



Jahān Malik Khātūn's Poetic Imitation and Poetic Response

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Introduction

In 1374/1995, the *Dīvān* (Book of poems) of Jahān Malik Khātūn was edited and published by Pūrān'dukht Kāshānī Rād and Kāmil Ahmad'pūr. Despite being the most extensive collection of poetry by a woman—and a royal woman—it has remained largely overlooked by scholars of Persian literature. In the prose introduction to her *Dīvān*, Jahān Malik Khātūn articulates the ultimate aspiration of the wise as ensuring that “a mark from their existence remains inscribed upon the pages of time,” thereby becoming “a cause for the perpetuation of their names.”¹ She recounts that from time to time, she would dictate a piece, reminiscent of the disordered state of love-stricken hearts, to occupy her thought. Yet, due to what she describes as the “scarcity and rarity of noblewomen and ladies of the Iranian realm,” she initially regarded the act of compiling her verses a flaw.² However, upon observing that works attributed to figures such as “the cherished daughter of the Messenger of God, the Lady of the Day of Judgment, Fātimah-'i Zahrā (may God be pleased with her),” as well as poems by 'Āyishah Maqariyyah, Pādishāh Khātūn and Qutlugh'shāh Khātūn, and other women had gained renown, she felt emboldened to preserve her own compositions.³ This decision to compose and compile poetry within a predominantly patriarchal literary tradition, and at a time when Persian poetry had reached its peak with luminaries such as Hāfiz, Salmān Sāvājī, Khvājū Kirmānī, 'Ubayd Zākānī, Kamāl al-Dīn Khujandī, and others, marks her most enduring accomplishment.

Jahān Malik Khātūn's poetry provides limited space for ambiguity or layered interpretation. Its themes, often lacking in philosophical depth, reflect the emotions of a solitary woman who has consciously chosen the path of seclusion. This ethos is encapsulated in the following couplet:

Choose solitude and seek no companionship among friends.
Sit alone and desire no confidant from among your kin.⁴

The themes of her poems are neither novel nor innovative, as they also appear in the works of poets such as Sa'ādī and others of the AH 7th/13th and AH 8th/14th centuries. Both formally and conceptually, her poetry conforms to the conventions of the Iraqi style. Many of her ghazals lack rhetorical intricacy and literary devices. A distinctly feminine voice is absent from her poetry, and her verses are often indistinguishable from those of male poets. Nowhere in the *Dīvān* does one encounter emotional expressions typically associated with a woman in love. For example, her beloved is referred to using the names of well-known literary figures such as Laylī, Shīrīn, 'Azrā, Gulshāh, and Vīs, while the poet casts herself in the traditionally male roles of Majnūn, Farhād, Khusraw, Vāmiq, Varqah, and Rāmīn.⁵ Elsewhere, the beloved is described as veiled, coquettish in glance, and adorned with vasmah (a traditional cosmetic).⁶ The following couplet reflects this conventional portrayal of the veiled beloved, familiar from the poetry of male poets:

Alas, if only in wakefulness
I could behold their face unveiled.⁷

Jahān Malik Khātūn's poetry is marked by recurring themes of sorrow, pain, and anguish. This tone is unsurprising given the historical context of her life. Her father, Mas'ūd Shāh Īnjū, was murdered, and not long thereafter, her uncle and protector, Shāh Abū Īshāq, met the same tragic fate. The death of her child inflicted a further, irreparable wound. As she writes in lamentation:

¹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, ed. Pūrān'dukht Kāshānī Rād and Kāmil Ahmād'pūr (Tehran: Zavvār, 1374/1995), 3.

²Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 3.

³Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 3–4.

⁴Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 3.

⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 404.

⁶Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 258.

⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 347.

⁸Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 404.

⁹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 34.

¹⁰Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 37.

¹¹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 41.

Alas and woe, the joy of my soul has departed,
And that precious life, so young, from this world has been taken.

O light of my eyes, the world has been laid to waste by your grief,

For the light of my eyes, in the bloom of youth, has vanished from this world.⁸

In the opening verses of many of her poems, the word *jahān* (world) appears with notable frequency. It seems that the intended audience of Jahān Malik Khātūn's poetry is the poet herself; in other words, the poet employs her poetic pen name, traditionally reserved for the final or penultimate verse, at the very beginning of her ghazals. This self-address functions as a form of internal dialogue or poetic soliloquy. By employing the term "world" to signify "fate" or "the passage of time," she engages with a repertoire of themes already deeply embedded in the Persian poetic tradition, yet does so without introducing significant innovation. These themes include the sorrow and pain associated with the world, its capriciousness and impermanence, the futility of worldly affairs, and the restless quality of the world likened to the beloved's curls. Other recurring motifs present the lover as having only the beloved in this world, the beloved as indifferent to worldly matters, and the lover's heart aimlessly wandering through the world. The following verses illustrate these and related ideas:

1. If the soul exists, it is surely worthy of you, O water of life!
May two hundred souls and worlds be sacrificed at your feet!⁹

2. May your heart be joyful from the turning of the world,
And may you be free from the sorrows of the world.¹⁰

3. Behold that spring breeze has risen,
Now it has adorned the meadow of the world.¹¹

4. Each moment, the burden of the world upon our hearts grows



heavier

And from the blows of the sky's sword, our soul is more wounded.¹²

¹²Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 48.

5. My sight is that of an enlightened eye
For your countenance is the very foundation of my heart and faith.¹³

¹³Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 49.

¹⁴Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 58.

6. When my two eyes made my heart bind to your beauty
My heart tied itself to you and was freed from the sorrows of the world.¹⁴

¹⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 60.

¹⁶Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 64.

7. If you truly understand, all the world is but nothing.
Why, then, should you fret over the affairs of the world, which are naught?¹⁵

¹⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 67.

¹⁸Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 68.

8. My heart has grown so accustomed to the sorrow of your love
That it has turned the whole world solely toward your love.¹⁶

¹⁹Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 69.

²⁰Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 72.

9. The entire world is like springtime.
In the orchard of the soul, blossoms are in full swing.¹⁷

²¹Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 72.

²²Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān, 76.

10. The world, like your tangled tresses, is restless.
Think not that it will ever with anyone stay reconciled.¹⁸

11. My heart demands your union from the world,
For in the ache of parting, it becomes the joy of stranger.¹⁹

12. Though the world is a garden, lush and fair in every part,
For me, your face alone brings solace, freeing my heart.²⁰

13. The world, boundless and endless, is born of love's embrace,
A swimmer adrift in the vast, infinite sea of love's grace.²¹

14. Through union with you, the world to me is sweet and bright,
Yet I, your wild gazelle, am caught in love's snare.²²

²³Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
78.

²⁴Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
79.

²⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
87.

²⁶Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
87.

²⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
91.

²⁸Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
92.

²⁹Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
94.

³⁰Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
95.

³¹Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
96.

