

Thesis for Doctorate of Philosophy.

Khaqani- his Life and works.

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SYSTEM OF TRANSLITERATION .

ا	(Consonantal sound)	ض	z
آ	(Long vowel)	ط	t
ب		ظ	z
پ		ع	'
ت		غ	gh
ث	ṡ or	ف	f
ج		ق	q or
چ		ک	k
ح		گ	g
خ			
د		ل	l
ذ		م	m
ر		ن	n
ز		و	w or
ژ		ه	h
س			
ش			
ص			

Short Vowels

—	fatha
—	kasra
—	sanna
ء	hanza

Long Vowels

اُ	long vowel	ū
اَو	diphthong	au
ی	consonant	y
ی	long vowel	i
ای	diphthong	ai

PREFACE

The subject of the thesis - Khāqānī. His Life and Works was proposed by the University of the Punjab, in 1944. The monograph of Russian author N.de. Khanikof, the Mémoires sur Khāqānī, in French, was once thought to be the last word on Khāqānī. It was this monograph and the praises showered by E.G. Browne which made Dr. Shāykh Muhammed Iqbal M.A., Ph.D. (Oxon), the Dean of the Faculty of Art, translate the monograph from French into Urdū and publish it in the Magazine of the Oriental College in 1936. Dr. Iqbal found that Khanikof's knowledge of Persian was rather poor, his literary appreciation not sound and the information supplied by him mostly incorrect. There was a case for further investigation and research.

As the subject is Khāqānī. His Life and Works, his 'time' is beyond the scope of our thesis. Every endeavour has been made to collect all available biographical data from internal sources. The works of Khāqānī have been discussed.

I am really thankful to the authorities of the British Museum, ^{India Office} the Punjab University Library, the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Imperial Library of Calcutta (now National Library) and the Dacca University Library for the facilities they accorded me.

In the end my thanks are due to Dr. Muhammad Ishaque, B.Sc., (Cal.), M.A., (Cal.), Ph.D. (London), Calcutta University, who in fact took a lot of trouble even when he was sick, and put me on proper lines of modern research without which it would not have been possible for me to produce the thesis.

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis the biography of the poet has been given from the materials collected from the internal sources. Unauthentic information given by others have been corrected. His birth in the Province of Shirwān and date for the same in the year of A.H. 500 has been finally fixed. The story of the name of Khaqānī is interesting and allusive. We can safely say that his name was Ibrāhīm. The different titles which he assumed and those earned by his writings have been given as Badīl, Hassān-i-Ājam, Afzal and Khallāq-i-Kānī. His kunyat or self-address is Pūr-i-Ālī. Some call him Abū Badīl without quoting the source. His early takhallus, Haqāiqī is found only in two odes out of his writings. This was later changed to Khaqānī when he was introduced into the Court of Khaqān - the King of Shirwān Minūchīr. Abū Ālā Ganjavī assumes all this credit himself while Āwfi advances a totally different plea. He is of opinion that a Khaqānī was the ruler (Khaqān) of the domain of writing he called himself Khaqānī. It is most likely that Āwfi had based his opinion on the verse of Khaqānī himself. Khaqānī has used Afzal in place of his takhallus as well which led some to think that this was his takhallus.

His parentage and ancestry based on internal evidence are set down. He is of noble origin, son of a carpenter, known as Pīr-i-Durūgar and Shāikh Muhandis in Shirwān. Authors have misinterpreted some verses of Khaqānī and held that Khaqānī was an orphan or left to the care of his uncle by the act of desertion on the part of his father. We find that his parents were alive even when he was grown up and was dependent on them. The nature of his mother, Rabāʿa, and its effects on otherwise harsh nature of Khaqānī have been dilated. The details given of her origin and birth will dispel the notion created by certain writers who think that she was a slave girl and embraced Islām after she had been sold to Ālī (Khaqānī's father).

The controversy about the ancestors of Khāqānī is simplified . Uthmān was one of his ancestors . His childhood and early career was spent under the affectionate care of his uncle, Kāfī-ud-Dīn Umar, Qudwatūl Hukamā', who was more than a father to him . He reared him up and gave him good education after the system of the age . Browne is wrong when he thinks that his education took only 7 years² . In fact, his education was completed when Khāqānī was twenty-five and when his guide and tutor Kāfī-ud-Dīn passed away .

The death of his uncle was a severe blow to Khāqānī . The learned Vahīd was the son of his uncle (Kāfī-ud-Dīn) and son-in-law of Khāqānī . He was of great help in his education . The titles of Hassan-i-Ajam and Badīl - same as Sana'i - and the occasions have been set forth for the same . The major events of his life have been enumerated briefly in different chapters .

Khāqānī was not happy about his children . He had four of them and lost them one after another . The death of his son Rashīd was mourned in a number of poems . His conjugal life was a happy one . His wife was a true partner and stood by him in all weather . His poems on her have been referred to . Khāqānī is not found happy over the birth of his daughter .

Chapter II deals with the relation of Khāqānī with different courts . The encouragement and patronage he received, the contemporary rulers and Amīrs whose Courts he attended or sent poems to, and other Court Poets and Amīrs who were his friends and those who grew jealous of his increasing status have been touched upon . Poets like Abul 'Ala Ganjavī and Akhsāktī pitched themselves against him . Mujīr was his pupil and so was Falakī . Jamāluddīn b. 'Abdūr Razzaq was admirer of Khāqānī but the quatrain of Mujīr written in unguarded moment called forth a vehement attack from him both on Khāqānī and Mujīr .

Khaqanî and Jamaluddin were reconciled as soon as the latter received poems in praise of Ispahan and its people. Among the poets who admired him and held him in esteem, though they had not seen him, can be named Rashid-ud-Din Watwat, the learned Secretary to Atsiz, the famous King of Khwarazm. His strong pronouncements against some of the poets such as Rashid, Abul Ala Canjavi and Mujir and reasons for the same have been set forth. Among other admirers of Khaqanî we have got scholars and dignitaries like Ahmed Singar, Afzal-ud-Din, Imam Majmuddin Khalil and Nizami. Others with whom he had literary connections are Nasiruddin Ibrahim (Khaqanî's guide), Ahmad, Qaziul Qazzat Ali, Jamal Uddin of Mousel, Muhammed of Khujand, Imaduddin, Raziuddin, Shaiikhul Islam, Siauddin, Tajuddin, Rashiduddin, Abu Amir Asad, Ahmed Nasar, Bahauddin Ahmed, Jalaluddin Nizamul Malik, Hassamuddin, Zainuddin, the Prime Minister, Saifuddin, Izzuddin, and Abu Imran. Among his patrons we can put - Qizil Arslan Uthman, Ruknuddin, Arslan Shah b. Tugril Musratuddin Abul Muzaffar, Sepahbud-i-Azam Kyalawashir, Malik Saifuddin Arslan, Ghyasuddin Muhammed b. Mahmud b. Muhammed b. Malik Shah, Sayfuddin Atabek Mansur Ala'uddin Atsiz b. Muhammed Khwarazmshah. The house to which he was attached was that of the Kings of Shirwan. Khaqanî was a Court-Poet of Minuchihir and later of his son Akhsatan. Along with these kings he has praised the Queen Sifatuddin and has expressed his love for the sister of the King - Ismatuddin.

In Chapter III the works of Khaqani have been enumerated and a comparative study of different editions of his Diwan have been given. Khaqanî as a panegyric-writer - his style and his place in the literature as such has been established. His Prison Poems (Habsiyah) discussed. Khaqanî as an elegy-writer and his unique position as such has been critically estimated.

Khāqānī as an ode-writer - presents as one of the best writers of ghazals of his age . The different trends which he introduced in his odes such as Wacūht, contemporary history, biographical information, ethical and mystical notes and dealing a subject right from beginning down to the end have been narrated . Khāqānī as a fragment-writer springs surprise on his readers for the simplicity of language, richness of thought, moral dicta and his views on the problems of the time . His satires have also been touched briefly . Khāqānī as a quatrain-writer has been compared with 'Umar Khayyām, Abū Saīd Abīl Khāīr and 'Abdūllāh Ansārī. His thoughts and ideas, style and place among them have been presented in detail . We have been able to find one 'Wandering quatrain' common to Khāqānī and 'Umar Khayyām. A brief account of the Russian work of Saleman on Khāqānī's quatrains is given in the footnote .

His Masnavī poems the Tuhfatul - 'Irāqāyā and the Khatmūl Qharāib have been dealt with and compared in style and matter . The Tuhfatul - 'Irāqāyā is compared with the Hadīqah of Sana'ī and other masnavīs of Nizāmī . For its new aspects Khāqānī called it "a revealed book" . It is an interesting study of the time and period and of what he saw on his way to and back from Hajj . The other masnavī poem - Khatmūl Qharāib is an incomplete one . We have given a comparative study of the extant verses of this masnavī available in Tehran and Bodleian Libraries . An appreciation of the subject-matter, style and diction is given . Authors like Abūl Fezl condemn the Tuhfatul - 'Irāqāyā as "unpalatable writing" while other authors desire to see it as a regular type of masnavī with some moral drawn towards the end .

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3. For lords and friends refer the Dīwān pp. 57-60, 331, 344, 236, 210, 393, 264, 269, 293, 352, 358, 220, 367, 192, 421, 38, 268, 176, 61, 568, 169, 79, 212, 167, 106, 241, 166, 297, 168, 365, 183, 542 and the last chapter of the Tuhfat. For Patrons see pp. 29-30, supra.

Modern writers like Tarbiyat take it as a travel in poetry • a departure from the common run .

A critical note on the masnavi of Shifai named the Tuhfatul-Iraqayn is appended .

In Chapter V the favourite metres of Khāqānī have been discussed . We have also given the subjects dealt with by Khāqānī in his poems and quoted terms and words under those subject heads . The figures of speech and rhetoric of which Khāqānī was fond have also been indicated .

Khāqānī claimed to be a master-writer of Persian prose. His epistolary writings and the prose preface to the Tuhfatul-Iraqayn have been critically examined . His epistles available in the libraries have been referred to . Unfortunately the world does not possess any collection, or compilation like that of the Ru'at-i-Abul Fazl or the Ru'at-i-Alamgirī from Khāqānī.

His Arabic writings are few and have not come down to us in correct form . Whatever is published in his name on this account is mostly corrupt . Khāqānī's knowledge of the quran and Islamic literature was very profound . He has used and referred to more than 20 Parts of the quran and more than 60 Verses (Sūrah) . He could use the Islamic thoughts or the Verses aptly in his writings. The comparative study of the contents of the Arabic writings of Khāqānī as given in Rasūlī edition of Tehran and Naval Kishore edition of the Kulliyat is given .

Bibliography appears at the end of the Thesis which gives the sources of information . Different printed editions and commentaries of the works of Khāqānī are given with critical notes . The commentaries printed and in manuscript on the Diwan and the Tuhfatul-Iraqayn have also been enumerated.

References to the important catalogues have also been given .

These are the general outlines of the present work .

KHĀQANĪ - HIS LIFE AND WORKS

Chapter I - Biography of the Poet.

His birth

Khāqanī, according to his own writing, was born in the province of Shirwān¹. Jamī, Faizī, Nizāmuddīn Astarābādī, Afzaluddīn and Jamāluddīn Isfahānī have invariably associated him with Shirwān. But the Russian biographer Khanikof maintains that Ganja (Elizavet-pol) was his place of birth². There is a definite internal evidence against it. Āqāī Tarbiyat gives شهر a village of Shamākhī as the birth-place without quoting any authority³. Khāqanī has mentioned "one of the towns of Shirwān" as his birth-place. Thus we are inclined to infer that Khāqanī was born in the province of Shirwān.

Browne on the authority of Khanikof gives A.H. 500 (A.D. 1106-7) as the year in which the poet was born. According to Rieu, Khāqanī was born in the year A.H. 525 in which Sanāī died, while Taqiuddīn Kashī says that Sanāī's death took place in A.H. 545. Rieu has misinterpreted the verse of Khāqanī⁴. Āqāī Badiuzzamān has endeavoured to fix A.H. 520⁵. On internal evidences we can say that he was born in the year A.H. 500 (A.D. 1106-7) which view is also held by the well-known Iranian contemporary writer Dr. Abbās Iqbāl Ashtiyānī.⁶

1. Cf. Browne, Literary History of Persia, Vol. II (1920) footnote 1, page 391, where he refers to the verse of Khāqanī (without quoting it). The verse he means to refer appears on page 35 of the Tuhfatul Irāqayn, lithographed edition of A.D. 1877, Naval Kishore. The same appears on page 31 of the lithographed edition of A.H. 1284, Campore, on page 63 of Asī edition A.D. 1930 and on page 31 of Asī edition of A.D. 1855. It does not justify the interpretation put by Browne that the poet was born at Shirwān. The line in question is simple and stands as -

Also see Diwān pp. 198, 71, 611 & 330.

Page

, footnote.

2. Khanikof, Memoire sur Khacani (Monograph) and the Journal Asiatique, A.D. 1864-65, Paris. Khāqanī's verse on page 776 of the Diwān (Tehran, 1316 Shamāī) refutes it.

سے گفتم متعلق سخن دامن - میلاد من از بلاد شروان

His Name.

Khāqanī's real name was **Ibrāhīm** as is evident from his own writings:

نه بخوان منی آرائی بر ایمنه پدید آمد — ز پشت آذر صفت علی بخار شروانی
 و لودم چون حلیل عهد اول — فرزند دروگر — معطل

Badi'uzzaman is wrong when he puts a different interpretation to this and thinks that "in all probability **Khāqanī's** real name was **Badi'**", as held by **Jāmī** and others. They infer this view from the following verse of **Khāqanī**:

بدل من آدم اندر چاه سنای — بدین دلیل پدر نام من بدل بنام
 Obviously this error is due to the word **NAM** (نام) which was

understood in its original meaning as 'name' in English, while **Khāqanī** has not used the word in this sense at all. **Shadiyabadi**, a commentator of **Khāqanī** describes his name as **Uthmān**, without quoting any authority. ¹⁰

Khāqanī has used **شروانی** both as **Shirwān** and **Sharwān**. For detailed study refer the New Edition of the **Armughan** (monthly), Tehran, taken out after the death of its editor, **Vahid Dastgiri**.

3. **Tarbiyat**, his article on "**Masnavi and Masnavi writers of Iran**" in the **Monthly Mihar**, Tehran No. 7, year 5, pp. 656-666.

4. The verse misinterpreted by **Rieu** runs:

چون زمان عهد سنای در نوشت — آسمان چون من سخن گستر بنزار
 See **Rieu's Catalogue of Pers. MS.**, 1549-558.

CF. **For the date of Sanai's death** see the **Tazkira** by **Taqi'uddin**. Cf. Footnote 4 p.12 of the **Kalaki Shirwan** (1929) wherein **Dr. Hadi Hasan** has included **Rieu** among the authors who give A.H. 546, as the date of **Sanai's** death; see his appendix as well.

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5. **Badi'uzzaman** on **Khāqanī** pp. 300-403 in his **Sukhan-o-sukhanvatan**
 6. **Diwan** 621. p.238.1.15.

دور کمال بالصدیحرت شناس ولس — کان بالصدی دگر هم دور بحال بود
 خلقم متفق که چون خاتمان بنزار — این بالصدی ختم مدت دور کمال بود
 see **Aqa's Introduction to Haddiqas al-Haq**.
 For other verses about 500 years of A.H. see the **Kulliyat** p.517, and the **Diwan** 785.

7. **Diwan** pp. 330, 425 and **Asi** ed. p. 63 - prophet **Khalil's** name was **Ibrāhīm**.

Dawlat Shah b. 'Ala'ud Daula Bahhtishah Samarqandī, **Tazkiratun-nash Shuhra'** completed 892 (A.H.)/ 1487 (A.D.)

Khar, Itashkada (1193/1779).

Taqi'ud Din MS of **Aqa Mirza Sadiq Khan** **Majalisul Muminin**
Qasr Nurallah b. **Sharif al-Husayni al-Mar'ashi Shashtari**,/comp.
 A.H: 993-1010/A.D. 1585-1602 (Xc - XI)
Lutf Shirkan b. 'Ali Amjad Khan, **Miratul Khayat** 1102/1691
Khanikof, Memoires sur Khacani 1865.

His Titles

He had earned two titles Badîl and Hassân-i-'Ajam the former from his father and the latter from his uncle. When his father found that Khâqanî had gained reputation and mastery over the domain of writing peculiar to Sanâ'î,¹¹ he gave him the title of Badîl, same as Sanâ'î. The first title was overshadowed by the second.

