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## Hafez's "Shirāzi Turk": A Geopoetical Approach

*This article constitutes a preliminary attempt to explore the geographical dimension of premodern Persian lyric poetry from the perspective of the relationship between the historical adherence of a text to external reality and the rhetorics of intertextuality and performativity. The pretext for this exploration is the poem known as "Tork-e Shirazi" or "The Turk from Shiraz," one of the most celebrated ghazals of Hafez of Shiraz. The analysis focuses in particular on the first two lines of the ghazal, whose rich and ambiguous imagery has challenged the community of readers, interpreters, and scholars for centuries. On the basis of historiographical, formalist, and poststructuralist approaches to the study of lyric poetry, the article outlines a generative paradigm that analyzes a given text from the perspective of its abstract, genre-specific, conventionally negotiated, and referential levels of meaning. The contribution of geocritical studies will be combined with rhetorical analysis to conceive of Hafez's text as a geopoetic map in which the cities of Shiraz, Samarkand, and Bukhara are put in conversation with the mental and historical representations of Iran and India between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, during the transition from the Mongol to the Timurid models and ideals of power.*

**Keywords:** Persian poetry; pre-modern Iran; India; Hafez; Amir Khosrow; ghazal; intertextuality; rhetoric; imitation; geopoetics

### *Introduction*

For centuries, the philosophical breadth, the formal complexity, and the alleged inimitability of the poetry of Hafez of Shiraz (d. 1390) have challenged the hermeneutical competence of readers, scholars, and interpreters.<sup>1</sup> The polythematic nature of Hafez's lyric poems, or ghazals—capable of embracing and bringing together into the same text multiple realms of signification, from the purely lyrical to the political and the mystical—has been noticed and discussed as early as the years immediately following his death.<sup>2</sup>

The aim of this article is to offer a groundwork for future research on the spatial dimension of premodern Persian lyric tradition through the close reading of the

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first two lines of one of Hafez's most famous and debated texts, commonly referred to as the "Tork-e Shirāzi," or "The Turk from Shiraz":

Should that Turk from Shiraz take our heart into his hands,

I'd give up, for his Indian mole, all Samarkand and Bukhara.<sup>3</sup>

This ghazal, which has been often described as "a difficult poem, open to various interpretations," is a "critical battlefield" that deserves to be carefully reanalyzed in the light of a broader hermeneutical, intertextual, and geocritical perspective.<sup>4</sup>

The focus on the spatial dimension of a Persian lyric text opens hermeneutical windows on the relationship between literary imitation and the representation of the external world. In fact, given the peculiarly formulaic nature of premodern Persian lyric poetry, the mention of a geographic space establishes flexible connections between the external reality and the fictitious territory created and sustained by the literary tradition to which texts belong.

It is my contention that Hafez's "Shirazi Turk" attests to multiple shifts in the geographical perception of the Persian-speaking world from the perspective of the relationship between Shiraz and the transition from Mongol to Timurid Iran. From the point of view of Shiraz as a geohistorical sign, the intrinsic lifespan of this ghazal can be divided into four phases which incorporate Hafez's lifetime as well as the origins of his hometown's literary renown.

The first phase (1230-64) corresponds with the ascent of Shiraz as a transregional and cultural power under the Salghurid dynasty. During these decades, and especially after the Mongol conquest of Baghdad (1258), semi-independent Shiraz was *de facto* the most flourishing city of the Persian-speaking world, whose virtues were celebrated by court poets such as Sa'di and Farid of Isfahan.

The second phase (1264-1335) witnessed, on the one hand, the downfall of Shiraz as a prominent political center and, on the other, the cultural splendor of the Mongol (or Ilkhanid) empire through the emergence of artistic, commercial, and scholarly poles such as Tabriz and Baghdad. It was during this phase that Shiraz, in spite of its political decadence, saw its renown undergoing a process of metaphorical consolidation throughout the entire Persian-speaking world, and reaching both Anatolia and the Delhi Sultanate, the new prime centers of Persianate learning. The semiotic prestige of Shiraz in the literary and historiographical sources during the apogee of Mongol rule overlapped with the widespread perception of Iran as a geographical whole incorporated within an imperial system capable of revitalizing its glorious past.

The third phase (1335-70) corresponds with Hafez's literary maturity, and spans between the downfall of the Ilkhanate empire and the pinnacle of Shiraz's renaissance. The city, under the Injuid and Mozaffarid dynasties, regained the splendor it had enjoyed under the Salghurids, and reconsolidated its prestige as a prominent point of attraction for scholars and literati alike. This is the time window during which advancements in the geographic disciplines reoriented the symbolic prominence of

cities such as Shiraz and Baghdad and repositioned them in a contrastive mindscape that is predominantly cartographic.

The establishment of Samarkand as the capital of a new empire (1370) and Timur's sack of Delhi (1398) delimit the chronological boundaries of the fourth and last phase, which is also the timeframe during which Hafez presumably composed the Shirazi Turk ghazal. Samarkand, as the new center of Timur's Islamic empire scaled down the perceived centrality of Shiraz and provided the Shirazi poets with a new map through which to read the historical and geographical stratifications of the city.

### *Deciphering the Text as a Geo-historical Lyric Function*

The four geohistorical phases that I have posited above help us reassess the poetic output of post-Mongol Iran, and in particular Hafez's specific lyric innovations, from the perspective of the relationship between shifting mental geographies and the traditional context of poetry composition and circulation. This endeavor requires a preliminary foray into the question of the formal aspects of a poetic text and the theoretical approaches that contextualize its rhetorical tension within the broader framework of its connections with the external world. The focus on the historicity and the spatial dimension of the text sheds a light on the problem of referentiality as the real conundrum that any study of poetry has to face: does the lyric poem talk about real or imaginary persons, events, and spaces? How do the real and the fictitious interact with each other?

In recent years, several studies have emphasized the relevance of the performative, intertextual, and occasional dimensions of premodern Persian poetry in the effort of offering models capable of tackling those texts from culture-specific critical perspectives. The most recent hermeneutical developments in the field of Persian literary studies focus on the semantic flexibility of the medieval text and argue that its meaning is the product of a negotiation between its inherent rhetorical characteristics and the contexts of its composition, circulation, and reception.

Studies such as Franklin Lewis' analysis of the plurality of audiences which Sanā'i's poetry could potentially address, Julie Scott Meisami's recognition of a multiplicity of personae in Hafez's lyric "self," and Paul Losensky's unearthing of the intertextual level of signification for the premodern and early modern ghazal have paved the way to theories capable of bridging the gap between the formal and the "referential" aspects of premodern Persian poems.<sup>5</sup>

The study of premodern Persian poetry is now ready to face the challenges posed by post-formalistic theoretical turns such as New Historicism and geocriticism, which offer solid theoretical grounds for the consideration of the historical and spatial relevance of the text not only as a rhetorical plot, but also as a "map" variously intersected with the real world. As alluded to above, the very first lines of Hafez's "Tork-e Shirāzi" create a clear spatial dominant for the entire ghazal. But, as both the inexperienced reader and the specialist may reckon, the map of locales that the poet juxtaposes throughout the text does not help one grasp the general meaning of the poem:

1. *Agar ān tork-e shirāzi be dast ārad del-e mā rā  
Beh khāl-e hendoyash bakhsham Samarqand-o Bokhārā rā.*

Should that Turk from Shiraz take our heart into his hands,  
I'd give up, for his Indian mole, all Samarkand and Bukhara.

2. *Bedeh sāqi mey-e bāqi keh dar jannat nakwhāhi yāft  
Kenār-e āb-e Roknābād-o golgasht-e Mosallā rā.*

O Cup bearer, bring the last of the wine, for in Paradise  
you'll not find the banks of Roknābād's stream, or Mosallā's rose garden.

3. *Feghān kin luliyān-e shukh-e shirinkār-e shahrāshub  
Chonān bordand sabr az del ke torkān khwān-e yaghmā rā.*

Alas! Those jesting gypsies, so gracefully have cast the city in turmoil  
and robbed my heart of patience as Turks plunder the feast.

4. *Ze 'eshq-e nātamām-e mā jamāl-e yār mostaghni-st  
beh āb-o rang-o khāl-o khatt che hājat ruy-e zibā rā.*

Of our imperfect love the beloved's beauty has no need:  
what need for colors, beauty marks, and a downy beard has the comely face?

5. *Man az ān hosn-e ruzafzun keh Yusof dāsht dānestam  
keh 'eshq az pardeh-ye 'esmat borun ārad Zoleykhā rā.*

From that daily-growing beauty that was Joseph's, I knew that love  
would bring Zoleykhā out from behind the veil of chastity.

6. *Nasihāt gush kon jānā keh az jān dustar dārand  
Javānān-e sā'adatmand pand-e pir-e dānā rā.*

Listen to this advice, my dear, for better than life itself  
do the fortunate youth love the counsel of wise elders.

7. *Hadis az motreb-o mey gu o rāz-e dahr kamtar ju  
Keh kas nagshud-o nagsbāyad beh hekmat in mō'ammā rā.*

Speak of minstrels and wine, and seek less the secret of Time,  
for no one has solved, nor ever will, through science that enigma.

8. *Badam gofti-yo khorsandam 'afāk allāh neku gofti  
Javāb-e talkh mizibād lab-e lāl-e shekarkhā rā.*

Though you revile me, may God forgive you: offend me more!  
For bitter answers well become sugared, ruby lips.

9. *Ghazal gofti-yo dor softi biyā vo khwosh bekhwān Hāfez  
Keh bar nazm-e to afshānad falak 'eqd-e sorayā rā.*

You have sung a ghazal and threaded pearls; come, sing sweetly,  
Hafez: may the spheres scatter the Pleiades' necklace upon your verse.<sup>6</sup>

In spite of the extensive research that numerous scholars have conducted in order to decipher the meaning of this ghazal, most analyses have mined in great detail its internal characteristics almost exclusively from the viewpoint of its inherent organic continuity or lack thereof.<sup>7</sup>

The identity or the nature of the "Turk" from Shiraz praised by Hafez in his first line is the question that has informed decades of speculations on the meaning of this poem and the historicity of its composition and early context of circulation.<sup>8</sup> What has been challenging the interpretative effort of readers is not the presence of a *Tork* as such, but the geographical specification of his identity—*Shirāzi*—which expands the degree of its historicized referentiality well beyond the perimeter of the text.<sup>9</sup>

Analyses informed by either exclusively formalistic or historiographical approaches have often failed to account for the fluid mental geography that the text unfolds at the intersection between the possible context of its composition and the interplay that it creates between old and new uses of literary topoi.

In fact, the reference that Hafez makes to specific locales and ethnicities urges the reader to approach the poem alongside its connection with the historicized and geographically informed dimension of external reality. The evocation of cities such as Samarkand and Bukhara, along with the reference to India and Shiraz, outlines a map capable of interplaying with both literary conventions and the geopolitical and historical frameworks that lie behind the composition and circulation of the poem.

Although my investigation does not dogmatically adhere to a systematic literary theory, the interpretative posture that inspires and heuristically informs this research draws upon both formalist (or structuralist) and poststructuralist paradigms. My reading of the texts is primarily informed by the hermeneutical approaches of Hans-Georg Gadamer, Umberto Eco, and Hans Robert Jauss,<sup>10</sup> and the concept of "thick description," initially introduced by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz and later adopted by New Historicism as one of its foundational paradigms.<sup>11</sup>

Such hermeneutical assumptions offer the groundwork for my approach to the problem of referentiality in Hafez's poem from a geopoetical angle, as it tackles the relationship between the rhetorics of literary creation and the representation of geographical spaces from the perspective of their historical setting. Although the term "geopoetics" is yet to find its stable analytical currency in the scholarship, several scholars have recognized its relevance within the relatively new field of geocriticism.