15. O heart, in this world, joy is but rare.
From this realm, your share is naught but sorrow.²³

16. Why ask of my heart's state? Lost and adrift in this world
it remains,
Bewildered by love's labor, free from all earthly chains.²⁴

17. A fire born from the sorrow of your absence burns within
my soul.
From its sparks, my cries and laments echo through both
worlds.²⁵

18. It is revealed in both worlds who my beloved is.
The enchantment of both worlds is that coquettish idol of mine.²⁶

19. I am free from the world and all it contains.
What care have I for the thoughts of foes or friends' refrains?²⁷

20. O heart, that from both worlds has sought only the desire
for the beloved,
The goal in both this world and the next is the visage of the
beloved.²⁸

21. O wind, if you pass by the door of my beloved,
Look and see if she casts a glance upon the state of this world.²⁹

22. My heart, like a drunken eye, is now in the throes of intox-
ication.
Sitting in sorrow for her face, the world has become a lane of
grief.³⁰

23. The purpose of the world, of both worlds, is the union with
the beloved.
If not, what other task in this world is there for me to pursue?³¹

24. O world, what is this endless pain within my heart?
My suffering has surpassed all bounds; now tell me, what is the



cure?

My heart has burned from the cruelty of your ways, as I observe
the state of the world.

What is this tyranny from the bewildered, wandering heavens?³²

³²Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
98.

³³Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
102.

³⁴Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
102.

25. The world, once again, is in the days of youth.

A time for the pursuit of joy and prosperity.³³

³⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
104.

26. My heart cannot endure the sight of your sun-like face,
For in this world, there is no spectacle more delightful than that
face.

³⁶Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
104.

You are the cypress of the soul, while we lie low in dust.

Tell me, Beloved, why does your heart not incline, why does
your affection not shine toward us?³⁴

³⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
107.

³⁸Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
108.

³⁹Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
109.

27. In this world, nothing but sorrow is our share,

No rival but grief and despair.

We are lovers of the dust in her lane,

As if in this world, no beloved for us does remain.³⁵

⁴⁰Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
111.

28. O heart, since the world is not as we desire,

The falcon of loyalty does not fall into our snare.³⁶

29. Beloved, in this world, nothing but the sorrow of your love
remains.

For the dust at your feet, no offering but my soul sustains.³⁷

30. In this world, there is nothing but pain upon my soul.

My only companions are pain and sighs, cold and dull.³⁸

31. O heart, what remedy when the world is not steadfast?

In this age, nothing but pain and tears of blood amass.

Beware, grieve not for the state of this fleeting age,

For the affairs of the world are not on a stable stage.³⁹

32. Of my love, no trace remains within your heart,

And of the soul of the world, you remain unaware.⁴⁰

⁴¹Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
114.

⁴²Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
118.

⁴³Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
118.

⁴⁴Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
126.

⁴⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
127.

⁴⁶Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
128.

⁴⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
128.

⁴⁸Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
130.

⁴⁹Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
131.

⁵⁰Jahān Malik Khātūn, Dīvān,
131.

33. If I fall for your moon-like face, it is no surprise,
For in this world, none like you ever meet my eyes.⁴¹

34. In this world, my Beloved, I have none but your grace.
Come to my rescue, for no savior can take your place.⁴²

35. Alas, for none but your love can answer my cry,
And in both worlds, I have no one but your sorrow.⁴³

36. In my love for you, there is no sleep nor sustenance.
In this world, there is no beloved but you.⁴⁴

37. Of my restless state, she remains unaware
Or if aware, she shows no worldly care.⁴⁵

38. As long as the world exists, it is never free from sorrow.
For the wounds of the heart, there is no balm to borrow.⁴⁶

39. Though my beloved shows me no kindness or grace,
In all the world, no soul loves her like I do, in this place.
For her precious soul, I would sacrifice a thousand lives and
lands.
My love and devotion for her are no hidden strands.⁴⁷

40. Why cast no glance toward me, weary and worn?
For in all the world, no refuge but you is born.
Cease your cruelty, grant the heartbroken their due today.
In both worlds, no king like you holds sway.⁴⁸

41. O moon-faced one, your visage is such a world-adornment.
In the garden, your cypress-like stature is peerless.⁴⁹

42. My mad heart is in a frenzy of longing for you.
My eyes roam the world in the alleys of your imagination.⁵⁰

The pen name Jahān belongs to the poet, and its usage in the
opening verses, given its frequency, is unprecedented among



Persian poets. This feature constitutes one of the distinguishing characteristics of Jahān Malik Khātūn's poetry. An examination of her published *Dīvān* reveals that, of the 319 ghazals composed with rhymes ending in t, the word jahān appears forty-five times in the opening couplets of forty-two ghazals. Additionally, jahān occurs forty-three times in the second and third verses. A closer analysis of the remaining verses throughout her *Dīvān* further supports this observation. For instance, in the first to third verses of 332 ghazals composed with the rhyme d, the word jahān is used seventy-three times. This frequent recurrence suggests that the poet often wrote either as a form of self-address or, considering the literal meaning of jahān as "world" or "era," sought to create meaning through subtle ambiguities and paronomasia. As seen in many of the examples above, this introspective engagement with meaning is often accompanied by the pairing of jahān with jān (soul or life), and occasionally with words such as gham (sorrow), dard (pain), ranj (suffering), and ghussah (grief). These recurring juxtapositions produce a cycle of repetition, in which certain themes are expressed repeatedly. This pattern indicates that the poet's lexicon, particularly in the context of ghazal, remains somewhat constrained. It may also suggest that, in her poetic practice, Jahān Malik Khātūn does not always exhibit the technical refinement or stylistic breadth found in the works of more seasoned poets.

In order to further refine her poetic skills, Jahān Malik Khātūn engaged in the imitation of other poets. This strategy served two principal purposes: first, to acquire and master the art of poetry, and second, to compete with the renowned poets of her time and demonstrate her own poetic prowess. As a result, she found it necessary to imitate and respond to the poetry of earlier and contemporary poets in an effort to establish her own reputation. In striving to rival the masters, improve her poetic craft, and assert her own talent, she adopted a fixed model and adhered to the following principles in her engagement with the ghazals of others. This approach was not unique to Jahān Malik Khātūn; many other poets who practiced imitation followed this model:

1. Selecting and mentally retaining a favored ghazal from another poet or poets.
2. Transcribing all or most of the rhymes and, in some case, the radīf (refrain) of that poem separately.
3. Removing certain rhymes, adding others, and introducing a new radīf, while maintaining the overall mood and thematic coherence of the original poem.
4. Preserving the literary devices of the model poem, along with its concepts and themes, by replacing its vocabulary with synonyms or personally selected alternatives, thereby retaining the essence of the poem while adapting its expression.
5. Repeating the concepts of the admired poem by altering the syntactic structure of its hemistichs.

The imitation of prior works is neither unusual nor implausible. Every text, from its inception to its final form, remains intrinsically connected to the texts that precede it. It could be argued that reading, understanding, and interpreting a text is contingent upon familiarity with earlier works. A poet's writing is often consciously and necessarily related to the works of preceding and contemporary poets, particularly in terms of the influence of poetic structure, meter, refrain, and rhyme. This relationship is intentional. The poet, with deliberate awareness of the poetry of earlier or contemporaneous poets, is influenced in various ways by their works. By demonstrating their ability to develop and reinterpret existing themes and concepts, poets attract the attention of literary scholars. It is through this process that poets assert their poetic authority and take pride in the individuality and distinctiveness of their own style.