He delighted in calling himself Hassân-i-'Ajam on certain occasions which has misled the author of the Sukhan-e-Sukhanvaran to write 'sometime he (Khâqanî) named himself Hassân-i-'Ajam¹² with advance of age his learning, knowledge and prestige increased. He earned the name of Afzal and was called Afzaluddin. For this he had the blessings of his uncle. He addressed himself as such too. So Afzaluddin also passed as his name. Friends called him Afzaluddin or Afzal on account of intimacy while rivals ridiculed him as such.¹³ Shadiyabadi is responsible for the information that Shirwanshah Akhsatan b. Minuchihr gave him the title of Sultanush Shu'ara'.¹⁴ But this title is not found in his works or referred to by his contemporaries. Khâqanî thought himself to be the Master Poet of the Age. His charming personality and mastery over the art of poetry won him another title of Khallaq-i-Ma'ani (خلاق معانی) "the Creator of Poetry" from the public.¹⁵ Awfi is of the view that Khâqanî was his title.¹⁶

Ethe - mentions him as Afdalud Din Badil Ibrahim b. Ali Najjar Khâqanî of Shirwan; see his Catalogue of Persian MSS in the Library of India Office (1903). Ivanow - as Afdalud Din Badil Ibrahim b. Ali Najjar Khâqanî Shirwanî, see Concise Descriptive Catalogue of the Carzon Collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1926. Shibli Nomani - Shêr-ul-Ajam.

Cf. Tarikh-i-Ahbiyat-i-Iran by Dr. Rizazada Shafaq, Tehran 1316, Shamsi.

* Last note of pre-page →

Amir Khusrau -

Faizi -

The poets are found envious of Khâqanî's status in Persian literature.

Jami -

بختامانی از آن بجزار سر بخش بر انگرد
چون سوسن ترزان تحسین کنان از خاک شروانش

نه سخن ز آن گونه ای گفتم بلند امروز در دلی - که از خور عزم بیدار گزیم بشروانش

نه خشر بود بسوزد محال، رقم کردن - لطیفای خفاش نگار شروانی

¹⁷ Khāqanī has addressed himself as Pūr-i-ʿAlī (پورعلی) perhaps after the style of Avicenna who was generally known as such in Khāqanī's time. Abū Badīl (البریل) was his kunyat according to ʿAqāi ʿAlī ʿAbdūr Rasūlī and the author of the Farīd-ul-ʿAdab.¹⁸ In his childhood Khāqanī was dubbed as Pīsar-i-Durūgar (پیسر دروگر) i.e. "Carpenter's Son" by his playmates at Shirwān. The fact was divulged by Abū ʿAlā Ganjavī in his annoyance against him. He was so designated because his father was a carpenter by profession. Jamāluddīn ʿAbdūr Razzaq also taunted him as such in his rejoinder.¹⁹

His takhallus.

Khāqanī started writing poems when he was twenty.²⁰ Haqaiqī (حقائی) was his early takhallus.²¹ It was at the Court of Mīnūchīhr Shirwānshāh that he changed his takhallus to Khāqanī most probably with royal consent. Abū ʿAlā assumes the credit of this change of non-de-plume to himself.²²

It had not been possible to find out more than two odes out of his writings in which he has used Haqaiqī as takhallus. In some lines we find Afzal used along with his takhallus. This has led some biographers to think that Afzal was also his takhallus.²³

8. Sukhan-o-Sukhanvarān.

9. In support of this interpretation of the word (نام) NAH we quote Khāqanī Asī ed. p. 361. For variant reading of the verse given in the text (Diwān p. 601) see the Nizārīstān-i-Fāris, the posthumous works by Muhammad Husain, Asad (Lahore). Cf. Asī p. 267.

10. Refer to the Introduction to the Shārah, by Shādiyābādī, Muhammad ʿAlī b. Muhammad Mahmūd ʿAlavī (Xc/XIVc), India Office - (now called Commonwealth Relations Library), MS. 1010.

11. Supra p. 10 and footnote 9 on the same page. Asī ed. p. 200, Asī ed. p. 364.

12. Refer Diwān p. 93

and its following verse; also Asī ed. p. 116. Cf. Sukhan-o-Sukhanvarān :

گاہے خود را حسانِ عجم بنیام

”نام دی با حال قوی تر بر دل و بتل عذره تذکره نویسا ابراهیم
و بیروایت بعضی عثمان است“

سہ چوں رید کر در سخن تمام — حسانِ عجم بنیام

سہ معنی حاضر دستانِ عجم دراجرای
بیش سیرغ خوش قوی گریا بند

Parentage and Ancestry

Khāqanī belongs to an humble family of craftsmen of the town. The name of his father was 'Alī who was a skilful carpenter. He hailed from Shirwān where he was commonly known as Abūl Hesān. His titles were Pīr-i-Durūgar (پیر دروگر) and Shaykh Muhandis (شیخ مهندس)²⁴. We are indebted to Khāqanī for the information about his father and his profession which leaves no point for the biographers to differ²⁵. He was a very loving father who would go to the extent of sacrificing all for his son. It was straitened circumstances that some times drove him to bad temper and even to the extent of being harsh²⁶. This coupled with the public talk about his foreign wife purchased from a Slave Market made the father reserve. But he never severed his connection with or neglected the family. He was not without the qualities of head and heart. There are two views about Khāqanī's father. The first is that he died when Khāqanī was yet a child and his uncle reared him up and gave him education while the second view which is also shared by Browne is that he deserted his family and his child²⁷. We find that his parents were alive when Khāqanī was young and intended to make pilgrimage to Mecca but could not do so apprehending their annoyance. In his childhood they looked after him properly. 28

13. Abūl 'Alā Ganjavī addresses him:

as quoted by Browne in his History of Isfahan. Refer the

Fihrist, Ibn-i-Yūsuf.

For his uncle's blessing see Dīwān p. 680.

14. Supra p. 10 footnote 10. Cf. Khāqanī (Asī ed. p. 399) Dīwān pp. 154, 330.

15. See the Khazana-i-Amīrah and the Tuḥfa-i-Shirwān by Asghar 'Alī, Kāhī.

16. 'Awfī tenders a different explanation "As Khāqanī was the Khagan, the ruler of the Domain of, writing that is why he was called Khāqanī". See his Lubābul Albāb.

"خاقان ولایت یابی بود از آن سبب خاقانی لقب یافت."

س تواری عقل الدین اگر راست بپرسی
بجان عزیزت که از تو به شرم

ع عم کرد مرا دعاگر نزع

عمر سلطان سخن منم ولا فخر

The father was not well-educated. So he could not teach him .
His mother too was not very helpful in his studies.

We find Khaqanî has written a poem in which he has complained of his father for leaving him sick when only a child to the care of his uncle who was a medical practitioner who treated him kindly and gave him a new lease of life . This may not be taken in the sense that Khaqanî is annoyed with his father for not supporting him, or giving him proper education or abandoning him altogether .

17. Asî ed. p. 98
felt ashamed in addressing himself as 'Son of a Carpenter, p. 334/113.
18. Introduction to his Tehran ed. of Dîwân, 1316 Shamsî.
19. Abul 'Ala Ganjavî: عمر شاعر گرامم که احقر در واکتری
Jamaluddin in his rejoinder: عمر در واکتری پسر بود تانت بفرموده
20. نہ نیست سالم دودہ ولی کسین — نہ فاک یک جوان نذیرہ چوں من
21. Dîwân pp. 750 and 873 p. عزیزان تو در شاعر برکت آدم
22. Abul 'Ala Ganjavî writes عزیزان تو در شاعر برکت آدم
23. Dîwân p. 724 and Tuhfa p. 377. عزیزان تو در شاعر برکت آدم
24. Dîwân pp. 373 - 74:65 عزیزان تو در شاعر برکت آدم
25. For details refer Asî ed. pp. 334 - 336 and 347 - 49. عزیزان تو در شاعر برکت آدم
26. Dîwân pp. 645 - 46 and Asî ed. pp. 354 - 56 .
27. The biographers like Khanikof and Browne who base their views wrongly on the verses like : -

- Dîwân pp. 813: 320, اصل گیر از خلیفہ داریم عالی نسیم اگر شمیم
- Asî ed p. 355 - 56. آن کرد پدر من کہ در پیش کردند عرب بدختر خویش
- Dîwân p. 640. تا کہ جو مسیح بر تو بیند از پیر و نشان ماد
28. See Asî ed . pp. 208 - 91323. امسال عزیمت تو میراشت لیکن اندہ و آئینش نگذاشت
- Dîwân p. 330. چون بر دل والین گره دید بارامش کشادہ بہ دید
- پنیر شنائی نور سیدہ — زین ہنر وی داغ بر کشیدہ
- بہ زابتہ سر ماک غفلت نیاریم چون لطف — ز آنکہ ہم ماک رقیم و ہم بابائی من

His mother was a foreigner, a Nestorian Christian . She descended from a tribe of fire-worshippers . Khanikof is of the view that she was of Greek origin . Her place of birth was zūātab (زوطاب) and Fai-la-qūs-ul-Kabîr (فيلقوس الكبير) was her father . Her name was Rabeā (رابع) when we know her as the mother of Khāqanî³⁰ . She followed her church for some time but left it later at her own accord due to the degeneration of the cult and harshness of its people . Khanikof has tried to impress that she embraced Islam - the religion of her buyer, after the actual deal . Khanikof also says that his mother was a cook and was brought to the Caucasus and sold in a Slave market, or in other words, she was a slave girl . These views are wrong . Khāqanî has made it clear that his mother was a "Lady of the House"³¹, and embraced Islam of her own accord before coming out of her paternal home . This will ward off the impression which the description of Khanikof creates about his mother . She was an affectionate mother . He found from her encouragement and good counsel . She lived a pious life and always prayed for the welfare of her son . The poems Khāqanî wrote on his mother are the worthy compositions of a worthy son³² .

His ancestors

One Uthmān was one of the ancestors of Khāqanî on the paternal side . From him the family took its name, which appears along with the names of Khāqanî, his father, uncle and uncle's son . This name Uthmān had ever been a pitfall for all the writers and biographers of Khāqanî . It is the same word Uthmān which misguided the Glassators of Naval Kishore editions both of the Dīẓān and the Tuhfatul Irāqīyān, as also Abul Hasan of the Asrā edition.

29. See Supra p. 10, f.n. 10. Case is put metaphorically.

30. Asī ed. 348. cf. Danish, in the Irān-schahr pp. 683-93, p. 645. 329 f.n. II. September, 1923.

Even Alī Abdur Rasūlī, the editor of Tehran edition of the Dīvan could not guard against it . It is this name which made Shādīyāhād think that Khāqānī's name was Uthman . If this word Uthman is to be taken as the name of the father of all those with whose names it appears then father, son, uncle and cousin all would have one common father, which is impossible . 33

Khanikof is of the opinion that Uthman was also the father of Mirza Kāfī (uncle of Khāqānī) . Naturally it follows that Uthman was also the father of Alī, and therefore he was grand-father to Khāqānī . Khāqānī has devoted a poem to his grand-father in the Tuhfatul 'Irāqayn where in he has not given Uthman as the name of his grand-father . Khāqānī only tells us that his grand-father was a weaver .

His Childhood and Early Career

Khāqānī's childhood was spent under the care of his widower uncle, Mirza Kāfī-ud-Dīn Umar, Qudratul Hukamā who was destined to play an important role in moulding his future. Khāqānī was sick when he was taken over by his uncle who brought him up with fatherly love and care .

To speak of his education is to speak of his learned uncle, Kāfī-ud-Dīn Umar. His early education started more or less on modern lines . He was first shown and made acquainted with things around him . His faculties of observation and retention were allowed to develop by direct method and association of ideas . The uncle taught him the alphabet and rudiments of grammar .

31. Asī ed. p. 350

سہ کراہنہ بودہ چون دلچا — برہ شہہ باز یوسف آسا

32. For details about his mother see Asī ed. pp. 326-38 and pp. 349 - 52 . Also Dīvan pp. 614 & 330. Azād says that her relatives were weavers while Khāqānī's statement is that they were cocks, refer p. 1 supra. For her name refer the article of Danish, Iranschahr (Berlin), see p. 28. supra .

عرب باخ نسب ز موی مار

33. Syed Sadiqāli Ghālīb, his marginal note on p. 455 of the Kulliyat (Naval Kishore,) Rasūlī in his Introduction to the Dīvan of Khāqānī (Tehran ed.) while correcting the commentator of the Sharh who gave Khāqānī the name of Uthman has fallen into the error of styling his cousin as Uthman.

When he finished the primer, he was taught how to write. Khāqānī made steady progress. He completed the reading of the Holy Qurān within a few years. After this he was admitted into a Higher Institution where he was trained in all sciences of the time. His education was complete when he was in the prime of his life. When his uncle found him proficient in learning and poetry he gave him the title of Hassan-i-Ajam (حسن اجم) ³⁴ At that time Khāqānī's age was 25 and his uncle passed away. Browne is wrong when he thinks that Khāqānī took 7 years only ³⁵ in completing his education. Khāqānī born of a Christian mother was brought up after Oriental mode of living and was trained in Islamic culture and tradition. According to Khāqānī himself his uncle was more than a father to him and he had paid a good tribute ³⁷ to his uncle and cousin Vahīd who assisted him in his education. Khāqānī was also proficient in astronomy and challenged verdicts of astronomers at times.

His Family Life - Marriage and Children . 38

Khāqānī married once in his life. Abūl 'Ala' Ganjavī claims him to be his son-in-law and says that it was he who gave him wealth, reputation and worldly honour. It was definitely for the future good of his only daughter that he selected Khāqānī and gave him a good start in life though to the annoyance of another suitor Falakī of Shirwān. ³⁹

Also see Āgrā edition p. 208, caption:

در مریح امام و حیدرین (بن عثمان)

Rasūlī has given self-contradicting headings to the poems on cousin and uncle. He is wrong when he gives additional name of 'Umar to Vahīduddin and puts him down as son of another uncle. He is again wrong when he gives the name of 'Uthmān to his uncle Kāfiud-Dīn. For correct position refer India Office MS of the Sharh, caption of the corresponding poem, For irregularities in Rasūlī ed. refer pp. 585, 627 & 654.

34. See the Tuhfatul Irāqāyān . P 32 در مرتبه قدوة العلماء کافی الدین عم خود گوی

35. For details refer Asī ed. pp. 338-41, 353-56 and 357-67; Dīwān p. 32 Khāqānī's condition on his uncle's death:

• His gratitude for him: که در میان ناراکان ز دست فرستاده دل تراز آن سماء بلورینم - چون بمردمرد آن همه فویر و سنا Dīwān pp. 57- 60. که کر آنکه دی نعت من بود و غم من - غم چه که پرورد خداوند پر باب

We learn from his works that his wife was devoted to him and shared with him equally the joys and sorrows of both his paly and evil days. If the altercations which are said to have taken place between Abūl Āla and Khāqanī be a fact, then it must be said to her credit that the family peace was not disturbed at all as she remained neutral. Khāqanī was very fond of his wife and has written a number of poems on her⁴⁰. She bore him four children - two males and two females. The eldest of the males was Rashīd, a stalwart, beautiful young boy who was good at Calligraphy. His death in the prime of his life, at the age of twenty, was deeply mourned by Khāqanī and it was a severe blow to his mother who could not survive it. Khāqanī was present at her death bed at Tabriz where the family shifted some time earlier⁴¹. The death of the married daughter took place after the death of her mother. At that time Khāqanī was fairly advanced in age. The other two issues died in their infancy. 42

Loss of Literary Works.

Among the events of note of his life was the loss of literary works. A calamity befell Khāqanī when he set out on a journey from Rayy to a certain destination. The distance was long. Continuous riding day and night made his condition worse. He developed fever on the way which increased and made him unconscious. When he was in such a pitiable state the bag containing his literary works which he was carrying was stolen away.

36. Browne is misguided by the words on p. 356, Āsī ed.

37. For Vahīduddīn see Āsī ed. pp. 365 - 70 Dīwān pp. 504-1 and 456-57, and f.n. 33.

38. Dīwān p. 312, lines 7-8.

39. Ẓāhir p. 36 Ganjawī:

گفتی و گریستی منورای — کان در ورق گمان میام
توای قرة العین کز زندانی — منت هم پر خوارم او تمام
چرخست نمر بشارت من — ترا منت و سلامت و خیر دام

For proficiency in astronomy see Dīwān p. 180 & Āsī ed. pp. 216-18.

This was a great loss for the poet which explains the paucity of his Persian and Arabic writings, and incompleteness of some of his writings . Only those copies or portions of his works which were kept or presented elsewhere were preserved and came down to us with the additional poems which he wrote after that fatal journey . This poem and the fact described therein has since passed unnoticed by all the biographers of Khaqānī including Khanikof . ⁴³

Famine drove him to 'Irāq when he was young . He was not considered grown up enough to be admitted to the King there . ⁴⁴ His desire to go to Arman, Khorāsān, Isfahan and Arra could not be fully-filled . There was a time when he could spend nine months out of a year on travel . In the days of Al-Muqtadī he found Bādeyah in the grip of sever famine . But in the time of Al-Mustagī he found it prosperous . ⁴⁵

XXXXXXXXXXXXX.

40. See Diwan—pp. 775 & 781.

For poems on his wife see Diwan pp. 311-13, 775, 781, and 795. Abūl Alā Ganjavī writes.

41. Diwan n.660
and

Diwan n.585.