### *A Geopoetic Perspective*

Geocriticism and geopoetics stem from the so-called "spatial turn" which, since the 1960s, has proposed to emphasize the role of spatiality vis-à-vis or in combination with historicity in the analysis of literary texts. Following the assumption that "real spaces and fictionalized spaces coexist on the basis of a common referent," Bertrand

Westphal defines “geocriticism” as the discipline which “probes the human spaces that the mimetic arts arrange through, and in, texts, the image, and cultural interactions related to them.”<sup>12</sup> The literary place is thus conceived as a virtual world “that interacts in a modular fashion with the world of reference” according to a broad range of referential possibilities between the text and the external space.<sup>13</sup>

In *Pour une géographie littéraire*, Michel Collot suggests dividing the field of literary geography into parallel subfields which approach the relationship between texts and spaces from the angle of their respective focus on the external referent, meaning, and signifier /form—that is, the three facets of the linguistic sign.<sup>14</sup> According to Collot’s subdivision of the orientations that the field of literary geography has acquired, geopoetic approaches tackle the correlation between literary creation and space by focusing on the forms through which they are expressed and circulated: “une approche géopoétique se doit donc d’être aussi attentive à la forme des textes qu’à leur contenu géographique.”<sup>15</sup>

Along the lines of these paradigmatic axes—i.e. the correlation between literary creation and space from the perspective of formal representations—Julie Scott Meisami has offered a preliminary insight into the little-studied aspect of urban poetry in Abbasid, Ghaznavid, and Seljuk literature.<sup>16</sup> Her *ante litteram* geopoetic analysis demonstrates how both in the nostalgic mood that imbues Abbasid descriptions of campsites, palaces, and urban spaces, and in the firmly rooted-in-the-present celebration of courtly topographies and geographies that appear in the Persian panegyrics, the poetic representation of cities constitutes a stratified entanglement between the representation of spaces and the recollection of sociocultural and personal memories. The mention of a city in a premodern literary text does not correspond to the mimetic transcription of external reality, as it rather opens a window into the symbolic stratifications that lyricism projects onto the historicity of the relationship between time, cultural memory, and space within the horizon of codified forms of poetic expression.

In his monograph on the perception of space in the Middle Ages, Paul Zumthor highlights the stereotypically vague and hyperbolically repetitive character of the medieval descriptions of cities, whose accumulation of anti-mimetic qualifications sounds like “a sort of stammering which seems to suggest that such objects [i.e. the cities] are situated beyond the reach of language.”<sup>17</sup> Premodern Islamicate geographies and chronicles share with their Western counterparts the emphasis on underlining a city’s aptness to enclose, protect, and make flourish human activities: the landscape of an urban space is to be portrayed not for its own aesthetic sake, but as a symbolic testimony to the power of its rulers and the wealth of its markets.

In the poetic texts, the functionally sketchy portrayal of belletristic and historiographical compositions rarefies even further. And if, as in the examples that Meisami presents, the reference to locales in panegyric poetry still keeps traces of a direct connection between the text and the external world, lyric poetry converts the repetitive staggering into a laconic, scanty, and unpredictable mention of cities by their toponyms alone.

It is precisely within the perimeter of the rhetorical constructions of language that these apparently non-mimetically dry mentions of locales disclose maps that require to

be perused through the formal and performative orientations of medieval poetic texts. In such cases, a geopoetic investigation requires the exploration of the rhetorical articulations of a poem with respect to the spaces at which it points, and across the multiple levels of signification that the interaction between literary abstraction and historicity may produce.

*The Text at the Intersection between Abstracted Signs and Tangible Spaces*

The formulaic, impersonally homogeneous, and abstracted nature of premodern Persian lyric poetry constitutes one of the main challenges posed to the study of this poetic genre. The Persian ghazal is in fact characterized by a high density of preset stock imagery and metaphors describing an abstracted and idealized relationship between the poetic I and a fictitious beloved. The abstractness of such descriptions implies that, on the one hand, the narrative plot of these texts is never as elaborately crafted as the formalistic aspects of the poetic language used by the authors (thus the emphasis is often on *how* things are said, rather *what* is said) and, on the other hand, the contents of the poems refer more to the literary tradition set by previous texts and less to historical facts and personal experiences.<sup>18</sup>

In this regard, Paul Zumthor's observations on the stereotypical character of amatory poetry in medieval romance languages perfectly apply to the lyrical tradition of premodern Iran: such strictly codified texts rely on a concatenation of topoi and formulae whose main referent is the literary tradition rather than the external, particular world of history and biographical experience.<sup>19</sup>

Hence, from our modern perspective—especially after the confessional watershed of Romanticism—the main critical problem that we face when approaching this kind of poetry is the nature of its referentiality—that is, the relationship between the text and any extratextual reality to which the texts may refer, we think they may refer, or we want them to refer. Not only does the authors' individuality turn out to be a "non-essential factor of their works,"<sup>20</sup> but also the space and the time portrayed by the text stem from an abstracted suspension that does not fully coincide with the biographical, geographical, and historical world in which the poem is composed and circulated.

Nevertheless, the performative aspect of Persian lyric poetry causes its formulaic and non-mimetic character to interact with the extratextual reality along patterns that deserve to be carefully explored in order to develop a more critically informed approach to the study of this literary heritage in its historical and geographical context. As emphasized by Culler in *Theory of the Lyric*, the relationship between the self of the lyric—the lyric persona—and the external world (including the authors of the poems themselves) is a question that is constitutive of the genre and requires to be addressed vis-à-vis both its grammatical and performative dimensions.<sup>21</sup>

It is the performative possibility of the lyric that anchors its abstracted deictic dimension to a constant renewal of its contextual meaning on the basis of the framework in which the text is circulated and enacted. This is the angle from which one

ought to read Hafez's reference to his own poetic performance ("You have sung a ghazal and threaded pearls; come, sing sweetly") and combine the *hic et nunc* that it generates with the mention of locales and ethnicities that are either codified, partially codified, or uncoded.

In order to apply Culler's cogitations on the lyric to the study of Persian amatory poetry and combine his multifaceted paradigm with Zumthor's approach to medieval performative abstractedness, I suggest resorting to a functional repartition of the poetic text into four interconnected levels that constitute both the deep structure of a poem and its contextual, external, and concrete possibilities of meaning. The textual repartition that I suggest is a simplification of the generative model of Greimas' semiotics, according to which all texts can be stratified into different levels of abstractness: from a shared deep structure constituted by basic abstracted units to the surface of the text as it appears to the eyes of the reader.<sup>22</sup> The scheme that I propose divides the text into four strata:

1. *Deictical abstraction*. It is the grammatical foundation of all kinds of referentiality: personal pronouns ("I," "you," "he/she," "they," etc.), locatives ("here," "there"), and temporals ("now," "tomorrow," "yesterday," etc.).
2. *Typological definition*. It is the stratum in which the grammatical articulation of the text acquires the shape of the types that constitute the genre within its tradition. It can typify the pronouns of the grammatical foundation of the text and turn them into figures such as "the lover," "the beloved," "the garden," "the alley," "the night of the encounter," "the morning of separation," "the city," etc. Such specifications of the abstracted deictical structure contribute to the formation of genres, and from the viewpoint of the mechanisms of reception, they orient the reader within a specific horizon of semantic expectations.
3. *Negotiated signification*. This is the level in which the semi-abstracted typological definitions of the previous stratum acquire negotiated specifications, such as gender, ethnicity, physical descriptors, and rhetorically dense mentions of locales, regions, and cities. The downy beard of the beloved, for example, emerges as a rhetorical specification for the object of desire's gender and age. The Turkic ethnicity of the beloved, or his Central Asian origins are also elements of specific signification, whose appearance in the literary canon derives from gradual negotiation between the external world and the poetic tradition. The abstracted typological definitions of the previous stratum acquire specific attributes through a process that is informed partially by fluctuations in the creative trends across several decades or centuries, and partially by contextual contacts between literary practices and historical events or sociocultural scenarios.
4. *Referential possibilities*. This is the level in which the text (or parts of it) adheres to the external world. The function of referentiality can be explicit and infratextual when a person of the real world, a place, a specific date, or historic event are mentioned. However, in principle, any non-explicitly referential element of the text can potentially signify elements of the external world in their historical



setting as a result of the use that author and audiences make of the texts in question.

According to this model, the expression "Shirazi Turk" in Hāfez's poem can be analyzed through the following generative strata of meaning:

1. Deictically speaking, the "Shirazi Turk" is an ungendered third person singular pronoun: he/she. In this poem, the referential potential of the use of deictics is reinforced by the author's mention of his own poetic performativity, which emphasizes the "now and here" dimension of the composition.
2. From a typological perspective, the expression corresponds to the function of the "beloved," or object of desire, grammatically ungendered, but conventionally and implicitly perceived as a male presence.
3. The negotiated specifications emerge from the semantic surface of the text. In this case, the beloved is represented as an ethnically Turkic individual who resides in or originates from Shiraz. A further clarification is in order here: while "Turkic" is an attribute commonly associated with the beloved in the stock imagery of premodern Persian lyric poetry, "shirazi," as a marker of a specific geographical identity, does not belong to a codified set of descriptive topoi that are congenial to the early development of this genre. This means that, as I shall elaborate in the section on the symbolic relevance of Shiraz as a literary chronotope, the attribute "Shirazi" as a negotiated specification belongs to an uncodified topos that, in the history of Persian ghazal, emerged between the thirteenth and the fourteenth centuries. The coexistence of codified and partially uncodified elements in the expression "Shirazi Turk" opens a window into the adherence of this poem to the external world in its historical context.
4. The referential possibilities of a given expression are potentially unlimited, as they depend on the contextual uses of the text. However, as I shall argue below, any deviation from the traditionally codified set of images that define the norm of lyric composition in premodern Iran constitutes a preferential point of access to the extratextual space of the text. As highlighted above, the partially uncodified attribute "Shirazi," in association with the conventional "Turkicness" of the object of desire, generates a deviation from the traditional imagery that emphasizes the relevance of Shiraz as a geohistorical setting and the political dimension of the poem's context of reception.

The stratified generative model that I propose is designed to account for both the polysemic aspect of medieval poetry and its fluid adaptability to contexts in which the text signifies according to its temporary relationship with the external world—i.e. the virtually unlimited possibility of the medieval text to "allude to and suggest real things." This first piece of evidence that stems from this fourfold repartition of the strata of a text is the deep gap between the grammatical indexicality of the first level and the referential aspect of the fourth stratum. As shown with the example

of the “Shirazi Turk” phrase as a codified/uncodified attribute of the beloved, the gap between abstracted indexicality and historicized, spatialized referentiality is the space in which the poet engages with a rhetorical negotiation between the literary canon and the historical context in which he composes, delivers, and circulates his text.

It is possible to compare the mixed level of codification of the expression “Tork-e Shirazi” in the first line with the uncodified mention of locales such as the Roknābād stream, and the gardens of Mosallā, which are mentioned in the second line (“for in Paradise you’ll not find the banks of Roknābād’s stream, or Mosallā’s rose garden”), and whose absence from the negotiated imagery of the classical ghazal points at their potential for a high degree of referentiality with respect to extratextual historical reality. This high density of referential stratification shows that this poem displays a sedimentation of conventional literary motives intertwined with references to events and places whose semantic value is simultaneously figurative and literal. Furthermore, although Samarkand, Bokhara, and India belong to a fairly common codified imagery, the juxtaposition of their mention to partially codified or uncodified locales such as Shiraz and its specific urban sectors orients their rhetorical function towards a higher degree of historicity.