Attaining a distinct poetic style is contingent upon a poet's engagement in competition with other poets, a process that often unfolds through imitation and response to others, typically accompanied by an adoption of the meter and rhyme scheme of the model poem. In essence, such acts of poetic response, imitation, and adaptation have not only served as methods of learning and refinement but have also functioned as means through



which poets articulate their individuality and assert their superiority over their contemporaries.

Sayf Jām Hiravī in *Jāmi‘ al-sanāyi‘ va al-awzān* (The compendium of poetic arts and meters) provides a precise definition and classification of poetic imitation and response. He explains that when a poet composes a poem in the same meter, rhyme, refrain, or using the same literary devices as another poet, whether by personal inclination or at the request or command of another, it is termed *mujābāt* (response).⁵¹ This practice is classified into three types: If the *mujīb* (responding poet) surpasses the original poet in poetic excellence, the response is called *tanbīh* (admonition), meaning it serves either to make the original poet aware of his own shortcomings or to demonstrate that the content could have been more skillfully expressed. If the response is of a lower quality and does not reach the level of the original, it is referred to as *mutāba‘at* (emulation). If the responding poet successfully matches the original in poetic merit, the work is simply called *mujābāt*.⁵²

Some writers have also shown interest in the practice of poetic imitation and response, dedicating entire books or sections of their works to this subject. One such example is *Mūnis al-ahrār* (The companion of the free), written by Muhammad ibn Badr *Jājarmī* in AH 741/1340. In the section titled *Fī zikr al-tash-bīhāt* (On the mention of similes), *Jājarmī* meticulously documents numerous instances of poetic imitation and response, presenting them in a comparative and continuous format.⁵³ For instance, he cites the renowned verse of ‘Unsurī: “Nawrūz has arrived, and with it, the festival follows in its wake.”⁵⁴ He then includes responses composed in the same meter and rhyme by various poets. *Mu‘izzī*: “O you, fresher than the petal of a newly bloomed rose, adorned in splendor.”⁵⁵ *Mukhtārī*: “O chain of musk, cast upon the moon.”⁵⁶ *Sanā‘ī*: “O you, whose sweet laughter pours like nectar upon the bowl of sugar.”⁵⁷ He also includes the verse by *Sayf al-A‘raj*: “O you whose head is bound with the tresses of your hair at dawn,”⁵⁸ which follows the same

⁵¹Sayf Jām Hiravī, *Jāmi‘ al-sanāyi‘ va al-awzān*, ed. Zaynab Sādiqī-Nijād (Tehran: Intishārāt-i Duktur Mahmūd-i Afshār, bā hamkārī-i Intishārāt-i Sukhan, 1399/2020), 107.

⁵²Jām Hiravī, *Jāmi‘ al-sanāyi‘*, 108.

⁵³See “Introduction” in Muhammad *Jājarmī*, *Mūnis al-ahrār fī daqāyiq al-ash‘ār* [The companion of the free in the subtleties of poetry], ed. Mīr-sālah Tabībī (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āsār-i Millī, 1337/1958).

⁵⁴*Jājarmī*, *Mūnis al-ahrār fī daqāyiq al-ash‘ār*, 214.

⁵⁵*Jājarmī*, *Mūnis al-ahrār fī daqāyiq al-ash‘ār*, 216.

⁵⁶*Jājarmī*, *Mūnis al-ahrār fī daqāyiq al-ash‘ār*, 218.

⁵⁷*Jājarmī*, *Mūnis al-ahrār fī daqāyiq al-ash‘ār*, 219.

⁵⁸*Jājarmī*, *Mūnis al-ahrār fī daqāyiq al-ash‘ār*, 219.

⁵⁹Jārmī, Mūnis al-ahrār fī daqāyiq al-ash'ār, 256–61.

⁶⁰Muhammad Rizā Shafī'ī Kadkanī, Shā'irī dar hujūm-i muntāqidān [A poet under the onslaught of critics] (Tehran: Āgah, 1390/2012), 45.

⁶¹Fakhrī Hiravī, Tuhfat al-habīb [The gift of the beloved], Tehran, Kitāb'khānah-'i Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī, MS 7027, AH 1316/1899, f.5.

⁶²Zayn al-Dīn Mahmūd Vāsifī, Badāyī' al-vaqāyī', ed. Alexander Boldyrev (Tehran: Buniyād-i Farhang-i Irān, 1349/1970), 1:95, 147, 212.

meter and rhyme. Additionally, he cites the verse by Abū al-Faraj Rūnī: “Nawrūz has made the heart of both the old and the young bloom,” followed by verses by Anvarī: “What is this youth and beauty in the world?” and Sa'īd Hiravī: “You have granted sweetness to the soul through your sweet lips,” all composed within the same thematic and metrical framework.⁵⁹

The term *zamīn* (ground or earth) refers to the overall structural framework of a poem, determined by its meter, rhyme, and refrain. When a poet composed a ghazal with a previously unrecorded combination of these elements, it was said that the *zamīn* of the poem belonged to that poet, or that another poem had been composed within the *zamīn* of a specific ghazal. This term appears to function as a necessary linguistic shorthand for the collective reference to “meter, rhyme, and refrain.”⁶⁰

Tuhfat al-habīb (The gift of the beloved) by Fakhrī Hiravī, written in the AH 10th/16th century, is a work dedicated to poetic imitation and poetic response. The author records ghazals and *ash'ār-i tarhī* (verses proposed by kings, literary patrons, or hosts of poetic gatherings in which poets were invited to compose new poems following the same meter and rhyme scheme as the given verse), followed by the responses composed by various poets within the same *zamīn*. For example, Sa'īd composed the verse “If my moon unveils her face,” to which Khusrāw Dihlavī responded with “You drive my heart and soul to ruin.” Salmān Sāvājī replied, “Before the union of dust and water existed,” and Kamāl Khujandī answered, “Yesterday at dawn, you cast aside your veil.”⁶¹

Zayn al-Dīn Mahmūd Vāsifī, writing in the AH 10th/16th, also addresses the process of poetic composition within the framework of *mujābāt* in his work *Badāyī' al-vaqāyī'* (Amazing events). In it, he provides detailed accounts of poems composed by himself and others in response to verses by renowned poets such as Kamāl Ismā'īl, 'Abd al-Vāsi' Jabalī, Khusrāw Dihlavī, and others.⁶² An examination of Jahān Malik Khātūn's poetry



through the lens of *tatabu‘āt* (imitation) and *mujābāt* (response) reveals the poets she studied and illustrates how, following this literary model, she engaged with their hemistichs and verses, drawing on the stylistic and thematic elements in the development of her own work.