سے بجائی تو لب یار کرم کوئی
ترا دختر و مال و شہرت بدارم

42. For details of his issues see Diwan pp. 585-86 and for Rashid pp. 417-21 and 552-57.

سے پڑنے مار دے فرزند و عزیزان رفتہ — وہ چہ غافل و مستم و چہ کورہ نظیرم
43. Diwan pp. 674 - 76 .

سے غائب شد از نتیجہ جاہم سبب راہ — یک مہینہ نظم و نثر کہ از صد خزینہ بہ
بایں حوض کرب و حال باز دارم — رحمی کین نتیجہ جان نیز باز رہ

His guides Nāṣirūddīn Ibrāhīm (shāikhūl Islam) and Imām Yahyā were sources of inspiration for Khāqānī. Khāqānī was much attached to them. He bewailed the assassination of Imām Yahyā and also the death of another bosom friend - 'Izzūddīn Abū 'Imrū Asad at Tabrīz⁴⁶. He experienced extraordinary heat of sun and there was a general apprehension of cyclone in his time⁴⁷. Shirwān his native land became a veritable prison for him and he was compelled to leave it.⁴⁸

Khāqānī reiterated his unconditional loyalty to the King and wrote Sugḡand-Nama. He left attending Court in old age. 49

He was fond of taking melon (خربزه). He was Sunnī and had strong faith in God. He praised the Prophet in number of poems. He claimed to have seen Prophet Khizir in his dream.⁵⁰

Death of Khāqānī

Biographers differ about the date of his death. This difference extends over 63 years. It is by no means small. There are four groups of biographers. First group headed by the author of the Muṣamṡ-i-Faṣīhī as copied down in the Mirāt-ul-Khāṡirā records A.H. 532 as the year of Khāqānī's death. The second includes authors of the works:

1. Ṣarīḡ-i-Banākī, 2. Tagkira-i-Daūlat Shāh, 3. Majma'-ul-Fuṣṡā, 4. Tagkira-i-Taḡī-ud-Dīn and 5. Takhlīs-ul-āthār fī 'Ajaīb-ul-Aqṡār.

44. Refer Asī ed. pp. 66 & 70.

45. Dīwān pp. 97 & 98.

46. Ibid pp. 156, 241, 42 & 668.

47. Ibid pp. 300 - 301 & Asī ed. pp. 216.

48. Ibid pp. 45 & 189.

49. See Dīwān pp. 70 & 202.

50. Ibid pp. 469, 570 - 71. p. 253. p. 179.

This group puts A.H. 581-2/ as the year of death . The third led by 'Ata' Malik Juvaini gives A.H. 592, and the fourth group consisting of the author of the Nata'ul Afkar Mirza Muhammed Salih Tarbiyat, and 'Abdul Vahhab Qizvini, gives A.H. 595 as the year of Khagan's death .

The dates A.H. 532, A.H. 581 and A.H. 582 offered as the year of Khagan's death are wrong because we find, from internal evidences and events described in his works, that the poet lived for many years thereafter⁵¹. The A.H. 592 as given by the third group is also disproved by the convincing arguments and facts given by the fourth . The year A.H. 595 as given by the fourth group is more authentic and we take it that Khagan died in A.H. 595 .⁵²

Cause of Death

The cause of his death as stated by Taq'ud Din in his Taskira is hernia⁵³. But he has not mentioned his source of information or authority on which he based it . What we make out from the internal source is that he might have died of heart trouble from which he suffered from time to time .⁵⁴

His Grave

Khagan was buried in Sarkhab in Tebriz in "Poet's Corner". His grave was existing in the life time of Taq'uddin and was a place of reverence for the literary people .⁵⁵ Khanikof in spite of all his efforts has failed to trace his grave .

51. Divan p. 447. نظمها
 52. Nizami writes نظمها
 53. Refer Taskira-i-Taq'uddin
 54. His heart trouble, Divan pp. 64, 228, 386, 499, 610, 621 & 630.
 55. Ref. Taskira-i-Taq'uddin

KHÁQÁNÍ AT COURT

Chapter II.

Contemporary Poets and Rivals .

Among the contemporary poets of repute attached to the Court of King Mīnūchīhr were Abūl 'Alá Ganjavī - the Poet Laureate and Falakī . The relation between Khāqānī and Abūl 'Alá was very cordial in the beginning but later on the feelings between them became strained . We have already discussed at length Abūl 'Alá and the different roles he played as guide, patron and rival of Khāqānī. Khāqānī claims Falakī to be his protégé¹. We learn this from the stanza of three lines which Khāqānī wrote on his death . This refutes the view that Falakī was a tutor to Khāqānī as held by the author of the Jawāhir'ul Asrar .

In poetry Mujīr is known to be a student of Khāqānī. It also appears from the poems of Mujīr that he actually accepted Khāqānī as his guide and had a profound faith in his attainments.² But they fell out later on . This we learn from the writings of Khāqānī when he fell in difficulty with poets and residents of Isfahān as the result of the quatrain written by Mujīr in unguarded moments,³ wrongly believed to be Khāqānī's composition, slandering and defaming Isfahān . This called forth a vehement attack from writers of Isfahān in defence of their mother-land . Among those was Jamāl-'ud-Dīn 'Abdūr Razzaq who spared neither Mujīr nor Khāqānī . In his poem Jamāl-'ud-Dīn gave vent to his patriotic feelings championing the cause of his mother-land, its hospitality, its richness in natural resources and men of letters . He took exception to Khāqānī's boastings and describing himself as the greatest poet of the age . He also objected to his (Khāqānī's) sending poems to 'Irāq or addressing 'Irāq.⁴

1. Ṣādiq b. Ṣalīh in his Shahid-i-Ṣādiq puts Falakī as tutor to Khāqānī. Refer the Urāfat'ul 'Ashiqin of Taqī Awshānī (A.H. 1024) and Majma'ul Pusahe of Raza' Qulī Khān (A.H. 1294) for the different readings of the following verse on the subject :

سہ ز آخرِ فلکی تو سنی برون نیاید — کہ طوقِ نعلش نہ حلقہ دہان منست

The poems containing such verses as passed uncensured earlier were now considered as 'open national challenge' to the learning and knowledge of Isfahan and 'Iraq. There was no dearth of better writers in 'Iraq and Isfahan in the opinion of Jamāl-'ud-Dīn who considered himself as one of them, learned enough to be pitched against Khāqānī⁵. Khāqānī made the most of the situation praised Isfahan in more than one poems and acknowledged its scholars. This happened at the time when Khāqānī had attained his worldly ambitions and was recognized as a master-writer. Even Jamāl-'ud-Dīn had this fact lurking at the back of his mind when he sent the rejoinder. The moment Khāqānī's poems on Isfahan reached Jamāl-'ud-Dīn he came forward to acknowledge Khāqānī, his sincerity and attainments.⁶

The fame of Khāqānī spread over Khorāsān and Khwārazm among other places and won friends for him⁷. Among them was Rashīd-'ud-Dīn Waṭwāt - the learned and bi-lingual secretary of Khwārazm Shāh (A.H. 621-55). The poem Khāqānī wrote at the age of 24 and sent to the Shāh arrested Rashīd's imagination and impelled him to write a poem of thirty-one lines in praise of Khāqānī⁸. Even in the midst of extreme grief over his uncle's death Khāqānī did not forget to respond to the courtesy shown him, and sent a befitting reply. The hand of friendship extended and the message of love received were more enchanting to him than the sweet voices of birds. It was in spring that he got the cordial message both in prose and verse from Waṭwāt whom Khāqānī addressed by his titles of Sadrūz Zamān (صدر الزمان) and Amīr-ush-shu'arā' (امير الشعراء). Khāqānī had a great faith in the accomplishment of Waṭwāt. soon after we find that they fell out. The provocations came from Rashīd's side. The pride and self-importance of Waṭwāt, the value he put to his own writings and the preference he gave it over others' composition at last were

For literary contest refer the Diwan of Khwārazm Shāh, p. 4, MS. No. Or. 268, LSC a-b; India Office MS. No. 122, f. 84 a.

Khāqānī's Līwān 713-14. Ibid p. 672.

سے عطشہ سحر حلال من ملک یور
یور بدہ فن ز راز نہ ملک آگاہ

the causes of disagreement and final break-up. The Persian Literature was in no way enriched by their satires. Watwat like Mujir,⁹ pursued Khaqani by writing satires and even set people to put him to difficulty. Khaqani to wreak vengeance on him denounced his learning, epistles, poems and all.¹⁰ Friendship between them grew up only through letters and poems. It broke off before they could meet each other.

The other poet of that period who addressed and attacked Khaqani in his poems was Athir Akhsakti.¹¹ But it appears that Khaqani did not take much notice of him. The gentlemen with whom Khaqani exchanged literary correspondence include Imam Majduddin Khalil,¹² the philosopher, Afzal-ud-Din of Sawah, Imam Najmud Din and Nazami. The relations between Nizami and Khaqani were very cordial. Both of them knew each other's worth in the domain of poetry.

Cf. Dr. Hadi Hasan, his Falaki Shirwani (1929) who takes Falki as protégé of Khaqani.

2. Mujir writes: -

Cf. The Ghurraṭul Kamal wherein Amir Khusrau extols him as better poet than Khaqani.

3. Mujir, his censure of Ispahan.

4. See Supra, 20 f.n.

Jamaluddin writes Cf. Diwan pp. 263, 247, 240, p. 319.

5. Rejoinder of Jamal-ud-Din.

Cf. Diwan pp. 9-10; 41, 346, 354, 375.

See also the article "The Contest of Jamal-ud-Din and Khaqani" by Dr. Afshar in the Monthly Aina Vol. 3, pp. 390 - 93.

Retort of Jamal-ud-Din

6. Jamalud Din acknowledges Khaqani

Khaqani denounces Mujir and praises Ispahan and its scholars, Diwan pp. 360 - 61.

7. Mujir informs us: -

Ganjavi writes

Diwan p. 225.

ز آنکس که رفت تا خزر و پند نخرش

سے آئے منہ کہ روی و مصیبت خلعت

سے کلیم وقت و مسیح زمانہ خاقانی - کہ عمر خورش باد و عصمت نیلی

خزرجلس او ہیچو طفل در مکتب - ہنر خدمت او پھر قہر در دریا

سے گفتم ز صفایان مدد جان خیزد - علی ایست مروت کہ از ان کان خیزد

سے دانستم کمال سیان کورند - بالینہ سرمہ کز صفایان خیزد

عمر اہل عراق در عرقند از حدیث تو

سے نیز در ریش میر خاقانی - تا تو خام قلیان چہ رسد

سے سوز گونہ گان ہستند از عراق - کہ قوت المہ در از ایشان برد

سے گوید خاقانی این ہمہ ناموس چیست - نہ کہ وہ بیت محنت نقب ز خاقانی برد

سے از دم نعلت ملک نظام بیرون آرد - و ز نعلت بہان خستہ تیران برد

سے دیو رحیم آنکہ بود در بیام - گردم لغیان زد از بجای صفایان

سے همان شہنتہ (علیم نظم خاقانی) - کہ صیت فضل ز شروانش رفتہ تادر چین

سے امیر اجل خواجه خاقانی ما - کہ فتواست از و مرزین و زمان را

سے آری منہ کہ روی و مصیبت خلعت

His Patrons

Khāqanī was a poet of the Court of Shirwānshāh¹³. It was ~~by Abū 'Alā~~ Abū 'Alā Ganjavī, the Poet Laureate who first introduced him into the Court of Mīnūchīhr Shirwānshāh. The congenial and encouraging atmosphere of the Court gave a full play to the free development of his talent and inherent faculties. Here his mental outlook broadened, literary connections expanded and personal status and dignity increased. By his charming personality, sharp intellect, and poetical genius he was soon able to outshine and over-shadow other luminaries including the old Abū 'Alā Ganjavī. He was privileged to bask in the sunshine of royal favour. His prominence and growing popularity begot rivals in and outside the Court. Some of them did not hesitate to express their feelings openly while others were brewing inwardly his destruction. In those days Courts were fraught with intrigue and conspiracy. Flattery, clique and hypocrisy played a dominant part. The rulers being autocrats were difficult to please. Their whims and vagaries were the order of the day. The Court of Shirwān was not an exception to it. Khāqanī soon found himself embarrassed by the hostile elements at work¹⁴. He lost the patronage and goodwill of his teacher in poetry Abū 'Alā Ganjavī.¹⁵

The King's frequent invitations to drinking bouts and banquets, the grandeur of Court life enthralled Khāqanī for some time, but in the long run they had no charm for him. His independent spirit stood in his way and he could not observe all the formalities of the Court¹⁶. There was a time when Khāqanī wanted to attain more name and fame and longed to join other Courts.

B. Rashīd watwat acknowledges Khāqanī see Dīān pp. 30 - 36 and 196-99.

Khāqanī's reply :

ای سپهر قدر را خورشید و ماه - وی سر بر فضل را رستور و شاد
 مرا از اینهمه اصوات آن خوشی نرسد - که از دیار غریبی سر سلام و فدا
 به بارعام جهان را اعتدال مزاج - بهار خاص مرا شتر سید الشراء
Qasida of Khāqanī sent to Atsiz, the patron of Rashīd watwat.

این که بمیدان حسن رخت در آنگد یار - بیش به تر ز جان نعل بیای بیار

He could not tolerate to see mediocrity better rewarded. The petty kingdom of Shirwan and internal troubles of the State were not conducive to the fulfilment of his high ambition. The professional poets in those days had to fight their way to success and secure patronage of some prince. From this point of view it can be said that Khaqani was successful as a court-poet. He established his own position which was enviable and unassailable. For some time Khaqani lived a happy life due to patronage he received and bestowed gifts on his friends.

Khaqani had to compose poems on happiness and miseriee and at times on victories¹⁸ and reverses of the royal consorts as in the case of Akhsatan who succeeded Minuchihr. With the king he would also praise the queen and other members of the Royal family¹⁹. Nobles of the Courts were eulogised from time to time. Khaqani lived with them, grew with them and shared equally in their weal and woes. Other rulers and conspirators who raided and plundered their country were considered as common foes. The events and upheavels during the reigns of Shirwanahs influenced his thoughts and left a permanent mark on Khaqani's poetry. *

Aqsi-i-Nas Iqbal also includes in the disagreement between Hasid and Khaqani their views about the genius of Sana'i and Sad Salman. Refer his Introduction to the Hadaicus Sihar see Kulliyat page 877.

Writes Khaqani گر گفت قویجوشید طبع خاقانی گر دین حق تو من تو در منای بس
9. Diwan p. 41, line 4.

10. Diwan p. 678, line 17.

11. For literary contest refer the Diwan of Atthirud Din Akhsaiki.
Br. Mus. Ms. Cr. 288, 180a-1e; India Office MS. 132. f. 34a -

سگر گشتی سخن خامه تورن منست - خزینه دار خرد خاطر رورن منست
in reply to Khaqani's: خرد خرد گشت خاطر ویا منست - سخن جیه بر خامه ویا منست

12. See the Diwan pp. 105-6, his three fragments and replies of Khaqani thereto, pp. 647-48 for that of Afzal-ud-Din of Sawah and p. 320 for that of Amgar and replies thereto.

13. The dynasty of the Shahs of Shirwan, who ruled over this province about sixth century A.H. was founded by Muhammed b. Yazid.

14. Diwan pages 698: 76-77.
pp. 366-77 - accusation.

دار آن غلام و باز شد این تحکم است
In Patrons of Khaqani and his poems in their

His Imprisonment

It was during the rule of Akhsatan (A.H. 544) that Khāqanī was imprisoned on grounds of bad blood which existed between the two. This happened after his second pilgrimage²⁰. According to Khanikpof and Browne the period of his imprisonment was 7 months. He was put to jail after the age of fifty, when he had already served the royal court for long thirty years²¹. He was imprisoned in an one-door cell. Here he had to keep quiet so that nothing should escape his tongue which might be carried to the King resulting in longer rigorous imprisonment. He has narrated his sad plight behind the bars and dilapidated condition of the prison cells in his Prison Poems (Habsīya).²³

Khāqanī wrote elegy on the death of Mīnūchīhr and none on the death of Akhsatan which shows that Khāqanī was outlived by Akhsatan. ²⁴

Khāqanī presented himself to the Court of Malik Sayfuddīn Arslan, the ruler of Derband on return from his second Hajj. He was rewarded for his poems written on different festive occasions such as Nauruz and 'Id. It was the time when Khāqanī gave up drinking and his poems were sung by mistresses²⁵. Mujir was attached to this court earlier than Khāqanī. The best of Mujir's poems are in praise of this King, wherein the influence of Khāqanī is evident. ²⁶

15. The indent words used by Ganjawī was also one of the causes:

16. Ibid p. 598

* For details of this dynasty see next page 27.

17. Gift of Khāqanī to Kafiud Dīn who praised him in a fragment, see Dīwan page 711.

Govt. rewards pp. 64, 83, 140, 152 and 187.

Khāqanī's reply Dīwan pp. 711 - 712 :

Khāqanī's status at Court :

36

The special feature of these poems is that all these end in lyrical notes . The best of Khāqanī's poems are in praise of Muzaffarūd Dīn Qizil Arslan Uthmān b. Ilidgiz (A.H. 581-87). Khāqanī was much devoted to this ruler . Mujīr started his court life under this ruler but could not establish himself as there were other rivals . Both Khāqanī and Mujīr have written poems in praise of Ruknūddīn Arslan b. Tughril (A.H. 555-71) who was not an independent ruler . This patron was common to Athīr Akhsāktī as well .

