kernel of their brain, and to eat without profit the smoke of the lamp; it is, however, not concealed from enlightened men, who are able to discern the tendency of words, that pearls of curative admonition are strung upon the thread of explanation, and that the bitter medicine of advice is commingled with the honey of wit, in order that the reader's mind should not be fatigued, and thereby excluded from the benefit of acceptance; and praise be to the Lord of both worlds.

We have advice in its proper place
Spending a lifetime in the task,
If it should not touch anyone's ear of desire
The messenger told his tale; it is enough.)
6. Compassion:

Boundless love and compassion for the humanity is such a basic point of humanism that the two terms can said to be almost synonyms. The humanists are, one and all, lovers of humanity and human being; and the entire Humanist Revival is based on this. What this revival really means is a fresh realization of man - his high achievements and higher potentialities, his independence and his self-sufficiency.

"The glorification of man was the object of humanism and this concern with man is what gives its primary meanings to the word humanism -- it is the philosophy of man, I nature and human life."

Humanism's central point of interest is humanity and human being and the social, moral and spiritual welfare of man is of paramount interest to the followers of this cult. They are deeply concerned with man's life on this earth and all of their principles have one fundamental law, connecting them, together -- love of humanity. As Cyril Bibby says:

"Whatever the special characteristics of humanism in particular historical periods,

I. Humanism, by Hedas Moses
it is always interested in human potential and human welfare. It is more than a rational, intellectual attitude, for that can go with narrow interests and social unconcern. Humanism has connotations of cultural width and generosity of spirit and a great degree of philanthropy. It implies not only an intellectual interest in everything relating to humanity, but also a conviction that humanity and human being is worth caring for.

This 'caring for the humanity' and this love and concern for the human being are the guiding forces of humanism, and as is evident from the above-given quotations, have always been the spirit behind this movement.

Sa'di too has drunk from the same cup and the pure nectar of love has intoxicated him completely. So much so that when we compare him in this particular aspect, with the 14th century humanists, we feel that their's is but a reverberating sound of the Shaykh's resounding crescendo, a wavering beam of that dazzling Sun, a small projection of that overpowering emotion. Every word he utter, every sentence he writes, and every verse he composes is deeply permeated by his love of humanity. The literature of the world, including the Persian literature, offers throughout its entire

I. Towards a Scientific Human Culture, by Cyril Bibby.
development, an unbroken and pervasive spread of humanistic utterance (In the Persian literature, examples could be cited from the national epic of Firdawsì, from the mystical lyrics of Hafiz, from the Traveller's Narrative of Nasir Khusraw, from the Siyasat Nama of Nizamul Mulk and from the Akhlaq-e-Nasiri of نیزامالملک) But no Persian writer (and only very few of the other literatures), is more humanistic or humane than Sa'di. The main theme of his corpus is humanity and human life -- in all its thousand and one aspects. From religion to love and sex, he discusses everything with a quiet candour, analysing everything and suggesting man how to behave in different situations. His understanding of human psychology and human problems is perfect. (It is this quality of the Shaykh which gives a modern relevance to his sayings) He loves man and wants others to respect and love this Son of God. He is too sensitive for the human miseries and his heart aches at the woeful plight of man. This world is full of miseries and hardships and Sa'di -- the emotional humanist -- wants to protect man from suffering and to give him a happy and peaceful life. This overwhelming, all - encompassing love for the humanity and human being is such a prominent feature of Sadi's works and such a necessary outcome of his humanistic approach to life, that it will be superfluous and㲿ROWN to further elaborate on this topic. The rather, مشاکه کوشید که پرورنیمیکا and give a few examples from his Kulliyat to
assert our point. It is very difficult to select because every page of his voluminous is a manifestation of his deep love and compassion for humanity. However, we are citing below a few examples from his Kulliyat to enable the reader to understand and appreciate the writer's point:

I. One should not be self-centred and must care for his fellow beings:

(Such a dearth one year befall in Damascus
That friends forgot their affection;

I. Kulliyat p. 245)
So stingy did heaven grow to earth
That neither crop nor palm did wet their lips;
Naught was it but the widow-woman's 'Abi'.
Whenever smoke-plume from a vent-hole rose
The trees un provisioned I saw, like a dervish
In such state came to me a friend,
On his bones a skin of him remaining
I said to him: 'O friend, of pure temper!
What misery's befallen you? Say!
At me he thundered: 'Where's your mind?
It's wrong to ask a question when you know the answer.

2. Kindness and compassion is always rewarding:

(A kind was subject to a terrible disease, the mention of which is not sanctioned by custom. The tribe of Yemeni physicians agreed that this pain cannot be allayed except by means of the bile of a person. The son of a landholder was discovered. The executioner was ready to slay the boy who then looked heavenwards and smiled. The king asked: 'What occasion for laughter is there in such a position?' The youth replied: '.... I see no other refuge besides God the most high'. The sultan became troubled at these words, and he said: 'It is better for me to perish than to shed innocent blood..... It is said that the king also recovered his health during that week.)

I. Kulliyat, P. 96
3. Religion means serving the humanity:

4. Sa'di inspires others to be kind to their fellow beings:

Now that the present discussion is coming to an end, let us revise what are the fundamental qualities of humanism: An overwhelming love of humanity; a rational approach towards religion and morality; a total belief in the individual freedom of man; a keen appreciation of beauty; an unfailing optimism; and, above all, an unflinching faith in the basic goodness of man and in the harmonious development of all his instincts. These are the basic ingredients of humanism. When we turn to that Persian genius, Sa'di we find such a plethora of

1. Kulliyat p. 277
2. Ibid, p. 143
3. Ibid, p. 242
4. Ibid p. 243
humanism and such a marvellous projection of all the above-mentioned qualities, that we wonder how a poet of the twelfth century can share the ideas of the fourteenth century philosophers! The Shaykh of Shiraz is so 'humanistic' in all his viewpoints, that we can undoubtedly call him the 'fore-father' of humanism. The strange contemporary appeal which the Shaykh enjoys today is based on the very fact that, through his writings, he expresses attitudes which even now are not out-moded; and as long as human being and human life continue to be a source of interest, the rose-garden of the Shaykh's sayings will also go on intoxicating us by its fragrance.

In the end, let us pay homage to the humanity and to the humanist himself in his own verse:

I. Kulliyat, p. 577
SADI AND FIRDAWSI

Compared as Humanists
CHAPTER III

Sadi and Firdowsi compared as Humanists

When after dealing with Sadi's humanism one comes to seek for his like in the Persian literature, one's efforts seem doomed to failure. The temperamental inclination of the Iranian race towards lyrical poetry and the social, political and economical necessities of singing the praise of some powerful and bounteous patron served as compulsive incentives for the writers and poets of those bygone ages to cultivate the ghazal, the romantic mathnawi and the qasida. Mysticism being another creative factor, it brought about the great mathnawi of Rumi and some scattered treatises on the subject. All of these dealt either with the emotional or the sordid side of human nature. None of them considered humanity in its fulness or aimed at helping it to achieve a natural and balanced growth. If some pious soul felt compassion for man's woeful plight he turned into a moralist or a sage and wrote an کیان مورت or a رشته نام.

But, in reality, the prospect is not as barren as that. One has only to turn to that infinite repository of the Persian
genius, the ḥudūd, and one will find in it such a plethora of humanism and such a host of humanists that one will gaze in stupefied wonder. And, indeed, the thing is stupefying enough and wonderful enough. One sees the humanistic maxims of Gulistān followed centuries before Gulistān was ever written, and the ideals of kingship and nobility as propounded in Būstān realized a quarter of a millennium before Būstān was even conceived. And, wonder of wonders, these phenomena appear where one would least expect or suspect them to be. They are met with on bloody battlefields and in global wars. Indeed, the fact is hard to swallow that the best epic of a language is its next best composition on humanism also, and that the next-best epic writer of the world is one of the greatest humanists as well. But the thing stands proof. Let us pause and consider.

The jingling resemblance between human and humane, and between humanitarianism and humanism, confuses the mind about the true significance of these words: Human is taken to be synonymous with humane; humanism is regarded to be as one with humanitarianism. But, in fact, the two sets of words have nothing in common save their commencing letters. Humanism is a natural and spontaneous bloom while humanitarianism is a product of the ethical hot-house. To change the metaphor, while humanitarianism is “the milk of human kindness” pure and unadulterated, humanism is the same thing
but with the customary aqueous dash of the milkman's bucket. Humanism does not deal with ideal but with natural human beings. And, indeed, it is better that is is so, for, while nature is all around and with us in the world, the ideal is nowhere to be found except in the mind of the abstract theorist. We meet human beings with the human weaknesses and strengths everywhere; but immaculate supermen are no more than the phantoms of the philosophical fancy. It is not meant that humanism denies or belittles virtue. It admits that it exists but that it is juxtaposed with evil which serves as foil to set it off to advantage.

There is a very strong philosophical basis for all this as well. Let us turn to the famous Triad of the Hegelian Dialectics. It comprises of Thesis, the Anti-Thesis, and the Synthesis - in simpler language, the Being, the Not-Being, and the Determined Being. Our experience knows not of a Thing per se (Being; Thesis), a thing corresponding to its ideal concept, i.e. a Thing without the admixture of its Opposite Thing (Not-Being; Anti-Thesis). What we do find in nature is always a mixture of the two, i.e. an amalgam of two exactly opposite realities (Determin ed Being; Synthesis). Light per se, i.e. light covering the whole range of the spectrum, is never experienced in nature; what is met with is light having a certain
The measure of that wave-length ipso facto suggests that it is not the ideal and the supreme light; that there are wave-lengths greater and lesser than it. And so with virtue. The ideal of this Thesis or its Anti-Thesis (Evil) is never experienced by us. What we meet in nature is always a mixture of these two opposites. Of course, this mixture has infinite varieties with the varying degree of the measure of each of its components in every particular and individual case. And from this very fact emanates the raison d'être both for Ethics and Humanism. As in a given amalgam the measure of virtue and evil is changeable and controllable, ethical teaching gets its justification. And as these amalgams of virtue and evil DO EXIST, we enter the realistic and attractive field of Humanism.

The Ideal Good toned down by Reality, Vice redeemed with virtue — this is the burden of Humanism, and of Firdawsi as well. There are neither angels nor devils in Shahnameh, but a mixture of angelhood and devilry. At one end of this humanistic continuum stands the devilish arch-angel Rustam, and at the other the cherubic devil Piran, with a host of celestial and hellish hierarchies thrown in-between. In spite of his Jahan-Pahlawan and the heroism which that august office obligates, the stratagems to which Rustam stooped in his fight with Suhrab and Isfandyar are well known. And, despite his soldierly and deep sense of loyalty for the Kayanian Dynasty, the same Jahan-Pahlawan's occasional
bursts of rebellious anger against Kay-Kaus and Tus also need no reminder. On the other hand, the solicitation of Piran, the commander-in-chief of the evil forces of Afrasiyab, for Siyaush is also remembered with surreptitious approval by every reader of the Shahnmae. The expansive, story-telling style of Firdawsi makes him unsuitable for quotation in a small essay like the present one. The reader is recommended to read the relative passages in Shahnemeh itself.

To judge Firdawsi as a humanist it is best to ascertain his views on the basic tenets of humanism with which we are fairly well acquainted by now.

1. Religion — Religion in humanism is not strait-jacketed formalism. It is a pliable thing, serving to promote human good and adaptable to the exigencies of time and space. Its regulating principle is reason. Let us see what Firdawsi has to offer us here. Two references will suffice.

First, we find in Shahnemeh the Praise of Reason put just after the Praise of God and before the Praise of the Prophet. (And, believe and like it or not, even in this reverse order Firdawsi writes only one verse on the latter topic and then passes on.) This arrangement is contrary to that usually followed by other Persian poets of the classical tradition. In those latter, the Praise of the Prophet immediately follows that of God. Firdawsi changes the order of precedence.
in order to stress his conviction that for man’s salvation on earth and in heaven reason is the supreme guide, and that in discovering God's will it comes first to any apostolic mission. The terms in which he glorifies reason leave his sense in no doubt:

Then as to formal conformity: Firdawsi thinks it quite unnecessary. The thing which counts is the spirit of charity contained in religion, and not its superficies:

(Can any critic distinguish here if the speaker is Firdawsi or the great humanist Sadi? Cfr. the Shaykh’s famous lines:}

2. Ibid, v.I, p.234
3. Bullyiat p.229
4. Ibid, p.229
2. Liberty - آزادی. This is yet another important article of the humanist's creed and directly follows from the preceding principle of Reason. If reason is supreme in the life of man, then he should be free to follow it in thought, speech and action. Matters, whether religious, social or political, should not restrain him from following that Guiding Star and from reaching the ultimate goal of his spiritual fulfilment. This principle was so important in the eyes of Ferdowsi that his whole great work is infused with it. Indeed, the best praise he can bestow on his dear country is to call it the Land of the Independent; and for him the Independent People par excellence are the People of Iran. This is very clearly borne out where he uses the phrase in contradistinction to the Turks. Give brings the letter of Kay-Kaus to Rustam reporting the incursion of Suhrab and dilating upon his heroic exploits.

Rustam laughs and refuses to believe it:

1. Shahnama, v.1, p.36
Mark the third line which gives the reason for Rustam’s incredibility and uses the word رازان as opposed to یکان.

Шахнаме is the Book of Kings, and kingship demands obedience and submission. But the independence of spirit of Firdawsi’s رازان is such that over and anon it bursts the barrage and outflows the dam. Two examples will suffice. Strangely and significantly, both of them belong to the reign of شاه‌ک, than whom no worst tyrant had ever ruled Persia.

I. One day the tyrant describes to the assembled nobles his dream about Faridun and asks them to explain it to him. They tremble and cower to tell the truth. But one brave soul steps forward and harangues the king in the following terms:

| لب | ینا | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثر | ینا | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار |
| یکان | ینا | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار | ور | دنور | و | سر | یثار |

1. Shāhnāme, v.I, p.34
2. Ibid, v.I, p.40
II. Dāhhāk makes the mubads to sign the charter of his Absolution. Suddenly Kawā appears on the scene, and after chiding the monarch in no weak terms about his brutal excesses, demands that his son's life should be spared. Dāhhāk concedes. Then he gives the Charter to Kawā and requests him to witness it. Now listen:

And then this insignificant and destitute iron-monger comes out in open rebellion and incites and unites the whole country against the foreign tyrant.

3. Personal Honour - This is intimately connected with Liberty and Freedom since it is their direct and natural product. Shāhnāme is replete with its examples and we repeatedly come across cases where any threat to its security brings about a violent and instantaneous reaction. Perhaps, one of the most grand examples is the following. Sarw Shāh of Yemen seeks the counsel of his courtiers as to how he

1. Shāhnāme, v.1, p.40
should reply to Faridun's proposal for the marriage of his sons with the Yemenite king's daughters. The fearless sons of the desert reply:

4. Contentment - This is yet another blossom which adorns the humanist's flower-bed. The two chief aspects of humanism are a peace within and a peace without. This "peace within" can never be achieved without the calm and serenity of contentment. Siyaush living happily in Turan with his beloved Faranqui is the happiest example of a peaceful and contented mind. Another tragic Persian prince, Iraj, the youngest son of Faridun, exposes his views on the subject to his brothers in this way:

1. Shahnama, v.1, p.88
2. Ibid, v.1, p.79
Sincerity - like Liberty, the spirit of Sincerity also infuses the whole Shāhnāma. Kirdawī's word for it is اثاثٌ, which in Persian signifies sincerity as well as truthfulness. Indeed, this truthful sincerity so possesses the poet's mind that his verse also partakes of its quality. He has no art, for all art is untrue. Instead of the artist's colouring brush, he holds a plain mirror in his hand. And, of course, a plain mirror can neither colour nor embellish nor distort; it can only reflect. To illustrate the difference, here is one extract each from Nizāmī and Kirdawī dealing with a common theme - the jewels of a king's regalia.

Nizāmī (in Sikandar-nāma):

Neither of the two masters employs a single simile for the pearls. But their difference of approach is apparent. To glorify the king, Nizami belittles the pearl (his peremptory orders implying that it is no better than a slave). But not so the truthful Firdawsi. He mentions it with honour for it is adorning the person of the king. Nizami in his zeal to be clever forgets that by disparaging the ornament he is detracting from the grace of the person ornamented. The pearl emerges from the ocean all right, but on its face is a blush, not a sparkle. It never pays to do violence to the truth. One point should be noted here. The reason why Firdawsi's artless sincerity is so impressive is that the reader feels sure that whatever he is getting is the truth and nothing but the truth. In other words, it is not the portrayed images which fill us with pleasure, but the realization that their portrayal is natural and true.
6. Appreciation of Beauty - A humanist appreciates beauty in every shape. And so does Kirdawi. And not only does he enjoy beauty, but he also knows the proportions which go to make a graceful form. Viewed in this light, his whole Shahnameh is an exquisite piece of the modeller's art. However, that the beauty of the usual and common sort may not go by default, here follow two illustrations from Shahnameh:

I. The maids of Rūdaba describe her to the page-boy of Zēl:

II. Furūd, the son of Suhraũ, is encircled and wounded at Kolat by the Iranians. He dies in the fort, and the fair maids of the boy's court commit suicide by leaping down from the parapet well:

2. Ibid, v.II, p.120
It is doubtful if a prettier simile or a daintier verse has ever been penned by any Persian poet.

7. Practical Wisdom - Practical wisdom, ruse, dissembling, diplomacy, or what you will; it has types and types. Firdawsi was too upright to stoop to the "سهار پرچین کوب" variety. (And, indeed, so was the Shaykh; but occasionally he could not resist the temptation of turning a pretty quip.) But in the respectable art of diplomacy he is perfect. Suhrab is doing havoc in the Persian army. Key-Kous sends Gim to Sistan with urgent summons for Rustam. The Jahan-Pahlavan entertains his son-in-law for three days and then starts for court. On arrival he is harshly rebuked by the king for the delay. Rustam counters this downpour of the peevish monarch's wrath with contempt and leaves in disdain for Sistan. The terror of Suhrab again seizes the court and some senior generals hurry to stop and pacify Rustam. Their apology takes the line usual on such occasions:

And now the crafty fox tackles the enraged lion, Gūdarz, the oldest and the most prudent among the soliciting lot, strikes this ploy note:

The storm subsides as if by magic and the Jahan-Pahlawan turns right about:

8. Conformity to Nature - In the present writer’s humble opinion this is the gist and the spirit and the sine qua non of all humanism. According to the humanistic theory man is neither an angel nor a beast, and it is in his interest that he should remain so. Indeed, every effort to the

2. Ibid.
contrary is doomed to failure since it aims at subverting the unsubvertable nature. It is just this hurdle against which religion stumbles and falls in its bid to super-humanise the human species. Attempts of the opposite type which wish to subgrade man to a worm or worse are latecomers in the field and no one is sure about their result as yet. Humanism scrupulously avoids both these pitfalls. It lends men remain at his appointed place and tries to make him worthy of it. There is no vertical rise or fall, only a lateral expansion and spread. In this way more fulness is achieved with better balance. Man as a frisky and foolish little animal is better suited to survive and thrive in this fatuous world than he would be as a Vice-Gerent of God on earth. Firdawsi knows this full well and plans his characters accordingly. After Shakespeare, Shahnama is perhaps the greatest art gallery of humanism in the world literature. Quotations would be invidious, but one has to quote. And, perhaps, the following piece taken almost at random is as good as any other.

Kay-Kaus has not yet nominated Kay-Khusraw as his heir but most of the nobility desire and hope that he would do so. Tus, being himself a member of the royal family, wants otherwise. Gūdarz gives a reception in honour of Kay-Khusraw which Tus does not attend. Now let Firdawsi
take up the story.

[Text in Persian]

But better counsels prevail, the shah intervenes, and the momentary effervescence of these fiery old men passes away. The reader should judge if the great heroes of this great Iranian epic behave like the Wise Men of the East or like a bunch of unruly school-boys.

**Firdawsi and Sadi Compared**

Now that we have become acquainted with Firdawsi as a humanist, let us see how he compares with Sadi in the same field. Both are realist, and not idealist, except that each of them deals with Reality in his own personal and particular way. (A discussion of these personal and particular ways of theirs will follow later on.) For example, to be chivalrous and nothing but chivalrous to an enemy is the ideal. But to check chivalry from becoming a hazard to self-preservation is practical prudence. Both Sadi and Firdawsi subscribe to this latter view. The Shaykh writes in his *Gulistan*:

\[ \text{بیر چنین رهبت نمی‌گردد و از این کار کمک نمی‌کند.} \]

(Do not pity the weakness of a foe because when he gains strength he will not spare thee)

And in *Shāhāname* we find Suhrab meeting his untimely death just because he had disregarded this important principle.

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1. *Kulliyat-i-Sa‘di*, p.199
The positive converse of this negative rule is that even a fool is fair to circumvent a deadly enemy. Sadi says in Bustan:

(Its the hand it is not meet to bite. Deal with the victors by guile and self-abasement! Rustam by skilful management came to bondage. And Isfandiyar escaped not his noose. The foeman can be skinned as occasion serves; Conciliate him, them, as though with a friend.)

