Din, the author of the Maqamat, with whom he exchanged letters in verse. Of these some graceful specimens are given by Zhukovski (pp. 34–37), including the well-known verse:—

“This grasshopper’s foot to the Court of Sulaymân
It shames me to send, and I ask for his pardon;
I fear to imagine the scorn of the basils
For this thorn of acanthus I send to their garden.”

Amongst the poets he seems, according to the Ta’rikh-i-Guzida and the Haft Iqlîm, to have especially admired and imitated Abu’l-Faraj-i-Rdnî, who was a native of Lahore and the panegyrist of the Kings of Ghazna, and whose death took place not earlier than A.H. 492 (= A.D. 1099). The princes, rulers, and men of note most frequently mentioned by Anwarl include Sulṭân Sanjar, Abu’l-Fath Tâhir b. Fakhru’l-Mulk, the grandson of the Nidhâmî-l-Mulk, Sulṭân Tughril-tigîn, ’Imâdu’d-Dîn Flûdshâhî, the Governor of Balkh, Khwâja-i-jâhâm Majdu’d-Dîn Abu’l-Hasan ’Imrânî, Sayyid Abû Tâlib, and the above-mentioned Ḥamîdû’d-Dîn. Zhukovski concludes this chapter with a discussion of Anwarl’s different styles, as exemplified in the qaṣīda, the ghażal, the quatrain, the satire, and the fragment; a selection of his verses illustrating the contempt which he felt for the art of poetry; and the metrical criticisms composed by Majdû’d-Dîn Hamgar, Imâmî1 and another poet in reply to a question propounded to them as to the respective merits of Anwarl and Dba’hîr of Fârîyâb, whereof it need only be said that all agree in preferring the former to the latter.

The third chapter of Zhukovski’s book discusses the difficulty of Anwarl’s verse and the aids for its comprehension, especially two commentaries thereon by Muḥammad b. Dā’ud-

1 The texts of these two poems, with English translations, are given on pp. 60–64 of the tirage d’lart of my Biographies of the Persian Poets from the Ta’rikh-i-Guzida. Majdû’d-Dîn gives the date of his poem as Rajab, A.H. 674 (= A.D. 1276).
THE FOUR GREAT POETS

(Tulfa, p. 189, l. 9) with his usual frank prolixity, was a weaver, while his paternal uncle, Mírzá Káfi b. Uthmán, to whom he chiefly owed his education, was a medical practitioner. At an early age he was left, whether by the desertion or the death of his father, entirely to the care of his uncle, who for seven years acted "both as nurse and tutor," and taught him, beyond the rudiments of learning, Arabic, Medicine, Astronomy, and Metaphysics, but not, as we learn, without tears, for his relative, though actuated by the most kindly motives, was, after the fashion of his time and country, little disposed to spoil the child by sparing the rod. When Kháqání was twenty-five years of age his uncle died, being then only in his fortieth year, and thereupon the poet's general education came to an end.

His skill in the art of verse-making, however, he owed to another tutor, to wit, the old poet Abu'l-'Alá of Ganja, one of the Court-poets of Minúchihr Şirvánísháh, to whom in due course he presented his brilliant pupil, who received permission to change his pen-name from Háqíqí to the more royal style and title of Kháqání. He also gave Kháqání his daughter in marriage, a mark of favour which caused some annoyance to another of his pupils, the young poet Falaki of Shirván, who was, however, finally pacified by a gift of 20,000 dirhams, "the price," as Abu'l-'Alá remarked, "of fifty Turkish handmaidens infinitely more beautiful than Kháqání's bride. Shortly after this, however, Abu'l-'Alá, being annoyed, apparently, at certain signs of growing arrogance on Kháqání's part, addressed to him the following insulting verse:—

"My dear Kháqání, skilful though you be
In verse, one little hint I give you free:
Mock not with satire any older poet;
Perhaps he is your sire, though you don't know it!"*  

* Khanikof very appositely compares the following verse of Heine's in the Tambour-major:—

KHĀQĀNĪ AND ABU'L-ALĀ

Kháqání, furious, demanded explanations and apologies, whereupon Abu'l-Alá renewed his attack in the following lines:—

"O Afdalu'd-Dín, if the truth I should tell thee,
By thy soul, with thy conduct I'm terribly pained;
They called thee in Shirván 'the son of the joiner,'
The name of Kháqání through me hast thou gained.
Much good have I wrought thee, I trained thee and taught thee,
Enriched thee, and gave thee my daughter to wife:
Why wilt thou neglect me, and fail to respect me,
Who called thee my Master, my son, and my Life?
How often this slander wilt lay to my credit—
Black slander, of which I no memory keep?
What matter if I or another one said it?
What matter if thou wert awake or asleep?"

