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FALAKĪ-I-SHIRWĀNĪ:
HIS TIMES, LIFE, AND WORKS

By

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(514-c. 593 A.H. or later) (c. 593-98 A.H.?) (600 A.H.)

Farīburz Iljāk Mīnūchihīr

FARĪBURZ II GARSHĀSP

FARĪBURZ III
(c. 620-45 A.H.)

AKHSATĀN II Gushtāsp Farrukhzād II
(653 A.H.) etc.

THE KINGDOM OF SHIRWĀN

THE Shirwānshāhs of the sixth century A.H. ruled over the province of Shirwān, that is, the two districts of Shirwān proper and Gushtāsfi. The limits of this principality were the River Samūr or Nahru'l-Malik on the north, the Caspian Sea on the east, the River Kur or Cyrus on the south, and the Christian kingdom of Georgia on the west. Derbend, though temporarily subdued by Georgian aid between 565 and 570 A.H., was a state by itself: in 514 A.H., according to the *Georgian Chronicle*, Faridūn I, king of Shirwān, lost his life in a struggle with the ruler of Derbend¹; in 517 A.H., according to Ibnu'l-Athīr, the people of Derbend, being harassed by the Georgians, solicited the intervention of Sulṭān Maḥmūd²; in 553 A.H., or between 566 and 575 A.H., the poet Khāqānī addressed an ode to Sayfu'd-Dīn, ruler of Derbend³; and in a prison-poem, written with the object of regaining the confidence of Akhsatān, Khāqānī says⁴:

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, p. 364, St. Petersburg (1849).

² *Kāmilu't-Tawārikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, vol. x, p. 434; *sub anno* 517 A.H.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, p. 344, Lucknow ed., 1295 A.H.:

مانا که هست گردون دروازه بانِ دربند . اجریست آن دو نانش ز انعام شاهِ کشور
درگامِ سیفِ دین را تقدست خوانِ رضوان . ادريس ریزه خوارش و ارواح میده آور

The Lucknow ed. gives seven *bands* of this ode, pp. 343-54; but the ode addressed to Sayfu'd-Dīn belongs only to *bands* 1, 2, 3, and 5.

The date of composition of the ode is given by the reference to the pilgrimage (p. 346):

پارم بنگه دیدي آسوده دل چو کعبه . رطب اللسان چو زمزم بر کعبه افرینگر

Khāqānī performed the pilgrimage twice—in 551 A.H. (Lucknow ed., p. 514) and again in the reign of al-Mustaḥlī (566-75 A.H.), Lucknow ed., pp. 86 and 90:

من بدورِ مقتفی دیدم بدی مه بادیه . کاندرو زاب و گیا قطعِ فراوان دیده اند
بس بمهدِ مستضی امسال دیدم در تموز . کنز تبسم گاه صد نیلوفرستان دیده اند

چون ز راهِ کعبه خاقانی به یثرب داد روی . پیش صدرِ مصطفی ثانیِ حسان دیده اند

Khānikow considers that Khāqānī performed a pilgrimage in 521 A.H., but the evidence adduced contains important variants and has been wrongly interpreted. It is obvious that if Khāqānī's Sayfu'd-Dīn is identical with the Amir of Derbend, Sayfu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Khālifatu's-Sulamī, whom Abū Ḥamid al-Andalusī met between 525 and 528 A.H. (*Tuhfatu'l-Albāb*, ed. G. Ferrand, p. 85, 1925), the earlier date, i.e. 553 A.H., is preferable.

⁴ *Idem*, p. 256.

ز بندِ شاه ندارم گله معاذالله اگرچه آبِ مه من ببرد در مه آب
کجا گریزم سويِ عراق یا آلان کجا روم سويِ انخاز یا ببابالباب

God forbid, I do not complain of the fetters of the king, although he dishonoured me in the month of *Ab*.

Whither can I flee ? To 'Irāq or the *Alāns* ? Whither can I go ?
To Georgia or Derbend ?

The geographical position of *Shirwān* determines the relations of the *Shirwānshāhs*—with the *Khazars* and Derbend Amīrs on the north, the Georgian kings on the west, the Seljūq Sultāns and their Atābeks on the south, and the Russian sea-raiders or Brodniki on the east. The campaigns of the *Shirwānshāhs* were generally defensive, and conducted, when possible, by means of external aid : the Seljūqs intervene when the Georgians under David II become aggressive, and the Georgians come to the rescue when the land is ravaged by the Brodniki. The weakness of the *Shirwān* government, indeed, is self-acknowledged : the *Shirwān* coinage bears in addition to the name of the *Shirwānshāh* the name of the Caliph and also of the Seljūq Sultān. The Caliph's connection with *Shirwān* was nominal, but not so the Seljūq Sultān's. Malikshāh (465-85 A.H.) imposed an annual levy on *Shirwān* ; Sultān Maḥmūd in 517 A.H. imprisoned the *Shirwānshāh* ; and in 622 A.H. Sultān Jalālu'd-Dīn *Khawārazmshāh* reinforced with remissions the levy of Malikshāh. It was only during the later years of the reign of Minūchihr II that *Shirwān* became temporarily aggressive and this period, c. 530-44 A.H., represents, consequently, the height of *Shirwān*'s prosperity.

It is interesting to note that *شروان*, though usually pronounced *Shirwān*, was also pronounced *Sharwān*. Says *Khāqānī*¹ :

عيبِ شروان مکن که خاقاني هست از آن شهر کابتدایِ شر است
عيبِ شهري چرا کي بدو حرف کاولِ شرع و آخرِ بشر است

Speak not disparagingly of *Sharwān*, for *Khāqānī* hails from the city which begins with *Shar* (mischief).

Why criticize a city because of (its) two letters, for it represents the commencement of *Shar*' (Religious Law) and the termination of *Bashar* (mankind) ?

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 236.

Similarly, the following couplet of Falakī :

شوره شروان که جای شور و شرّ دیو بود از پری رویان ترک و ترکمان آراسته

The land of Sharwān, which was the den of the devils' intrigue and uproar, he has adorned with fairy-faced Turkish and Turkomān maidens.

with its three redundant homonymies— شور شوره ; شروان ; and تُرک تُرکمان —requires the alternative pronunciation Sharwān.

THE SHIRWĀNSHĀHS OF THE SIXTH CENTURY A.H.

The history of the Shāhs of Shirwān, as here discussed, will embrace only the sixth century of the *Hijra*, i.e. roughly the period of the poet Khāqānī, but for the sake of unity it is necessary to begin a little earlier with Fariburz I.

FARĪBURZ I

Of Fariburz I, grandfather of Falakī's patron, Minūchīhr II,¹ two sets of coins have recently been discovered.²

A

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله محمد	
رسول الله	
المقتدي بامر الله	فريرز
السلطان ملك	
شاه	

B

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله محمد	
رسول الله	الملك
المستظهر	فريرز
بالله	

¹ The dynasty, designated Kesrānīd (see *Jahān Arā*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 151a, where Minūchīhr II is called Minūchīhr b. Kesrān), was probably founded by Muhammad b. Yazīd who seized Shirwān and Derbend about 332 A.H. (*Murūju'dh-Dhahab*, ii, 4.)

² E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidžana s prilož. ekskursa po istorii shirwanshakhov*, pp. 28-9, Baku (1923).

As the caliph al-Muqtadī ruled 467–87 A.H., and as Sultān Malikshāh ruled 465–85 A.H., the coins of set A must have been minted between 467 and 485 A.H. Further, as the caliph al-Mustazhir ruled 487–512 A.H. and as Minūchīhr I b. Fariburz I was the Shirwānshāh in 498 A.H., it is obvious that Fariburz I must have died between 487 and 498 A.H.

Proceeding now to the literary evidence, "when Malikshāh crossed over to Arrān," says al-Bundārī, "there came before him the king Fariburz, ruler of Shirwān, who had previously offered resistance; and Fariburz covenanted to pay 70,000 *dīnārs* (annually) to the royal treasury. But from time to time remissions were allowed in that sum till it stood at 40,000 *dīnārs*." ¹ A reference to the levy imposed by Malikshāh upon Fariburz I is contained in Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nasawī's *Sīratu's-Sultān Jalālī'd-Dīn Mankubirtī*, where it is stated that in the year 622 A.H. Sultān Jalālū'd-Dīn Khwārazmshāh demanded from the then reigning Shirwānshāh a tribute equivalent to "the sum previously fixed to be paid into the treasury of Malikshāh." ² In the *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī* the name of Fariburz is vaguely mentioned in several places: in the following ode, however, addressed to the sister of Minūchīhr II (i.e. the Shirwānshāh Minūchīhr II b. Farīdūn I) Khāqānī states definitely that "her grandfather, the king Fariburz, had visited Malikshāh at Iṣfahān" ³:

هرگز کس از کیان ره کعبه نرفته بود تو رفته راه کعبه و فخر کیان شده
آن آرزو که جان منوچهر داشته تو یافته بصدق و منوچهر جان شده
این طرفه بین که دست برادر فشانده تخم همشیره برگرفت بر و شادمان شده

¹ M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoudes de l'Iraq*, Leyden (1889), Ar. text, p. 140:

وَكَانَ هَذَا الْقَرَارُ عَلَى شُرَوَانٍ مِنْ عَهْدِ السُّلْطَانِ مُلْكشَاهِ بْنِ الْبِ اسْلَانِ فَاتَهُ لَمَّا عَبَرَ عَلَى آرَانَ
وَصَلَ إِلَى خِدْمَتِهِ الْمَلِكِ فَرَبْرِزِ صَاحِبِ شُرَوَانٍ بَعْدَ امْتِنَاعِهِ وَالتَزَمَ بِحَمْلِ سَبْعِينَ أَلْفَ دِينَارٍ إِلَى
الْحِزَانَةِ وَمَا زَالَتِ السَّاحِمَاتُ تَدْخُلُ فِي الْقَرَارِ إِلَى أَنْ وَقَفَ عَلَى أَرْبَعِينَ أَلْفَ دِينَارٍ

² O. Houdas, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal Ed-Din Mankobirri*, Paris (1891), Ar. text, p. 175:

فَلَمَّا مَلَكَ السُّلْطَانُ آرَانَ سَنَةَ اثْنَتَيْنِ وَ عَشْرِينَ وَ سِتْمَاةَ رَاسِلِ شُرَوَانشَاهِ أَفْرِيدُونِ بْنِ فَرَبْرِزِ
مُطَالِبًا بِالْأَتَاوَةِ الْمَقْدُورَةِ لِحِزَانَةِ مُلْكشَاهِ

Malikshāh is described as having imposed on the Shirwānshāh (i.e. Fariburz I) an annual tribute of 100,000 *dīnārs*.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7726, f. 199b; and India Office MS. No. 589, f. 181a-b. The text of the Lucknow ed., pp. 573-74, is corrupt (see *infra*, p. 6, n. 3). The ode which belongs to the "Fragments" is wanting in most MSS.

پرواز کرده جانِ منوچهر سويِ تو دیده ترا بکعبه و خرّم روان شده
 پیش آمده روانِ فریدون گهرشان تا زان گهر زمین علمِ کاویان شده
 جدّ تو نیز شاهِ فربرز رفته هم دیده درِ ملکشه و در اصفهان شده

None of the Kayānians ever went to the Ka'ba; you went to the Ka'ba and became the pride of the Kayānians.¹

You have truly realized the longing which the life of Minūchihir entertained; and (so) you have become life's heavenly countenance.

Behold this wonder: the brother sowed the seed and the sister gathered in the fruit with joy.

The soul of Minūchihir flew towards you, saw you in the Ka'ba and became happy.

Towards you came the soul of Farīdūn scattering jewels: because of these jewels the land has become the standard of Kāwah.²

Your grandfather, the king Fariburz, had also set out on a journey, had entered the hall of Malikshāh, and had visited Iṣfahān.³

Now as the sister of Minūchihir II was the grand-daughter of Fariburz I, the contemporary of Malikshāh, Minūchihir II himself must have been the grandson of this Fariburz I. On the other hand, we know from coins

¹ According to Falakī (*Diwān*, couplet 934), the Shirwānshāhs were descended from Āraḡh (b. Kay Kubād) and Bahrām; according to al-Bayḏāwī (*Nizāmu't-Tawārīkh*, 674 A.H., Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1859, f. 37b), the Shirwānshāhs were descended from Bahrām Chūbīn. Al-Bayḏāwī is followed in 892 A.H. by Dawlatshāh (Browne's ed., p. 71), in 1002 A.H. by Amin Ahmad-i-Rāzī (*Haft Iqlīm*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203, f. 390b), and in 1193 A.H. by Luṭf 'Alī (*Ātaḡh-kadah*, India Office MS. No. 2929, f. 28a).

In Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Ghaffārī's *Jahān Ārā* of 971 A.H. (Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 151a), in Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Khākī's *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* of 1019 A.H. (Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 335a), and in Mirza Muḥammad's *Jannātu'l-Firdaws* of 1126 A.H., the Shirwānshāhs are regarded as the descendants of Nūshirwān.

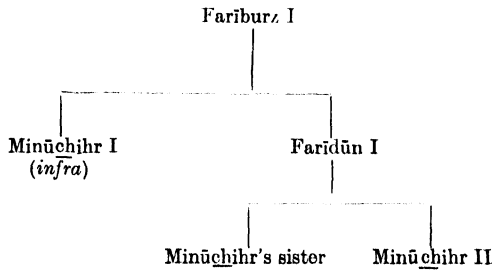
² The Sāsānian banner, named the "*dirafsh-i-Kāwīān*" after the flag of the blacksmith Kāwah who overthrew the usurper Dāhḡāk, was so richly garnished with gems that it was valued, when captured at Qādisīyah, at a hundred thousand or even a million pieces. Ṭabarī, *Annals*, ed. de Goeje, i, p. 2337.

³ The text of the Lucknow ed.:

جدّ تو نیز شاهِ فربرز رفته هم سالارِ شامِ پیش تو سالارِ خوان شده
 is a corruption of the following:

جدّ تو نیز شاهِ فربرز رفته هم دیده درِ ملکشه و در اصفهان شده
 تو کرده آن سفر که ضامنِ دارِ جنت است سالارِ شامِ پیش تو سالارِ خوان شده

and the testimony of Khāqānī and Falakī that Minūchīhr II was the son of Farīdūn I. Consequently, Fariburz I was the father of Farīdūn I—the genealogical tree being as follows :



MINŪCHĪHR I

Fariburz I left two sons, Minūchīhr I and Farīdūn I, both of whom came in turn to the throne. Of Minūchīhr I the only record extant is a coin recently acquired by the Ermitage Museum.

Minūchīhr ibn Farīburz

Obv.	Rev.
محمد رسول الله	الملك
المستظهر بالله	منوچهر
سلطان محمد	بن فریدرز

The caliph al-Mustaẓhir ruled from 487 to 512 A.H., and Sultān Muḥammad b. Malikshāh, the Seljūq from 498 to 511 A.H. ; therefore, in 498 A.H. Minūchīhr I was the Shāh of Shirwān. Further, as Farīdūn I was killed in 514 A.H.,¹ it is obvious that some time between 498 A.H. and 514 A.H. the reign of Minūchīhr I terminated and of Farīdūn I began.

FARĪDŪN I

Of Farīdūn I no coins are known, but, according to the *Georgian Chronicle*, "in 1120 A.D. = 514 A.H. the rulers of Shirwān and Derbend having come to blows, Afrīdūn was killed and the people of Shirwān

¹ *Infra*.

cut to pieces”¹—a statement corroborated by Khāqānī who calls Farīdūn “a martyr”.² The claim to distinction of Farīdūn, however, rests not on his martyrdom, but on the fact that he was the father of Minūchīhr II, the patron of the poets Abū'l-‘Alā, Khāqānī, and Falakī.

“In the year 1116 A.D. = 510 A.H.,” says the *Georgian Chronicle*, “David II, surnamed the Restorer, king of Georgia, sent his daughter Cata to Greece to marry the son of the Emperor. Previously, he had sent his elder daughter, Tamar, in order to reign over Shirwān.”³ It will be shown hereafter that Tamar was the wife of Minūchīhr II, and that the marriage took place between 504 and 510 A.H. The alliance, however, with the Christian state of Georgia, instead of benefiting the Muslim house of Shirwān, served only as an incentive to Georgian aggression. In 1117 A.D. = 511 A.H. David II sent his son Dimitri with a strong army to overrun Shirwān. “Dimitri took the citadel of Kaladzor where he got a quantity of spoils and many prisoners, and put to flight the people of Sukmān, commander of all the forces of Persia.”⁴ The mention of Sukmān by the *Chronicle* shows that Farīdūn I must have applied to Armenia for help, for Nāṣiru’d-Dīn Sukmān (reigned afterwards as Sukmān II from 522 to 579 A.H.) was the son of Zahīru’d-Dīn Ibrāhīm Shāh-Arman, ruler of Armenia from 506 to 521 A.H. To proceed, however, with the *Chronicle*. After his exploits Dimitri returned to his father in triumph; the next two years went peacefully by; and then, in 1120 A.D. = 514 A.H., David II himself undertook a campaign against Shirwān. In February he contented himself with seizing the town of Qabalah in Derbend,⁵ but in May “overran Shirwān from Arabia-Lidjatha till Shishtlantha and Kurdewān and returned to Karthli laden with spoils”.⁶ The Georgian raid, by weakening Shirwān, incited the

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 364, St. Petersburg (1849).

² *Kulliyat-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 238, Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, f. 132b; Add. 25,018, f. 130b, etc., in an ode addressed to Queen ‘Īsmatu’d-Dīn Ṣafawtu’l-Islām, wife of Akhsatān I :

کوهرِ کانِ فریدون شهید بر فرازِ تاجِ دارا دیده ام

See also *infra*, pp. 33-34.

³ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 360, St. Petersburg (1849).

⁴ *Idem*, p. 360 and p. 381.

⁵ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 364. The *Chronicle* says “Qabalah in Shirwān”, but Qabalah was a well-known fortress in the mountains near Derbend, where, for example, Muqaddasī found a mosque on a hill. See Muqaddasī, ed. de Goeje, p. 376.

⁶ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 364; the *Armenian Chronicle*: “From Latjk up to Kurdewān and Khshtalān.” Wakhoucht has Shimghata for Shishtlantha. “I do not know these two places,” writes M. Brosset, n. 6, p. 364, “but the first one, i.e. Lidjatha, has some similarity to Laich in Shirwān, where the Tatars used to come to buy copper from the mines of Alawerd or more often from Lalwar in Georgia.”

cupidity of Derbend: war followed, and in the engagement which took place in November, 1120 A.D. = 514 A.H., Faridūn I was killed and his army cut to pieces.

MINŪCHĪHR II

Coins of Minūchīhr II were unknown at the time of the publication of Markow's *Catalogue*. These coins, recently discovered, and now in the possession of the Ermitage Museum, are of silver, small value, and defective: on the reverse is the title "al-Malik Minūchīhr b. Afridūn"; on the obverse, the name of the caliph al-Muqtafi (reigned 530-55 A.H.) with the name of the Seljūq Sulṭān obliterated, unfortunately, on all specimens.

Minūchīhr ibn Afridūn

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الملك
محمد رسول الله	منوچهر بن ا
المقتفى بالله	فریدون

Including his titles the full name of Minūchīhr II was Abū'l-Hayjā Fakhrū'd-Dīn Malik Minūchīhr b. Faridūn, *Shirwānshāh*, *Khāqān-i-Buzurg*, Kabīr or Akbar. This is borne out by references in the works of Abū'l-'Alā¹:

بغزتی که مرا با خدا یگان بود است شه زمین و زمان فخر دین ابوالهیجا
سر ملوک منوچهر چهر شاه کزو شده است زنده و فرخنده خاندان ثنا

*Khāqānī*²:

خسرو سلطان نشان خاقان اکبر کز جلال روزگارش عبده الاصغر نوید بر ملا
نام او چون اسم اعظم تاج اسما دان از انک حلقه میمنه منوچهر ست طوق اصفا

جلال ملت و تاج ملوک فخر الدین سپهر مهر منوچهر مشتری اخلاق

¹ *Infra*, p. 95.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 63 and p. 541.

and Falakī¹ :

فخرِ دین خاقانِ اکبر کاسمان چون بیندش گوید آن جاه و جلال و امر و فرمانش نگر
خسرو ایران منوچهر آنکه درشانش خرد گفت سبحان الله آن رای جهانباش نگر
هست خاقانِ بزرگ او را لقب لیکن بقدر بندگان بهتر از فغفور و خاقانش نگر

.....

خاقانِ بزرگ شاهِ شروان کز دولتِ او امیدوارم
بوالهیجا فخرِ دین منوچهر کز خدمتِ اوست افتخارم

.....

ای فلکی زان دو لبش بوسه جوی تو باری ز چه غم میخوری
کو نکند بر توجفا زانکه تو شاعرِ شروانشه نیک اختری
مفخرِ شاهانِ جهان فخرِ دین شاهِ معظم ملکِ گوهری
شاه منوچهر فریدون که هست کهتری او سببِ مهتری

Amongst the titles of Minūchīhr II, “Shirwānshāh” and “Khāqān-i-Buzurg, Kabīr or Akbar” have no identification-value, because they were borne also by Akhsatān I. But the titles “Abū'l-Hayjā” and “Fakhrū'd-Dīn” belong exclusively to Minūchīhr II, just as “Abū'l-Muẓaffar” and “Jalālu'd-Dīn” belong to Akhsatān I. The *tadhkirah*-writers, having failed to distinguish the identity of father and son, give the title of Jalālu'd-Dīn to Minūchīhr II—an error repeated both by Khānikow² and Pakhomow.³

The Duration of Minūchīhr's Reign

The evidence regarding the commencement and termination of the reigns of the two Shirwānshāhs—Minūchīhr II b. Farīdūn I and Akhsatān I b. Minūchīhr II b. Farīdūn I—is presented in the following table :—

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 203–05, 448–49, 764–67.

² *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 117.

³ E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidžana s prilož. ekskursa po istorii širwanshahov*, p. 34, Baku (1923).

Literary Evidence.	Shirwānahāh.	Numismatic Evidence.	
		'Abbāsīd Caliph.	Seljūq Sultān.
Died in 514 A.H. (<i>Georgian Chronicle</i>)	Farīdūn I.	No coins.	No coins.
Ruled thirty years (<i>Khāqānī</i>).	Minūchīhr II b. Farīdūn I.	al-Muqtafi (530-55 A.H.).	Name obliterated on all specimens.
	Akhsatān I b. Minūchīhr II.	al-Mustanjid (555-66 A.H.).	A(r)slā(n) Shāh (556- 73 A.H.).
	" "	al-Mustaḍī (566-75 A.H.).	Tughril (III b. Arslān Shāh) (573-90 A.H.).
	" "	al-Nāṣir (575-622 A.H.).	Tughril (III b. Arslān Shāh) (573-90 A.H.).
Was reigning in 584 A.H. when Nizāmī's <i>Laylā wa Majnūn</i> was dedicated to him.	" "	al-Nāṣir (575-622 A.H.).	Nil.

The numismatic evidence is indefinite: coins of Farīdūn I, and coins of Minūchīhr II and Akhsatān I minted during the reign of the same 'Abbāsīd caliph are wanting. On the other hand, in his elegy on the death of Minūchīhr II, *Khāqānī* says (as was first pointed out by *Khānikow*) that Minūchīhr II reigned thirty years¹:

گر خون کنید خاک باشکِ روانِ رواست کین خاکِ خوا بگاهِ منوچهر یاد شاست

.....

شاهِ سریر و تاجِ کین چون گذاشتی سی ساله ملک و ملکِ جهان چون گذاشتی

If thou shouldst make the earth blood with thy flowing tears, it is
(but) proper, for this earth is the sleeping-place of King Minūchīhr.

O king, why didst thou leave the throne and the crown of the
Kayānians? Why didst thou leave (thy) thirty years' dominion
and kingdom of the world?

¹ *Kulliyāt-i Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 548-49; Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,018, f. 35a; Add. 25,808, f. 215b; Add. 16,773, f. 209b; Add. 7726, f. 224a; and India Office MSS. No. 1767, f. 305a; No. 1264, f. 213a; No. 589, f. 253a. The only variants of
سی ساله or سی ساله are سی ساله

As Minūchīhr II was the son of Farīdūn I, and as Farīdūn I, according to the *Georgian Chronicle*, died in 514 A.H.,¹ and, finally, as Minūchīhr II was not a minor at the time of his father's death² (for the marriage of Minūchīhr II to the Georgian princess, Tamar, took place between 504 and 510 A.H.),³ the obvious conclusion is that the reign of Minūchīhr II lasted from 514 to c. 544 A.H.⁴ Consequently, the reign of Akhsatān I began in or about 544 A.H.—the figure, thirty years, given by Khāqānī being, of course, approximate. It is obvious, therefore, that the *prima facie* evidence of the coins is deceptive, and that three sets of coins—(i) those of Farīdūn I, (ii) those of Minūchīhr II minted between 514 and 530 A.H., and (iii) those of Akhsatān I minted between 544 and 556 A.H.—still remain to be discovered.

The Marriage of Minūchīhr II

"In the year 1116 A.D. = 510 A.H.," says the *Georgian Chronicle*, "David II sent his daughter, Cata, to Greece to marry the son of the Emperor. Previously he had sent his elder daughter, Tamar, in order to reign over Shirwān."⁵ Elsewhere, the *Chronicle* adds: "Aghsarthān treated Giorgi III like his son, because he (Aghsarthān) was the son of Tamar, the paternal aunt of Giorgi, who was married in this country (i.e. Shirwān) by the great King David . . . Aghsarthān, the Shirwānshāh, was the cousin-germain paternal of Giorgi."⁶ Therefore, although the name of Tamar's bridegroom is not explicitly mentioned, it is obvious that Tamar was married to Minūchīhr II, for Akhsatān, who was the son of Tamar, was also, as proved by numismatic and literary evidence, the son of Minūchīhr II. Further, the marriage which did not take place

¹ *Supra*, p. 8.

² It is necessary to emphasize this fact, because in an ode, addressed, apparently, to a king, but whose identity is not disclosed, Falakī says (couplets 688-89):

اي از پدر يتيم فرو مانده و بتو کام جهان و نام نیاکان برآمده
دیدي که در ممالک ایران چه کام راند کبشرو يتيم بتوران برآمده

³ *Infra*.

⁴ In a *qasidah*, addressed by Abū'l-'Alā to Minūchīhr II, Sanā'ī is spoken of as dead, and as, according to Rieu, Ethé, Prof. Browne, and Mirza Muḥammad Khān, the date of Sanā'ī's death is 545 A.H., Minūchīhr II would still be reigning in 546 A.H. It is certain, however, for reasons mentioned in the Appendix, that the ordinarily accepted date of Sanā'ī's death is untenable.