In Firdawsi the encounter of Rustam and Isfandiyar carries this same burden. Realizing himself to be no match for the redoubtable Kayanian prince, the astute Jahan-Pahlawan plays foul. And in choosing his particular brand of foul he despises not even، the most mortal sin of the Iranian mythology. (Mark now Isfandiyar mentions it thrice in his accusation of Rustam:

1. Kulliyat-i-Sadi, p.199
2. Shāhnāme, v.III,p.359
3. Ibid, v.III p.305
It was said earlier that both Sadi and Firdawsi subscribed to a common humanist ideal but that their modes of expression were different. Since Sadi is not only a student of human nature but a thinker as well, we find in him both abstract principles and concrete illustrations from life. But in Firdawsi's mental set-up the active and the practical dominate the meditative and the conceptual. So there is little of theory and abstraction in him; there is only application and realization, which means that in Sadi the exposition of his abstract views is direct while in Firdawsi it is indirect. Sadi propounds his humanist principles as principles with plainness and cogency, while in Firdawsi they are not expressed as principles at all but can only be inferred indirectly from the way in which he tells his story and the manner in which he makes his characters to act and to re-act. We may call the one a theoretical and the other a practical humanist. The following comparative extracts from the two will help to clarify as well as to illustrate the point.

I. The Theme: A good king should cherish and reward soldiers.

Its expression as principle by Sadi:

ءلاوري دري کنور نور جای پر مشترک ازور نور
The Realization of this Conception in Firdawsī

(when a courageous man one time shows hardihood,
His rank should be advanced;
A second time his heart he'll set on perishing,
And have to dread to fight with God!)

The utilization of this Conception in Firdawsī

(The Conception itself being left out to be inferred by the reader).

Kay-Kusraw ascends the throne:

1. Kulliyat-i-Sadi, p.264
2. Shahname, v.II, pp.79-81
1. Killiyet-i-Sadi, p. 254
And in this manner, Kay-Khusraw bestows prize after prize on his generals each of whom voluntarily and with alacrity offers to undertake some dangerous task proposed by the king. The point to note here is that the prizes are given before the performance of the assignment. It is doubtful if Sadi's precept of

كُونَ دُمَى مَرُوانَة جَنَّةٌ يَدُوَّرُونَ فِرْقُوُنَ مَوتَ كَوْسَ (Now is the time to kiss your warriors' hands - Not when the enemy's begun to beat his drums!)

could find a handsomer application. And mark the grace with which Firdawsi sublimes the whole scene. A cynic may regard the matter as sordid business based on simple self-interest; a king seeking the help of the brave generals to fight his enemies and a soldierly nobility desiring to add to its worldly fortunes. But, in fact, it is not so even in Sadi's verse (كُونَ دُمَى مَرُوانَة جَنَّةٌ يَدُوَّرُونَ فِرْقُوُنَ مَوتَ كَوْسَ); there is a lot of difference between self-interest and Enlightened self-interest. And what to say of Firdawsi? Beneficent generosity and chivalrous sacrifice are competing with each other in an out-bidding match. There is no "Self" here; and if there is any, it is that which carries the potent name of

1. Kulliyat-i-Sadi, p.264
Self-Regarding Sentiment: the spur of all that is good and noble and sublime in man. We should be in great error if we called it like the cynic a "sordid business," we would still be amiss if we confused it with Sadi's simple humanism. The rather it is the Manly Humanism of a manful and stalwart genius.

It may be useful to devote a few words more to what has been called here, for want of better terms, the Simple Humanism of Sadi on the one hand and the Manly Humanism of Firdawsi on the other. Simple Humanism may be said to operate when a man behaves like a man, i.e. naturally, and realizes that it is better for him to do so, and knows that he is doing so. Thus there is an adducing of reason and a consciousness of conformity. But Manly Humanism neither reasons nor acts; it simply acts as nature prompts it to do. Since it is not attributable to any apparent motive it is purer, and since it is not self-conscious it is more spontaneous, than Simple Humanism. Let us again turn to Sadi and Firdawsi for illustrations:

1. The theme is Penalty - The evil-doer deserves, not mercy, but punishment condign to his evil.

Says Sadi:  

(To do good to wicked persons is like doing evil to good men.)

1. Kulliyat, p.32
And again:

And yet again:

Here is the perfect Didactic Doublots: the Precept and its justification: be unforgiving to, or destroy, the evil-doer, for its benefits are so and so and so. It is all human nature, and so it is all humanism. But so far it is only that which we have called Simple or Elementary Humanism.

And now for its other variety, viz. Menly Humanism, let us turn to Firdawsi, the subject being بازرس still.

The love-and-hate complex of his step-mother, Sudaba, banishes Siyaush to Turan where he ultimately gets killed by the order of Afrasiyab. The murdered prince's god-father,

1. Kulliyat, p. 199
2. ibid., p.
Rustam, kills Nudaba in revenge. Now let us hear Firdawsi speaking.

1. 

1. Šahānšāh, v. 11, pp. 10-12
مصاحبه سیر دربارهی نمره‌های افزایشی در سیاست‌های ایرانی، کمک و در تشویقی هیچ کمکی از سوی آزادی‌طلبان نزدیک به کمیته‌های صنافسی را نبود.

مسئولیت‌های قانونی و حقوقی در بخش‌های مختلفی از مسائل برجسته‌تری را باید به کمک‌های مالی و اقتصادی آزادی‌طلبان بیشتری پرداخت.

مطالعه این موضوع در خصوصیات مختلفی که بر این موضوع تأثیرگذاری کرده، مصاحبه سیر دربارهی نمره‌های افزایشی در سیاست‌های ایرانی، کمک و در تشویقی هیچ کمکی از سوی آزادی‌طلبان نزدیک به کمیته‌های صنافسی را نبود.

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This is neither penalty nor punishment, but raging retribution and dire doom. Firdawsi lets loose a ferocious fury to burn down the criminal. Let others seek motives and justification in the ashes.

2. The Theme - and as no one can outdo Saddi in felicitous brevity, so let us quote him verbatim.

And why? Because

(Increase the standing of your intimates,
For perfidy will never come from one you've cherished)

And in the same strain:

Whenever a servant of yours grows old,
Forget not the claim of his years to support;

These again are the twins raisonces of the didactician: the maxim and its rationale.

Now let us turn to Firdawsi. The Iranian army, under the leadership of Rustam, returns from a highly successful campaign against the Chinese Khaqan and the Turanian Afrasiyab.

1. Kulliyat, p.230
بنیادکننده و از جمله کتابچه‌ای به نام «درباره صراحی دیه»، جمال سراج در آن اشاره دارد.

در این کتابچه، نگارش‌هایی از زبان درفتی به مناسبت برگزاری شده در مکه، به دست هنرمند به نام حسن رستمی به چاپ رسید.

معروف به بهنام نژاد، نویسنده و نویسنده سریال برخی از آثار از جمله کتاب «درباره صراحی دیه»، جمال سراج در آن اشاره دارد.

در این کتابچه، نگارش‌هایی از زبان درفتی به مناسبت برگزاری شده در مکه، به دست هنرمند به نام حسن رستمی به چاپ رسید.
It is not like a king receiving his generals in audience, but like a family re-union. The most aged star of this gal axy is Godarz, and so this old one's craving for food is the greatest. He cuts short the royal queries and requests for refreshment. The amused indulgence shown by the Shah to the Doyen of his Imperial court and the laughing rejoinders are perhaps the sweetest part of this sweet scene which constitutes one of the manifestations of Firdawsi's humanism.

Examples like this may be multiplied from Shahnama, but the difficulty lies in their extent. They would mostly be descriptive scenes and, therefore, of necessity, lengthy and unsuitable to be re-produced in a brief discussion like the present one. Indeed, the best proof that Shahnama is one of the best studies in humanism is the Shahnama itself, as Firdawsi says:


Notwithstanding all that has been affirmed earlier in this essay, Firdawsi also sometimes indulges in theoretical doctrinizing, and once he does so with such earnestness and poignancy that the great Shaykh incorporates it verbatim in his Bustan:


("How well said Firdawsi (be of pure birth, On whose pure dust be mercy!)
"Afflict not the ant who drags grain along For life he has, and sweet life is pleasant)."

1. Kulliyat, p.278
The lines deserve to be made the motto of the U.S.‘s Union for Wildlife Preservation. But, on the whole, this mode of diction was not natural to the great epic writer. It needed a mastery of epigram which was denied to the garrulous old dihqan. The salons of Daru‘e-Salam and the gay boulevards of Shiraz were better suited to cultivate that sophisticated wit than the rugged uplands of Tus. A glance at the Counsels of Ardashir I to his son, Shapur, and comparing them with Sadi’s similar utterances will prove the truth of this assertion.

Ardawal 2

1. كيا ناج دل دوست ل قهرم ورست
   كرم دانوین گی گان کار چین

2. بید دوست دنی کر دیIRT
   وردن، در در نمایش

3. جشنی نادر دوست کر
   جهان دوست بیگانه گیر

Sadi

1. مراوعت دوستان لک از درویشان
2. کرم دوست ل کرم کار چین
3. جشنی دوست ل کرم گیر

1. Kulliyat, p. 278
2. Shāhnāma
The race is drawing to a close; the end of the course, as well as of this essay, is in sight. It has been an exciting heat and a close finish. Of course, the Shaykh is the winner, but does not Mirdawal deserve a consolation prize?
SADI AS A LYRICIST

(a) Definition of Lyricism
(b) Sadi as a Lyricist
(c) Sadi and Khusraw compared as Lyricists
(d) Sadi and Hafis compared as Lyricists
Before entering into the discussion of Sadi as a lyricist, it will be useful to have a close look at lyricism and to endeavour to know what it exactly means. The existing matter on the subject seems to be meagre and needs elaboration and supplementation. The clearest and the most appropriate definitions on which the present writer could lay hand are given below. A fuller discussion along their guiding lines will follow later:

I. Chamber’s Encyclopaedia:

"Lyric: The Greeks divided poetry into Epic, Aegy, Satire, Drama and Melle. The equivalent term 'lyric' came comparatively latter, when Greek lyric poetry was already dead............

"In practice, by 'lyric' modern usage means:

(1) short poems, often personal, generally in stanzas or pindaric meter; or (ii) all poetry
not narrative or dramatic, or (iii) more vaguely still, poems or passages in verse or even in prose, of a specially emotional tone..."

2. *Encyclopaedia Americana*, vol. I

"Lyric Poetry: The origins of lyric poetry are merged with those of narration, because of the primitive conditions under which the distinction between the two types did not exist --- that is, when there was no clearly felt difference between the relating of an incident and the expression of the emotions associated with it. With the development of art, there seems to have been a gradual differentiation of the originally united arts of poetry and music. The progress of poetry was, in general, marked by an increased emphasis on the individuality of the artist and on the personal or subjective elements in lyric poetry, further by the diminished importance of its association with music, and a corresponding growth of the reflective or intellectual element, so that modern lyric poetry is but slightly associated with actual song, though it is still centered on the expression of the subjective emotion."

3. The Macmillan's Everyman's Encyclopaedia:

"Lyric Poetry: may perhaps be best described as that class of poetry which expresses emotion directly, and in this sense includes the ode, the sonnet, the elegy, the hymn, and the song. 'In lyric poetry the poet gives vent to his personal emotions or experiences — his joys, sorrows, cares, complaints, aspirations, despair—or reproduces in words the impressions which nature or history has made upon him' (S.R. Driver, Introduction to the History of the old Testament -- 1891)"

4. Hudson, William Henry: An Introduction to the study of Literature:

"..... Poetry may be divided into two classes: There is the poetry in which the poet goes deep down into himself and finds his inspiration and his subjects in his own experiences, thoughts and feelings. There is the poetry in which the poet goes out of himself, singles with the actions and passions of the world without. The former class we may call personal or subjective poetry, or the poetry of self-delineation and self-expression. The latter we may call impersonal.

2. An Introduction to the study of Literature, by Hudson, William Henry.
or objective poetry...... To the subjective poetry, the name lyrical is often also applied. Lyric poetry in the original meaning of the term, was poetry composed to be sung to the accompaniment of "lyre" or 'harp'. But the use of the term lyrical is mostly applied to that kind of poetry in which the poet is principally occupied with himself."

"In such simpler forms, this personal poetry is almost unlimited in range and variety, for it may touch nearly all aspects of experience, from those which are most narrowly individual to those which involve the broadest interests of our common humanity. Thus we have the lyric which skims the lighter things of life, as in the so-called 'verse de société', the lyric of love in all its phases, and with all its attendant hopes and longings, joys and sorrows, the lyric of patriotic, the lyric of religious emotion and countless other kinds where personal emotion prevails".

5. Everyday's Encyclopaedia

"Lyric: Lyre, a musical instrument with strings. Lyrical poetry among the ancients was so called..."
because it was sung or recited with the accompa-
paniment of music. Lyric poetry may perhaps be
best described as that class of poetry which
expresses emotion directly and in this sense,
includes the ode, the sonnet, the elegy, the
psalm the hymn and the song. 'In lyric poetry
the poet gives vent to his personal emotions
or experiences — his joy, sorrows, cares,
complaints, aspirations, despair — or repro-
duces in words the impression which nature
or history has made upon him' (S.R. Driver,
Introduction to the Literature of the Old
Testament, 1891).

I

6. Professor A.C. Bradley: Lectures on Poetry. Sec.ed., 1911,
sixth lecture: The Long Poem in Wordsworth's Age, en
passant.

In discussing lyrical poetry Prof. Bradley says,
"The centre of interest is 'inward'. It is an interest
in emotion, thought, will, rather than in seems, events,
actions, which express and react on emotions, thoughts,
will"."(p183).

I. Lectures on Poetry, by A.C. Bradley, Second Edition, 1911,
sixth lecture: 'The Long Poem in Wordsworth's Age,
en passant'.
About the length of a lyric, Bradley sees no reason why a long poem like Spenser's ADONIAS which contains fifty-five stanzas, should not be called a lyric. But he does not insist on this point, and accepts the generally held view in these words: "It will however be agreed that in general a lyrical poem may be called start compared with a narrative or drama." (p. 189) From all this, three central ideas emerge:

1. A lyrical poem should have WORD MUSIC for it was musical song which gave birth to it.
2. It should, preferably, be a start piece.
3. Lastly, and most importantly, it should deal with personal emotions. Even if a poet deals with ideas and events, his poem should be personally and emotionally orientated, that is, his theme of narration should be, not ideas and events, but the way in which they affect his personal emotions.

Keeping an eye on the Persian lyric in general, and on Sadi's lyrical poems in particular, the above three points may be elaborated thus:

I. Language -- It has been pointed out above that the language of a lyric should be musical. But in this context it is better to substitute 'song-like' for musical. The word 'musical' denotes simply the sweetness of words. So long as the language is fluent, its words singly not
harsh, and collectively cadent, it may be called musical. 

As, for instance, this verse of Hafiz:

But this is not the language of a song. A song— and therefore a lyric should have all this— and something more. It should have a felicity of expression which makes it fresh. Fresh, not furbished—that is the point. A song, if it is a true song, is the spontaneous symphony of the soul. It is not the product of meditation and pondering. It is the natural over-flow of a full heart and as the natural outflow of water does not follow pre-cut channels, so, the outpourings of the heart do not necessarily conform to the laws of wordy elegance as laid down in rhetorics. The language of a lyric has all the attractions and failings of free speech. It is spontaneous, direct, lively, simple, unpolished, with rough edges and unrounded corners; yet, throbbing with the emotion of the moment, pulsating with the beats of a tremulous heart. In short, the idiom of the lyric is not the idiom of the written word, but the idiom of intimate speech, the idiom of the spoken word. And for lyric, the field of this spoken word is further restricted to the type which is used—no, not 'used' with its undertone of a deliberate act of will; but simply 'uttered' involuntarily— in the

I. Diwan-i-Hafiz, p.108
song of the soul, i.e. the un-prompted outpourings of a full heart. The better to understand the nature of this lyrical language, one should refer to Ghalib’s famous verse:

And the better to appreciate the sweetness of this divine symphony, one should either attend to the Lament of the Lute in Rumi:

or listen to the songs of our Shirazian Nightingale.

To select one verse from this ghazal and another from that may seem treacherous. Indeed, selection is entirely unnecessary. Almost all the verses in all the hundreds of ghazals of the Shaykh bear ample testimony to what has been written above. However, just for the sake of "good luck and a blessing" one ghazal is here reproduced in its entirety .... (p.5174 8).

I. Dīwān-i-Ghalīb p.153
2. Mathnawī-i-ma‘navī, p.3
3. Kulliyāt, p.638
2. Extent - We should now consider the next requisite of a lyric, which is its brevity. It is not an arbitrary restriction. Nor does it derive solely from the usage of the lyrical poets of the past. Its basis is more rational. A lyric partakes of the quality of a song. And a song - to impress and to affect like a song - should of necessity be short. Otherwise - i.e. if it drags and drowls it will be a drone, and not a song. Probably, surfeit and emotional fatigue provide the bar here. We may have too much of a good thing, and our emotionally - strung nerves may get tired by prolonged stimulation.

This being the case, the length of a ghazal, with the number of its couplets usually stopping around the dozen mark, seems to be the most appropriate for a lyric.

3. Subject Matter -- the third and the most important point regarding the lyric is its subject-matter. It was briefly stated earlier that a lyric should be personally thing, orientated. That is, it should tell us, not of things and events but how these things and events have affected
its composer. Nor should it deal with the abstruse
or the abstract, but should be a plain narrative of the
poet's emotional experience. It should not be lost in
mystic rhapsodies, it should avoid doctrinaire dogma.
Its subject - matter should be the Elemental Passions, its
language should echo the Music of the sph'cs. The check
here is how to raise such simplicity from the level of
the common place to the summit of the sublime. And it is
just here that true poetic genius supplies the necessary
leverage. Necessary leverage, and to spare —- necessary,
that is for uplifting a love - tale to a lyric, to spare,
that is for sublimating a Human Love - Tale to the summit
of Divine Comedy.

But Mark ! To substitute is not to de-humanize.
There is no sublimity above humanity - full filled this
quintessence of Dust, when it qualifies to be called the
son of Adam, qualifies also to be called the son of God.
He cherishes and he adores, but his adornment — if pure
and true, is a mirror of the Love and Compassion of God.
And what if the centre of his love is the Divine Being
Himself ? Does he then need to change his earthly lyric
to the Aspyrial Hymn? No — a thousand times No ! The ditty
of Rumi's shepherd is sweeter than the songs of the
angels in the celestial vault; the rapturous warble of the
skylark is heavenlier than the pantomimic Adoration of the
Magi. And hence the use of human attributes — like \textsl{Ji}a
and ^J, and جسم and عين by the sufí poets of Persia for their Divine beloved. They coax Him from this heavenly throne to get enshrined in the Human Heart. The interpretation of these attributes is neither mystic nor mysterious. They stand for what they are -- a mole for a mole, and a curly look for a curly look. If thus interpreted, much of the heart - pouring of poets like Iraqi and Sadi is lyrical. On the other hand, if it is constrained to mean what it does not mean but what some sufiistic pedants wish it to mean, it becomes a pack of riddles and a lifeless symbolism. Briefly and simply, to sing of Divine love is well within the reach of a lyric - the only requisite being a bold and robust act of anthropomorphic personification.

The gist of the foregoing is this: that for a lyrical poem singing of Divine Love, personification is as obligatory as abstraction and sublimation are taboo for a lyric which deals with human love. The latter-day poets of Persian are the worst offenders in this respect. They profess to write lyrics, but they only succeed in bringing out treatises on gnosticism and platonic love. They forget their love for God in their engrossment with the Divine Essence and Attributes. Even while dealing with human love, they detach and they abstract till the chubby cupid himself becomes etherealised and his flashing darts look like meteoric apparitions!
One last point should be noted in the discussion of a lyric's subject-matter. We have seen that it is a song, and we have also seen that generally it is about personal love. We also know that the course of love never runs smooth. There are ups and downs at its every pace. The experience is mortifying, no doubt. But is the lover to give vent to his agony in a wail of complaint? Not if he desires to sing a lyric. Bitterness is the very negation of the lyrical spirit—what is contended here does not falsify the truth of Shelley's eternal line:

"Our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest though."

There is a subtle but fundamental difference between the two positions: Shelley is talking about the 'theme of our songs' and what is under discussion here is the 'mode' of its expression. No doubt, the sadder thoughts are more delectable to a refined taste. But if they are to be served as lyric, they should have a delectable dressing like the song of a nightingale which sweetens and embitters at the same time. It is only then, that they deserve the great Shakespearean comment:

"If music be the food of love, play on."