18. Khanikof speaks of one ode on Victory. There are more than one , See Dīwān pp. 33, 124 (119 & 26); 230;

19. Refer 'Women Khāqanī praised', supra p. 29 30 .

20. Refer Dīwān p. 503-4. س خلت را که چشم بدمرسار نه حرم من نگونمیدارد

21. Badī'uz-Zamān in his Sukhan-o-Sukhanvarān tries to give a different date of his imprisonment and second Hajj . See his notice on Khāqanī . He gives A.H. 565 as the date of his imprisonment when he was 45 according to his calculation. But Khāqanī himself gives "after 50", Dīwān pp. 21 - 22.

Among the grounds of imprisonment Khāqanī also includes the annoyance of the King for not surrendering the Magic Ring, see Asī pp. 71 - 77. س پس از چندین چله در عهد سی سال - شوم پنجاه گرم آشکار

22. Dīwān p. 21, and page 22 . س مرا از بعد پنجه سال اسلام - ترسید چون صلیبی بر ما

We can infer that Khāqanī was admitted to the Court when over twenty . He was imprisoned in the month of Ab (آب) Dīwān p. 54. He left the idea of going to Rome ~~was there when he~~

abjured to get him permission to go to Hajj. He was put in jail in Shamshān in the month of Ab, Dīwān p. 322, line 7, page 54, line 9.

23. For details of prison life refer Dīwān pp. 19-25, 71-73, 214-20, 243-47, 272-75, and 327-30.

His Patriotism

One of the outstanding characteristics of Khāqanī as manifested in his poetry is patriotism - a staunch love for Iran. None can equal him in this respect except Firdausī in early days. The credit goes to Khāqanī who departed from the beaten track and enhanced the cause of National poetry. It was he who gave proof of his unlimited love for Iran and its past glory, and gave us the heart-rending national lament by which he wanted to awake the slumbering Iran and her unmindful youths. Thousands of Iranīs had seen the Alwān-i-Madāin and Taq-i-Kisra in ruins²⁷. Hundreds of Persian poets passed by them unmoved and unstirred. But Khāqanī has left a master-piece on the ruins in which he had woven the moanings of decayed glory combined with the national pride he took in the dilapidated turrets, mortars and bricks²⁸ apparently meaningless, hollow and dumb to the common eye.

The spirit of national feeling and love of freedom which he imbibed when young is seen in him all through his life. The resentment he has shown in a poem against Ghuzz occupation²⁹ and devastation of the mother-land is really remarkable. Knowing full well the nature of his patron Sultan Ghiyā'suddīn Muhammed Seljūqī (A.H. 547-54) whom he praised in a poem on Id and keeping in view the happy occasion, he has cleverly introduced the subject and invoked him to stand up and snatch away Khorāsān from the hands of the marauders. He assures him of the help of the masses who will storm the beleaguered country and God will be on his side.

24. Khāqanī outlived Minūchahr refer Diwan p. 31, 518 - 27, 538-42, and 556.

25. Diwan pp 30, 192 & 46. Khāqanī left drinking

Minstrals sing his poems, Diwan p. 192.

The other rulers whom Khāqānī praised in his poems include Kyālawāghīr the ruler of Tibrīstān (died before A.H. 569), Alauddīn Atsiz b. Muhammed Khwārazmshāh (A.H. 621-51) and Sayfuddīn Atābek Mansūr, the ruler of Shamākhī - all of whom regarded Khāqānī liberally .

There are more than twenty-five personages³⁰, other than the princes whom Khāqānī addressed in his poems, to record his gratitude for owing to encouragements and favours received from time to time. To some of these, such as Nāṣir-ud-Dīn Ibrāhīm and Bahāuddīn Saīd b. Ahmad, he was indebted deeply for the guidance and light he received. They left an enduring impression on him and moulded his outlook on life .

There were others whom he eulogized for their service to Islam and country such as Qazī-ul Qazzāt, Sadrūddīn Ahmashād and Shāikhul Islām Umdatuddīn Muhammad b. Asad, Tūsī Nīshāpurī . To some he was indebted for a kind word they spoke when it was most needed or a visit they paid when Khāqānī was bed-ridden such as Qazī-ul-Qazzāt Alī. He extolled Jamāluddīn Muhammad of Mūsəl, who did a great service to Khāqānī by recognising his capability as a poet and introducing him to the Caliph who gave him audience the highest honour which a Persian poet ever attained .³¹

26. Diwan pp.137, last line; 211, 1st line; and 397, line 5.

Mujir fails to imitate Khāqānī, see his Qasaid .

27. See Diwan, pp. 362 - 64.

This is a Qita (Fragment) as Khāqānī himself informs us see Diwan p.364 while Rasūlī has given it in Panegyrics.

The service of Irānschahr to Khāqānī, Mirza Husain Kāzimzāda the editor of Irānschahr, Berlin, and Husain Khān Dīnīsh have given befitting tributes, to Khāqānī in publishing the Diwan-i-Madain and the Khorāsh-i-Madain in Persian and Turkish. For the Turkish edition Raza Tādrīq known as Faillāq has written an interesting preface . This was translated by Kāzimzāda and read as a paper in Paris in 1912 . Kāzimzāda also published the tasdis received from different poets in the Diwan-i-Madain with a befitting preface . The call to the poets, was issued in his Irānschahr for composing poems utilising Khāqānī's lines on the Madain in each stanza of six lines.

28. Dr. U.M. Dawipota thinks that this Lament inspired by the Arabic poem on Birah (Pencil) by Buhturi see his Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry, p.120.

29. Diwan p. 268

and p. 267 - Khorasan is in enemies' hand.

Diwan pp. 362 - 64. مولی ملک توئی گرگ شبان غم.

30. Refer f.n. on p. 5 supra.

31. Asi ed. p. 160-64 and Diwan pp. 598 & 225.

p. 225.

p. 65.

The patrons of Khaqani and his poems in their praise.

Qasir Arslan Uthman son of Shamsuddin Ilidgiz. He was the ruler of Azerbaijan who ruled from A.H. 581-87. His titles were Giti Pahlawan, Musaffarud Din, Musratul Islam. He struck coins and read Khutba in his own name. Khaqani has given a true picture of the battles he fought and the victories he achieved. Poems written in his praise appear in the Diwan pp. 122, 123, 139, 286 and 124. Khaqani enlisted himself to his Court in A.H. 556 (Cirea) and had written a number of beautiful poems on the occasions such as new spring, 'Id etc.

Rukanud Din Arslan Shah bin Tughril A.H. 555-71. He was brave, powerful and victorious ruler who repulsed his enemies with heavy losses. He was bounteous and dispenser of evenhanded justice to all - the unique qualities which won him great fame and high order of poetry which remain as an immortal treasure in Iraq for times to come. For poems in his praise refer pp. 560, 561 and 562.

Musratuddin Abul Musaffar Sepahbud-i-Ajam. Kyalawashir - the ruler of Masandaran, Tihristan. He was an outstanding figure among the rulers of his time and won great fame by establishing the supremacy of Islam. He was a patron of arts and crafts. His achievements were celebrated by poets like Khaqani whom he patronised with gifts and wealth and loved with his sweetness of character. He died about A.H. 559. His death was deeply lamented by Khaqani in the elegy given on pp. 308 - 310 of the Diwan.

His death was the death of benevolence for Khaqani. For poems written in his praise see Diwan pp. 573 and 677. On page 781 in Ode Section there is an elegy on him.

Malik Saifud Din Arslan, the ruler of Darband. His name was Musaffar see Diwan pp. 941, 181-89 and 191-93. He bore the titles of Saifud Din and Arslan. His father was Muhammad vide Diwan pp. 941 and 187-95. Radi's Zaman is wrong when he concludes that Muhammad was the original name of Saifud Din Arslan. He was noted for his justice and hospitality.

Ghiyathuddin Muhammad b. Mahmud b. Muhammad b. Malikabab. He was Seljuk of Iran, used to sit on golden throne. He was a brave warrior and a patron of Khaqani, see pp. 264-69 and pp. 393-94. Khaqani used to drink in the days he praised him.

Saifuddin Atabek Mansur, - the ruler of Shamakhi. During his time Shamakhi became another Isfahan and Khaqani addressed him as Sipahdar-i-Islam. He was a good warrior and a ruler. His dancing and singing assemblies were described at length by Khaqani, and all the instruments of music have been separately narrated in the qasida. See Diwan p. 123.

Alauddin Atsis bin Muhammad Khawarazmshah. (A.H. 521-551). He was one of the foremost ruler of Khawarazm Shah dynasty. Alauddin Atsis was noted for his benevolence, bravery and staunch religious belief. Khaqani was 24 when he sent a qasida to this ruler on the New Spring Day which at once attracted attention of both the King and his learned Secretary Raghid Natwat. This was the beginning of the tie of friendship which grew day by day and developed into a friendship between them. See his Diwan pp. 96 & 98.

Shirvanshahs.

Minuchihir II b. Faridun (A.H., 514-544). He was a famous ruler of Shirvan. His personal titles were Abul Halifa, Fakhrud-din and Dawlat. Khagan-i-Akbar, Khagan-i-Kabir and Khagan-i-Mazkur, common with other rulers of this dynasty. He was contemporary of Caliph Al-Mansur (A.H. 532 - 55).

Akhsatan b. Minuchihir II (died between A.H. 573 and A.H. 600). He was born in A.H. 570 in the year Faridun was born. He survived Khagan - see Palaki Shirvani p. 13 by Dr. "adil Hasan. His titles, were Abu Ishaq Ibrahim, according to Khanikof and Pakhomov respectively. Khanikof gives Fakhrudin, Nasiruddin and Jalaluddin as his titles, but Pakhomov wanders from where he got the first title for Akhsatan. The correct position is that the title Fakhruddin belongs to Minuchihir II. It has wrongly found its way into the explanatory titles of certain odes of Khagan addressed to Akhsatan. The reason how the title Abu Ishaq Ibrahim is associated with his name could be found in the tarjiband addressed to the scholar friend Abu Ishaq Ibrahim. This inaccurately thought to be addressed to Akhsatan by Khanikof. Pakhomov thinks that the title Abu Ishaq Ibrahim is due to mis-understanding. The poet simply compares the Shirvan Shah with the patriarch Abraham, father of Isaac. If that could be taken as explanation for the title "Ibrahim", what about 'Abu Ishaq'? Pakhomov has got no reply.

The position which we have taken above is the correct one. The odes had been wrongly attributed to the king. The theologian was great friend of Khagan. To decide king's actual title we turn to Misaki who informs us that king's titles were - Jalalud Dawlat and Din Abul Muzaffar Malikul in asrar Akhsatan b. Minuchihir, Shirvanshah, Khagan-Kabir or Akbar. See the Mullat-i-Salasil Lucknow ed. pp. 278 - 79 and 485-91.

Correct pronunciation of Akhsatan.

C. Salemi gives his name as Akhsatan vide his Chotrostishia Khadani p. 12 St. Petersburg (1875). Its measure is -v-.

B. Born pronounces it as Akhsatan in his Beitrag zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Länder und Völker, aus morgen-landischen Quellen. I. Versuch einer Geschichte der Shirvanshahs. p. 551 St. Petersburg (1841). He is followed by K. de Zarnow see his Manuel Topographie et de Chronologie p. 182, Hanover (1927) and Khanikof in Melanges Asiatiques, iii. p. 119.

Prof. E.C. Brown reads it as Akhtian, in his Literary History of Persia Vol. II. p. 394.

She H., has got these pronunciations for this word namely Akhsatan, Akhtasan and Akhtashan, in his Catalogue of Persia 1883. India Office, India. E.A. Pakhomov follows Salemi, in his Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidzhan a prilog skhizma op istorii shirvan shahov p. 34 Baku (1923).

It is Akhsatan with Rieu, Catalogue of Persia 1883, in the British Museum p. 559 col. 1 and G. Hart, article on Khagan in the Encyclopaedia of Islam. The different MS. of Layla va Majnun of Misaki and Shapuri have got the following three readings. Akhsatan (اخشاتان); Akhtashan (اخشاشان) and Akhtan (اخشان).

The correct reading of his name is found in the Georgian Chronicle where it is spelt as Akhsathan. So the correct pronunciation is Akhsatan.

Queen Khagan's praised.

Misaki Din, the queen of Minuchihir II. Khagan praised her both separately and jointly with the King. She observed strict seclusion (Purdah) as was customary with the queens of those days. p. 75. She survived Minuchihir, refer the Divan pp. 592-93. Khagan's devotion to her was more than mere lip-service and he received encouragement from her. (pp. 73-77; 77-79.)

Ismat Din. She was the sister of Minuchihir. Khagan was much attached to her and could not even when he expressed his intense love for her, see the Divan pp. 412-15 and 170-72. He had a stealthy look on her beauty, and found that he was in love with her. Some writers confuse Ismat Din and Gisnat Din as one lady and puts her down as the wife of Akhsatan. The corrupt verse in the Divan of Khagan also helps it p. 291. Khanikof concludes that queen Ismat Din was the daughter of Fariburz, and grand-child of Faridun I, while Pakhomov refutes this view and holds that Ismat Din is the aunt of Akhsatan I and she could not have married him vide his Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidzhan a prilog skhizma op istorii shirvan shahov p. 31 Baku (1923). Khagan requested her to get him the pardah for Hajj p. 289 of the Divan.

* Divan p. 472 last line. For the birth of this King refer Divan p. 84, 1°.

† Divan p. 291. Ia. 12-14.

Chapter III.

WORKS OF KHAQANÍ .

1. Díwān - containing 1) Panegyrics (Qasá'id), 2) Return Ties and Composite Ties (Tarjilat), 3) Odes (Ghazal), 4) Qit'at (Fragments), 5) Quatrains (Rubá'i) and 6) Arabic Writing.

Masnaví - II) Tuhfatul Iráqayn. III) Khatmul Gharáib IV) Episto
Epistolary writings.

1. Díwān . 2.

1) Panegyrics. There are 136 panegyrics out of which 124 are common to Tehrán edition of Rasūlī and the Kulliyat-i-Khaqanī (Lucknow ed.): 12 are exclusive to Tehrán edition.

2. Elegies. 15 elegies of Tehrán edition are equal to 14 given in the Kulliyat. Elegy found on pp. 552-57 containing 106 lines is exclusive to Tehrán edition. The elegy given at pp. 557-62 of 86 lines is given in the Fragments in the Kulliyat, see pp. 915-22 where it is shown as Tarkibband .

3. Odes. There are 293 odes in Tehrán edition which are equivalent to 295 of the Kulliyat. The ode given on pp. 809-10 in Tehrán edition containing 17 lines is equal to 2 of that of the Kulliyat, pp. 1147-49 of 8 lines in each case are equal to one ode of 16 lines on pp. 1812-13 in Tehrán edition . One ode of 8 lines on pp. 981 of the Kulliyat appears as the opening of panegyric given at pp. 79-80 of Tehrán edition . The ode on page 1179 of the Kulliyat is found on page 842 of the Tehrán edition, it appears again on page 1179 of the Kulliyat where its rhyme is changed from (ر) to (من) lines being equal .

1. Refer Díwān pp. 60-61; 111; 310-11; 313-14; 344-48; 352-57; 367-69; 426-33; 454-55; 552-57; & 88-89.

The ode on page 910 of the Kulliyat is found on p.211 of Tehran edition as second opening (مطلع ثان). There are two Arabic odes and a few with alternate Arabic and Persian verses. There are 88 odes exclusive to Tehran edition while the Kulliyat has got 81 such odes .

4. Shitā (Fragments) . There are 200 fragments in Tehran edition which are equal to 202 of the Kulliyat - 174 are exclusive to Tehran edition and 10 to the Kulliyat. The so-called 5 quatrains given in fragments of the Kulliyat are not traceable anywhere in the Tehran edition . Eight fragments given as such in the Kulliyat are found in the panegyrics of Tehran edition . Three fragments on pp.909-15 of the Kulliyat are equal to one panegyric on pp. 210-13 of Tehran edition . Another fragment of the Kulliyat is found in the elegies given in Tehran edition. Two fragments of Tehran edition at pp. 680-81 are equal to one fragment given at pp. 806-808; two fragments of Tehran edition on pp. 608-609 are available in a piece on pp. 763-64 of the Kulliyat . One fragment pp. 638-39 of the Tehran edition is divided into 2 pieces on pp. 954-55 of the Kulliyat. In 90 odes of Tehran edition we have been able to trace out 92 fragments of the Kulliyat .