To this Kháqání replied with a satire of inconceivable coarseness, for which Khanikof, who publishes it with a translation (pp. 16-22), offers an apology, reminding his readers that "it is a cry of anger uttered by a Persian of the twelfth century, an epoch at which, even in Europe, language was not always remarkably chaste." Not content with accusing his former friend and master of the vilest crimes, Kháqání does not hesitate to bring against him a charge incomparably more dangerous than any suspicion of moral delinquency, declaring roundly that he is a follower of Hasan-i-Sabbáh and a confederate of the Assassins of Alamút. Khanikof is of opinion that this satire was composed, for reasons into which he fully enters, between A.H. 532 and 540 (A.D. 1138-46), and that it was about this time that

"Du solltest mit Pietät, mich duchdrückt,
Behandeln solche Leute;
Der Alte ist dein Vater, vielleicht,  
Von mütterlicher Seite."
"Since I have not permission to proceed to Khurásân
I will even turn back; I will not endure the affliction of Ray.
If leave be granted me to go back to Tabriz,
I will give thanks for the favour of the King of Ray."

He seems to have imagined that in Khurásân he would meet
with greater appreciation, for he says in a verse from the qa'ida cited above:—

\[
\text{Cihın zi man ahl-i-Khurásân hama 'anqa'd bhnad,}
\text{Man Sulaymdn-i-jihān-bān bi-Khurásân yšām.}
\]

"Since the people of Khurásân see in me a complete phaenix ('anqa'd),
I may find in Khurásân the Solomon who rules the world."

The last reference is evidently to Sanjar, who is, indeed,
explicitly mentioned a little further on; and this poem was
evidently written before the disastrous invasion of the Ghuzz
(A.D. 1154), one of the victims of which, as already mentioned,
was the learned and pious doctor Muhammad b. Yahyā, with
whom Khāqānī corresponded during his life, and whom he
mourned in several fine verses after his violent and cruel
death. That he was also in relation with the Court of
Khwárazm is proved by several panegyrics addressed to
Khwárazmshāh, and a laudatory poem (loc. cit., pp. 469–
472) on his laureate Rashídú'd-Dín Wāšwāq, who had sent
Khāqānī some complimentary verses. But after the death of
Sanjar and the desolation wrought by the Ghuzz it is unlikely
that Khāqānī any longer cherished the desire of visiting
Khurásân.

Of Khāqānī's second pilgrimage, as already remarked, we
possess a singularly full account in the rather prosaic Tuhfatu'l-
'Irāqayn, of which a lithographed edition was published in

\* At pp. 1532–1536 of the Lucknow edition of the Kulliyāt will be
found, amongst Khāqānī's Arabic compositions, a prose epistle and a poem
addressed to this great doctor.

\* See the Kulliyāt, pp. 587, 877, and 878.

KHAQĀNĪ AT IṢFAḤĀN

Lucknow in A.H. 1294. This poem is divided into five
maqālas, or discourses, of which the first consists chiefly of
doxologies, the second is for the most part autobiographical,
the third describes Hamadān, Irāq, and Baghdād, the fourth
Mecca, and the fifth and last al-Madīna. Khanikof has given
(pp. 37–41) some account of the contents (including a list of
the persons mentioned), which, therefore, I will not further
describe. Besides the Tuhfat, several of Khāqānī's finest qa'idas
were inspired by this journey, including one, justly admired,
which begins (Kulliyāt, pp. 319–321):—

\[
\text{Sar-hadd-i-bādiya 'st: rawdn bāsh bar sar-ash;}
\text{Tirydāt-i-riš kūn zi sumāmi-i-mu'ājar-ash!}
\]

"Here are the confines of the Desert: advance upon it;
And draw from its fragrant breeze healing for the spirit!"