Here is a small snatch from Sa'adi which will illustrate the point and will also serve as a befitting finale to this chapter, epitomising as it does almost all the attributes

I. The Twelfth Night; Act, I, scene, I, lines: 1-13
of a good lyric as discussed above:

I. Kulliyat, p 557
SADI AS A LYRICIST
CHAPTER - V

SADI AS A LYRICIST

The foregoing chapter has introduced us to Lyricism in general and with some of its peculiarly Persian aspects. Following its guidelines if we search for the best Persian Lyricist, we shall be amused that he is none other than the very same literary paragon in whom had ended our earlier quest for the best humanist writer of Persian language. Our amazement is not simply based on this coincidence, its roots are deeper. We see an ideal realized, a dream fulfilled. We have described lyricism as it ought to be, and we full well know that things as they 'are' seldom correspond to what they ought to be. But here, we see the eternal paradox of 'is' and 'ought' reconciled for once, "the actualized form supplying a mirror for the idealized concept." It is the Divān of Sādī in which lyricism attains its supreme manifestation; and this manifestation is all the more staggering because of the metamorphosis which brings it about: we see our matter-of-fact, sophisticated, boldly unconventional and cunningly wise humanist turned into a tender-hearted, soft-spoken, gentle, sensitive and
compassionate 'lover'-- and we love him the more for this transformation. The humanistic and philosophical maxims of Gulistan are seen replaced by the wistful and sweet complaints of a love-lorn poet. There is no longer any room for the Machiavellian precept:

SER MIRHAB NEYSHABOUR

Instead, we get this cry of mercy from a bruised heart:

SER ESHRAQ NEYSHABOUR

But before discussing Sadi's lyrics, let us first see how the spiritual, social, and economic conditions of that time conditioned literary and poetical productions of Iran.

As is well known, Iran has always been the centre of revolutions. The continual uprooting and devastation at the hands of the invading foes as well as local tyrants, had become the abiding lot of that miserable people. The insecurity of life and property and their own helplessness against it had generated a sense of fatality and pessimism in the entire nation. Specially during the time of Sadi, this frustration and morbidity was at its peak. The Mongols had killed such a large portion of the population and had destroyed so much that was of economic and cultural worth that the catastrophe thus caused could not but leave lasting
traces behind it. For the people that survived the fatal blow and remained in the smouldering ruins, literature and poetry could hold little attraction. Scholars and literary men fled from the afflicted areas to save their lives. The centre of art and culture shifted from the north-eastern provinces to the South West and elsewhere. (Although later on, Iran recovered from this blow to quite a considerable degree, literature and art, except histrionography, never quite reached the pitch it had attained earlier, inspite of a few outstanding personalities and of a gradually increasing range of subjects).

It was not only a change of scene, but also a change in the literary and poetical trends: Till the Mongol Invasion, the two dominant features of the Persian poetry were panegyry and mysticism. Those were days of pure autocracy and the rulers were completely indifferent to the sufferings of the people; with the result that the general public was totally dissatisfied with life. This dissatisfaction made them denounce and condemn this hellish world and its despotic firebrands, and to take refuge in that other world — the Heavenly heaven, peaceful under the aegis of its Kindly King. The universal upsurge of Mysticism was the direct result of this reaction (it brought about the great mystical treatises and Mathnavis of 'Attar, Sanā'ī, and their likes). Besides

I. This accounts for the appearance of Rūmī in Qūniya, of Sādi in Shirāz and of Khusrāw in India.
this general revulsion to everything that was worldly and mundane and its resultant mysticism, the other incentive for poetry was مان. Mysticism served only as a sort of mental refuge, but it could not provide them with their daily bread. So, when faced with the most compelling problem of day-to-day life that of earning a livelihood, they were forced to step down from their heavenly abode and to do something which was practically profitable to them. As a result, we find them writing elaborate panegyrics of those same tyrants whom they despised and abhorred. (Yes, the great age of the Persian Qasida has origin as lowly as that) on the one hand, the poet tries to be free from all the worldly shackles, and to get merged into the One and Only Reality, and on the other, he finds it apt and proper to put under the feet of some vain and ostentatious patron!

Thus, the two dominant topics of the Persian poetry until the time of Sadi were mysticism and مان and the two forms of poetry that flourished most during this time were the Mathnawi and the Qasida (The topics of these Mathnavis and Qasidas were almost paradoxical to each other: one dealt with سک و رفاهیت, while the other displayed the more sordid and mercenary side of human nature, that of earning livelihood by cheap flattery.

The great upheaval caused by the Mongol Invasion resulted in a complete transformation of the Iranian literary scene: Unrest and oppression gripped the entire nation.
People in their desperate attempt to find peace and security, got more and more engrossed with religion and Tasawwuf. Mystic poems reached a new cli-max, Sufi doctrines appeared in verse-forms and in general Mysticism attained its zenith in the Mongol times, (the crowning glory of these mystical productions was of course, the great Mathnawi of that great mystic - Maulana Rumi).

While mysticism prospered and bloomed, its counterpart, the Qasida, did not enjoy such fate. The barbaric Mongols, with one crushing blow, destroyed the age-old glamour and splendour of the Iranian throne. With the downfall of the Persian kings, the Qasida also lost its position. The Mongols were crude people having no taste for Persian poetry, art and literature, so, they did not encourage the Persian poets, neither did they have that splendour which could inspire the poets to compose elaborate panegyrics for them. So gradually Qasida which had reigned supreme in the times of the Seljuqs, was forced to step back in the background, and mystical Mathnawi took its place.

But mark! the Mongol Period is not as barren and devoid of colour as it appears to be. In fact, it can boast of producing the most curious, most captivating and the most colourful personality of the entire Persian literature --

I. The Seljuq period had produced such magnificent Qasida-writers as Anwari and Mussi.
the Sa'di of Shiraz! In that sombre atmosphere of theosophy and mysticism, Sa'di's delightful personality shines like the golden rays of the morning Sun, illuminating the whole canvas of Persian literature, and among diactic and mystical poems of those days, his soft and melodious Ghasals are as refreshing and soothing as a breath of fresh air. As said earlier, Qasida and Mathnawi were the two chief figures of the Persian literature till the time of Sa'di, and in this neck to neck race of Qasida and Mathnawi, Ghasal was forced to lag behind. This beautiful form of the Persian poetry was almost completely neglected by the poets of those times. We see that after Rudagi not a single poet can be called a lyricist in the true sense of the term. Poets like Anwari and Khaqani did compose Ghasals, but their Ghasals lacked simplicity and sincerity, the two most important qualities of a Ghasal.

It was that superb genius of Shiraz, that master creator of the Rose Garden, who put a new soul in the body of the decaying Ghasal. He was the first man who realised that this particular form of poetry, if cultivated properly, can outshine all the others. Let us now briefly revive what we have described fully in the preceding chapter, i.e., what lyricism is. It will help us in analysing the Shaykh's lyrics because by applying it to Sa'di's Ghasals, we will be able to judge how far can he be called the best
lyricist of the Persian language.

After carefully analysing the different definitions of lyricism (as given in the preceding chapter) the following facts may be established:

I. The most important thing about the lyric is that it must be personally oriented, and these feelings, the their turn, should preferably be based on love; a lyric should have no gnostic overtones, neither doctrinaire under-currents.

2. It must have a harmony of ideas, and its language should be soft and simple, almost conversational; its diction should be fluent, even musical and it should have a song-like quality.

3. The lyricist must appreciate beauty in every form; whether it is the rosy cheek of his beloved or the delicate and fragile beauty of a rose-petal, his lyric should capture the beauty of both and convey it to the reader through its verses.

4. A lyric should preferably be short.

5. It's tone should be light and cheerful.

The above five may be said to be the chief characteristics of a lyric. Let us now have a close look at the Persian poetry and see which of its various kinds can be said to the most lyrical and what topics the Persian lyric covers.

As said earlier, lyric poetry is that in which the poet is principally occupied with himself — with his own
ideas, emotions and reactions towards things. These things which impress the poet and make him express his personal emotion may be either objects, or facts, or happenings, or the relationship in which the poet stands to another person. It may be beauty, (in every shape and form), it may be a certain person, or even some abstract idea that can instigate the poet's emotions and feelings. These personal emotions and feelings of when expressed in poetry in a 'lyrical' way (i.e. in simple language and soft tones) that poetry shall be called a lyric. In this sense, lyrical poetry can be almost unlimited in its range and variety, for it may touch nearly all aspects of experience, from those which are most narrowly individual to those which involve the broadest interest of our common humanity. Thus, we may have the bacchanalian lyric, the lyric which probes into the mysteries of this universe and beyond, the lyric with philosophical and gnostic undercurrents, the lyric of religious emotion the lyric of patriotism, the lyric of love; and countless other kinds which is unnecessary to tabulate. 

(And in this entire emotional spectrum, it is often the emotion of love, with all its phases and with all its attendant hopes and longings, joys and sorrows that previous the Persian lyric poetry -- specially the Ghamal). The other
emotional expressions we may find in the western lyrical poetry, but it is very seldom that the Persian poet deals with emotions other than love. These rare occasions are when the poet offers his adorations at the feet of Mother Nature, or when he mourns for his dear departed (i.e. an elegy), or when he ponders over some harsh facts of life, like the futility of human existence and instability of this temporal world. These sort of poetical composition too, if they are appealing and soft, may be called 'lyrical'.

The classical Persian poetry has been chiefly divided into the following ten kinds:

Qasida, Mathnawi, Ruba'i, Git'a, Mustazad,
Musammat, Fard, Tarji', Tarkib, and Ghazal.

Lyric is a kind of western poetry and we cannot find its substitute in the above-named ten kinds of Persian poetry. The reason for this is that the western poetry has been divided into two kinds — one division is according to its form; and the other according to its thought-content or subject-matter. Unfortunately, there is no such distinct division of the classical Persian poetry. It has been divided according to its form only and this distinction has nothing to do with the subject-matter. Thus, there is no exact substitute in Persian poetry for the lyric because it pertains to the topic of a poetical composition. But as lyric is not concerned with the form but with the thought-content of poetry, each of the above
I

ten kinds of Persian poetry may, sometime or other, deal with lyrical topics (personal emotion) and at that time, can be said to be a 'lyric'. Usually it is the Ghazal that comes closest to the lyric because in most of the Ghazals, the poet describe his feelings about love and beauty, but other kinds of poetry also sometimes deal with the personal emotions of the poet. For example take the Mathnawi of Majnun Layla which has Khusraw's famous elegy for his mother and brother:

\[ \text{In fact, if a poet is basically inclined towards lyricism then all his poetical compositions will be lyrical in essence, be it a Mathnawin a Rubai or Qit'a.} \]

Now, who could be more lyrical by temperament than the romantic Shaykh of Shiraz; and this is the reason that almost every kind of poetry that he composed, is permeated with lyricism through and through. And before entering into a discussion of the Shaykh's Ghazals -- the best manifestation of his lyricism -- it is very necessary to first have a cursory look at his other poetical compositions and see how beautifully and lyrically he has described different emotions:

I. Except the Fard \( \rightarrow \), for reasons stated here and after.

2. Majnun-Layla
Undoubtedly it is a lyric! It is not merely an objective depiction of the beauties of \( \text{بَلْغُ، بِعَفَانَى} \) but it is an expression -- an expression that is throbbing with emotion -- of how those beauties have affected the sensitive heart of the poet. On the contrary, read the following couplets from the famous Qasīda of Qā'ami; they are matchless in their beauty and elegance and are undoubtedly, like a miniature painting of the spring itself, but they do not express what emotion that lovely spring has aroused in the poet's heart. The picture is there -- fascinating in its beauty -- but there is no one to appreciate its beauty!

Or take the following Qasida by 'Urfl,

Or another by Iqbal-1-Lahawri:

Both of these examples, though successfully depict the vernal beauties of Kashmir, yet they do not show any emotion on the part of the poet, hence they cannot be called lyrical.

In yet another Qasida, Sa'di meditates over some harsh facts of life, look how sad and soft his tone is, giving these couplets a lyrical quality:

I. Divan-i-Qaani ed. Tehran, 1322 A.H.
2. Divan-i-'Urfl, p. 35-37
3. Kulliyat Iqbal, p. 38
4. Kulliyat p. 446
Now read the following verse of Sāib; the idea is the same but the mode of expression, though the poet uses first person singular (م) to make it all the more subjective, is far from being lyrical:

2. Mathnawi (شزود) - the poet expresses his compassion for fatherless children:

I. Diwan-i-Sāib, p. 186
2. Kulliyāt, p. 270
What lyric can be more lyrical than these couplets from the Shaykh's Mustan!

3. Ruhma'ī: the emotion expressed here is of love:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{بیل خداورد فرض آنار نسبت}
\end{align*}\]

4. Qit'a: Here the poet laments over the dispersion of friends through death:

\[\begin{align*}
\text{فرخندت در پناه نباتی \quad با موضوع لی زارنسارد}
\end{align*}\]

5. Mustasad: The exampled cited in the other poetical types will suffice for this also, for a Mustasad the poet only adds two feet of the same metre after each hemistich of a verse and so Mustasad is usually regarded as the same type of poem to which this addition is applied. It is because of this that in the Diwans of Persian poets, Mustasads are not given separately but under the other nine heads mentioned above (Qasida, Mathnawi etc.).

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1. Kulliyat, p. 690
2. Ibid, p. 678
6. **Musaamat**, 

The Shaykh composed at least one *Musaamat* (with the specific shape of ۱١١). Unfortunately, due, perhaps, to the oversight of the old compiler of the *Kulliyat*, it has not been given separately under its proper head, but has been included in the ghazals of the ۵٤٠. It is also a very good specimen of the Shaykh's lyric. We cite two strophes below:

\[
\text{دل برزش بیت کبابی} \\
\text{بای یکی زن در نجای بیت} \\
\text{شیرز جوکی خدود تاب} \\
\text{در اثر کتیپ فراشب}
\]

7. **Fard** 

Fard cannot be included in the lyrical poetry because lyric is defined as a kind of song and song is usually a full poem, not a single verse (i.e. *Fard*). So Fard cannot be said to be a lyric.

8. **Tarji** 

The Shaykh's famous *Tarji* Band with the refrain:

\[
\text{بسمه، صمیمان یی تریتر} \\
\text{میادا، چا راهی ریتر}
\]

is one of the best examples of a lyric ever sung in Persian, or, indeed, in any other language of the world. It is a long poem and the reader is referred for it to the Shaykh's *Biwan*.

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1. *Kulliyat* pp. 548-550
2. Ibid, pp. 518-29
9. 

Tarkib : The Shaykh has no Tarkib in his Kulliyat but since till his time Tarji' usually stood for Tarkib also, perhaps it was because of this that he did not think it necessary to write one after his famous referred above.

10. Ghasals: After dealing with the above-mentioned nine kinds of poetry and seeing how beautifully the Shaykh has infused lyricism into each and every kind, let us now discuss — and discuss at length — the tenth and the most lyrical kind of these all, the Ghasal. In popular belief, and in fact, Ghasal is the nearest synonym to the lyric; and it is in Ghasal that the Shaykh’s lyricism manifests itself most superbly, making him the best lyricist of the Persian language.

I

Let us first see what Ghasal is: Ghasal or lyric is a kind of subjective poetry and it means an expression of personal emotion, preferably the emotion of love, (and this love, in its turn, be platonic, ). This sense is inherent in the etymology of the term also; ( is an Arabic word and it means and )

Ghasal is of Arabic origin and when it came to Iran, the

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1. From now onwards, we will refer to Ghasal as lyric as well because, in essence, it is almost exactly like the western lyric.
2. Misbahul-lumāt, p. 598
the Persian poets were not very sure about its theme and form and usually it served as ندب نتب of a Qasida Rashid-i-watwat has defined Ghazal thus:

Gradedy Persian lyric acquired a definite and independent form and a particular style, but love, human love, remained its chief topic.

Even today the lyric is associated with love. Saynul-
Abidin Motamin, a modern critic of Iran says:

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1. Hadâ'iqe-Sehr p.85
2. Al-No'Jama, p. 306
Thus, Ghazal, or lyric, is chiefly an expression of love (that too of human love), though sometimes the poet describes in it his other emotions and observations too (specially the latter-day poets, widened its scope to embrace such objective and philosophical themes as gnosticism and dialectic etc.) yet as we have seen, in its original meaning Ghazal signifies love-poetry. And it is in this very sense that it comes closest to the connotation of lyric sm (because lyric is defined as a song of 'love').

Now that we know what a Ghazal (lyric) is and what are its topical and lingual peculiarities, we can safely assert that the Shaykh's Ghazals most ideally conform to the above-given definitions. The total number of the Shaykh's Ghazals exceeds seven hundred (Kulliyat-i-Se'di, ed. by 'Abbas Iqbal) and in all nearly of these seven hundred Ghazals, we find such a fascinating, and beautiful treatment given to 'Love' that it puts us in mind of the Shakespearean sonnets or Wordsworth's Lucy poems. In the present writer's humble opinion -- though she may be subject to correction -- no other poet, be he a product of the west or the East, can

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I. Shai'Fuldab-1-'ars, p. 218
boast of composing such a large number of lyrics.

Let us now have a close look at the Shaykh’s lyrics and try to analyse why his Ghazals are called the best lyrics of the Persian language. This discussion will fall into two parts; first we will discuss the lingual peculiarities of Sadi’s Ghazals and then its subject-matter.

I. Language:

Contrary to other forms of poetry where ideas are more important (e.g. Qasida) in lyrical poetry it is the language and mode of expression that counts the most. It will not be presumptuous to say that the entire effect, the whole charm of a lyric chiefly originates from its language and diction. As we have seen, there cannot be much variety in the topics of Ghazal because Ghazal, being a form of subjective poetry, cannot contain anything except personal emotion (preferably the emotion of love); and the lyricist is confined to describe only those things which affect him personally. Due to this reason, there has to be a sort of monotony in the topics of a lyric. How, how to break this monotony? – By the magical touch of simple language and fluent diction. Simple, soft, and melodious language and a flawlessly fluent diction can give a new freshness to old themes.
In this, particular field, our Shaykh stands unparalleled! His Chasals are matchless in their natural smoothness, fluency of language, sincerity of expression, unaffected simplicity and an almost child-like naivety. Let us now analyse, one by one, the chief qualities of the Shaykh's language and diction:

1. **Elocution** and **Simplicity**

According to the definition of lyricism—the language of a lyric should be spontaneous, direct, lively, unpolished and simple.... No other Persian lyricist can conform to this definition better than our Shaykh. His Chasal stands out among the Persian lyrics because of this very simplicity and eloquence of his style. Sadi's lyric is not tempestuous and overpowering like a gush of wind, it is soft and refreshing like the morning breeze. It's music does not rise in a resounding crescendo, instead, it is as caressing and soothing as the incessant, tiny and tingling drops of rain. It's beauty is not dazzling like the Sun, it is tranquil and softly-luminous like the moon-beams. And the chief components of this magical potion with which that superb magician of Shiraz can transform a withered rose into a fresh and fragrant blossom are -- simplicity and natural charm of diction. Jan Rypka says about this parti-

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1. An Introduction to the study of Literature, by Hudson, William Henry.
2. History of Iranian Literature, p. 253
cular quality of Sadi's lyrics:

"One of Sadi's special attraction is his partly natural, partly extremely subtle refinement; in any case the most brilliant Sahl-i-Muntani, 'imitatable facility', is in this case, quite matchless, though many and frequent attempts have been made to emulate it..."

Yes, this, fascinating simplicity, this magnificent 'Sahl-i-Muntani', can never be successfully emulated. In fact, it is something so illusive that one cannot even define it, what to say of emulating. Unfortunately even the phonetics cannot help us much, because it has still not become able to define, the most striking quality of the Shaykha lyrics) in positive terms. From Sakkaki's Miftahul 'Ulum to Tafsarani's Mutawwal, eloquence (تَسْعَد) has only been defined negatively. Whether it is Miftahul Miftah or Takhirul Miftah, Mutawwal or Miftahul-Ilum, each of these books has only negative definitions to offer. They do not say that a word or a sentence possessing such and such qualities can be called instead they say that if a word or a sentence does not have

1. History of Iranian Literature, p. 253
2. Miftahul Miftah by Qutbuddin Shirazi,
3. Talkhisul Miftah by Khaatseeb-i-Qaswini.
such and such things, one should call it . They define thus:

The entire definition is based on negation. They tell us what qualities mark the of a ; but they do not tell us what particular qualities are necessary for , in other words, what is ? This unfortunate shortcoming of our phonetics prevents us from defining the requisite lingual beauties of a literary composition and we have to rely on our own taste to guide us to discover the qualities which make us like that particular composition.

Some is the case with Sa'di's lyrics. When we go through his Ghazals, the intangible, undefinable, elusive beauty of his language instantly strikes us, and we try to understand why his Ghazals, specially his diction appeal to us so much. The task is quite difficult because even our phonetics will not help us much. However, the present writer will try to achieve the impossible, to grasp the intangible, and to capture the illusive charm of Sa'di's lyrics; the writer succeeds in this tremendous job or not, it is for the reader to decide.

First thing which strikes us is the natural smoothness, and pure simplicity of his diction. It is surprising how in that age of ornate poetry Sa'di could know the
after Anwari, Muzzaf and their likes, the masters of
elegant and decorative poetry, and even in the Shaykh's
time, people were trying to copy the style of those early
masters; (though most of their efforts ended up as meaningless
congregation of quaint ideas and quaint phrasology).
Sa'di, himself a simple and natural man, realises that
natural simplicity can be much more appealing than affected
elegance. So he, against the general poetic trend of his
days, prefer simplicity to ornamentation. The reader
must not think that the Shaykh's task is easier than that
of the ornate poetry composers. Not at all. In fact, he
faces a more challenging problem: If those poets have
to guard their compositions against bombast and affectation,
than the Shaykh has to be careful lest the simplicity of
his diction becomes 'slang'. Ali Dasthi says: regarding
this particular aspect of the Shaykh:

2. Qalamraw-i-Sa'adi, p. 337

I. Some of the latter day - poets (ساعده) like Mayli
ignored this subtle difference between the simplicity of
language and slang, so their poetry lacks the sobriety of
expression. This type of poetry became a category in
itself and was named
This balanced simplicity, of diction coupled with a certain serenity of expression creates an effect that can best be described by the word -- eloquence. This serenity of expression and eloquence are the two prevalent qualities of the Shaykh’s whole poetry, specially his lyrics. Whether he is describing the sweet - bitter occurrences of his love-life, bewailing his separation from his dear beloved praising the marvellous beauty of his lady-love, appreciating
the charms of Mother Nature -- his language is always simple, his expression always serene. Even while dealing with the more serious and scholastic topics, like gnosticism and , he never loses his simplicity, never utters a harsh word. Usually it is observed that if the poet is dealing with some complicated and intricate subject, his diction too becomes a bit complicated shedding its simplicity. But in this particular aspect, Sa’di surpasses all. He has such a command over the language, and his diction has such intrinsic and inherent simplicity, that even in meditative and expository narrative, it does not lose its fluency.