Review of Literature

Traces of Sa‘dī, Hāfiz, and Khusraw Dihlavī’s poems can be observed in Jahān Malik Khātūn’s verse, a subject that has been examined in a number of studies. Parvīn Dawlat‘ābādī, in her book *Manzūr-i khiradmānd* (The vision of the sage), discusses the influence of Hāfiz’s ghazals on Jahān Malik Khātūn’s poetry.⁶³ Muhammad Husaynī Ma‘sūm, in an article, compares Jahān Malik Khātūn’s poetry with that of Sa‘dī and Hāfiz.⁶⁴ Muhsin Sharīfī Sahī, in another article, analyzes Jahān Malik Khātūn’s engagement with and influence from Khusraw Dihlavī’s poems.⁶⁵ In a separate article, Sahī also examines the influence and literary appropriation of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī from Khusraw Dihlavī. He argues that Jalāl, by employing strategies such as “maintaining identical meter, rhyme, and poetic structure, utilizing distinct poetic expressions, and directly incorporating entire hemistichs and verses from Khusraw without alteration,” appropriated forty of his poems.⁶⁶ In essence, both Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī and Jahān Malik Khātūn were influenced by Khusraw’s poetry, and, as will be further explored, Jahān Malik Khātūn not only engaged with Khusraw’s verse but also showed a particular interest in Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s poetry.

Ashrafzādah, in an article, examines the renowned ghazal featuring the repeated refrain *gham makhur* (“do not grieve”). He asserts that Hāfiz, Jahān Malik Khātūn, and other poets composed their ghazals in a literary gathering hosted by either Shāh Abū Ishāq or Shah Shujā‘ Muzaffarī, in response to a poetic theme proposed by Shams al-Dīn, the author of *Dīvān-i Juvaynī* (Juvaynī’s Book of poems). Ultimately, Ashrafzādah presents two possibilities: that Hāfiz was influenced by Jahān Malik

⁶³Parvīn Dawlat‘ābādī, *Manzūr-i khiradmānd: Barrasi-i ahvāl va fuzūdah-‘i ash‘ār-i Jahān Malik Khātūn* [The vision of the sage: A Selection of Jahān Malik Khātūn’s poetry (Tehran: Gawhar, 1367/1988), 41.

⁶⁴Muhammad Husaynī Ma‘sūm, “Jahān Malik Khātūn: Shāgird-i Sa‘dī, ham‘dars-i Hāfiz” [Jahān Malik Khātūn: Student of Sa‘dī, classmate of Hāfiz] in *Parnīyān-i sukhān: Panjumīn hamāyish-i pazhūhish‘hā-‘i zabān va adabiyāt-i Fārsī* (Sabzevar: University of Sabzevar, 1389/2010), 1311–34.

⁶⁵Muhsin Sharīfī Sahī, “Bar-risī-i ash‘ār-i Sa‘dī va Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī dar *Dīvān-i Jahān Malik Khātūn* va mu‘ar-rāfi-i ash‘ār-i naw‘yāftah-‘i ū [An analysis of the poetry of Sa‘dī and Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī in the *Dīvān* of Jahān Malik Khātūn and the introduction of her newly discovered poems]”, *Zabān va Adabiyāt-i Fārsī* 73, no. 242 (Fall and Winter 1399/2020): 171–200.

⁶⁶Muhsin Sharīfī Sahī, “Bar-risī-i ta‘sir‘pazīrī va sirqāt-i adabī-i Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī az shī‘r-i Khusraw Dihlavī” [An analysis of the influence and literary rivalry of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī with the poetry of Khusraw Dihlavī], *Nāmāh-‘i Farhangistān* 17, no. 2 (Fall and Winter 1397/2018): 84.

⁶⁷Rizā Ashraf'zādah, "Bazm-i shā'irānah-i Shīrāz va Hāfiz Shīrāzī" [The poetic gathering of Shiraz and Hāfiz of Shiraz], *Fasl'nāmah-i Takhassus-i Adabiyāt-i Fārsī-i Dānishgāh-i Āzād-i Mashhad* 4, no. 13 (2007): 20–36.

⁶⁸Jahān Malik Khātun, *Dīvān*, 9.

Khātūn, or that Jahān Malik Khātūn drew inspiration from Hāfiz, offering arguments in support of each view.⁶⁷

Jahān Malik Khātūn also found inspiration in the poetry of contemporaries such as Salmān Sāvajī (d. AH 778/1377), and traces of their verses appear in her compositions. She paid special attention to poets from her hometown or those who lived in Shiraz, where she resided. Among these poets were Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī (d. AH 739/1339) and Khvajū Kirmānī (d. AH 763/1362), both of whom spent significant time in Shiraz. Jahān Malik Khātūn's birth and death are estimated to have occurred between AH 724/1324 and after AH 784/1383.⁶⁸ At the time of Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī's death, Jahān Malik Khātūn was fifteen years old and lived beyond the lifespans of these poets. Given this timeline and the fact that Jahān Malik Khātūn was a follower of these poets, the possibility of Jahān Malik Khātūn influencing these earlier poets is minimal.

1. Jahān Malik Khātūn and Responses to Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī, Salmān Sāvajī and Khvajū Kirmānī

To better understand how Jahān Malik Khātūn drew inspiration from the works of other poets, it is useful to begin with an examination of her ghazals shaped through poetic imitation, particularly those influenced by the poetry of Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī and Khvajū Kirmānī. After a close engagement with the works of Sa'dī, Khusraw Dihlavī, and Hāfiz, Jahān Malik Khātūn appears to have been most influenced by Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī's poetry, while also showing a particular fondness for the works of Salmān Sāvajī and Khvajū Kirmānī. Her study and imitation of these poets will be explored in two sections: (1) Incorporation, and (2) Influence of rhyme and refrain.

According to Rādavīānī in *Tarjumān al-balāghah* (The interpreter of eloquence), the first treatise on rhetoric, the literary device of *tazmīn* (implication) is defined as follows: "It occurs when a poet is so captivated by a verse from another's poetry that they



weave it into their own composition, not as a thief would, but as one would welcome a guest. The convention of this practice dictates that the poet must, from the outset, acknowledge the origin of the verse, whether by name, hint, or allusion.”⁶⁹

Rashīd al-Dīn Vatvāt also articulates the notion of incorporating a verse or line from another poet “as a guest, not as a thief.” He adds an important condition: “It should be done in the spirit of borrowing, not in the manner of theft. Moreover, the borrowed line must be well-known, and there should be a clear indication so that the listener does not suspect or associate it with theft.”⁷⁰

1.1 The Influence of Jahān Malik Khātūn from Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī

A) Influence through Implication of Verses and the Utilization of Phrases and Themes

1.1.1

Several verses from one of Jalāl ‘Azud’s nine-verse ghazals are particularly admired and appreciated by Jahān Malik Khātūn. Without directly citing his name, she incorporates five of his verses into her own seven-verse ghazal, closely mirroring his rhyme schemes. The first two lines of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s ghazal appear word-for-word in Jahān Malik Khātūn’s composition:

What fault was committed that you suddenly severed affection?
What occurred that you turned away from us so abruptly?
Who now could place trust in your word and promise,
When every vow you made, you swiftly abandoned?⁷¹

The fifth couplet of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s poem reads as follows:

A thousand times I warned you, “Do not heed
The slander of foes against friends,” yet you paid no heed.⁷²

Jahān Malik Khātūn composed the third verse of her ghazal as

⁶⁹Muhammad ibn ‘Umar Rā-davīyānī, *Tarjumān al-balāghah* [The interpreter of eloquence], ed. Ahmad Ātash (Istanbul: Ibrāhīm Khurūs, 1949), 103.