2. Critical Note on Tehran edition of the Divan. Aqa-i-⁶ 11 Abdur Rasul, the teacher of Persian language and literature of Tehran has published the Divan of Khauli from Saddat Press, in 1316 Shamsi. It is well printed on good paper . The set-up of the book is good . The editor has given a Preface in which he has given a short biography of the poet, his patrons and contemporaries and rivals. The biographical details are not correct in some places . Some of these have been pointed out in course of our monograph . The style of Khauli as given is a meagre attempt and does not present Khauli and his poetry in all its aspects . The editor has collated and compared the text with a number of MSS. Unfortunately the MSS are not given there . He has included a number of ghazals and thrown out the Arabic portion as given in the Kulliyat of Naval Kishore, Lucknow . Effort has been made to give footnotes and meanings of difficult words with the help of sharh and dictionaries and where these failed him, he has just guessed the meaning .

(Continued)

5. Quatrains. Out of 342 quatrains of Tehran edition 20 are exclusive to it. The Kulliyat has got 567 quatrains out of which 213 are exclusive to the Kulliyat. There are 5 quatrains twice printed in Tehran edition and 28 in the Kulliyat.

Khācānī as a Panegyric Writer.

The fame which Khācānī attained rests on his panegyrics which place him amongst the best panegyric writers of Persia. In his panegyrics He has left for us an immense wealth of ideas, imagination multiplicity of subjects, profound knowledge of words and phrases, new constructions and expressions which were novel contributions to the age in which he lived³. It would be no wonder if a thesaurus of these phrases, constructions, words and idioms were compiled sometime⁴.

No other poet has enriched the Persian language and literature to the extent Khācānī has done. Khācānī was much ahead of his age. He was original and creative. He enlarged the commonly adopted venues of panegyrics and enriched them by adding new thoughts, new aspects, treating them both objectively and subjectively. His biographical aspects, his experiences in this world of friendship and infidelity, all found their proper place in his writings. His panegyrics can serve as the best source for building the history of Shirwānshāhs and other contemporary rulers. Panegyric-writing was a profession in those days. Poets who followed it had to earn their sustenance by the dint of their pen. In these days of autocratic regime demands had to be put in timely and reminders sent for delay by the Court-poets but not of the nature to annoy the ruler.

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In his works the editor has not included the Khata'ul Gharāib⁹.

There is a Index given in two parts -

1. Names of persons, 2. Names of places and ^{some} tribes prepared with care and attention, though not comprehensive. Some time the references to the pages given are wrong such as, on page 962 under



He opens a panegyric with the description of spring or autumn, some time narrating dawn, giving drinking-call, or taking us direct into the drinking bouts and ending it in dancing, singing or good wishes³. He very naturally introduces his subject and brings in his patron so that readers really enjoy his poems. His endings are effective and leave an impression. Some time he speaks of love and introduces a lyrical note conveniently at any stage. His facile pen, power of expression, artistic treatment and lucid style, coupled with enchanting metre and well-selected rhymes place him remarkably higher than a panegyric-writer like Rūdakī or Mu'izzī, Sanā'ī or Watwat and in way lower than Anwarī. He is one of the best, if not the best of panegyric writers that Persia ever produced. Western authors like Browne and Claud Field who accuse him of wholesale toughness of composition, intricacy of ideas and far-fetchedness of similes and metaphors have not done due justice to him. Some of his poems are for the learned scholars only. In this respect he resembles his contemporary poet Anwarī whose difficult poems also demanded commentaries.

Kyālawashīr reference to page 946, while Dīwān ends on page 944. The poems have been classified and arranged alphabetically as far as panegyrics, elegies and odes are concerned and shown in a Table of Contents which remained incomplete because quatrains and Qit'at (fragments) are not shown. There are printing mistakes here and there which are not included in the Corrigenda given. See page Dīwān 828 last ode () is printed instead of (). Minus these defects the production is a tolerable and far superior than corrupt edition of the Kulliyāt of Khāqanī by Naval Kishore of Lucknow. India (Bhārat).

3. Spring- Dīwān pp. 42, 44, 48. 77, 79 - 82, 82 - 84, 103 - 119, 140 - 43, 181, 187 - 95, 196 - 99, 199, 229 - 93, 337 - 49, 426 - 33, 493 - 603, 512 - 519 and 529.

Morning - 33, 45 - 49, 89 - 94, 125, 220, 387 - 93, 442 - 47, and 515 - 519.

Drinking : - 83, 90, 113 - 119, 176, 442 - 47, 463 and 469.

Dancing - pp. 143, 403, 443 and 528

Extempore - pp. 61 - 65 and 226 - 31.



This was not the fault of Khāqānī[^] but was the fault of Khāqānī[^]
~~Khāqānī but was the fault~~ of the age . Brevity or simplicity is the soul of speech was rather unknown in those days . The verses abounding in rhetorical figures, far-fetched metaphors and intricate similes are not large in number⁵ . Whatever he wrote had gone into the Diwān[^] . He never tried to select and revise . Parallel thoughts and ideas are repeated in some of his poems but he has always expressed them in a way that they do not sound pedantic . The other characteristic of his style is that he will choose one subject and will continue giving us all the cognate aspects, all terms, techniques and associated ideas one after another . Khāqānī[^] wrote poems on occasions of victories, childbirth and marriage but we seldom find him demanding money or asking favours . With him mostly art was for art's sake . From his panegyrics and strophe poems - (Return[^] Ties and Composite Ties - Tarjiat) we get an insight into his power of keen observation and study of nature . His deep knowledge of Persian and different sciences gave a new shape to the ideas he wanted to express .

- On self --pp. 3, 18, and 19 - 21.
- Id - pp. 73 - 77, 119 - 125, 126 - 28, 131, 136, 151 - 52, 187 - 95, 226 - 31, 264 - 69, 401 - 7, 407 - 11, & 433 - 40.
- Birth of the prince - pp. 174 - 76.
- Band-i-Baqalanī[^] - p. 45.
- Madd-i-Baqalanī[^] - pp. 25, 45, and 569 .
- Hajj - pp. 94 - 101, 101 - 5, 220 - 26, 259 - 64, & 377 .
- Castle - p. 592 .

Khāqānī[^] has given caption to some of his panegyrics as on page 42 - Munṭiqul-tair, p. 89, Hirsul Hajāz, p. 94, Muḥṣatul Ashbāh. Arwah wa Muḥṣatul Ashbāh p. 101 and Muḥṣatul Ashbāh p. 421. Sifirul Zamir .

His style in the beginning was an imitation of Sanai^{1,2}, but later on he established his own style⁶ which many writers of his time and later period tried to emulate with little success. Simple thoughts and ordinary events are expressed some time in learned style and rendered extraordinary. The rigors of established rules of rhymes and constructions are sometime not followed by him. His philosophic, mystical and Islamic knowledge has contributed a lot in making him put a seal of individuality and scholarship on his writings. His style was just the natural way of writing of that period when learning was at its acme in Islamic world including Persia. His was the profound influence on the panegyric writers like Qa'ani⁷. Hakim Shifai^{1,2} closely followed his style and thought himself in no way less than Khaqani⁸. Qa'ani thought himself "second Khaqani" on account of his faithful imitation of his style.

His Prison Poems

His prison poems give interesting details of internment, treatment of political prisoners, and conditions of prison cells. There was total absence of amenity or special treatment held out to political internees of modern days. Khaqani was put in Jail for no fault of his. As a petty court poet he exerted no influence and was not in league with outside powers. In one of his Prison Poems (Habsiya) he has shown his profound knowledge of Christianity, Old and New Testaments, Christian saints, Churches and the Holy Book. This is unique in Persian literature. Khaqani has written 6 prison-poems in all, of which one is very famous.

4. The Farhang-i-Divan is mentioned as one of the Sources of the Farhang-i-Jahangiri, p. 211 No. 354, Fihrist-i-Kutub Khana-i-Madrassa-i-Alli Sirat Salar, by Hadsig. Other lexicons also quote Khaqani as authority.

5. See Introduction to the Sharh of Da'ud 'Alavi.

6. Divan p. 284, 213

7. Qa'ani thought himself "second Khaqani" on account of his imitation of his style.

8. See Introduction to the Sharh of Da'ud 'Alavi.

این تازه سخن که کردم ابداً
در روزی که گنج سحرش است
در روزی که گنج سحرش است
در روزی که گنج سحرش است

به این تازه سخن که کردم ابداً
در روزی که گنج سحرش است
در روزی که گنج سحرش است
در روزی که گنج سحرش است

به این تازه سخن که کردم ابداً
در روزی که گنج سحرش است
در روزی که گنج سحرش است
در روزی که گنج سحرش است

It gives us a vivid picture of his captivity, his hardships and his feelings. The language and diction of this poem is totally different from that of all other poems of this category. Besides these he has got a few fragments written in Jail. ¹⁰

His Return and Composite Ties (Farliat).

The strophe poems can be placed amongst his best writings. Those are of elegiac and panegyric nature.

Shagani as an Elegy-writer.

Unlike panegyrics his elegies are simple, serene, forceful, accurate and effective. We are moved by his pathos and feelings. We feel depressed and morose when he spells such a mood. In his elegies one finds the pangs of human soul lacerated. His selection of words, diction, arrangement of phrases and constructions, rhyme and rhythm are most suited to the situations and occasions. The metaphors and similes do find their places in his elegies for better effect. Often he wrote on the demise, say of his wife, cousin, son, uncle, guide or Imam, just to quench the fire of his heart with which he naturally burns. His elegiac writings are not confined to one particular kind of verse. These can be found in the panegyrics, fragments and odes even. These vary in size and volume. Some of these are of 106 lines. He had used different metres on different occasions, some time keeping both qafiya (قافیہ) and radif (رریف) and some time without them.

8. Shifai . شفا نیست خاتمانی شغائی تا کند خاتانیم - ور نه میرانی که پای کم ز خاتانیم نیست .

9. Ibid p. 19

10. Prison poems refer pp. 19-25, 71 - 73, 214 - 20, 243 - 47, 272 - 76, & 327 - 30 & 581 .

Cf. The poems of Falaki who was also interned in the same fortress Shabaran some time : (Dr. Hadi Hameed) .

Prison p. 213

Khajepour was interned in Shabaran, Shiraz.

هم درین تله خاتانیم - کمر بر جانم نیست
شغی هزار غم گرفتارم - در زلفی جانم بر تمام
محسوس حلاوتیم فیرانم - دلم تر نه دردم و نه طراکم

Elegy on Beauty : Dorian Grey of Khacani :

His love for Rashid^A

11. Cf. The Armoghan. vol. 18, No. 2, p. 81.
12. Diwan pp. 158, 163 and 417.

12. Diwan pp. 158, 163 and 417.

11. Cf. The Armaghan. vol. 18, No. 2, p. 81.
12. Diwan pp. 158, 163 and 417.

But the Providence suddenly snatched him away leaving the beloved father mourning . The elegy is put in the mouth of his dying son - an innovation to his credit . The poem is a landmark in Persian literature .

Khāqānī as an Ode-writer

Most of the writers and biographers of Khāqānī at home, in India, Pakistan or Europe have not given him the appreciation he merits as an Ode-writer . Badiuz Zaman is one of the pioneers who have given a very short study of Khāqānī as an ode-writer in his Sukhan-o-Sukhanvaran . According to him Khāqānī can be put as "one of the best ghazal writers of his time" . Recently the Irānī periodicals and magazines have started publishing and reproducing his odes and offering his Diwan as prize in literary competitions.¹³

Khāqānī was the first to break all the old barriers and watertight compartments of ode-writing . Thoughts got more avenues and soared higher, ideas broadened and deepened at the same time . Now ode took into its folds a large number of motley subjects which was considered forbidden and un-ode-like by his predecessors. To Khāqānī goes the credit of introducing a new element of wasukht in Persian Ode .¹⁴ Hitherto the Persian poets had fallen into the abject position of praising their imaginary beloveds in spite of all their harshness and tortures . Their beloveds would favour others, while the true lovers would waste themselves in separation and disappointment . It was Khāqānī who gave the lesson of self-determination and self assertion to the out-moded

13. The Monthly Aīnd, Vol. 3 No. 10, page 531, ode of Khāqānī.

The same ode appears in the Diwan, page 767. The Armoohan No. 6 for October and November, 1931 pp. 538-39, the ode given there appears on pp. 726 of the Diwan . For the Diwan (MS) of offered

ode-writers and introduced a note of discard for the tyrannical beloved and denounced her . This strong pronouncement is called "wasukht". Contemporary history, biographical information and lyrical notes have been melted together and moulded into something pseudo-historical . In such odes he has drawn his own conclusions and left a moral lesson for us . Khāqānī has written full-length odes carrying the same subject right from the beginning to the end¹⁵ . his religious odes are markedly different from mystical ones . In his religious odes he has utilised the lyrical diction and given it a garb which will not appear religious on the face of it¹⁶ . we have to break the surface ice to fathom it . To a common reader such odes may sound like love-poems . The pursuit for Divinity is put in the language of the ode and in lyrical phrases . Khāqānī called himself "a mystic lover" (صوفی عاشق دل) this Dīwān the Heavenly Treasure (کنز عرشى) and his poetry as "the voice of the Hidden" (منطق الطير or لسان الغیب) . This was on account of his spiritual thoughts and mystic ideas in which he was ahead of others . This found its perfection in Hafiz . Khāqānī was a practical man and he could not sever his worldly connections altogether and give himself up to "wine and beloved" and thereby appear as other-worldly and celestial as Hafiz in his odes . his lyrics are written in the language of love . The throbbings of heart are caught in words and feelings are expressed in verses . The heavenly moments, when two young hearts yearn for each other, pine or unite, are well recorded for us .

as prize refer p. 833, No. 11 of October and November, 1931 of the Armoghan (Tehran).

14. Dīwān p. 790. سے بکر میں ناکد است از تو بجا جوئی تر - دریم عالم توئی از ہم بدخوئی تر

15. Quass Invasion and destruction of Khorasan p. 778, on his sickness 776 and death of his wife pp. 781 & 775 .

16. Dīwān pp. 693 & 772 .

دیر خبر یافتی که یار تو گم شد - جام جم از دست اختیار تو گم شد
قر درما که دل نماد و بر او نام در ماند سے آتش سوزائی تو خون کردہ جگر
بر یاد شمره در سر سوزائی تو سر ما

The affairs of love described by him have got both thrills of love, joy of prospective union, pangs of separation, despair at the advances of rivals and dejection at favours shown to others. The gloomy nights of evil days when dark shadows deepen, the starry and bright nights of union when sun-shine and youth blossom, spring and love flow and nature smiles are all woven into the tapestry of his odes. The more we read his odes the more we feel love ourselves as if he has expressed our thoughts and feelings, our joys and sorrows in his diction and language.¹⁷

It is this spell of his odes which makes him the best ode-writer of his age. Anwarî, Nizâmî, Jamâludîn Isfahânî, Rûdâkî, 'Unsârî, Sanî'î, Mujaîr, Athîr Akhsâiktî, Abul 'Alâ Ganjavî, Ashharî, Khwâjû-i-Kirmânî and others could not reach the high standard he attained in this domain of writing.¹⁸

The spirit of "Carpe diem" for which Khayyâm is known equally finds its place in Khâqânî's writing. Youth, spring, wine and love are the main pillars of his odes.¹⁹ Khâqânî much earlier than Sâdî introduced the ethical note in his odes. His moral teachings are the dicta of the age in which he lived. The light he gave and thoughts he expressed on morality, good conduct and decorum were the order of the day. These were Islamic in essence and workable in practice.

17. Pages 700, 708, 726, 736, 760 - (Ode to wind), 759, 762, 763-64, 771, 772, 792, 809 - 10, 813, 819, 829, 849, 860, 863, 866, 867, and 890.

18. writes Shifâ'î

19. Diwan 858 - 89 and 851 - 862.

سرمستم و تشنه آب درده
آن آتش گون گلاب درده
خامانی را دمی بخلوت
بشنان و بدو شراب درده
در صبح آن راج ریحانی بخواه
طلانه مرغانی روحانی بخواه
ساعزی حورن اشک دلوری بزرگ
از پری روی سلیمانی بخواه
س زاهدان را آشکاری بده
شاهدان را برسته پنهانی بخواه
گر بستی دست یابی بزرنگ
ز تو قصص جان خامانی بخواه

some of his deliberations are his personal experiences under certain circumstances which may not hold good in the changed modern environs. [^]Khāqānī has very boldly denounced the social evils and pests like hypocrisy, lip-service, insincerity, corrupt practices, injustice, back-biting, show of power and discrimination between man and man along with unhealthy ideas and un-Islamic thoughts which were prevalent due to Assassinate activities and its other off-shoots; liberalisation of thoughts on account of assimilation of Greek learning and other foreign elements; blood contact due to wealth and the extremes professed by different broad schools of philosophers, and advancements of co-relationship in cosmopolitan metropolis of Baghdad - the Seat of Caliphate where heterogenous thoughts and social activities were on the cross-road of modernity . 20

Khāqānī as a [^]Wife-writer

It will be rather difficult for a critic to reconcile the fact that a poet thought to be "obscure, extremely artificial, and even pedantic" by a certain group of writers, could have produced qit'at (fragments) on [^]modest subjects in simple, chaste, vigorous and forceful style to such an extent that these could be understood and appreciated even by a common man. Perhaps some one may not believe that these fragments could be the composition of [^]Khāqānī. It is to the credit of [^]Khāqānī that he has produced fragments on their set principles of composition. He opens a fragment without ceremony or long introduction, takes us direct into the subject-matter and spins the yarn right to the end artistically without wasting any word. He determines its length keeping in view the importance of the subject. He has not unnecessarily dwelt on any aspect, portrayed any picture or introduced any parable.