For example take gnosticism: the Shaykh even while sojourning in the abysmal realms of or pondering over the difference of , or narrating the intricacies of never loses his balance -- his diction remains fluent, smooth and simple. In fact, even his mystical couplets are so permeated with his natural simplicity, that at first glance, the reader cannot fathom the depth underlying the simple phraseology:

I. Kulliyat p. 539
1. Kulliyāt p. 534
2. Ibid., p. 545
3. Ibid., p. 593
4. Ibid., p. 584
5. Ibid., p. 595
Even when Sa'di describes different facts of life his tone is soft, his language simple:

Here are a few more examples from the Shaykh's lyrics:

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1. Kulliyat p. 537
2. Ibid. p. 549
3. Ibid. p. 599
A surprising thing about the Shaykh's Ghazals is that although most of the things it deals in are not new or original in themselves, yet they acquire a new freshness because of his simple and charming expression. Nearly always, he describes the day-to-day occurrences of man's love life -- its joys and sorrows, its hopes and disappointments, the lover's longing for his beloved, the beloved's indifference and cruelty towards her lover, the marvellous beauty of his darling -- these and other such topics mostly dominate Sa'di's Ghazals. The reader may well ask, 'but these are the topics of nearly all the Ghazals and every Ghazal-writer, more or less, abides by these very traditional topics, then why pin point only Sa'di's?' The writer expresses with the reader to the extent that these topics have always been popular with the Ghazal writers and that Ghazal 'is' nearly always based on these very sweet-bitter experiences of love; but there is one major difference between the Shaykh and the other lyricists. The Shaykh, though knowing full well that his topics are not new and original, never takes the help of peculiar similies and complicated phrases to make his verse striking and original, he leaves it to his magical simplicity to transform the old into new. While the others, conscious of the monotony of their subject -- matter, try to compensate for it either by the novelty of their expression; or by making their love-story differ from the
others' in its minute details. Ideas and events that had been expressed in Ghazals a thousand times before gain a new charm under the spell of their fantastic imagination and fanciful language; and the age-old story of love acquires a new freshness to it. As that great love-poet of Shiraz, Hafiz, remarks:

This familiar when expressed in a symbolic way with the help of original and intricate similes and metaphors, is totally metamorphosed; and as an ordinary face looks pretty and exciting behind a filmy veil, similarly, an old idea when seen through the magical mist of imagination, appears new and striking. Read the following couplets and you will notice that the same old dish has been served but with a new dressing; the effect is not only palatable, its delightful:

I. Divan-i-Hafiz - p77

2. Divan-i-Mayebi. Ms. Habib Gani Collection
In all the above couplets, the theme is the same: love, but the poets have tried to give their verse a new charm either by some fantastic flight of imagination:

or by making it differ in some triviality:

or by their mode of expression:

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1. Diwan-i-Hafiz, p. 22
2. Kulliyat-i-Ohalib, II5
3. Ibid, p. 51
Contrary to these poets, the Shaykh remains loyally adherent to the old and traditional style of Ghazal—both in ideas and in diction; and in every essential quality of a love-poem. His Ghazals have the same old ideas expressed in the same soft and sweet manner, without any razzle-dazzle of the latter-day poets’ expression. His Ghazal is as simple and lyrical as those of the earlier day poets, like Rudagi. Read the following couplets of Rudagi; though they are from one of his famous Qasida, they are as lyrical as the best of the lyrics:

\[
\begin{align*}
لَيْكَ حَبَّيْنِ مِنْ رِمَاثٍ أَصِيلٍ \\
مَا أَدْرَاكَ أَنْ جَاَهِرَةَكَ
\end{align*}
\]

Does not the tone and expression of these couplets remind us of that great Persian lyricist, Sadi? All his Ghazals have the same soft expression, tender emotion and flawless diction as that of Rudagi. He never tries to change his mode of expression or to introduce fantastic similes and metaphors in order to give his Ghazals some originality. His love is

I. Diwan-i-Rudagi, p 1029
love in its purest, tenderest and most innocent form, and his expression is in absolute harmony with his ideas. He does not use novel and complicated similes in his verse to make it different and original. The شعر of his beloved is nearly always شعر; the lips always شعر; and the eyes always شعر. But the surprising thing is that, inspite of its ornate language, modest similes and simple ideas, his Ghazal has a guileless charm of its own which is even more captivating in its simplicity than elegance and glamour. When we closely observe this phenomenal quality of his Ghazal, we realise that the Shaykh’s task is more difficult and challenging than of those other poets. They ‘create’ while Sādī ‘revives’. They in their fervent desire to make their Ghazal striking and attractive seek the help of their imagination. They know that without it, they cannot put a new life in the age-old topics of Ghazal. So, failing to ‘revive’ they ‘create’. Their efforts are, no doubt, marvellous and we can give them the credit of being imaginative and original; but we cannot attribute to them that magical, Messianic touch of our Shaykh which can transform a wilted and faded rose into a fresh and colourful blossom.

The following examples will show how the Shaykh’s Ghazal, because of its simplicity and unaffected style, appeals to us more than the ornate and elegant compositions
of the other Ghazal-writers:

...of the other Ghazal-writers...

According to the definition of lyricism, the language of a lyric is spontaneous, direct, lively, simple, unpolished conversational with rough edges and round corners. The language of Sa’di’s Ghazals comes miraculously close to the above definition: it is simple, spontaneous, and possesses a dialogue like quality. By ‘dialogue-like’ we mean that his language is as spontaneous, simple and fluent as the spoken word. Not only this, it has the same casual carelessness (“rough-edges”) of the spoken word. While going through his Ghazals, we do not feel that the poet has composed each and every syllable most carefully and painstakingly instead we find a kind of careless grace, a casual manner, a purely conversational style; it lacks the artificial ornamentation of every sort. The poet expresses

1. Kulliyat p. 552
2. Ibid. p. 645
3. Ibid. p. 702
4. Ibid. p.
his genuine feelings in a simple and genuine way — not as if he is composing poetry, but as if he is 'talking'.

Here are a few couplets to drive home the point:

1. Kulliyat p. 557
2. Ibid, p. 537
3. Ibid, p. 535
4. Ibid, p. 581
5. Ibid, p. 643
Sa'di's diction is so purely conversational that it even has the same grammatical casualness which is characteristic of the spoken word. For example, Sa'di often changes the order of words and puts them in a slight disorderly way as we normally do in our conversation.

Here he should have said, instead he splits the and puts the verb between them, as we do in our conversation (i.e.):

An intelligent and sensitive reader will feel what a great difference this small alteration has made and how spontaneous and natural the phrase has become.

Here also he splits , giving the couplet a dialogue-like quality.

The proper order of was . But Sa'di has changed it and said . Sometimes he changes the numbers of personal pronouns, using in the first

1. Kulliyat p. 574
2. Ibid. p. 575
3. Ibid. p. 574
hemistich and in the second, or, changing
In poetry this is called and it has been used
quite frequently by Urdu and Persian poets. Says Ghalib:
Here the poet has changed third person singular
with first person plural . But Ghali is not as
natural and spontaneous as Sadi is in the following
couplets:
Sadi’s change of and is as natural and
effort-less as it is in conversation unlike other poets
who use in a most inadequate and awkward way,
Sadi uses it in such an easy and casual manner that it
does not seem even intentional or deliberate. It fits in
so naturally with the texture of his diction and the
general temperament of his poetry that he does not even

I. Kulliyat–G–Ghalib, p. 53
2. Kulliyat p. 575
offer a  which is otherwise necessary for
Instead, he changes the frequently without a
(as we normally do in our conversation) and gets away with it.

Sometimes Sadi alters the usual pattern of a sentence and writes it exactly as it is used in conversation:

Here the correct order of the sentence is:

Sadi with this slight gives it the effect of the spoken word!

In this couplet, he omits the and ( ), the correct order should have been:

These changes appear to be trivial but added together, they give his Chasal a most pleasant effect, the effect of the spoken word.

Sa'idi's passion for simple and natural diction makes his deliberately avoid even very wild ornamentation. Take the following example.

I. Kulliyat p. 576
2. Ibid, p. 576
3. Ibid, p. 588
Both ḍh and ḍh are a thing to be tasted and if the poet wants to verify whether the lips and mouth of his beloved are as sweet as ḍh, he can do it only by kissing them — not by embracing. So here the poet should have said that he will verify it by kissing his beloved, instead of saying

But no, the Shaykh does not want even the slightest trace of deliberate manipulation of words in his diction, so, although, the idea itself demanded it, yet he intentionally overcomes the temptation and simply says ṭḥ. This simplicity and deliberate omission of word-play is quite a common factor of Sadi's language; (in fact, it is the recurrence of this omission which shows that it is deliberate not accidental.) Sometimes the Shaykh deliberately omits something in his couplet, as in the following ṭḥ:

Here the poet does not say what only his beloved's brows have this ' ḍh'. He simply says that the eyebrows of even the most beautifully painted faces on Satin and Silk, lack this ḍh — leaving the rest to the imagination of the reader. This omission is calculated and deliberate and it serves two purposes: firstly, it gives the couplet a natural and casual effect because in conversation too we often omit certain things; Secondly, and this is more subtle point,
he plays up to the reader's imagination and leaves it to him to understand what the poet has not said in the couplet. He knows that َسَرْخُ َبَيْضُ and that slight vagueness makes a composition more poetic and more enjoyable. Take this couplet:

Here the poet simply inquires whether the night-watchman has struck the morning hour sooner? And whether the birds have got up early. The rest he leaves to the reader's imagination: that he is with his beloved and does not want the night to end.

Here is one more example:

In this couplet also Sadi does not say that it is his beloved's letter which the bird might be carrying. He only suggests it by ِسَرْخُ َبَيْضُ so that the reader may imagine the rest — that the poet is familiar with the bird so it must have brought his beloved's epistle in the past.

These were a few examples to show how the linguistic beauty of a Ghasal can be enhanced by this subtle and deliberate omission. But one thing must be borne in mind:

I. Kulliyat p. 537
2. Ibid. 533
that to acquire the desired effect, the poet must have our Shaykh's keen, perceptive and sensitive mind so as to know what to say and what to omit; otherwise his verse will be a true example of

iii. Sincerity:

In the earlier part of this dissertation, we have seen Sa'di the humanist, possessing this basic and intrinsic quality of a true humanist - sincerity. Now we see the same quality manifesting itself most superbly and magnificently in his Ghazals as well. Whether he is extolling the beauty of his beloved, describing the tortures of separation, narrating the bliss of meeting his mistress, his tone is always so transparently sincere that we cannot help being touched by it. He does not unnecessarily magnifies his feelings and his tone is always mild. In this respect, he is totally different from the other Ghazal writers who, with their fantastic similes and elaborate narration exaggerate their feelings to the point of incredibility. Their Ghazals become (what they wanted them to be), specimens of their poetic art and imagination, but the masterpieces of those master artistics lack the warmth and emotion of a pure lyric. These poets failed to appreciate
that love is the finest, purest and the most tender of all human emotions, so it must be expressed in a soft, simple and genuine way, with just a light touch of imagination. Otherwise, it will lose its naturalness, and genuineness.

Sa'di, being well aware of this fact, never spoils the beauty of these fine sentiments by over elaborating them. His Ghazals are the best specimen of sincerity of ideas and sincerity of expression. Curiously, subject matter also has a hand in increasing or decreasing word effect. If thought insincere, it clashes with the simplicity and direction of language and mars the total effect. If thought sincere, without cunning or clever turns and twists, it harmonizes with the lyric’s simple and direct diction. The most striking feature of Sadi’s Ghazals is this perfect harmony of ideas and emotions. He says what he feels, without any conscious or deliberate effort to beautify his expression or to introduce new and original ideas. It is because of this sincerity of tone that the reader feels closer to Sadi than to any other Ghazal writer. One may feel ‘fascinated’ by them, but he is ‘touched’ by Sadi. He does not put Sadi on a pedestal to idealise, instead, he feels a sort of mental rapport with him and this attracts him more towards the poet. Sadi’s apped can best be described
the famous words:

If he says that his heart is aching for his beloved, his tone will be so soft his expression so sincere that we will feel his ache in our own hearts. Let us take the following couplet of the Shaykh:

The idea behind this couplet — that the lover should not offend his beloved — is age-old, but here it has acquired a fresh charm by the simple and straightforward manner in which Sadi says it: why will he not offend his beloved? For the simple reason that

or, take another couplet:

is also one of the most common topics of both Persian and Urdu poetry and one cannot really imagine how can it be described so as to appeal to the reader? But Sadi's naive query in the second hemistich

is so disarming in itself that the reader completely forgets the banality of the complaint and feels intense sympathy for the unfortunate lover.

I. Kulliyat p. 535
2. Ibid, p. 710
This is also quite a common topic of the Ghazal: The lover always resolves that he will try to forget his cruel beloved, but he is helpless against her irresistible charms. Sadi also says the same thing here but with such simplicity that the reader, because of this very lack of any sort of elaboration, is at once convinced that the poet is really helpless. Take another example:

\[
\text{This entire Ghazal is the weal of the aching heart of an unfortunate lover who has been jilted by his beloved. It is obvious that he is suffering, but he never uses one harsh word, never tries to describe his pain by fantastic similies and metaphore, never even says what agony he is going through; he merely states the fact that}
\]

I. Kulliyat p. 596
2. 1244; 98
But, inspite of this lack of elaboration, his grief and disappointment are so acute and genuine that they run like an undercurrent in the whole Ghazal and the reader cannot help being touched and feeling sorry for this simple and honest man. Just compare these couplets with the following ایام of Khaqani and the difference between the two will strike you at once:

The above couplets can be said to be a good exercise for our imagination, but they are definitely not the cry of a broken heart! One more example from Sadi's famous Tarji' Band:

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I. Divan-ı-Khaqani, p. 542
2. Kulliyat p. 526
You have seen a sad Sadi, bewailing his separation from his beloved, now see him in a happy mood also — and how he keeps his tone balanced even while drinking that most intoxicating of wines —

Another occasion where our poets lose their balance and sense of proportion is while praising the beauty of their beloved. They praise her almost to the point of dehumanizing, choosing most intricate and complex similes and metaphors. In their frantic effort to make their beloved 'unique', they come out with most for fetched — and sometimes even absurd — ideas! For example, take Khaqani:

I. Diwan-i-Khaqani, p
II. Kulliyat 1601
But even here our lyricist is not carried away, and is as sincere and honest as always. He too is fascinated by the flawless and ravishing beauty of his beloved and praises it most ardently in his Ghasals, but he always uses modest and simple similes and metaphors: The heart of his love is nearly always or \( \mathfrak{r} \); the lips always or \( \mathfrak{d} \); the nose always \( \mathfrak{d} \); and the

The following examples will suffice to prove this:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1. } & \text{Diwan-i-Khaqani, p. 43} \\
\text{2. } & \text{Kulliyat p. 611}
\end{align*}
\]
1. کلیه‌ت، ص. 681
2. ایبد، ص. 681
3. ایبد، ص. 683
These are just a few examples, picked up from the Shaykh's Diwan, but these will suffice to prove that Sadi never exaggerates even the beauty of his beloved: he uses nearly the same similes of et cetera. Over and again, but with such genuine emotion that the reader can almost visualise his beloved. A thousand verses glorifying the beloved's beauty cannot equal this simple, innocent, and honest statement of the Shaykh:

"..."

could any poet ever say that a woman more beautiful than his beloved may exist? Just one hemistich of Khusraw, that great Persian Lyricist can summarise what the poets generally feel about their loved ones:

"..."

But even here Sadi is delightfully different! He wonders whether his beloved is really matchless in beauty or is it that she has got a special appeal and attraction for him?

I. Kulliyat p. 772
2. Ibid p. 683
His charmingly naïve query is most captivating in its sheer sincerity:

He is so honest and sincere that he himself realises that it is his love and affection for his beloved that makes her so attractive to him:

Two more examples to prove our point:

iv. **Word-Play**

Another important factor of Sa'di's Ghazals is his marvellously controlled word-play — the most common and the

1. Kulliyat, p. 682
2. Ibid, p. 565
3. Ibid, p. 568
4. Ibid, p. 534
Most favourite device of the poets to beautify their verse.

Unfortunately, word-play is one of those beautiful arts of poetry that has suffered most wretchedly at the hands of most of our poets. It is a fine poetic quality which if applied intelligently and proportionally can really enhance the beauty of a poetic composition. But our Persian and Urdu poets in their overwhelming zest for this particular style got so obsessed with it and carried it to such an extent that it became a blemish, not a beauty-spot for their verse, specially the latter-day poets were the worst victims of this inadequacy, and their verse—instead of being piquant and interesting, became almost funny! Take the following couplets:

In all the above couplets, the language overshadows the thought. The poet has been so engrossed in 'wordy concept' that he has overlooked the 'thought concept'! This mis-balance of language and ideas is the worst defect of a poetical composition. In poetry, as indeed in all literature,
balance means a harmony of word and idea, of expression and subject-matter, of form and concept. The verbal covering should not stretch. Under the stress of an expansive idea, and, conversely, the concept should not be allowed out from the centre of attention by an unproportional strutting of words. An over-stuffing of meaning results in vague connotations; an over-stressing of words lessens the thought content. Then words, apart from their denotations, have suggestive values also. These values count very much in poetry. They should neither be over suggestive, nor under-suggestive but should cut the right balance between these two opposites. This is what we mean by poetical balance.

The Shaykh's Ghazal is a beautiful manifestation of this harmony of word and idea and of this poetical balance. His idea never strained his language, his language never overshadows his thought and his poetry is the most happy combination of the requisite gracefulness of 'word' and 'meaning'. This same sense of poetic balance makes the Shaykh to apply word-play to the best advantage. His word-play is so restrained and natural that instead of stifling his thought, it adds to its beauty, giving his verse a fresh glow - a glow as natural and charming as the beautiful blush of a rosy-cheeked maiden. He uses the word-play only
to the extent where it ornaments his poetry and assists in bringing out the hidden beauties of a particular idea; his keen and sensitive mind knows where to draw the line — where to elaborate and when to step. 'Ali Dichti, that famous **', says:

This characteristic control over his word-play makes the Shaykh delightfully different from other poets. In fact, the word-play in Sa’di’s verse is so natural and spontaneous and so much in harmony with his ideas and emotions that at first glance, we may even altogether miss it in his couplet. And it will be only after analysing it critically that we will notice or some particular phrase or word having a special significance there. But even then it seems as if the poet has not consciously and contrived it, and it is there just as a happy coincidence. For example, take the following couplet:

The word / has been used thrice here and the words of are complimentary to each other, bid this /.

I. Qalamrav-i-Sa’di, p. 339
2. Kulliyat p. 573
never interferes with the idea the Shaykh wants to convey
(that he never wanted to fall in love but now, after
falling for his beloved all that conceit has gone out of his
head) because not a single word is superfluously used,
all of them have a direct bearing on the central idea of
the couplet. Compare this couplet with the following
of Khaqani and you will notice the difference. It has been
taken from his famous Ghalal which he composed in memory of
his deceased wife:

What the poet wants to say is that his wallings are like
the crying of a dove in the morning. The phrase of
and the word of are totally useless here because
they have nothing to do with the idea of the couplet: has been used for,
for its contrast with, and the phrase of is only to provide the
requisite words for this particular rhyme.

In the following couplet, Sa'di used the words of
in their genuine meanings and they are so
necessary for conveying his idea to the reader, that one
cannot notice the in this couplet:

1. Diwan-i-Khaqani p.
2. Kulliyat p. 578
This restrained word-play shows us one more quality of Sa'di; avoidance of in his poetry. He himself takes pride in it, and says:

He uses only those words and phrases which are necessary to express his idea — not a single word more, not a single word less; and his couplets are so complete in themselves that if we want to describe the same idea in prose, we will not be able to do it as effectively and in so few words, as the Shaykh has done. Take the following couplets:

Here are some more couplets to show Sa'di's beautifully natural word-play:

I. Kulliyat p. 809
2. Ibid, p. 545
3. Ibid, p. 677
4. Ibid, p. 693
1. Kulliyat, p. 539
2. Ibid., p. 709
3. Ibid., p. 570
4. Ibid., p. 570
5. Ibid., p. 548
6. Ibid., p. 718
7. Ibid., p. 718
2. Subject - Matter!