Such a remarkable juxtaposition of markers of performativity, conventional images, and uncodified geographical references calls for a serious evaluation of the historiographical possibilities of referentiality that surrounds this specific poem. Considering that historiographical readings of this ghazal are almost as old as its second generation of readership, the space of historical reference is the first terrain within which it is worthwhile to test the relationship between the “Tork-e Shirāzi” ghazal and its extratextual dimensions. It is the historical framework in which the Central Asian conqueror Timur (Tamerlane in the Western sources, d. 1405) made his first appearances on the Iranian plateau that canalizes the initial reception and circulation of this ghazal as the product of an emerging Timurid political and cultural legacy.

### *Reception and Historicity*

The historical referentiality of the “Tork-e Shirāzi” ghazal is attested to since the very first decades following Hafez’s demise. It seems that very few among Hafez’s contemporaries imitated this ghazal through the widespread practice of “poetic response” (*javāb*), whilst the poem soon became the model for imitations produced by several Timurid poets, such as Boshāq At’ameh Shirāzi, Jāmi, ‘Ali Shir Navā’i, and Albāseh, among others. This fact implies that its circulation may not have started until the last decade of the fourteenth century.<sup>23</sup>

According to Qāsem Ghani, “in all likelihood, ‘Shirazi Turk’ is a reference to Soltān Zayn al-‘Ābedin, son of Shāh Shoajā’, as Shāh Shoajā’<sup>24</sup>’s mother belonged to the Qarakhitays of Kerman.” Is this argument based on ethnicity strong enough to consider the “Tork-e Shirāzi” ghazal as a panegyric addressed to one of the last Mozaffarid princes? A partial historical corroboration for this hypothesis can be found in the beltristic sources that relate the circulation of this ghazal to Timur’s descent upon Fars.

The conquest of Shiraz, which "was preserved from destruction thanks to its peaceful surrender," is thus described by the Timurid historian Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi:

The area of Takht-e Qarācheh, on the outskirts of Shiraz, became the seat of the victorious banners. All the notables and the local governors convened to receive the honor of kissing the ground of his Excellency. After having accomplished the custom of ground-kissing, they agreed to give one thousand *kopki* tumans<sup>25</sup> to the treasury of the tax collector ...

When the region of Fars was finally conquered, the most eloquent scribes and elegant secretaries adorned several pages with the pearls scattered by their pens to compose books of conquest relating the majesty and the greatness of the endless grace of the Lord. They eventually dispatched those praises to Samarkand—the capital—as well as Khorasan, and all the other regions of the empire.<sup>26</sup>

Timur sojourned in Shiraz for two months, and his initially peaceful relationship with the Mozaffarid princes who succeeded Zayn al-'Ābedin might have offered Hafez an opportunity to encounter the Central Asian conqueror. In fact, *Anis al-nās*, a little studied "mirror for princes" completed by Shojā' Shirāzi in 1426 at the court of the Timurid prince Ebrāhim Soltān, thus explains the context in which Hafez allegedly composed the ghazal that we are discussing:

During the time when the banners of Emperor Timur Gurken, King of all the world and ruler of the universe, descended upon Fars and the rule of Sultan Zayn al-'Ābedin was overthrown, the people of Shiraz were subjected to a census on property. As the poet Hafez was one of the landowners and had a house in the area, a portion of his possessions were recorded in his name and communicated to the tax collector. Because of this trying situation, Hafez took his plea to the emperor Timur and told him of his poverty and indigence. Timur asked, aren't you the author of this verse?

Should that Turk of Shiraz take our heart into his hands,  
I'd give up, for his Indian mole, all Samarkand and Bukhara.

Somebody who gives Samarkand and Bukhara in exchange for a mole cannot be a beggar! And Hafez replied: this is why I became an insolvent!<sup>27</sup>

The historical framework of this narration is Tamerlane's first occupation of Shiraz, which occurred on 22 December 1387 (789), in the aftermath of the massacre of Isfahan's population and two years before Hafez's death.<sup>28</sup> The author succinctly describes the appearance of Timur in Shiraz, the subsequent downfall of Zayn al-'Ābedin, Hafez's proximity to the Mozaffarid court ("ahl-e ta'ahhol bud"), and the system of tax collection introduced by the new world conqueror descending upon

Fars from Samarkand. Such a dense narrative highlights the historicity of Shojā's account, especially if compared with later belletristic narrations, whose lack of descriptive details made the anecdote of the encounter between Timur and Hafez appear to be the product of imaginative forgery.<sup>29</sup>

Even though the historical veracity of the encounter between Timur and Hafez is yet to be historiographically confirmed, it is important to remember that *Anis al-nās* was completed only thirty years after Hafez's death, under the patronage of Timur's grandson Ebrāhim Soltān, in an environment which made Shiraz one of the leading centers for the assimilation of Timurid political identity into Persian culture. Ebrāhim Soltān (796–838/1394–1435), who encouraged Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi to compose his monumental *Zafarnāmeḥ*, was also the patron of Mohammad Golandām, the first compiler of Hafez's ghazals.<sup>30</sup> For this reason, the historical contiguity between Zayn al-'Ābedin's destitution and the initial circulation of the "Shirazi Turk" ghazal is supported by a cultural milieu in which the memory of Hafez's last days was still alive in the community of all the historians, poets, and intellectuals who, under the auspices of Shāh Rokh's cultural policies, were ensuring the continuity of the artistic refulgence that had previously characterized Mozaffarid and Jalayerid arts.

From these premises we may conclude that both intertextual and historiographical sources of evidence confirm that this ghazal did not start circulating before the outset of the Timurid influence over Fars—a timeframe that corresponds to what I have recognized as the last phase of the intrinsic geohistory of the text, and which opens with Timur's establishment of Samarkand as the capital of his nascent empire. As any process that belongs to the sphere of reception of a text rather than to the conditions of its composition, access to the chronology of the circulation of a given poem does not necessarily disclose the precise context in which it was first composed.

In principle, one may wonder whether Hafez could have composed the "Tork-e Shirāzi" ghazal decades before its well-documented early Timurid circulation (i.e. after 1370).<sup>31</sup> However, considering that Hafez is the only poet who refers to Samarkand (on three occasions, including the "Tork-e Shirāzi," and, as I shall elucidate, in contexts involving strong political overtones) among all the lyric poets who flourished in Shiraz between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, his peculiar attention towards the Central Asian city can only be explained if analyzed against the relevance it acquired once it became the capital of Timur's expansionistic project. Last but not least, the "Shirāzi Turk" line traces a parallel between the intangible value of the beloved's affection and the tangible worth of "Samarkand and Bukhara" as centers of accumulation of material wealth. Therefore, any discussion on the tangible worth of these two cities cannot avoid taking into account the urbanistic renaissance—after almost two centuries of economic and cultural decadence—that took place only upon Timur's intervention.

#### *From Abstracted Deictics to the Historicity of Dynamic Geopoetics*

Shojā's account offers glimpses of a plausible historical truth: it shows the phenomenology of the written and oral transmission of Hafez's ghazal in Shiraz and points

towards the historical occurrence of text composition as a sociopolitical communication. Hafez's "Shirāzi Turk" presents an internal structure in which the abstract stock imagery that characterizes the classical Persian ghazal interacts on several levels with the external reality: the poem refers to specific historical circumstances where the relationship between Hafez, the late Mozaffarid rule, the advent of Timur, and the political role played by the poetic discourse are directly involved. Although all evidence deriving from the "thick descriptions" provided by the historiographical sources conjures up the time and environment of Timur's campaigns in Western Iran, the historical identity of the literary persona of Hafez's "Shirāzi Turk" belongs to a space of indetermination that the text cannot further disclose for us.

It is within the space of this very historiographical indetermination that the geopoeitic dimension of the poem offers useful analytical angles to scale back to its deictical level and recognize how the mention of specific locales tells us about the politics of the performative context in which the ghazal was composed. The spatial dimensions of Persian lyric poetry are yet to be fully studied and understood, but there is enough evidence to argue that when a poet mentions in his ghazal the specific place where he resides, he is performing a speech act that would usually imply a celebratory function. In such cases, the encomiastic function of the poem is emphasized by the use of linguistic markers that highlight the performative context.

In this poem, for instance, the setting of Shiraz is stressed by mentioning the most typical locales of the capital of Fars: the river Roknābād and the gardens of Mosallā. Eighty percent of Hafez's poems that mention Shiraz contain either a direct or indirect reference to a king or a prince. At the same time, in all of them the poet praises his own poetic talent ("You have sung a ghazal and threaded pearls; come, sing sweetly").<sup>32</sup> From this we can argue that when Hafez mentions Shiraz, an encomiastic or celebratory function is implied and underlined by the performative context in which the poet describes himself at work.

Even though, as previously noted, the expression "Shirazi Turk" opens uncoded windows of referentiality, it first appeared before Hafez's time, in a line by Sa'di of Shiraz (fl. thirteenth century), in whose poetry, too, every mention of Shiraz or Fars implies a reference to a political background:

ز دست ترک ختایی کسی جفا چندان  
نمی برد که من از دست ترک شیرازی

No one will ever see as much violence from the Khatay Turks  
As what I suffer from the hand of the Shirazi Turk.<sup>33</sup>

In this couplet, the expression "Tork-e Khata'i" (the Turks from Khatay) is a poetic abstract topos juxtaposed with an extratextual reference contained in the non-topic, uncoded expression "Tork-e Shirāzi." The specification "Shirazi" creates a historically determined environment for the literary topos of the "turkicness" of the beloved. In fact, as pre-announced by the mention of a "Sāheb-e nāz" in the second line of the ghazal, in the last line Sa'di introduces a political element:

تو همچو صاحب دیوان مکن که سعدی را  
به یک ره از نظر خویشتن بیندازی

Don't act like the Sāheb-e Divān when  
You push Sa'di away from your sight.<sup>34</sup>

We can infer that the entire ghazal was dedicated to the Ilkhanid Sāheb Divān (probably Shams al-Din, d. 1284). Sa'di's "Shirazi Turk" could well be one of the last Atabegs of Fars, who, as descendants of the Salghur clan, which had accompanied the Saljuk sultan Toghril on the migration into Khorasan in the mid-eleventh century, were Turkmen in origin. Nevertheless, it is not unlikely that the poet might be referring to the *noyan* sent by the Mongol ruler Abāqā, who fell from his position when a group of Shirazi officials conspired against him.<sup>35</sup>

Sa'di's use of the expression "Shirazi Turk" as an uncodified political innuendo acts as a precedent for Hafez's usage of the same expression—roughly a century later—in his ghazal. The realm of political referentiality of Hafez's lines is thus reinforced through the literary representation of Shiraz as a center of regional power vis-à-vis the shifts in geographical perceptions that took place between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As mentioned at the beginning of this study, Hafez's lifetime corresponded with what we have called the third phase of Shiraz's geohistorical development in the post-Mongol period. It was in this timeframe that the sociopolitical renaissance of the city coincided with the memory of both its Salghurid magnificence (1230-64) and its late Mongol decadence (1264-1335). It is through the juxtaposition of memories of splendor and decline that the process leading to the codification of Shiraz as a literary topos took place.