⁷⁰Rashīd al-Dīn Vatvāt, *Dīvān, bih inzimām-i Hadā’iq al-sihr va daqāyiq al-shi’r* [Dīvān, compiled with Hadā’iq al-sihr and faqāyiq al-shi’r], ed. Sa’id Nafīsī (Tehran: Kitāb’khānah-i Barānī, 1339/ 1960), 692.

⁷¹Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, ed. Ahmad Karamī (Tehran: Mā, 1366/1987), 198; Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 461.

⁷²‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 198.

⁷³Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 461.

⁷⁴‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 198.

⁷⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 461.

⁷⁶‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 198.

a clear reference to this couplet, making only slight modifications. Jahān Malik Khātūn rendered it as:

A thousand times I have said, do not heed the words of enemies as told by friends!

The rhyme in both verses remains identical, and in her version, she writes:

A thousand times I cautioned, “You will not listen—beware!
To the words of enemies spoken against friends,” yet you did not hear.⁷³

The seventh couplet of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī is as follows:

We did not decide upon that you would bring my heart’s delight,
But not only did you fail, you brought my soul to the brink of night.⁷⁴

Jahān Malik Khātūn composed the fourth verse of her ghazal by changing the word *naguftīm* (“we did not decide upon”) to *biguftīm* (“we decided upon”), drawing from the above verse. However, there is a possibility that the editors’ reading is mistaken, and she may have simply repeated Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s line verbatim:

We decided upon that you would bring my heart’s delight,
But not only did you fail, you brought my soul to the brink of night.⁷⁵

The eighth couplet of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s poem reads:

What manner of state is this, that you inquire not of our condition?
What manner of enmity is this, that you sever ties with your own friends?⁷⁶



Jahān Malik Khātūn offers a variant rendition of this couplet in the fifth and sixth verses of her ghazal. She constructs one line from the first half of the hemistich above, and another line from its second half. Nearly identical to the second hemistich of the original, she repeats it across the second lines of both verses, thereby introducing the same theme twice within a single ghazal:

What manner of friendship is this, that you inquire not of our state?

What manner of enmity is this, that you sever ties with your own beloved?

What manner of state is this, that you show no care for your servants?

What manner of behavior is this, that you turn away from your friends?⁷⁷

It appears that the ghazal in question by Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī was among the poems Jahān Malik Khātūn kept for the purpose of learning the craft of poetry. By rearranging some of its words, she composed her own ghazal. The third, fourth, sixth, and ninth verses of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s ghazal do not seem to have held particular interest for her. Moreover, the seventh verse of Jahān Malik Khātūn’s ghazal, which contains her pen name, is not found in Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s composition and appears to be entirely her own creation:

Do not let the world slip from your hands henceforth, out of the reach of envious desires,

For now, you have attained the longing of your heart from the world.⁷⁸

1.1.2

One of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s ghazals includes the following verses:

⁷⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 461.

⁷⁸Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 461.

⁷⁹ Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 95.

⁸⁰ Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 250.

No night passes without my heart bleeding from your sorrow,
And my pale cheeks are never tinted with the hue of roses from
my tears.

I said my days would pass without your beauty,
O delicate soul, but what shall I do when they will not?
The hem of your union slipped away from my grasp
Alas, what remedy is there, when fate will not be reversed?⁷⁹

In a ghazal composed by Jahān Malik Khātūn modeled after Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s poetry, she uses rhymes such as khūn(blood), gulgūn (rose-hued), bīrūn (outward), vārūn (inverted), and chūn (as), all of which also appear in Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s ghazal. Jahān Malik Khātūn draws on the themes of the three cited verses by Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī, directly quoting the first hemistich and repeating certain words and their equivalents. In Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s poem, the bakht-i vārūn (inverted fate) causes the dāman-i visāl (hem of union) to slip from the lover’s grasp. In Jahān Malik Khātūn’s rendering, the tāli ‘-i vārūn (inverted fortune) prevents the promise of va ‘dah-’i visāl (promise of union) from being fulfilled. However, her poetic imitation falls short of adding depth or new meaning to Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s verse. This limitation is particularly evident in another couplet of her ghazal, where she merely reiterates the theme of unattainable union:

There is no night when, from your sorrow, my liver does not
bleed,
Nor do the tears cease to flow from my eyes’ path.
Each night, hope is kindled by the promise of our union,
Yet that too, by my inverted fortune, remains unfulfilled.
I said, “O friend, the day of our union shall come to pass,”
But what remedy remains, when fate decrees it shall not be?⁸⁰

1.1.3

In the middle of a ghazal, Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī composes the following two couplets:



My wisdom, intellect, and judgment have all slipped away
What stratagem remains, O Muslims, what stratagem?
You are heedless of us, while we are in restless pursuit
What remedy is there, when fate has thus decreed?⁸¹

⁸¹ 'Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 105.

⁸² Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 283.

⁸³ 'Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 139.

Jahān Malik Khātūn incorporates one hemistich with minor modification and reproduces the other verbatim:

I was cast into love for him by fate
O Muslims, O Muslims, what remedy remains?
Why is there no sense of self left in love for him?
What remedy is there, when fate has thus decreed?⁸²

1.1.4.

In another ghazal of Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī, the following verses appear:

I have fallen amidst the boundless waves of the sea,
I, amidst the boundless waves of the sea, have fallen.

Whoever has a soul is in solitude with their beloved,
See this humiliation, for I have fallen at the threshold.

I am a sacred bird, yet I sit with the earthly ones,
I am a pure gem, yet I have fallen into the dust.⁸³

Jahān Malik Khātūn borrows the first hemistich of Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī's opening couplet verbatim and reiterates the theme and vocabulary of the remaining verses with some modification. For instance, where Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī describes falling in "humiliation" (*mazallat*) at the threshold, Jahān Malik Khātūn uses the synonym "degradation" (*khvārī*), stating, "I have fallen in degradation like the dust of the threshold." Similarly, where Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī refers to the lover as a "pure gem in the dust," Jahān Malik Khātūn reinterprets the motif in a less exalted manner and more questioning tone:

⁸⁴Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 332.

⁸⁵'Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 121.

⁸⁶Salmān Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, ed. 'Abbās 'Alī Vafā'ī (Tehran: Sukhan, 1389/2010), 340.

⁸⁷Shams al-Dīn Muhammad Hāfiz, *Dīvān*, ed. Salīm Nīsārī (Tehran: Sukhan, 1387/2008), 445.

Since his tresses are disheveled, I have fallen in the world,
With his sorrow close, far from home, I have fallen.
I would have risen to the shore with his union, but from grief,
I have fallen amidst the boundless waves of the sea.
With your union, how can one hope for solitude?
I, who have fallen in degradation, like the dust of the threshold.
If a gem is in the dust, how can it still be a gem?
I have fallen into the dust, in the hope of something akin.⁸⁴

1.1.5

The opening couplet of a ghazal by Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī is as follows:

How long shall the fire of the heart burn?
My soul's thread flickers like a candle's flame.
O gentle breeze, bestow your presence,
That I may scatter my soul like a candle's light.⁸⁵

This theme of burning love, expressed through imagery of fire and light, was widely popular and often explored by poets of the AH 8th/15th century. For instance, Salmān Sāvajī expresses this sentiment:

How long will I speak with you one night?
I will turn the day into a night like the candle's flame.
I marvel that tonight I may remain until dawn, like the candle's flame.⁸⁶

Hāfiz also composes in a similar vein:

In faithfulness to your love, I am renowned among the beauties,
like a candle.
A night-dweller in the alley of the brave and the free-spirited, I
burn like a candle.⁸⁷

In this context, it appears that Jahān Malik Khātūn, while in-



debted to both Salmān Sāvajī and Hāfiz, may have drawn particular inspiration from Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s imagery. In the following lines, the influence is especially evident:

In the dark night of separation, I am wretched and burning like a candle.