After discussing the lingual qualities of the Shaykh's Ghazals, let us now see what is the prevalent topic or subject matter of his lyrics, (i.e. his Ghazals).

Love is the one and sole topic of Sadi's Ghazals.

As Ali Dasthi says:

But before entering into the discussion of the forms of love he deals with and the manner of his dealing, we should first understand the nature of that love itself.

Sadi is the lover of Divine Beauty. But in his case both that Beauty and love appear in entirely human forms. He applies the attributes of human beauty to his Divine Beloved in such a way that often the reader falls in doubts about his real intent. Occasionally, he is somewhat merciful; he writes a series of many verses in this strain and in one of them he puts in a clue as to his real meaning. As all those verses are topically connected, when one is seen to relate to گلاط, the rest are also assumed to be so. For example:
In the above piece up to the fourth verse we do not know if the poet is driving at or ; he may be talking about either. Then comes the fifth verse, supported by the sixth, which resolves our doubt and assures us that we are in the world of Reality.

But from this a bewildering question arises. What are we to say of those ghazals -- and they form the majority -- which lack any explaining hint? Are they to be taken in or ? They are extremely passionate and the passion seems earnest and sincere. There is no historical basis to suppose that the Shaykh was an amorous man in the carnal sense. On the contrary, notwithstanding an occasional passage of love-play as in the mosque of Kashghar or an affair in the early youth, the internal evidence of his works and the testimony of his contemporaries are assurances enough of his piety and chastity. A voluptuous libertine, as his ghazals would

I. Kulliyat p.601
represent him to be if they were related to carnal love - we say such a libertine could never be honoured like the Shaykh in the assemblies of nobles and kings. A galliard could not be the conscience-keeper of the Saḥīb-Dīwān; nor would he dare to give lessons in piety to Ankāyānu and the Atābak. Such fearless preaching needs matching practice. Indeed, Sadi's preachings would have lacked their universally-acknowledged ring of sincerity had he been a loose man.

So, what are we to conclude from all this? First, let us briefly re-state the case. We see that most of Sadi's ghazals are intensely amorous in the carnal sense, without the least hint that in reality their subject is mystical love. Secondly, we hope we have proved that Sadi was an extremely chaste and upright man. Then how are we to reconcile these anomalous facts? To the present humble writer the obvious and the only answer to this riddle is that, hint or no hint where the balance of probability does not palpably incline to ٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٌٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍٍ‌
understood without such aids. An explaining clue takes away from its reality and mars its effect.

These allegorical productions of Sadi are entirely different from the minories of the other mystic poets. Their make-believe efforts with their Ж and Г and Ж and Г and do not succeed in humanising the Divine Beauty; their portrait only resemble a canvas of Abstract Art. It is not so with the Shaykh. He is a man of clear vision. His eye penetrates to the fundamental dualism of God and man. He knows that the end of all true love is unification or Ж. He realises that so long as the duality of divine and human natures remains, there can neither be any love nor hope of ultimate unity between them. So he destroys that duality. To a devoutly pious man like the Shaykh it was irreverent to raise humanity to the level of Divinity. But it was permissible theology and praiseworthy Sufism to conceive a human manifestation for God. From the above dualism this latter was the escape chosen by the Shaykh. He thought there was no irreverence implied in this. In his eyes, for his Precious Beauty his own heart was a better throne than the Eupyrean. There was no question of higher and lower levels, but of less and more befitting habitation.

And lyricism should rejoice at the Shaykh's solution of this conflict. For the metamorphosis of the Divine into human love enriched the world literature with some of its
best lyrics — not some, but many hundreds. It also eased
the way for the Shaykh's critic. For now, instead of dealing
with love under the two subdivisions of human and divine,
he can fuse them into one. And the result of this fusion
should be simply called Human Love — a thing more understand-
able by the human mind, more agreeable to the human heart.
Obviously, this same head will also cover those occasional
verses in which, as was pointed out earlier, the balance
of probability palpably inclines to . Because of his
intense passion for God, Sadi's anthropomorphic seal is so
full and final that it transforms into and
leaves any effort to deal with them separately. So, in
our following discussion as well, it will be Human Love which
will be dealt with as one of the topics of Sadi's ghazal.
Of course, the reader should everywhere keep in mind the
Shaykh's allegorical sense and the essential dualism behind
this apparent unity.

I. In the cautious world of scholarship eye-brows are
always — and rightly-raised at oddities. The present
writer confesses that the opinion expressed above is
unconventional. She also does not insist on its correctness, but she humbly yet strongly insists on one seminal point. In all the ghazals of Sadi, with very very
few exceptions, the beauty as well as the love is of
one uniform kind. The two may be everywhere real, or
they may be everywhere allegorical. But whether real or
allegorical, they are everywhere the same. So either
the Shaykh was most fervent mystic, or the most licen-
tious libertine, ever produced by Persia. Perhaps the
devotees of this pious soul would prefer to subscribe
to the former view.
Now that we have established the nature of love dealt with by Sadi, we should discuss the object, the forms and the constituents of that love.

1. Beauty - After dilating on Sadi's love, the first thing to be considered, and considered carefully, is the Beauty which is the centre of that Love. We have written the initials of both these words in capitals here. For in Sadi's case it is not common love and common beauty with which we are dealing. As his Love is a unique mixture of the mystic, the platoic and the passionate, so the Beauty which is that Love's object is singularly compounded. It is of the flesh, yet has a spiritual airiness about it; it is of the earth, yet is surrounded by the moon's halo: it is human, yet seems beyond the reach of man. Indeed, this matchless portrayal of Beauty is a miracle of Sadi's lyrical pen. He has given us Beauty the most superb, the most perfect, in flesh and blood, inwardly and outwardly human. But it is not approachable. You may love it, but you may not touch it. You may adore it from afar, but you cannot press it in your embrace. It is not holy by any means, but it cannot be polluted by profane passion. And the Reason? Because it is the abstraction of all that is graceful and handsome, dainty and delicate, pure and bright, soft and sweet, angelic and heavenly in the world. It is not a beautiful
person, but the very Idea and Ideal of Beauty which the mighty genius of this painter has portrayed. Persian poetry has a galaxy of the great and the famous. Ransack their books; rummage through their leaves for a parallel. your search will be in vain. This is a fully considered claim and stands proof. In the following pieces three poets describe beauty. The first is a ghazal by Sadi, selected at random as the proverbial 

The second and third are famous pieces from Nizami and Khusraw respectively praising the beauty of Shirin.

I. Sādī

I. Kulliyāt p. 666
2. **Nisāmi**

3. **Khusravi**

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1. *Kulliyat, Khamsa-i-Nisāmi*, p. 371
2. *Shiraz Khusrav Anīr Khusrav Dehlavi*, pp. 303-305
It is a waste of breath to stress the obvious. The Idol of Sadi, despite her \( \text{سادی} \) and \( \text{سادی} \), seems as aloof as the gods themselves. Even desire falters to approach her sublime purity. The whole piece is nothing but an elaboration of her innocent simplicity mentioned in the last line.

To compare with this, what have we in Mirza and Khusraw? We have beauty voluptuous, not sublime; he decked and adorned, but hardly adorable; a thing for the senses, not for the soul. And in spite of the freezing of lust in the one \( \text{میرزا} \), and the flourish of a soaring mace by the eyelashes in the other \( \text{خسرو} \), their fair enchantress seems NOT unapproachable, but only standoffish. And how could it be otherwise when it willingly surrendered herself to a confirmed voluptuary like Parwis?

So far we have only dealt with the outward form of Sadi’s Beauty. We should now try to discover its nature and character. Here we find a conflict. After painting his Beauty in such sublime colours, tradition compelled the poet to give her a stony heart. But the wonder of the thing is that in spite of this commingling of opposites we do not feel any collision of ideas. All the colours blend into a pleasing and convincing uniformity. The secret of the poet’s success lies not far to seek. He so sublimes Beauty and invests it with such glory that he raises it to
the plane. He further buttresses its position by his own uncomplaining, nay, thankful, acceptance of its unjust oppression. Where there is no injustice felt, there will be supposed to be no injustice done. So there can be no decree of cruelty passed against Sadi's Fair oppressor.

An explanation is needed in the end. In the discussion of Sadi's Love we had conjectured that its centre was the Divine Beauty to which he had given the human form as that he could humanly fondle and adore it. But now we say that the Beauty which Sadi loved was unapproachable on account of its sublimity. Are these two statements incompatible with each other? We think not.

When Sadi humanised the Divine Beauty he found the result to be more than human, if less than divine. He was attracted by its humanity, but its Divinity overawed him. So he became a passionate lover and a devout worshiper at one and the same time.

2. Sincerity — Perhaps the simplest and shortest definition of sincerity is Active Truth. Truth is a passive fact. To act along or upon that fact — if only to believe in it firmly — is sincerity. Being a truth, it has no inside and out, but only an open transparency. As a truthful activity, it has no gyrations or twists. It is like a meteor, luminous in itself and illuminating its straight path.

In Sadi this sincerity of belief and action reaches its culmination. We had touched upon it when we were
discussing his language. We pointed out there that Sadi's language bore witness to the fact that he was a sincere man. Here we shall deal with the nature of his sincerity. It is a unity of thought and deed and word. It is the surrender of his entire self to a firmly held belief. No matter of his belief be false in its own nature; he subscribes to it so earnestly that it appears as an evident truth.

This better effect of Sadi's sincerity has made his lyrics what they are. It makes his wildest claims about the excellence of Beauty sound plausible. It makes his fondest extenuations of that Beauty's contrariness seem justified. It makes us not to laugh but to pity at his declaration of his own utter unworthiness for his Fair Love. This is the burden of his whole Diwan from which one specimen will suffice:

3. Surrender:

Another aspect of Sa'di's love is his unconditional and total surrender before his beloved. It is one of the

I. Kulliyāt p. 768
traditional qualities of the Chazal writers of the Persian language, but Sa'di surpasses them all in his total self-abnegation and complete surrender. Sadi's beloved is lovely, delicate, charming innocent, but like the traditional of the Persian poetry, she is indifferent, rather cruel to her lover. She does not reciprocate his tender feelings, neither does she soothe the lover's bruised heart by her kind words. But Sadi has drank the cup to the full; he is so charmed by his beautiful beloved that even if she breaks off all ties with him, he cannot imagine of leaving her because:

This total self-surrender is the chief characteristic of Sa'di. He never complains, never utters one harsh word. The poet is deeply in love with his beloved and this overwhelming passion has taken hold of his whole existence. His beloved is to him, not less than a god and he bows before his loved-one with all the humility and fervour of a worshipper. He has reached the stage when the conception of 'self' is lost and the lover completely identifies

I. Kulliyat p. 613
himself with his beloved:

Sadi knows that his beloved is beyond his reach:

But the fact does not sadden his noble heart. To him even this satisfaction is enough that he is one of her thousand lovers. To him even this surrender, this longing for his beloved is pleasurable. He is willing to tolerate all the cruelties of his beloved, not because he is helpless, but because he does not think them to be cruelties; he thinks that the beloved has got every right to behave as she wants to and that her true lovers, like he himself, should never complain against her.

Even when he complains, he immediately compensates for it by some redeeming verse, such as this:

I. Kulliyāt p. 562
2. Ibid, p. 813
3. Ibid, p. 574
4. Ibid, p. 574
5. Ibid, p. 593
Love has given him such an eternal joy, such a sublime happiness that it cannot be abated by the worldly sufferings.

He inspires the beloved to be as cruel as she wants to be because:

His whole Diwan is permeated through and through with this spirit of self-abnegation and surrender. One cannot find even a single verse where the poet's tone is harsh or bitter. He is always happy, always smiling, always serene, loving his beloved, loving her cruelties, surrendering himself completely. He has done what he could to get the love of his beloved, but he knows that he will never succeed in his aspirations, his beloved will never come to him. But the fact does not dishearten him, his is a selfless love, oblivious to any rewards, he is content with what he has—the love for his beloved; he does not aspire for more, he has merged himself completely with his loved one so now what every she wishes for him is for the poet the height of happiness; and this surrender is not less intoxicating to him than

1. Kulliyat p. 599
2. Ibid, p. 574
3. Ibid, p. 574
4. Patience:

In the Shaykh's Diwan this particular virtue attains its zenith and appears in its best form -- thankfulness. As said in a previous discussion, Sa'di raises his beloved to such a plane where even her cruelties are transformed into kindness. To Sadi, his beloved is a personification of beauty -- beauty of form as well as beauty of ideas. She symbolises goodness and virtue. But, like every traditional beloved of the Ghazal, she is not kind to her lover. Insipit of all her softness, charm and loveliness, she is not soft and tendre towards her lover. She does not take pity on her love-torn poet, neither does she comfort and console his aching heart. Instead, she showers her precious love on his rival and tells the lover to go away from her. But even all this cruelty and indifference cannot dishearten or sadden the poet and even when his beloved asks him to to away from her, he does not protest, the only thing he does is that he asserts his loyalty and tells her in a very soft and tender tone:

This softness is always there when the Shaykh talks about the cruelties of his beloved. In fact, the Shaykh does not

I. Kulliyat p. 595
even consider them to be cruelties. He has sublimated his beloved and glorified her almost to the point of making her a goddess. How can a worshipper say that his goddess of love and beauty lacks kindness and compassion? The Shaykh too is so intoxicated with the ethereal beauty and illusory charm of his lady-love that he loves even her cruelties!
He patiently, nay, not only patiently but thankfully tolerates her unkindness. He thinks that even this unkindness is a sort of link between him and his beloved, so he is thankful that at least she is not indifferent to him and there is some thing which links him humble self with his beloved. Sadi is like those who having faith in the theory of , never complains to God for their miseries. They think that whatever God gives them, they must accept it. Same is the case with our Shaykh, he has total faith in his beloved so he never complains. The rather, he is thankful to her that at least she thinks him to be worthy of her cruelties — and he takes pride in it:

He knows that ultimately this love will destroy him, but

I. Kulliyat p. 574
Even when he says how he is suffering for his beloved, his tone is mild, his expression soft — he is not complaining, he is simply stating the fact:

His suffering does not even sadden him. Why should he be sad? He knows that love means suffering and this suffering is given to him by his beloved, so it is as dear to him as the beloved herself. He says that every man has some hope or happiness in his life, but to him is enough to inspire him for living:

He says that even if his beloved kills him, he will not accuse her, not only in this world, but in that other world too:

Why? Because:

I. Kulliyat p. 574
2. Ibid. p. 571
3. Ibid. p. 559
4. Ibid. p. 585
5. Ibid. p. 585
To him a true lover is that who is so absorbed in his beloved that he neglects his own self:

He further defines who can be said to be a true lover:

In yet another Ghazal he describes how a lover should behave. The entire Ghazal is a lesson of surrender and patience:

He does not even tell his beloved what tortures he is going through in the love of her fair face. He only says:

Let us end this discussion by quoting from yet another Ghazal of the Shaykh. Every verse is a proof of his meek submissiveness and total surrender:

1. Kulliyat p. 595
2. Ibid. p. 595
3. Ibid. p. 595
4. Ibid. p. 534
5. Ibid, pp. 658-59
5. Modesty:

As we have seen in the first part of the present essay, our lyricist was a humanist as well, and as the reader must be remembering, modesty and humility are two chief characteristics of a humanist — hence of the Shaykh too. To him modesty and humility are the two most remarkable qualities of a man. He is the poet who does not hesitate to teach the lesson of modesty to the crown Prince himself:

I. Kulliyat p. 226
Both his Gulistan and Bostan are full of such anecdotes that extoll the virtue of modesty. (The Shaykh has devoted two full chapters to \( \text{E} \), telling us to be modest and humble in life). In Gulistan and Bostan we find him to be an extremely refined man, possessing all the requisite qualities of a fine human being, and with a highly developed conception of 'self' -- a 'self' which enfolds the entire humanity in its vastness. A man who exalts man and has faith in the basic goodness of man, who thinks that man is a measure in himself and is the viceregent of God on this earth. And the chief responsibility of this Son of God is towards his fellow beings; he must love them and care for them, he must be kind, compassionate and humbly modest.

A man who appreciates modesty so much and tells others to be modest, what heights of modesty he himself must have achieved! He is extremely humble and unassuming. And his modesty reaches its culmination while dealing with his beloved, his modesty becomes total self-effacement. As we said earlier, Sadi's beloved is to him an ideal of beauty and goodness. What can our Shaykh do (who is modest to words even lesser individuals) but bow most humbly before this

I. Kulliyat p. 309
godess of Love and beauty!

This 'light' and modesty runs like a stream all through the Shaykh's Ghazals. Here are a few more examples:

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I. Kulliyut p. 778
2. Ibid, p. 781
3. Ibid, p. 672
4. Ibid, p. 580
5. Ibid, p. 544
6. Ibid, p. 537
Here the writer wants to draw the reader's attention to a very subtle point: The Shaykh often describes the beloved's cruelty and unkindness towards him. That cruelty never disheartens or discourages the Shaykh, neither does his intense love thinks it to be a blemish on his beloved's beauty. But the reader does not have that emotional attachment with his beloved which the Shaykh has; so he can see and feel how unkind and cruel she is. And when, in contrast to her indifference and cruel behaviour, he sees the Shaykh's unfailing loyalty and meek modesty, he loves and respects this humanist Shirazian all the more!

6. Optimism:

This is one of the most striking aspects of the Shaykh's personality, both as a humanist and as a lyricist. We have discussed his optimism as a humanist, now let us see how cheerful and optimistic is Sadi the lover and the lyricist.

Read his entire Diwan from page to page, may, from verse to verse, and you will find not even a single vista of gloom or darkness. The Shaykh's outlook is cheerful and optimistic, his vision clear and bright, and the things which are reflected in it, also partake of it brightness. He looks at this world with a sympathetic humour. He is never gloomy, never depressed, neither the miseries of
this world nor the cruelty of his beloved can dampen
his cheerful spirits. But this cheerfulness should not be
misunderstood as insensitivity. Sadi is an extremely
sensitive man and the miseries of this world and the fata-
licity of human existence affect him deeply. But it does not
make him an incoercible pessimist like Khayyám, who in
helpless frustration, lost his faith in man and God, in
this world and in existence and turned a complete cynic.
His poetry is a cry of anguish from the poet's bruised
heart:

We find an undercurrent of this fatalism even in the Ghazals
of the Bulbul-i-Shirás, though not as pronounced as in
Khayyám. Hāfīṣ too ponders upon the unpleasant realities
of this wretched world and his heart aches for the woeful
plight of man on this earth. He is also a pessimist, though
he does not cringe in front of this pessimism like Khayyám,
and tries to take the miseries and sufferings of man on
a more philosophical plane. He tries to forget it by
involving himself in wine and his beautiful beloved;
so the undercurrent of his pessimism and gloom when comes
on the surf of, is not more than a soft ripple. But that

1. Rubā‘īyat-i- Khayyám. P 39
ripple IS there -- in the whole of his voluminous Diwan; mostly in the form of a helpless resignation on one's fate:

and sometimes resulting in a philosophic indifference for the Imponderables:

But one does not find even this ripple of pessimism in our Shaykh's Diwan. He is delightfully different from both Khayyam and Hafiz. He too is affected by the apparent anxieties of this world, by its miseries and sorrows by its pains and tortures, but there is great difference between him and the others: he never loses faith either in God or in man. He never panics like Khayyam, never escapes from the reality like Hafiz, he sees it all, feels it all; not with a helpless detachment, but with a sympathetic smile on his lips and an undying hope in his heart.

This cheerful outlook and optimism asserts itself even in his relationship with his beloved. Inspite of her

I. Diwan-i-Hafiz, p. 69
2. Ibid, p. 106
3. Ibid, p. 18
oruel behaviour and indifference, the flame of hope never dies in his heart. He has total faith in his beloved (as he has faith in God.) However humiliating her behaviour is, the Shaykh is never disheartened or depressed. His tone is always cheerful, his hopes always high. Even when the darkness is complete and the gloom prevailing, he discerns a light, somewhere, somehow:

He is away from his beloved, she is not willing to even grant him a glimpse of her fair face, this tortuous separation, this painful indifference of the beloved is killing for the lover. But, inspite of all this he hopes against hope and thinks that one day he will be together with his beloved; he himself realises his folly but he cannot suppress his bubbling optimism:

He seldom complains, and even when he does, his tone is never bitter or harsh. He complains with a smile on his lips and a sweet and innocent wistfulness in his eyes:

I. Kulliyat p. 534
2. Ibid, p. 554
3. Ibid, p. 552
Sadi is definitely not among those who say that 'our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thoughts'. He, like a true lyrist, knows that a good lyric is always cheerful and light in its tone. So he maintains the same light, soft, cheerful and melodious tone throughout his Diwan — not a single harsh word is there to mar the sustained effect of cheerfulness and optimism.