The "Shirazi Turk" line by Hafez should therefore be read and understood against the multilayered relevance that Shiraz gained throughout the fourteenth century: a pole of attraction for the relationship between poetry and politics in a Persian-speaking context intertwined with a widespread Turco-Mongol sociocultural presence, but also a prismatic literary topos capable of collecting stratified perceptions of the city's geopolitical relevance across the decades. It is within this framework that a geopoetic approach offers us the chance to read this text as a map attesting to a specific historical moment and a broader diachronic representation of Central Asia and India from the literary vantage point of fourteenth-century Shiraz and its political prestige.

### *Shiraz as a Diachronic Pole of Geopoetic Negotiation*

Right after Hafez's death, Mohammad Golandām eloquently pointed out that "in a short time the swift camels of Hafez's world-conquering ghazals reached the remote regions of Turkistan and India, and the litters of his beautiful poems soon conquered both Persian and Arab Iraq, along with Azerbaijan."<sup>36</sup> This hyperbolic statement outlines a map describing the political complexity of a territory in which Shiraz—as one of the most important cultural and literary polities of the thirteenth and fourteenth cen-

turies—was part of a network of cities and regional powers interlaced by intensive poetic exchanges.

The one and a half centuries separating the Mongol devastation of Baghdad (656/1258) from Tamerlane's sack of Delhi (801/1398) hosted the emergence of "a multi-cephalous Islamicate commonwealth that had multiple, often co-existing, centers of political authority and cultural excellence."<sup>37</sup> The polycentrism characterizing first Ilkhanid and, later, Timurid polities was to some extent heir of the late eleventh/early twelfth century Seljuk political and cultural model, which resulted from the integration and the mutual acculturation between the nomadic, Turkic-speaking political element and the urbanized milieus of the sedentary Persianate world.<sup>38</sup> Both in the case of the Seljuk and the Ilkhanid dynasties, the administrative machineries were mostly concentrated in specific cities—namely Isfahan for the former and Tabriz for the latter. But the presence of a network of secondary urban centers, which were active in the transmission of knowledge and the production of scholarly activities—through the cultural competition between local identities—started shaping a new geographical perception of the relationship between spaces and peripheries. With the death of Abu Sa'id Bahādor Khān (736/1335), the collapse of the Ilkhanid state left western Iran in the hands of a plethora of local powers dominated by complex systems of multiple political and dynastic affiliations. The plurality of centers of power contributed to the creation of spheres of control whose borders would constantly shift while multiple actors were trying to impose themselves as the depositaries of post-Mongol legitimate rule.<sup>39</sup>

In 1343, almost ten years after the anarchy following Abu Sa'id's death, the Injuid Abu Eshāq, by taking absolute control of Fars, the Persian Gulf coast, and Isfahan, reestablished in Shiraz the artistic and cultural splendor that the city had enjoyed until the end of the thirteenth century, under the Salghurid Atabegs.<sup>40</sup> It was in this period (the third phase of Shiraz's geohistorical trajectory after the Mongol conquest of Iran) that the capital of Fars imposed itself on the Persianate literary arena as a model of cultural, political, spiritual, and aesthetic prominence, which was extensively extolled by the poets of the time, especially as a consequence of the symbolic crescendo inaugurated by Sa'di during the first and second phases of this process.<sup>41</sup>

The geographical reorientation of the mindscape that turned Shiraz into the emblem of cultural and spiritual sophistication fostered the emergence of a new thematic ghazal, known as *shirāziye*, which revolved around laudatory descriptions of the city and its people. A remarkable example of such compositions is a ghazal of Nāser al-Din Shirāzi (also known as Bajjeh or Bajje'i, fl. early fourteenth century) whose refrain is "Shirāz":

ز شهرهای جهان شهر عشق شیراز است  
بدین دلیل بود برج اولیا شیراز

Among all the cities of the world, Shiraz is the city of love  
For this reason, Shiraz is the constellation of the saints.

شکست قیمت بغداد و برد رونق مصر  
ز بس طراوت و رونق ز بس صفا شیراز

For its exceeding splendor, purity, and glory, Shiraz  
Knocked down the value of Baghdad and cast away the glory of Egypt.<sup>42</sup>

In one of the last lines of this ghazal Nāser al-Din places Shiraz at the center of a mental geography of beauty, oscillating between literary codified representations of spaces and the historicity of the city's urban milieu:

ز دلبران خطایی نژاد زنگی زلف  
هزار خلخ و چین است و صد خطا شیراز

Due to its Khotanese-descent beauties, whose hair is Ethiopian,  
Shiraz is now as beautiful as a thousand Turkistans, Khotans, and Chinas.<sup>43</sup>

The progressive codification of Shiraz's renown as a literary topos undoubtedly originated from the association between the capital of Fars and the poetic persona of Sa'di, perceived and portrayed as the epitomizer of Persian lyric sensibility. The thirteenth-century poet himself contributed to this association by comparing his "Shirazi" literary persona to the sugar imported from Egypt:

هرمطاعی ز معدنی خیزد  
شکر از مصر و سعدی از شیراز

Every luxury derives from a mine:  
Sugar from Egypt, and Sa'di from Shiraz.<sup>44</sup>

We also owe to Sa'di the first penetrating descriptions of the beauty of Shiraz, especially with respect to its gardens and its river, Roknābād:

روی گفتم که در جهان بنهم  
گردم از قید بندگی آزاد  
که نه بیرون پارس منزل هست  
شام و رومست و بصره و بغداد  
دست از دامنم نمیدارد  
خاک شیراز و آب رکن آباد

I said to myself that I would travel around the world  
To seek freedom from the chains of servitude.  
Could I ever find a new abode far from Fars?  
Maybe in Syria, Anatolia, Basra or Baghdad?  
Nay, what really prevents me from leaving this country  
Is the land of Shiraz and the stream of Roknābād.<sup>45</sup>

These literary depictions of Shiraz, far from being merely aesthetic, belong to a geographic awareness in which the mention of cities and ethnicities corresponds to the



mental representation of old topoi incorporating new geopolitical paradigms. The new impulse gained by historiography and cartography during this period attests to a progressive shift in the perception of the narratives and the spatial representations of the past.<sup>46</sup> From the late thirteenth century onwards, in the wake of Sa'di's lyrical innovations, the Persian ghazal became a textual venue in which these new spatial and mental geographies would emerge.

The opposition between Shiraz as a sign in transition towards historicized codification and other territories belonging to well-established literary maps shows the mechanism on which Hafez relied for the semiotic stratification of his own geo-poetical discourse. In this poem by Khwāju of Kerman (whom scholars consider as a key transitional presence between Sa'di and Hafez's lyricism), the relationship between Fars and Central Asia unearths dynamics of geo-poetic referentiality that we could easily compare with Hafez's "Shirazi Turk":

آن ترک بلغاری نگر با چشم خونخوار آمده  
 خورشید قندز پوش او آشوب بلغار آمده  
 عید مسیحی روی او ز نار قیصر موی او  
 در حلقه گیسوی او صد دل گرفتار آمده  
 چشم آفت مستان شده رخ طیره بستان شده  
 شیراز ترکستان شده کان بت ز فرخار آمده

Look at that Turk of Bolghār: with bloodthirsty eyes he's come.  
 A sun wearing beaver garments: the Tatar sedition has come!  
 The Holy Eucharist is his face, a byzantine belt his curls  
 A hundred hearts in his locks are trapped.  
 The drunkards are bewildered by his eyes, pale is the garden for his face  
 That idol arrived from Farkhār, Shiraz has become like Turkistan.<sup>47</sup>

Farghār, Bolghār, and the cultural references to Christianity belong to stock imagery that does not necessarily refer to any particular extratextual historical reality—thus belonging to a level of meaning which corresponds to what I have called the level of negotiated signification (third generative stratum). However, if Farghār and Bolghār are symbolically associated with the white-faced Turkic tribes settled in Central Asia as well as in the region of Middle Volga, Shiraz holds no allegorical connotations and, as a linguistic sign, it serves as a direct reference to the "here and now" of the poet's literary performance; that is, the fourth stratum of our generative scheme.

Through this juxtaposition, the mention of Shiraz projects onto the Turkistan-related imagery a further semiotic level, in which the stock topoi belonging to the classical canon are reactivated within a specific historical context that includes Sa'di's contribution to the symbolic transition of this city-sign. In the case of Khwāju's line, the Shiraz/Turkistan opposition underlines the dialectic of power renewal between the vestiges of the Ilkhanid Empire and the affirmation of regional authority in Fars. Similarly, Hafez's implied comparison between Shiraz, India, and Central Asia opens up multiple semiotic levels oscillating between historicity and literary representations of space. Shiraz, in the *Tork-e Shirāzi*, shifts from a marker of uncodified referentiality

to a negotiated topos which re-semanticizes the semiotic value of Samarkand and Bokhara, and India, as spaces of history in transition. Through the mention of Samarkand, the poem opens a window into what I have recognized as the third phase of the historicized geo-orientation of Shiraz (1370-98), which inaugurates the process of re-regionalization of the city within the broader framework of the emerging Timurid empire. The lyric mention of these locales is worthy of being reappraised from the perspective of the rhetorical context in which Hafez manipulates their historical perception vis-à-vis their cultural relevance within the early Timurid geographical representations.

### *The Geographic and Historical Depth of a Rhetorical Device*

The geopoetic map that Hafez deploys in his ghazal through the mention of the multi-layered value of Shiraz along with other regions of the Persian-speaking world interacts at multiple levels with the literary tradition to which it belongs. Intertextuality is one such level, which juxtaposes the lyric portrayal of the world with the history of rhetorical representations of the same spaces and through similar literary devices.<sup>48</sup>

The historicity of the geopoetic value of Hafez's "Shirazi Turk" line expands the reach of its referential possibilities if we compare it with a verse by Amir Khosrow of Delhi (d. 1325), one of the most important representatives of the Persianate literary legacy of premodern India:

به صیت حسن گرفت آن بت سمرقندی  
چو کشور دل ما خطه بخارا را

With the renown of his beauty, that idol from Samarkand  
Conquered the country of our heart as well as the region of Bukhara.<sup>49</sup>

Hafez and Amir Khosrow's distichs not only share the same rhyming word ("Bokhārā") and *radif* ("rā"), but are also constructed according to a virtuosic use of a specific rhetorical device: the *morā'āt-e nazīr*—literally "the observance of the similar"—by which the poet harmonically juxtaposes within a single line words belonging to the same semantic category.<sup>50</sup> Although this device had already been employed by Arab critics and poets, it was fully developed by Iranian poets in the quest of that harmony and balance (*tanāsob*) that can be considered as one of the most dominant aesthetic values characterizing Persian classical poetry.<sup>51</sup> For a better understanding of this representation, we need to pay attention to the way in which the technique of the "observance of the similar" tunes the different elements of a given line along a harmonic cohesion in which signifieds and signifiers—objects and words, images and sounds—collaborate in the production of a multi-layered poetic topography.

By deploying three different semantic classes instead of the one or two usually prescribed by the classical critics, Hafez turns the virtuosic usage of the *morā'āt-e nazīr* technique into the most prominent rhetorical device of the "Tork-e Shirāzi" line:

1. "Cities" (Shiraz, Samarkand, Bukhara);
2. "Parts of the body" (hand, heart, mole);
3. "Ethnic groups" (Turk, Indian).<sup>52</sup>

As for Amir Khosrow's couplet, we find the mention of two cities, Samarkand and Bukhara, along with the class of geographical spaces, like *keshvar*, "country," and *khetteh*, "city" or "region." The similarities between the two couplets are striking, and, rather than highlighting the intention of the author, they shed light on the tension in the interplay between the two texts. The recognition of a correspondence on the rhetorical level enables us to orient the two poems toward the same geopoetic structures and evaluate the specificities of each representation through the value that they project onto the locales that they display.