She, like a flower, is smiling, while I am aflame and weeping like a candle.

With a heart full of fire, smoke rises to my head
From the flames of yearning, my soul’s thread burns like a candle.

Speak, and let the sun of beauty rise from the horizon of hope,
That I may scatter my soul before her face like the dawn, like a candle.⁸⁸

The couplet most closely resembling the rhyme of jānam (my soul) is found in the verses of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī and Jahān Malik Khātūn, as cited above. Salmān Sāvajī, using the same rhyme, writes: “There is no one who sympathizes except the enemy of my soul, like a candle.”⁸⁹ It bears no resemblance or thematic connection to the hemistichs of Jahān Malik Khātūn and Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī. Hāfiz also does not appear to have composed any hemistich with this rhyme.

1.1.6

Two verses from a ghazal by Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī are as follows:

I shall reveal this pain that I hold within my soul.
I am a lover of your face; what can I hide from you?
I seek the Friend; why should I fear the blame of foe or friend?
I seek the Ka‘bah; why should I fear the thorns of camelthorn (mughīlān)?⁹⁰

The theme of the second verse by Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī is famously echoed in the poetry of Hāfiz:

⁸⁸Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 310.

⁸⁹Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 340.

⁹⁰‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 141.

⁹¹Hāfiz, *Dīvān*, 261.

⁹²Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 352.

⁹³Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, ed. 'Alī Rizā Qūjah'zādah Halānī (PhD diss., Islamic Azad University, Central Tehran Branch, 1393/2014), 430.

⁹⁴'Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 360.

If, in the desert, you take a step out of longing for the Ka'bah,
Do not grieve if the thorns of camelthorn (mughīlān) cast their
blame.⁹¹

This theme also found resonated with Jahān Malik Khātūn, who, despite profound indebtedness to Hāfiz, composed her own verses within the framework of Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī's poetic style:

What words can I offer to describe the sorrow that burdens my
soul?
Or the grief my heart endures from the separation of my be-
loved?
Now that I have set foot in the wilderness of your love, O Ka'-
bah of my soul,
Why should I fear the thorns of camelthorn (mughīlān)?⁹²

1.1.7.

Another verse by Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī appears to have influenced Jahān Malik Khātūn is as follows:

When I become slain by you, should you pass over my grave,
I shall rise from the earth to seize the hem of your garment.⁹³

Jahān Malik Khātūn, inspired by this imagery, transformed "should you pass over my grave" into "should your footsteps one day fall upon my dust," and replaced "earth" (khāk, which also means "grave") with "tomb" (lahad), thereby crafting a verse in the style of Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī:

Should your footsteps one day fall upon my dust,
I shall rise from my tomb to seize the hem of your garment.⁹⁴

1.1.8

The following two couplets are by Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī:



I desire that as long as I live,
You remain the sovereign, and I, your servant.
I, Jalāl, shall die only from the pain of loving you,
If my fortune proves auspicious.⁹⁵

The first verse appears to have been inspired by a line in *Vīs and Rāmīn* by Fakhr al-Dīn As‘ad Gurgānī who wrote:

I know that as long as I live,
I shall remain a servant before your servants.⁹⁶

The first hemistich of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s couplet is identical to the opening line of Gurgānī’s couplet. In one of her ghazals, Jahān Malik Khātūn incorporates a line from Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī verbatim. She also includes the second hemistich of Gurgānī’s couplet. Thus, her ghazal contains both a line from Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī and a line from Gurgānī, preserved without alteration:

If I remain steadfast in your fortune,
I shall remain a servant before your servants.
I shall attain the joy of union with you,
If my fortune proves auspicious.⁹⁷

1.1.9

The following verse is the opening couplet of a ghazal by Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī:

You do not cast a glance at the sorrowful hearts,
Nor do you slay the pitiful lovers with your cruelty.⁹⁸

Jahān Malik Khātūn, with slight modifications to the second hemistich, drew inspiration from this verse:

Do not lay upon your shoulders those musky tresses,
Nor slay the pitiful lovers with the sword of cruelty.⁹⁹

⁹⁵ Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 156.

⁹⁶ Fakhr al-Dīn As‘ad Gurgānī, *Masnavī-i Vīs va Rāmīn*, ed. Magali Todua and Alexander Gvakharia (Tehran: Bunyād-i Farhang-i Īrān, 1348/1970), 121. The same verse has also appeared on pages 205 and 228 of *Masnavī-i Vīs va Rāmīn*.

⁹⁷ Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 363.

⁹⁸ Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 10.

⁹⁹ Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 16.

¹⁰⁰ Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 143.

¹⁰¹ Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 225.

¹⁰² Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 181.

1.1.10

Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī writes:

I was created for your love; what another task is there in the world?¹⁰⁰

Jahān Malik Khātūn, drawing from the same sentiment, adapts the line as follows:

I was created with the pain of your love; among lovers, we were chosen.¹⁰¹

1.1.11

The following verses are selected from one of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s ghazals:

O Beloved, last night you were my companion and confidant.
Whose embrace did you seek, biting your lips through the night?

To whose hand did you entrust your disheveled, tangled locks?
Who was it that dispelled the haze from your hungover head?¹⁰²

With your bow-like brows and arrow-like lashes,
O me, your prey—whose prey have you been?

In anguish, Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī tore his shirt asunder,
While you, in defiance, remained the remedy for all woes.

This ghazal appears to have been among those particularly cherished by Jahān Malik Khātūn, as its hemistichs, themes, and phrases are incorporated into her own ghazals. In the first hemistich, *ay yār* (O Beloved) has been replaced with *jānā* (O Soul), while the remainder of the line is retained. In the following hemistich, *shab* (through the night) is altered to *tā vaqt-i subh’dam* (until the break of dawn), while maintaining the



rhyme. In the second couplet, *daf* khumār kih budah-’ī (who dispelled the haze) is adopted, and in the subsequent two couplets, two hemistichs are nearly replicated verbatim in Jahān Malik Khātūn’s poetry:

O Soul, last night you were my companion and confidant,
Until the break of dawn, whose embrace did you seek?¹⁰³

We are intoxicated by the wine of your love, yet unaware
Tell us, who dispelled the haze from your hungover head?

You made my heart the prey of your tangled locks,
O me, your prey—whose prey have you been?

A hundred shirts I have torn in despair,
While you, in defiance, remain the remedy for all woes.

B) Influence of Refrain, Rhyme, and Shared Themes

1.1.12

The following couplet by Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī presents a powerful metaphor of inner turmoil:

What tumult is this that has suddenly arisen in the world?
What fire is this that has fallen into the essence of the soul?¹⁰⁴

Jahān Malik Khātūn reimagines this imagery with a more personal and emotive tone:

What fire is this, ignited by your countenance, that has engulfed
the world?
It has left the soul in doubt of its very existence.¹⁰⁵

1.1.13

Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī expresses his singular devotion through the

¹⁰³Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS 1102, date missing, f.39r. This ghazal has not been recorded in the printed edition of the *Dīvān*.