⁵ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 360, St. Petersburg (1849).

⁶ *Idem*, p. 397.

later than 510 A.H., did also not take place earlier than 504 A.H. For if David, who, according to all sources, was born in 1073 A.D.,¹ got married at the age of twenty, and became the father of Thamar in the first year of his marriage, and gave away his daughter in marriage in the sixteenth year of her life, then the date of Thamar's marriage would be $1073 \text{ A.D.} + 20 + 1 + 16 = 1110 \text{ A.D.} = 504 \text{ A.H.}$

The date of Thamar's marriage between 504 and 510 A.H. but not earlier or later, is a rough guide to the dates of birth of Minūchīhr II and Akhsatān I. For Minūchīhr II must be presumed to have been at least twenty years of age at the time of his marriage, and was, therefore, born c. 484–90 A.H. Further, as Akhsatān, the son of Thamar, could not have been born before 504 A.H., and perhaps not before 510 A.H., a liberal interpretation should be put, as suggested by Pakhomow,² on the following verse of Khāqānī³:

پانصد هجرت از جهان هیچ ملک چو تو نرود
از خلفان سلطنت تا خلفای راستین

Five hundred years of the *Hijra* have not produced a king like thee—
from amongst crown princes to the (Four) Orthodox Caliphs.

utilized by Khānikow as indicating that Akhsatān was born in 500 A.H.

We have thus arrived at the following dates: birth of Minūchīhr II, between 484 and 490 A.H.; marriage of Minūchīhr II with Thamar, between 504 and 510 A.H., and nearer 510 than 504 A.H.; birth of Akhsatān, after 504 A.H., and probably after 510 A.H.

It is curious that neither Falakī whose odes are addressed almost exclusively to Minūchīhr II, nor Khāqānī, who has five panegyrics and a long threnody on Minūchīhr II,⁴ should mention Thamar anywhere in their poems. Only in one place, in an ode addressed to Akhsatān I, have I found Khāqānī alluding to the Christian parentage of his patron⁵:

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 10, n. 4.

² E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidžana s prilož. ekskursa po istorii shirwanšakhov*, p. 31, Baku (1923).

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 176–77; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,808, f. 189b; Add. 25,018, f. 138a; Add. 7726, f. 190a; and India Office MSS. No. 589, f. 238b; No. 1264, f. 203b, etc.

⁴ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 62–66; 407–12; 478–80; 541–44; 743–44; and 544–52.

⁵ *Idem*, Lucknow ed., p. 177; Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, f. 190a; Add. 16,773, f. 184b; and India Office MS. No. 1264, f. 203b. The other MSS. have عيسوي نفس, probably an amendment of the scribes to whom عيسوي appeared meaningless.

از شه عیسوی نسب عازر ملک زنده شد
معجزه را همین قدر هست گویا راستین

Through the king of Christian descent the Lazarus of the kingdom has revived ; this evidence is enough to attest his miraculous powers.

Reverting, therefore, to the *Georgian Chronicle* for further information about Thamar, it is stated under the events of the year 1161 A.D. that "Giorgi III (1155-84 A.D.), after breaking up his camp at Ānī, presented himself with a shining countenance to her who had brought him up, namely his paternal aunt, the queen of queens, Thamar, who bathed him with tears mixed with smiles."¹ Accordingly, Thamar was still alive in 1161 A.D. = 556 A.H., and as Minūchīhr II died about 544 A.H., she must have remained a widow for at least twelve years.

It was probably in her widowhood that Thamar became a nun and founded the monastery of Thighwa. The brief information of the *Georgian Chronicle* ²:

"Thamar, sister of King Dimitri I (1125-54 A.D.), foundress of the monastery of Thighwa, died also as a nun."

is amplified by the Tsarevitch Wakhoucht in 1745 A.D. ³:

"At Tighwa (Thighwa), to the east of Métekh and to the west of the Phtza, is the monastery of the Cross, built by Thamar, daughter of David the Restorer ; it is with a cupola, and is immense and of elegant architecture, and is surrounded by a large number of buildings and at present administered by a priest."

and corroborated by the epigraphic evidence of M. Dimitri in 1849 A.D. ⁴:

"At the village of Thighwa there is a large monastery built of cut stones and placed, according to the reports of the inhabitants, under the invocation of the Virgin. It is surrounded by a ruined wall ; in the courtyard are traces of dwellings ; the wall is decorated with a cupola covered with bricks ; all the rest is in blocks of stones of which

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 391, St. Petersburg (1849).

² *Idem*, p. 382.

³ Tsarevitch Wakhoucht, *Description Géographique de la Géorgie*, p. 265, St. Petersburg (1842). The MS. of Wakhoucht was written in Georgian in 1745 A.D. and additions made to the MS. in 1755 A.D. The Georgian text, with a French translation, was published by M. Brosset in 1842 A.D.

⁴ *Bulletin de la Classe Historico-Philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg*, cols. 172-73, vol. vi, 1849.

several are 3 or 4 archines in length. The same description applies to the interior of the wall. The length of the church is 34 archines ; and the width 21. Although the church is very ancient, people still pray there and mass is said there. On the north side, above a window, is an inscription of which I could only gather the last three lines on the right, which signify : ' Help thy servant Thamar.' Therefore, the inhabitants are wrong in saying that the place is under the invocation of the Virgin. . . .

" There is no other writing, and on the tombs which can be seen in the church, the inscriptions are illegible. Very probably one of these is that of the Princess Thamar."

The Sons of Minūchīhr II

Whether Thamar, mother of Akhsatān, was the only wife of Minūchīhr II is unknown. According to Falakī, Minūchīhr II had five sons ¹ :

خاقانِ دینِ منوچهر کز یاریِ سپهرش در صدرِ مهرِ مسندِ مه پایگانه زبید

.

فرزند پنج داری پنجاه باد و انگه از هر یکیت پانصد فرزند زاده بادا

The Khāqān of religion, Minūchīhr, whom it befits, by the favour of the sphere, to have the sitting-carpet (spread) above the sun, and to have the moon for a foot-carpet.

.

Thou hast five sons ; may they be fifty, and from each one of these may five hundred (grand)sons be born to thee.

Four of these—Akhsatān, Shāhīnshāh, Farīdūn, and Farrukhzād—are known from numismatic evidence :

I

Akhsatān ibn Minūchīhr

Obv.	Rev.
المستنجد	الملك
بالله السلطان	المعظم
اسلا شاه (sic)	اخستان بن
لا اله الا الله	منوچهر

¹ *Divān-i-Falakī*, couplets 866 and 897.

II

Shāhīnshāh ibn Minūchīhr

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الله
محمد رسول الله	محمد رسول
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	الملك المعظم
امير المؤمنين	شاهنشاه بن منو
	چهر شروانشاه
	(sic) SINI .

III

Jalālu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Fariburz ibn Afrīdūn ibn Minūchīhr

Obv.	Rev.

لا اله الا الله	الملك العادل
محمد رسول الله	جلال الدنيا والدين
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	فريبرز بن افريدون
امير المؤمنين	بن منوچهر شروانشاه

IV

Garshāsp ibn Farrukhzhād ibn Minūchīhr

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الله
محمد رسول الله	محمد رسول
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	الملك المعظم
امير المؤمنين	كرشاسپ بن فرخزاد بن
	منوچهر شرو
	انشاه

In the archaic genealogy of the Shirwānshāhs, given by the *Haft Iqlīm*¹ and *Jahān Arā*² (a general history), Farrukhzād is mentioned as the son and successor of Minūchīhr II and called the father of Gushtāsp, probably the Garshāsp of the coins. Similarly, Prince Dhukhratu'd-Dīn Farīdūn, to whom Falakī has addressed a poem³:

آسوده ز فتنه زمانه بادا همه ساله ذخرة الدین
 آن چون پدر از جهان یگانه شهزاده شیردل فریدون

is no doubt identical with the Afrīdūn b. Minūchīhr mentioned above as the father of the Shirwānshāh Jalālu'd-Dunya wa'd-Dīn Fariburz.

The Reign of Minūchīhr II

The reign of Minūchīhr II may be divided into two periods : an earlier period, beginning with the death of Farīdūn I in 514 A.H., and terminating with the death of David the Restorer in 518 A.H., when Shirwān was overrun by the Georgians and the Seljūqs, and the Shirwānshāh, not specifically mentioned by name, temporarily imprisoned ; and a later period (518-44 A.H.), when Shirwān had recovered its semi-independence, or had even become hostile and aggressive. The authorities for the former period are the *Georgian* and *Armenian Chronicles*, supplemented by al-Bundārī and Ibnū'l-Athīr ; the authorities for the latter period are the two poets of Shirwān, Khāqānī, and Falakī.

The Early Years of Minūchīhr's Reign

“ In the year 1123 A.D. = 517 A.H.,” says the *Georgian Chronicle*, “ Sultān Mahmūd⁴ entered Shirwān, seized the Shirwānshāh and the town of Shamākhī, and sent an insulting letter demanding tribute from

¹ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203, f. 390b :

بعد از منوچهر ولدش فرخ زاد بر مسند حکومت تکیه زد و چون او نماند گشتاسپ مالک زمان
 امور مملکت گردید و ملک گشتاسپی بدو منسوبست

² Br. Mus. MS. Or. 141, f. 151a :

گشتاسپ که بلوک گشتاسپی سالیان بدو منسوب است ابن فرخ زاد بن منوچهر که ملقب بود
 بخاقان و خاقانی شاعر بدو منسوبست

³ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 1078-79.

⁴ i.e. Sultān Mahmūd b. Muḥammad, Seljūq of 'Irāq, who ruled 511-25 A.H.

King David." David replied by entering Shirwān with 50,000 troops, and in an engagement "4,000 men, commanded by Aghsūnthūl, atābek of Rān," who was trying to join his forces with the Sultān's, were cut to pieces. Thereupon the Sultān fled in terror and David returned to Georgia.¹

The *Armenian Chronicle* gives an identical version, reducing the troops of "Askhandūl, atābek of Rhān" from 4,000 to 3,000.² This Aghsūnthūl, or Askhandūl, is no doubt a corruption of Āqsunqur, i.e. Āqsunqur-i-Aḥmadīlī, ruler of Marāghah in 516 A.H. Subsequently, in 525 A.H., Āqsunqur-i-Aḥmadīlī became regent to Malik Dā'ūd b. Sultān Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad b. Malikshāh, and was finally slain by the Ismā'ilīs in Hamadān in 527 A.H.³

The Muslim version of the campaign of 517 A.H., as given by al-Bundārī, differs only in detail from the *Christian Chronicles*. Sultān Maḥmūd, at the express invitation of the Shirwān leaders, marched against the country and imprisoned the popular Shirwānshāh, whereupon "the infidels who lived on the frontiers became greedy and with a force of 30,000 horse encamped at a distance of 2 *farsangs* from the Sultān's army. But God came to the help of Islām by crushing the marauders . . . Now when the Sultān saw the confusion of affairs he became incensed against the *wazīr* Shamsu'l-Mulk, son of Niẓāmu'l-Mulk, and ordered him to be put to death. And this was towards the end of Rabī' I, 517 A.H., at the gate of Baylaqān."⁴

In contrast, however, to al-Bundārī and the *Christian Chronicles*, it appears from Ibnu'l-Athīr that Sultān Maḥmūd, whose intervention had been sought by the people of Derbend against the inroads of the Georgians, found himself confronted at Shamākhī with a Georgian army, but a quarrel between the Georgians and their allies, the Qipchāqs, in consequence of which the enemy dispersed like fugitives, "released the Muslims from the obligation to fight." Shortly after, the Sultān left

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 368, St. Petersburg (1851).

² *Idem*, *Chronique Arménienne or Additions*, p. 59.

³ Ibnu'l-Athīr, *Kāmilu't-Tawārīkh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, vol. x, pp. 421, 471, 483, *sub anno* 516 A.H., 525 A.H., and 527 A.H.

⁴ M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Iraq*, Ar. text, pp. 140-41 :

و طمع الكفار المتأغرون فأغاروا و أبادوا الاعمال و نزلوا فبالة السلطان في ثلثين ألف عنان
على فرسخين لكن الله تدارك رمق الاسلام بكسر اولئك الاغنام و لما ابصر
السلطان اختلال الاحوال سخط على الوزير شمس الملك بن نظام الملك و قتله بالسيف صبيرا و
ذلك في آخر ربيع الاول سنة ٥١٧ • ياب تيلقان،

Shirwān for Hamadān, where he arrived in the month of Jumāda II (August, 1123 A.D.).¹

The disloyalty of the Qipchāqs, mentioned by Ibnu'l-Athīr, is attested by a passage in the *Georgian Chronicle*, where David II, in mobilizing his forces, "passes over the Qipchāqs in review."² The evidence, therefore, seems to favour the view that the defeat of Āqsunqur-i-Aḥmadīlī on the one hand, and the defection of the Qipchāqs on the other, deterred the belligerents from coming to a fight, and the general result was a devastation of the country described by al-Bundārī as the "*takhrīb*" of Shirwān.³

After the campaign of 1123 A.D. = 517 A.H., the Seljūq Sultān disappears from the scene, but David II, who had pursued an aggressive policy towards Shirwān during the reign of Farīdūn I, and had since then improved his position by the capture of Tifis,⁴ returned to Shirwān, "seized the palace-fortress of Gulistān, and imposed a tax on the district."⁵ This Gulistān, described by the *Chronicles* as "the royal residence of the Shirwānshāhs", must have been a place of importance, for I have found it mentioned by Khāqānī in an ode addressed to Akhsatān I.⁶

The following year, in March and August, 1124 A.D. = 518 A.H., David II undertook his last campaigns against Shirwān: the first, directed against Shābarān,⁷ was, as usual, a raid; but the second, which led to the capture of Shamākhī and the surrounding district,⁸ was an attempt at annexation. "David II," say the Georgian and Armenian *Chronicles*, "left strong garrisons and soldiers of Héréth and of Cakheth in the towns

¹ Ibnu'l-Athīr, *Kāmilu't-Tawārikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, vol. x, p. 434, *sub anno* 517 A.H.:

والقى [الله] بين الكرج و فجاج اختلافاً و عداوة فاقتلوا تلك اليلة و رحلوا شبه المنهزمين و كفى الله المؤمنين القتال و اقام السلطان بشروان مدةً ثم عاد الى همدان فوصلها في جادى الاخرة،

² M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 368.

³ M. Th. Houtsma, *Histoire des Seldjoudides de l'Iraq*, Ar. text, p. 141.

⁴ In 515, 516, or 517 A.H., according to al-Qalānisi, the *Georgian Chronicle*, and Ibnu'l-Athīr respectively. See the *History of Damascus*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (1908), pp. 204-5; *Histoire de la Géorgie*, ed. M. Brosset, p. 367; and the *Kāmilu't-Tawārikh*, ed. C. J. Tornberg, *sub anno* 517 A.H. See also an article by M. Defrémery, *Journal Asiatique*, June, 1849.

⁵ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 368, and *Chronique Arménienne*, p. 59.

⁶ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 174:

قلعه گلستان شه قلّه بوقيس دان حصن شابخش حرم کبه سراي تازه بين

⁷ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, pt. i, p. 368.

⁸ *Idem*, p. 370; also *Chronique Arménienne*, p. 60.

and citadels of Shirwān, and ordered his chief secretary, Bishop Simon of Bédia, to supervise the administration of the country.”¹ The attempt, however, was belated, for David died on the 24th January, 1125 A.D., and, thereafter, nothing is heard of Georgians in Shirwān until their reappearance in a different rôle c. 1170-75 A.D. = 565-70 A.H.

The Later Years of Minūchīhr's Reign

“There are only two odes of Khāqānī in honour of Minūchīhr,”² says Khānikow, “and in these two odes I have only been able to find two historical references—firstly, that the prince suppressed a rising of the Qipchāqs (a Turkish tribe which occupied the northern part of Tālīsh, or perhaps of their compatriots settled in Georgia by David the Restorer); and secondly, that he reigned thirty years.”³ In one of his odes Falākī refers to a victory of Minūchīhr II against the infidels⁴ and this victory is no doubt the suppression of the Qipchāqs recorded by Khāqānī⁵ :

جلالِ ملّت و تاجِ ملوکِ فخر الدّین
سپهرِ مهرِ منوچهرِ مشتري اخلاق

ز بس که ریخت ازین پیش خونِ خفجاقان
بهنودی گهري چون پرندِ چین برّاق
عجب مدار که از روحِ نامیه زین پس
بجایِ سبزه ز گِلِ بر دمد سرِ خفجاق

The glory of the nation, and the crown of kings, Fakhru'd-Dīn; the sphere of love, Minūchīhr, whose manners are bright as Jupiter.

Considering the blood of the Qipchāqs spilt by him with his Indian damascened sword, flashing like Chinese silk,

Thou needst not be astonished if, by his creative force, the earth produced heads of Qipchāqs, in place of plants.

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, p. 370.

² This statement is incorrect; see *supra*, p. 13.

³ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 117.

⁴ *Diwān-i-Falākī*, couplets 810-11.

بفتحها و ظفرها که کرده در دین فرشتگانِ سما را بر آن گوا داری
کنون سزاست که این نصرتِ مبارک را طرازِ جلهِ ظفرها و فتحها داری

⁵ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 541; Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,018, f. 1156; Add. 25,808, f. 111b-112a, etc.

It appears, however, from *Falakī* that *Minūchihir* II put down the turbulent *Qipchāqs* without the aid of the *Seljuq* of 'Irāq.¹

There can be no doubt that *Minūchihir* II proved eventually to be a firm ruler, for, apart from maintaining order in his own realm, he is credited by *Khāqānī* with the conquest of the neighbouring kingdom of *Arrān* ²:

جام ست یا جوازست آن یا چون یدِ بیاضاست آن
یا تیغِ بوالهیجاست آن در قلبِ هیجا داشته
از فتحِ ارّان نام را زیور زده ایّام را
فتحِ عراق و شام را وقتی مسّا داشته

Is it the cup (of *Jamshīd*), or *Arion*, or the hand of *Moses*? Or is it the sword of [A]bū'l-Hayjā unsheathed by him in the centre of the battle?

By his conquest of *Arrān* he made his name illustrious in the world, and he fixed another time for the conquest of 'Irāq and Syria.

Minūchihir's political relations with King *Dimitri* I of Georgia (1125-54 A.D.) are uncertain. In 532 A.H. *Derbend* was raided by *Dimitri*, who carried away as trophies the famous gates of *Derbend* ³:

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplet 714:

از عونِ همتِ تومہاتِ ملک و دینِ بی یاریِ خلیفہ و سلطانِ برآمدہ

² *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 411-12; India Office MSS. No. 1767, f. 164a; No. 1264, f. 104b; No. 589, f. 58a; Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,018, f. 184a-b; and Add. 7726, f. 74b-75a. The Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 16,773, f. 89b, and Add. 25,808, f. 93a, have ایران in place of ارّان. Other variants are لدان and ازان.

Khānikow (*Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 118 and p. 134) ascribes this ode to *Akhsatān*, but *Abū'l-Hayjā* was the title of *Minūchihir* II and not of *Akhsatān* I.

Khāqānī also says, Lucknow ed., p. 548; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,808, f. 215a (in the elegy on *Minūchihir* II):

کو آن خراجِ ری ز عراق آوریدنش کو آن مصافِ غزنجراسان شکستش

Where is the tribute he imposed on Ray and brought from 'Irāq? Where is the defeat on the *Ghuzz* troops he inflicted in *Khurāsān*?

As *Ibnū'l-Athīr* records several invasions of the *Ghuzz* in *Khurāsān* it is not possible to refer *Khāqānī*'s allusion to a particular date. The *Ghuzz* campaign of *Minūchihir* II is a poetic exaggeration.

³ *Wakhoucht* and *Brosset* claim to have seen these gates in the church at *Gélath*. According to *Wakhoucht* (*Description Géographique de la Géorgie*, p. 359, St. Petersburg, 1842), "the doors were brought from *Derbend* by *David the Restorer*," but *M. Brosset* states in the *Histoire de la Géorgie*, note, p. 369: "A Georgian inscription which I have collected at *Gélath* tells us that King *Dimitri* brought away the gates in the 13th year of his reign." *Derbend* was therefore raided in 1125 A.D. + 13 = 1138 A.D. = 532 A.H.

there is no evidence, however, that at that time Derbend belonged to Minūchihir II.¹ Falakī contrasts the prosperity of Shirwān with the chaos formerly prevalent,² alluding probably to the Georgian raids of 517-18 A.H.

Amongst the other *minutiæ* of Minūchihir's reign is the inundation caused by the bursting of the Bāqilānī dam, probably in 532 A.H. Says Khāqānī in an ode hitherto unnoticed³ :

نامِ او چون اسمِ اعظمِ تاجِ اسما دان از انك
 حلقهٔ میمِ منوچهرست طوقِ اصفیا
 بود در احكامِ خسرو كز پسِ سی و دو سال
 خسفِ آب و باد خواهد بود در اقلیمِ ما
 آب را بر بست دست و باد را بشكست پای
 تانه ز آب آید گزند و نه ز باد آید بلا
 زانكه چون محل این بنا را خود مهندس بود شاه
 آب چون آئینهٔ شان انگبین گشت از صفا
 تا بقارون برد بند و گنجِ قارون بر گشاد
 رنجهایِ هر کسی را گنجا دادش جزا
 از ملائك نعرها بر خاست كاینك بر زمین
 شاه بندِ باقلانی بست مانندِ قبا

Regard his name, like the Divine Name, to be the crown of names, because the curve of the *mīm* [م] of Minūchihir is the collar of the Holy Ones.

It was in the king's decrees (of judicial astrology) that, after two and thirty years, damage would be caused by wind and water in our land.

¹ See *supra*, p. 1.

² *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplet 655 :

شورهٔ شروان كه جاي شور و شرّ ديو بود از یری رویان ترك و تركان آراسته

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 63-65; also Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, f. 117a-b; Add. 25,018, f. 11b, etc. Khāqānī refers to the dam in another ode (also unnoticed), Lucknow ed., pp. 743-44.

The king bound the hands of the water and broke the legs of the wind,
so that neither water nor wind might cause destruction.

And since, like the bees, the king himself was the engineer of this
structure, the water, like the honeycomb of bees, became honey in
purity.

The king carried the dam to (where) Qārūn (is buried, i.e. to the bowels
of the earth),¹ and unlocked the treasures of Qārūn : he gave every
labourer treasures for his pains.

The angels shouted : Behold, on the earth, the king has bound the
BAND-I-BĀQILĀNĪ like a girdle.

The words سی و دو سال either represent the thirty-second year of
Minūchihir's reign or are an abbreviation of سی و دو سال just as
we might say '28 for 1928. Now the entire length of Minūchihir's reign,
according to Khāqānī himself, was thirty years ; consequently, adopting
the second alternative, the inundation occurred in 532 A.H. Unfortunately,
I have not been able to identify Bāqilān, but as canals were cut from the
River Kur to irrigate the Gushtāsfī district,² the Bāqilānī dam must
have been situated on the River Kur. Further, it appears from Falakī
that the Bāqilānī dam was rebuilt by Minūchihir II, not at its original
site, but, elsewhere, up the river, probably to prevent a recurrence of the
flood by the accumulation of a large head of water³ :

باقلائی بود اکنون ناقلانی شد که شاه
نقل کردش تا فلک زائل کند نقصان ازو
باقلائی ناقلانی شد چو شاهش نقل کرد
بر کمالی کآسمان نقصان کند نقصان ازو
بند طوفان بست و لان از باقلانی برگرفت
بند باقی ماند و در باقی شد آن طوفان ازو
شاه بواهیجا منوچهر آنکه نو شد در جهان
دولت کیخسرو و انصاف نوشیروان ازو

¹ See *Qur'ān*, xxviii, 81 : We made the earth swallow him (Qārūn) and his abode.

² *Histoire du Sultan Djelal Ed-Din Mankobirti*, ed. O. Houdas, p. 174, Paris (1891) ;
Nuzhatu'l-Qulūb, ed. le Strange, p. 92.

³ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 498-500 and 504.

It was BĀQILĀNĪ and now became NĀQILĀNĪ for the king shifted it, so that heaven might eliminate its defect.

The BĀQILĀNĪ dam became NĀQILĀNĪ when the king shifted it : it had occasioned loss exactly like the sky.¹

The king bound the dam of the flood and removed LĀN from BĀQILĀNĪ : the dam alone remained (lit. BAND BĀQĪ remained) and the flood disappeared.

The king [A]bū'l-Hayjā Minūchihīr by whom has been revived in the world the government of Kay Khusraw and the justice of Nūshīrwān.

Originally BĀQILĀNĪ, the dam became NĀQILĀNĪ by bursting its bounds and having its site shifted upwards, for if the position of the first dot in باقلانی BĀQILĀNĪ be shifted upwards, the word is converted from باقلانی BĀQILĀNĪ to ناقلانی NĀQILĀNĪ. Moreover, if لان LAN be removed from باقلانی BAND-I-BĀQILĀNĪ, the result is بند باقی BAND BĀQĪ—

بند باقلانی - لان = بند باقی

—expressed by Falakī as a mathematical equation :

« بند باقی » ماند و در باقی شد آن طوفان ازو

The Court of Minūchihīr II

There remains now the royal court. Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Naṣr Malik Mis'ar b. 'Abdu'llāh was the Prime Minister, for Falakī calls him *Sayyidu'l-Wuzarā* ² :

چو من جبالِ خداوندِ من جبالِ الدّین	بینم از همه جانب سخن شود کوتاه
قوامِ دولتِ ابو النصر سید الوزرا	نظامِ مُلکِ مَلِکِ مسعر بن عبدالله
ازوست باقی ترتیبِ دینِ پیغمبر	ازوست حاصلِ توقیرِ مُلکِ شروانشاه

· When I behold the beauty of my lord, Jamālu'd-Dīn, speech of every kind is arrested.

The support of the government, Abū'l-Naṣr *Sayyidu'l-Wuzara* ; the administrator of the realm, Malik Mis'ar b. 'Abdu'llāh.

Because of him the religion of the Prophet remains in order ; because of him is the honour of the kingdom of the Shirwānshāh.

¹ In Persian literature the sky is the source of all trouble.

² *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 528-27 and 530.

