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COMPOSING TATABBU' POETRY IN THE TIME OF MU'IZZĪ AND AFTER HIM

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In the history of Persian-Tajik literature and in the poetic practice of different periods, *tatabbu'* has been one of the forms through which literary influence and creative interaction among poets have manifested themselves. Scholars have at times equated *tatabbu'* with other terms such as *iqtifā'* (borrowing), *iqtidā'* (following), poetic response, and *nazira* composition, and have also emphasized its affinity with various forms of imitation[1]. This diversity of interpretations indicates that theoretical views on the nature of this literary phenomenon have not yet been fully systematized.

In some sources and studies, the art of poetic response and imitation has been regarded as "a type of *tatabbu'*," through which "poets, by making use of it"[2], have affirmed their spiritual and artistic connection with the poetry of other poets. According to A. Afsahzod's observations, 'Abd al-Rahman Jami considered response, *tatabbu'*, counter-composition (*muqābala*), method (*tarīq*, *ṭarīqa*), style (*ṭarz*, *ṭavr*), and disposition (*salīqa*) to be synonymous with *tatabbu'*. Likewise, in fifteenth-century sources, terms such as imitation (*payravī*), *istiqbāl*, and *sheva* were also used with the same meaning. However, as A. Afsahzod emphasizes, the terms *tatabbu'* and poetic response were the most commonly employed[3].R. Zaypuli and M. Zokiri, in their article "The Art of Poetic Response and Tatabbu' in Persian Poetry," associate *tatabbu'* with the phenomenon of literary appropriation (*sirqāt*), stressing that "we refer to it as a response"[4].

As has been observed, neither in the theoretical works of earlier literary scholarship nor in the studies of researchers of Persian-Tajik literature have the boundaries, distinctions, and conceptual scope of *tatabbu'* and related terms been clearly defined. Only Nava'i (Fāni), in his Persian poetic *divan*, explicitly indicated whether a particular ghazal or qasida was an original composition, a *tatabbu'*, or a poetic response to another poet. Another source that explicitly traces this artistic tendency is *Rada'if al-Ash'ār* by Fakhri Herati. In this work, Fakhri Herati presents model ghazals alongside their *tatabbu'* compositions, mentioning the names of their authors, which makes the book an important source for understanding the nature of this literary phenomenon.

According to the data provided by Fakhri Herati, in the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century poets most frequently followed the ghazals of Anvari, Zahiri Faryabi, Khusraw Dehlavi, Sa'di, Salman, Hafez, Kamal, Jami, Nava'i, Sayfi, and others. As A. Afsahzod emphasizes, "In Fakhri's anthology, 1,399 *tatabbu'* ghazals are attributed to 276 poets. Thirty-five poets composed 234 new ghazals. The majority of them were representatives of the Herat literary circle of Jami's time. More than fifty poets lived and created prior to Jami, in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries (including Khusraw Dehlavi, Sa'di, Hasan Dehlavi, Khwaju Kirmani, Salman Savaji, Imad, Hafez, Kamal, Katibi, Nasimi, Ne'matollah Vali, Qasimi Anvar, Shahi, Azari, and Tusi). The works of more than seventy poets belong to the second half of the fifteenth century and the first half of the sixteenth century; these authors represent literary circles outside Herat (Transoxiana, Iraq, Azerbaijan, India, and Turkey). Several *tatabbu'*-composing poets lived in later periods as well"[5].

[1] Akbarī, M. Istiqbāl dar she'r-i fārsī va ahammiyat-i she'r-i Bābā Fīghānī az nazar-i istiqbāl / Manūchehr Akbarī // Majalla-yi Dānishkada-yi Adabiyyāt va 'Ulūm-i Insānī-yi Dānishgāh-i Tehrān, zimistān-i 1379, pp. 129

[2] Motlaq, Y. B.; Molikī, M. Barrasi-yi mafhūm-i ta'rīz va anvā'-i ān dar fan-i javāb dar she'r-i fārsī (az āghāz tā qarn-i shishum) / Y. Motlaq, M. Molikī // Kohan-nāma-yi Adab-i Fārsī, Pajūhishgāh-i 'Ulūm-i Insānī va Moṭāle'āt-i Farhangī, sāl-i shishum, shomāra-yi avval, bahār-i 1394, pp. 74

[3] Afsahzod, A. Lirika 'Abd ar-Raḥmān-i Jāmī. Problemy teksta i poetiki / A'lokhon Afsahzod. – Dushanbe: Donish, 2014. – 197 p.