20. See the Poem on page 691 [^]Diwan which opens thus .

بل بنوار رازان بی - الح

Like a memoir-writer or a chronicler he records the events of every-day life and dilates on each of them in a journalistic way. He never hesitates to put forward his views. In some fragments he has dealt with moral philosophy and ethics, every-day science and contemporary history. In others he has denounced pride or critically compared his poetry with that of Mu'izzî, Rûdâkî, and others. In some fragment he establishes his supremacy over Sanâ'î who was some time his ideal in poetry. Fragments wherein he praises Tajuddîn and 'Izzuddîn are laudatory. Fragments written in memory of Jamaluddîn, the Chief Minister of Mûssel who was ^{ise} his guide, or Nasiruddin Ibrahim - the saint of Ganjah are ^{from} elegiacal. Some of the fragments have got biographical value as the one which tells us of his heart disease, or the one in which he has given the touching picture when he has to say good-bye to his native place Shirwân. In some of these fragments we read Khâqanî, his nature, his habits, and inclinations. From his childhood he had got the habit of forbearance and tolerance. He would bestow gifts on some one who deserved them. Some of his fragments are religious in nature as the one in which he gives thanks to Govt, or the one in which he dreams of the Prophet. To illustrate his graceful expression we simply refer to the fragments in which he speaks of old age - age which dawns equally on kings and beggars; expresses his gratitude for 'Alî, 'Izzuddîn and for Hasamuddîn the Chief Justices; expounds his philosophy of friendship which even today holds good, if allowance is made for the typical influence of the age in which he lived; narrates the kindness and the pains which his mother took for him; replies to the philosopher - Afzaluddîn for his greetings sent on Khâqanî's diplomatic mission to Sultan Arslan; denounces the tyrannical minister or urges Minuchihir to chastise the Prince Akhsatan who failed to show due respect to him; describes Baghdad and its social life with all its modernity²

 El. Refer Diwan pp. 669, 663, 668 (on Departure from Shirwân)^f

some time his views are conflicting . The reason for this is that he records his experience of a particular moment on a subject and this may be different at another . His fragments are better than those of his contemporary poets.²³

His Satires.

¹Khaqani never claims to be a satirist. On the other hand, he assures us that it would not be possible for us to find out even a single satire or inelegant piece of writing in both of his ²⁴Diwans of Arabic and Persian . In the presence of this internal evidence how can we account for a dozen of satires found in his fragments with some occasional uncharitable remarks about others in his panegyrics and the Tuhfatul 'Iraqiyya ? If the episode of Abul 'Ala was a fact, we must observe that there were occasions for Khaqani's strong pronouncements .

P. 666 (on ¹Bundar Razi), pp. 667, 687 (on friendship) p. 670 (on freedom) p. 672 (our old age); pp. 673; p. 686 (on Rasulid) p. 681. pp. 680, 690 (self praise) Rudaki & unsur pp. 683, 691 (on Baghdad) Laudatory pp. 106, 108 .

On self pp. 101 & pp. 633 - 34 . Modern Age on construction of palace p. 111 .

22 . ¹Qit'at - Diwan p. 173 (on-Islamic movements) - p. 186 Musan bin Sa'adah; elegiacal, pp. 213- 14. Cf. the magasin, Vol. 18. Issue 9 p. 601. Cf. 'Shikwah' of Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal & 'Bid'at' of Nagru Islam, the famous Bengali Poet .

23. Rasuli has given Fragments in Odes Section of the ¹Diwan which is a parently a mistake, refer; pp. 697-8, 775, 704-5, 769-70, 711, 711-12, 713-14, 714, 726, 730, 768-69, 770-71, 776, 778-79, 782, 783, 784, 786-86, 869, 773-74, 799-800, 798-99, 880, 803, 809, 810-11, 809-10, 811, 814, 813-14, 812-13, 828-29, 832-33, 835-36, 840-41, 859-60, 861-62 and 814.

24. See Diwan page 628.

از خود دیوانم ستازی و دردی
یک سجا و فحش هرگز کس ندید

For his nature refer ¹Diwan pp. 647, 659 and 660.

The provocations which came from Waṭwat might have given him some reasons to denounce Waṭwat and his writings. The difficulty which Mujir created for himself and Khaqani, might have compelled Khaqani to curse Mujir in strong terms. 25

It was natural for Khaqani, well-versed as he was in Islamic thought and philosophy, to cry down unorthodox philosophers and ministers who were doing dis-service to humanity in his opinion. While putting in his own claims to establish his poetical attainments over others Khaqani might have denounced poets like Muḥizzi and Athir Akhsaiki.

Khaqani as a quatrain writer

Khaqani may be placed among the best quatrain-writers of the Persian literature. His quatrains are written in the proper rubai metres unlike those of Babu Tahir Uryan of Hamadan. His quatrains have got both diction and thought, and are not simple and provincial utterings of a countryside. He combines in him the religious and theosophical touch of Abū Saīd Abīl Khair, the half-didactic and half-ethical fusion of Shāykhān-Ansarī and the spirit of pious resignation. 26 The lyrical note which he introduced has prepared the way for Hafiz. Love is common to all and is found all over the Persian world and literature. But Khaqani's approach to love is his own. The stages he covered are there for us.

26. For his satires refer pp. 587, 650, 658, 659, 662, 666, 673, 686, 687, 688, 632, 691, 21, 41, 376 and 354. The Tuhfatul

Iranian MS. Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal No. 461.

This also appears in India Office Library MS. of the Shah of the Shah.

This piece is not found in Naval Kishore or Agra edition of the Tuhfatul and in Shah.

26. See f. note 16 page 430 Supra.

We feel as if we are in love when we read his expressions of heart revealed in his quatrains . His philosophy of life is based on the school of thought called Jabr - the doctrine of predestination wherein a human being acts within the four walls of compulsion and is not master of his action . Whatever a man does he does it subservient to His intentions . This was at variance with the Mutazalite - the Broad Church theology . Some time one has to suffer for no sins of one's own . Probe as much as one possibly can, one will not get at its cause. ²⁷ Khāqanī too believed that way . Unlike Khayyām he never stood against God for all it is depending on his knowledge. His philosophy is well-balanced and monitored by rational thought . True friendship, fidelity and justice, according to Khāqanī are long dead in this world .

Freedom of thought and action is his birth right and he would not sacrifice it at any cost . In this respect he is markedly different from other quatrain writers. He believes that it is God himself who will come to the rescue of human beings on the Day of reckoning . We find in his quatrains the gay spirit with revelling of youth, love and spring which can compare well with Khayyām's ²⁸ . As a poet it was natural for him to capture, in his poetry, those heavenly moments which he spent in merrymaking before it was too late to narrate them with all their fire and glow .

The didactic and ethical note was taken to higher pitch by Khāqanī which found its perfection in Sādi's writings .

27 See Influence of Islam on Indian Culture, chapter - Mysticism in Islam p. 56-57 by Dr. Tarachand (Allahabad).

28 Cf. f. n. 22. Diwan p. 21 & pp. 254-55 .

29 It is wrongly believed that the fame of 'Umar Khayyām rests on this spirit .

See the Subh-i-Ashiq by Whinfield (Calcutta).

Khāqānī's quatrains are instructive and moral in tone. He expects us to be above board, candid and open in our dealings, chastened in moral character, faithful and serviceable to others. In this trend of poetry Sādī is definitely indebted to Khāqānī. The quatrains of Khāqānī abound in pithy sayings which may become popular. Such gnomic quatrains or pithy dicta are the salt of society. These are the total result of a long experience and wisdom compressed into quatrains.

His mystical quatrains sometime appear as if these are the compositions of Abū Saīd Abīl Khair. Akinness of thought and diction is so close. His mysticism is based on the Sūfism prevalent in those days. In this particular line he was trained well. Sanāī was his ideal and he did succeed in imitating him. His life at Court and his disappointment in worldly affairs once again drove him to seclusion and asceticism. He turned a mystic in the later part of his life and abstained from worldly pursuits. His mysticism is not theoretical but based on personal experience. We can have historical and biographical information also from his quatrains.

After a thorough search of his and Khayyam's quatrains we have been able to find out one "wandering quatrain" common to both. Umar Khayyam's reads :-

سے بگڑا جہاں چہ طرف برستم بیچ — وز حاصل عمر حسیّت در دستم بیچ
 شمع طرب ولی جو بنشتم بیچ — سن جام جسم ولی جو بشکستم بیچ
 4. Khāqānī's reads :- — وز حاصل ایام چہ در دستم بیچ
 29 شمع طرب ولی جو بنشتم بیچ — آن جام جسم ولی جو بشکستم بیچ

In some quatrains we find all the four hemistich having rhymes, which is against the established rules now. It was not very strictly observed in the 5th. and 6th. centuries. Khayyam and other writers have also got the same defect. Idioms and phrases are well-used and give a new flavour and polish to his quatrains.

^{12A}
~~RUBAIS TWICE PRINTED IN THE KULLIYAT. NAVIL KILDER~~

**1309 - 1339; 1292 - 1324;
1279 - 1288; 1284 - 1300;
1269 - 1288; 1281 - 1346;
1277 - 1343; 1295 - 1332;**

G. Saleman: His Chetererostisha Khaqani (Petersburg - 1946) in Russian. It has not been translated in any language and is obsolete now. He has dealt with the following : -

Saleman has dealt with the following 230 quatrains.

Total ~~Cr.~~ 348. The Rubais as given in Ali Abdur Resuli edition pp.893-928

SECRET

Specimen of his quatrains (Nos. are given by us to the quatrains of Rasuli ed.)

XX

Chapter IV - HIS MASNAVÎ POEMS

1. The Tuhfatul 'Irâqâyn

Of all the works of Khâqânî, the Masnavî - TUHFA'TUL 'IRÂQÂYN, 'the Gift for both the 'Irâqâ', is the most popular and widely read. It was totally different in style, treatment and subject-matter from other masnavîs so far written in Persian; different from the religious and mystical compositions of Sanâ'î called Hadîqah; different from the romances and heathen stories versified by Nizâmî in his masnavîs. This new literary effort was a class by itself. It was on account of its new aspects that Khâqânî called it "a revealed book". This poem of more than thirty-one hundred couplets was composed in "forty days" as Khâqânî himself informs us⁴ and dedicated to his patron Jamâluddîn, the minister to the ruler of Mûsul, while returning from his second Hajj⁵. His Tuhfatul 'Irâqâyn is a travel poem. In this itinerary he has given us the route to and back from Hajj, his passion for travel, his experiences on the way, places and shrines he saw, personages he visited, rites and rituals of the Hajj performed, natural scenery, mountains, rivers and deserts which came in his way, habits and manners of the people he met, climatic catastrophes and hardships he experienced⁶. Both in the early part and towards the end he has appended some biographical information⁷. He has divided the Tuhfa in five chapters (Maqâlâ) which are further sub-divided into sections (Fasl). No particular care is taken about the length of any of these. The Dedication of this Masnavî, unlike the modern practice, appears in the end of the book just before thanks-giving to Govt. Some critics feel that this Masnavî fails in leaving an impression or drawing any moral and therefore falls short of one of the objects of a masnavî. Authors like Abul Fazl may be inclined to condemn it as 'an unwholesome piece of writing' (جوریش ناگوار).

We need not try to find moral drawn towards the end out of this Masnavi because it is not written on the old set pattern .

It appears from the opening chapter that at the time of writing this Masnavi heathen and un-Islamic practices and propaganda were at their highest⁸ . Therefore Kháqanî had to select a celestial body, the Sun, as his companion in travel. He could find none worthy of his company. The poems addressed to the Sun appear at regular intervals in each chapter. Kháqanî has devoted lavish praises to the Sun which may set one to think if Kháqanî was a Sun-worshipper¹⁰ . Our investigations could not establish this view . Kháqanî has corrected himself and to dispel this doubt he invited the Sun to the Earth and praised her¹¹ . Like his other writings in the Dîwân this Masnavi also abounds in poems on self-affliction and straitened circumstances⁹ . From the professions of his mother, father, grand-father and uncle he has derived very original ideas .

1. Ibid p. 399

2. Asi ed. p. 399.

3. Aqd tarbîyat puts it at 32 thousand .

4. Ibid p. 398.

5. Ibid p. 397 - 99.

6. Description of mountains, river and hunting grounds- pp. 43, 50, 130, 154, 153, 156, 198, 199, 200, 201, 221 and 278-79. This also refers to shrines and places visited .

Personages pp. 58, 59, 70, 82, 79, 138, 140, 141, 143, 144, 145, 148, 149, 150, 159, 169, 168, 170, 272, 213, 226, 361, 370, 376, 379, 390 and 393 of Asi ed. Catastrophe p. 44 .

7. Biographical pp. 41-43, 52-56 and pp. 330, 335, 336, 338, 340, 347, 349, 353 and 367.

8. Ibid pp. 5 - 7 . Un-Islamic movement; and pp. 382 - 3 and 385, of Asi ed .

9. Asi ed edition pp. 397 - 400 . Tarbîyat wrongly thinks that biographical information is given in the end of Tuhafa only.

عمر این تحفه کرا - ایست محتر
عمر این تحفه عراق و شام

من آینه گوهر از سر ملک - رانم چهل صبح در ملک
این عقد استم شد بنامش - از وی کبر و زمین نظامش

Borrowing the diction and terminology of their professions he has evolved poems exalting their trades and evincing his pride in them all.¹² Some of the episodes make good history, details of which may not be available from any other source.¹³ The language of the poem is chaste, its diction simple, and its style lucid with occasional interfusion of superb ideas and new thoughts. Within the set limits of the metre in which it is written perhaps Khāqanī could not do better. It being among his early hasty compositions much attention is not paid to selection of words, and the poem was not revised and properly edited as a whole. Here in this Masnavī we come across words and constructions which have gone out of use, being archaic and obsolete. This is bound to happen when we read a poet of over 800 years remote from us. Farbiyat has written an article on "the Persian Masnavis he has also dealt with Khāqanī and his Tuhfatul Idrayāt. In his 14 and their authors" in which, view the Tuhfatul Idrayāt is a travel poem and was written in A.H. 652 while Ibn-i-Yusuf gives A.H. 551 as the date of its composition. We are in favour of the latter date. Hakīm Shifāī has written another masnavī of the same name which is a short one and cannot be taken as a proper imitation.¹⁵

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10. Farbiyat estimates that one fifth of the Tuhfa is devoted to ṣun.
 11. Asī ed. pp. 7, 19, 23, 35, 40, 116, 118, 123, 127, 130, 150 and 203.
 12. Ibid pp. 123-24 and 124-27.
 13. Ibid pp. 334 - 36 - Carpentry : 338 - 38 - Cookery and 331-41 Medicines.
 14. Ibid pp. 130-35. The cantonment and camps of Muhammed bin Mahmūd; pp. 70-75 - Magic ring and connected affairs; pp. 216 - 18. The predictions of certain group regarding heavy storms and typhoon.
 15. The Monthly Mihar, pp. 656-61, 7th. issue, vol. 5th. The ~~mentioned there~~
Haft Asman, this masnavī is not mentioned there.

f. Divān - p 360 - line 1.

11. The Khataul Gharāib 14

Besides the Tuhfatul Irāqayn, Khāqānī wrote another magnavi called the Khataul Gharāib which is least known .

There are only two copies of its MS. available in Iran. Kutub-Khāna 'Alī Madrasah-i-Sipāh Sālār, Tehrān, is fortunate in having these MSS. ¹⁵ This magnavi is not available in any other library in Iran. Pakistan and Bharat where the Tuhfatul Irāqayn was published many times, have no copy of this Magnavi . European libraries have not got any Magnavi of his except an un-named Magnavi of Khāqānī in Bodleian library (Oxford) ¹⁶ . It is an incomplete one containing only 636 lines . After careful examination of the Tehrān and the Bodleian MSS. we have found that both are identical. There is very little difference in the text . The title of the Magnavi does not appear on the Bodleian or the Tehrān copies. . Incidentally Ibn-i-Yūsuf (Zia Hada'iq), the cataloguer of the Kutubkhāna-i-'Alī Madrasah-i-Sipāh Sālār had come across the Preface of the Tuhfatul Irāqayn wrongly described and styled as the Khataul Gharāib. ¹⁷ As the Tuhfatul Irāqayn at no time was named as such and as the scribe wrote this name in A.H. 1033 Ibn-i-Yūsuf was inclined to believe that Khāqānī wrote this Magnavi and that its name might have been Khataul Gharāib . It has not been possible for us to find out any internal or external evidence to decide the issue, i.e. the title of the book . Any how we are in agreement with Ibn-i-Yūsuf for fixing the authorship based on the treatment, language and way of thinking, and say that it may be the production of Khāqānī .