Another of Minūchihir's ministers was Amīnu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jalīl-i-Ahrāsī, described as a man of piety and a patron of "philosophers, physicians, astrologers, poets, and traditionists" ¹:

ولي پناه تو گر خواجه رئيس بود روا بود که ز جور زمانه نهراسي
اصيل زاده شروان گزين امين الدين اجل محمد عبد الجليل اهراسي

Thou needst not fear the oppression of the times if thy protector should be my lord, the minister.

Born of the noblest stock of Shirwān, the select and great Amīnu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jalīl-i-Ahrāsī.

Further, there was the literary circle composed of Abū'l-'Alā, Khāqānī, and Falakī. Dawlatshāh adds the names of Nizāmī of Ganjah, Sayyid-i-Dhū'lfiqār, and Shāhfūr,² whilst Taqī Awḥadī furnishes the names of Mujīru'd-Dīn-i-Baylaqānī and 'Izzu'd-Dīn-i-Shirwānī.³ Nizāmī dedicated his *Laylā wa Majnūn* to Akhsatān I; the other poets mentioned by Dawlatshāh and Taqī Awḥadī were not even remotely connected with the court of Shirwān.⁴

Abū'l-'Alā was the poet laureate and premier courtier of the king⁵: his two lieutenants were Khāqānī (who derived his *takhalkus* from the royal title "Khāqān") and Falakī. Learning, however, was not always patronized at Shirwān: Falakī was imprisoned by Minūchihir II and Khāqānī by Akhsatān I, whilst Abū'l-'Alā himself acknowledges that

¹ *Divān-i-Falakī*, couplets 728-29.

² Browne's ed., p. 71.

³ India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 857b. This *tadhkirah* of Taqī Awḥadī is in the register of uncatalogued MSS.

⁴ With the exception of 'Izzu'd-Dīn-i-Shirwānī, these poets are known by their *diwāns*. Taqī Awḥadī (India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 858a) cites a *qaṣīdah* of 'Izzu'd-Dīn-i-Shirwānī with the following couplets:

علاي دولت و دين آنکه در ممالک او ز هيتش بدارا کند زمانه مدار
ابوالمظفر شاهنشهي که روز نبرد به آب تیغ بر انگیزد از سپهر بخار

'Izzu'd-Dīn-i-Shirwānī belonged probably to the court of Atsiz Khwārazmshāh, for Abū'l-Muẓaffar 'Alāu'd-Dawlat wa'd-Dīn were the titles of Atsiz. Cf. *Divān-i-Rashīdu'd-Dīn-i-Waṭwāt* (Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,791, f. 52a):

شاه غازي علاي دولت و دين آن فلک قدر جام کوه و وقار
ابوالمظفر پناه دين اتسيز که ظفر را ز تیغ اوست شمار

The coins of Fariburz III b. Garghāsp bear the titles "Abū'l-Muẓaffar 'Alāu'd-Dunyā (not Dawlat) wa'd-Dīn.

⁵ *Infra*, p. 95.

“ people are desirous of wading in his blood ”. Could Abū'l-'Alā's *diwān* be discovered it would no doubt be found to contain, like the *diwāns* of Khāqānī and Falakī, some *ḥabsīyāt* or prison-poems.

AKHSATĀN I

In different MSS. of Khāqānī and Nizāmī, whose *Laylā wa Majnūn* is dedicated to Akhsatān I, the word Akhsatān is spelt as اخستان “AKHTSĀN”, or اخستان “AKHTSHĀN”, or اخستان “AKHSTĀN”; accordingly the reading of Dorn,¹ Khānikow,² and Zambour³ is Akhistān; of Salemann⁴ and Pakhomow,⁵ Akhsitān; of Rieu⁶ and Huart,⁷ Akhsatān; of Prof. Browne,⁸ Akhtisān; and of Ethé,⁹ Akhsatān, Akhtasān, or Akhtashān. The confusion, however, can be eliminated by determining (i) the spelling of the word and (ii) its pronunciation.

One of the three variants found in Persian MSS. is اخستان “AKHSTĀN”, and as this spelling is supported by numismatic and epigraphic evidence given below it must obviously be correct. Consequently the reading, Akhtashān, of Ethé and Akhtisān of Prof. Browne is inadmissible.

Now, as shown by Salemann,¹⁰ the measure of the word AKHSTĀN in the poems of Khāqānī is | — — |¹¹; consequently, the reading Akhistān, of Dorn, Khānikow, and Zambour, cannot be accepted, for the measure of AKHISTĀN is | — — — | Further, as the reading of the name in the *Georgian Chronicle* is Aghsarthān,¹² the correct pronunciation of AKHSTĀN must be اخستان “AKHSATĀN”.

¹ B. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Kaukasischen Länder und Völker, aus Morgenländischen Quellen. I. Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschahe*, p. 551, St. Petersburg (1841).

² *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 119.

³ E. de Zambour, *Manuel de Généalogie et de Chronologie*, p. 182, Hanover (1927).

⁴ C. Salemann, *Chetverostishia Khākānī*, p. 12, St. Petersburg (1875).

⁵ E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidzana s prilozh. ekskursu po istorii shirwanshaklov*, p. 34, Baku (1923).

⁶ C. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 559, col. 1.

⁷ Cl. Huart, article on Khākānī, *Encyclopædia of Islām*.

⁸ E. G. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 394.

⁹ H. Ethé, *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the India Office*, Index.

¹⁰ C. Salemann, *Chetverostishia Khākānī*, n. 2, p. 12, St. Petersburg (1875).

¹¹ *Infra*, p. 29, n. 1.

¹² M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, p. 397.

The Titles of Akhsatān I

“Akhsatān, whose *laqab* was Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm,” says Khānikow, “and whose titles were Jalālu’d-Dīn, Nāṣiru’d-Dīn, and Fakhrū’d-Dīn, was born in the same year as Khāqānī, namely 500 A.H.”¹ In revising this statement Pakhomow writes: “The *laqab* of Akhsatān was probably Nāṣiru’d-Dīn, by which name, in an elegy on his death, he is called by Khāqānī. Khānikow also mentions the titles Fakhrū’d-Dīn and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, but whence he got the first is unknown to me, and the second has arisen from a misunderstanding: the poet simply compares the Shirwānshāh with the prophet Abraham father of Isaac.”² The *laqab* Fakhrū’d-Dīn belongs to Minūchīhr II, but has inaccurately found its way in the explanatory titles of some of Khāqānī’s odes addressed to Akhsatān. Similarly, the following *tarjī‘-band* addressed to Nāṣiru’d-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm is the supposed elegy on Akhsatān³:

شهنشاهی که درع شرع هم بالای او آمد
قوی دستی که فرش عرش قطع پای او آمد
امام شرع سلطان طریقت ناصرالدین آن
که تا ریای او آمد نگون شد چتر یدینان
ابو اسحاق ابراهیم کاندز جیب انعامش
بیکذرّه نمی سنجد سپهر و هفت اجرامش

The Emperor to whose measure fits the cuirass of the Religious Law ;
the potentate for whose feet the floor of heaven serves as a carpet.

The Imām of the Religious Law, the Sultān of the Path (of Mysticism),
Nāṣiru’d-Dīn, before whose standards the umbrellas of the infidels
are overthrown.

Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm, in whose purse of gifts, the heavens and the seven
bodies (planets) have not the value of an atom.

By misunderstanding the words “شهنشاه شرع” “Emperor of the
Religious Law” and “سلطان طریقت” “Sultān of the Path of Mysticism”,

¹ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 117.

² E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidžana s prilož. ekskursa po istorii širwanshahov*, p. 37, Baku, 1923.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 171-72. The elegy comprises pp. 169-73.

Khānikow concluded that the elegy is addressed to Akhsatān, and inferred, in consequence, that Khāqānī survived Akhsatān. This inference has been accepted by Rieu,¹ Prof. Browne,² and Pakhomow, but I have found no reference in the *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī* to the death of Akhsatān. On the other hand, I have found that the theologian Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm of Shamākhī was a great friend of Khāqānī's, for there are two panegyrics in his honour³ :

امامِ امیرِ ناصر الدین کہ در دین امامت جز او را مسلم ندارم
 براہیم خوشنام کز مدحش الا صفاتِ براہیمِ ادم ندارم

The Imām of the people, Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, whom I regard indispensable for the religious office of the *Imāmat*.

Ibrāhīm is his pleasant name, and when I recite his praise I recall the virtues of none save Ibrāhīm b. Adham.⁴

حافظِ اعلامِ شرعِ ناصرِ دینِ رسول کز مددِ علمِ اوست نصرتِ حزبِ خدا
 صدرِ براہیمِ نامِ رادِ سلیمانِ جلال خواجہٴ موسیٰ سخنِ مہترِ احمد سخا
 گر دوشود قبلہ مان بس عجیبی نی ازانک کو بشماخی نہاد کعبہ دیگر بنا

The guardian of the standards of the Religious Law, the defender of the religion (Nāṣir-i-Dīn) of the Prophet ; by the aid of his learning is won the victory of " the party of Allāh ".⁵

The pontiff with the name of Ibrāhīm ; the philanthropist with the glory of Solomon ; the minister with the eloquence of Moses ; the nobleman with the generosity of Muḥammad.

Were the *qiblas* to become two there would be no wonder, for he has laid in Shamākhī the foundation of a second Ka'ba.

Proceeding now to the actual titles of Akhsatān, the requisite information is contained in six couplets of the *Laylā wa Majnūn* of Nizāmī, where Akhsatān appears as Jalālu'd-Dawlat wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Muẓaffar

¹ C. Rieu, *Persian Catalogue*, p. 559, col. 1.

² E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 398 (1906).

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 278-80 and 485-91. The extracts cited occur on p. 279 and pp. 487-90.

⁴ A celebrated mystic who died c. 777 A.D.

⁵ See *Qur'ān*, v, 56.

Maliku'l-Mu'azzam Akhsatān b. Minūchīhr, Shirwānshāh, Khāqān-i-Kabīr or Akbar¹:

مطلق مَلِكِ الملوكِ عالم	خاقانِ جهانِ مَلِكِ معظم
يعني که جلالِ دولت و دین	صاحبِ جهتِ جلال و تمکین
زیندهٔ مُلکِ هفت کشور	تاجِ مَلِکِ ابوالمظفر
کیخسرو کیقباد پایه	شروانشهٔ آفتاب سایه
مُهرِست که مِهَرشد غلامش	شاهِ سخیِ اخستان که نامش
دُرِّ صدفِ مَلِکِ منوچهر	بهرامِ نژادِ مشتري چهر

The Coins of Akhsatān I

The coins of Akhsatān I belong to four different sets, as follows :

A

Obv.	Rev.
المستجد	الملك
بالله السلطان	المعظم
اسلا شاه (sic)	اخستان بن
لا اله الا الله	منوچهر

B

Obv.	Rev.
المستضي	الملك
بامر الله ا (sic)	المعظم
السلطان ا (sic)	اخستان بن
طغريل	منوچهر

¹ Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7729, f. 88a. For the title "Khāqān-i-Kabīr" see *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 119 :

کشتیِ یروزی از دریایِ غیب	بر درِ شاهِ اخستان بیرون فتاد
کسریِ اسلام و خاقانِ کبیر	خسروِ سلطانِ نشان در شرق و غرب

C

Obv.	Rev.
الله	الله
محمد رسول	محمد رسول
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	الملك المعظم
السلطان اعظم	اخستان بن منوچهر
طغريل	

D

Obv.	Rev.
لا اله الا الله	الله
محمد رسول الله	محمد رسول
الناصر الدين الله (sic)	الملك المعظم
امير المؤمنين	اخستان بن منوچهر
	شروانشاه

As the caliph al-Mustanjid ruled from 555-66 A.H., and Arslān Shāh (the Aslā Shāh of the coins) b. Tuḡhril II from 556-73 A.H., the coins of set A were minted between 556-66 A.H. Secondly, as the caliph al-Mustaḍī ruled from 566-75 A.H., and Sultān Tuḡhril III b. Arslān Shāh from 573-90 A.H., the coins of set B were minted between 573-75 A.H. Thirdly, as the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīni'llāh ruled from 575-622 A.H., and Sultān Tuḡhril III b. Arslān Shāh from 573-90 A.H., the coins of set C were minted between 575-90 A.H. Fourthly, as Sultān Tuḡhril III died in 590 A.H., and as after him the Seljūqs of 'Irāq were displaced by the Shāhs of Khwārazm, the coins of set D, which contain the name of the caliph al-Nāṣir li-Dīni'llāh, but do not contain the name of Sultān Tuḡhril, must have been minted after 590 A.H. Finally, as Minūchīhr II died about 544 A.H., and as coins of set A only commence from 556 A.H., a fifth set of coins, with the name of the caliph al-Muqtafi, still remain to be discovered. It is noteworthy that the coins of set D

have the title “Shirwānshāh” inserted for the first time, and that, whilst the coins of Akhsatān’s predecessors bear the title “al-Malik”, those of Akhsatān bear the title “al-Maliku’l-Mu’azzam”.

The Duration of Akhsatān’s Reign

Like his father, Akhsatān I enjoyed a long reign. He was living in 583 A.H., as is shown by the following inscription, discovered by Khānikow¹ in the village of Būzawnān in the peninsula of Bākū :

... عالم ملک الاسلام شروانشاه اخستان بن منوچهر
در بتاریخ (sic) سنة ثلاث و ثمانین و خمسمائة

“... world, king of Islām, Shirwānshāh, Akhsatān ibn Minūchihr . . . in the year 583 A.H.”

He was also living in 584 A.H., for the *Laylā wa Majnūn* was dedicated by Nizāmī to Akhsatān I in 584 A.H.² :

تاریخ عیان که داشت با خود هشتاد و چهار بعد پانصد

The obvious date he had before him was 584 A.H.

In 600 A.H., however, Farrukhzād b. Minūchihr II was the ruling sovereign, as is proved by the following inscription discovered by Khānikow in the village of Mardakān in the peninsula of Bākū³ :

امر بنا هذا (sic) القلعة في ايام الملك المعظم العالم العادل
الموید المظفر المنصور فخر الدنيا و الدين [فرخزاد]
بن منوچهر ناصر امير المومنين كرشاسپ صاحب سپا سفسالار اجل
العالم الموید الموفر للدولة و الدين . . اسحق بن
کاکا لی ادام الله تاييده تاريخ سنه ستاية المرداد ماه

“This fortress was ordered to be built in the time of the great king, . . . , the victorious Fakhrū’d-Dunyā wa’d-Dīn [Farrukhzād]⁴ b. Minūchihr, helper of the Commander of the Faithful, by Garshāsp,

¹ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 119.

² Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7729, f. 88a.

³ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 119.

⁴ The missing letters have been inserted on the basis of numismatic evidence.

possessor of troops, commander-in-chief, the most glorious person of the world, the aided, the plentifully equipped . . . for state and religion . . . Iṣḥāq, son of Kākā, may God give him His help for ever, in the month of Amurdād, year 600 [A.H.].”¹

Therefore, Akhsatān I died between 584 and 600 A.H. This interval, however, can be shortened—partly because some of Akhsatān’s coins (set D) seem to have been minted after 590 A.H., and partly because Akhsatān survived Khāqānī, in whose *diwān* there is no reference to the death of Akhsatān.

The problem, therefore, is to determine the date of Khāqānī’s death. In the *Kullīyāt-i-Khāqānī* there are four odes² in honour of Qizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz, who reigned 581–87 A.H. Further, as has been noticed by Rieu, Khwand Amīr states in his *Habību’s-Siyar*,³ composed in 930 A.H., that “after the capture of Iṣfahān in 590 A.H.⁴ Khāqānī addressed an ode to Sulṭān Takish Khwārazmshāh with the two opening couplets :

مرده که خوار ز مشاه مَلِكِ صفاهان گرفت مَلِكِ عراقين را همچو خراسان گرفت
ما هچۀ چترِ او قلعه گر دون گشاد مورچۀ تبغِ او مَلِكِ سليمان گرفت

Rejoice, for the Khwārazmshāh has captured Iṣfahān ; he has seized the two ‘Irāqs even as he seized Khurāsān.

The knob of his umbrella has flung open the fortress of heaven ; and the hilt of his scimitar has captured the land of Solomon.”

This ode is not to be found in the Lucknow edition or in the British Museum and India Office MSS. of Khāqānī ; it is also not to be found in the *diwāns* of poets contemporary with Sulṭān Takish.⁵ To whom, then,

¹ The date must be 600 A.H., because 600 A.J. is obviously impossible, and 600 A.Y. equals 628 A.H. Now the Shirwānshāh, from at least 622 A.H. to 640 A.H., was Farībuz III, contemporary on his coins with al-Nāsir (575–622 A.H.), al-Mustaṣim (623–40 A.H.), and al-Musta’im (640–56 A.H.).

² Lucknow ed., pp. 141–52 ; 368–74 ; 425–31 ; and 498–507. In these odes the name Qizil-Arslān occurs on pp. 151, 371, 428, and 503.

³ Br. Mus. MS. Add. 27,237, f. 495a.

⁴ The date should be 592 A.H.

⁵ Tukush, according to Rieu, and Takash, according to Barthold, but the form is fixed by the following *qaṣidah* in the *Diwān-i-Kamālu’d-Dīn Ismā’īl of Iṣfahān* (Br. Mus. MS. Or. 473, f. 11b–12a) where the terminal words are *manish*, *rawish*, *damish*, *parwarish*, . . . *Takish*, etc. : [— — — — | — — — — | — — — — | — — — —]

اي ز رايَت مَلِكِ و دين در نازِش و در بَرَوَيش اي شهنشاهِ فريدون قره اسكندر مَشيش

با فلک گفتم کجا داني پناهي آنچنانك بخت افتاده شود در سايه او منتعش
صبر صادق با لب خندان اشارت کرد و گف درگاه سلطان علاءدين و الدنيا تَكش

does the ode belong? Says the historian 'Atā Malik-i-Juwaynī in his *History of the Khwārazmshāhs*, composed in 657 A.H.¹:

درسئه اثنتين وتسعين وخمسة سلطان تكش عازم عراق گشت واز
 آنجا باصفهان حرکت فرمود و این قطعه خاقانی راست
 مرده که خوارزمشاه ملک سپاهان گرفت مُلك عراقین را همچو خراسان گرفت
 ماهچه چتر او قلعه گردون گشود مورچه تیغ او مُلكِ سلیمان گرفت

In the year 592 A.H. Sultān Takish proceeded to 'Irāq . . . and thence to Isfahān; and Khāqānī composed the following fragment.²

Khāqānī was, therefore, alive till 592 A.H., and consequently Akhsatān, who survived Khāqānī, died between 593 and 600 A.H.

Akhsatān's Marriage and Children

The wife of Akhsatān was his cousin, the princess, 'Iṣmatu'd-Dīn Ṣafwatu'd-Dīn Ṣafwatu'l-Islām³:

میوه شاخ فریرز ملک هم بباغ ملک آبا دیده ام
 گوهر کان فریدون شهید برفراز تاج دارا دیده ام
 عصمة الدین صفوة الاسلام را افتخار دین و دنیا دیده ام

 چشمه بانو و درختست اخستان هردو با هم سعد و اسما دیده ام

I have seen the fruit of the branch of King Fariburz in the garden of the kingdom of her ancestors.

I have seen the gem from the mine of Farīdūn the martyr, adorning the crown of Darius.

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Jahān-gushā*, vol. ii, pp. 38-39, ed. Mirza Muḥammad (1916).

² Khāqānī has an ode on 'Alāu'd-Duwal Khwarazmshāh (Lucknow ed., pp. 507-12), written in Khāqānī's 24th year, and, therefore, about 524 A.H. (for Khāqānī was born c. 500 A.H.). As Atsiz Khwārazmshāh ruled from 521-51 A.H., and as Rashīdu'd-Dīn-i-Waṭwāt (*Dīwān*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,791, f. 52a) calls Atsiz "'Alāu'd-Dawlat wa'd-Dīn", the 'Alāu'd-Duwal of Khāqānī must be Atsiz. Elsewhere (Lucknow ed., pp. 747-48), the identity of the Khwārazmshāh is not revealed.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 238-40; also Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, f. 132b; Add. 25,018, f. 130b, etc.

I have seen 'Ismatu'd-Dīn Safwatu'l-Islām as the glory of religion and the world.

The Queen is a stream, and Akhsatān a tree ; I have seen them together like Sa'd and Asmā.¹

"From these lines," says Pakhomow, "Khānikow concluded that Queen 'Ismatu'd-Dīn was the daughter of Fariburz and the grandchild of Faridūn I, but such can hardly be the case ; the poet simply refers to the royal origin of his patroness and names two of her ancestors. I believe that Malik Fariburz was Fariburz I, the founder of the dynasty, and Faridūn was perhaps the son of this Fariburz."² The mention of Faridūn "the martyr" proves beyond doubt that the Faridūn intended is Faridūn I, grandfather of Akhsatān I, who, according to the *Georgian Chronicle*, was killed in 514 A.H. in a campaign against Derbend.³ Now, 'Ismatu'd-Dīn cannot be the daughter of this Faridūn I, because then, being the aunt of Akhsatān I, she could not have married him. Consequently, 'Ismatu'd-Dīn was the grandchild of Faridūn I, and as there is independent evidence to show that Fariburz I was the father of Faridūn I,⁴ Pakhomow's conjecture would appear to be more reliable than the conclusion of Khānikow. If so, who was the father of 'Ismatu'd-Dīn and why has his name been withheld?⁵ Can it be that 'Ismatu'd-Dīn was the grandchild of Faridūn I, not because her father was the son but because her mother was the daughter of Faridūn I? At any rate, Khāqānī does mention that Faridūn I had a daughter who performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.⁶

¹ *Ghiyāthū'l-Lughāt* explains Sa'd and Asmā as the proper names of a lover and beloved respectively.

² E. A. Pakhomow, *Kratkiy kurs istorii Azerbaidžana s prilozh. ekskursu po istorii shirwanahakhov*, p. 31, Baku (1923).

³ *Supra*, pp. 7-8.

⁴ *Supra*, pp. 6-7.

⁵ The expression—*ميوۀ شاخِ فريرزِ ملک*—merely shows that 'Ismatu'd-Dīn was a descendant of King Fariburz. Khāqānī mentions the name of Fariburz in three other places, without giving any genealogical clue. Firstly, in an ode addressed to 'Ismatu'd-Dīn when she was about to give birth to a child (Lucknow ed., p. 248) :

خواهي نهيش نام منوچهر ناجوي خواهي کنيش نام فريرزِ نامدار

Secondly, in congratulating 'Ismatu'd-Dīn on the birth of a son, afterwards named Fariburz (Lucknow ed., p. 656) :

جانِ فريرزِ ازين شرف طرب افروذ ذاتِ منوچهر ازين خبر بطر آورد

Thirdly, in a New Year's ode addressed to Akhsatān I (Lucknow ed., p. 365) :

يا روانهايِ فريرزِ [فريدون ۷۰] و منوچهر از بهشت نور و فر بر فرقِ شاهِ کامران افشاندند

⁶ *Supra*, p. 6.

By his marriage with 'Iṣmatu'd-Dīn, Akhsatān had a son, Fariburz, and a daughter, Iljīk: the former died young, and the latter, in her infancy.¹ According to Nizāmī, the heir-apparent in 584 A.H. was Minūchīhr b. Akhsatān,² but this prince did not succeed to the throne of Shīrwān, as will be seen hereafter.

The Reign of Akhsatān I

The political relations of Akhsatān with the Muslim Atābeks of Ādharbayjān are unknown. According to the *Rawḍatu's-Safā*³ and the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*,⁴ Ildigiz⁵ captured the whole of Shīrwān including Bākū. This story is based, probably, on the defeat inflicted by Ildigiz on Giorgi III, son of Dimitri I and grandson of David II, in 558 A.H. The Georgian campaigns of Ildigiz during 558-71 A.H. are fully described in *The History of Damascus*, ed. H. F. Amedroz, but there is no evidence that Ildigiz ever marched against Akhsatān I or seized his territory.

Similarly, the capture of Shamākhi attributed by Khānikow to Qizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz⁶ is an unfortunate error due to a misinterpretation of Khāqānī. For, firstly, the couplet

¹ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 553 and 557; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,808, f. 216b and 218a:

گرگوشِ تان اشارتِ غیبی شنیده نیست بر خالِ روضه دارِ فریرِز بگزید

آن مامِ نو کجاست که مه خالِ پایِ اوست الجلیک آنکه حجله جئات جایِ اوست

² *Laylā wa Majnūn* in the *Khamsah* of Nizāmī, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7729, f. 88b:

آن یوسفِ هفت بزمِ نو عهد هم والیِ عهد و هم ولیِ عهد
نو مجلس و نو نشاط و نو مهر فرزندی شه اخستان منوچهر
ای از شرفِ تو شاه زاده چشم ملکِ اخستان کشاده

³ Tihārān ed., vol. iv, p. 512:

عاقبت سلطانِ مسعود ایلدگر را با طائفه از سپاهِ بجانِبِ ارانِ فرستاد — او در اندکِ زمانی
بتمامتِ ارانِ و گنجه و شیروان و باکو استیلا یافت

⁴ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 167b: ایلدگز گنجه و شیروان را نیز بتصرف در آورد

⁵ According to Lane-Poole, *Muḥammadan Dynasties*, p. 171, Ildigiz ruled 531-68 A.H., but Fāriqī mentions a successful raid on Georgian territory by Ildigiz in 571 A.H. See *History of Damascus*, p. 48 and Ar. text, pp. 364-65 (1908).

⁶ "Akhsatān made Bākū his capital and proceeded to adorn it, while Shamākhi, the capital of Shīrwān in the strict sense of the word, was in the possession of the Atābeks of Ādharbayjān, and Qizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz, being at war with the Seljūqs and fearing to remain in Nakhchivān (where it was easier for the Seljūqs to reach him), had retired to Shamākhi." *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, p. 117.