[4] Zipūlī, R.; Zokirī, M. Fan-i javābgū'ī va tatabbu' dar she'r-i fārsī / R. Zipūlī, M. Zokirī // Fasl-nāma-yi Farhangistān-i Zabān va Adabiyyāt-i Fārsī, sāl-i avval, shomāra-yi duvvum, tobistān-i 1374, pp. 34.

[5] Afsahzod, A. Lirika 'Abd ar-Raḥmān-i Jāmī. Problemy teksta i poetiki / A'lokhon Afsahzod. – Dushanbe: Donish, 2014. – 208 p.

In lexicographical sources, *tatabbu'* is defined as "following and conformity"[1] and as "imitating someone's poetry or speech," as illustrated in the verse: *"It is permissible, Sa'ib, if it is not a matter of claim / Though following Khwaja's ghazal may be discourteous"*[2]. Rasul Hādizoda defines *tatabbu'* as "following the poetry of earlier or contemporary poets either in terms of content or artistic form," adding that "the greatest poets of every century have drawn inspiration from individual poems, from fragments and couplets, and even from a single renowned hemistich of their contemporaries or predecessors, composing ghazals and qasidas through incorporation and imitation of them. Here the poet's aim, contrary to what is commonly assumed by some researchers, was not to 'respond' to another poet's work, but to create new meanings and forms within similar themes and in a style suited to his own aesthetic inclination. Therefore, to confuse or conflate incorporations (*tazmin*) and *tatabbu'* with certain poems that were in fact written as direct responses or objections to another poet's ghazal or qasida is entirely incorrect. Otherwise, the issue of literary influence, interaction, and creative following would be eliminated, and nearly half of classical Persian and Tajik poetry would be reduced to the genre of 'response poetry' or 'nazira'"[3].

If we consider the realities of literary life, *tatabbu'* as a means of literary interaction and influence had existed in Persian–Tajik literature from the earliest stages of its formation and development, manifesting itself in various forms and modes. The poems preserved from the Samanid period constitute part of the earliest poetic and cultural heritage of the Persian-Tajik language. Since such accomplished poets as Rudaki, Abū Shakūr Balkhī, and Shahīd Balkhī, under the patronage of Persian-minded Samanid amirs and their literature-loving viziers, laid a firm and enduring foundation for Persian poetry, later generations of poets naturally looked toward these early masters. They cultivated their talent and poetic sensibility through reading the elegant verses of their predecessors and engaged in *tatabbu'* of those elements of their works that appeared beautiful and appealing to them, thereby enriching and enhancing their own poetic production.

Moreover, poets of all periods borrowed themes from one another, or one poet engaged in *tatabbu'* or followed the poetry of another, a practice that became an integral part of the ongoing process of literary continuity and creative interaction.

Already in the time of Rudaki and his predecessors, from the very emergence and development of ghazal- and qaṣīda-composition, such practices of *tatabbu'* appeared in the poetry of earlier masters. They manifested themselves in various forms and underwent gradual development in the works of poets such as Unsurī Balkhī, Farrukhī Sīstānī, Manūchihrī Dāmghānī, Asjadī, Mu'izzī, and others.

Tatabbu' acquired a particularly prominent role and elevated status during the tenth and eleventh centuries and throughout the medieval period-that is, during the formative and evolutionary stages of the ghazal and qaṣīda as poetic genres in Persian-Tajik literature. The greatest poets engaged in *tatabbu'* of one another's ghazals, qaṣīdas, and *taghazzul*s, both in terms of thematic content and in structural, semantic, and aesthetic dimensions. A prime example of such literary interaction is provided by Mu'izzī's *tatabbu'* of the qaṣīdas and *taghazzul*s of Unsurī, Farrukhī, and Asjadī.

In this context, the creative interrelations and mutual influences among other poets-including Anvarī, Ẓahīr-e Fāryābī, Sayf-e Isfarangī, Khāqānī, Sanā'ī, Sa'dī, Ḥāfiẓ, Salmān-e Sāvajī, 'Imād-e Kirmānī, and 'Ubayd-e Zākānī-as well as the remarkable transformations of this artistic practice during the Timurid period, reflect significant stages in the evolution of *tatabbu'* in Persian–Tajik literature. These processes confirm a distinctive mode of literary influence and a spiritual and artistic continuity linking poets of different periods with their predecessors.