It was on his return from the pilgrimage that Khāqānī
visited Iṣfahān, where a mischance befell him very similar
to that which befell Anwarī at Balkh. He was at first well
received, but a satirical verse on the people of Iṣfahān, com-
piled by his pupil, Mujirū'd-Dīn of Baylaqān, somewhat
injured his popularity, and called forth from the Iṣfahānī poet,
Jamālū'd-Dīn 'Abdur-Razzāq, a most abusive reply. In
order to exculpate himself from his pupil's indiscretion and
restore the Iṣfahānīs to good humour, Khāqānī composed a
long and celebrated qa'ida in praise of that city, in the course
of which he says, after describing the tributes of praise which
he had already paid it:—

\* For these verses see pp. 41–42 of Khanikof's Mémoire.

\* For the text and translation of this qa'ida, see Khanikof, pp. 93–108,
and for these verses the bottom of p. 97 and top of p. 98. Rajim, a
common epithet of the devil, is an anagram of Mujir, to whom allusion is
here made.
Rebelled against me if he dared to satirize Isfahán.
He will not rise with a white face in the Resurrection,
Because he strove to blacken the neck of Isfahán.
Why do the people of Isfahán speak ill of me?
What fault have I committed in respect to Isfahán?"

This poem, as internal evidence proves, was composed after A.H. 551 (A.D. 1156-57), probably, as Khanikof conjectures, in the following year.

On his return to Shirwán shortly after this, Kháqání, whether on account of his greatly increased self-esteem (a quality in which he was at no time deficient), or because he was accused by his detractors of seeking another patron, incurred the displeasure of Akhtísín Shirwánsháh, and was by him imprisoned in the fortress of Shábírán, where he wrote his celebrated habšíyya, or “prison-poem,” given by Khanikof at pp. 113-128 of his Mémoire. As to the length of his imprisonment and his subsequent adventures until his death at Tabrız in A.H. 582 (= A.D. 1185) we have but scanty information, but we learn from his poems that he survived his patron Akhtísín, and that he lost his wife and one of his sons named Rashíd, a child not ten years of age. Concerning the elegy in which he bewailed the loss of his wife, Khanikof speaks (p. 49) as follows:

"Of all Kháqání’s poems this is, in my opinion, perhaps the only one wherein he appears as one likes to imagine him, that is to say, as a good and sensible man. Grief causes him to forget his erudition; his verse does not glitter with expressions hard to interpret or grammatical artifices, but goes straight to the heart of the reader, and interests him in a domestic misfortune from which seven centuries separate us."

Kháqání was buried in the “Poets’ Corner” at Surkháb, near Tabrız, between Dhahbú’-d-Dín Fáryábl and Sháhúsúr-í-Ashhár, and in 1855 Khanikof was informed by two old men of Tabrız that they remembered his tomb as still standing before the great earthquake which laid most of the monuments of this cemetery in ruins. Excavations which he instituted in the following year failed, however, to produce any sign of it. Amongst the men of letters with whom Kháqání corresponded, besides those already mentioned, were the philosopher Afjálu’-d-Dín of Sawa and the poet Athfrú’-d-Dín of Akhsíkat. Other poets whom he mentions, generally in order to boast his superiority over them, are Mu’ízzá (p. 702), al-Jáhíd (Ibid., but the lithographed text absurdly reads Háfidh, and reiterates this gross anachronism in a marginal note thoroughly characteristic of Indian criticism), Abú Rashíd and ‘Abdák of Shirwán (p. 703), Qátrán of Tabrız (p. 759), Saní of Ghazná (p. 795), ‘Unsúrl and Rúdágl (p. 799).

Like Anwárr, Kháqání is essentially a qašída-writer, and it is on this form of verse that his reputation rests, though he also has a complete Dsúdán of odes, a large number of quatrains, and the mathnaví already mentioned, viz., the Tuhbátul-‘Irásíyín, besides some poems in Arabic. His style is generally obscure, extremely artificial, and even pedantic. The comparison instituted by von Hammer between him and Pindar is fully discussed and criticised by Khanikof at pp. 61-64 of his Mémoire. Kháqání’s poems are voluminous, filling 1,582 large pages in the Lucknow lithographed edition. In one very curious qašída published by Khanikof (Mémoire, pp. 71-80; Kulliyát, pp. 271-278) he makes display of all his knowledge of the Christian religion and ritual, and even proposes (though he afterwards asks God’s forgiveness for the proposal) to enter the service of the Byzantine Emperor, embrace the Christian faith, and even, should the Qaywr (Caesar) so please, “revive the creed of Zoroaster.”

Let us now turn to Nigdíni of Ganja, the third great poet.