زگلشگرِ عفو و اخلاقِ خوش شماخی نظیرِ سپاهان نماید

By the sweetness of his grace and the goodness of his character,
Shamākhī resembles Iṣfahān.

is not in honour of Qizil-Arslān but of Malik Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī, Atābek of Moṣul,¹ and, secondly, it is doubtful whether the couplet is in honour even of the Atābek of Moṣul. There are two odes of Khāqānī, one, addressed to Akhsatān, beginning : [— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —]

مرا صبحدم شاهدِ جان نماید دمِ عاشق و بویِ جانان نماید

The other, addressed to Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī, beginning : [— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —]

شهِ اختران زان زرافشان نماید که اکسیرِ زربایِ آبان نماید

Now as both odes have the same rhyme and metre, the verses of the two have become intermixed, rendering it impossible to determine whether the Shamākhī couplet is addressed to Akhsatān I or to Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī. For example, in the Lucknow edition, pp. 385–86, Paris MS. Suppl. Persan 1816, f. 88b, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7726, f. 109a, and India Office MSS. No. 1264, f. 158a, No. 589, f. 175a, No. 2650, f. 216a, the Shamākhī couplet is addressed to Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī. In the Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,808, Add. 16,773, and the India Office MS. No. 1767, the Shamākhī couplet is wanting²; whilst in the Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,018, f. 70b, the Shamākhī couplet is addressed to Akhsatān I.³ Moreover, in the copies where the Shamākhī couplet is addressed to Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī there are other couplets containing the words “Khāqān-i-Akbar” and “Malik Bū'l-Muẓaffar”—the titles of Akhsatān I.⁴ The confusion

¹ Khāqānī :

سپه دار اسلام منصور اتابک
ملک سیف دین شامِ غازی که ذاتش
که کمتر غلامش ندر خان نماید
کیومرثِ طهورث امکان نماید

There are two Atābeks of Moṣul of this name—Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī I (541–44 A.H.) and Sayfu'd-Dīn Ghāzī II (565–76 A.H.). The Sayfu'd-Dīn concerned should be Sayfu'd-Dīn II.

² It should have been on folios 84b, 81b, and 249a respectively.

³ جهاندار شه اخستان کر طبیعت
زگلشگرِ لفظ و تقاحِ خلقتش
کیومرثِ طهورث امکان نماید
شماخی نظیرِ سپاهان نماید

⁴ Lucknow ed., p. 385 and p. 387; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7726, f. 109a and 109b; India Office MS. No. 1264, f. 158a and f. 158b, etc.

increases with the collation, and I have no doubt that the Shamākhi couplet is in honour of Akhsatān I.

And so, by elimination, the solitary event of Akhsatān's reign seems to have been the invasion of the Brodniki or Russian freebooters of the Volga, who, with a fleet of seventy-two or seventy-three sail, cast anchor at the island of Rūinās (Sari), pushed up the Kur, and reached Lambarān, $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Kur on the direct route from Shamākhi to Shūsha. Meanwhile, the Khazars, either on their own initiative or as allies of the Brodniki, occupied Derbend, and advancing twenty leagues south of the town, seized the citadel of Shābarān. In his distress Akhsatān sought the help of Giorgi III : the Brodniki were expelled from Shirwān and their fleet was scattered, probably by tempest ; the Khazars were likewise defeated, and Shābarān and Derbend handed over to Akhsatān. These details are contained partly in the *Georgian Chronicle* ¹ :

“ One day when the Shirwānshāh Aghsarthān, king of Mūqān ² and Shirwān, was troubled by the Khazars of Derbend, he complained to the King Giorgi III, who gathered his troops from both sides of the mountain Likh, and bringing with him Andronicus Comnenus, brother of the Emperor of Greece, he advanced as far as the gates of Derbend, ravaged the neighbourhood of Mushkūr and Sharabām, and took the town of Shābarān. When Giorgi III was at the gates of Shābarān, Andronicus knew how to win the esteem of the Tsar and his whole army. As for Giorgi III, he gave the town to the Shirwānshāh, his cousin-germain paternal.”

and partly in three victory-odes of Khāqānī, discovered by Khānikow ³ :

I ⁴

خاقانِ کبیر ابوالمظفر سر جملہ شدہ مظفرانرا
شمشیرش از آسمان مدد یافت فتحِ دربند و شابرانرا
فتحِ تو بچنگِ لشکرِ روس تاریخ شد آسمانِ فرانرا
یک سہمِ تو خضروارِ بشکافت ہفتاد و سہ کشتیِ ابرانرا

¹ M. Brosset, *Histoire de la Géorgie*, p. 397.

² This is incorrect.

³ *Mélanges Asiatiques*, iii, pp. 117–18, and pp. 125–34.

⁴ *Kulliyāt-i Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 481–84.

Khāqān-i-Kabīr, Abū'l-Muẓaffar has become the first of conquerors.

His sword obtained help from heaven in the conquest of Derbend and Shābarān.

Thy victory over the Russian troops became an era for those exalted like the heavens (i.e. kings).

One of thy arrows, like the prophet Khidr,¹ smashed the 73 vessels of the raiders.

II ²

هود همت شهریارى نوح دعوت خسروى
 حرص از خزران و طوفان از الان انگیخته
 هیبت او مالک آئین و زبانی خاصیت
 دوزخ از دربند و ویل از شابران انگیخته
 بر سرِ دریا ز نیلین تیغِ کانِ رویناس
 تا جزیرهٔ رویناس و لنبران انگیخته
 در جزیره رانده یک دریا ز خونِ روسیان
 موج از آن دریایِ خونِ کوهِ کلان انگیخته
 رایتِ شاهِ اخستان کاآفتخا فالِ اوست
 در جهان آوازهٔ شادیِ رسان انگیخته
 یکدو روز این سگدلان انگیخته در شیروان
 شورشی کارژنگ در مازندران انگیخته
 سهم شاه انگیخته امروز در دربند و روس
 شورشی کان سگدلان از شیروان انگیخته

A prince with the enterprise of Hūd and the eloquence of Noah ;
 he has raised a tempest amongst the Khazars and a deluge amongst
 the Alāns.

His terror, like the keeper of hell and with the quality of
 hell-fire, made of Derbend a hell and raised up lamentations
 in Shābarān.

¹ See *Qur'ān*, xviii, 71.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., pp. 61-2.

Over the surface of the sea, with his sword of indigo hue, he spread a layer of madder as far Lambarān and the island of Rūinās.¹

In the island (of Rūinās), with the blood of the Russians, he made 'the green one red', and the waves of this sea of blood upraised high mountains.

The standards of King Akhsatān, which bore the words 'Surely We have given to you (a clear victory)',² spread joyful tidings in the world.

For a couple of days these dog-hearted men committed in Shirwān disorders like those of Arzhang in Māzandarān.

To-day the terror of the King has caused in Derbend and Russia the same confusion as those dog-hearted men caused in Shirwān.

III ³

روس و خزران بگریزند که در بحر خزر
فیض آن کف جواهر حشر آمیخته اند

The Russians and the Khazars flee, because the Sea of the Khazars (Caspian Sea) has felt the benefit of his hand full of pearls.

The date of the Russian invasion of Shirwān has been investigated by Dorn and Kunik, on the basis of the wanderings of Andronicus Comnenus who accompanied Giorgi III on his campaign against the Khazars at Shābarān. Dorn shows that in 1164 A.D. = 559 A.H. Andronicus was in Galicia with the Russian prince Jaroslaw Wladimir Kowitsch; in 1170 A.D. = 565 A.H. he was in Georgia as a guest of Giorgi III; and shortly after, he was in Asia Minor as a guest of 'Izzu'd-Dīn Qilij-Arslān (ruled 551-84 A.H.). Finally, from 1183-85 A.D. = 578-80 A.H. Andronicus was the Emperor of Byzantium. The date of the Russian invasion would, therefore, be 565 A.H., when Andronicus was in Georgia. Dorn, however, places it "provisionally" in 1173 or 1175 A.D. = 568 or 570 A.H.⁴

The reign of Akhsatān is now complete. Remembered chiefly as the

¹ "The island of Rūinās is either Narguen or Sari—probably the latter, which is specially fit for the cultivation of indigo, and which, because of its sources of fresh water, may have served as a station for the Russian fleet."

² *Qur'ān*, xlviii, 1.

³ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Lucknow ed., p. 393.

⁴ B. Dorn, *Caspia*, p. 240, St. Petersburg (1875).

patron of Khāqānī, Akhsatān is also the *mamdūh* of the *Laylā wa Majnūn* of Nizāmī, and of an ode of Zahīru'd-Dīn-i-Fāryābī.¹ Finally, Akhsatān is mentioned as a contemporary of Qizil-Arslān, in a couplet of Athīru'd-Dīn-i-Akhsikātī.²

The Successors of Akhsatān I

Akhsatān I was succeeded not by his son Minūchīhr, but by his brothers, Shāhinshāh b. Minūchīhr and Farrukhzād b. Minūchīhr: the former is known by his coins; the latter by his inscription, dated 600 A.H. Minūchīhr b. Akhsatān I, apparently, never obtained the throne of Shirwān, for the Shirwānshāhs who ruled contemporaneously with the caliph al-Nāṣir (575–622 A.H.) are³: (i) Akhsatān I b. Minūchīhr II; (ii) Shāhinshāh b. Minūchīhr II; (iii) Farrukhzād b. Minūchīhr II; (iv) Garshāsp b. Farrukhzād b. Minūchīhr II; (v) Jalālu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Farīburz II b. Afridūn b. Minūchīhr II; and (vi) 'Alāu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abū'l-Muẓaffar Farīburz III b. Garshāsp b. Farrukhzād b. Minūchīhr II. Farīburz III b. Garshāsp was also a contemporary of the caliphs al-Mustaṣṣir (623–40 A.H.) and al-Musta'asim (640–56 A.H.) and, therefore, must have enjoyed a long reign. A coin of his son, Akhsatān II b. Farīburz III, is dated 653 A.H.

¹ *Diwān-i-Zahīru'd-Dīn-i-Fāryābī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 19,498, f. 34a-b:

ای جهانرا بتیغ داده قرار کرده شاهان به بندگیت اقرار
شاه آفاق اخستان توئی آنک خواهد از خنجر تاج زینهار

² *Diwān-i-Athīru'd-Dīn-i-Akhsikātī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 268, f. 154a:

ز ارسلان چو بود ره باخستان نزدیک ز روی فضل نگویم از ره گفتار (sic)

³ This list is based on numismatic evidence kindly supplied to me by M. R. Vasmer of Leningrad; consequently, al-Nasawī is wrong in stating that Afridūn b. Farīburz was the Shirwānshāh in 622 A.H. (*supra*, n. 2, p. 5).

[illegible]

THE LIFE OF FALAKĪ-I-SHIRWĀNĪ

The Three Falakīs

There have been three Falakīs. The first of these is Abu'l-Faql 'Alī b. Ḥusayn Falakī of Hamadān (died 429 A.H.),¹ author of the *Muntaha'l-Kamāl fī Ma'rifati'r-Rijāl*,² a work on the titles of traditionists, mentioned as one of the sources of al-'Asqalānī's *Nuzhatu'l-Albāb fī'l-Alqāb*.³ The second Falakī is Falakī-i-Shirwānī, the panegyrist of the *Shirwānshāh* Minūchihir II, whilst the third Falakī is a Persian poet of the eighth century A.H., whom I accidentally discovered in an anthology in the British Museum.

On f. 278b of the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4110 there appears the following *mustazād* with the title "Mawlāna Mūsā Falakī in reply to Mawlāna Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Ḥusām":

مولانا موسی فلکی در جواب مولانا جمال الدین ابن حسام	
A آن کیست که بر مرکبِ حسنست سوارا	تازنده چو شاهي
وز ناز کمر بسته و بگشاده قبا را	کو کرده کلاهي
آن شاه سوارا ز تُمَن کیست کي داند	وز خیل کي پرسند
تاراج نهادست سپاهِ دلِ ما را	چشمش بنگاهي
C از عنبرِ تر دایره ماه کدامست ؟	بر عارضِ تو خط
حیف است که تشبیه کنم نورِ خدا را	با جرمِ سیاهي
از آه دل سوخته ترسم که ازین پس	خورشید بر افلال
شب رنگ کند آینه ماهِ شما را	از دود [ه] آهي
D در دعويِ عشقِ تو چو اشهاد بخوانند	في الحال دو مردم
محراب نشین آرم شایانِ قضا را	از دیده گواهي
B موسی سرِ کویت کند از دور زمین بوس	اي خسروِ خوبان
نزدیک شدن چون نگذارند گدا را	در حضرتِ شاهي

¹ *Catalogus Codicum Manuscriptorum Orientalium qui in Museo Britannico asservantur*, p. 798, London (1838-71).

² *Kashfu'z-zunūn of Ḥājī Khalīfah*, ed. G. Flügel, p. 180, vol. vi, London (1850).

³ *Nuzhatu'l-Albāb fī'l-Alqāb*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7351, f. 1b.

The author of Or. 4110 is unknown, but on f. 222*b*–227*a* of this MS. is a *muwashshah* dated 803 A.H. (f. 227*b*) and addressed by Malik 'Azīzu'llāh to the king Mubārak Shāh described as the reigning sovereign خلد ملکه. As Mubārak Shāh succeeded to the throne of Jawnpūr in 803 A.H. and died the following year, Rieu concludes that Or. 4110 was completed 803–04 A.H.¹

Proceeding now to Ibn-i-Ḥusām there have been three poets of this name. One of these is the author of the *Khāwar-nāmah*, composed in 830 A.H.² Dawlatshāh calls him Muḥammad Ḥusāmu'd-Dīn known as Ibn-i-Ḥusām, died 875 A.H.³; the *Bankipore Catalogue* gives his name as Shamsu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Ḥusām⁴; whilst in the prologue and epilogue of his own *Khāwar-nāmah* Ibn-i-Ḥusām calls himself merely Ibn-i-Ḥusām.⁵

The second Ibn-i-Ḥusām is known from a poem cited in the rare *Mūnisu'l-Ahrār fī Daqā'iqi'l-Ash'ār* of Muḥammad b. Badr-i-Jāarmī, compiled in 741 A.H.⁶ The poet's name is given as Jalālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Ḥusām of Sarakhs, and as he is spoken of as dead—تور الله قبره—he must have died before 741 A.H.

The third Ibn-i-Ḥusām, overlooked by Rieu, Ethé, 'Abdu'l-Muqtadir, and Prof. Browne (in his index of Dawlatshāh), is, according to Muḥammad b. Badr-i-Jāarmī, Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Ḥusām of Hamadān, or, according to Dawlatshāh, Muḥammad ibn-i-Ḥusām of Khawāf, died 737 A.H.⁷ This Ibn-i-Ḥusām is the author of a graceful *mustazād*, whereof eleven stanzas are cited by Muḥammad b. Badr-i-Jāarmī and seven by Dawlatshāh, inclusive of the following⁸:

¹ *Supplement to the Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Br. Mus.*, p. 232.

² *Khāwar-nāmah*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 19,766, f. 360*b* :

چو برسال هشد یفزود سی شد این نامه تازیان یارسی
مر این نامه را خاوران نامه نام نهادم بدانگه که کردم تمام

³ Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 438.

⁴ Vol. ii, p. 30, Calcutta (1910).

⁵ *Khāwar-nāmah*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 19,766, f. 5*b* :

گر ابن حسام از گنه یال نیست چو لطف تو با وی بود باک نیست
Idem, f. 360*b* :

نمیرد دل یال ابن حسام که زندهست [ا] و را بدین نامه نام

⁶ MS. belonging to Mr. H. Kevorkian of New York :

در هفتاد و چل بود و یک اندر رمضان مهر اندر حوت و ماه اندر سرطان
بر دست محمد بن بدر شاعر مجموعه تمام شد بفضل یزدان

⁷ Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 226. Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Ḥusām must have flourished before 741 A.H., for he is cited in the *Mūnisu'l-Ahrār* compiled in 741 A.H.

⁸ Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 226.

A آن کیست که تقریر کند حالِ گدا را
 از غلغلِ بلبل چه خبر بادِ صبا را
 در حضرتِ شاهي
 جز ناله و آهي
 B هر چند نیمِ درخورِ درگاهِ سلاطین
 کز رویِ ترحم بنوازند گدا را
 نوید نیم هم
 گاهی بنگاهی
 بر خرمنِ گل مارِ سیه خفته کدامست ؟
 حیفت که هم خوابه بود ترلِ خطا را
 بر رویِ تو گیسو
 هندویِ سیاهی
 D بر شعرِ من و حسنِ تو گر بیته خواهند
 بر معجزِ موسی نبود دست [و] عصا را
 آن ابنِ حسام است
 حاجت بگواهی

The stanzas A, B, C, D of this *mustazād* seem to have inspired the stanzas A, B, C, D of the *mustazād* previously cited. Further, the name Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Ḥusām given by Muḥammad b. Badr-i-Jājarmī agrees with the name Jamālu'd-Dīn ibn-i-Ḥusām given by the anthologist of the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4110. Consequently, Mūsā Falakī has imitated, and was, therefore, contemporary with or posterior to that Ibn-i-Ḥusām, who died in 737 A.H. Mūsā Falakī, however, could not have been born after 780 A.H., for he is quoted in an anthology—Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4110—compiled in 803-04 A.H. In all probability, therefore, Mūsā Falakī belonged to the eighth century of the *Hijra*.

Falakī-i-Shirwānī

The Falakī *par excellence*, Falakī-i-Shirwānī, was, with Abū'l-'Alā and Khāqānī, a court-panegyrist of the Shirwānshāh, Minūchihir II. Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī writes in 985 A.H., without mentioning his authority, that Falakī died in 577 A.H.¹ Similarly, the *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*² (1019 A.H.), the anthology of Leningrad,³ *Yad-i-Baydā*⁴ (1148 A.H.), *Tadhkirah-i-Nudrat*⁵ (1149 A.H.), *Ātashkadah*⁶ (1193 A.H.), *Ṣuḥuf-i-Ibrāhīm*⁷ (1205 A.H.), and *Nishtar-i-Ishq*⁸ (1233 A.H.), with Rāmī's chronogram cited therein :

¹ *Khulāṣatu'l-Ash'ār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501b.

² Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 335b.

³ Leningrad, Public Library MS. No. 322, f. 187a.

⁴ Bankipore MS. No. 691, f. 174a.

⁵ India Office MS. No. 2678, f. 48a.

⁶ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1268, f. 29a.

⁷ Berlin MS., Pertsch No. 663, f. 261a.

⁸ Bankipore MS. No. 716.

آن شه مَلِكِ بلاغت از قضا جان بجان¹ (sic) آفرین چون در سپرد
گفت رامی سالِ تاریخش چنین وه چه سازم یای نجم الدین بمرد

When, ordained by fate, that king of the domain of eloquence handed over his life to the Creator of Lives,

Rāmī thus expressed the date of the event : What shall I say ? *Alas ! Najmu'd-Dīn (Falakī) is dead.*

—all of these give 577 A.H. as the date of Falakī's death, a date accepted provisionally by Dorn,² Sprenger,³ Aumer,⁴ Salemann,⁵ Pertsch,⁶ and Ethé.⁷

This date, however, is untenable. For, of the 1,197 couplets of Falakī, representing his present *diwān*, nearly all are in honour of Minūchīhr II, who is described as the reigning sovereign : there is no threnody on Minūchīhr II nor is there any mention of the name of Akhsatān, the son and successor of Minūchīhr II. Finally, though Minūchīhr II is described as the son of Farīdūn I, there are no odes in honour of Farīdūn I himself, who died in 514 A.H. The obvious inference is that Falakī was too young at the time of Farīdūn's death in 514 A.H., and that Falakī did not survive Minūchīhr II, who died about 544 A.H. Falakī, therefore, could not have enjoyed a long life—a fact expressly stated by Khāqānī in his elegy on the death of Falakī⁸ :

عطسه سحرِ حلالِ من فلکی بود بود بده فن ز رازِ نه فلک آگاه
زود فرو شد که عطسه دیر نماند اه که کم عمر بود عطسه من آه
جانش یکی عطسه داد [و] جسم پرداخت هم ملک الموت گفت یرحمه الله

¹ Probably جانان

² B. Dorn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte, etc., I Versuch einer Geschichte der Schirwanschahe*, p. 552, St. Petersburg (1841).

³ A. Sprenger, *Oudh Catalogue*, p. 392, Calcutta (1854).

⁴ J. Aumer, *Die Persischen Handschriften der k. Hof- und Staatsbibliothek*, p. 8, Munich (1866).

⁵ C. Salemann, *Chettreroostishia Khākānī*, n. 7, p. 15, St. Petersburg, 1875.

⁶ W. Pertsch, *Die Handschriften-Verzeichnisse der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin*, p. 708, Berlin (1888).

⁷ H. Ethé, *Index to the India Office MSS.*, col. 952.

⁸ *Kulliyāt-i Khāqānī*, Br. Mus. MSS. Add. 25,018, f. 234b; Add. 25,908, f. 308a; Add. 16,773, f. 301b; India Office MSS. No. 1264, f. 240a; No. 1767, f. 338a; and Paris MS., Bibliothèque Nationale, Suppl. Persan No. 623, f. 319b-320a. The text of the Lucknow ed., p. 879, is rather corrupt.

Falakī was a sneeze of my lawful magic (i.e. poetry) ; and because of his proficiency in ten sciences was acquainted with the mystery of the nine heavens.

He went off quickly, because a sneeze does not last long ; alas ! alas ! my sneeze was young (lit. of small age).

His life gave a sneeze and abandoned the body ; and the angel of death said to him : “ God will have mercy on thee.”

We may now proceed to determine the dates of composition of the following two odes containing the *takhalluṣ* of Falakī :

A ¹

روزِ طرب رخ نمود روزه پایان رسید رایتِ سلطانِ عید بر سرِ میدان رسید
 دیده ابر آب ریخت چهره آبان بهشت تابِ مه آب رفت تری آبان رسید
 چون فلکی در جفا با فلکی طرفه نیست گر فلکی را زد درد بر فلک افغان رسید

The day of joy has shown its face ; the Fast has come to an end. The flag of the Sultān of ‘Īd has appeared on the field.

The eyes of the cloud poured water and washed the faces of pools ; the heat of the month of Āb has gone, and the humidity of the month of Ābān has come.

Thou (O beloved) art, like heaven, tyrannical towards Falakī ; no wonder, then, that Falakī’s cry of pain should have reached heaven.

B ²

رایتِ عید شد عیان موبکِ روزه شد نهان
 سنتِ عید فرض دان فرضِ صیام نافله
 گرچه بصحنِ گلستان از پیِ نزهتِ روان
 نیست صفیِ بلبلان هست صفیِ بلبله
 عید و خزان و مهرگان هر سه شدند همقران
 گشت میانِ هر سه شان بندگیِ تو واصله

¹ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 83, 94, and 119.

² *Idem*, couplets 577-80, 591.

هر سه بشکرِ صوفیان خرقه نهاده در میان
 پیر توئی بکن بیان مشکل این مشاکله

مشعله بر فروختی رختِ فلک بسوختی
 بر فلکی فروختی شهر بشور و مشغله

The flag of 'Īd has appeared and the cavalcade of the Fast has departed ; consider the observance of the 'Īd as obligatory and of the Fast as voluntary.

Although, for gladdening the soul, there is no singing of nightingales in the garden's expanse (it does not matter), for there is the gurgling of the wine-bottle.

'Īd and autumn and Mihrġān—the three have synchronized ; and fealty to thee, (O king), is the connecting link between them.

These three, like Sūfis, have placed their woollen garbs in the middle ; thou art the spiritual guide ; explain, then, the difficulty of this congruity.

Thou (O beloved) hast enkindled a torch and burnt the fabric of heaven ; thou hast raised up the city against Falaki by insurrection and tumult.

The ode, A, was written when the 1st of Shawwāl had fallen in Ābān ; the ode, B, when autumn and the 1st of Shawwāl had synchronized with the festival of Mihrġān. Now as Ābān is a Zoroastrian month, and as Mihrġān lasts from the 16th to the 21st day of the month Mihr of the Zoroastrian calendar,¹ it is obvious that both odes can be dated by expressing 1st Shawwāl of the Hijra firstly, in terms of the era of Yazdigird, and secondly, in terms of the era of Jalālu'd-Dīn.

The best work for this purpose is R. Schram's *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln* (Leipzig, 1908), containing (i) the Julian calendar (calculated to 2399 A.D.), pp. 2–99 ; (ii) the Gregorian calendar (calculated from 1582 A.D. to 2399 A.D.), pp. 67–99 ; (iii) the Alexandrian calendar, pp. 108–57 ; (iv) the Republican calendar, pp. 160–71 ; (v) the calendar of Jalālu'd-Dīn, pp. 163–71 ; (vi) the calendar of Yazdigird (calculated from 1 A.Y. to 1799 A.Y.), pp. 174–81² ; (vii) the Egyptian calendar, pp. 183–9 ; (viii) the Jewish calendar, pp. 191–235 ; (ix) the

¹ Al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology of the Ancient Nations*, tr. E. Sachau, p. 207.

² On pp. 174, 176, 178, and 180 the upper figures belong to the era of Yazdigird, and the lower figures, to the Armenian era.

Japanese and Chinese calendars, pp. 243–80; (x) the calendar of the Hijra (calculated till 1800 A.H.), pp. 248–319; and finally (xi) the Indian (?) calendar, pp. 322–55. Schram has proceeded methodically by allotting “day-numbers”: for example, Shawwāl 1st, 1346 A.H., corresponds to the day-number 2425,328 (p. 310). Now, turning to the era of Yazdigird we find the day-number 2425,312 equivalent to Ābān 1st, 1297 A.Y. (pp. 176–7). Therefore, the day-number 2425,328 = Ābān 17th, 1297 A.Y.—the correspondence being:

1st Shawwāl, 1346 A.H. = 2425,328 (day-number) = 17th Ābān, 1297 A.Y.

As the current calendar of the Persian government, published by Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn, states that the 1st of Shawwāl, 1346 A.H., corresponds with the 17th of Ābān, 1297 A.Y., there can be no question of the accuracy of Schram's calculations. I have, therefore, prepared the following calendar from Schram's day-numbers, the basis being the era of Yazdigird.

Schram, pp. 294–5.

Idem, pp. 176–9.

Idem, pp. 56–7.

A.H.	1st Shawwāl Day-number.	Equivalence.	A.Y.	Equivalence.	Julian A.D.
500	2125,534	8 Tir	476	26 May	1107
501	2125,888	27 Khurdād	477	14 May	1108
502	2126,243	17 Khurdād	478	4 May	1109
503	2126,597	6 Khurdād	479	23 April	1110
504	2126,951	25 Ardibihisht	480	12 April	1111
505	2127,306	15 Ardibihisht	481	1 April	1112
506	2127,660	4 Ardibihisht	482	21 March	1113
507	2128,015	24 Farwardīn	483	11 March	1114
508	2128,369	13 Farwardīn	484	28 February	1115
509	2128,723	2 Farwardīn	485	17 February	1116
510	2129,078	22 Isfandārmadh	485	6 February	1117
511	2129,432	11 Isfandārmadh	486	26 January	1118
512	2129,786	30 Bahman	487	15 January	1119
513	2130,141	20 Bahman	488	5 January	1120
514	2130,495	9 Bahman	489	24 December	1120
515	2130,849	28 Dey	490	13 December	1121
516	2131,204	18 Dey	491	3 December	1122
517	2131,558	7 Dey	492	22 November	1123
518	2131,913	27 Adhar	493	11 November	1124
519	2132,267	16 Adhar	494	31 October	1125
520	2132,621	5 Adhar	495	20 October	1126
521	2132,976	30 Ābān	496	10 October	1127
522	2133,330	19 Ābān	497	28 September	1128
523	2133,684	8 Ābān	498	17 September	1129
524	2134,039	28 Mihr	499	7 September	1130
525	2134,393	17 Mihr	500	27 August	1131
526	2134,747	6 Mihr	501	15 August	1132
527	2135,102	26 Shahrīwar	502	5 August	1133
528	2135,456	15 Shahrīwar	503	25 July	1134
529	2135,811	5 Shahrīwar	504	15 July	1135

Schram, pp. 294-5.