*Shifting Geographies: India and Central Asia through the Filter of Historicized Poetics*

The ghazal by Amir Khosrow quoted above appears in his first *Divan*, *Tohfat al-sighar*, compiled in 1273, when the author was twenty years old and Ghiyās al-Din Balban was consolidating the political supremacy of the Turkish Slave Dynasty over the Persianized Delhi Sultanate.<sup>53</sup> Since the first half of the thirteenth century, Iltutmish, one of the founders of the Sultanate as an independent polity, "took care to build up a corps of Turkish slaves known as the Shamsis, whose loyalty was focused on him alone."<sup>54</sup> Under his successors, they would come to play a more prominent role in the government of the Sultanate. Hence, the young Amir Khosrow, whose father was a Turk of slave origins, and whose mother was an Indian Muslim, during his first years of poetic activity at court might have started expressing his affection towards the Turkish ruling elite of Transoxanian ascendance.<sup>55</sup> In this case, the political implications of the expression "bot-e Samarqandi" are unambiguous: the compound opens a window into the story of the Sultanate and its relationship with Central Asia. In fact, as pointed out by Peter Jackson, "had it not been for the Mongol incursion in Transoxania and Khwārezm, Delhi, Sindh and the Punjab might have been swallowed up in the empire: Chinggis Khan inadvertently ensured that Muslim India would go its own way."<sup>56</sup>

In Amir Khosrow's couplet, the rhetoric of plundering and conquest associated with Samarkand and Bukhara can be seen as the literary expression of the devastation of the two cities in the aftermath of the Chingizid invasion. Bukhara, for instance, was burned in 1220 and had its population slaughtered. Subsequently, it was plundered several times, and finally sacked in 1276 to such an extent that, according to the *Jāme' al-tavārikh* (composed by the Ilkhanid historian Rashid al-Din during the first decade of the fourteenth century), it remained uninhabited for several years.<sup>57</sup>

People escaping from both cities and seeking refuge southward contributed to the cultural, artistic, and military supremacy of the Delhi Sultanate, where the ruling elites, lacking any local tradition on which to draw, had to get inspiration from the Turco-Persian institutions of kingship of the Samanid and Ghaznavid legacies.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, at the time of compiling his first *Divan*, the Samarkand and Bukhara mentioned by

Amir Khosrow are cities that virtually no longer exist. Rather, they are nostalgic signs of a vanished past, whose intellectual ruins were to become the basis for the construction of Delhi as a new political and cultural ideal, where the interaction between Persian, Turkish, and Indian identities produced a unique and flourishing civilization.<sup>59</sup>

The nostalgia for this lost urban splendor also emerges from the pages of Ibn Battuta's travelogue:

This city [Bukhara] was formerly the capital of the lands beyond the river Jaihun, but was laid in ruins by the accursed Tankiz, the Tatar, the ancestor of the kings of al-'Iraq. So at the present time its mosques, colleges and bazars are in ruins.<sup>60</sup>

Or, in the case of Samarkand:

There were formerly great palaces on its bank, and constructions which bear witness to the lofty aspirations of the townsfolk, but most of this is obliterated, and most of the city itself has also fallen into ruin. It has no city wall, and no gates, and there are no gardens inside it.<sup>61</sup>

In the poetry of Nezāri Qohestāni (d. 1321),<sup>62</sup> Bukhara is referred to as an epitome of destruction and desolation, and the following verses are among the few poetic examples from the early fourteenth century that explicitly mention the Transoxanian city:

دانی چه مصلحت را بلغاق شد بخارا  
تا این ستیزگاران ببیل کنند ما را  
زین قوم در خراسان الا بلا نخیزد  
شکلی کنید و دفعی بنشستن بلا را

For what reason—tell me!—Bukhara has been plundered?  
So that these hostile warriors may pillage our heart?  
Nothing but disasters, these people have brought to Khorasan:  
We must find a remedy, a strategy to appease this calamity!<sup>63</sup>

مگر به غارت و قتل آمدی از آن سوی آب  
از این طرف چو بر انداختی بخارا را

Was it for plundering and assassination that you came here,  
From the other side of the river, to ravage Bukhara?<sup>64</sup>

In 1350, 'Abd al-Malek 'Esāmi eloquently described the relationship between the magnificence of the Delhi Sultanate and a Transoxiana almost in ruins. He expressed his regret in the passages of his *Fotuh al-salatin* in which he grieves Mohammad Toghloq's policy of deserting Delhi and moving the Muslim families to Devigir:

فرض شهر دهلی که در ملک هند  
یکی تختگه بود خاطر پسند  
سوادش حلّی بند روی زمین  
بناکرده شمس دنیا و دین  
تماشاگه جمله اهل نظر  
دیارش چمن در چمن سر به سر  
به رشک از سوادش سواد ارم  
مضافات او مصر و بغداد هم

Oh poor city of Delhi, that in the reign of India  
Used to be the most beautiful royal court.

Its urbanized horizon was the ornament of the world  
Founded by Shams al-Din [Iltutmish].

It was the object of contemplation for all refined people,  
Its region was but gardens erected over gardens.

Eram's walls were envious of the outline of its buildings:  
Cairo and Baghdad were nothing but its outskirts.<sup>65</sup>

درو مسجدی همچو بیت الحرم ...  
... برآورده خسروان عجم  
به جای زن و مرد حور و ملک  
دران شهر ساکن شده یک به یک  
گرفته سراسر جهان نامشان  
جهان گشته قائم از اقدامشان  
از آن شهر عالم بسی خاسته  
همه در همه علم آراسته  
اگر مشکلی در بخارا افتاد  
و گر فتنه ای در سمرقند زاد  
گروهی که مفتی آن کشورند  
از اصحاب این شهر فتوی برند

A mosque in it like the *Beyt al-Haram* [of Mecca]  
Erected by the kings of Iran.<sup>66</sup> ...

The people residing in that city were not men and women  
But angels and virgins of paradise!

Their names have conquered the entire world,  
And the world became eternal thanks to their accomplishments.

How many men of culture arose from that city:  
All of them well-versed in every art!

Whenever a dilemma was raised in Bukhara,  
For any dispute that broke out in Samarkand,

The mufti of Transoxania would have applied  
The fatwa delivered by the experts of Delhi.<sup>67</sup>

The thirteenth/early fourteenth century prideful descriptions of the beauty and the cultural importance of India as a whole, and Delhi in particular, often belonged to a system of comparisons with all the other regions of the Persian-speaking world. An eloquent poetic reflection of such celebrations can be found in the *Divan* of Hasan of Delhi (1336), one of the most renowned contemporaries and fellow-poets of Amir Khosrow:

گر چین زلف کافرت زد بر خراسان دلم  
آباد بادا تا ابد هندوستان زلف تو

If your blasphemous Chinese curls were to attack the Khorasan of my heart  
May the India of your hair live long in eternal prosperity!<sup>68</sup>

Through the *morā'āt-e nazir* technique, the poet turns the bodies of the lover and the beloved into living maps dominated by India. Praises of Delhi abound in almost all Amir Khosrow's prose and verse works, but one of the most striking laudatory passages can be found in the introduction to his third *Divan*, *Ghorrat al-kamāl*, completed in 1294:

I harbor no bitter feelings toward the Persian-speaking inhabitants of Shiraz and Kerman, Samarkand or Kandahar, but truth should not be dismissed, even when it is bitter: Delhi is the greatest city of India, and its minarets are the pillars of heaven, whose inscription says, Eram, with its lofty pillars, the likes of which have not been created in any other country [Quran, 89: 7-8].<sup>69</sup>

In another passage, Amir Khosrow criticizes the Persian spoken in Khorasan and in other regions of Iran, as he deemed it not to be as pure as the literary language used in Transoxiana (*Māverā' al-Nahr*), a linguistic purity that qualifies the cities of Samarkand and Bukhara as the sources of inspiration for the Indo-Persian cultural identity.<sup>70</sup>

### *The "Tork-e Shirazi" as a Map for Early Timurid Politics*

Amir Khosrow and Hafez, through the device of the *morā'āt-e nazir*, represented Samarkand and Bukhara as parallel mirrors of Delhi and Shiraz, respectively, within a topography that is simultaneously literary and historical. Whilst Amir Khosrow mentions these cities in the wake of the dysphoric rhetoric of conquest and subjugation that turns the ephemeral condition of Transoxiana into an analogue of the lost heart (just as, in Hasan's ghazal, the Khorasanian heart of the lover is dominated by the Indian hair of the beloved), Hafez represents a geopoetical embrace capable of mirroring the Timurid ideals of territorial and symbolic sovereignty as a princely revival

encompassing the Ilkhanid imperial model as well as the renown of Mahmud of Ghazna's eastward aspirations.<sup>71</sup>

In Hafez's ghazal, the constant reference to a "here and now" through the use of deictics and the explicit reference to Shiraz and its locales offers a strong point of observation related to a specific historical reality external to the text. From this point of observation the perspective is broad, and it embraces Transoxiana as well as India in the relationship between Fars and the "Persian-speaking Turks who can bestow new life."<sup>72</sup> Even though Hafez represents the Turks as the ethnic other, his ghazal shows the symbolic acceptance of a sociopolitical and interethnic encounter in which all opposition is resolved by the poetic performance.

However, the confluence between the Persian and the Turkic world is represented here within a map that displays the extension of the Timurid Empire at the peak of its eastward expansion: the Indian campaign is yet to be planned, but Timur's expansionistic ambitions could have been foreseen at that stage, as his historiographers strongly emphasized the parallels between his enterprises in western Iran of the late 80s and the campaigns of Mahmud of Ghazna.<sup>73</sup> The "Indian mole," for which Hafez would trade all the wealth of Samarkand and Bukhara, is a poetic topos that could potentially be seen as an analogue for a geographical object of desire. In the case of Hafez's poetry, the mention of India acquires special relevance if we consider that the author was certainly aware of the cultural and political contacts between Shiraz and the Tughluqid Sultans of Delhi during the reign of Abu Eshāq Inju, who, in the 1340s, received a delegation sent by Ghiyās al-Dīn Mohamad Tughluq. The visit of Mohammad Ekhtesān (the private secretary of Ghiyās al-Dīn Mohammad) to Shiraz was probably the occasion that inspired Hafez to compose at least one ghazal dedicated to the Indian ruler.<sup>74</sup>

In the rest of the ghazal, the references to the context of performance (the last verse), as well as a direct quotation from Sa'di,<sup>75</sup> affirm the supremacy of the Persian poetic language over a space dominated by a Turkish-speaking power. The same ambivalence can be discerned in the penultimate couplet of another of Hafez's ghazals, which, in the editions published by Qazvini-Ghani (1941), Khānlari (1983), and Ebtehāj (1993), among others, reads as follows:

خیز تا خاطر بدان ترک سمرقندی دهیم  
کز نسیمش بوی جوی مولیان آید همی

Rise and let us offer our devotion to that Turk of Samarkand  
As from his breeze the sweet fragrance of the Muliyan brook is coming.<sup>76</sup>

Many scholars have speculated that in this ghazal the "Turk of Samarkand" could be an allusion to Timur, as it was composed during a political vacuum, or courtly disgrace, when "the king of the Turks does not care about our condition" ("shāh-e torkān fāregh ast az hāl-e mā").<sup>77</sup> The direct quotation from one of the most famous of Rudaki's poems, *buy-e juy-e muliyān* ("The sweet fragrance of the Muliyan brook is coming / the scent of the dear friend is coming"), celebrated by Nezāmi 'Arūzi and imitated by many other authors, from Amir Mo'ezzi to