¹⁰⁴‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 92.

¹⁰⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 155.

¹⁰⁶ Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 152.

¹⁰⁷ Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 353.

¹⁰⁸ Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 97.

¹⁰⁹ Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 253.

¹¹⁰ Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 130.

following lines:

I have no task but the remembrance of your lips.
In your memory, I spend my sweetened life.¹⁰⁶

In contrast, Jahān Malik Khātūn conveys the anguish of separation while maintaining the theme of longing:

Come, for I am restless from the pain of separation.
I can no longer endure this prolonged estrangement.
Will you not ask of my wretched state, how I fare?
How can I spend a lifetime without your presence?¹⁰⁷

1.1.14

Jalāl ʿAzud Yazdī reflects on the futility of life without the beloved in the following couplet:

Without your heart-illuminating face, what use is my life?
Before your world-burning ruby lips, how can my soul be accounted?¹⁰⁸

Jahān Malik Khātūn, building on this theme, shifts the focus to the necessity of love itself:

What use is a heart that is not filled with pain?
And how can one who has not become a lover be counted among the living?¹⁰⁹

1.1.15

In the following lines, Jalāl ʿAzud Yazdī contemplates the transience of the worldly realm:

One day, I shall pass from this lower abode,
And then, toward the celestial realm, I shall journey.¹¹⁰



Jahān Malik Khātūn, echoing the structure and sentiment, infuses her couplet with a tone of personal longing:

I said, "One night, I shall steal away to my beloved,
And in secret, gaze upon the beauty of her countenance."¹¹¹

This couplet by Jahān Malik Khātūn also closely resembles a verse by Sa‘dī, which shares both theme and phrasing:

Let me pass before your face,
And in secret, behold the beauty of your form.¹¹²

1.1.16

Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī opens his ghazal with vivid metaphors comparing the beloved’s features to celestial forms:

O your eyes and lips, together a dream and a vision.
Your face is a full moon, and your brow a crescent.¹¹³

Jahān Malik Khātūn similarly uses imagery of the moon and crescent to describe the beloved’s impact on the lover:

We are here, consumed by the sorrow of your love, a mere dream and illusion.
And from the radiance of your moon-like face, my body has become as slender as a crescent.¹¹⁴

1.2

Salmān Sāvajī’s Influence on Jahān Malik Khātūn

A) Influence through the Implications of Hemistichs and the Utilization of Themes and Phrases

1.2.1

¹¹¹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 378.

¹¹²Muslih al-Dīn Sa‘dī, *Dīvān*, ed. Muhammad ‘Alī Furūghī (Tehran: Hermes, 1385/2006), 811.

¹¹³‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 185.

¹¹⁴Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 479.

¹¹⁵Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 221.

¹¹⁶Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 14.

¹¹⁷Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 48.

¹¹⁸Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 83.

¹¹⁹A *musammāt* is a classical Persian and Arabic poetic form characterized by stanzaic structure and repeated rhyme patterns that differ from the more common *ghazal* or *qasīdah* forms. The term literally means “strung” or “beaded,” implying that the verses are linked together in a structured, often decorative way, much like beads on a string.

¹²⁰Manūchihri Dāmghānī, *Dīvān*, ed. Muhammad Dabīr’siyāqī (Tehran: Zavvār, 1385/2006), 153.

The opening verse (*matlaʿ*) of a *ghazal* by Salmān Sāvajī reads:

You, who draw lines upon me and do not read me,
Like a letter, you fold me upon yourself, not acknowledging
me.¹¹⁵

In the opening couplet of one of her *ghazals*, Jahān Malik Khātūn directly adopts the second hemistich of Salmān Sāvajī’s verse and pairs it with an original response:

Like a letter, you fold me upon yourself.
How long will you turn me, like a pen, upon the crown of my
head?¹¹⁶

1.2.2

At the beginning of a *qasīdah* (ode), Salmān Sāvajī writes:

When the autumn wind is the colorist of the hues,
It seems as though the garden is the workshop of the dyers.¹¹⁷

Jahān Malik Khātūn echoes this imagery in the opening of one of her *ghazals*, borrowing the structure and phrasing of Salmān Sāvajī’s second hemistich:

Behold in autumn how beautifully it dyes the vines
It is as if the garden has become a dyer’s workshop.¹¹⁸

The thematic and structural ground of this poem, however, does not originate with Salmān Sāvajī. Poets such as Manūchihri Dāmghānī and Farīd Ahval had previously used similar meter and rhyme. Manūchihri, in his well-known *musammāt* poem¹¹⁹ (“Arise and bring forth silk, for it is the season of autumn...”), includes the following couplet:

See the trembling leaves upon the quivering branches.
It is as if they are like a dyer’s robes.¹²⁰



As noted by the editor of Manūchihri's *Dīvān*, Rādūyānī, in the *Tarjumān al-Balāghah*, records the second hemistich as: "It is as if it were a dyer's workshop."¹²¹ This phrasing aligns more closely with the versions found in Salmān Sāvajī's and Jahān Malik Khātūn's poetry, indicating that Salmān Sāvajī was familiar with and endorsed this particular formulation.

Farīd Ahval Isfahānī, writing in the AH 7th/13th century, also composed a couplet with a comparable theme and structure:

The color that autumn bestows upon the vines
That color is not mixed by any dyer.¹²²

Despite these examples, Jahān Malik Khātūn appears to have drawn directly from Salmān Sāvajī's version, crafting the second hemistich of her opening couplet in deliberate response to his verse. It is possible that she was unaware of the compositions by Manūchihri and Farīd Ahval.

1.2.3

Salmān Sāvajī, in the opening of another ghazal, writes:

Though your coquetry and cruelty reach their utmost,
God forbid that I should ever complain of you.¹²³

Jahān Malik Khātūn adopts both the rhyme and refrain of Salmān Sāvajī's first hemistich, as well as the entire second hemistich, in her own ghazal:

Though your injustice and tyranny reach their utmost,
God forbid that I should ever complain of you.¹²⁴

Parvīn Dawlat'ābādī, in her book, *Manzūr-i khiradmānd*, describes Jahān Malik Khātūn's poem as an *istiqbāl* or poetic response to the following ghazal by Hāfiz:¹²⁵

¹²¹Farīd Isfahānī, *Dīvān*, ed. Muhsin Kiyānī (Tehran: Anjuman-i Āsār va Mafākhir-i Farhangī, 1381/2002), 34.

¹²²Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 288.

¹²³Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 288.

¹²⁴Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 195.

¹²⁵Dawlat'ābādī, *Manzūr-i khiradmānd*, 42.

¹²⁶Sāvajī, *Divān*, 345.

¹²⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Divān*, 343.

I and the renunciation of wine—what manner of tale is this?
Surely, this much wisdom and sufficiency I possess.

Given the implications of Salmān Sāvajī's line in Jahān Malik Khātūn's poetry, the suggestion that her work responds primarily to Hāfiz is inaccurate. In composing her ghazal, Jahān Malik Khātūn clearly had Salmān Sāvajī's poetry in mind rather than that of Hāfiz.