Unfortunately, the stages and characteristics of the formation and development of *tatabbu'* in the history of Persian-Tajik literature have not yet been studied in a comprehensive manner. Nevertheless, from the earliest times to the present day, poets composing within the traditional poetic system have consistently drawn upon or alluded to established poetic models, which embody the artistic experience of the past and continue to exert influence on both earlier and later poetry. For this reason, the tradition of *tatabbu'* and the course of its formation and evolution in Persian–Tajik poetry originate in the continuous advancement of this practice and extend into later periods and even the future, encompassing both positive and negative aspects.

The thematic and structural characteristics of *tatabbu'* discussed above constitute the intrinsic features of this phenomenon. From its very inception, *tatabbu'* has possessed relatively clear boundaries and defining parameters, and its emergence-at least with regard to Persian-Tajik literature-"more or less

[1] Dehkhodā, A. Lughat-nāma-yi Dehkhodā, vol. 5. – Mu'assasa-yi Intishārāt va Chap-i Dānishgāh-i Tehrān, 1388. – 425 p.
[2] Farhang-i buzurg-i Sokhan. Bā sarparastī-yi Dr. Ḥasan Anvarī, vol. 3, chāp-i duvvum. – Tehrān, 1382. – 614 p.
[3] Hodizoda, R. 'Aqā'id-i adabī-estetīkī-yi Jāmī / R. Hodizoda // 'Abd al-Raḥmān-i Jāmī. Majmū'a-yi maqālāt: zamān-i zendegī, ḥayāt va ejādīyāt. – Dushanbe: Irfān, 1965, pp. 112.

coincides with the very beginning of poetry itself"[1] (5, 43). Indeed, *tatabbuʿ*, or the act of composing a poetic response, has been widespread among Persian-speaking poets since ancient times and across all poetic strata; it was not a phenomenon created by mere imitators of poetry and poets.

The practice of composing model poems (*sarmashq*) has existed in Persian–Tajik literature from early times and among poets of all ranks. Moreover, during most stages of the development of Persian–Tajik poetry, political, social, and cultural conditions provided a fertile ground for the growth of this phenomenon and contributed to its transformation and evolution. As noted above, such a pattern of formation and development of *tatabbuʿ*-composition can be observed throughout the history of Persian-Tajik literature from the Samanid period through the Timurid era and beyond. In certain periods-most notably during the Timurid age-it flourished to an unprecedented degree.

Scholars have regarded this situation as the result of several prominent characteristics of that period. Poetry and poetic practice in that century have generally been described in such a way that the countless poets of the age, rather than possessing highly creative and innovative ideas, were primarily captivated by poetic technique and rhetorical artistry. In other words, they paid greater attention to formal and structural aspects than to semantic depth and content. Put differently, the Timurid period witnessed an unprecedented expansion in the number of talented and aesthetically refined poets; however, with the exception of a limited few, most were content to engage chiefly with the technical aspects of poetry-such as rhyme and the use of rhetorical devices-rather than with the creation and exploration of new meanings.

This tendency also explains the extraordinary attention paid during this period to earlier meaning-oriented poets such as Ḥāfiẓ, Saʿdī, and Amīr Khusraw of Delhi. One of the direct consequences of these inclinations was the further and unprecedented increase in the practice of poetic response (*javāb*), which, in the numerous and well-attended poetic gatherings of the Timurid nights, gradually inclined toward degeneration and, within competitive circles of poets, turned into a weapon of attack and defense. Each poet believed that his poem ought to serve as a *sarmashq* a model and a test of talent for others.

Unfortunately, the history of the emergence, development, and decline of *tatabbuʿ* has not yet been thoroughly studied. It has, however, been noted that this practice began to decline in the fifteenth century and gradually tended toward mere imitation. Nevertheless, the tradition of *tatabbuʿ* in Persian-Tajik literature has deep roots, has endured over the centuries, and remains alive even today.

This literary phenomenon represents a natural and legitimate process within Persian–Tajik literature. The reasons for its proliferation lie, first, in the poets' profound and sustained admiration for the heritage of the great masters of the past, and second, in their spiritual and artistic connection with authentic and influential poetry. Contrary to the view of Hāshim Razī, who using the example of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī's practice of *tatabbuʿ* regarded this artistic method as devoid of "innovation, novelty, and creative initiative"[2], such an assessment distances itself from the actual reality of Jāmī's poetic experience.

In fact, in Jāmī's time, as well as before and after him, composing poetic responses to the works of renowned poets was considered a mark of poetic excellence (*kamāl-i naẓm*). A poet who succeeded in providing an apt and accomplished response to another poet's verse was deemed worthy of recognition and fame.