Idem, pp. 176-9.*Idem*, pp. 56-7.

A.H.	1st Shawwāl Day-number.	Equivalence.	A.Y.	Equivalence.	Julian A.D.
530	2136,165	24 Murdād	505	3 July	1136
531	2136,519	13 Murdād	506	22 June	1137
532	2136,874	3 Murdād	507	12 June	1138
533	2137,228	22 Tīr	508	1 June	1139
534	2137,582	11 Tīr	509	20 May	1140
535	2137,937	1 Tīr	510	10 May	1141
536	2138,291	20 Khurdād	511	29 April	1142
537	2138,646	10 Khurdād	512	19 April	1143
538	2139,000	29 Ardibihisht	513	7 April	1144
539	2139,354	18 Ardibihisht	514	27 March	1145
540	2139,709	8 Ardibihisht	515	17 March	1146
541	2140,063	27 Farwardin	516	6 March	1147
542	2140,417	16 Farwardin	517	23 February	1148
543	2140,772	6 Farwardin	518	12 February	1149
544	2141,126	25 Isfandārmadh	518	1 February	1150
545	2141,480	14 Isfandārmadh	519	21 January	1151
546	2141,835	4 Isfandārmadh	520	11 January	1152
547	2142,189	23 Bahman	521	30 December	1152
548	2142,544	13 Bahman	522	20 December	1153
549	2142,898	2 Bahman	523	9 December	1154
550	2143,252	21 Dey	524	28 November	1155
551	2143,607	11 Dey	525	17 November	1156
552	2143,961	30 Ādhar	526	6 November	1157
553	2144,315	19 Ādhar	527	26 October	1158
554	2144,670	9 Ādhar	528	16 October	1159
555	2145,024	3rd day of inter- calation	529	4 October	1160
556	2145,378	22 Ābān	530	23 September	1161
557	2145,733	12 Ābān	531	13 September	1162
558	2146,087	1 Ābān	532	2 September	1163
559	2146,442	21 Mihr	533	22 August	1164
560	2146,796	10 Mihr	534	11 August	1165
561	2147,150	29 Shahriwar	535	31 July	1166
562	2147,505	19 Shahriwar	536	21 July	1167
563	2147,859	8 Shahriwar	537	9 July	1168
564	2148,213	27 Murdād	538	28 June	1169

It will be noticed that ode A, written when the 1st of Shawwāl had fallen early in Ābān, could not have been composed except in 523 A.H. :

523 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 498 A.Y. (8th Ābān) = 1129 A.D. (17th September).

or 557-8 A.H. :

557 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 531 A.Y. (12th Ābān) = 1162 A.D. (13th September).

558 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 532 A.Y. (1st Ābān) = 1163 A.D. (2nd September).

The latter dates are undoubtedly too late, for Falakī predeceased

Minūchīhr II, who died about 544 A.H.¹ Consequently, ode A was composed in 523 A.H.

Similarly, ode B, written when the 1st of Shawwāl, the 16th–21st of Mihr, and the season of autumn had synchronized, could not have been composed except in 525 A.H. :

525 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 500 A.Y. (17th Mihr) = 1131 A.D.
(27th August).

or 559 A.H. :

559 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 533 A.Y. (21st Mihr) = 1164 A.D.
(22nd August).

The latter date is again too late ; therefore, ode B was composed in 525 A.H. when the 1st of Shawwāl corresponded with the 17th of Mihr and the 27th of August.²

Dates of Falakī's Odes calculated from the Era of Jalālu'd-Dīn

Since in the sixth century A.H. there existed two calendars of Zoroastrian months—namely, the old era of Yazdigird beginning with the accession of Yazdigird to the throne of Persia on 16th June, 632 A.D., and the reformed era of Jalālu'd-Dīn dating from the vernal equinox, 15th March, 1079 A.D.—the coincidence of the Ramaḍān 'Īd with the beginning of Ābān, mentioned by Falakī in ode A, and the synchronism of the Ramaḍān 'Īd with autumn and the festival of Mihrgān (16th–21st of Mihr), mentioned by Falakī in ode B, are capable of being interpreted in terms of either the old or the reformed calendar. To allow, therefore, for both alternatives, another table is here set forth, on the basis of the era of Jalālu'd-Dīn.

¹ Farīdūn I died in 514 A.H. (*Georgian Chronicle* tr. Brosset, p. 364), and Minūchīhr II, son of Farīdūn I, reigned thirty years (Khāqānī, Lucknow ed., p. 549). Therefore, Minūchīhr II reigned 514–44 A.H. The numismatic evidence is imperfect : Farīdūn I—no coins ; Minūchīhr II—contemporary with al-Muqtafi (530–55 A.H.) ; Akhsatān I—contemporary with al-Mustanjid (555–66 A.H.).

² In the twelfth century A.D., the dates of the Julian calendar (which lasted from 1st January, 46 B.C., to 5th October, 1582 A.D., and which supposes the year too long by 11 minutes 14 seconds) would be six or seven days behind the actual dates. Consequently, the correct date is 27th August + 6 or 7 days = 2nd or 3rd September. This is not too early for autumn, especially as the statement "autumn has come" does not necessarily mean that autumn has commenced according to astronomy. For example, the first week of December is ordinarily considered to be winter, whereas, astronomically, winter does not commence till the 21st or 22nd of December.

Schram, pp. 294-5.

Idem, pp. 164-5
(lower figures).

Idem, pp. 56-7.

A.H.	1st Shawwāl Day-number.	Equivalence.	A.J.	Equivalence.	Julian A.D.
500	2125,534	13 <u>Khurdād</u>	29	26 May	1107
501	2125,888	2 <u>Khurdād</u>	30	14 May	1108
502	2126,243	22 <u>Ardibihisht</u>	31	4 May	1109
503	2126,597	11 <u>Ardibihisht</u>	32	23 April	1110
504	2126,951	29 Farwardīn	33	12 April	1111
505	2127,306	19 Farwardīn	34	1 April	1112
506	2127,660	8 Farwardīn	35	21 March	1113
507	2128,015	3rd day of inter- calation	35/	11 March	1114
508	2128,369	22 Isfandārmadh	36	28 February	1115
509	2128,723	10 Isfandārmadh	37	17 February	1116
510	2129,078	30 Bahman	38	6 February	1117
511	2129,432	19 Bahman	39	26 January	1118
512	2129,786	8 Bahman	40	15 January	1119
513	2130,141	27 Dey	41	5 January	1120
514	2130,495	16 Dey	42	24 December	1120/
515	2130,849	5 Dey	43	13 December	1121
516	2131,204	25 <u>Ādhar</u>	44	3 December	1122
517	2131,558	13 <u>Ādhar</u>	45	22 November	1123
518	2131,913	3 <u>Ādhar</u>	46	11 November	1124
519	2132,267	22 <u>Ābān</u>	47	31 October	1125
520	2132,621	11 <u>Ābān</u>	48	20 October	1126
521	2132,976	1 <u>Ābān</u>	49	10 October	1127
522	2133,330	19 Mihr	50	28 September	1128
523	2133,684	8 Mihr	51	17 September	1129
524	2134,039	28 Shahrīwar	52	7 September	1130
525	2134,393	17 Shahrīwar	53	27 August	1131
526	2134,747	5 Shahrīwar	54	15 August	1132
527	2135,102	25 Murdād	55	5 August	1133
528	2135,456	14 Murdād	56	25 July	1134
529	2135,811	4 Murdād	57	15 July	1135
530	2136,165	22 Tīr	58	3 July	1136
531	2136,519	11 Tīr	59	22 June	1137
532	2136,874	1 Tīr	60	12 June	1138
533	2137,228	20 <u>Khurdād</u>	61	1 June	1139
534	2137,582	8 <u>Khurdād</u>	62	20 May	1140
535	2137,937	28 <u>Ardibihisht</u>	63	10 May	1141
536	2138,291	17 <u>Ardibihisht</u>	64	29 April	1142
537	2138,646	7 <u>Ardibihisht</u>	65	19 April	1143
538	2139,000	25 Farwardīn	66	7 April	1144
539	2139,354	14 Farwardīn	67	27 March	1145
540	2139,709	4 Farwardīn	68/	17 March	1146
541	2140,063	28 Isfandārmadh	68/	6 March	1147
542	2140,417	17 Isfandārmadh	69	23 February	1148
543	2140,772	6 Isfandārmadh	70	12 February	1149
544	2141,126	25 Bahman	71	1 February	1150
545	2141,480	14 Bahman	72	21 January	1151
546	2141,835	4 Bahman	73	11 January	1152/
547	2142,189	22 Dey	74	30 December	1152/
548	2142,544	12 Dey	75	20 December	1153
549	2142,898	1 Dey	76	9 December	1154
550	2143,252	20 <u>Ādhar</u>	77	28 November	1155
551	2143,607	9 <u>Ādhar</u>	78	17 November	1156
552	2143,961	28 <u>Ābān</u>	79	6 November	1157
553	2144,315	17 <u>Ābān</u>	80	26 October	1158

Schram, pp. 294-5.		<i>Idem</i> , pp. 164-5 (lower figures).		<i>Idem</i> , pp. 56-7.	
A.H.	1st Shawwāl Day-number.	Equivalence.	A.J.	Equivalence.	Julian A.D.
554	2144,670	7 Ābān	81	16 October	1159
555	2145,024	26 Mihr	82	4 October	1160
556	2145,378	14 Mihr	83	23 September	1161
557	2145,733	4 Mihr	84	13 September	1162
558	2146,087	23 Shahriwar	85	2 September	1163
559	2146,442	13 Shahriwar	86	22 August	1164
560	2146,796	1 Shahriwar	87	11 August	1165
561	2147,150	20 Murdād	88	31 July	1166
562	2147,505	10 Murdād	89	21 July	1167
563	2147,859	29 Tīr	90	9 July	1168
564	2148,213	17 Tīr	91	28 June	1169

It will be noticed that the two possible dates for the composition of ode A (when 1st Shawwāl had fallen early in Ābān) are :—

521 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 49 A.J. (1st Ābān) = 1127 A.D.
(10th October),

or

554 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 81 A.J. (7th Ābān) = 1159 A.D.
(16th October).

Now, as Falakī predeceased Minūchīhr II, who died *c.* 544 A.H., ode A could not have been composed except in 521 A.H.

Proceeding now to ode B (when 1st Shawwāl had synchronized with autumn and with the festival of Mihrgān, i.e. 16th–21st of Mihr), it will be noticed that as the years 555–557 A.H., apart from being too late for Falakī, show no actual synchronism of the ‘Īd of Ramaḍān with the festival of Mihrgān, ode B could only have been composed in 522 A.H. :

522 A.H. (1st Shawwāl) = 50 A.J. (19th Mihr) = 1128 A.D.
(28th September).

To sum up, therefore, the general result. On the basis of the era of Jalālu’d-Dīn, ode A was composed in 521 A.H. (1st Shawwāl = 1st Ābān), and ode B, in 522 A.H. (1st Shawwāl = 19th Mihr = 28th September)—the alternative dates, obtained from the era of Yazdigird, being 523 A.H. for ode A (1st Shawwāl = 8th Ābān), and 525 A.H. for ode B (1st Shawwāl = 17th Mihr = 27th August). As the difference in the years is small (521 A.H. against 523 A.H. for ode A, and 522 A.H. against 525 A.H. for ode B), and as the reformed calendar discloses better than the ancient calendar both the synchronism with Ābān mentioned in ode A (1st Shawwāl = 1st Ābān against 1st Shawwāl = 8th Ābān) and the

synchronism with autumn mentioned in ode B (1st *Shawwāl* = 19th *Mihr* = 28th *September* against 1st *Shawwāl* = 17th *Mihr* = 27th *August*), the dates 521 A.H. and 522 A.H. obtained from the era of Jalālu'd-Dīn should be preferred to the dates 523 A.H. and 525 A.H. deduced from the era of Yazdigird.¹

These dates complete the argument. For as Falakī could not have been less than twenty years of age when he composed ode A, he must have been born in or before 501-503 A.H. On the other hand, the premature death of Falakī, recorded by Khāqānī, could not have taken place in the early years of Minūchihr's reign, for Falakī has a whole *diwān* in honour of Minūchihr II. Consequently, though the dates of Falakī's birth and death cannot be determined with accuracy, it is obvious that they must be sought in the neighbourhood of the years 501 A.H. and 540 A.H., respectively.

The Life of Falakī-i-Shirwānī

Called Abū'l-Nizām Jalālu'd-Dīn,² or Afṣaḥu'd-Dīn,³ or Najmu'd-Dīn,⁴ or even Mu'ayyidu'd-Dīn 'Uṭhmān⁵ by different *tadhkirahs*, Falakī gives his own name merely as Muḥammad Falakī⁶ :

ای فلکی زان دو لبش بوسه جوی تو باری ز چه غم میخوری
بندہ محمد بمدیحت شہا گوی سخن بُرد بشعرِ دري

O Falakī, take a kiss of those two lips ; whyever shouldst thou fret ?

By (reciting) thy praise, O king, thy servant, Muḥammad, has carried off, with his Persian verse, the ball of poetry.

Shaykh Adhārī states in his *Jawāhiru'l-Asrār*, composed in 840 A.H., that Khāqānī was a pupil of Falakī.⁷ This statement is repeated, without

¹ It is almost certain that Falakī observed the era of Jalālu'd-Dīn ; see note to couplet 242 of the Persian text.

² *Khulāṣatu'l-Ash'ar wa Zubdatu'l-Afkar* (985 A.H.), Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 500a ; *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 335a ; and *Shuhuf-i-Ibrāhīm*, Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 663, f. 260b.

³ *Haft Iqlīm* (1002 A.H.), India Office MS. No. 49, f. 472b.

⁴ *'Urafātu'l-'Aṣḥiqīn* (1024 A.H.), India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 992b ; *Khulāṣatu'l-Afkar*, India Office MS. No. 2692, f. 220a ; *Riyādu'ḡh-Shu'arā*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,729, f. 335a ; *Niḡtar-i-'Ishq*, Bankipore MS. No. 716 ; and *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā*, Tīhrān ed., vol. i, p. 381.

⁵ *Subh-i-Sādiq* (c. 1045 A.H.), Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1728, f. 58a ; and *Tadhkirah-i-Nudrat*, India Office MS. No. 2678, f. 48a.

⁶ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 764 and 786.

⁷ *Jawāhiru'l-Asrār*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7607, f. 183b : خاقانی شاگردِ فلکی شروانیست .

acknowledgment, in the *Nafahātu'l-Uns* of Jāmī,¹ composed in 883 A.H. Shaykh Ādhari does not mention his authority, but in the '*Urafātu'l-'Ashiqīn* of Taqī Awḥadī, written in 1024 A.H., the following couplet is quoted from Athīru'd-Dīn-i-Akhsikātī's literary duel with Khāqānī ²:

ز آخورِ فلکی توسنی برون ناید که طوقِ نعلش نه حلقهٔ دِهانِ منست
From the stable of Falakī no horse comes forth, the circle of whose
shoe is not (impressed on) the circle of my mouth, i.e. does not
leave a kick on mouth.

In the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā* of Riḍā Qulī Khān, 1295 A.H., the couplet reappears as follows ³:

ز آخورِ فلکی توسنی برون آمد که طوقِ نعلش بر حلقهٔ دِهانِ منست
From the stable of Falakī a horse came forth, the circle of whose shoe
is on the circle of my mouth.

It is obvious, however, from Khāqānī's own statement ⁴

عطسهٔ سحرِ حلالِ من فلکی بود بود بده فن ز رازِ نه فلک آگاه
Falakī was a sneeze of my lawful magic (i.e. poetry), and because of his
proficiency in ten sciences was acquainted with the mystery of the
nine heavens.

that Falakī was a protégé rather than the tutor of Khāqānī. Further the text of Khāqānī's challenge and of Athīru'd-Dīn's reply does not permit the interpretation of فلکی as a proper noun. Wrote Khāqānī to Athīru'd-Dīn:

خرد خریطه کشِ خاطر و بیانِ منست سخن جنیبه بر خامه و بنانِ منست
بدان خدای که دورِ زمین پدید آورد که دورِ دورِ منست و زمانِ زمانِ منست
ز ژاژ خائید هر ابلهی ترسم از آنل هنوز در عدمست آنکه همقرانِ منست
بشرق و غرب رسد نامهٔ ضمیرم از آنل
کبوترِ ⁵فلکی [variant ملکی] یکِ رایگانِ منست

¹ *Nafahātu'l-Uns*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,717, f. 281a.

² '*Urafātu'l-'Ashiqīn*, India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 68a, under Athīru'd-Dīn-i-Akhsikātī, and f. 993a under Falakī.

³ *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā*, Tīhrān ed., vol. i, p. 381.

⁴ *Supra*, p. 44.

⁵ *Kulliyāt-i-Khāqānī*, Paris MS. Suppl. Persan No. 1816, f. 175b.

⁶ *Idem*, Lucknow ed., pp. 937-38; Br. Mus. MS. Add. 25,018, f. 41a.

Intelligence carries the letter-bag of my mind and expressions ; speech leads the (post-)horse of my pen and fingers.

By the God who created the Cycle of Time, I swear that the Cycle is my cycle and the Time is my time.

I do not fear every foolish prattler for he, who is my compeer, is yet to be born.

The writings of my mind reach the East and the West, because the pigeon of the *sky* (or variant, *king*) is my free messenger.

Thereupon Athīru'd-Dīn retorted ¹ :

گره گشایی سخن خامه توان منست خزینه دارِ خرد خاطرِ روانِ منست
نه من قرین وجودم سفه بود گفتن هنوز در عدمست آنکه همقرانِ منست
زمان زمان سخن گسترِ خرد بخش است محال باشد گفتن زمان زمانِ منست
ز آخرِ فلکی ^[variant ملکی] توسنی برون ناید
که طوقِ نعلش نی ^[variant بی] حلقه دهنِ منست

My powerful pen unravels the intricacies of speech ; my active mind is the treasurer of intelligence.

Am I not alive ? It is foolish, then, to say : “ He who is my compeer is yet to be born.”

The Time is the time of the person who is eloquent and intelligent ; it is wrong to say : “ The Time is my time.”

From the stable of the *sky* (or variant, *king*) no horse comes forth, the circle of whose shoe is devoid of (or variant, not impressed by) the circle of my mouth.

It will be observed that Athīru'd-Dīn meets Khāqānī's challenge, point by point ; consequently, when Khāqānī boasts : “ The pigeon of the sky, i.e. the sun, is my free messenger,” Athīru'd-Dīn replies : “ Yes, and the constellation of the Horse,³ from the stable of the sky, is shod by my mouth-seal ”—or, if the other reading be adopted, when Khāqānī

¹ *Diwān-i-Athīru'd-Dīn-i-Akhsikātī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 268, f. 180a-b ; India Office MS. No. 132, f. 34a.

² This is the text of the Br. Mus. and India Office MSS. of Athīru'd-Dīn's *diwān*, but the correct reading is, obviously, فلکی.

³ There are two constellations of this name, the 18th Northern constellation or *فلسِ اعظم* and the 19th Northern constellation or *راس القوس*. See *Bist Bāb*, Tīhrān ed., p. 60, 1271 A.H.

says : "The royal pigeons carry my verses," Athīru'd-Dīn answers : "Yes, and the royal horses carry mine." In neither case, therefore, need a horse issue forth from the stable of Falakī to leave a kick on Athīru'd-Dīn's mouth.

The uncertain relations between Khāqānī and Falakī are given a picturesque form by Dawlatshāh and other biographers, who make both Khāqānī and Falakī the pupils of Abū'l-'Alā. Eventually, Khāqānī is married to Abū'l-'Alā's daughter, whilst the disappointed Falakī is compensated by a gift of 20,000 dirhems¹—"the price," as Abū'l-'Alā remarked, "of fifty Turkish handmaidens infinitely more beautiful" than Khāqānī's bride. The first half of this story, relating to Khāqānī, is corroborated by the verses ascribed to Abū'l-'Alā,² but Falakī's rôle in this narrative is unconfirmed by contemporary evidence.³

The *minutiæ* of Falakī's life, obtainable from his own *dīwān* or Khāqānī's, are scanty. Falakī was born in Shirwān⁴ :

زین دیارم نژاد بود ولیل هیچ یار اندرین دیارم نیست

In this land was I born, but friends in this land have I none.

became a protégé of Khāqānī's⁵ ; got married ; lost his wife and other relatives, and was left with an infant daughter⁶ :

¹ Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 70. According to the *Universal Biography of Persian Poets* (India Office MS. No. 2415, f. 20a), Falakī received 40,000 dirhems.

² Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., pp. 70-71 :

تو ای افضل الدین اگر راست پرستی بجان عزیزت که از تو نه شادم

بجای تو بسیار کردم نکوئی ترا دختر و مال و شهرت بدادم

The same text is given also by *Haft Iqlīm* (Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203, f. 398a). The *Tarīkh-i-Guzidah*, Browne's ed., p. 827, gives a different reading :

چو رغبت نمودی بشاگردی من ترا نعمت و مال و بس چیز دادم

³ Abū'l-'Alā could not have presented Falakī with 20,000 dirhems, for in a quatrain ascribed to Abū'l-'Alā by Taqī Awḥadī (India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 41a), Abū'l-'Alā calls himself a borrower, reduced by love of wine to poverty :

سه چیز عیب ندارید خواستن ز کرام یکی کتاب و دویم باده و سه دیگر وام
کتاب و وام بسی خواستیم و خواهم نیز ز بهر باده خامست این گدائی خام

⁴ The name of Shirwān is not expressly mentioned, but as this is a prison-poem and as Falakī was sentenced to prison by the Shirwānshāh Minūchihr II, the land of imprisonment must obviously be Shirwān. Now, as Falakī declares that the land of his imprisonment is the land of his birth, he must, consequently, have been born in Shirwān.

⁵ *Supra*, p. 44.

⁶ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, couplet 844.

کز نر و ماده جز من و طفلي هيچکس زنده در تبارم نيست

Of the males and females of my family none is alive save myself and a baby (respectively).

Falaki speaks of his skill in poetry and calligraphy ¹ :

چه زاري اي فلکي زين نوائبِ ايام که در سخن سيومِ بوتمام و نواسي
مگر که مایه روحند شعر و خطِ تو زانل بهر دو نحيي کلک و دوات و قرطاسي

Because of the adversities of these times why dost thou lament, O Falakī, for in verse thou art the third to Abū Tammām ² and Abū Nuwās ? ³

Thy verse and script are the essence of the soul, for by these two thou hast revived pen, paper, and ink.

and Khāqānī adds that Falakī was an astrologer, "proficient in ten sciences ⁴ and acquainted with the mystery of the nine heavens" ⁵ :

عطسه سحرِ حلالِ من فلکي بود بود بده فن ز رازِ نه فلک آگاه

Falakī was a sneeze of my lawful magic (i.e. poetry), and because of his proficiency in ten sciences was acquainted with the mystery of the nine heavens.

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 744-45. Of special interest in this connection is the following couplet of Falakī :

در امن و عدل و دین ساکن چو اندر بسم سین
بر لطف و خشمش مهر و کین مبني چو ها را لام هل

"In peace and justice rest the country and religion, as (the letter) س (rests) within (the word) [الله] بسم; the love and hatred (of the world) is based on his (i.e. the king's) pleasure and displeasure, just as the ل of هل is based on ها."

A simile of this kind appears far-fetched, but is merely the reflex effect of calligraphy on poetry.

² Abū Tammām Ḥabīb b. Aws, author of the *Ḥamāsa*, died in 231 A.H. Scan, here, as Bū Tamām | — — — |

³ Abū Nuwās Ḥasan b. Ḥānī', poet and court-jester to the Caliph Hārūn, died between 190 and 199 A.H. Scan, here, as Bū Nuwwās | — — — |

⁴ Five of these are certain, namely : Persian poetry, astrology, calligraphy, knowledge of Arabic (see the couplets 322, 334, 335 and 336 of the present *diwān*) and knowledge of the *Qur'ān* (see couplets 150, 173, 186, 187, 351, 413, 451, 609, 614, 737, 748 and 931 of the present *diwān*).

⁵ *Supra*, p. 44.

Falaki's interest in astrology has both a prelude and a sequel: it originated, according to Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī, from Falaki's love for an astrologer's son; and it culminated, according to the same authority, in the composition of a work on astrology and in the adoption of the peculiar *takhalluṣ*—Falaki.¹ The prose-work has perished, but the *takhalluṣ* has survived, though, according to Ulugh Beg b. Shāh-rukh (850–53 A.H.), it was an unhappy choice²:

دیوانِ فلکی را نزدِ پادشاهِ مبرور الغ یگ کورکان انارالله برهانه
 بردند—مطالعہ کرد و پسند فرمود اما گفت عجب تخلّص دارد و بتفأل
 خوب نیست

They showed His late Majesty, Ulugh Beg Kūrkan, the *Diwān-i-Falaki*: he read it with interest but said: "The *takhalluṣ* is peculiar and inauspicious."

Falaki's contemporary, Adīb-i-Ṣābir (d. after 538 A.H.) uses فَلَكِي FALAKI in the sense of "Heavenly" or "a Heavenly being",³ but another contemporary, Ḥasan of Ghazna (d. after 545 A.H.),⁴ uses فَلَكِي FALAKI in the sense of فَلَك زده "oppressed by the heavens" or "ill-starred", a meaning not found in dictionaries⁵:

فلکی کرد گردشِ فلک زمینی کرد گردشِ زمین

The revolution of the heavens has oppressed me; the movement of the times has afflicted me.