Let us now end this discussion by quoting a few couplets from Sa’di to enjoy his cheerful and meadow tone:

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1. Kulliyât p. 553
2. Ibid, p. 779
3. Ibid, p. 715
4. Ibid, p. 534
This was Sadi's love and how he dealt with it. His wonderful appreciation of beauty, his quiet and patient love, his total self-surrender, his sincere modesty, his cheerful and soft tone make him a lovable lover and his lyric, a charming song of love — the total effect is of sustained loyalty and boundless love. This effect is enhanced by one more fact to which attention must be drawn at this point:

Sā'dī, unlike most of the other Ghazal writers, often dwells on a single subject throughout a Ghazal, or at least in two or three consecutive couplets. Generally in Ghazal all its couplets are an entity in themselves; usually an idea is initiated in the first hemistich, and developed and finished in the second hemistich; it has no link with the preceding or succeeding verse. In one verse the poet may be jubilant that his beloved is near him; in the next one he may lament the separation from his loved one; in yet another he may praise the beauties and charms of his lady-love, or may complain to the Sāqi for not filling his cup; or he may even affect a complete round-about and may ponder over some gnostic or philosophical point! Surely the reader will be familiar with this traditional style of the Persian Ghazal, but here we are reproducing a
Ghazal each from Hafiz in its entirety to make our point clear:

As the reader must have noticed, each and every couplet of the Ghazal contains a new and different idea; and there is no continuity between them.

This age-old tradition of the Persian Ghazal which switches from one topic to another in every verse may be striking in itself and may capture the reader's attention momentarily, but it fails to sustain that attention and to touch the deeper core of the human heart and to retain a permanent place there. For instance, while going through a Ghazal, first we read a couplet in which the poet is bemoaning his separation from his beloved, his tone is so sad and depressing that we feel a pang in our heart and prepare ourselves for a fuller and more pathetic and heart -

I. Diwan-i-Hafiz, p. 32
rending account of the poet's tragic love. But lo! suddenly in the very next verse that sad and forlorn lover is transformed into a happy and smiling man, rejoicing that his beloved is near him! Our half-uttered sighs die on our lips and for a moment we are totally bewildered -- and then we too, like the poet himself, forget about his past misery. Like wise, the mood keeps changing with every verse of the Ghazal. This constant change of mood does not leave any sustained effect of particular feeling and the reader begins to doubt the sincerity of the poet.

On the contrary, if there is only ONE prevailing and dominant emotion in a Ghazal, (e.g. unrequited love,) its intensity and poignancy increase and the reader is convinced about the poet's sincerity.

Our Shaykh, being a lyricist to the very core of his heart, realised this, so he often maintains a single mood in his Ghazals or at least in two or three consecutive verses. (In the opinion of the present writer, no other poet of the Persian language has got such a large number of the single - theme - Ghazals as the Shaykh). For example if he is describing his separation from his beloved, he composes couplet after couplet expressing his hopelessness in love, his
agonies and his sufferings; he keeps on elaborating on them. A storm of unsuppressed emotion gushes forth from his heart, till the reader feels almost a physical pain; and when the Ghazal ends it leaves an everlasting impression of the poet's sincerity. Take the following example:

\[ \text{Poem translation} \]

or when the poet happily pens down his much-longed-for meeting with his beloved, he persists on it till the very end, putting such intoxicating excitement and thrill in his poem that it literally throes with emotion:

\[ \text{Poem translation} \]

I. Kulliyat p. 596
2. Ibid, p. 601
We are writing below the Matl'as (along with the prevalent theme) of a few of Sadis Ghasal which run on a single theme (or at least have more than two couplets of the same topic):

I. Beauty of the beloved:

II. Separation from the Beloved:

I. Kulliyat p. 541
2. Ibid, p. 576
3. Ibid, p. 548
4. Ibid, p. 556
III. Unrequited Love:

ای کامیابی برای دلکار که در حال شکست نیستند، هر کسی که با ماندگاری از این کار دیده کرده و در این مورد دیده کرده است

IV. Mysticism:

دیگر در تجربه خود به آن فکر کرده است که ممکن است منابعی که ما نمی‌دانیم، به همه این اجسام را به‌طور کلی می‌تواند کمک کند و لازم است

به موارد سپس باشند. به‌طور کلی، به‌طور کلی، به‌طور کلی، به‌طور کلی، به‌طور کلی

فیلم یا فیلم یا فیلم یا فیلم یا فیلم

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1. Kulliyat p. 743
2. Ibid. p. 567
3. Ibid. p. 635
4. Ibid. p. 676
5. Ibid. p. 564
6. Ibid. p. 564
BADI AND KRUSRAY

Compared as Lyricists
It is a study in comparison and a study in contrast. Between the Shaykh and the Amīr similarity and dissimilarity seem to attain their respective extremes. From about one half of the Amīr's Odes if we smuggle but one verse into the Shaykh's collection we are sure to be caught out. But we may judiciously assimilate the entire remainder of the Amīr's Diwan into the Shaykh's Kulliyat and no one would be the wiser. We shall discuss below the subject in this same order; i.e. we shall first point out the dissimilarities between these two master ghalal-writers, and then we shall dwell upon their similarities, while we shall defer to the last the question of how Khusraw's diversity of style has backlashed on his lyrical productions.

Now first take up the dissimilarities between Sadi and Khusraw. Broadly speaking, they are two in number; one belonging to the style of expression; the other related to the art employed in versification. We shall deal with them in this same order.
Style - By now we have become fairly well acquainted with the style of Sadi's ghazal. It represents the perfection and consummation of an evolutionary process. It is the finale of the same symphony which Rudaki in his 'نیاز آمدن' - played so softly and so sweetly, and which was later taken up by the father and son - Jamal and Kamal. But with Khusraw it was otherwise; he played with Sadi, and he played on his own. And when he was working independently he was laying the foundation of a new poetical school. He was the sower of seeds, not a collector of harvest. It was he who originated the much-maligned still - admired دست کشیده. And it is the intrusion of this دست کشیده (and something else besides, of which more later) which destroys the unity of effect in his Diwan. With one hand he gently plays over a lovers guitar, and with the other he skilfully constructs the groundwork for the above-mentioned literary curiosity. Just as we have been Bullied by the musician, the change and clatter of the mason shocks us out of our reverie. It need not be emphasised how essentially the دست کشیده with its pioneering zeal for the new contrasts with Sadi's mellow and almost archaism. But the point which needs stressing is that the originator of this دست کشیده is neither Nasiri, nor Zuhuri, nor Bagdi, nor any other latter-day poet of Iran or India. It has older and much more respectable credentials, for its inception can be traced right back to the Amir's Diwan. No doubt, it was
then, but in a rudimentary and undeveloped stage. Yet the same embryo was there and it only needed time to grow up into a full organism. A few verses from Khusraw, each typifying some special and well-known feature of the above will suffice to prove the point.

1. **Simile** — with a blend of the real and the fanciful

2. **Simile** — entirely, and wildly fanciful

3. **Elegance of Diction**

4. **Simulated Pathos**

5. **Unmelodious word collection**

Certainly these fanfares are a far cry from Sadi.

But equally certainly, these are the original notes whose echo we can hear in the verses of the .

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1. Ilham-e-ammir Khayyam, Amir Khusraw, Tehran, 1449 Shami, p.99
2. Ilham-e-ammir Khayyam, p.66
3. Indd, p.66
4. Indd, p.66
5. Indd, p.5
The debut of such verses as well as their continual recurrence is the first characteristic which distinguishes the Amir from the Shaykh.

**Art** - The other point of difference to which reference was made earlier is the art of poetic ornamentation. Sadi uses it as a spice, for Khusraw its often the food. Indeed, because of the Amir's hyperbolic zeal for it, the art of words in him frequently degenerates into word-play. And he plays this game in every field, whether it be in prose or poetry, whether it be in a lyric or panegyric, a moral exhortation or an elegy, a tale of romance or a historical masnavi. Truly, the simplest way to express the difference between these two masters in the particular field is to point out that the prose master piece of the Shaykh is *النجوم* while that of the Amir is the *ربيع البدر*.

There is many a verse in Khusraw's Kulliyat whose origin seems to be not a 'thought concept' but a wordy concept. Even when dwelling on a topic as somber a mysticism and even when striving to rival a poet as sober as Nizami, he can be to frivolous as to write:

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1. Matla'ul Ammar, p.
Occasionally when writing some superb lyric in the best tradition of Sadi, he suddenly catches sight of some particular word, having quipping possibility. He pounces upon it and "consigns the lyric to the limbo". He opens the following Ghazal with dulcet tones and touching wistfulness:

And all of a sudden his \_ remembers

Again, this Indian Sadi takes up his lyre and pours down this pathetic melody:

Till the fifth verse, all goes well, then he happens to write:

The mention of the fire and the burning and hissing firewood are irresistible temptation. His appetite for word play is excited and it cannot be appeased till he has served himself and the reader with this spyed

Sometimes his heated imagination works like an atomic reactor and world breeds word till we have a chain which seems to be endless. In a wellknown ghazal the fifth verse contains the

1. Misl'ul Anwer, p 75
2. Dilawarud-kauras, p.73
3. Ibid, p.392
word thus:

Now hear the sixth and seventh lines:

Khusraw's command of language has been unrivalled before or since. And he had an over bearing power of versification to boot. Sometimes this mighty combination leads him to excess. One sad and typical example will suffice. Everyone knows the superb compound simile which Nizami employed to describe the quivering speckle of the

Khusraw tries to surpass, or rather, to correct the Maulana and say the same thing in more appropriate words. In describing the vernal beauties of a garden, he writes:

No doubt, so far as literal exactitude is concerned he has outdone Nizami. The letters' has no comparable concept in the first hemistich, while Khusraw's well balances with the earlier. But has he really excelled Nizami? This is not a dissertation on Khusraw, as we need not enter into the minuteness of the case. It is sufficient

1. Diwan-i-Khusraw, P. 471
2. Kulliyat-i-Khassa-i-Nizami Ganjavi, Tehran 1341, (Shamili) p
3. Sharaqa-ya, P. 1149
4. Diwan-i-Sadain, P. 410
to point the difference between the phonetic values of Nizami’s elegant and on the one hand and Khusrav’s clumsy and on the other. Nizami has offered us a graceful verse; Khusrav challenges us with a tongue twister. The art of poetry consists partly of matching the words with the ideas. Both Nizami and Khusrav have set themselves to depict the image of constant, rhythmic motion. With the natural flow of words in Nizami that end is fully achieved with his halting verse Khusrav is self-defeating in his appointed task. There is a further point to note here. Both these masters desire to depict a regularly-beating light presenting a pretty visual pattern with the balanced rhythm of his verse Nizami has fully succeeded to produce this effect. But Khusrav with his jars and jolts miserably fails in the attempt.

Of course, there are understandable excuses for this superabundance of art in Khusrav. He has made ample redemptions too. He was not only a court-poet but a courtier as well. He served three dynasties and about three times as many kings. And he had to amuse and dance and dupe them all with the magic wand of his art. Kings, perhaps because of their preoccupation with matters which help them to remain kings, are not usually favoured with refined literary taste. They can bask
in the garish sunshine; they cannot enjoy the soft twilight. Hence the never-ending quest of ornaments and artifices by those who want to please them. This, in the humble opinion of the present writer (as indirectly supported by the Amīr's own confession which will be quoted shortly), was the real source of all the "Quips, and cranks, and wordy wiles" which are met with in Khusraw.

And yet the Amīr was painfully aware that poetry, like all perfectionist occupations, was a jealous task-master and tolerated subservience to none but itself. It is to the eternal credit of Khusraw that he realized all this and hated the court life all the more for this. In his Majnum-Layla he wistfully recalls the independence of Nisāmai from king and court and his single-minded devotion to the poetical Muse; and with anguish: self-pity he points to the heavy yoke on his own neck:

I. Mathnawi, Majnum-Layla, p.
But, loving or hating, Khusraw had to bear the yoke and trail along his weary way. To cater for the taste of an erstwhile slave who happened now to squat on the royal throne —— this must have been the torture for a man of Khusraw's exquisite sensibility. (Need the reader be reminded here of the majestic Sadi who, in the very first verse of the royal panegyric in prose, could drench the king with this bucket of icy-cold water:)

It is a suggestive fact of Persian literary history that none of its great poetical Quintuplet —— Ferdawsī, Nīṣāmī, Ṛmī, Sādī and Ḥāfīz —— had a permanent serving connection with any court. But, unhappily, Khusraw was not among those fortunate few. And his misfortune was all the more pitiable for he fully realised the malevolent effect of such bondage on poetical production. Where simplicity cannot please, affectation must needs

I. Kulliyāt, p. 223
he employed. It was this violence against the genius of poetry of which Khusraw was painfully conscious and about which he so openly complained. Again to quote from his Majnum-Layla:

These lines are worth a close scrutiny. They express quaintly yet intelligibly, Khusraw's views about ornate and simple poetry. Let us paraphrase them in the first person like the original. Says he:

I wanted to imitate Nizami. And I knew that I was quite capable of it. (This is turning indeed a full round-about; for while Khusraw indulged so much in verbal

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I. Majnum-Layla, p
Hisâmi's haughty disdain for them is well-known.) I abandoned my own style and surrendered myself to Hisâmi's Layla-Nâjma, with my pen I sketched a copy (from Hisâmi) and set aside my own affectation (of style, i.e. I discarded my own affected style for Hisâmi's simplicity.) With facile fluency I washed off the paint and powder of the body-poetic, for these paint and powder are (the adjuncts of) an imperfect art and they have extended their name and fame through (being related to) my style (i.e. ornate poetry became famous not because it had any intrinsic worth but because it was my chosen style.) A captivating eye needs no collyrium. Conversely, it is fruitless to pencil with indigo a mis-shapen eye-brow (i.e. good poetry needs no art, and no amount of art can make good what is bad.)

Here we see an honest man indulging in self-criticism. He acknowledges Hisâmi's ascendancy over himself. He attributes it to Hisâmi's simple and direct diction and to his own inordinate hankering after artificiality
and affection. He resolves to renounce for once in his Majnūn-Layla his own style and to adopt that of Nizāmī instead (with what results we shall see at the end of this chapter.) That was the beginning and the end of Khusraw’s notorious verbiety. Let others blame him for the Original Sin; we admire him for his ultimate repentance and atonement.

We have now dealt with the two chief particulars which distinguish Khusraw’s ghazal from that of Sadi. It is better to recapitulate them briefly. First we have noted that while Sadi’s ghazal is the culmination of the style of Rūdaki, Jamāl and Kamāl, Khusraw’s ghazal contains the first buds and sprouts of the well-known . The vital import of this contrast needs no stressing. Secondly we have found that while the Shaykh’s language is simple, direct and unadorned, the Amir’s writings are often marred with affection, quips and wordy artifices, sacrifying the natural beauty of poetry to paint and polish.

But happily our story does not end here. Khusraw was too great an artist not to realise where he defaulted and not to amend when he erred. And all the lovers of the Persian language should be thankful that it was so. Had the energies of such a potent and plenteous genius petered out on trivialities the literature of that ancient tongue would have suffered both in amplitude and quality. With deep wisdom and discriminating taste he
chose his models for the different varieties of poetry. As to ghazal he went in plumb for our Shaykh. We can easily divine his meaning from the following modest lines in

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{وَمَزَّلَتُ يَا زَينَبَِّي، وَدَمَّرَتُ عِيْضَةً فِي دُمَّرَتُ عِيْضَةً فِي دُمَّرَتُ عِيْضَةً} \\
\text{فَلَا تَفْرِيقَ،} \\
\text{فَلا تَفْرِيقَ،} \\
\text{فَلا تَفْرِيقَ،}
\end{align*}
\]

This choice of model, and not all the stuffings for the barbaric taste of the court in his Divan, is the true measure of his poetical greatness. And he copied his model so faithfully that the replica is indistinguishable from the original. All traces of the are sloughed off; all chattels of word-magic are thrown away; and a new poet emerges robed in the grandeur of elemental simplicity and grace. Indeed, there is a such a flagrant diversity in the two styles of the Amir that it might well give rise to a suspicion of poetic schizophrenia. But a should know better. He should be a le to make out the apparent from the real, the natural from the assumed. The supreme poetic intellect which appeared in this sub-continent during the past millennium, the fiery-hearted whose intercession

\[i. \text{Mathnawi Qirānus-Sa'dayn, }\]
was the hope of salvation for the saintly نَفَر - we say that if such a mighty prodigy took up pen to write ghazal, would he, could he, put it down again without having equalled the very best in the class — the very best being in this case the lyrical master — creations of our own Shaykh? When thus inspired, Khusraw gets merged into Sadi, and no eye without the blessing of a squint can see them each apart. Of course, there are minor differences in their individual styles but they are mostly insignificant and serve only to set off their essential unity.

Incidentally, this identity of style found in the ghazals of the two masters absolves the present writer from dilating on Khusraw as a lyric writer. What has been written earlier in this connection about Sadi will suffice for Khusraw as well. When we have charted the sound it is needless to map the echo. However, to round off the present discussion as well as to point out the above-mentioned individual distinctions of style met with in Sadi and Khusraw, it seems proper to append a brief note on Khusraw as a lyricist also.

We have seen earlier that the chief quality of a lyricist is an intense love of beauty. We first discussed this matter in full where we discussed lyricism in general, and then we dealt with it in its particular application
to Sadi. Now let us see what the Amîr has to offer us in this field. Read this ghazal:

And again:

We find Sadi's worship of beauty here, and we find something more. We discover that in each of the above two odes all the verses are strung on a single thread. There is a unity of idea which runs through them all. We suffer no mental jolts caused by conceptually disjointed lines. There is a facile and felicitous transition from verse to verse. We had witnessed this quality in Sadi. And we find it in equal measure in

1. Diwan-i-Khusraw, p.18
2. ibid p.18
Khusraw as well.

And in the second of the above two odes we perceive something else. It is one of those few happy instances where both the masters have written in same rhyme and metre. Khusraw's ghazal has been reproduced above, and it is enough to quote Sadi's opening line only:

Let others hasten with their prisms and microscopes; we confess to detect no difference in the colouring and matter of the two specimens.

We had also earlier noted that the language as well as the tone of a lyric should be soft and sweet, so much so that even if a lover complained of his beloved he should do so without any palpable bitterness in his speech. We cited some instances of this from Sadi, and we can pile up an equal number from Khusraw as well. But for the sake of brevity we refer only to the second and third lines of the second of the above-quoted two ghazals, and then pass on to our next point.

We also observed before that a lyric's orientation was always subjective, and that even when it dealt with objective nature it did so only to express or suggest the emotional effect of nature on the poet. Sadi's sovereignty is rightfully recognised over this domain. But it is a

I. Kulliyat, p. 534
diarchy and not a monarchy, for we should not be unmindful of Khushraw's equally powerful claims. On this point also the testimony of the above two odes is decisive. However, if further proof be needed, after those two songs of vernal joy read this Persian "Ode to the West Wind".

While dwelling on Sādī we had also seen that even his treatment of mystical topics was typically lyrical. He did not soar up to heaven but brought down God to earth, for adoring Him and for cherishing Him; for singing His songs and pining in His love — just as a simple earthly lover would do for his simple earthly darling.

Khushraw follows suit but here we find a slight difference. Divine love is so thoroughly personified by Sādī that often it is after considerable groping that we catch hold of his true intent. But Khushraw sometimes puts in a pointer in the form of a suggestive word or phrase. For example, read this glorious ghazal:

I. Dīwān-i-Khusraw, p. 74
2. Ibid, p. 341
It is all mysticism hidden behind a material veil. But in the master-verse of the ode Khusrav uses the phrase which partly raises the curtain and enables us to see within; thus:

Likewise, in another equally famous ghazal:

The problem of interpretation is solved by the final verse:

It is a small but notable difference, originating perhaps from the entecedents of the two poets. Sadi was a single-minded votary of the poetical Muse, while Khusrav was a disciple of the as well. It is difficult to pass judgment on such fine matters of taste. However, if Rumi's maxim:

is to be compulsorily followed generally then it must be followed in detail as well. But in that case what will happen to Rumi's own Mathnawi which is a veritable repository of unadulterated Sufi doctrine? It is a moot and veracious question.

There is one other point which distinguishes the Amir from the Shaykh. It is not related to lyricism but we should like to mention it here. Sadi loses himself totally and irretrievably into his beloved. The metamorphosis is final; for his there is no more an "I" but

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1. Divan-i-Khusraw, p. 331
3. Nasravi Ma'nawi, p. 29
4. Ibid., p.
only a "Thou". But the Amir (perhaps as private compensation for a courtier's public self-effacement?) often talks egotistically. For example:

It is a lover talking of his love in the abstract, with reference to no other person loved or otherwise but himself.

To complete this assessment of Khusrav as a lyricist it seems appropriate to gratify and to edify the reader with one of the best lyrical specimens to be found either in the poetical works of the Amir or, indeed, in the entire literary heritage of the Persian language. It is not a ghazal but the piece of a Mathnawi, but even so it is a lyric in the fullest sense of the word. (we must remember that the term lyric is related not to any particular poetical form but to the subject-matter and the mode of expression of poems compare the Lament of the Reed in the ینار , which is a lyric by every cannam of criticism.) It is the letter of Layla written to Majnun. The reader may remember that it was in this very Mathnawi of Majnun-Layla that Khusrav declared his intention of discarding his customary ornate style and

1. Divān-i-Khusrav, p.29
2. Ibid, p.427
writing in simpler and more natural vein. Now see the fruit. Writes the pining Layla to her wandering Majnaun:

\[ \text{دوی شمع ذرقیه میز
خرش از نور تا هر که درک
با نور زدک سفید شناخت
دبیه میره که من سنین باز
در پایی ل قتطش میکنی...}

\text{نشر نوام از هر میه
پرست سبز شخص میکنست...}

\text{من ناز سان زرنگیم
چنین همین حسیم
من از دل هر برون لیش
سپرزش هم بر من خرابت
از دیبیه من تراور آزاد...}

\text{کانم می شده را ثابت نادارد
زننای خریغ جنست
ار آتش آن من مینه نشین
بیان سرانت من سبین...}

\text{لیزه شبست انته خرم
تو میره بری که من شنی میاک
مگربت حکایت من بار...}

\[ I. \text{Mathnavi - Majnaun-Layla, pg. 148-54} \]
This music effuses not from cords or strings; it comes out from the shreds of a torn heart.