‘Obayd-e Zākāni, is a way to find a negotiation between the ethnic otherness of the ruling elite embodied by Timur and the Persian literary identity.<sup>78</sup> Moreover, it should be borne in mind that Rudaki, according to Nezāmi ‘Arūzi, composed “Buy-e juy-e Muliyyān” in order to praise the beauty of Bukhara and convince the Samanid prince Nasr II Ebn Ahmad (r. 914–43) to return after four years spent in Herat with his attendants.<sup>79</sup> Considering that by the end of the fifteenth century this story was still circulating among biographers and literati,<sup>80</sup> it is quite likely that Hafez, being aware of the anecdote, decided to cite Rudaki’s poem for political reasons, as a way to hint at the relationship between Shiraz and Central Asia. Nevertheless, both Bahā’ al-Din Khorramshāhi and Sa‘id Hamidiyān argue that the association between this ghazal and Timur is unsustainable: the expression “Tork-e Samarqandi” should refer to the poet Rudaki himself, as if Hafez wanted to say that “it is better not to think about the disasters and the sufferings of these times; we should rather read poetry (Rudaki’s poetry, or poetry in general) in order to alleviate our anxieties.”<sup>81</sup>

However, a strong philological argument could be made against the opinion of the two Iranian scholars. In fact, it is necessary to highlight that while this ghazal has been transmitted with quite a reliable degree of consistency by the twenty-four manuscripts inspected by Neysāri,<sup>82</sup> its third couplet (“Rise and let us offer our devotion to that Turk of Samarkand / as from his breeze the sweet fragrance of the Muliyyān brook is coming”) has been recorded in a plethora of variants (twelve, if we consider also the minor syntactical variations) that require closer scrutiny, especially in consideration of their historical implications. It seems to me that the reading chosen by Ghazvini-Ghani, Khānlari, and Ebtehāj—i.e. the direct quotation from Rudaki’s ode—is rather arbitrary, as it appears in only two manuscripts, which are not philologically more relevant than the rest of the manuscript tradition.<sup>83</sup> The use of the archaism “āyad hamī” in all twelve variants confirms that Rudaki’s ode (“Buy-e juy-e Muliyyān āyad hamī”) surely served as a hypotext for Hafez’s original rendition(s). However, I would be prone to believe that Hafez originally modified Rudaki’s renowned line in order to create a rhetorical interplay between the historical background of the literary tradition and the political events witnessed by his contemporaries in Shiraz. It is the mood and the overtones of such rhetorical variations that should be considered in order to retrieve the kind of message that Hafez was willing to share with his audience. For instance, in five of the twelve variants (eleven manuscripts out of twenty-one), the word “juy” (brook) is substituted by the noun “khun” (blood), thereby establishing two readings supported by some important manuscripts:

Either:

کز لبانش بوی خون عاشقان آید همی

As from his lips the smell of the lovers’ blood is coming.



Or:

کز نسیمش بوی خون مولیان آید همی

As from his breeze the smell of the Muliyan brook's blood is coming.<sup>84</sup>

With such variants, if the "Tork-e Samarqandi" refers to Timur, is Hafez—by mentioning the lover's blood or, even more so, the rivers of blood flowing in Central Asia—warning against the arrival of the world conqueror from Samarkand? In this case, the expression "khāter dādan" could imply a bitterly ironic resignation to a destiny that Shiraz could not elude.

The historical link between the expression "Turk of Samarkand" and Timur is also found in another of Hafez's ghazals:

به خوبان دل مده حافظ ببین آن بی وفایی ها  
که با خوارزمیان کردند ترکان سمرقندی

Do not give your heart to the beautiful ones, Hafez, look at  
All the violence that the Turks of Samarkand did against the Khwarezmians.<sup>85</sup>

As stated by 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandi in his *Matla' -e sa'dayn* (1466), this line was composed by Hafez in the aftermath of Timurid devastations occurring in Khwārezm in 1379.<sup>86</sup> In many manuscripts, the allegedly original couplet appears in this form:

به شعر حافظ شیرازی می رقصند و می نازند  
سیه چشمان کشمیری و ترکان سمرقندی

The black-eyed ones of Kashmir and the Turks of Samarkand  
Are dancing in all their splendor with the poetry of Hafez of Shiraz.<sup>87</sup>

Fourteen of the thirty-three oldest manuscripts recording this ghazal contain the first version of the line ("all the violence that the Turks") reported by 'Abd al-Razzāq.<sup>88</sup> The wide variety of chains of transmission to which these manuscripts belong (the first one dating from 843/1439), and the fact that in two cases both variants have been transcribed by the copyist within the same manuscript, suggests that 'Abd al-Razzāq's rendition of the line might not be spurious. Shafi'i-Kadkani explains this potentially authentic double authorial rendition by suggesting that it is one of the few cases in which Hafez has re-edited his own text for political reasons: "Hafez, after Timur's conquest of Fars, probably interpolated this verse as a result of fearing the violent and merciless actions of the Turk of Samarkand."<sup>89</sup>

Regardless of the reasons lying behind this double rendition, we have to accept both variants as the two faces of Hafez's engagement, during the last dramatic years of his life, at the intersection of poetical and historical events. Thanks to these intersections, we can understand the role played by the mention of cities in the framework of Persian poetry. In this tradition, cities are ambivalent signs: they share with gardens the ideal of reproducing the lost paradise on earth, but at the same time their ephemeral condition is constantly affirmed.<sup>90</sup> Thus, the mention of the name of a city would evoke

its material presence, and put it in conversation with the historical and literary reminiscences awakened in the mind of the community of readers.

In Amir Khosrow's writings, Delhi is the sole stable urban identity, while Samarkand and Bukhara are nothing but fragments of a lost past whose value is given by the symbolic role they played in the history of the Persian civilization. On the contrary, the Samarkand that makes its appearance in the last decade of Hafez's literary endeavor is a new pole of attraction capable of resetting the entire geopolitical perception of Iran under Timurid rule. In Hafez's poems, one may discern the dramatic awareness of the threat that the Central Asian city poses to the political independence of Shiraz and the Mozaffarid dynasty.

This last geographical shift—in terms of geopoetical orientation as well as ideologies of power—is reflected in the Timurid propaganda's terse description of how Timur's benevolent regard for the city converted the desolation caused by past lootings into a shining model of urban renewal for the entire world:

Shortly thereafter, Samarkand, thanks to the blessing of the clemency and rectitude of the world-ruler [Timur], protector of the faith, and from the abundance of its edifications, the multitude of its populace and inhabitants, and the profusion of its trades with all the corners of the world, reached such a status that its renown caused Egypt ... to throw the garment of its envy into the Nile, and Baghdad ... to wash its envious face with countless floods: *so much Baghdad envies Samarkand / that the Tigris is a teardrop on its face.*<sup>91</sup>

From the point of view of the rise of Samarkand after 1370 and the gradual downfall of Shiraz, we could consider "Tork-e Shirāzi" as Hafez's attempt to symbolically undermine the new political centrality acquired by the Central Asian capital and reassure the local elites of Fars about the eternal and blissful glory of Shiraz. The first line of the poem ("Should that Turk from Shiraz take our heart into his hands, / I'd give up, for his Indian mole, all Samarkand and Bukhara") not only represents the geopoetical map of a new orientation of the Persian-speaking world, but it also represents the object of desire (the ghazal's abstracted beloved) as a cartographic entity.

Conversely, the second line converts the cartographic logic of the ghazal's opening into a lyric subjectivity in which the map of the amatory rhetoric turns into the landscape of Shiraz extolled and enjoyed from within: ("O Cup bearer, bring the last of the wine, for in Paradise [*jannat*] / you'll not find the banks of Roknābād's stream, or Mosallā's rose garden").

Most interpretations of this line emphasize Hafez's opposition between the unattainable pleasures of the hereafter and the "here and now" of Shiraz's lush gardens and running waters, capable of overshadowing the promised pleasures of paradise (*jannat*). This is certainly one of the recurrent topoi in the entirety of Hafez's *Divan*, but the geographical dominance of the "Tork-e Shirāzi" line stresses the spatial relevance of the second line of the poem: the real value lies in the geographical space of Shiraz not only as a cartographic sign on a geopoetic map, but also as a landscape surrounding the subjective perspective of the lyric subject.

By "paradise" Hafez undoubtedly refers to the garden of delights whose detailed descriptions abound in the Quran. However, considering that both the first and the second line of the poem revolve around the discourse on value (the value of Samarkand and Bokhara vs. the Shirazi beloved's Indian mole, the value of paradise vs. the gardens of Shiraz), it would not be too far-fetched to recognize an implied symbolic parallel between Samarkand and paradise as two sources of sensual wealth incapable of rivaling Shiraz's glorious landscape.

The parallel between Samarkand and paradise proves even more meaningful if we consider that the topos of Samarkand as an Eden on earth is well-attested in numerous historical sources offering glimpses of Timur's imperial propaganda. For instance, in the works of Timurid historians such as Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, attributes of the likes of "Jannat-masāl" are frequent: "From his [Timur's] glorious steps, the paradisiac ['jannat-āyyin'] city of Samarkand caused the envy of the lofty spheres."<sup>92</sup> Moreover, the sources refer to "paradisiac garden" ("bāgh-e behesht") as the first (in 1378) of a garland of gardens that Timur ordered to be built all around the outskirts of Samarkand.<sup>93</sup> Considering the historically attested epistolary exchange between Timur and the Mozaffarid court in Shiraz, it is likely that Hafez had been fully exposed to the imperial propaganda's representation of Samarkand as a *jannat* on earth.

If this interpretation holds true, we may conclude that Hafez's "Shirazi Turk" could ultimately be regarded as the poem embodying the lyric spirit of Shiraz as a proud local community that is aware of the multifaceted stratification of its own past at the verge of an epochal transition: a city caught in the act of pondering upon its own geohistorical destiny, well beyond the lights and shadows of its turbulently glowing post-Mongol path, and vis-à-vis the emergence of a new imperial order, whose final trajectory proves, as the "mystery of time," inscrutable.