In this context, the theoretical and practical experience of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Jāmī deserves particular attention. He not only composed poetic responses to the works of earlier poets and engaged in theoretical discussions concerning this issue, but also articulated his views on the essence of this phenomenon in his ghazals, qasidas, and masnavis. The following verses express the core of his theoretical understanding of *tatabbuʿ* or poetic response:

This ghazal of Jāmī follows the manner of Kamāl;
It is fitting that his name be counted among the masters of perfection[3].

Wherever Ḥāfiẓ's boat has sailed upon the sea of poetry,
Jāmī, your vessel follows closely in its wake [4].

He silences the eloquent parrots of India,
When Jāmī turns to the magic of poetic enchantment [5].

If Jāmī were to send this beautiful verse to Persia,

[1] Zipūlī, R.; Zokirī, M. Fan-i javābgūʾī va tatabbuʿ dar sheʿr-i fārsī / R. Zipūlī, M. Zokirī // Fasl-nāma-yi Farhangistān-i Zabān va Adabiyyāt-i Fārsī, sāl-i avval, shomāra-yi duvvum, tobistān-i 1374, pp. 43.

[2] Dīvān-i kāmil-i Jāmī. Bā muqaddima-yi Hāshim Rāzī. – Tehrān, 1341. – 53 p. ; Sattorzoda, A. Nazariyyāt-i adabī-yi ʿAbd al-Raḥmān-i Jāmī / A. Sattorzoda. – Dushanbe: Donish, 2014. – 132 p.

[3] Dīvān-i kāmil-i Jāmī. Bā muqaddima-yi Hāshim Rāzī. – Tehrān, 1341. – 304 p.

[4] Dīvān-i kāmil-i Jāmī. Bā muqaddima-yi Hāshim Rāzī. – Tehrān, 1341. – 362 p.

[5] Dīvān-i kāmil-i Jāmī. Bā muqaddima-yi Hāshim Rāzī. – Tehrān, 1341. – 374 p.

They would name him Ḥāfiẓ, or sweet-tongued Khusraw[1].

Through this new poetry, Jāmī, Khurāsān has grown full of sweetness,
As if a honeyed verse had come from Shiraz through Sa'dī's pen [2].

These verses demonstrate that, in Jāmī's conception, *tatabbu'* was not a mechanical imitation but a conscious artistic continuation, grounded in mastery, creative competition, and the aspiration to attain parity with, or even surpass, one's poetic predecessors. Jāmī regarded *tatabbu'*, or responsive poetry, as superior to the original text. In his view, such a poem, at the very least, must be equal in artistic value to the poem it follows. He expresses this conviction in the following verses:

When Jāmī perceived the lofty stature of Khusraw,
He did not enter the arena of response in vain[3].

And:

This verse does not rise to the level of Sa'dī's, yet
It stands shoulder to shoulder with the words of other companions.
When Jāmī heard Sa'dī's ghazal and those composed in response to it,
He entered the field with this poem [4].

In this context, Jāmī examined the *tatabbu'* compositions of Salmān Sāvajī and concluded that "some are better than the original, some inferior, and some equal to it"[5]. In this respect, Jāmī's own poetic practice is also noteworthy. He was not satisfied with a single response and composed two or three answers to the same ghazal by Ḥāfiẓ. According to A. Afsahzod's observation, "Jāmī composed three ghazals in response to the first ghazal of Ḥāfiẓ's Dīvān: one is included in his second dīvān and two in his third"[6].

Thus, Jāmī's experience in composing *tatabbu'* poetry itself serves as clear evidence that he possessed a profound understanding of the essential artistic nature of this poetic practice. Consequently, his standards for composing such poetry were rigorous, and he consistently adhered to them with determination in his responsive poems

From Jāmī's statements it becomes clear that, in *jawābiyya*, he does not regard strict adherence to meaning as obligatory; rather, in his view, meaning should generally be fresh and renewed. Jāmī considers the ability to express the meanings of earlier poets in an elegant and appealing form to be the pinnacle of artistic mastery. This view of Jāmī is reinforced by the following words of 'Aṭā'ullāh Maḥmūd ibn Ḥusaynī:

"It is narrated that a poet takes another meaning, transfers it from one domain to another, and manifests it in a different guise... And the ruling here is the same: if the derivative is better than the original"[7].

Thus, *tatabbu'* in the practice of our poets is not mere imitation; rather, it is above all the creation of a poet's own distinctive artistic path and method. From this perspective, not all works composed through *tatabbu'* can be regarded as imitative, nor can the artistic innovations inherent in such works be overlooked.