¹ *Khulāṣatu'l-Aḡhār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkar*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 500b:

آورده اند که در اوایل جوانی بمهر جمالِ پسرِ منجمی متعبد گردید و بواسطهٔ مغالطهٔ معشوق بآن علم رغبت پیدا کرد و چنانکه باید آن فن را دانست و کتابی در احکامِ نجوم تصنیف کرد که علمای آن فن پسندیده اند و سببِ تخلّص نیز همین است

² Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 104.

³ *Diwān-i-Adīb-i-Ṣābir*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 327, f. 35a:

فلکی گشت بهمتِ ملکی گشت بخلق ملکش بندهٔ خلق و فلکش تحتِ قدم

⁴ This is the date of composition of one of his odes.

⁵ *Diwān-i-Ḥasan-i-Ghazna*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1777, f. 18b.

Whatever his original predilections may have been, Falakī soon renounced astrology for poetry, enrolling himself as a professional panegyrist ¹:

ز اوّل که سخن بنظم کردم کم بود بشاعری عیارم
ز آموزش و از قبولت امسال بنگر که چه بر سخن سوارم
هر سال ز فرّ دولت تو در گفتن مدح به ز یارم
شیرست سخن که دایم او را خواهم که بدام خود در ارم
گر دل دهم قبول این شعر این شیر سخن شود شکارم

When I first composed verse I had little aptitude for poetry.

By thy instruction and patronage behold how I am handling verse this year.

Each year, by the glory of thy state, I am a better panegyrist than before.

Poetry is a lion I am continually trying to ensnare.

Shouldst thou encourage me by accepting this ode I shall bag this lion of speech.

At court his talents were recognized ; his means improved ² :

مخت من ز ملک و مال منست هر دو گر عاقلم بکارم نیست

My trouble is due to my wealth and estates ; neither of these do I need if I am wise.

and there was even the chance of his becoming the poet-laureate ³ :

کام وی آنست که گویند تو شاعر خاص ملک کشوری

His (Falakī's) ambition is that they should say : "Thou art the premier poet of the king."

But soon this fair prospect was overcast ; Falakī was traduced to the king as lacking in loyalty ⁴ :

شها و شهر گشایا نموده اند که بنده ادای بندگی تو گذاشت مهمل و مبهم

O king and conqueror of cities, they have alleged that I have neglected paying allegiance to thee.

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 462-66.

² *Idem*, couplet 789.

³ *Idem*, couplet 842.

⁴ *Idem*, couplet 303.

and thrown into the fortress of Shābarān ¹ :

غرقه در آهنم چو دیوانه گرچه با دیو کارزارم نیست
 با دل رنج و تن رنجور طاقت بند شهریارم نیست
 هم درین قلعہ خانہ فرمایم کہ برین جای اختیارم نیست

Like a demoniac am I encased in iron though I have to fight no demon.²

Sad at heart and ill in body, I have no strength to bear the fetters of the king.

Since I have no independence here (i.e. since I cannot go elsewhere), order a home for me in this fortress.

In an ode written after his release from captivity Falakī states that the imprisonment had nearly killed him, reducing him to a mere skeleton³ :

مردہ بودم وز ہمہ اعضائی من استخوانها بود پیدا همچو لام
 لطف شروانشاه جانم باز داد رغم آنکو گفت من یحیی العظام

I was dead and from all my limbs the bones projected like (the letter) *lām*.

In his mercy the Shirwānshāh granted me my life—in spite of Him (Allāh) Who has said : *Who will give life to the bones (when they are rotten) ?* ⁴

How long Falakī survived his fall is uncertain. He may have succeeded in his efforts to obtain readmission to the royal court ⁵ :

کی کشم در چشم و کی بوسم بکام خاک درگاه شهنشاه انام

When will I use (as collyrium) for my eyes and when will I kiss with my mouth the dust of His Majesty's court ?

but it is much more likely that under the strain of his imprisonment Falakī died the premature death recorded by Khāqānī. According to Taqi'ud-Dīn Kāshī, Falakī is buried in his birthplace, Shamākhī, the capital

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 825, 830, 843.

² The words, demoniac and demon, have been used to retain the redundant homonymy of the original—دیوانه and دیو.

³ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplets 412–13.

⁴ *Qur'ān*, xxxvi, 78.

⁵ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, couplet 395.

of Shirwān¹ : there is no evidence, at any rate, that Falakī died anywhere else but in Shirwān.

II

The extant odes of Falakī are as devoid of facts as they abound in rhetorical artifices. Amongst seas, the Caspian Sea, Red Sea, and the Gulf of 'Ummān ; amongst rivers, the Euphrates, Nile, Oxus, and the Tigris ; amongst countries, Arabia, the Canary islands, Cathay, China, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Kashmīr, Khurāsān, Khutlān (i.e. the mountainous tract lying in the angle between the Wakhshāb and the Oxus), Persia, Rūm, Shirwān, Spain, Syria, Tibet, Turkistān, and 'Ummān ; and amongst places, Badakhshān, Baghdād, Bahrayn, Bāqilān, Bartās (in Turkistān), Chāch, Chigil, Kāshghar, Khallukh, Qayrawān, Samangān,² Shushtar, Sipāhān (Isfahān), Somnāth, Taysūn, and Tūr Mt. are mentioned. The persons referred to are much more numerous. Of Prophets, Scriptural patriarchs, etc., Adam and Eve, Enoch, Noah, Pharaoh and Hāmān, Amran, Moses and Aaron, Balaam, Korah, Solomon, Elias, Jonah, Jesus Christ and Mary, Khidr, Muḥammad and Fāṭimah (Zahrā) ; of the old legendary kings of Persia, Hūshang, Jamshīd, Bivarasp (Daḥḥāk), Farīdūn, Salm, Tūr, Īraj, Āraṣh (b. Kay Kubād), Kay Khusraw, Gushtāsp, and Isfandiyār ; of legendary warriors, Qāran (b. Kāwah), Narīmān (or Nīram), Sām, Zāl, and Rustam ; of the Greeks, Plato, Luqmān, Katāyūn, Balinās,³ and Alexander ; of the Sāsānians, Bahrām and Nūshirwān ; of the Romans, Heraclius ; of the Indians, Porus ; of the Ethiopians, Bilāl ; of the Arabs, Hātim of Tayyī', Abū Lahab, Abū Hurayrah, Abū Nuwās, and Abū Tammām ; of the kings of Persia, (Sultān) Maḥmūd the Ghaznawid (d. 421 A.H.), Malikshāh the Seljūq (d. 485 A.H.), Farīdūn I, and Abū'l-Hayjā Fakhru'd Dīn Minūchihr II b. Farīdūn ; and of the other Persians, Manes,⁴ Salmān,⁵ (Abū'l-Ḥasan) Gūshyār (b. Labbān), astronomer,

¹ *Khulāṣatu'l-Aḥ'ar wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 500-1b :

مولودش قصبة شماخي . . . و در دارالملک شماخي مدفونست

² "The precise position of Samanqān or Samalqān, which Yāqūt describes as lying to the east of Jājarm in Khurāsān, is uncertain." G. le Strange, *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 392, Cambridge (1905).

³ i.e. the magician Balinās, companion of Alexander the Great, and husband and pupil of the enchantress Ādhar Humāyūn. See Nizāmī's Iskandar-nāmāh, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7729, f. 227a and f. 244b.

⁴ Born in 215 or 216 A.D., and put to death between 273 and 276 A.D.

⁵ Died between 32 and 37 A.H.

c. 321-361 A.Y. = 340-382 A.H.,¹ Abū 'Alī (b. Sīnā) (Avicenna), 370-428 A.H., Kārāsī, i.e. Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī 'Imādu'd-Dīn Kiā Harāsī, divine, 450-504 A.H., Abū'l-Futūḥ (minstrel of Minūchīhr II), Prince Dhukhratu'd-Dīn Farīdūn (b. Minūchīhr II), and the ministers Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Naṣr Malik Mis'ar b. 'Abdu'llāh and Amīnu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Abdu'l-Jalīl-i-Ahrāsī are mentioned. Finally, there are two proper names, Ja'far and Qādir, which cannot be identified.

It is curious that Falakī should have ignored not merely the earlier poets of Persia but even his colleagues and compatriots, Abū'l-'Alā and Khāqānī. Prof. Browne quotes from Dawlatshāh²:

“Men of letters and poets of distinction have a high opinion of Mas'ūd (i-Sa'd-i-Salmān)'s verse, so that Falakī (of Shirwān), while lauding his own genius, thus alludes to Mas'ūd's poetry:—

'Had Mas'ūd such cunning in verse as is mine, from the Land of the Dead,

Sa'd-i-Salmān, his father, would come and blessings invoke on his head.' ”

This isolated couplet,

گر این طرزِ سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودی
بجان صد آفرین کردی روانِ سعدِ سلمان

given also by the *Khayru'l-Bayān*³ (1019 A.H.), proved rather troublesome, for I was anxious to trace the ode because of its autobiographical information. Failing to find it in the *Diwān-i-Falakī*, I consulted Mirza Muḥammad Khān's monograph on Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān⁴ to find if Dawlatshāh's couplet could be traced in the *diwāns* of those poets who, according to Mirza Muḥammad Khān, have praised Mas'ūd's poetry. The result was negative; and, to make the matter

¹ This equation is based on Schram; Mirza Muḥammad's calculation, *Chahār Maqālah*, p. 202, is slightly incorrect.

² E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 325. Also Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 47:

فضلا و اکابر اشعار او [مسعود سعد سلمان] را معتقدند چنانکه فلکی شروانی در
منقبت خود میگوید و ذکر سخن مسعود میکند

گر این طرزِ سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودی
بجان صد آفرین کردی روانِ سعدِ سلمان

³ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3397, f. 49a.

⁴ J.R.A.S. 1905-6.

complicated, I found Dawlatshāh quoted without acknowledgment in the preface of the *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān* himself (transcribed in 1008 A.H.), where Falakī-i-Shirwānī is singled out from amongst the poets who have praised Mas'ūd's poetry.¹

It was necessary, therefore, to examine without distinction the works of all Persian poets contemporary with or posterior to Mas'ūd and anterior to Dawlatshāh. And so eventually Dawlatshāh's couplet was found in the *Diwān-i-Adīb-i-Šābir*² where it belongs to an ode of thirty-seven couplets, with the beginning :

دل عاشق شدن فرمود و من بر حسبِ فرمانش
در افتادم بآن دردی که پیدا نیست درمانش

and the conclusion :

به از بنده نگوید خَلق مدحِ مجلسِ عالی
بدین معنی مسلم کرده اند اهلِ خراسانش
ز شعرِ بنده پُر دُر شد دِهان و لفظِ هر راوی
که مدحِ مجلسِ عالی پُر از دُر کرد دیوانش
بدین حسن و طراوت شعر اگر مسعود را بودی
هزاران آفرین کردی روانِ سعدِ سلمانش
همیشه تا همی خوانند و در اخبار و در قرآن
صفاتِ یوسف و حسنش حدیثِ نوح و طوفانش
جهان دل باد و او دانش خراسان مصر و او یوسف
خداوندِ جهان داده بقایِ نوح و لقمانش

The patron's name given in the fourteenth couplet of this ode as Majdu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī³ leaves no doubt that the ode really

¹ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Br. Mus. MS. Egerton 701, f. 1b :

فلکی شیروانی و دیگر شعرا منقبتِ شاعری او [مسعود سعد سلمان] را در اشعارِ خود
بیان نموده اند

² *Diwān-i-Adīb-i-Šābir*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 327, f. 27-8a.

³ *Idem*, f. 27b :

رئیس شرق مجدالدین ابوالقاسم علی کایزد مزین کرد عالم را بعدل و حلم و احسانش

از آنکه بدین کار سخن بلند شد
 در نبود پیش ازین رقی شودند
 کرد تو طمیر من شو من زایش بگذرم
 با کمال این هنر شه و شوم جوانور
 شعر چنین تو چون فلکی بود مرا
 زاکه ندارد این شرف قوه طبع نوی
 تاز غبار غالیه کرد غذار لیسران
 خامه صنع میکند صورت خط عمر
 باد فلک مطیع تو تا بود خج سرکش
 باد جهان بکام تو تا ز عمر بخوری

ماه را بر تو منور دارد
 مشک را نکنت موسی تو معطر
 خال مشکین تو بر صنفه خورشید
 رونقی دارد و انصاف که در خور دارد
 شیوه بندگی خط تو ریحان دارد
 منصب خادمی زلف تو عنبر دارد
 مرد بر تو خورشید خست مهر افروز
 ماه اگر با رخت آمینه برابر دارد
 می شب در هوس روی تو میسوزد
 که چو من آتش سودا تو در سر دارد
 مال دل تنگی خود با دست خواهم
 این سخن کرچه از آن نیست که باور دارد
 نسبت قامت تو به صنوبر کردند
 راستی میل دل من به صنوبر دارد
 نند پیش هوای سخن سپردن
 هر که در خانه تو سرو سبزه دارد
 سم از آن روز که اخلاص تو می وزد
 قصه عشق تو چون فاتحه از بر دارد

belongs to Adīb-i-Şābir, for Majdu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī was Adīb-i-Şābir's earliest patron, to whom the majority of the odes in his *diwān* are addressed.¹

III

Amongst the poets of Persia who have mentioned Falakī-i-Shirwānī there is first of all his contemporary, Khāqānī, whose elegy on the death of Falakī has already been cited.² Secondly, there is the poet Zāhiru'd-Dīn-i-Shufurwah, brother of Sharafu'd-Dīn-i-Shufurwah and, like him, a panegyrist of Arslān Shāh b. Tughril II (556-73 A.H.) and Tughril III b. Arslān Shāh (573-90 A.H.) who makes the following incidental reference to Falakī³:

گرتو ظہیر من شوی من زائیر بگذرم تا بکمال این هنر شهره شوم چو انوری
شعر چنین . . . تو چون فلکی بود مرا ز آنکه ندارد این شرف قوت طبعِ عنصري

Shouldst thou become my supporter I shall surpass fire (by the quality of my verse); until by attaining perfection in the art of poetry I shall become celebrated like Anwarī.

My verse is . . . like (the verse of) Falakī, for this honour transcends the power of the genius of 'Unşurī.

The India Office *Diwān-i-Zāhiru'd-Dīn-i-Shufurwah* is not unique, as regarded by Ethé, but Prof. N. Martinovitch tells me that the ode in question is wanting in the copy owned by Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore. It is obvious, however, that Zāhiru'd-Dīn-i-Shufurwah has chosen his words with a double object: he has pitted Falakī against 'Unşurī, because "Falakī", meaning "heavenly", is the exact antithesis of "'Unşurī", meaning "mortal" or "terrestrial"⁴; and, secondly, he has compressed in two couplets the names of six poets, as follows: Zāhir(u'd - Dīn - i - Fāryābī)⁵ or Zāhir(u'd - Dīn - i - Shufurwah) himself;

¹ *Diwān-i-Adīb-i-Şābir*, Br. Mus. Ms. Or. 327, f. 5b, 8b, 10b, 12b, 23b, 55a, etc.

² *Supra*, pp. 44-45.

³ *Diwān-i-Zāhiru'd-Dīn-i-Shufurwah*, India Office MS. No. 240, f. 87a.

⁴ Cf. al-Baydāwī in his *Nizāmu't-Tawārīkh*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1859, f. 2b:

حدی نہایت . . . مبدعی را کہ یک امر "کن" عالمِ اشباح و ارواح را پیدا کرد و
اجرامِ فلکی و اجسامِ عنصري . . . بفضای وجود آورد

⁵ Died 598 A.H.

Athīr(u'd - Dīn - i - Akhsikātī)¹; Anwarī²; Falakī; Sharaf(u'd - Dīn - i - Shufurwah); and 'Unsurī.³

The third reference is an appreciation by 'Iṣmat. To the well-known *qaṣīdah* of Falakī: [— — — | — — — — || — — — — | — — — —]

سپهرِ مجد و معالی محیطِ نقطهٔ عالم جهانِ جود و مروّت چراغِ دودهٔ آدم

the poet 'Iṣmat of Bukhārā has written, as was pointed out by Dawlatshāh,⁴ a "reply" or "parallel", addressed to Khalīl Sulṭān b. Mirānshāh b. Timūr (ruled in Samarqand 807-12 A.H. and died 814 A.H.)⁵: [— — — — | — — — — || — — — — | — — — —]

شبی ز دردِ جدائی نداشتم سرِ عالم رخی ز گریهٔ پُرازخون دلی ز نالهٔ پُرازغم
رفیع مرتبهٔ عالی خلیل آنکه بطاعت بیِ سجودِ جنابش گرفت قدِ فلکِ خیم

One night, because of the pangs of separation, I lost (all) interest in the world; flushed was my face with tears, and oppressed was my heart with grief.

The exalted and eminent Khalīl! To express its obedience by prostration at his threshold, bent is the stature of heaven.

'Iṣmat goes on to state that, since a thousand 'Iṣmats cannot hope to rival Falakī, the sole purpose of his "reply" is to learn from Falakī the arts of polite speech and poetry⁶:

ز بندهٔ علم و ادب بود جملهٔ را متوقع کراگان که من از فنِّ شاعری بزنم دم
گر آن طریق میسر نشد چه بهتر ازینم که نامِ من بشایِ تورفت در همهٔ عالم
قصیدهٔ فلکی چون بگوشِ جانِ من آمد دلم ز حسنِ نایش بماند الکن و مفتحم
منِ فقیر که باشم که دم زبزم ز جنابش چه جایِ من که نباشد حدِ هزارچومن هم
از آن تتبعِ آن شعر کرده ام که ز طورش مرا طریقهٔ علم و ادب شود متعلم

¹ Panegyrist of Arslān Shāh b. Tughril II (556-73 A.H.) and of the Atābek Qizil-Arslān b. Ildigiz (581-87 A.H.).

² Died after 581 A.H.

³ Died between 432 and 442 A.H.

⁴ Browne's ed., p. 104.

⁵ *Dīwān-i-'Iṣmat* of Bukhārā, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3500, f. 59a-61a.

⁶ *Idem*, f. 60b-61a.

They knew I was polite and learned, but who knew my aptitude for poetry ?

Even if I have not mastered that art what can be better than that by reciting thy praise I should be known throughout the world ?

When the ode of Falakī came to the ears of my soul I stammered with admiration, and was unable to reply (to his ode).

Can an ordinary person, like myself, rival Falakī's eminence ? No, nor even a thousand others like myself.

To acquire learning and the art of polite speech have I imitated the verse of Falakī.

Finally, there is the poet Salmān-i-Sāwajī (700-78 A.H.), who, like 'Iṣmat, has imitated Falakī, but, unlike 'Iṣmat, has not acknowledged his indebtedness. Says Falakī in an ode addressed to Minūchīhr II ¹ :
[— — — | — — — | — — — | — — —]

رخ و زلف و لب و چشم و خط و خالِ تو ای دلبر
ز من بردند هوش و لهو و صبر و عیش و خواب و خور
نمانده تا ز تو دورم مرا از غایتِ محنت
بصر در چشم و جان در تن طرب در طبع و دل در بر
زمانه حکم و امر و کام و رایش را مسخّر شد
بجلّ و عقد و امر و نهی و قبض و بسط و خیر و شر
چه اسپست آنکه روزِ کین بود در زیرِ رانِ او
بن گردون بسر اختر بسم مرمر بتگ صرصر

To this Salmān "replies" in an ode composed in honour of Shaykh Ḥasan, founder of the Jalā'ir dynasty (736-57 A.H.) ² : [— — — | — — — | — — —]

بچشم و غمزه و رخسار و ابرو میرد دلبر
قرار از جسم و خواب از چشم و هوش از عقل و عقل از سر

¹ *Diwān-i-Falakī*, ode viii.

² *Kulliyāt-i-Salmān-i-Sāwajī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 2815, f. 23a.

نباشد خالی از فکر و خیال و ذکرِ او ما را
روان در تن خرد در سر سخن در لب نفس در بر
بامر و رای و تدبیر و مرادِ اوست گردون را
ثبات و سیر و حلّ و عقد و امر و نهی و خیر و شر
بوقتِ سبق و سیر و عزم و رزم از وی فرو ماند
بسرعت و هم و جستن برق و رفتن پیل و تگ صرصر

THE *DĪWĀN* OF FALAKĪ-I-SHIRWĀNĪ

Abbreviations

- B = British Museum MS. of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī's *tadhkirah*, Or. 3506.
D = Sir E. Denison Ross's MS. transcribed at Simla.
F = *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*.
H = *Haft Iqlīm*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203.
L = Leningrad anonymous anthology, Public Library MS. No. 322.
M = Munich *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, Or. 279 Prunneri.
Ma = *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā*, Tīhrān ed.
Mu = *Mūnisu'l-Aḥrār*, MS. owned by H. Kevorkian of New York.
O = British Museum MS. Or. 4110—an anonymous anthology.
P = Paris copy of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī's *tadhkirah*, Suppl. Persan, 799.
T = Anonymous *tadhkirah*, British Museum MS. Or. 3386
Ta = Taqī Awḥadī's *tadhkirah*, India Office MS. No. 3654.

I

THE ORIGINAL *DĪWĀN-I-FALAKĪ*

Although the fact of Falakī being an astrologer cannot be questioned, for it is based on the contemporary evidence of Falakī's compatriot, the poet Khāqānī, I have found no trace of the treatise on astrology, which, according to Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī, was written by Falakī and appreciated by the astrologers of the age. The extant works of Falakī, therefore, are merely poetical, and even these seem to have partly perished.

In his *Khulāṣatu'l-Aḥ'ār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār* of 985 A.H. Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī states that the *Dīwān-i-Falakī* which is very rare, and which he hopes to be able to discover some day, consists of 7,000 couplets, comprising odes, lyrics, and quatrains.¹ This is the earliest estimate of Falakī's works, the others being: the anonymous anthology of Leningrad² and *Ṣuḥuf-i-Ibrāhīm*³ (1205 A.H.), 7,000 couplets; Taqī Awḥadī⁴

¹ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501a.

² Leningrad, Public Library MS. No. 322, f. 187a.

³ Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 663, f. 261a.

⁴ India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 993a.

(1024 A.H.), and *Khulāṣatu'l-Afkār* ¹ (1207 A.H.), 3,000 couplets ; and the modern British Museum anthology ² (1253-87 A.H.), 10,000 couplets. Now as Falakī died young,³ and as he was originally an astrologer with little aptitude for poetry,⁴

ز اوّل که سخن بنظم کردم کم بود بشاعری عیارم

When I first composed verse I had little aptitude for poetry.

the higher figures—7,000 and 10,000—given by the *tadhkirahs* appear unlikely. The present text comprises 1,197 couplets.

II

SOURCES OF THE PRESENT *DĪWĀN-I-FALAKĪ*

Sources of the present *Dīwān-i-Falakī* are the following : (A) *dīwāns* of Falakī ; (B) *tadhkirahs* ; (C) books of general knowledge and history ; and (D) lexicons and works on prosody.

Dīwāns of Falakī

"Falakī's *dīwān*," writes Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī in 985 A.H., "is very rare and is supposed to contain 7,000 couplets. I hope to find this *dīwān* one day ; meanwhile, I have recovered with great difficulty the following collection of the poems of Falakī." ⁵ Now the *tadhkirah* of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī itself has become very rare so that I have not found more than two copies of this work with poetical extracts from Falakī—the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501b-512a, 1,084 couplets, and the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS. Suppl. Persan 799, f. 218b-251a, 1,060 couplets. Thinking,

¹ India Office MS. No. 2692, f. 221a.

² Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3386, f. 283b.

³ *Supra*, p. 44.

⁴ *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, couplet 462.

⁵ Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501a-b :

دیوان اشعار فلکی میگویند قریب بهفت هزار بیت از قصیده و غزل و رباعی هست لیکن مهجور و نایابست و مسود این اوراق زحمت بسیار کشید و ازو چند قصیده پیدا کرده درین خلاصه بی حذف و نقصان مثبت گردانید، انشاء الله تعالی بعد از پیدا کردن دیوان تمامی باقی اشعارش انتخاب نموده درین اوراق ثبت خواهد شد،

therefore, that the field had been thoroughly investigated by Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī, I had decided to make his *tadhkirah* the basis for preparing a *Diwān-i-Falakī* when I came across two important notices of the *diwān*, the first in the *Oudh Catalogue* of A. Sprenger, and the second in the *Munich Catalogue* of J. Aumer. Says Sprenger :

No. 199

دیوانِ فلکی

Beginning of the *Qaṣīdahs*

سپهرِ مجد و معالی محیطِ نقطهٔ عالم جهانِ جود و مروت چراغِ دودهٔ آدم

Moti Maḥall, two copies, one 12mo, 72 pp. of 14 or 15 *bayts*, written at Agra in an elegant hand in 1015 A.H., prefixed is a short biography of the author.

This information is brief but significant : the Oudh *Diwān-i-Falakī* began exactly like the known collections of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī. Further, as there were 72 pages of 14 or 15 couplets to a page there could not have been more than $72 \times 15 = 1,080$ couplets. Now, as some pages contained 14 couplets instead of 15, the space of a line must have been left over to prevent the odes from running in, and as a good collection of Falakī's poems contains 25 odes, the gap must have amounted to 25 couplets. This reduces the number of couplets to $1,080 - 25 = 1,055$, and if we make an allowance for the gaps between the different *ghazals*, "fragments," and quatrains, a nearly correct estimate of the Oudh *Diwān-i-Falakī* would be 1,040 couplets. In other words, the Oudh *Diwān-i-Falakī* contained 20 couplets less than the Paris *tadhkirah* of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī. This difference is too trivial to negative the suggestion that the Oudh *Diwān-i-Falakī* was extracted from Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī : numerically, indeed, the Oudh *Diwān-i-Falakī* resembles the Paris *tadhkirah* of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī even more closely than the Paris *tadhkirah* resembles the *tadhkirah* of London. Therefore, though neither of the two Oudh copies can be traced, it is perhaps some consolation to find that they were merely extracts from Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī, dignified by the title of "*diwān*".

There remains the second *diwān* of Falakī, written in Ta'liq about the eleventh century A.H., and comprising folios 93a to 133b of the Munich MS. Or. 279 Prunneri. This MS. contains no lacuna, but the folios of the

ḏiwān have not been inserted in their proper place, so that the following corrections are necessary : folios 93*a* to 102*b* as at present ; then 104, 103, 106, 105, 107-108, 116, 110-115, 109 ; and 117*a* to 133*b* as at present.

The Munich *ḏiwān* contains twenty odes in alphabetical order, three *tarkīb-bands*, one prison-poem, five quatrains, and some *ghazals* and "fragments", comprising altogether 1,135 couplets. On f. 130*b*-131*a* are three couplets, which form part of four couplets cited on f. 129*b*. Subtracting these three couplets, the Munich *ḏiwān* contains 1,132 couplets, being the largest known collection of the poetical works of Falakī.