This comparative study has reached its end at last. It has been a finely balanced affair, the scale now tipping this way now that. But our main question as to who carries the lyrical pain still remains undecided. We should make a final effort and have a closer and deeper look into the matter. Thus we shall discover that regarded simply as lyricists there is nothing to choose between Sadi and Khusraw. However, it will be seen that while Sadi is nothing but a lyricist Khusraw is a lyricist extraordinaire and something else as well. And this appendage, as it were, to the Amir's lyricism is his recurrent engrossment with words at the expense and to the detriment of his subject-matter. At such moments he seems to forget that his affectation is slogging the fountain of his inspiration and his verse is falling into laboured ineffectuality. For lyricism with its simplicity and broad naturalness is the very antithesis of cant and artificiality. The alternation of emotional pathos and artistic playfulness in Khusraw are the total lyrical effect. It we see a person winking one moment and weeping the other the suspicion of imposture is fairly excusable. Such a double dye is calculated to put the sincerity and the integrity of the best poet in doubt.
We are not sure which window looks into the reality of his heart.

On the contrary, in Sadi we are never faced with this dilemma. There is no conflict either in his style or in his ideas. An unbroken unity prevails all round. Even where he employs art he seems to do so artlessly. A spirit of transparent and impeccable sincerity runs through his entire Kulliāt. And it is this truthful, natural and almost naïve approach to the affairs of love which makes him the supreme lyricist of the Persian language.
SADİ AND HÂFIZ

Compared as Lyricists
CHAPTER V

Sadi and Hafiz Compared as Lyricists

When two Immensities confront each other there is no measure to size them up. Had we set out to compare Sadi and Hafiz simply as ghazal-writers we would have found ourselves just in such a quandary. But, fortunately, our terms of reference have spared us that plight. We are concerned here with their ghazals not as ghazals but as lyrics. When so qualified, the discussion may hopefully lead to some definite conclusion.

First, let us differentiate between a lyric and ghazal. As we already know, the lyric is a personal, emotional, sweet, simple, short poem, and the emotion around which it centres is often that of personal live. The Persian ghazal in its origin was also just such a poem and at that time there was nothing to choose between it and the lyric. But the Persians do not excel in their amours only but they are a mightily witty people as well, and wit and epigram go hand in hand. The latter Persian poets discovered that, apart from its old amorous associations, the rounded couplet of the
ghazal was eminently suitable for making an epigram. And then the flood-gates burst and all heaven and earth poured into this Marvel Mars. And, wonder of wonders, the two flimsy walls of its couplet swallowed it all without showing the least stress or strain. And so, what was originally a Virgilian shepherd's pathetic ditty ended in a nicely-turned Baconian epigram.

And in this evolution of the Persian ghazal, substance and form kept pace. The language of the ghazal evolved with its subject-matter. As the one widened in scope, the other in its turn became richer, more complex and more elegant.

Sadi and Hafiz respectively represent the two extremes of this spectrum. There is some intermingling of hues, of course, but the overall effect is that of contrast. In the one (viz. Sadi) the theme is love and the language is sweet and simple which is best suited to that theme. In the other (viz. Hafiz) the variety of themes is as infinite as the patterns of man's mental kaleidoscope. And the language is also rich and ripe so that it may cope with the composer's ever new and exacting demands.

Another basic point of difference between these two poets is also worth noting. We find that, as with the old Persian poets, Sadi's ghazal represents a conceptual unity, a single idea, usually dealing with some particular moment
or phase in the lover's life, runs through it from end to end. This uniformity has a favourable sub-conscious effect on the reader and assures him of the poet's earnestness and sincerity. On the other hand, the ghazal of Hafiz is usually a collection of heterogeneous verses each of which, like the English couplet of the Augustan Age, forms in itself an epigrammatic whole. This variety provides an intellectual feast, but emotionally its effect is disastrous. The swiftly-succeeding impressions vanish before they have sunk into the reader's heart. It is the difference of cinematograph and a slide-show, of earnest purpose and frivolous caprice.

However, we are not concerned here to stress the divergences between Sadi and Hafiz. Our task is to compare, and there can be no comparison in contrast. As we pointed out earlier, there happens to be some common ground between our two poets. And, fortunately, that common ground best suits our purpose, for it is their love poetry. And it is precisely this love poetry in which we can assess them as lyricists. The following comparison will consist of three parts, A, B, and C, dealing respectively with their Language, Subject-Matter, and Poetical Art. Part B which is about subject-matter will again be sub-divided into two sections, one dealing with Common Love, and the other with Mystical Love. A. Language - Sadi talks while Hafiz discourses; these
five words epitomise the main difference in the two poets' language styles. Sadi is always conversational, with all the halts and jolts, the fitful breaks, and the ebb and flow of spontaneous conversation. But is not all natural speech like this? Does it not gain in truth what it loses in finish and design? In our intimate talk is a spade called a spade, or does it get the dignified appellation of "an agricultural implement"? Of course, every language is in a process of constant evolution, and a hundred years separated Sadi and Hafiz. But the difference in their language is not that of time, but of principle. Sadi is the son of Rashid and Rudaky; Hafiz is the father of Jami and Fughani. The language of the following two verses is divided not by the gap of a century but by the gulf of opposite traditions:

Sadi:

Hafiz:

It is simplicity against elegance, the natural word as it

1. Kalifat, p.709
flits to the lips against the artistic term as it is
dragged to paper. is a taboo among the latter-day
poets. But Sadi uses the word twice in the above
verse. And there is not a single in his entire line.
This contrasts significantly with Hafiz who employs the
no less than six times, making two single and two
double compounds.

is regarded as another ugly blemish which more
It is of two degrees. The milder one is termed
the extreme one is called . In Hafiz you
would search in vain even for the milder variety. But in
Sadi you have the right real thing with the added enormity
of

Call the offence heinous, barbarous, or what you will. But
it is there and stays put, uncoutch but unabashed, blundering
but unapologetic. The clock has been set back, not by
error, but with wilful purpose. This is not the language of
Sadi's contemporaries or his predecessors up to two hundred

1. Kulliyat, p.638
years. This is not the usual language of Sadi himself -
Sadi who composed this renowned qasida:

بِهَرَانَان كَنَّا نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى نَحْبُتُ وَسُمَّى

Sadi who could write in his *posh* verses like this:

Sadi who adorned his *posh* with the *posh* of Hamadan's story. We say, this is not the language of Sadi: This is that primal dialect in which Adam and Eve made love.

To sum up, we may say that between the respective poetical diction of these two eloquent Shirazians there is the difference of a rustic's reed and a symphony orchestra. The one pierces our hearts, while the other drowns our ears in the rhythmic music of the spheres.

**Subject-Matter** - As we are concerned with lyricism only, our chief basis of comparison here will be the love poetry of these two poets and the matters dealt with in it. So, perforce, we shall have to exclude the best part of the Khwaja's diwan which happens to be the best part of the Khwaja as well. As said earlier, we propose to divide this Part into two Sections, one dealing with Common Love, the other with the Mystical Love.

1. **Common Love** - Even in the theme of common human love
we perceive some significant differences in the approach of the two poets. First and foremost, whereas Hafiz says to his beloved, "You and I", and sometimes even, "I and you", Sadi's submission is: "You before me and before all others", and not seldom, "You and you alone and none other". In Hafiz we see two separate beings, with separate, sometimes even conflicting, ends and interests, confronting each other. In Sadi there is neither any confrontation nor any conflict. There is only one being of supreme beauty visible on the entire horizon of the poet's vision. If beside that beauty there appears a phantom, it is not the beauty's lover but the beauty's own shadow. It is suggestive in this connection that while Sadi has thirteen of his ghazals with the ی، ی، Hafiz has only three.

The ending lines (ز) of their ghazals are also worth noting. In Persian love poetry the poet cannot eulogize himself for he represents the lover and to the lover self-praise is totally forbidden. But a relaxation exists in the case of the ghazal's magta where a poet may blow his own trumpet if he likes. Both our poets have availed themselves of this sanction, but each has done so in his own characteristic way. They present us with a difference, not only of quality, but of quantity as well. Sadi has about 724 ghazals
(Furugi and Iqbal), and only 33 of them have self-praising maqtas. This contrasts with the 405 ghazals of Ḥafiz (Gazvīnī) with their 45 self-eulogising endings. Their ratio comes up to about 1:2.

And the matter does not end here. In 12 out of his 23 self-praising maqtas Ṣādi attributes his poetical inspiration to his love for the beloved. Two instances will suffice:

1. Kulliyat, p. 610
2. Ibid., p. 674
3. Divan-i-Ḥafiz, p. 205
And in another, Hafiz blatantly breaks the age-old of etiquette of eastern love and boasts of his excellence over his beloved:

This aggressive egotism may make Hafiz an overbearing poet, but it would hardly qualify him for the modest yet more amiable title of a lyricist. The latter honour rightfully belongs to him who humbles himself before his beloved thus:

The lover in Sadi lives only to love. He is a self-annihilating self. He is a sanguine person, hoping when no hope remains, knocking where the bolt is bolted and locked. He suffers greatly but with no bitterness in his heart he solicits mercy but with no complaint on his lips. He worships his beloved who represents for him his Holy Trinity of Beauty, Good, and Truth.

And what is this lover’s counterpart in Hafiz? We find there a self-assured, self-centred syne, of ripe age and

1. Dinwani-Hafiz, p. 432
2. Kulliyat, p. 884.
riper experience, with a glib confession of love on his lips and an amused indulgence for his foolish paramour in his heart, now posing as a lover, anon as a Suffering Moses, and all at once as an aged gently admonishing the young beauty thus:

To elaborate and illustrate the points discussed above, let us select one ghazal each from Sadi and Hafiz and examine it verse by verse. The following piece is from one of the famous ghazals of the Hafiz:

Let us now select one ghazal each from Sadi and Hafiz and examine it verse by verse. The following piece is from one of the famous ghazals of the Hafiz:

1. Divan-i-Hafiz, p. 19
2. Inid, p. 397
The poet enters the ring with an astounding riddle coup, praising the ruby-wine, proposing a peep at the moon-browed beauties ("mind, reader, it is not 'beauty' in the singular, but 'beauties' in the plural. We are in the presence of a libertine, not a lover), and giving a departing pinch to abstemious virtue:

Then he turns to the Sufi Longimanus and tears at his entangling snares:

Anon he appears as a disdainful dervish and heaps contempt on the trashy treasures of the two worlds:
Suddenly, as if awakening to his professed role of a love-poet, he lowers the key, simulates a sigh and utters a plaint against his fickle fairy:

The ghazal contains two other couplets in like strain. And then it all ends up in a curious mass where the word " Beloved Temporal and the Beloved Divine, but signifies the whose purity and piety are the objects of the poet's eulogium

This multi-coloured tapestry is a ghazal certainly, and one of the very best at that. But is it a lyric also? Well, one wonders.

But there should be no such doubt in the case of the following piece which has been selected almost at random from Sadi and is but one among the many more
 Hundreds like it in his diwan:

آمن که رستگار هر کسی رود به بیان
بیل، در دوستان - نیم‌پیم

هر چهارم جام علی به بیان
سپری شدهای آزاد کمی

ارسی تن دان دیده، بررسی
زاده، هم چنان در هم این

من دست سپری کرده، پیام
در پکن قاب، که هست چون

مونه‌ی روزان تن الهاء، من
بجا ودیده، دیده و که بر

مان از ایران بیرون بیم
نوشته تریسته، ای ملک

I. Kulliyyet, p.615
Then in the sixth verse:

...conclusion that it is all obscene and utterly true... Indeed, the thing is so earnest that the speaker is carried away by his beloved. Tenderly, earnestly, earnestly, indeed, the lover pours out his heart. The sequence of these tortuous and pungent notes with their pathetic manner is love's pouring out the essence, no exaggeration of the key. In plaintive notes and...
But he lets only half a line suffice for that:

\[ \text{And even of this half the better part is no complaint at all, but a revoking of the complaint and an apology for the deserter:} \]

If a lover be more accusatory than this he violates the code of love.

And then in the succeeding verses there follow a throbbing avowal of love, a total abnegation of the lover's self, an entire submission to the beloved. Such utter surrender would have been unbelievable, but in the present context it is not. The wise poet has so praised the beloved that the lover's infatuation for her appears to be entirely natural; truly, such exquisite beauty seems to be worthy of such intense devotion. This judicious bracketing of supreme beauty with extreme love is rarely absent from Sadi's ghazals. And this, together with his simple language and easy style, is the secret which has made his love poetry so deeply affecting yet so naturally sincere.

But if this equation of beauty and love is to be emotionally effective the poet should be mindful of the type of the beauty which he describes. There is a beauty to enjoy and a beauty to worship. There is a dahlia in a dandy's buttonhole and a wild lily on a hermit's altar-stone. Look carefully at the following two portrayals of beauty:
An enchanting picture, no doubt, but the traces of the beauty-maker's pencil are clearly discernable in it.

Sadi:

This is no stage beauty, this is no Mrs Siddon's of the Covent Garden Opera; this is a "phantom of delight", this is the Wordsworthian Lucy herself. And surely at the altar of such a beauty the life of her lover seems but a humble offering.

2. Mystical Love - So far we have confined our discussion to the worldly beloved and her worldly lover. But the Sufis say... and we may now cross over to the other side. Here the vista changes from the worldly to the divine. There is a Beloved here as well, but it is with the capital B. In this mystical affair of love it is the celestial Beauty of God which attracts men. Sadi and Hafiz both come under its spell, but with a fundamental difference. While Sadi adores that Beauty, Hafiz tries to understand its nature. It is the difference of a lover and a gnostic, an شائق and an عارف. 

1. Divan-i-Hafiz, p.177
2. Kulliyat, p.711
And it may safely be asserted at the outset that if we are in quest of lyrics they are more likely to flow from the tongue of a lover than the pen of a Plotinus. It is significant that the mystical poetry of Hafiz is centred around wine and that of Sadi around Beauty. The implication is clear. According to Hafiz, just as the inebriating effect of wine helps the drinker to have extra-sensory perceptions, he who aspires to discover the nature of Divino Beauty should seek the guidance of ecstasy and rapture. Says Hafiz:

1. *Divan-i Hafiz*, p. 45
2. Ibid, p. 135
Those and hundreds of other verses like those in the Khawja's diwan repeatedly praise the wine and the tavern and the cup and the cup-bearer. Often, as in the above examples, their mystical significance is clear; but sometimes it is not and can only be inferred either from the general undertone of a particular poem or from some suggestive hint found in it. For example, read the following passage from a ghezali:

2. Ibid., p.319
Upto the third verse the terminology of جل and ,،،، and خان keeps us in doubt if we are in a public-house or a مات. Then comes the fourth verse which resolves the doubt and assures us that the poet is dealing with the Real Thing:

\[
\text{سادهنا، ورادات در مياه بین}
\]

Sadi's approach to mysticism is entirely different. He is not after discovering the Divine Reality; It has already been discovered to him. He has found it to be the Supreme and the Transcendental Beauty, the only Beauty worth loving, the only Loveliness worth desiring. He loves it with such genuine passion as if it were there before his eyes, in concrete shape and human form, to be touched and fondled and caressed and kissed. This is so much so that here also (as in هفیز) the reader gets confused as to the real meaning of the poet and cannot decide if the beauty thus described is human or divine. Unlike Hafiz, the Sheykh very seldom gives a clue to his real intent. But, marvellously, sometimes he does, as in the following passage:

1. Diwan-i-Hafiz, p.319
So far we do not know if the beauty thus praised is human or divine. Then come the following two verses which finally uncover the poet's meaning:

1. Kulliyat, p. 636
2. Ibid., p. 638
And this love of Sadi's Divine Beloved is also often indistinguishable from the brutal heartlessness of the worldly beauties, as in the following:

And this is also loving.

1. Kulliyat, p. 633
But for the use of *مَرَحَة* in the last verse, it would have been difficult to decide if the complaint of cruelty in the above passage was against the *مَرَحَة* or against some fairfaced oppressor of the human species.

Indeed, Sadi's personification of the Deity verges on anthropomorphism. Other mystics also have applied the attributes of beauty to God. But their metaphorical meanings are plain to everyone who happens to remember his lessons in Shabistari's *شَهْبَشَارَی*. It is not so with Sadi. His passion for the Divine Adorable has transmuted those metaphors into sensuous realities. And, as a corollary, it is the same passion which has transformed his mystical poetry into the finest lyrical verse of Persia.

Poetical Art. — Something should also be said of these two composers' respective skills in the poetical art, for art is indispensable to all poetry, be it mystical, lyrical or otherwise. The art of poetry consists in the ability of the poet to suit his language to his ideas, i.e. to express himself clearly, cogently, and effectively. As an extra for the special case of Persian and some other eastern languages, the poet should also have the power to use a given rhyme to best advantage. The poet's art has little to do with the ideas which a poet may wish to express; it is chiefly concerned with the technique of expressing those ideas. (Hence the famous dictum of *Ibn Khalladun* that poetry is word, not concept). The
first eye-catching (or should we say ear-catching?) point of difference in Hafiz and Sadi's modes of expression is the quality of their pitch. The Shaykh is always subdued; the Khwaja never lowers his key. But this does not mean that the latter knows the music better. A lute may be as tuneful as a trumpet, or possibly more.

Sadi loves simplicity, but he is not a simplistic poet. His mastery of the poetical art is vindicated when we see Hafiz competing with him in no less than 46 ghazals but succeeding to beat him in none. Hafiz entered the field with the great advantage of having Sadi's performances before his eyes. So he had the opportunity of bettering them if he could. But he did not. We only see an advance here and a set-back there, and the final result of the heat is a draw.

It may be instructive to reflect on the successes and failures of Hafiz in his competitive efforts against Sadi. First let us deal with the efficiency in the use of a rhyme. The following two instances will suffice.

The first example concerns the rhyme ـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُـُ~

used by Sadi in one of those ghazals which were later copied by Hafiz. Sadi in his ghazal-writing was a lyricist and nothing but a lyricist. In this fact lay his strength and his weakness. Although he was unapproachable in that particular field, yet if a side-track existed Hafiz with his infinite resourcefulness could steal a march on him. This is exactly
what happened in this case. The rhyme بیست is of common occurrence in Persian, and, so perhaps, Sadi lightly passes over it, thus:

 дня زمان برخورد بدلیل بخت بخشند
 قرن آتش به در بخارا خانم

Light or heavy, the verse is still a lyrical stroke before which even the Thunderer of India stands muffled:

گلابی یک بیشتر نه درون

Ghalib committed the folly of meeting the Shaykh on the latter's own ground. The sorry outcome was predictable. But not so Hafiz, who was a shrewder artist than Ghalib. He assessed the various capabilities of this word, and then, changing the subject from pure love to the Prophet's Ascension, with one surge of his mighty genius swept away all the Mi'raj-names of Misaedi and Khurshid and their teeming trains ۴

\[\text{ستک بدر سپی و خلوتیان کورت}
\]

\[\text{چنانی نزی خواب نیست مرا است}\]

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1. Kulliyat, p. 348
2. Diwan-e-Ghalib, p. 39
3. Diwan-e-Hafiz, p. 32
Sadi stands bowled out. This may be poetical cricket. But, O honest reader, by the Heavenly God and the Earthly Names, this is not lyricism.

The next is our Shaykh's innings. It is the rhyme which a more unpootical word may not be found in the whole repertory of Persian vocabulary. Unlike Fā' g, the Shaykh must have taken it as a challenge, and the finest lyricist of Persia rose to meet that challenge:

In the brimming treasure-chest of the Persia muse it would be hard to come by a gem of brighter brilliance.

And now we sadly see all the infinite sources of Hafiz drying up and the hapless Khwaja turning to a tiny tricklet for inspiration.

1. Dinshah-i-Jafiz, p. 77
2. Ibid. p. 77
To appreciate the appeal of this verse it is necessary for one to be a Shirazian. Since we cannot claim that honour, we may give a consolatory note to this pious effort and politely pass on.

(Incidentally, the only imagery which the term خَمْرُ the Qur'anic concept, could excite in the mind of an Indian poet-laureate was that of a slaughter-house, writes...)

The next thing to consider in the comparison of the poetical technique of Sadi and Hafiz is their power of expression. This faculty is of much more consequence to a poet than his ability to employ nicely a particular rhyme, for without it he cannot make himself fully understood by others. There are some instances in these two poets where they both have said the same thing but have expressed it in different ways. A brief discussion of one such example will suffice to show which of the two was a better hand at this game.