### Notes

1. For a general overview of Hafez's style, imagery, and historical context, see the various articles published under the entry "Hafez" of the *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (available online at <http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hafez>), especially "Hafez ii. Hafez's Life and Times" (Baha' al-Din Khorramshahi and EIr); "Hafez iii. Hafez's Poetic Art" (J. T. P. de Bruijn); "Hafez viii. Hafez and Rendi" (Franklin Lewis). Many are the translations (either complete or partial) of Hafez's *Divan* that are available in English (for a survey, see Loloï, "Hafez x."); although choosing the "best" one among them is a matter of personal sensibility, I would recommend Gertrude Bell's versions (*Poems from the Divan of Hafiz*), as well as those of Peter Avery (*The Collected Lyrics*), and Dick Davis' (*Faces of Love*), belonging respectively to a Victorian, mid-century, and contemporary literary and interpretive taste. For the most comprehensive annotated translation ever published in a western language, see Fouchécour, *Le Divan*. For an in-depth analysis of the imagery of Hafez's poetry compared with that of his contemporaries within the context of fourteenth-century Shiraz see Brookshaw, *Hafiz and His Contemporaries*. See also, in Persian, Khorramshāhi, *Hāfeznāmeḥ*; Mortezavi, *Maktab-e Hāfez*; and Purnāmdāriyān, *Gomshodeh-ye lab-e daryā*. The three editions to which I will be referring throughout this article are Khānalarī's (*Hāfez, Divān-e Hāfez*); Neysari's (*Hāfez Daftar-e degarsāni-hā*); and Sajjādī's (*Hāfez, Divān-e Hāfez: bar asās-e noskheh-ye nowyāfteh-ye besyār kohan*).
2. The ghazal, as a poetic genre, can be defined as a relatively short poem (between ca. five and ten distiches) whose functions and uses roughly correspond to the tradition of the sonnet in the western

literary tradition. Although the ghazal is a primarily amorous composition, it is often the vehicle—especially after the thirteenth century—to express mystical and political contents. See Bauer and Neuwirth, *Ghazal as World Literature. I*; Meisami, *Medieval Persian Court Poetry*, 237–98. Golandām’s introduction to the *Divān*, composed soon after Hāfez’s death, attests to the plurality of audiences addressed by the poet. See Hāfez, *Divān-e Hāfez: bar asās-e noskhe-ye nouyāfīteh-ye besyār koban*, 13–14. For a survey of the scholarly criticism concerning Golandām’s introduction, see Hāfez, *Divān-e Hāfez*, 2: 1145–49. For an appraisal of the first direct or indirect reception of Hafez’s poetry between the fourteenth and the fifteenth centuries, see Fotuhi and Vafā’i, “Mokhātebshenāsi-ye Hāfez.” The philological efforts made so far to reconstruct the dissecta membra of the Divan of Hafez have been often frustrated by the lack of a collected corpus authorized by the author: “the earliest sources, oral and/or written, were multiple, and ... the hope of reconstructing the ‘true divān’ (*divān-e sabīh*) is indeed slim”; Meisami, “Hāfez v. Manuscripts of Hafez.” For a critical discussion of the various philological problems concerning the early transmission of Hafez’s ghazals see Neysāri, *Daftar-e degarsāni-hā*, 1: 10–15. See also ‘Ayvazī, *Hāfez-e bartar kodām ast?* The multitude of textual discrepancies found among the oldest manuscripts transmitting the ghazals of Hafez (which cannot be exclusively ascribed to the deliberate or accidental interpolations of the various copyists and transmitters of his poems) attests to the existence of multiple renditions which, according to the variety of social spheres and political circles to which he was attached, were probably undertaken by the author himself during different stages of his creative process; See Shafī’i-Kadkani, “In kimyā-ye hasti.”

3. The entirety of the ghazal (along with the original text and bibliographical references) is quoted below.
4. Loloi, *Hāfiz, Master of Persian Poetry*, 22. For a comprehensive survey of the English translations and the studies dedicated to this ghazal, see *ibid.*, 21, 22–48, and 84–5. See also Khorramshāhi, *Hāfez-nāmeḥ*, 1: 109–17; and Hamidiyān, *Sharḥ-e showq*, 2: 750–76.
5. Lewis, “Reading, Writing, and Recitation”; Losensky, *Welcoming Fighāni*; Meisami, “The Ghazal as Fiction.”
6. The original poem corresponds to the edition given by Salim Neysāri in Hāfez, *Daftar-e degarsāni-hā*, 1: 105. The English version is a literal adaptation from Julie Scott Meisami’s translation; see Meisami, “Persona and Generic Conventions,” 136.
7. See, in particular, Arberry, “Oriental Pearls at Random Strung”; Meisami, “Persona and Generic Conventions,” 136–7; Hillmann, *Unity in the Ghazals of Hafez*, 16; Hillmann, “Hafez’s ‘Turk of Shiraz’ Again”; Wickens, “An Analysis of Primary and Secondary Significations.”
8. One of the most authoritative analyses of Hāfez’s “Tork-e Shirāzi” ghazal appears in Khorramshāhi’s *Hāfeznāmeḥ*, a comprehensive commentary on a selection from the collected poems of Hāfez. By quoting Mo’in’s interpretation of the line, he suggests that “Tork” might be read as an attribute of beauty. In the wake of Sudi’s Ottoman commentary, he adds that the expression could also qualify the ethnicity of a “beautiful Turk who resided in Shiraz.” Then the author quotes a dozen lines from other ghazals to disarmingly remark that “Hāfez was smitten by Turks as such, were they from Shiraz or not,” Khorramshāhi, *Hāfeznāmeḥ*, 1: 110.
9. For comprehensive coverage of the *topos* of “the Turk” (especially in contrast with the representation of the *Hendu*) in the history of Persian poetry, see Schimmel, “Turk and Hindu.” On the semantic and ethnic broadness of the concept of “Turk,” see also Jackson, “Juzjāni’s use of the word ‘Turk,’” in *The Delhi Sultanate*, 326. As for the literary uses of the sexualized representation of the Turk, see Brookshaw, “To be Feared and Desired.”
10. See in particular Jaus and Benzinger, “Literary History,” and Jaus and Bahti, “The Alterity and Modernity of Medieval Literature.” See also Gadamer, *Truth and Method*, and Eco, *The Open Work*.
11. “I wanted to find in the past real bodies and living voices, and if I knew that I could not find these—the bodies having long moldered away and the voices fallen silent—I could at least seize upon those traces that seemed to be close to actual experience. Literature seemed to me ... almost infinitely precious because its creators had invented techniques for representing this experience with uncanny vividness, but there were other techniques and other texts, outside the conventional boundaries of

- the literary, that possessed a nearly comparable power. The greatest challenge lay not simply in exploring these other texts—an agreeably imperial expansion of literary criticism beyond its borders—but in making the literary and the nonliterary seem to be each other's thick description. That both the literary work and the anthropological (or historical) anecdote are texts, that both are fictions in the sense of things made, that both are shaped by the imagination and by the available resources of narration and description helped make it possible to conjoin them, but their ineradicable differences ... made the conjunction powerful and compelling. I wanted to recover in my literary criticism a confident conviction of reality, without giving up the power of literature to sidestep or evade the quotidian and without giving up a minimally sophisticated understanding that any text depends upon the absence of the bodies and voices that it represents. I wanted the touch of the real in the way that in an earlier period people wanted the touch of the transcendent. Greenblatt, "The Touch of the Real," 21–2.
12. Westphal, *Geocriticism: Real and Fictional Spaces*, 6, 97.
  13. *Ibid.*, 101. See also Tally, *The Routledge Handbook of Literature and Space*, 1–6.
  14. See Collot, *Pour une géographie littéraire*, 11.
  15. *Ibid.*, 128. For a successful example of the application of geopoetical analytical tool to the study of European poetry, see Miglio, "L'est di Paul Celan," and Miglio, "La terra del morso."
  16. Meisami, "Places in the Past," 78.
  17. Zumthor, *La mesure du monde*, 113.
  18. See Meisami, "Persona and Generic Conventions"; and Ingenito, "Jahān Malek Khātun."
  19. Zumthor, "From the Universal to the Particular."
  20. *Ibid.*, 816.
  21. Culler, *Theory of the Lyric*, 122–3, 226.
  22. "The generative process begins at the deep level with elementary structures and extends over more complex structures at the higher levels. The whole trajectory describes structures 'which govern the organization of the discourse prior to its manifestation in a given natural language ...'." Nöth, *Handbook of Semiotics*, 315.
  23. "Beh pisham chun khorāsāni gar āri sahn-e boghrā rā," Boshāq At'ameh Shirāzi, *Kolliyāt*, 94; "beh afsun gar goshā'i mohr-e in la'l-e shekarkhā rā," Jāmi, *Divān*, 2: 470–71; "gar ān tork-e khatā'i nush sāzād jān-e sahbā rā," 'Ali Shir Navā'i, *Divān*, 72–3.
  24. Ghani, *Bahs dar āsār va afkār va ahvāl-e Hāfez*, 1: 390. On all the Islamicate dynasties quoted in this article (including Injuids and Mozaffarids), see Bosworth, *The New Islamic Dynasties*.
  25. See Hāfez Abru, *Zobdat al-tavārikh*, 4: 1030.
  26. Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāme*, 1: 317.
  27. Shojā', *Anis al-nās*, 317. As reported by Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, the first descent of Timur on 'Erāq and Fars was induced by Zayn al-'Ābedin's reckless attempt to detain Timur's envoys without accepting the formal submission to the new ruling establishment; see Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāme*, 1: 311, 315–17. Cf. Kotobi, *Tārikh-e āl-e Mozaffar*, 113–14; and also 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandi, *Matlā'-e sādayn*, 1/2: 596–7.
  28. On Timur and Timurid historiography and ideology of power, see Aigle, "Les transformations d'un mythe d'origine"; Bernardini, *Mémoire et propagande à l'époque timouride*; Manz, *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*; Manz, *Power Politics and Religion in Timurid Iran*; Woods, "The Rise of Timurid Historiography."
  29. See, for instance, Dowlatshāh Samarqandi, *Tazkerat al-sho'arā*, 536–7. The scholarship has failed to seriously consider the anecdote of the encounter between the Central Asian ruler and Hafez, mainly as a consequence of the historical inaccuracy of Dowlatshāh's later—and yet more renowned—rewriting of Shojā's story. Dowlatshāh, in fact, not only failed to mention the presence of Zayn al-'Ābedin, but also anachronistically referred to the murder of Shāh Mansur, which took place three years after Hafez's death.
  30. See Hāfez, *Daftar-e degarsāni-hā*, 1: 29; Hāfez, *Divan-e Hāfez*, 2: 1145–47. It is worth remembering that Ebrāhim also supported a Turkic poet from Khwārezm who took the pen name of Hāfez and translated his ghazals into Chagatai.