Now the other point left for us to consider is- why this Magnavi is incomplete if it was written earlier than the Tuhfatul Irāqayn. Possibly there can be two reasons for this :

15. Fihrist (Catalogue) of Zia Hada'iq Ibn-i-Yūsuf.

(1) Khaqanî left it unfinished (2) The latter portion perished due to vicissitudes of time. The first presumption does not stand to reason, when we have seen above that the fame which Khaqanî had as a mystic writer at the time of writing the Tuhfatul Irā'ayn could not have been earned during the 40 days of writing". To all intents and purposes the Tuhfatul Irā'ayn which was still in the making, could not have gone into the hands of readers and elsewhere so quickly due to bad communication and very limited means of transport of those old days to earn for him this fame within such a short time. The comparison of the Tuhfatul Irā'ayn with the Khatmul Gharāib will make it abundantly clear that the latter one is an earlier attempt. Its language, thought and treatment indicate the same. It constitutes a good imitation of the Hadiqah. As to the second presumption, we are inclined to think that it was stolen along with some other writings in his Document Bag and the first portion came down to us in such an obscure way.

Kulliyat-i-Shirā'i, f. 69 v., the opening line of his Tuhfatul Irā'ayn runs as

سے درو تو خیرا رقی

و نہ تو خیر ملائق

آئیم کہ پیاں خیر ما

عشق و غم خیال و سرا

It is also called the Majma'ul-Bahrain

(مجموع البحرین), see the article of Schaili Khwānsārī in the Armoen

issues 6-8, vol. 18, pp. 432 - onwards.

MS No. 729 (p) - Catalogue of Per MSS. B.A.S.B. Ivanow (1924)

This magnavi is sometime styled Matla'ul Anwar, see India Office Cat., Ethe. 1531 (1).

Its subject-matter : - God, the Almighty, is the Creator of the Universe. He gives sustenance to every one . Under His order the whole world obeys the Man . The humble creation of Human Being, his ignorance and simplicity. Wisdom and its part in this world. The external manifestation unfolds the inner significance; the soul and human wisdom . The light of Faith and Darkness of Infidelity, their Co-relationship . The eminence of Man . The Perfection of His Creation .

The Khata'ul Gharāib: Comparative Study of the Tehrān and the Bodleian

The subject headings are very seldom given in those copies of MSS. The sections being usually marked simply as fasl (فصل). The Bodleian copy has got 636 lines . The initial verse of both the MSS. is the same . The final verse in the Bodleian is not the same as in the Tehrān copy .

Opening Lines in the Bodleian Copy.

سے برکتہ خاک تنگ میدان — کم باش چوں گوئی اسیرِ بخت

Opening in the Tehrān Copy .

سے برکتہ خاک تنگ میدان — کم باش چوں گوئی اسیرِ حرکان

Last lines of the Bodleian Copy .

سے روحِ توڑ علم پر کج رفت — جست بھل بہ پیشوارفت

The ending in the Tehrān Copy .

سے آب از تشنگی روانست — در گزشت شگفت نالست

The creation of the world (Tehrān Copy.)

سے این ہم محنت اندو مجبور — در قبضہ قہر اسیر و مقہور

خلق ہم کے قیدم است — از آق ہم کے عطیست

This passage on فی حرث العالم as it stands in the Bodleian Copy is the same as that of Tehran, with the omission of the following verse only :

سچوں حائے کنز خدائی دیری — کہ نیست شد و خدائی دیری

Appreciation.

This Masnavi poem of Khāqānī is written in simple and chaste language . The ideas are Islamic, based on Islamic thought and philosophy . It abounds in 'subtle points' (نکتہ) and ' parables' (لطیفہ) . This he introduced to bring home to the reader the subject . The subject matter has been split up into different sections (فصل) . Where it was found expedient Khāqānī had given explanatory poetic discourse. He has given us new constructions and phrases. Unlike the Tuhfatul Irāqayn this Masnavi has not got any biographical touches and praises for learned scholars, lords or rulers. The Sun, with its laudatory introduction as it appears in the Tuhfatul Irāqayn, does not find its place here . It is a poem which presents Khāqānī in all his Islamic and mystic glamour . It is not the Khāqānī of the panegyrics wherein he defies Islam and would like to be converted to Christianity and is over-conscious of his learning and scholarship . Here we find him just as he was taught and brought up after Islamic tradition and training, unmindful of the high place, status and learning which await him and their consequent effects on a human being resulting in high aspirations and ambitions . He is not aware of the world outside, the modern society, its beauties, and allurements.

16. Khāqānī was aware of his fame and attainment at the time of writing the Tuhfa , Asi edition 399.

17. The verses are given as these appear in the MSS.

Chapter V (a) Favourite Metres of Khāqanī

۳۶

To suit his purpose, subject and occasion he always selected and adopted such metres for his poems as would create effect, cadence and air.¹ The most popular and pet metre with him was Ramal (رمل). In its different measures and forms he had composed over 43 panegyrics and strophe-poems. There are 7 strophe poems and 36 panegyrics in this metre. In all 31 poems have been composed in Muzārā (مضارع) - out of these 2 are strophe poems and remaining 29 are panegyrics; in Mansarah (منسرح) one strophe and 16 panegyrics; in Khafīf (خفيف) with its different forms there are 3 strophe poems and 12 panegyrics; Muḥbatath (محبت) in all 9 panegyrics; in Rajaz (رجز) 2 strophe poems and 6 panegyrics; in Taqārib (تقارب) 6 panegyrics and in Sarī (سریح) one panegyric only.

From the point of view of a single metre piece the greatest number of Panegyrics and strophe poems are written in

(Bahr-i-Muzāra' Muthamman Akḥṣab Makfūf Mahzūf) بحر مضارع مثمن احرى مكوف محذوف
Its feet are

فعلون فاعلاتن فاعيل فاعل

The poems on pp. 11, 111, 220, 247, 334, 14, 140, 326, 314, 382, 77, 158, 253, 317, 385, 79, 181, 243, 320, 383 are written in this. Next metre favourite with Khāqanī was (Bahr-i-Ramal Musaddas Maqsūr) بحر رمل مرقع مقصور

Its feet being

فاعلاتن فاعلاتن فاعلاتن

The poems on pp. 102, 148, 158, 163, 297, 303 are composed in this.

1. Both Rasūlī and Naval Kishore editions give metres of some poems.

The metres employed in his odes and fragments are the common ones used in those days, and are in addition to the above metres. Subsequent ode writers used them mostly. Some of these metres found less popularity with the later poets. In fact these metres were especially those which were used in Arabic.

His Masnavi the Tuhfatul 'Iraqayn is written in the metre called - Hazaj Musaddas Akhrab Maqbuz (مترع مقبوض).

Figures of speech and rhetoric Khagani used

Khagani was fond of using figures of speech and rhetoric in his poems like Iaff-va-Nashr; (twisting and dispersing) that is assigning each word to other used conjointly; Talmih (allusions); Iahtiqaq (etymologically connected words); Seyaq-ul-Adad (figures used consecutively or otherwise); Ibham (ambiguity); Tazmin (utilizing others or one's ^{own} verses); puns and Tajnis-i-Khatti and Tajnis-i-Lafzi (other figures of speech connected with form and writing of words). His knowledge of history and fiction is very profound as we make out from historic events and characters used in his writings.

Following the tendency of the period, he has used a particular word, say Subah, Shama' or Aina like Mujir in each line of a poem. In another poem he has expressed his theory of duality using the word (٢) two, in most of the lines and tried to profess his theory of keeping double sets of each thing, say two cups of wine, two cup-bearers, two beloveds and so on. He has written Sugand Nama using Bay (ب) in most of the lines.

2. Diwan p. 206 - 6 Two Kaba - p. 155.

3. Diwan pp. 24-25; 51-57.

Some of his poems have got only rhymes (qafiyah) and no separate ending word called Radif. While other poems have got two, three, four or even five ending words (Radif) appearing in each verse. These serve as additional restrictions on writing. Some time just to put more force or stress a set of words has been repeated twice as Radif such as

Some of his words have lost the import in which he used them, such as, Dēv-Dilī (دورلی) which he used in the good sense of 'bravery' has just the opposite sense now-a-days. He has coined new phrases such as (سوماتِ ظلم) Sonnat-i-Zulm, (شترخجلی) Gnuuz-i-Bukhl wherein he has used the name of a notorious wild tribe to express miserliness.⁴

The peculiar way of using takhallus with Khāṣanī is that he brings it in the last but one line of his odes. By using takhallus a poet puts his seal or brand, more or less permanent, on the composition he produces.

SUBJECTS DEALT BY KHĀṢANĪ

Customs, Manners and Superstitions

Sher-bahā, Taigh-i-Khatib, Faqa, Shārdam, Jalajul, Al-Hamdo-lillāh, Chū mōm-i-mahram-i-ghosh, Zuqqah, Muzhrah, Khayah-o-bat-i-Nān, Tarāzū-i-naranjād Herz-i-Duzd, Shakar-rēz, Raughan-i-Misrī, Chap, Shāil, 'ūd-ul-Salīb, Yaqūt, Hāi-tabb, Dafa-i-'Alaynūl-Kanal.

II. Fauna and Flora, Hides and Skins, Prescriptions and Dishes, Games and Sports and Hunting Paraphernalia:

Darakhtak-i-Dana, Kalūchah, Halūa, Khawarah, Sikba, Aba, Mashkūfah, Fanak, Gundus, Kaymukht, Safun, Badshah, Sarī, Parvanah, Sam, Karbasah, Asb-i-Katīl, Asb-i-Tadak, Muzmar, Ashqar, Bēyore, Sīkh-Kabab, Muzavvar, Gulshakar, Bad-zan, Dast-Khān, Shash zarbat,

4 More words: 473; 255; 265 (continued)

Nanat, Far-Farah, Mashk, Kab, Sar-i-Mamak, Khurd-Chahak, Nadab,
Daydek, 'Urī, Harrah, Sitarah, Suradiq, Shayb, Paikan-i-miqrazah,
Dahrah, Yaghlaq, Sakzan, Tarkash, Payk-i-Paykanī, Yasaq.

III. Rivers, Canals and Ocean, Places and Countries, Tribes and Nations, Mountains, Lovers and Beauties, Musical Terms :

Atil, Khazar, Itil, Arran, Saqlab, ~~Khazar~~, Temghaj,
Yasidiyan, Khafajah, Mount Juri, Mount Ahad, Ab-khaz, Kur,
Azarbaijan, Shamakhi, Baku, Larah-garan, Khazran, Shabran, Badakhsh,
Sahta, Kasahgar, Pardah-i-Anqa, Bahavi, Jalajal, Navy, Rubban,
Qadias-iyah, Sana, Nahiyah, Minarah, Kufah, Magh-had, Safura,
Muhammad, 'Isa, Moryan, Yusuf, Yaqoob, Ibn-i-Akuná, 'Arinah
(Arizah), Ganj-i-Ravan.

IV Painters and Paintings, Poets, Authors, Historians and
Scientists, Saints, Churches and Religious Books, Ministers,
Kings and Queens and Personages including Shahnama's Characters, and
Astrologers, Astronomers and Books thereof, Musicians and Instruments
Instruments, Prophets and Un-Islamic Movements, Stages to Mecca,
Allusions, Metaphors and Similes :

Tang-lūshā, Artang, Angaleyūn, Qurqūf, Azādah Sar,
Zobāldah, Qīdāfah, Āsiyah, Rostan-o-Behrān, Jāfar Barmakī,
Fazl-i-Rabī, Arastū, Āsif, Attāb, Najurmak, Makhṛān, Bitrīq,
Nitrān, Hēkal, Tursikus, Unqaf, Hastōre, Jāthlīq, Āzar, Qustā,
Shamas, Boherā, Haft Mardān, Rabāa, Sārah, Jamshēd, Sulaimān,
Arslān, Bughṛā, Ibn-i-Yamīn, Yahūdā, Scobā, Iskandar, Firāun,
Arjash, Khizir Khān, Khat-i-Azraq, Ankabūt-āsa, Farr-i-Simurgh,
Ātsah, Ismāīlī, Sadrah-i-Mashīn, Shāh-i-Idrīs, Rasmī-Yaz-Dash,
Tan, Haft, Khatwan,

۲۰۲۷۶ کائنات و کائنات : کائنات و کائنات : ۲۰۱۵۰ : کائنات
۲۰۳۰۲ : کائنات و کائنات : ۲۰۳۴۰ : کائنات

V. Mansions and Buildings, Dresses and ornaments, beauty aids and Perfumes, Tonics, Drinking Vessels and wines

Tab-Khanah, Sūr, Bād-purva, band-i-baqalanī, Janāb, Sad-i-Bādūlbāb, qasr-i-Misra, Aivān-i-Madāin, Khās-Khanah, Sitārah, Davāj, Ghūkhā, Tīlsān, Burnas, Khāra, Rōnīn, Rash, Khāshtak, Mahalnai, Parūz, Gūday, Qavārah, Jalbāb, Purs, Tutq, Harhaft, Hanāz wasma, Surkhāb, Safaid-ab, Zark, Ghālia, Surma, Mughra, Nakhōnbar, Mashghatah, Musk-i-Khata, Musk-i-Tibattī, Oil of Egypt, Muthalath, Lakh-lakhah, Abōrah, Karbas, Dībā, Rahīq, Ma-ul-Vard, Javaresh, Gavārish, Ghūrah, Ghīr-i-Madīr.

(b) Khāqanī as Prose Writer.

His Epistolary Writing

Khāqanī was a master writer both in prose and poetry. In his own estimation he was by far a better prose writer than Sahban, the famous Arabic writer of Vail (وائل) tribe, as it appears from his following verse : -

سے رشکِ نظم من خورد حسان بن ثابت را جگر — دستِ نثر من زینر سبحان وائل راقما

In those days Khāqanī was recognised both in Iraq⁵ and Khorasan as "the King of Prose" by men of learning. Khāqanī writes : -

سے بادشاهِ نظم و نثرم در خراسان و عراق — کای دانش را زینر نظم و نثرم آورده ام

No one could compete with him, -

سے آسمان داند کہ کای نظم و نثر — بزرگین چون من میرزا کس نبرد

In fact Khāqanī wielded a powerful pen in this domain of writing.

سے مقتدری نظم و نثرم چون قلمِ گرمِ بخت — خود قلم گوید کز این دست باشد مقتدر است

His prose compositions which have come down to us through posterity are very meagre. These mainly fall in two categories: 1. Epistles; and 2. Preface, that is, the Introduction to his Tuhfatul-Iraqayn.

His Prose Style.

Khagani was known chiefly as a panegyric writer . No one has paid due attention to his prose composition . His style in prose as manifested by the letters is simple, forceful and elegant. At times it is ornate (سج) and rhythmic (مرجز). Some time ideas and thoughts he explains in more than one clause, some time with allusions and references . With the diction also goes the credit of selection of appropriate phrases and idioms most suited to the context but never too much of them like the Hazrat-i-wassaf or like the author of the Muqarrat-i-Hamidi . Unlike the fashion of his time he does not embarrass us with long epithets, titles or over-woven prefaces and over-drawn endings of letters . In this respect departing from the convention and established rule of letter-writing, he can safely be called an innovator. He is not boring or cumbersome . To be more effective he brings in fables, stories, parables and verses. He describes the events and occasions vividly, in their true colour, and without exaggeration . His is the learned and masterly style which speaks of the author . Khagani combines the verbose diction and style of Hazrat-i-wassaf, Qazi Hamiduddin of the Muqarrat-i-Hamidi, and simple and chaste style of the Chahar Maqala .

Letter writing is an art. This art was taught to each and every student of literature in those days . In fact some followed it as a profession . Almost all the enlightened and civilised cities of yore had one or more letter writers and scribes

5. Dewan p. 18 p. 425. سرخ گفتن بیک ختم است سیرانی و میری؟
6. Ibid p. 263. pp. 433. P. 1. نک را بن کر میگوید - نجافانی بخاتانی
7. Ibid p. 625. 447 P. 13.
8. Ibid p. 89. Cf. Dewan p. 180, p. 225, on his own poetry. س نیست آفیم سخن را بهتر از من پادشاه
- p. 343 ls. 13 & 16 p. 393 ls. 1 & 2 . p. 411. 1.8
- p. 345 ls. 9 & 12.

The society was thought to be incomplete without them . Their need was all the more felt by the masses for communication of thoughts and feelings when education and learning were not widely spread . Khaqani had not pursued it as a profession but as a man of letters . Unfortunately his letters have not been collected as yet and the world does not possess any collection or compilation like that of the Must-i-Abul Fazi or the Must-i-Alamgiri from Khaqani .

It is true that Khaqani's name spread all over and men of learning and other princes yearned to correspond with him . He too thought it his good fortune to receive letters and send replies to those who never met him . The subject-matter, some time literary, some time personal, varied from time to time and from man to man . Khaqani had a large number of friends and admirers from different walks of life and must have written and received a good number of letters . Even poems and fragments were received and written in reply by way of pen-friendship . All these compositions go to prove the wealth of his ideas, versatility, alacrity of mind and command over the language . This also manifests his sense of attachment, friendship and gratitude, even towards those who never saw him but held him in esteem . Among such correspondence can be cited the messages and poems exchanged between Khaqani and scholars or rulers.