Sādī

1. Kulliyyat, Ziaq, p. 332
2. Kulliyyat, p. 697
Both verses appear to be in the best tradition of the Persian love poetry. In both, the sweethearts have scorpions' stings grafted to their tongues and the lovers have a pain-killing serum coursing through their veins. So in both verses the bitter retorts (بی تهانه) of the sweethearts seem sugar and honey to their lovers. But this is only the appearance and we should beware lest it prevented us from discovering the hidden reality. When closely examined, the similarity between the similarities and dissimilarities of their words, and beyond those words there is all dissimilarity and divergence. Hafiz by یک حسین proclaims, and by یکن در کاری stresses, the fact that his sugar-tongued sweetheart has nevertheless fated him with not a few very unsugary words. The sense of injury is there, the occasion and the expression of complaint are there, though they be doubly sugar-coated with the two accompanying expressions, یک فرخا and یک فرخا. In these circumstances, one wonders if the poet is aiming at the praise of his lady-love's sweet speech or is implying an encomium on his own forgiving temper.
The verbal construction of the verse is also not wholly satisfactory. In this word is an obvious redundancy. Then the double apposition of and and , smacks of affectation.

And what does our Shaykh, the true lover, the sweet lyricist, have to offer us instead? First, in the first hemistich there is a melodious internal rhyme, and . Then there is a total, utter, absolute denial of the very existence of a . Mark the overwhelming force of that denial: . The phrase exudes the poet’s conviction and compels the reader’s belief. And where there is no injury received there is no injury to forgive. As opposed to the Khwaja’s sugar-coated pill, with the Shaykh it is all sugar and no bitter medicine within.

It is time to take leave of these twin laureates of the Persian ghazal. Comparisons are always invidious, and the present one seemed almost sacrilegious to the writer. The pagan worshipper has saved himself of this embarrassment by assigning different spheres of creation to his different gods and adoring each with equal devotion. But, alas, the present Age of Reason barred us that escape and compelled us to analyse and classify and discriminate. What was worse, under our terms of reference we had to weight the scales against one of the two competing rivals, for we had to compare Sadi and Hafiz as lyricists, and not as ghazal-writers. Thus, while we had almost all the seven hundred and odd ghazals of the Shaykh for our review, we had to exclude the greater portion
of the Khwaja's diwan, that greater portion being, unfortunately, his best and sublimest. However, had we widened the scope and compared them simply as ghazal-writers, we would have found that each was supreme in his own sphere. What those spheres or ghazal styles are we can best understand from the loving titles which their admiring countrymen have bestowed on them: Sadi the Prophet, and Hafiz the Prophet of Verses. In the present writer's humble opinion, it has nothing to do with omen and augury. The rather, it signifies the Interpreter of the Occult, the Expounder of the Hidden Mysteries of the Universe. Perhaps it is the picture of this Shirazi himself, bearing aloft his Gospel of Verse, which one sees reflected in his own famous lines:

Verily, the Enigma of Existence and the Vision of Reality had been revealed to this Serene and Sailing Seer, who, vividly brings to mind the image of the in ibn Sina's delightful aphorism:

As for our Shaykh's title, it seems to epitomise in two words what the present writer has striven to establish.

1. Diwan-i. Hafiz, p. 105
in three chapters. If a lyric be a song of love sweetly sung, who is a better lyricist than a nightingale? And, truly it is with the nightingale that the Shaykh resembles. The poet himself seems to be conscious of this resemblance for he points to it in a pensive melody whose sweetness itself is the best proof of his claim:

I, Kulliyāt, p. 331
CONCLUSION
At last our long long but interesting journey has ended. We passed through the sombre realms of speculative philosophy. And then we emerged into the halcyon states of love and beauty, of song and music. And all the while man of deep wisdom and broad compassion, of affectionate heart and sweet speech, kept us company. Let us see what conclusions of value we may draw from our ambitious venture.

The first part of this thesis dealt with Sādi as a Humanist. In it we saw that the term Humanism derived from the Greek word 'humanitas' meaning 'education of man'. As a philosophical system it was a late arrival in the field. It originated in Italy, and was the reaction of human nature against the unnatural bonds of soul-less religion and heartless formal ethics, against intolerant Popery and over-bearing Aristotelianism. It was at the root of the revolution which Renaissance and Protestantism wrought in the realms of Religion, Science and Art. It raised the standard of humanity and restored to man his rightful place in God's heaven and earth. It made man a measure into himself and
and unto all things spiritual and temporal. According to it the Perfect Man was not the Infallible Man but the Natural Man. By it, vice was made, not to lose its deformity, but to be accepted as a fact of life, to be looked upon with compassion and commiseration. The enjoyment of Beauty was no more to be regarded as sensuous sinfulness, for Beauty and Good were seen to be the twin begotten of Balance and Propertion. This principle of balance and proportion was carried further and was introduced into the human self itself. The balanced multi-sided, all-embracing growth of human self was seen to be the ideal of humanity, the ultimate in Good and Beauty.

This exaltation of Truth and Beauty sprouted in a hundred new blossoms. Truth and sincerity went hand in hand. There was no more any room for falsity and cant. The bondage of man to man, the division of the children of one father Adam and one mother Eve into high and low, went overboard. Liberty and freedom were the obvious co-adjutants of equality and fraternity. The sense of fraternity and compassion. And equality gave rise to self-respect. Man was no more to bear and tolerate presumptuous insolence and gratuitous injury.

But this same self-respect, with a happy inversion, put on the humble garb of humility. The transformation was based on the universal thumb-rule of all ethical and moral precepts: Do unto others as you would have them do unto you. If man demands respect for himself, he should have respect for others. This respect for others, when developed as habit, leads
the way to humility and self-abnegation.

But the most salubrious, the most fruitful result of the sublimation of Truth was the installation of Reason as the supreme judge of Right and Wrong. In religion the emphasis changed over from the mystic to the critic. From now on, the adict of damnation was not to be issued from the college of Cardinals in Rome, but from the Platonic Academy in Greece. Reason led the way to understanding which in its turn exposed the folly and injustice of religious bigotry.

Like Truth, Beauty was also a greatly important object for the humanist's adoration. Truth was the idol of their knowing faculty; Beauty was the goddess of their feeling self. They worshipped it in every form and in every place. They liked the pearl "\(\alpha\)\(\beta\)\(\gamma\)\(\delta\)\(\epsilon\)\(\zeta\)\(\eta\)\(\xi\)\(\omicron\)\(\pi\)\(\rho\)\(\sigma\)\(\tau\)\(\upsilon\)\(\phi\)\(\chi\)\(\psi\)\(\omega\)\). They admired a presence, though it belonged to the himself. And their hatred of ugliness was in proportion to their love of beauty. Their attraction for the one was matched by their repulsion for the other. And their concept of beauty and ugliness transcended from the material into the Ideal world. Since they identified beauty with harmony, a virtuous act was a beautiful act in their eyes, for virtue is nothing but the harmonious reaction of the entire human self to a given set of circumstances which it encounters in the external world. The same may be
said about its converse of evil and ugliness.

The humanist's love of Truth and Beauty purified their thoughts and imparted a peaceful serenity to their mental attitude. They were sanguinely optimistic and cordially content.

To sum up, we may say that Humanism taught us:

1. To conceive man to be a measure in himself and for himself.
2. To regard the supreme Good as nothing but the harmonious development of the human self.
3. To seek Truth and honour it.
4. To obey Reason against superstition and prejudice.
5. To be tolerant in matters both religious and temporal.
6. To be compassionate towards the sufferer, be he the victim of perverse fortune or his own thoughtless folly.
7. To be free ourselves, and not to transgress against the freedom of others; to be jealous of our own honour and to respect the honour of others, i.e. to be proud and humble at once.
8. To love Beauty and to adore it, in every shape and in every place, in things material and things ideal, over the clayey earth and in the glorious heaven.
9. Finally, and as the happy result of the above discipline, to be at peace with the world, to be minimally content with the present, and to be indifferent, if not hopeful, about the future.
After discussing the evolution and the tenets of humanism, we passed on to Sadi and assessed him as a humanist. We saw there a man who preceded Erasmus, who was born centuries before Renaissance and Reformation, and yet whose works contained all the seeds which later sprouted in the fields of those movements and provided the rich harvest of humanism.

He raised the standard of Man against the traitors inside man's own species. And they were many: The stone-faced, stony-hearted clergy, the formal ethicists, the feudal lords, the tyrant rulers -- all these sons of Adam and Eve were their to smother and trample their own blood brethren. God managed to administer the world with ten commandments; but the do's and don't's of these Viceroys of God were as infinite as caprice itself. The destitute orphan of Shiraz rose against them all and proclaimed that henceforth the Nature of Man, would decide what was Man's Good. Considering the age and the environment of this brave, earnest man, it is amazing to realize what he attempted to achieve. Born in the heyday of absolute despotism, bred under the Mongol tyranny, learning traditional religion and imbuing doubtful knowledge from blustering, blustering mullahs, he could yet be independent and proud, he could yet be tolerant and think freely, he could yet remove the grains of reality from its husk.
He sought truth and he honoured it — and he
honoured it in the presence — nay, in the spite, of kings,
Hearken to what he proclaims in the Atabek’s court

This is a slap in the face of Zahir, and a pinch to the
ear of the king himself. The message of the poet is clear:
it is sincerity and humility. But his tone is not humble;
it is haughty and proud. But, mark: his hauteur and pride are
based on his assurance about his own sincerity and humility.
When the king is equally modest, he may also lay claim to
kingly glory — but not before.

One other — and perhaps the most attractive — blossom
of humanism is compassion. And this particular flower happens
also to be the favourite of our Shaykh. Indeed, its pretty
shrubs and serial rows are the most striking feature of his two
famous gardens: and . Sadi does not pity the sufferer;
he suffers with him.

The last infirmity of a humanist’s mind, his weakness for
Beauty, was also not lacking in our poet. He seems to have only
two things to do in life: to admire Beauty, and to compose beau-
tifully. Indeed, if in any ugly situation, he cannot find beauty
he creates it by his felicitous pen. One instance will suffice.

In his ghazals he describes human beauty as none has described it before or since. The earnestness of his approach, the tenderness of his touch, the vividness of his descriptions, transform beauty into loveliness. Beauty and love are the two centre themes of the Persian ghazal. Here we find two fundamental differences between other ghazal writers and Sadi in their respective approach to the subject. Almost in all poets except the Shaykh the stress is on the lover's love, the beauty of the loved one taking second place. But in Sadi these roles are reversed. There the love plays a secondary part, and it is the beauty of the beloved which dominates the stage.

A subtler distinction may also be pointed out. Those other poets bitterly and incessantly complain about the cruel and contrary nature of their beloved. But not so the gentle (and shrewd?) Shaykh. He knows that a fair face is darkened by bad temper. Loveliness is a subtle blending of a goodly figure and a goodly disposition, just as a delicious food is a mixture of delectable taste and pleasing...
flavour. So the beauty which the Shaykh depicts is a beauty of the body as well as of the soul.

After establishing and assessing the position of Sadi as a humanist writer we rummaged the thousand-year old Persian literature to find his peer. The poets, the sufis, the moralists failed us woefully. We found what we sought in a quarter where we least suspected it to be. It was the ancient battle singer of Tus who could hold a mirror to our Shirasian Erasmuses. The humanist maxims of Gulistan and Bustan were seen being practised centuries before on the battle fields of Shahnama. Indeed, it was discovered with amazement that the best epic poet of Persian was its next best humanist writer as well. The fact was so strange that it was necessary to furnish proof of its reality. So there followed a rather detailed discussion of Firdawsi, not as an epic writer, but as a humanist.

We found that, like Sadi, though of course, with occasional difference in strain and stress, Firdawsi also subscribed to almost all the basic tenets of humanism. His religious views were broad and pliable, not narrow and rigid. The active principle of his religion was not formalism but Universal Reason. In Shahnama the Praise of Reason follows the Praise of God and precedes the Praise
of the Prophet.

As to freedom, liberty and personal honour, all
Shahnama is replete with their extollation and exaltation.
Indeed, یک یک is the title par excellence with which
Mrdawal dignifies his fellow Iranians. We see the court
of the Persian kings, from Faridun down to Kay Khusraw,
adorned with galaxies of these same یک یک -- like
، ، and ،،، and finally, as climax
and culmination, the یک یک himself.

And may we hope to find contentment, the end and
ultimate of all humanism, in this warring throng? Yes we
may, and in plenty. Leaving aside the amiable یک یک and
the یک یک, that warring throng appears to enjoy a heavenly
peace -- the peace of mind and soul, the peace of conscious
virtue and active nobility.

As for sincerity - for which Mrdawal's word is یک یک,
it was shown that this important adjunct of humanism
was the special concern of the simple and honest یک.
Indeed, apart from praising sincerity in every and out,
its impact is so great on Mrdawal that it has infused
the very style of his whole work through and through.

Lastly and finally, we dealt with Mrdawal's love
of Beauty. Since he was writing of wars and not of love-
plays, he had few opportunities to come by it. Nevertheless
and flowery meadows are seldom found in soldierly ranks
and craggy battle fields. Yet whenever Mirdawai got the
rare opportunity of seeing and praising loveliness he
made the most of it. He quoted his exquisite line about the
pretty maids of Rawd falling down from the fort's wall.

After establishing the rights of Mirdawai to be called
a great humanist, we passed on to compare him with Sadi.
They were both seen to be indefatigable preachers of
humanism. The difference lay only in stress and expression.
The chief difference between them lay in the mode of their
presentation. Sadi is more inclined to propound its theories
than to illustrate their application. But in Mirdawai the
the position is reversed. He is a practical man, not prone
to much theorising. So he does not so much discuss the
principles of humanism as give us charming examples of how
they are acted upon by good men. Even as we also noted that
while Sadi could, whenever he liked illustrate as felicitously
as Mirdawai, the latter could not theorise as clearly and
elegantly as Sadi.

Thus ended our comparison. Ibn the Shaykh could not
claim a walk-over; at least we good grant him a victory on
points.
After discussing Humanism in general and showing Sadi's place as a humanist writer, we came to the second part of our essay which dealt with Sadi as a lyricist.

First we gave various definitions of Lyricism and we established on their basis that a lyric should partake of the following qualities:
1. It should be a short poem.
2. It should centre on some emotion, preferably that of personal love.
3. In tone it should not be gloomy, but cheerful and optimistic.
4. In language and strain it should be simple and sweet, like a child's talk, like a rustic's song.

Thus we passed on to Sadi's position as a lyric poet, which means in his case, chiefly as a ghazal writer. We discussed that a ghazal deserves to be called a lyric only when it is a musical little piece, of simple language and direct style, infused with truth, pulsating with emotion, personally orientated, transparently sincere, charmingly naive and innocently hopeful. And happily the ghazals of our Shaykh are just such musical pieces having just such qualities. So he pre-eminently deserves to be called a lyricist.
In the discussion of Sadi's lyricism one other point was stressed. Lyrical poetry mostly deals with human love. It may also be about Divine Love but only after giving human attributes to God. This down-grading of Divinity has the danger that man may up-grade himself to the level of God.

We see even Rumi and Hafiz occasionally stumbling at this pitfall. But not so our mostest Shaykh. Even when he trans-mutes God into a human beauty—which he almost always does—he never presumes to claim equality with Him. He is always his humble self, with a worshiping seal in his heart and a hymnal ditty on his lips.

After discussing Sadi's lyricism we proceeded to compare him with Khusrav and Hafiz, who, together with our Shaykh, form the famous trio of the Persian Ghazal.

First we dealt with Amir. We discovered the curious fact that he had two entirely different styles of ghazal writing. One was affected, wordy and fanciful, reminding the reader of the of a much later period. But his other style was simple, and direct, musically sweet and emotionally affecting. There was nothing to choose between the lyrics of Sadi and these latter ghazals of Khusrav.

However, the general trend of Khusrav's poetry is not towards simplicity but towards artificiality. And usually the source of this artificiality is his eagerness to use words, He gets his ideas not from his heart, but from his words. For his puns take the place of passions, and he values a
cunning turn of words more than honest straightness.

This excess of art and artifice in Khusraw makes him sound hollow and insincere. Even in his love poetry we seldom find him tête-à-tête with his beloved; he is usually seen employed in entertaining her with his word jugglery.

Now, we know that all this is in flagrant contrast to the style of our Shaykh, the Shirazian Nightingale, the sweet lyricist, Sadi. His skill consists in his seeming artlessness. He pleases because he never tries to please. He draws us in natural music for he does not strive to be musical. His darts are not pointed, but they pierce our hearts. And why is this so? Because he is a lyricist; because his Art lies in Nature.

As was said earlier Khusraw is also not entirely lacking in these qualities. About half his ghazals are indistinguishable from those of the Shaykh. But we cannot assert as much for the remainder. And unfortunately the effect of one part was the effect of the other.

The second part with whom we compared Sadi was Hāfīz. The ghazals of Sadi and Hāfīz are equally renowned, and if the matter were to be decided by popular acclaim and not by critical analysis we could not be sure who would have carried the palm. Indeed, but for the restriction imposed by our terms of reference, even critical analysis would not have helped much in determining the precedence between these two co-monarchs of the Persian Ghazal. But we had set out to
to compare them not as ghazal writers, but as lyricists.
This narrowing of the field made its measuring and analysing
easy for us.

After discussing the difference between the old and
the new ghazal, we pointed out that whereas Sadi adhered to
the earlier tradition, Hafis adopted the latter style. The
most conspicuous result of this was that while Sadi's
ghazal usually presented a conceptual unity based on the
emotion of love, the ghazal of Hafis was almost always a
collection of heterogeneous ideas bound together only by
artificial tie of a common metre and rhyme.

Then we passed on to the comparison of the two master's
language. The difference here was epitomised in five words:
"Sadi talks while Hafis discourses". Sadi used the language
of conversation. It was simple, halting and unburnished --
but these very drawbacks gave it the qualities of directness
and sincerity which are two important essentials of a good
lyric. On the other hand, the language of Hafis was a
monument of polish and grace, of fine chiselling and
immaculate finish, like a Venetian statue of cold marble.
On pulpit and platform, in eulogy and elegant balless-lettree,
the effectiveness of this language is not denied, but in a lyric
this reesse is sadly out of place.
After language, we discussed the subject-matter of the ghazals of Sadi and Hafiz. Since our field of comparison was restricted to lyricism, we were sorrowfully compelled to leave out a great part of the Khwaja's diwan — that part happening to be the Khwaja's best. We addressed ourselves only to those ghazals in which love formed the central theme. This also had to be sub-divided into its two chief forms, common and mystical.

In common love i.e. human love, we noted fundamental and temperamental contrasts. We found Hafiz to be both egotistic and egotistic. Beauty affects him but never to the extent of making him to forget himself. He is always there to assert his own self against that of his beloved. This is in marked contrast to Sadi who on such occasions weekly says: 

This difference of approach is often evident in the maqā'as of their respective ghazals. The consciousness of self often makes Hafiz to feel the injury inflicted by his beloved, and to complain against it. But Sadi is so engrossed in love that he is oblivious of himself as well as of any injury done to himself. And where there is no injury felt, there is no complaint lodged and no redress requested.
Under mystical or Divine love, we disfelled a common misconception. We pointed out that although Sadi and Hafiz alike came under the spell of Divine Beauty, there was the difference of 現 and in their respect approaches. While Sadi was an 現 and loved the Divine Beauty, Hafiz was an 現 and strived to understand its nature. This difference can also be inferred from the different terminologies they use. In Sadi we have all the attributes of human beauty applied to his Divine Beloved -- like 瑞 and 現 etc. In Hafiz their place is taken by 瑞 and 現. These latter metaphors are not suggestive of love and emotion, but of thinking and understanding. And here reverting the original theme of our comparison, we may say that a lover is better suited to sing a lyric than a gnostic savant.

We also said something about the poetic art of the two masters. In our eastern languages the exercise of this art generally takes two forms, the use of a fine rhyme to best advantage, and the presentation of a fine idea in mode and words the most expressive and the most suitable. On the whole, in both these poetical skills there is nothing to choose between these two talented composers. They are equally perfect in a rhyming and expression. This seems rather amazing in Sadi for he is usually regarded as a simple poet. But simple does not signify simpleton. With all his simplicity Sadi was not a very skilful versifier. We discussed this point rather fully, and by comparing one famous verse of
Sadi with an equally famous verse of Hafis. We showed how between the two, the Shaykh had employed the poetic art more subtly, maintaining within his customary air of artless simplicity.

We ended our comparison by pointing to its two chief conclusions. First, that as a general ghazal writer Hafiz was second to none. Secondly, that in the particular field of lyricism Sadi was far ahead of Hafiz.

And at this point, in wistful sadness, we part company with our Shaykh. And what a wise, gentle and sweet companion he was! In our short journey together he taught us that there were 'sermons in stones' and good and beauty in everything. He led us into humanity's lost Eden, the Paradise of Humanism. We were introduced into the flowery arbours in which our Primal Father and Mother were bred. We saw Nature in its virgin purity. We saw hope feeding at the breast of innocence. We saw compassion kissing away the tear from sorrow's eye. We saw Virtue smiling at us from unpolluted Creation. And we saw Beauty and Love gracing this celestial scene with their playful arms. They were neither inhibited nor ashamed for shame comes of Sin and Sin had no abode these. They flitted like larks and hummed like bees and by their humming was produced the music of the Spheres.
Our Shaykh led us to this peaceful world of Virtue and Humanity, of Love and Music and Beauty, and then gave us his blessings and bade us adieu. May God's blessing and peace be on him.
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