31. I owe the pretext for this clarification to one of the anonymous peer reviewers of this article, who insightfully wondered: "One thing I found myself asking constantly throughout this section is what if the Tork-e Shirazi ghazal was composed earlier in Hafez's career? Would that change our readings?" (private communication). This form of legitimate doubt directly involves the fascinating problem of the hermeneutics of medieval poetry, whose meaning—just as the *mouvances* of their receptus, as Paul Zumthor would put it—would constantly shift according to the contexts of its reception and the multiplicity of audiences to which it would be exposed. It seems that, oftentimes, the medieval authors themselves were fully aware of the multiple semantic possibilities of their own texts, in a fashion not completely dissimilar from the contemporary hermeneutics of the "open text." In this case, however, should we posit (or discover through newly found sources) that Hafez composed this ghazal *before* 1370, we would have to shift our critical point from the meaning of the text to the meaning of "Samarkand" as an uncoded sign, the mention of which early fourteenth-century lyric poets would avoid altogether.
32. Ghazals n. 40 ("bāgh-e marā cheh hājat-e sarv-o senowbar ast"); 42 ("agar cheh badeh farrokhbakhsh-o bād golriz ast"); 185 ("kelk-e moshkin-e to ruzi keh ze mā yād konad"); 274 ("Khwošā shirāz-o vaz'-e bimašālash"); 335 ("Chel sāl raft-o bish keh man lāf mizanam"); 367 ("biyā tā gol bar afshānim-o mey dar sāghar andāzim"); and 431 ("Sahar bā bād migoftam hadis-e ārezumandi") of Khānlari's edition.
33. Sa'di, *Ghazal-hā-ye Sa'di*, 581. On Sa'di, see Hamidiyān, *Sa'di dar ghazal*, and Ingenito, "Tabrizis in Shiraz."
34. *Ibid.*
35. See Ingenito, "Tabrizis in Shiraz," 24.
36. Hāfez, *Divān-e Hāfez: bar asās-e noskheh-ye nowyāfteh-ye besyār kohan*, 14.
37. Pfeiffer, *Politics, Patronage and the Transmission of Knowledge*, 5.
38. For a sociohistoriographical analysis of the development of the institutions of power and lordship in pre-Mongol Iran, see Jürgen, *Lokale und imperiale Herrschaft im Iran*. See also Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 122–52. Cf. Aigle, *Le Fārs sous la domination mongole*.
39. On the regionalization of post-Ilkhanid rule, see Wing, *The Jalayirids*, especially chapter 5, "Crisis and Transition (1335-1356)." See also Melville, *The Fall of Amir Chupan*.
40. See Limbert, *Shiraz in the Age of Hafiz*; cf. Melville, Review of *Shiraz in the Age of Hafiz*, for the merits and flaws of Limbert's study.
41. "The city of Shiraz is now like paradise on earth," proclaimed early thirteenth-century poet 'Obayd Zākāni: 'Obayd-e Zākāni, *Kolliyāt*, 41. See also Ingenito, "Tabrizis in Shiraz," 96–100.
42. Shams-e Hājji, *Safineh-ye Shams-e Hājji*, 499.
43. *Ibid.*
44. Sa'di, *Ghazal-hā-ye Sa'di*, 94.
45. *Ibid.*, 54.
46. "From an unwieldy collection of semi-autonomous principalities ... Iran became a large kingdom integrated into the vibrant (if still untidy) Mongol imperial system. This was not a change of masters, but a complete reorientation. Among its immediate consequences were the revival of a sense of Iran as a distinct geographical whole, despite its size and territorial diversity, and an echo of past imperial glory under the Sasanids"; Melville, "The Mongol and Timurid Periods," 156. See also *ibid.*, 162–76. Cf. Fragner, "The Concept of Regionalism."
47. Khwāju-ye Kermāni, *Divān*, 758. On Khwāju, see Fitzherbert, "Khwāju Kirmāni."
48. See Losensky, *Welcoming Fighāni*; and Zipoli, *The Technique of the G'awāb*, for the two most important studies on the subject of poetic imitation in premodern and early modern Persian literature.
49. Amir Khosrow, *Divān*, 52. On the intertextual relationships between the *Divans* of the two poets, see Mojtabā'i, "Hāfez-o Khosrow."
50. چون گوینده جمع کند سخن اندر میان چیزهایی که نظایر یکدیگر باشند به معنی چون ماه و آفتاب و دریا و کشتی و آنچه بدین ماند آن سخن را مراعات النظیر خوانند.  
 "When the poet organizes his text according to words that are similar to each other for their meaning, like moon and sun, sea and boat, etc., this kind of text is called *morā'āt al-nazir*"; Rāduyāni, *Tarjomān*

*al-balāghah*, 172. See also the definition given by Vā'ez-e Kāshefi, which dates from the late Timurid period:

"*Morā'āt*'s first meaning is to respect someone's right, and *nazir* means 'similar'; whilst technically, 'the observance of the similar' refers to the act of the poet when he intervenes on the class of terms belonging to the same semantic field in such a way that, for the sake of giving an order to his verse, similar words such as the names of the stars, plants, weapons, ethnic groups, and parts of the body are juxtaposed within the same space." Vā'ez-e Kāshefi, *Badāyeh' al-afkār*, 115–16. Cf. Homā'i, *Fonun-e balāghat-o sanā'āt-e adabi*, 257–60. For a discussion of the *morā'āt-e nazir* in the poetry of Hafez, see Purnāmdāriyān, *Gomshodeh-ye lab-e daryā*, 125–32.

51. The *morā'āt-e nazir*, as a figure of style, was first described by Raduyāni. It is for this reason that it could be considered as a purely Persian rhetorical innovation; see Chalisova "Persian Rhetoric," 146.
52. We may add to this list the semantic category of color (red heart, white Turkic skin, black Indian mole, blue and green glazed tiles of Samarkand and Bokhara Timurid architecture), even though it is unlikely that the premodern critics would take into account such an abstract variable.
53. Sharma, *Amir Khusrāw*, 19–21. See also Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, 61–84.
54. Jackson, *The Delhi Sultanate*, 29–43.
55. "From the 1220s the westward advance of the Mongols gave rise to a sharp increase in the supply of Turkish slaves, particularly from the Caspian and the Pontic steppes; *ibid.*, 64.
56. *Ibid.*, 38.
57. Rashid al-Din, *Rashiduddin Fazlullah's Jam'i u't-tawarikh*, 3: 536–7.  
Rashid al-Din, *Jāme' al-tawārikh*, 2: 247.
58. See Hardy, "The Growth of Authority," 192–214.
59. See Kumar, "The Ignored Elites," 45–77.
60. Ibn Battuta, *The Travels of Ibn Battūta*, 550, 567.
61. *Ibid.*, 567.
62. On the life and works of Nezāri, see Jamal, *Surviving the Mongols*; and Lewisohn, "Sufism and Ismā'īlī Doctrine."
63. Nezāri, *Matn-e enteḡādi*, 1: 490.
64. *Ibid.*, 1: 497.
65. 'Isāmi, *Futubus-Salatin [Fotub al-Salātin]*, 454.
66. Probably the Qovvat al-Eslām Mosque, the construction of which was started by Qotb al-Din Aybak in 1193 and completed by Ilutmish in 1220. It is interesting to notice that 'Esāmi refers to these two founders of the Turkic "gholām" dynasty as the "khosrovān-e 'ajam" (the kings of Iran), a clear attempt to ascribe their presence to a lineage of Persianate roots.
67. درو مسجدی همچو بیت الحرم

برآورده خسروان عجم  
به جای زن و مرد حور و ملک  
دران شهر ساکن شده یک به یک  
گرفته سراسر جهان نامشان  
جهان گشته قائم از اقدامشان  
از آن شهر عالم بسی خاسته  
همه در همه علم آراسته  
اگر مشکلی در بخارا فتاد  
و گر فتنه ای در سمرقند زاد  
گروهی که مفتی آن کشورند  
از اصحاب این شهر فتوی برند.

'Isāmi, *Futubus-Salatin [Fotub al-Salātin]*, 452.

68. Hasan-e Dehlavi, *Divān*, 333.
69. Amir Khosrow, *Dibācheh-ye divān-e ghorrat al-kamāl*, 60.
70. *Ibid.*
71. On Timur's imperialistic aspirations as a restoration of Chinggisid dynastic and territorial legitimacy, see Manz, "Tamerlane and the Symbolism of Sovereignty." As for a renowned interpretation positing

the existence of two phases in Timur's patterns of rulership, see Woods, "Timurid Genealogy," 100–102.

72. Hāfez, *Daftār-e degarsāni-hā*, 1: 97.

73. See Bernardini *Mémoire et propagande à l'époque timouride*, 77–97.

74. See Hāfez, *Divān-e Hāfez*, 2: 1193–5.

75. Twenty-five of the thirty-eight manuscripts transmitting the ghazal contain a verse whose first hemistich reads "badam gofti-yo khorsandam 'afāk allāh neku gofti," which is the first hemistich of a line by Sa'di: Sa'di, *Ghazal-hā-ye Sa'di*, 241.

76. Hāfez, *Divān-e Hāfez: bar asās-e noskheh-ye nowyāfteh-ye besyār kohan*, 550. See note 3 for a comparison between the abovementioned editions.

77. See Mo'in, *Hāfez-e shirin-sokhan*, 1: 262–66; Zarrinkub, *Az kuche-ye rendān*, 67.

78. See Nafisi, *Mohit-e zendegi va ahvāl-o ash'ār-e Rudaki*, 375–88. The fact that the poem, or at least its first lines, were circulating in Shiraz during the fourteenth century is confirmed by the satirical imitation delivered by 'Obayd Zākāni (d. ca. 1370) in one of his obscene fragments:

گند کس بشنید کیرم دوش گفت  
بوی جوی مولیان آید همی  
بادی از کون جست سر بر داشت گفت  
بوی یار مهربان آید همی

"Last night my dick smelled the stench of pussy and said:  
*the sweet fragrance of the Muliyan brook is coming!*  
a fart came out from the ass and he [my dick] said:  
*the scent of the dear friend is coming!*"

'Obayd-e Zākāni, *Kolliyāt-e 'Obayd-e Zākāni*, 229.

79. See Landau, "Naṣir al-Dīn Ṭūsī and Poetic Imagination," 16–20.

80. Dowlatshāh, *Tazkerat al-sho'arā*, 57–8. Noteworthy is Dowlatshāh's critique of Rudaki's style: "This poetry is incredibly simple and devoid of any rhetorical devices, figures of style, and formal embellishments. If nowadays one was to read such a simple poem at a gathering presided by kings and princes, he would surely be denigrated by everyone"; *ibid.*, 58–9.

81. Khorramshāhi, *Hāfeznāmeḥ*, 2: 1205.

82. Hāfez, *Daftār-e degarsāni-hā*, 2: 1524.

83. Mss. Ouseley-148, Bodleian Library, copied in 843/1439–40, and a manuscript belonging to Ja'far Qāzi, copied by Sheykh Pir Mahmud Budāqi in 867/1462–3; see Hāfez, *Daftār-e degarsāni-hā*, 1: 43, 65. Sa'īd Hamidiyān's polemic against Neysāri's philological choice is therefore absolutely unjustified: "Qazvini, 'Ayyazi, Anjavi, Nā'ini, Nazir Ahmad, Sāye, and the large majority of the editions of the *Divan* record 'the sweet fragrance of the Muliyan brook' for this couplet; but I do not understand what is wrong with it, as Mr. Neysāri has been fiddling so much with both old and new manuscripts that he eventually came up with such a bizarre rendition: 'from his lips the smell of the lovers' blood is coming!'; Hamidiyān, *Sharḥ-e showq*, 5: 3949. The origin of this philological misconception should probably be attributed to the Ghazvini-Ghani edition, in which the two editors stated that "in most manuscripts the original wording of this line [buy-e juy-e muliyān] has been completely altered," as the copyists did not recognize the quotation from Rudaki's ode; see Hāfez, *Divān-e Hāfez*, edited by 'Allāme Mohammad Qazvini and Qāsem Ghani, 365.

84. Hāfez, *Daftār-e degarsāni-hā*, 2: 1225.

85. Hāfez, *Divān-e Hāfez*, 2: 1431.

86. "The news of that destruction circulated so much in the world, that from the garden of Shiraz thus resounded the voice of the melodious nightingale Mowlānā Hāfez: Do not give your heart to the beautiful ones, Hāfez, look at all the violence that the Turks of Samarkand did against the Khwarizmians"; 'Abd al-Razzāq Samarqandi, *Matla'-e sa'dayn*, 2: 514.

87. Hāfez, *Daftār-e degarsāni-hā dar ghazal-hā-ye Hāfez*, 2: 1431.

88. *Ibid.*

89. Shafi'i-Kadkani, "In Kimiyā-ye hasti," 318.



90. On the topic of the impact of Timurid gardens on the organization of the urban space in Samarkand, see Golombek, "The Gardens of Timur: New Perspectives": "So where the Timurid garden parted from its predecessors was not in the imposition on it of nomadic values, but in the fostering of an instrument of sedentary culture"; *ibid.*, 145. On the relationship between gardens, architecture, and poetry, see Ingenito, "Mahmud's New Garden in Balkh." For a study of Timur's approach to the conquest of urban politics, see Aubin, "Comment Tamerlan prenait les villes."
91. Sharaf al-Din 'Ali Yazdi, *Zafarnāmeḥ* (1387/2008), 1: 408.
92. *Ibid.*, 1:629.
93. Golombek, "The Gardens of Timur," 137, 140.

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