His Writings

<u>Source</u>		<u>Number of Letters .</u>
<u>Safinah-i-Gohristan</u>	3	3.
<u>Bibliothèque Nationale</u>		7.
<u>Khuda Baksh Oriental Public Library,</u> Patna (Bharat)		2.
<u>Kutub-Khana-i-Madrassah-i-Ali Sipah Salar</u> (Tehran)		A few letters.

Epistle No. 1 was written on the sad demise of the Prince, the son of Shirwan-Shah. Khaqani has consoled the bereaved father and also described the futility of human life .

Epistle no. 2 is a short one . From that we learn that Khaqani prayed for the long life of the King (Shirwan-Shah) at Ka'ba during his Hajj and requested the saints who lived at the holy places for the same .

Epistle No. 3 is the reply to the King's letter which he wrote in his own hand to Khaqani and wanted to persuade him to come back and give up the idea of pilgrimage .

Epistle No. 4 written to Imam Nasiruddin Abu Ishaq, Ibrahim al-Bakouf .

Epistle No. 5 to Malik Saifud-Din Shah-i-Armin Bekternour;

Epistle No. 6 to 'Alaud-Din Muhammed bin Ahmad al-Mastaufi al-Mervezi .

Epistle No. 7 to Imam Sherfud-Din Rohul-Islam al-Harvi;

Epistles No. 8 - 10 to unknown addresses .

Epistle No. 11 is addressed to Maulana-i-Kum¹⁰. We take it as spurious as Maulana Rumi died in A. H. 1273 in Konich and Khaqani died much earlier .

Epistle No. 12 is addressed to a friend .

A few of his letters are available in the Kutub Khanah-i-Ali Madrasah-i-Sipah Salar, Tehran (Iran) .

9. See the Monthly Armaghan - issue No. II Urdu Bahisht, year XII (1310 Shamsi) and No. III of year XII and No. 8, Vol. XVI.

C) KHAQANI AS ARABIC WRITER

Khaqani had a Diwan in Arabic which has not come down to us . It was either stolen or perished . His extant Arabic writings are a few panegyrics and fragments . We may consider it a credit for an Iranian to write verses in Arabic in the style Khaqani has done, but it was definitely an essential part of acquisition of learning and knowledge in those days to have a mastery over the lingua franca of the time . Of course, writing verses in it was an extra qualification and attainment . From his Arabic contributions we find that Khaqani is quite at home in Arabic and wields a powerful pen . He can produce any number of verses without showing any sign of fatigue or common place . He writes through inspiration and employ Arabic metres. Some time he is verbose¹¹ . Figures of speech, the Quranic ideas and other ornamentations abound in his poetry .¹²

10. For epistles 4 - 10 refer f. 34 b, f. 36 b, f. 37 b, f. 38 b, No. 1232.

Cat. Bibl. Nat., Paris.

11. Page 929 lines 1 & 9; Page 930, line 3; Page 931, lines 1, 3 & 4; 13-18;

12. Page 932, lines 2, 7; Page 933, lines 3 (Quranic idea), 4 & 12-21; Page 935, lines 1, 4-7, 8-9, 11 and 14-20; p. 936, lines 1, 3; 16-17; 23; Page 937, lines 1-2; page 938, lines 6-11; 13; page 940, lines 5, 8-21; Page 941, lines 2, 13 & 15 - 20; Page 942, lines 1-3, 5, 6, 7; 18-21; Page 943, lines 1, 5, 8-9; 11, 13; 14-19; Page 944, lines 3-5; Page 944 lines 3-5; Page 934, lines 6-21; Page 935, lines 1-7; Page 936, and 936, except 7 of 936 . Page 940, lines 8 -21; Page 940, lines 1-9; 10-12; Page 941 full and page 942, lines 1- 13.

13. Page 931, lines 22; Page 932, lines 1, 7, 17 - 21; Page 933, lines 1, 5-6; 8-9.

The references in this page and those in the following are of those of the Diwan (Rasūlī edition) .

He is bold in his praise but never lavish. He portrays his patron precisely but never caricatures him¹³. To his rivals in poetry he is unsparing. He believes that these "sons of vices", "these thieves of his ideas" may grow like mushrooms but they would perish soon. In some poems we find him following the beaten track composing poems within the prescribed limits of old days. In this respect he strikes us like poets of early period. Closely following the style of that period he will compare his ladylove to the young deer and her eyes to the jet black eyes of a she-camel of high¹⁴ breed. His watchful eyes will take interest in things like Palūzāq of Baghda¹⁵ and he would start his journey with this sweet dish as a good omen. He believes in self-control but when one is young it will not be out of fitness of things to allow the young passions to have their ways for some time. His approach to life is recorded well in his poems¹⁶. Some time we find him giving us details of his own life which have got biographical value. 17

Khaqani's knowledge of the Qurān and Islamic literature was very profound. In his writings he has quoted verses (Sūrah), extracts and the Qurānic ideas liberally. Some of the parts of the Qurān and verses used by him are :-

Part of the Qurān - I - Sūrah - Fātiha, Baqara : III - Baqara, Al-i-Imrān : IV - Al-i-Imrān : VII - A-'raf, An'ān, Na'ida : IX Anfāl, A-'raf : X-Tūba or Barāāt : XI - Tūba or Barāāt, Yūnus : - XII - Hūd : XIII - Ra'd, Ibrāhīm, Yūsuf : XIV - Hīj, Nahl : XV - Kahf, Banī Isrā'īl : XVI - 'Alī, Maryum, Kahf : XVIII - Nūr, Mominūn : XIX - Naml, Shu'arā' : XX - Qasas : XXII - Yāsīn, Ahzab : XXIII - Saffat : XXIV - Hā mim, Qamar, Al 'Mumin : XXV - Zukhruf : XXVI Qāf, Muhammed : XXVII - Najm, Raḥmān : XXVIII - Hashr, Tahrim : XXIX Qalam, Muddaththir : XXX - Zilzal, Lail,

Shams, Tîn, Takwîr, Nabaa, Ikhlâs, Dhuha, Buruj, Nasir, Fîl, Nas,
Adiyat, Inshiqaq, Infitâr, Balad. 18

His Arabic Writings.

Rasûlî and Naval Kishore Editions compared .

Rasûlî Edition .

In Rasûlî's edition the Arabic portion is spread over 16 pages only from 929 - 944 . There are in all 316 lines. No prose piece .

1. Biographical qasîda - from page 929 to 936	line 168
2. In praise of Baghdâd - from page 937 to 940	" 68.
3. Eulogy of Saifud Dîn Muza'ffar bin Muhammad - the Ruler of Derband. 940 to 941	" 23.
4. In praise of Malikul Azam, Ale' ud Dîn 941 to 943	" 45.
5. Qitâ on his own poetry and his place 943	" 6.
6. Qitâ in praise of Fâlûzaj 944	" 2.
7. Qitâ in praise of 'Izzud Dîn 944	" 3.

Naval Kishore Edition .

In Naval Kishore Edition the Arabic writings of Khaqânî are spread over 148 pages from 1425 - 1573 containing 514 lines . There are two pieces of prose as well comprising 45 lines . The title page is in addition to these pages, occupied by interliner, marginal notes and Persian translation of the text.

Page 944, lines 1-2; Page 938, lines 12-20. Page 932, lines 10-13; Page 930, line 21 . Page 930, lines 6 - 13; Page 931, lines 11-19; Page 932, lines 2-15; Page 933, lines 1-3 and 7-9.

Page 933, lines 13,17; Page 934, lines 1-4; Page 940, lines 8,13-14, 19-20; Page 943, lines 14, 18-19; Page 944, lines 3-5.

For sûrah used refer Dînan

pp. 2,6,7,9,10, 15, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 29, 31, 33, 50, 51, 54, 56, 57, 66, 67, 73, 78, 93, 99, 103, 104, 188, 190, 191, 193, 200, 202, 203, 208,216, 252, 218, 240, 241, 252, 253, 254, 257, 272, 277, 291,

<u>Contents</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Total Lines.</u>
1. A piece of prose xxx	1426 - 1429	16
1. In praise of God	1430 - 39	28
3. In praise of the Prophet: Subdivided into different parts. Different limbs and qualities and name of the Prophet is eulogised along with his dignity on the Day of Resurrection.	1440 - 78	76
4. In praise of the high mansion	1478 - 93	28
6. In praise of the Grand Vizir	1493 - 1501	16
6. On sorrow and affliction (Questions and Answers)	1501 - 20	69
7. The same continues under second opening	1520 - 24	22
8. Three lines in praise of eyes and face	1524 - 25	5
9. The third opening line in praise of Qazî-ul Qazzat (Chief Justice)	1525-28	15
10. From here the poet turns towards the end	1528 - 30	10
11. In praise of Shîrwân	1530 - 31	8
12. A piece of prose in praise of Muḥammad Yahyâ'	1532 - 33	29
13. In praise of Muḥammad Yahyâ' ḥan, the Glory of the World and Faith	1535 - 37	13
14. In praise of Baghdâd	1537 - 46	64
15. In praise of one who is liberal, Just, Glorified and Merciful	1547 - 48	12
16. On praise	1549 -	6
17. On the preceding subject	1550 -	6
18. Autobiographical	1551 - 53	17

(Contd. from page No.)

892, 293, 295, 300, 301, 307, 316, 317, 324, 332, 334, 336, 337, 343, 348, 369, 380, 383, 392, 403, 422, 423, 441, 455, 460, 460 & 517, 474, 489, 519, 562, 563, 592, 620, 628, 641, 644, 662 .

<u>Contents</u>	<u>Page.</u>	<u>Total lines</u>
19. In praise of the land of 'Iraq	1552 - 54	7
20. In praise of Shah Muza'ffar-ud-Din the Just King	1554 - 61	45
21. Autobiographical	1562 -	6
22. In praise of <u>Kha'il</u> bin <u>Hafí</u>	1563 - 63	3
23. -do-	1563 - 64	6
24. A Qita in praise of Imam <u>Shafí</u>	1564 - 65	4
25. A quatrain	1565 -	2
26		
to	1566 - 70	3
33		
		4
		3
		6
		9
		2
		2
		3
34. Tagmín	1571 -	6
35 Two Qita	1572 - 73	{ 4
		{ 6

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CONCLUSION

A critical study of Khaqani and his poetry has been presented, the different aspects of his poetry analysed. As a panegyric-writer we have compared him with others and found him one of the best. As an elegy-writer he holds a unique position in Persian literature. We agree with our Persian contemporary Aqa-i-Badi'uz Zaman and say that Khaqani was the best among his contemporaries as an Ode-writer. Khaqani never aspired to be a good satirist. His epistolary writings prove that he could write in a forceful style, both simple and elegant. In his own estimate he was the master of his age, both in prose and poetry.

He is only next to Firdausi in expression of patriotic feelings in his poetry. He paved the way for Hafiz by writing ghazals, both lyrical and mystical. The didactic and moral poems, specially his quatrains are the lines which Sadi developed later on. His treatment of the subjects is lively, true and faithful.

He has been blamed of being stiff, high flown and pedantic. But the fact is that a very small portion of his works falls under this category. The beauty of the poet is that the language and style in which he wrote some 800 years ago and the thoughts and ideas he expressed, can be understood even to-day. He lived in an age when learning and knowledge flourished; when composition like the Chahar Maala was not considered to be a belles-lettres.

He being fond of innovations, gave us new constructions and new words. we do not get tired of reading him even though he expresses the same thoughts, in new words and new style. Khaqani is master of his own style which was imitated by a number of poets with little success. Some time Sansai was his ideal. Soon he found himself a better writer than he. The psychology that 'a poet is a ruler of his age' worked strongly in his period resulting in clashes with the autocrat monarchs.

1998rites Reg. id catwat.

سیدین دیک آکره ترا شبر اکر
بر نظم و نثر کرد مرا نیز شبر بار

Contd:

A 153272

১০কা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয় কলকাতা
নিখাণ্ডে কলকাতা

•

He was bold in his action and thought . He never
surrendered to anybody . Slavery was repugnant to him . Persian
literature cannot give us any freedom-loving poet of that order
in that age . The voluminous works he produced have enriched
the Persian language and literature immensely and he can safely
be taken as one of its benefactors . For all this he was rightly
rewarded and the Caliph gave him audience - the honour which no
other Persian poet attained .

شہرِ امان داد و من جا دادش یعنی سخن
نانِ او قسمی است فانی، جان من گنجِ بامست

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Abul Faraj Rūnī

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Adīb-i-Sābir

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Ahmed Sīngar

'Am 'aq

Anwarī

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	Qaṭṛān of Tabrīz
	Rashīd Waṭwāt
	Rashīdī
	Rūdakī
	Sa ¹² nai
	Sūzanī
	Shifā ¹² ī (Hakīm)
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the management of Munshī 'Aḥmad Yab .
5. Kulliyat-i-Khāqānī. Lithograph edition in two volumes published
Naval Kishore Edited by Syed Ṣadiq 'Alī, Ghālib
of Lucknow. Three impressions: 2nd. print in
1891 A.D. Lucknow - Cawnpore.
6. -Nāmī of Allāhābād. Nāmī also published a commentary of a
few panegyrics in Urdu, with text which
are now rare.

NOTE : -(i) Professors of some colleges of Lahore published a few panegyrics with their English translations as help books for the Punjab University students.

(ii) 'Abdūl Qāder, the Cataloguer of Firoze Collection, Bombay speaks of Iran edition of the Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyn which no other Iranian writer has mentioned.

(iii) We have not come across any edition (complete) of the Tuhfatul 'Irāqāyn from Lahore .

(iv) 'Alī 'Abdūr Rasūlī, the editor of the then Dīwān-i-Khāqānī refers to some Bombay edition of the Dīwān which inspite of our best efforts . It has not been possible to locate.

7. Poems of Khagānī

(Extracts)

R. A. S. Bengal, 1845 A.D.

N O T E : - we could not find the book in the society nor in the Catalogue of the books of the Society.

8. Maṣā'id-i-Shakāṭ
ḥeṣratnā

Part one being the commentary in Urdū of the course of Allāhābād University. The second part not published author being annoyed by "literary thieves" who reprinted the first part under their names, which are not disclosed.

9. Sharḥ-i-Tuhfatul
'Irāqayn.

'Abdūl Barī, Āsī of Lucknow, commentary in Urdū. Only difficult portions are explained. Published by Āsī from Naval Kishore Press Lucknow.

10. Tuhfatul 'Irāqayn.

(1) Edited by Munshī Abūl Hasan, Agra, 1855 A.H.

(11) Naval Kishore edition, Lucknow. Two impressions. Cannepore

11. Tuhfa-i-Shihān

Asghar 'Alī, Ruḥī of Islāmiya College, Lahore, published in A.D. 1899; a commentary in Urdū of one panegyric ending in "Shāhen"

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3. shādīyābādī

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A.S.B.no.459-60; Bk.no.34-35; Br. Mu.661.

Anonymous

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5. Anonymous.

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7. Lahiji.

Letter of Lahiji.

A fairly long letter to some "Dear Friend" who was not appreciator of Khaqani. This is preserved in the Bihar Library (the National Library, Calcutta) in 1888. See No. 255. It is bound up with the Turkish Dictionary - LUHAT-I-TURKI by Faal'ullah Khan printed in Calcutta A.H. 1240. This MS. is incomplete Lahiji has explained something like 22 couplets of Khaqani in this letter. It was written personally by 'Ali Lahiji who gives his real name as - 'Ali Muhi. Text is bit corrupt. Date of its composition or despatch is not given. But we know that Lahiji was in Jahangir's time.

8. 'Abdul Wahhab.

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Madrasah-i-Sipah Salar-i-ʿAlī, Tehran
Ibn Yūsuf (Zīā Nādāīq), 1314-18 Shamsī

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p. 116. Vol. 1 Page 600.

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Āuqā'at-i-Ālamgīrī

Safīna-i-Aūliya

• - Khushgū

Sarw-i-Āzād

Seven Golden Odes of Pagan Arabia.

Sharaf Nama / Sikander Nama/

shahid-i-Ṣadiq

Sharh-i-Khaqanī

Shi'rūl Ājam

Shīrīn Khusrāu

Subh-i-Ṣadiq

Sāyirūl Aūliya

Sawātī'ul Anwar

Suhuf-i-Ibrāhīmī

Tazkira-tūl Aūliya

Tazkirah-i- Ālī Hazīn

- Daghistanī

- Husainī

- Fakhrūd Dīn Marvazī

Tazkira-tūl- Maasirīn

- 'ush Shu'ara'

- 'ush Sha'ara'

Tazkira - i- Samī

- Mīr Taqī Kāshī

- Taqīyuddīn Kāshī

- Makhzanūl Gharāīb

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Ghulam Ālī Āzād

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Nizāmī

Ṣadiq b. Ṣalīh Isfahānī

See Sharh in MSS

Shiblī Nōmānī

Nizāmī

Muhammed b. Muhammed Isfahānī

'Alī Ibrāhīm Khan

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Husain

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