The value of the Munich *ḏiwān*, however, is chiefly quantitative : the scribe, apparently, was a man of no learning ; several words have been omitted ; others misspelt ; others, again, have not been dotted. The errors are so plentiful that not more than a half of the *ḏiwān* makes sense. By collating, however, with the *tadhkirah* of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī and other texts presently to be described, I found that the Munich *ḏiwān* could be deciphered, and that of the thirty couplets of ode No. xviii, which appeared to be unique, twenty-nine couplets were contained in the anonymous anthology of Leningrad, Public Library MS. No. 322. Further, *tarkīb-band* No. 1, which contains sixty-nine couplets, whereof thirty-seven couplets are not found in any other collection, proved to be less defective than I anticipated : I decided, therefore, to yield to the numerical factor and make the Munich *ḏiwān* a basis for compiling a *Ḍiwān-i-Falakī*.

B

Tadhkirahs

Several *tadhkirahs*, like the *Lubābu'l-Albāb* of Muḥammad 'Awfi, omit Falakī altogether ; others mention him, either with or without citing poetical extracts from him.

The following five *tadhkirahs* mention Falakī but do not cite poetical extracts from him :

- (i) *Nafahātu'l-Uns* (883 A.H.) of Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Jāmī, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,717, f. 281*a*.
- (ii) *May-khānah* (1040 A.H.) of Ḥasan b. Luṭfu'llāh-i-Tīhrānī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3537, f. 240*a*.
- (iii) *Mir'ātu'l-Khiyāl* (1102 A.H.) of Shīr Khān b. 'Alī Amjad Khān, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 231, f. 23*b*.

- (iv) *Tadhkirah-i-Husaynī* (1163 A.H.) of Husayn Dūst-i-Sanbhalī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 229, f. 138a.
- (v) *Ṣuḥuf-i-Ibrāhīm* (1205 A.H.) of 'Alī Ibrāhīm Khān, Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 663, f. 260b-261a.

The *tadhkirahs* which give biographical notices of Falakī, accompanied by poetical extracts, are the following twenty-six, the number of couplets cited varying from 1 to 1,088 :

	Couplets.
(i) <i>Mūnisi'l-Ahrār fī Daqā'iqi'l-Ash'ār</i> (741 A.H.) of Muḥammad b. Badr-i-Jārmī, MS. owned by Mr. H. Kevorkian of New York	72
(ii) Anonymous anthology (804 A.H.), Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4110, f. 121a-122b	60
(iii) <i>Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arā</i> (892 A.H.), of Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., pp. 103-04	5
(iv) <i>Khulāṣatu'l-Ash'ār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār</i> (985 A.H.) of Taqī'd-Dīn Kāshī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 501b-512a	1,088
<i>Idem</i> , Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, MS., Suppl. Persan No. 799, f. 214b-251a	1,062
(v) Anonymous anthology (c. 1000 A.H.), Asiatic Society of Bengal, Persian MS. No. 923, f. 141a	? ¹
(vi) <i>Bazm Ārā'ī</i> (1000 A.H.) of Sayyid 'Alī b. Maḥmūd, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3389, f. 91a-91b	61
(vii) <i>Haft Iqlīm</i> (1002 A.H.) of Amīn Aḥmad-i-Rāzī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 203, f. 394b-396a	99
(viii) <i>Khayru'l-Bayān</i> (1019 A.H.) of Husayn b. Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3397, f. 49a and 75b	9
(ix) <i>'Urafātu'l-Āshiqīn</i> (1024 A.H.) of Taqī Awḥadī, India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 992b-995a.	93
<i>Idem</i> , Bankipore MS. No. 685	93
(x) <i>Lubbu'l-Lubāb</i> (1097 A.H.) of Muḥammad Qulī Qāchār, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3400, f. 132b-133a	1
(xi) <i>Safīnah-i-Khushqū</i> (1147 A.H.) of Bindrāban Dās, Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 652, f. 63a-b	26
(xii) <i>Yad-i-Bayḍā</i> (1148 A.H.) of Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, Bankipore MS. No. 691, f. 174a	2

¹ I have not been able to obtain rotographs of this MS., but the couplets cited occur only on f. 141a. See W. Ivanow's *Catalogue*, p. 421, Calcutta, 1924.

(xiii) <i>Tadhkirah-i-Nudrat</i> (1149 A.H.) of 'Alī Fīṭrat 'Aṭāu'llāh, India Office MS. No. 2678, f. 48a.	Couplets. 2
(xiv) <i>Muntakhibu'l-Ash'ār</i> (1161 A.H.) of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, Bodleian Library MS. Elliott No. 247, f. 138b	1
(xv) <i>Riyāḍu'sh-Shu'arā</i> (1161 A.H.) of 'Alī Qulī-i-Dāghistānī, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 16,729, f. 335a	7
(xvi) <i>Atashkadah</i> (1193 A.H.) of Luṭf 'Alī-i-Iṣfahānī, India Office MS. No. 2929, f. 27b-28a	29
(xvii) Anonymous <i>Universal Biography of Persian Poets</i> (1170-80 A.H.), India Office MS. No. 2415, f. 19b-20a and f. 618a	1
(xviii) <i>Khulāṣatu'l-Afkār</i> (1207 A.H.) of Abū Tālib b. Muḥammad-i-Iṣfahānī, India Office MS. No. 2692, f. 221a-b	42
(xix) <i>Makhzanu'l-Gharā'ib</i> (1218 A.H.) of Aḥmad 'Alī Hāshimī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 4610, f. 318a	10
(xx) <i>Nishtar-i-Ishq</i> (1233 A.H.) of Ḥusayn Qulī Khān-i-'Azīmābādī, Bankipore MS. No. 716	2
(xxi) Anonymous <i>tadhkirah</i> (1253-87 A.H.), Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3386, f. 283b-289a	484
(xxii) Anonymous <i>tadhkirah</i> (1270 A.H.), Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 681, f. 415a-416a	24
(xxiii) <i>Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā</i> (1295 A.H.) of Ridā Qulī Khān, Tīhrān ed., vol. i, pp. 381-2	51
(xxiv) Anonymous <i>tadhkirah</i> (undated), Leningrad Public Library MS. No. 322, f. 187a-190a	294
(xxv) MS. transcribed for Sir E. Denison Ross at Simla, 1911 A.D.	650
(xxvi) Anonymous anthology (recent), Asiatic Society of Bengal, Persian MS. No. 927, f. 19a	? ¹

Some of these *tadhkirahs* deserve special attention. Of the rare *Khulāṣatu'l-Ash'ār wa Zubdatu'l-Afkār* of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī, a third copy, with poetical extracts from Falakī, described by Bland, *J.R.A.S.*, vol. ix, p. 126, cannot be traced.² Of the extant copies, both written in

¹ I have not been able to obtain rotographs of this MS., but the couplets cited occur only on f. 19a. See W. Ivanow's *Catalogue*, p. 438, Calcutta (1924).

² The *tadhkirah* of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī in the John Ryland's Library, Manchester, is not, as it is supposed to be, the copy described by Bland, for it does not contain poetical extracts from Falakī. Similar abridged MSS. of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī exist in the India Office and the Bankipore Library.

the sixteenth century A.D. and therefore in the lifetime of the anthologist, Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī, the London copy contains 1,088, and the Paris copy 1,062 couplets. From the former copy, four couplets which occur on f. 507*b* and are repeated on f. 511*b*, and from the latter copy, two couplets which occur on f. 221*a* and are repeated on f. 222*b*, should be eliminated. The number of couplets, therefore, in the two copies is reduced to 1,084 and 1,060 respectively, the difference of twenty-four couplets arising as follows :

Extras in the London copy

Ode iii, 12 couplets ; Ode iv, 12 couplets ; Ode v, 3 couplets ; Ode x, 14 couplets ; Ode xv, 2 couplets ; Ode xx, 6 couplets ; Ode xxiii, 1 couplet ; *Tarkīb-band* ii, 2 couplets ; and *Ghazals* and "Fragments", 12 couplets. Total, 64 couplets.

Extras in the Paris copy

Ode xi, 1 couplet ; *Tarkīb-band* i, 2 couplets ; and a new prison-poem, 37 couplets. Total, 40 couplets.

The London copy has sixty-four couplets which are not found in the Paris copy, and, as the Paris copy has forty couplets which are wanting in the London copy, the difference is twenty-four. A collated text of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī would contain $1,084 + 40 = 1,124$ couplets of Falakī, but even this number falls short of the 1,132 couplets of the Munich *dīwān*.

Next in numerical value to the copies of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī are Sir E. Denison Ross's MS. (650 couplets) and the Br. Mus. anthology Or. 3386 (484 couplets). The former of these, comprising thirty-three single folios transcribed by Mirzā Abū'l-Qāsim at Simla on 22nd December, 1911 A.D., and generously lent to me for an unlimited period, is not a complete copy, for it contains on the margin of f. 20 the following note in the hand of Sir E. Denison Ross : "The rest of this *qaṣīdah* is illegible being written on the margin which has been hopelessly destroyed by insects." Unfortunately Sir E. Denison Ross does not recollect the original from which his copy was made, but the ultimate source is probably the Paris copy of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī which contains all the 650 couplets of Sir E. Denison Ross's MS. Further, as the ode which is supposed to have been partly destroyed is actually complete, and as between this and the succeeding ode there intervene, in the Paris copy, odes ix and vii of the present collection, it is almost

certain that the lost ode was not a new ode, but one of the two odes ix or vii. Finally, as all the 484 couplets of the Br. Mus. anthology Or. 3386 are found in the London copy of Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī, this anthology and the MS. of Sir E. Denison Ross must be regarded as mere offshoots of the London and Paris copies of Taqī'u'd-Dīn Kāshī respectively.

There remains the anonymous and undated anthology of Leningrad 294 couplets). Written in a very fine and legible hand, this anthology contains twenty-nine of the thirty couplets of a rare ode, No. xviii, found elsewhere only in the Munich *diwān*. On the other hand, as will be shown later on, there are five couplets in this anthology which are wanting in the Munich *diwān*. Obviously, therefore, the Munich *diwān* and the Leningrad anthology belong to different originals.

Of the other *tadhkirahs*, containing less than 100 couplets of Falakī, only the rare '*Urafātu'l-'Ashiqīn* of Taqī Awḥadī need be mentioned. The India Office and the Bankipore MSS. of this work are equally defective, so that of the ten couplets of a rare ode, No. xiv, contained therein, only the eight couplets cited in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā* can be deciphered.

Books of General Knowledge and History

Falakī-i-Shirwānī is mentioned in the following seven books of general knowledge and history :

- (i) *Tārīkh-i-Guzidah* (730 A.H.) of Ḥamdu'llāh Mustawfī-i-Qazwīnī, Browne's ed., p. 824.
- (ii) *Jawāhiru'l-Asrār* (840 A.H.) of Shaykh Ādharī, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7607, f. 183b.
- (iii) *Aḥsanu't-Tawārīkh* (1019 A.H.) of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Khākī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1649, f. 335a-b.
- (iv) *Subḥ-i-Sādiq* (1045 A.H.) of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad-i-Iṣfahānī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1728, f. 58a.
- (v) *Mir'ātu's-Ṣafā* (1179 A.H.) of Muḥammad 'Alī b. Muḥammad Ṣādiq-i-Burhānpūrī, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 6539, f. 229a.
- (vi) *Mukhtaṣar* (1222 A.H.) of Muḥammad Husayn b. Karam 'Alī-i-Iṣfahānī, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 7663, f. 215a.
- (vii) *Bustānu's-Siyāḥat* (1248 A.H.) of Ni'matu'llāh b. Iskandar-i-Shirwānī, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3677, f. 141b.

The space given to Falakī in these works amounts only to a line or two, no poetical extracts from Falakī being cited.

D

Lexicons and Works on Prosody

The following four lexicons contain poetical extracts from Falakī. Firstly, the *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*¹ (1017 A.H.), thirteen couplets: under اله (one couplet); under انگدان (one couplet); under پله (one couplet); under تاب (two couplets); under چاچله (one couplet); under خام (one couplet); under خو (one couplet); under خونِ خروس (one couplet); under گربه از بغل افکندن (one couplet); under وایا or وایه (two couplets); and under یله (one couplet). Of these couplets, the four cited under چاچله; خام; خو; and خونِ خروس are unique, for they are not found in the usual collections of the works of Falakī.

The second lexicon is the *Farhang-i-Rashīdī* (1064 A.H.) which cites seven and a half couplets: under انگدان (one hemistich); under چاچله (one couplet); under خام (one couplet); under دستکار (one couplet); under شاد خور (one couplet); under کاراسی (one couplet); under گربه از بغل افکندن (one couplet); and under میانه (one couplet).

The third lexicon is the *Bahār-i-'Ajam* (1162 A.H.) which cites two couplets under خونِ خروس and گربه از بغل افکندن.

Finally, there is the *Farhang-i-Anjuman Ārā'ī-Nāṣirī* (1288 A.H.), which cites eleven couplets: under انگدان (one couplet); under بُزَل (one couplet)²; under پله (one couplet); under تاب (two couplets); under خام (one couplet); under خو (one couplet); under دستکار (one couplet); under کاراسی (one couplet); under گربه از بغل افکندن (one couplet); and under میانه (one couplet). The couplet cited under بُزَل, however, is spurious, being ascribed by the *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*³ and the *Farhang-i-Rashīdī*⁴ to Hālī-i-Sabzawārī.

¹ The complete *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī* (e.g. Paris MSS. Suppl. Persan 1560 and Suppl. Persan 437) contains an appendix with five sections.

² هر شام کرد ناله [قلعه ۷] او دولة شغال هر صبح کرد خنده [خندق ۷] او نمره بزل

³ Under بزل.

⁴ Under بزل.

Of works on prosody, in the *Al-Mu'jam fī Ma'āyiri Ash'ari'l-'Ajam* of *Shams-i-Qays*, courtier and chamberlain to Sa'd b. Zangī (599–628 A.H.), there are cited two couplets (pp. 392–93, Mirza Muḥammad's ed.) from Falakī, to illustrate the device of commencing an ode as a *qaṣīdah* and ending it as a *ghazal* with a new *matla'*.

III

ADDITIONS TO THE MUNICH *DĪWĀN-I-FALAKĪ*

As previously explained, the basis for compiling Falakī's *dīwān* is the Munich *Dīwān-i-Falakī*, Or. 279 Prunneri, containing 1,132 couplets. To this number the following 108 couplets which are not contained in the Munich *dīwān* should be added.

(i) Twelve couplets forming a new ode.

B. f. 509b–10a.

این دل چه دلست و این چه یارست	کارِ من مستمند صعبست
کاندر بر من نه دل نه یارست	آباد بدان سمندرِ میمون
کاندر خورِ روزگارِ زارست	پنهانی زمینِ بپیشِ سیرش
چون دیده مور و چشمِ مازست	از نعلِ هلالِ پیکرِ او
در گوشِ سپهرِ گوشوارست	چون چرخ همه قوائِمِ او
عالی و قوی و استوارست	غار از تنِ او بسانِ کوهست
کوه از سُمِ او بسانِ غارست	از تاخنش بگاهِ جولان
مه عاجز و چرخِ شرمسارست	چون شاه برو سوار گردد
انگار که بر فلک سوارست	10 ای تاجوری که چرخِ گردان
از برِ کفِ تو زیرِ بارست	هر گاه که مجلسِ بیند
گوید فلک این چه کار و بارست	بر خور ز بقایِ عزّ و دولت
کین جایِ نزول و اختصارست	

(ii) One couplet wanting in a *tarkīb-band* of the Munich *dīwān*.

O. f. 121b.

مسکین دلم در آتشِ هجران بسوخت پس در عشقِ او تمامِ اسبابِ بآب داد

(iii) One couplet wanting in a "fragment" of the Munich *diwān*.

B. f. 511a; and T. f. 288b.

در برِ هر شجرِ شَمَرِ فرشِ فلکِ نجومِ شد
بر سرِ هر شمرِ شجرِ چترِ ستاره بار زد

(iv) One couplet wanting in a "fragment" of the Munich *diwān*.

B. f. 511a; and T. f. 288b.

جز میِ صرفِ در جهان چیست که از صروفِ او
رایِ طرب قوی شود رایتِ غمِ نگون بود

(v) Twelve couplets wanting in an ode of the Munich *diwān*.

B. f. 507b; and T. f. 286b.

تا بدل و جان مرا آفتِ جانان رسید
بس که ز جانان بمن رنجِ دل و جان رسید
خاکِ ره از چشمِ من چشمهٔ خوناب گشت
تا بمن از بادِ غمِ آتشِ هجران رسید
تا لبِ من دُور ماند از لب و دندانِ او
دل شد و جاتم بلب از بُنِ دندان رسید

B. f. 507b.

هست بباغِ بهار چون گُلِ خندان رُخش
در مهرِ مهر از رُخش مهرِ بصرطان رسید

B. f. 507b; and T. f. 286b.

20 او چو بهار و بهشت وز رُخِ رخشانِ او
فکنه بفسلِ خزان با گُل و ریحان رسید
چهرهٔ او آفتاب چشمهٔ حیوان لبش
چشمِ مرا زآن دو شکلِ آفتِ طوفان رسید

گرچه ز ظلمت رسید خضر بآبِ حیات
 دوش بمن ز آفتاب چشمه حیوان رسید
 با رُخ رخشانِ او گشت بشروان خجل
 پرتو آن آفتاب کو ز خراسان رسید
 ماهِ رُخش چون بتافت از بَنِ دندانِ او
 بحرِ دو چشمِ مرا لؤلؤ و مرجان رسید
 گفتمش ای از لبِ لعلِ بدخشان خجل
 بی لب از چشمِ من خون بدخشان رسید
 شد بَنِ دندانِ تولؤلؤ عَمان ز آب
 وز غمِ تو اشکِ من زانسوی عَمان رسید
 چون فلکی در جفا با فلکی طرفه نیست
 گر فلکی را ز دَرَد بر فلک افغان رسید

(vi) One couplet wanting in a "fragment" of the Munich *diwān*.
 B. f. 512a.

هر بار کزو دُور شدم صبر و دلم بود و اکنون ز دل و صبر بیکبار شدم دُور

(vii) One couplet forming a new ode.

Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 47 ; *Khayru'l-Bayān*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3397, f. 49a ; and Prof. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 325.

گر این طرزِ سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودی
 بجان صد آفرین کردی روانِ سعدِ سلمانش¹

(viii) One couplet forming a new "fragment".

F., and *Bahār-i-Ajam*, under خُونِ خروس

30 هوایِ فاخته رنگست وابرِ بلبلِ فام
 بریز خُونِ خروس ای نگارِ کبلِ خرام

¹ در آن هر لحظه سلمانش : *Khayru'l-Bayān*

(ix) Thirty-seven couplets forming a new "prison-poem".

P. f. 249a-b ; and D. f. 26-7.

در هر نفسی بجان رسد کارم	شخصی بهزار غم گرفتارم
بی علت و بی سبب گرفتارم	بی زلت و بی گناه محبوسم
بر دانه نیوفتاده منقارم	در دام جفا شکسته مرغی ام
بسته کمر آسمان به پیگارم	خورده قسم اختران بتأدیم
هر روز عنای دهر ادرارم	هر سال بلای چرخ مرسوم
بی تقویت علاج بیمارم	بی تربیت طبیب رنجورم
غمخوارم و اختراست خونخوارم	محبوسم و طالع است منحوسم
کرده ستم زمانه آزارم	برده نظر ستاره تاراجم
و امسال بقدر کمتر از پारم	امروز بغم فزون ترم از دی
حرفیست هر آفتی ¹ ز طومارم	40 طومار ندامت است طبع من
امروز چه شد که نیست کس یارم	یاران گزیده داشتم روزی
از گریه سخت و ناله زارم	هر نیم شب آسمان ستوه آید
ناگه چه قضا نمود دیدارم	زندان خدایگان که و من که
شاید که بس ابله ² و سبکسارم ³	بندیست گران بدست و پایم در
دانم که نه دزدم و نه طرارم	محبوس چرا شدم نمیدانم

P. f. 249b.

نزهیچ قباله باقثی دارم	نزهیچ عمل نواله خوردم
تا بند ملک بود سزاوارم	آخر چه کنم من و چه بد کردم
پیدا باشد محل و مقدارم	مردی باشم ثناگر و شاعر

¹ Variant هر آتشی.

² ابله (insane ; stupid).

³ سبکبارم (insane ; stupid) ; variant سبکسار.

جز مدحتِ شاه و شکرِ دستورش یل بیت ندید کس در اشعارم
 50 آنست خطایِ من که در خاطر بنمود خطاب و خشم شه¹ خوارم²
 ترسیدم و پشت بر وطن کردم گفتم من و طالعِ نگونسارم
 بسیار امید بود در طبعم ای وای امیدهایِ بسیارم

P. f. 250a ; and D. f. 27.

قصه چکنم دراز بس باشد چون نیست گشایشی ز گفتارم
 کاخر نکشد³ فلک مرا چون من در ظلّ قبولِ صدرِ احرامم

P. f. 250a.

صدرِ وزرایِ عصرِ بونصر آن کافزود ز بندگیش مقدارم

P. f. 250a ; and D. f. 27.

آن خواجه که واسطه ست مدحِ او در مرسله‌هایِ لفظِ دُرِ بام
 گر نیستم از⁴ جهان دعا گویش در هستیِ ایزد است انکارم
 گر نه بشنای او گشایم لب بستست میانِ ببندِ زتارم
 ای کرده‌گذر بحشمت از گردون از رحمتِ خویش دُور مگذارم
 60 جانم بمعونتِ خود ایمن کن کامروز⁵ شد آسمانِ باآزارم
 برخاست بقصدِ جانِ من گردون زنهار قبول کن بزهارم
 آئی تو که با هزار جان خود را بی یلِ نظرِ تو زنده نشمارم
 ای قوتِ جانِ من ز لطفِ تو بی شفقتِ خویش مرده انگارم
 شه بر سرِ رحمت آمدست اکنون مگذار چنین برنج و تیارم
 ارجو که بسعی و اهتمامِ تو زین غم بدهد خلاص دادارم

¹ Variant شد.

² The meaning is not clear.

³ Variant بکشد.

⁴ Variant در.

⁵ Variant کآروز.

P. f. 250a.

این عیدِ خسته را بصد معنی بر خصمِ تو نا خسته پندارم
بر خور ز دوامِ عمرِ کز عالم در عهدِ تو گم نگردد آثارم

(x) Eight couplets wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

Mu. ; Ta. f. 994a ; and L. f. 188a.

پنج فرضِ مقدرِ پچارِ رکنِ محیر بهشتِ قصرِ معمرِ بهفتِ نورِ مقوم

Mu. ; B. f. 501b ; Ta. f. 994a ; L. f. 188a ; and T. f. 284a.

بفیضِ منبر و مسجدِ بفرضِ مروء و مشعر بقریبِ عمره و قربانِ بفضلِ موقف و تحرّم

Mu. ; B. f. 501b ; H. f. 395a ; Ta. f. 994a ; L. f. 188a ; and T. f. 284a.

70 گواست بر سخنِ من رسولِ سترِ معلا که هر چه رفت نکردم بحضرتِ تو مکتّم

Mu. ; B. f. 502a ; L. f. 188b ; and T. f. 284a.

کسی که سر کشد از تو کشیده باد همیشه رقوم بر جگرِ او ییشلِ افعی و ارقم

Mu. ; Ta. f. 994a ; and L. f. 188b.

ز دوست دورم و دارم تنی برنجِ معذب ز یارِ فردم و دارم دلیِ بدردِ مهتمّ

B. f. 502a.

لِحَرْقَتِي لِحَيِّي يَدُمُ مَنْ هُوَ يَذَرِي لَشَفَقَتِي لِعَشِيقِي يَلُومُ مَنْ هُوَ يَعْلَمُ

Mu. ; B. f. 502a ; and Ta. f. 994b.

إِذَا الْبَلَاءُ بِرُوحِي دَنَا فَقُلْتُ تَفَضَّلْ إِذَا الْعَنَاءُ لِقَلْبِي دَعَا فَقُلْتُ تَقَدَّمْ

B. f. 502a ; and Ta. f. 994b.

وَإِنْ بَعَثْتُ كِتَابِي فَقَدْ بَدَأَ وَتَعَدَّى وَإِنْ طَلَبْتُ جَوَابًا فَقَدْ آتَى وَتَبَنَّى

(xi) Ten couplets forming a new ode.

Ta. f. 995a ; and Bankipore No. 685.¹

اي لطفِ تو يارِ برحم (sic) در وصفِ تو هر گروهِ پيغم

Ta. f. 995a ; Bankipore No. 685 ; and Ma. p. 382.

از هيبتِ تو فلکِ سبکپاي
وز قوتِ تو زمينِ گران سُم
آنها که بمهر گوئي اجلسِ
ايامِ بکين نگويدش قُم
فرمانِ ترا قضا پيائي
راياتِ ترا قدر دُمادُم

Ta. f. 995a ; and Bankipore No. 685.

80 در گردِ سُمِ سمندِ توسنت چون مردمه نورِ چشمِ مردم

Ta. f. 995a ; Bankipore No. 685 ; and Ma., p. 382.

آبادِ بدان سمندِ کر وي در خود کشد از دَم و دَم
در زيرِ سُمِش زمينِ گه سَيرِ گوئي که در آسياست گندم
يکساعتِ سَيرِ او بميدان صد سائِه سَيرِ چرخ و انجم
زُو چرخِ بَدورِ با تعجّب او باز به سَيرِ با تبسم
چون پايِ به پشتِ او در آري سر بر فلکِ آرد از تنعم

(xii) Nine couplets forming a new ode.

B. f. 511a ; and T. f. 288b.

آن عارضِ چون دو هفته ماهش بين
وآن طرّه گوشه کلاهش بين
رويش بپنام زلف در ديدي
جان و دلِ خلق در پناهش بين

¹ Mawlawi Muqtadir, who kindly transcribed the passage for me, has not indicated the folio number.