The experience of poets engaged in *tatabbu'* across different periods in the history of Persian–Tajik literature demonstrates that composing a *tatabbu'* on the poetry of a given poet was not an obligatory act for a skilled poet, but rather a matter of choice. In other words, the creation of such poetry is a "dual" and "artificial" act, whereby the poet of *tatabbu'*, above all, tends to maintain a deliberate distance between the model text and the poem written in response to it. This tendency endows *tatabbu'* with important implicit meanings and influential dimensions that go beyond the original text.

Firstly, its practical aspect provides a formal framework for personal competition, which directly contributes to the cultivation of certain competitive tendencies and to their activation regardless of whether these tendencies are original in nature or differ from established rhetorical balances[8]. Such tendencies stem from the intrinsic character of the spirit of Persian-Tajik poetry and define the principal artistic trajectory of the evolution of *tatabbu'* in Persian-Tajik literature-a trajectory that, unfortunately, has not yet been sufficiently researched or thoroughly examined.

[1] Dīvān-i kāmil-i Jāmī. Bā muqaddima-yi Hāshim Rāzī. – Tehrān, 1341. – 593 p.
[2] Dīvān-i kāmil-i Jāmī. Bā muqaddima-yi Hāshim Rāzī. – Tehrān, 1341. – 690 p.
[3] Dīvān-i kāmil-i Jāmī. Bā muqaddima-yi Hāshim Rāzī. – Tehrān, 1341. – 327 p.
[4] Dīvān-i kāmil-i Jāmī. Bā muqaddima-yi Hāshim Rāzī. – Tehrān, 1341. – 363 p.
[5] Afsahzod, A. Lirika 'Abd ar-Raḥmān-i Jāmī. Problemy teksta i poetiki / A'lokhon Afsahzod. – Dushanbe: Donish, 2014. – 105p..
[6] Afsahzod, A. Lirika 'Abd ar-Raḥmān-i Jāmī. Problemy teksta i poetiki / A'lokhon Afsahzod. – Dushanbe: Donish, 2014. – 145 p.
[7] Sattorzoda, A. Nazariyyāt-i adabī-yi 'Abd al-Raḥmān-i Jāmī / A. Sattorzoda. – Dushanbe: Donish, 2014. – 140 p.
[8] Zipūlī, R.; Zokirī, M. Fan-i javābgū'ī va tatabbu' dar she'r-i fārsī / R. Zipūlī, M. Zokirī // Fasl-nāma-yi Farhangistān-i Zabān va Adabiyyāt-i Fārsī, sāl-i avval, shomāra-yi duvvum, tobistān-i 1374, pp. 40.

Rezyume. Tatabbu' (she'riy taqlid yoki javob) adabiy aloqa va badiiy ta'sir shakli sifatida fors-tojik adabiyotida uning shakllanishi va rivojlanishining ilk bosqichlaridan buyon mavjud bo'lib, turli shakl va ko'rinishlarda namoyon bo'lgan. Ushbu adabiy hodisa qonuniyatli xususiyatga ega bo'lib, u, birinchidan, shoirlarning buyuk salaflar ijodiy merosiga bo'lgan yuksak hurmati, ikkinchidan esa, ularning chinakam va yuksak she'riyat bilan ma'naviy hamda badiiy aloqasi bilan bog'liqdir. Tatabbu' Muizziy davri va undan keyingi davrlar she'riyatida adabiy hamkorlik, vorisiylik va an'analarni ijodiy o'zlashtirishning muhim vositasi bo'lib xizmat qilgan.

Resume. Tatabbu' (literary imitation or response) in the Persian-Tajik literary tradition has existed since the early stages of its formation and development and has manifested itself in various forms and methods. This literary phenomenon represents a natural and regular process in Persian–Tajik literature. Its emergence and wide dissemination were primarily caused by poets' profound respect for and close attention to the literary heritage of great predecessors, and secondly by their spiritual and artistic connection with authentic and influential poetry. Tatabbu' functioned as an important means of literary interaction, continuity, and influence, contributing to the preservation and creative transformation of poetic traditions from the period of Mu'izzi and later generations of poets.

Резюме. Татаббуъ (поэтическое подражание или ответ) как форма литературной связи и художественного влияния существовал в персидско-таджикской литературе с ранних этапов её становления и развития и проявлялся в различных формах и разновидностях. Данное литературное явление носит закономерный характер и было обусловлено, во-первых, глубоким уважением поэтов к творческому наследию великих предшественников, а во-вторых, их духовной и художественной связью с подлинной и значимой поэзией. Татаббуъ служил важным средством литературного взаимодействия, преемственности и творческого освоения традиции в поэзии эпохи Муиззи и последующих периодов.