در زیرِ رخِ چو آفتابِ او
آن غنبرِ چون دو هفته ماهش بین

B. f. 511a.

از نور و ضیاءِ عارضِ خوبش
رخشان چو ستاره خاکِ راهش بین

B. f. 511a ; and T. f. 288b.

90 از بهرِ سپید کردنِ روزم
خال و خط و نرگسِ سیاهش بین

B. f. 511a.

از مشک به برش رسن دیدی از سیم در آفتاب چاهش بین

B. f. 511a ; and T. f. 288b.

لباش چو مهرهٔ سلیمان دان گزددو رخ از پری سپاهش بین

B. f. 511a.

در حسن [و] جمال پایگاهش دان در غنچ و دلال دستگاهش بین
گر ماه ندیده که می نوشد در بزمِ شرابِ پادشاهش بین

(xiii) One couplet wanting in a *tarkīb-band* of the Munich *dīwān*.

O. f. 121b ; B. f. 507a ; and P. f. 236a.

آورد گردِ ماه خطی کز جمالِ اوست
شب رنگِ او گرفته و شب بوی بوی او

(xiv) Two couplets wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

B. f. 506a.

باقلائی ناقلائی شد چو شاهش نقل کرد
بر کمالی کآسمان نقصان کند نقصان ازو
بندِ طوفان بست و لان از باقلائی برگرفت
بند باقی ماند و در باقی شد آن طوفان ازو

(xv) One couplet forming a new "fragment".

F., and *Farhang-i-Nāṣirī*, under خو.

ما راست جہاتِ ستہ یل گام ما راست بحارِ سبعہ یل خو

(xvi) Six couplets wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

B. f. 509b ; and T. f. 287b-88a.

از خندہ خیالِ لبِ لالہ رنگِ تو

از بوستانِ جانِ گلِ خندانِ بر آمدہ

100 آبی کہ آن ز چشمہ حیوانِ بر آمدی

بر چہرہ ات ز چاہِ زخندانِ بر آمدہ

در حلقہایِ زلفِ پراگندہ بر رُخت

کافورِ تر ز مشلِ پریشانِ بر آمدہ

از اشلِ چشم و خونِ دلمِ خالِ کویِ تو

دریا شدہ وزو دُر و مرجانِ بر آمدہ

از بس کہ رنجِ بردِ دلمِ در وفایِ تو

دردتِ بمن بماندہ و درمانِ بر آمدہ

تا آتشِ فراقِ تو در جانمِ اوفتاد یکبارہ دُودِ ازین دلِ بریانِ بر آمدہ

(xvii) One couplet forming a new "fragment".

F., *Farhang-i-Rashīdī*, and *Farhang-i-Nāṣirī*, under خام.

گر پختہ نصیبِ پختگانِ است ما سوختہ ایم خامِ در دہ

(xviii) One couplet wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

F., and *Farhang-i-Rashīdī*, under چاچلہ.

بس کہ کند بچشم و سر بر درِ درگہِ تو بر

صاحبِ چاچ و کاشغر خدمتِ کفش و چاچلہ

(xix) One couplet wanting in a "fragment" of the Munich *dīwān*.

B. f. 511a; and P. f. 233b.

هر جا که تو کوشیدی خصالِ قوی دیدی
بیخِ همه بریدی تخمِ همه بر کندی

(xx) One couplet wanting in an ode of the Munich *dīwān*.

B. f. 509a; and T. f. 287b.

108 خدایِ مُلکِ جهان بر تو ختم خواهد کرد
که در کمالِ هنر حدِّ منتها داری

Altogether, therefore, $1,132 + 108 = 1,240$ couplets are ascribed to Falakī-i-Shirwānī.

IV

ELIMINATIONS FROM THE *DĪWĀN-I-FALAKĪ*

Of the 1,240 couplets ascribed to Falakī there can be no doubt of the authenticity of 984 couplets which belong to poems under one or more of the following three categories—firstly poems containing the *takhalluṣ* of Falakī (odes i, iv, v, x, xi, xvii, xx, xxi, xxii; *tarkīb-band* ii; and two *ghazals*, one of six couplets and the other of seven); secondly, poems containing the name of the Shirwānshāh Minūchihr II (odes v, vii, viii, ix, x, xii, xiii, xv, xviii, xix, xxii; *tarkīb-bands* i, ii, iii; and two "fragments", one of three couplets and the other of four); and thirdly, poems addressed to the ministers or princes of Shirwān (odes xvi, xxi, and a frivolous poem of seventeen couplets). The remaining 256 couplets, which neither contain the poet's *takhalluṣ* nor the patron's name, are as follows: odes ii, iii, vi, xiv, xxiii (104 couplets); two prison-poems (sixty-four couplets); and *ghazals*, "fragments," and quatrains (eighty-eight couplets). The scope of the present section, therefore, is to determine how many of these 256 couplets can be rejected.

The doubtful couplets fall under three categories: (A) odes; (B) prison-poems; and (C) *ghazals*, "fragments," and quatrains.

A

The odes, apparently, all belong to Falakī, for, with the exception of ode No. ii, they are in the style of Falakī, and ode No. ii, though very peculiar,

مارست عقده عقده دوزلفش بر آفتاب	نارست شعله شعله رخِ دلبرم ز تاب
زآن عقده عقده عقدۀ تین گرفته تاب	زین شعله شعله آتش نهفته روز
وز توده توده عنبرِ تر برده رنگ و آب	چون ناه ناه مشال دوزلفش ز رنگ و بو
زآن توده توده تودۀ عنبر در اکتساب	زین ناه ناه ناهۀ مشال اندر اهتمام

is not a spurious but an imitative poem, drawing its inspiration from Adīb-i-Şābir ¹ :

زلفین حلقه حلقۀ آن مامِ دلستان	مشال ست توده توده نهاده بر ارغوان
زین حلقه حلقه حلقۀ تنگ آیدم جهان	زآن توده توده تودۀ مشال آیدم حقیر
وز نور شعله شعله نهاده بر ارغوان	چون قطره قطره آب لطیفست عارضش
زین شعله شعله شعلۀ نارست چون دخان	زآن قطره قطره قطرۀ آبست در بحار

Further, in favour of the authenticity of ode No. xiv is the following note of Taqī Awḥadī ² :

و اکثر استادان این قصیده را [جواب] گفته و قایلِ کلمات نیز
تتبع نموده چنانچه در تذکرة العارفين مذکورست و مطلعش اینست
ای کاسۀ مه شکست از سُم سَک فلک ست چو کرد در دُم (sic)

And several poets of distinction and also the present writer have written a reply or "parallel" to this ode (of Falakī), as is set forth in the *Tadhkiratu'l-'Arifin*, the *matla'* being :

It broke the bowl of the moon with its hoof,

¹ *Diwān-i-Adīb-i-Şābir*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 327, f. 40b.

² India Office MS. No. 3654, f. 995a.

These references, unfortunately, I have not been able to trace : only in the *Diwān-i-Sayfu'd-Dīn-i-Isfaraṅgī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 287, f. 111a, is there an ode [— — — | — — — — | — — —]

ای جانِ ترا صفایِ انجم تازه بدمِ تو جانِ مردم
پیوسته ز امتلایِ نورست چون صبح لبِ تو در تبسم

which seems to have been written on the lines of Falakī¹:

در گردِ سَمِ سمندِ توسنت چون مرده نورِ چشمِ مردم
زو چرخِ بدور با تعجب او باز به سَیر با تبسم

B

Proceeding to the prison-poems it is curious that only those two prison-poems of Falakī should have survived which are of doubtful authorship. Even the fact, therefore, of Falakī's imprisonment might have been questioned were it not established on independent evidence. In an ode containing his *takhalluṣ* and addressed to the *Shirwānshāh Minūchīhr* II, Falakī states that false reports of his disloyalty have poisoned the mind of the king,² and in an ode not containing his *takhalluṣ* but again addressed to the *Shirwānshāh Minūchīhr* II, Falakī states that he had been reduced to a skeleton and was on the point of dying when the displeased king became merciful, condoned his faults, and pardoned his life.³ Obviously, therefore, Falakī had been cast into prison and then released by the order of the king.

To return now to the prison-poems. The first of these

هیچکس چاره سازِ کارم نیست چکنم بختِ سازگارم نیست

is of 27 couplets and is ascribed to Falakī by the following MSS.: M. f. 96a-b, 27 couplets; B. f. 509b, 22 couplets; P. f. 234b-235a, 22 couplets; H. f. 396a-b, 6 couplets; L. f. 190a, 12 couplets; D. f. 16-17, 21 couplets; *Bazm Ārā'ī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3389, f. 91a, 10 couplets; *Safinah-i-Khushgū*, Berlin MS. Pertsch No. 652, f. 63a, 3 couplets; and T. f. 288b, 21 couplets. The second prison-poem

¹ The *maṣla'* of this ode is corrupt.

² *Supra*, p. 58.

³ *Supra*, p. 59.

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is of 37 couplets, and is ascribed to Falakī only by two MSS.—the Paris copy of Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī's *tadhkirah*, f. 294a-250a, 37 couplets; and Sir E. Denison Ross's MS., f. 26-7, 27 couplets. On the margin of f. 249b of the Paris copy, however, is the following note, written in a hand different from the scribe's :

این قصیدہ ہمانا شعرِ مسعودِ سعدِ سلیمانست و کتاب بغلط در میانِ
اشعارِ فلکی نوشتہ اند

Probably this ode belongs to Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, having erroneously been inserted by scribes amongst the poems of Falakī.

Now both the prison-poems are in the style of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān. Further, as I have found the second poem with its thirty-seven couplets on pp. 70b-71a of the lithographed edition of the *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tihirān, 1292 A.H., and as the first poem contains a statement that the afflictions of the prisoner have arisen from his wealth and estates,¹ and as Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān inherited from his father large farms and estates² of which he was trying to obtain legal possession at Ghazna when, being suspected of complicity in the treasonable designs of Prince Sayfu'd-Dawlah, he was cast into prison,³ the question arises : To whom do these poems belong, to Falakī or to Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān ?

In a *qaṣīdah* composed during his first imprisonment (480-90 A.H.) and addressed to the Ghaznawid Sultān Raḡīu'd-Dīn Ibrāhīm (450-92 A.H.), Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān states that he has "a son, a daughter, an aged mother, two sisters, and thirty or forty relatives who are weeping and wailing for him at home",⁴ and in an ode, written after his release from his second imprisonment (which lasted 492-500 A.H.), and addressed to Sultān Arslān Shāh b. Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm (509-11 A.H.),

¹ محبت من ز ملک و مال منست هر دو گر عاقلم بکارم نیست

My trouble is due to my wealth and estates; neither of these do I need if I am wise.

² *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tihirān ed., p. 43a :

چون بہندوستان شدم ساکن بر ضیاع و عقارِ پیر پدر

³ See Mirza Muḥammad Khān's monograph on Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, *J.R.A.S.*, 1905, pp. 701-2.

⁴ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tihirān ed., p. 76a :

دختری خورد دارم و پسری با دو خواہر بیوم ہندوستان
سی چہل تن ز خویش واز ییوند بستہ در راحتِ توجان و روان

Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān states that he has "countless women and innumerable children to support".¹ Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, therefore, was the head of a large family, whereas in the first of the two prison-poems under discussion the prisoner declares that the only surviving members of his family are himself and his baby.² Obviously, therefore, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān cannot be the author of this poem.

There remains the second prison-poem with the following information :

دائم که نه دزدم و نه طرّارم	محبوس چرا شدم نمیدانم
نر هیچ قبله باقئی دارم	نر هیچ عمل نواله خوردم
کافزود ز بندگیش مقدارم	صدر وزرای عصر بو نصر آن
کامروز شد آسمان باآزارم	جانم بمعونت خود ایمن کن
مگذار چنین برنج و تیمارم	شه بر سر رحمت آمدست اکنون
زین غم بدهد خلاص دادارم	ارجو که بسعی و اهتمام تو

Why I have been imprisoned I do not know, though I know that I am neither a thief nor a cut-purse.

From no appointment have I swallowed a morsel, and from no deputyship have I retained a balance.

Bū Naṣr, the prime minister of the age, whose service has increased my status.

Do thou protect me by thy assistance, for to-day heaven has turned against me.

The king has now become merciful ; do not leave me in this way in pain and misery.

I hope that by thy efforts and diligence God may release me from my affliction.

The *mamdūh* of the poem is Abū Naṣr described as the prime minister. Now amongst the patrons of Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān were three Abū Naṣrs : (i) Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, the commander-in-chief of Shīrẓād, viceroy of India ; (ii) Abū'l-Faraj Naṣr b. Rustam, also called Abū Naṣr b.

¹ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 48b :

عورات بی نهایت و اطفال بی شمار	بی برگ و بی نوا شده و جمع گرد من
هیچکس زنده در تبارم نیست	کز نر و ماده جز من و طفلی

Rustam,¹ governor of Lahore ; and (iii) Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr, a minister of the court of Ghazna. Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, however, cannot be the *mamdūh* of this poem, for Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān's second imprisonment resulted from his being a protégé of Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī² who had incurred the displeasure of Sulṭān Mas'ūd b. Ibrāhīm.³ How, then, could Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān have asked Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, himself a fallen minister, to intercede with the king on his behalf as the prisoner in this poem is doing ? Nor can Abū Naṣr b. Rustam be the *mamdūh* of the poem, for he was merely a provincial governor,⁴ whereas the Abū Naṣr, here intended, seems to have been the prime minister—*ṣadr-i-wuzarā-i-ʿaṣr*—of the imperial court.

There remains the third Abū Naṣr whose full name, Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr, appears in an ode of Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī⁵ :

ابو نصر منصور کز نسلِ آدم چو آتش بعالم نبودست آلی
زهی نقطهٔ عمدهٔ بخت و دولت ترا نه زوالی و نه انتقالی

Elsewhere Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī calls Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr by the abbreviated form, Maṣṣūr—for example⁶ :

روزگار عصیرِ انگورست خَم ازو مست و خیلِ مخمورست
تاجِ نرگس بفرقِ نرگس بر جامِ زرینِ خواجه منصورست

¹ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 73a :

ای بو الفرَجی کز تو فرج یافته احرار وی بو نصري کز تو شده نصرت محکم
تا لاجرم افلال میگوید و ایام احسن زهی پور گرانمایه رستم

² *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 43a :

بندہ بو نصر بر گماشت مرا بعمل همچو نائبانِ دگر
پس شکفتی نباشد ار باشد مادحت قهرمانِ چالندر

³ For this reason both Muḥammad Khaṭībī, commissioner of Quzdār in Sistān, and Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, governor of Chālāndar (a dependency of Lahore), lost their appointments. Tīhrān ed., p. 38a :

چو بنگریم هیدون پس از قضایِ خدا بلایِ ما همه قزدار بود و چالندر

⁴ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 33a :

ای خواجه عمید نصر رستم حسادِ برنج و ناصحت شاد
تو شاد نشسته به لوهوَر نام تو به سیستان و نوشاد

⁵ *Diwān-i-Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 27,318, f. 5a.

⁶ *Idem*, f. 3a-b.

To this ode of Abū'l-Faraj-i-Rūnī, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān wrote from his prison a reply or "parallel", and as in this prison-parallel the patron is once again the minister Maṣṣūr, there can be no doubt that Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr is intended ¹:

چهرهٔ سبِ سرخ گویی راست روی زواری خواجه منصور ست
جز ازو سروری همه عجب ست جز بر او خواجگی همه زور ست
این بر آن وزن و قافیت گفتم روزگار عصیر انگور ست

It is possible, therefore, for Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr of Ghazna to be the *mamdūh* of the prison-poem:

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Elsewhere, however, it has been mentioned that amongst the patrons of Falakī was also an Abū Naṣr, who was the prime minister—*sayyidu'l-wuzarā*—of Minūchīhr II, and whose full name was Jamālu'd-Dīn Abū'l Naṣr Malik Mis'ar b. 'Abdu'llāh.² It is obvious, therefore, that the identity of the prison-poem must be sought elsewhere than in the name of the homonymous *mamdūh*. Fortunately, the prison-poem contains the following two couplets:

محبوس چرا شدم نمیدانم دانم که نه دزدم و نه طرّارم
نز هیچ عمل نواله خوردم نز هیچ قبالة باقی دارم

Why I have been imprisoned I do not know, though I know that I am neither a thief nor a cut-purse.

From no appointment have I swallowed a morsel and from no deputyship have I retained a balance.

There is no evidence that Falakī, the court-panegyrist of Minūchīhr II, ever held an administrative post in the Shirwān government. On the other hand, as shown by Mirza Muḥammad Khān, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān was professionally not a poet but an administrative officer: before his first imprisonment he was a military commander under the viceroy of

¹ *Dīvān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., pp. 12a-b.

² *Supra*, p. 24.

India, Prince Sayfu'd-Dawlah Maḥmūd,¹ and before his second imprisonment he was the governor of Chālandar² (one of the dependencies of Lahore) under Abū Naṣr-i-Fārsī, commander-in-chief of Prince Shīrẓād. It is almost certain, therefore, that the prison-poem under discussion belongs to Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, the patron being the Ghaznawid minister Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr.

C

Proceeding now to the doubtful *ghazals*, "fragments," and quatrains, I have tried to examine the *diwāns* of poets anterior to Taqīu'd-Dīn Kāshī, and the result, disproportionate perhaps to my expectations, is as follows :

- (a) One couplet ascribed to Falakī by (i) Dawlatshāh, Browne's ed., p. 47 ; (ii) *Khayru'l-Bayān*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3397, f. 49a ; and (iii) Prof. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, vol. ii, p. 325 :

گر این طرزِ سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودی
بجان صد آفرین کردی روانِ سعدِ سلماش

As stated elsewhere, this couplet is contained in the Br. Mus. *Diwān-i-Adīb-i-Sābir*, Or. 237, f. 27a, where it belongs to an ode addressed to Majdu'd-Dīn Abū'l-Qāsim 'Alī, a recognized patron of Adīb-i-Sābir.

- (b) Two couplets ascribed to Falakī by (i) M. f. 130b ; (ii) B. f. 511b ; (iii) P. f. 248a ; and (iv) D. f. 32 :

منم آن نیازمندی که بتو نیاز دارم غمِ چون تو نازنینی بهزار ناز دارم
غمِ دل از آن نگویم که ترا ملال خیزد کنم این حدیثِ کوتاه که غمِ دراز دارم

These couplets form part of a *ghazal* of five couplets contained in the Br. Mus. *Diwān-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*, Add. 16,779, f. 288a, and in Prof. R. A. Nicholson's *Selected Poems from the Divāni Shamsi Tabriz*, p. 132 (1898) :

¹ *Diwān-i-Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān*, Tīhrān ed., p. 17b :

تا مرا بود بر ولایت دست بودم ایزد پرست و شاه پرست
دل بجزو و بشغل داشتمی دشمنانرا از آن همی دل خست

² *Supra*, p. 90, n. 3.

منم آن نیازمندی که بتو نیاز دارم غم چون تو نازنینی هزار ناز دارم
توئی آفتاب چشم بجمال تست روشن اگر از تو باز گیرم بکه چشم باز دارم
بجفا نمودن تو ز وفات بر نگرדם بویا نمودن خود ز جفات باز دارم
گله کردم از تو گفتم که بساز چاره خود منم آنکه در غم الحق دل چاره ساز دارم
غم دل بتو نگویم که ترا ملال گیرد کنم این حدیث کوتاه که غم دراز دارم

(c) Three couplets ascribed to Falakī by (i) M. f. 132a; (ii) B. f. 512a; (iii) P. f. 244a; (iv) T. f. 289a; and (v) D. f. 31:

برود ز ¹ ارزوی او جانم	آرزومند روی جانانم
صبر کردن بهجر نتوانم	همه چیز می توانم کرد
دل بدادم کنون پشیمانم	دل ² خطا شد مرا بدان مه روی

These couplets form part of a *ghazal* of six couplets contained in the Br. Mus. *Diwān-i-Qatrān*, Or. 3317,³ f. 239a:

برد از آرزو همی جانم	آرزومند روی جانانم
بجز از صبر نیست درمانم	آرزو را و دردِ دُوری را
صبر کردن بهجر نتوانم	همه چیز [ی] همی توانم کرد

¹ D. برد از.

² So in all texts; obviously *ظن*.

³ On f. 67a of this *diwān* there begins a *qaṣīdah*

یکبار [یکروز v.] بود عبد یکسال یکبار همواره مرا عبد ز دیدار تو هموار

which in his *History of Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, dedication page (where the initial couplet alone is given) and pp. 116–17 (where the initial couplet is given together with the eight succeeding couplets and their English translation), Prof. E. G. Browne has ascribed to Imāmī of Herāt. The *qaṣīdah* was found by Prof. Browne on f. 98a of the Br. Mus. MS. Or. 2847, and apparently because of the title on the binding—“Brit. Mus. Or. 2847 Divan Imami Persian”—Prof. Browne came to the conclusion that the MS. was the *Diwān-i-Imāmī*. But as shown by C. Rieu (*Supplement*, p. 164), Or. 2847 consists of two portions: (i) *Diwān-i-Imāmī*, f. 2–93; and (ii) selection from the *Diwān-i-Qatrān*, f. 94–130. Rieu's description, however, must be slightly amended, for on the last folio of the MS. occur six couplets of the well-known *ghazal* of Rūdākī:

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی بوی یارِ مهربان آید همی

See *Chahar Maqālāh*, ed. Mirza Muḥammad, p. 33; and *Zafar Nāmah*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 2833, f. 264b.

بر من و دردِ من بیست گوا	رنگِ رخسار [و] آبِ مژگانم
دل بدام بدستِ خویش بطبع	تا دل از دستِ یار بستم
ظنِ خطاشدا مرا در آن مه روی	دل بدام کنون پشیمانم

Altogether, therefore, forty-three couplets¹—one belonging to Adib-i-Şābir, two to Shams-i-Tabrīz, three to Qaṭrān, and thirty-seven to Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān—must be excluded from the works of Falakī. This reduces the number of extant couplets from 1,240 to 1,197. Now, as the Munich *Dīwān-i-Falakī* contains five of the spurious couplets (those belonging to Shams-i-Tabrīz and to Qaṭrān), the number of its couplets is also reduced from 1,132 to 1,127. In other words, the present edition of the *Dīwān-i-Falakī* contains seventy more couplets than the largest extant collection of the works of Falakī.

Disregarding the spurious ک بُر couplet; see *supra*, p. 75.

APPENDIX

ABŪ'L-'ALĀ'S *QASĪDAH*

The *Diwān-i-Abū'l-'Alā* has perished, but there is in the *Haft Iqlīm* an unutilized *qasīdah* of Abū'l-'Alā containing his name and written in his fifty-fifth year and addressed to Minūchīhr II, whose premier courtier Abū'l-'Alā declares himself to be. In this *qasīdah* Abū'l-'Alā refers to 'Imādī and Sanā'ī as persons deceased ¹ :

چو شد روانِ عمادی بمن گذاشت شرف چو رفت جانِ سنائی بمن بماند سنا
تبارک الله پنجاه و پنج بشمردم بشصت ناشده پشتم چو شست گشت دوتا
بعزتی که مرا با خدایگان بود است شه زمین و زمان فخر دین ابوالهیجا
سر ملول منوچهر چهر شاه کزو شده ست زنده و فرخنده خاندانِ ثنا²

دروغتر سخنی آنکه شاه را گفتند ابوالعلا که ترا هست سیدالندما
مخالفان را سرّ تو میکند اعلام معاندان را حالِ تو میکند انها³

When 'Imādī died he left me nobility ; when Sanā'ī died he left me eminence.

Exalted be God, I am fifty-five years of age ; though not sixty, my back is bent like a bow.

By the honour conferred on me by His Majesty, the king of the world and time, Fakhr(u'd-)Dīn Abū'l-Hayjā,

The king of kings, the king with the face of Minūchīhr, by whom has been revived and made auspicious the family of praise . . .

They have reported falsely to the king : " Abū'l-'Alā, who is thy premier courtier,

Discloses thy secrets to thy enemies and commits espionage on behalf of thy opponents."

¹ *Haft Iqlīm*, Br. Mus. MSS. Or. 203, f. 398b, and Or. 4902, f. 338a.

² Variant سنا.

³ Variant ابها.

As Sanā'ī states in three of his quatrains that Mu'izzī was killed by a stray arrow from the royal bow ¹ (i.e. from the bow of Sulṭān Sanjar) and as the *tadhkirahs* declare this accident to have occurred in 542 A.H.,² the death of Sanā'ī is generally placed in 545 A.H. Now as the dates of Mu'izzī's supposed accidental death (542 A.H.) and of Sanā'ī's natural death (545 A.H.) are purely arbitrary, and as I have found from his own *diwān* that Mu'izzī recovered from the accident after a serious illness of twelve months,³ it is obvious that the fact of Minūchihīr II having survived Sanā'ī does not lead us to the probable date of Minūchihīr's death, but rather to that of Sanā'ī himself. It must also be noticed that as the *Diwān-i-'Imādī-i-Shahriyārī* contains a *qaṣīdah* addressed to Jahān Pahlawān ⁴ who ruled c. 571-81 A.H., the 'Imādī who predeceased Minūchihīr II must be 'Imādī-i-Ghaznawī. The *qaṣīdah* of Abū'l-'Alā, therefore, proves beyond doubt the existence of the homonymous 'Imādīs, i.e. 'Imādī-i-Ghaznawī who died before 544 A.H., and 'Imādī-i-Shahriyārī who died after 571 A.H.

¹ *Diwān-i-Sanā'ī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3302, f. 137b :

تا چند معنّایِ معزّی که خدایش	زینجا بفلک برد و بقایِ ملّکی داد
چون تیرِ فلک بود قریش سره آورد	پیکانِ مَلِک برد و تیرِ فلکی داد

The other two quatrains are on the same folio.

² *Khulāṣatu'l-'Ash'ār wa Zubdatu'l-'Afkār*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 3506, f. 237b ; *Ātashkadah*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 1268, f. 185a.

³ *Diwān-i-Mu'izzī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 10,588, f. 140b-141a ; India Office MS. No. 912, f. 264-5b :

مُتّ خدایرا که بتیرِ خدایگان	من بنده یگنه نشدم کشته رایگان
مُتّ خدایرا که بجانم نکرد قصد	تیری که او بقصد یینداخت از کمان

یکچند اگر زرنجِ دلم بود دردمند	یکسال اگر ز درد تنم بود ناتوان
این شکر چون کنم که دگر بار بنده وار	گشتم بمجلسِ توشاگویی و منجِ خوان

فرماندم ملوکِ مَلِکِ سنجر آنکه او	شیرِیست کامگار و دلیرِیست کامران
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The Br. Mus. MS. f. 226b-227a contains, in addition, four quatrains descriptive of the accident.

⁴ *Diwān-i-'Imādī-i-Shahriyārī*, Br. Mus. MS. Or. 298, f. 3a :

خسرو گردون کند شاهِ جهان پهلوان	آنکه کند کوه را هیئتِ او اشکبار
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