1.2.4

The first three couplets of a ghazal by Salmān Sāvajī are as follows:

At the head of the alley of my beloved, I wander with my soul
Day and night, in pursuit of my heart, I roam the world.
The sorrow of the age has made me old, but what of it?
If fortune favors me, I shall become young again.
I have glimpsed her radiant beauty, which holds such allure.
Thus, enchanted and intoxicated, I wander in search of her.¹²⁶

In a ghazal composed in response to Salmān Sāvajī's poem, Jahān Malik Khātūn offers the following reply:

For a time, in the anguish of your separation, I wander the world.
As a lover, I roam at the door of those with tulip-like cheeks.
All beauty is yours, and mine is this love.
Thus, inevitably, O heart and soul, I seek the sublime.
Though the world has grown old, by the grace of God,
Through the fortune of union with you, I become young again.¹²⁷

Both poets wandering the world in pursuit of the sublime. Despite the effects of aging and sorrow, they express hope of reclaiming youth through fortune and the blessing of union.



b) Influence of Refrain, Rhythm, and Shared Poetic Ground:

1.2.5

In one of his verses, Salmān Sāvajī poses the questions:

Will this pain of my heart ever find a cure?
Will the lament of the dawn ever reach its destination?¹²⁸

Responding to this, Jahān Malik Khātūn reflects:

What if the suffering one finds a cure?
What if the destitute, through union with you, attains solace?¹²⁹

1.2.6

Salmān Sāvajī expresses a paradox of love in these lines:

A heart at peace, yet troubled by your love,
A captive so free yet bound within your prison.¹³⁰

Echoing this sentiment, Jahān Malik Khātūn writes:

No eye exists that is not bewildered by you,
No heart remains that is not imprisoned by you.¹³¹

1.2.7

In describing the pain of separation, Salmān Sāvajī states:

The night of your absence shall never see the dawn of reunion,
What a night it is, where even hope for tomorrow does not exist.¹³²

Jahān Malik Khātūn responds with an expression of admiration:

My heart cannot endure the radiance of your sun-like face,

¹²⁸Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 286.

¹²⁹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 191.

¹³⁰Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 292.

¹³¹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 202.

¹³²Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 257.

¹³³Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 102.

¹³⁴Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 230.

¹³⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 33.

¹³⁶Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 514.

¹³⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 109.

¹³⁸Sāvajī, *Dīvān*, 374.

For nothing in the world holds a vision more enchanting than that.¹³³

1.2.8

Salmān Sāvajī celebrates the fulfillment of fate in these lines:

With the ruby of your lips, my fate is fulfilled tonight,
Fortune bows before me, and destiny stands as my servant to-night.¹³⁴

Building on this theme, Jahān Malik Khātūn writes:

Since both worlds are granted to me through you tonight,
The bird of the night of union is finally caught in the snare.¹³⁵

1.2.9

Salmān Sāvajī offers a reflection on the transient nature of life:

O heart, this world is no place of permanence,
Abandon it, for it is nothing but fleeting and unstable.¹³⁶

In turn, Jahān Malik Khātūn laments:

O heart, what remedy, since the world is ever transient?
There is naught in this age but sorrow and tear-filled eyes.¹³⁷

1.2.10

Salmān Sāvajī praises humility despite lofty stature in these lines:

The lofty cypress, whose stature was ever exalted
Before you, it stood forever with hands clasped in humility.¹³⁸

Jahān Malik Khātūn complements this image with an expres-



sion of inner turmoil:

Within my mind, the madness of love has always dwelled,
And within my heart, the tumult of longing forever swelled.¹³⁹

1.3

Khvājū Kirmānī's Influence on Jahān Malik Khātūn

A) Influence through the Implications of Hemistichs and Utilization of Themes and Phrases

1.3.1

In the middle of a ghazal, Khvājū Kirmānī expresses the following:

I became a mere imagination, and wherever I look,
Except for your image, nothing appears to me.¹⁴⁰

Jahān Malik Khātūn adopts the second hemistich verbatim in her own poetry:

Except for your image, nothing appears to me,
Without the beloved's face, my life cannot endure.¹⁴¹

1.3.2

In another ghazal, Khvājū Kirmānī writes:

My heart, unable to find repose in the absence of her beauty's countenance,
Discovered its solace in the graceful curve of her restless tresses.¹⁴²

Similarly, Jahān Malik Khātūn draws upon the second line of this verse, with the variation of substituting the word "curve"

¹³⁹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 449.

¹⁴⁰Khvājū Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, ed. Ahmad Suhaylī Khvānsārī (Tehran: Pāzhang, 1369/1990), 669.

¹⁴¹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 256.

¹⁴²Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 220.

¹⁴³Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 139.

¹⁴⁴Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 460.

¹⁴⁵Anvarī Abīvardī, *Dīvān*, ed. Muhammad Taqī Mudarris Razavī (Tehran: ‘Ilmī va farhangī, 1376/1997), 897.

¹⁴⁶Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 135.

¹⁴⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 399.

(kham) with the word “head” (sar):

My heart, having departed, found its repose in the head of that beloved,
Where its tranquility settled amidst her restless tresses.¹⁴³

1.3.3

In the opening verse of a ghazal, Khvājū Kirmānī poses these questions:

To whom shall I confide the pain of my heart?
From whom shall I seek redress for my heart’s anguish?¹⁴⁴

This poetic “ground” originates from Anvarī Abīvardī (d. c. 585/1189), who expresses it as follows:

From whom shall I seek the cure for my heart?
To whom shall I tell the tale of my sorrow?¹⁴⁵

Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī also uses this “ground”:

The pain that is mine—to whom shall I speak of it?
The remedy for my heart—from whom shall I seek it?¹⁴⁶

Within this shared thematic and structural “ground,” Jahān Malik Khātūn composed a ghazal with the following opening couplet:

To whom shall I confide the pain of my heart?
From whom shall I seek the cure for my heart’s affliction?¹⁴⁷

No other poem in the *Dīvāns* of Jahān Malik Khātūn and Anvarī Abīvardī definitively proves that Jahān Malik Khātūn studied Anvarī Abīvardī’s *Dīvān*. However, as demonstrated by her engagement with the poetry of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī and Khvājū Kirmānī, responding directly to their verses and demonstrating



a clear affinity for their styles, it is likely that she composed this ghazal inspired by their poetry. In this instance, she appears to have borrowed the first hemistich from Khvājū Kirmānī and the second hemistich of the opening verse from Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī, without direct influence from Anvarī Abīvardī’s poem.

B) Influence through Refrain, Rhythm, and Common “Ground”

1.3.4

In one of his ghazals, Khvājū Kirmānī presents a metaphorical comparison between the beloved’s features and celestial beauty:

If the moon could be cloaked in armor of musk,
Then to those curls and that cheek, one might compare.¹⁴⁸

Jahān Malik Khātūn, though thematically divergent, conveys a similar emotional intensity in the following verse:

O beloved, the sorrow of your love can be forgotten,
Yet nothing but the sorrow of your love can be embraced.¹⁴⁹

1.3.5

In another verse, Khvājū Kirmānī reflects on the inescapability of love and fate:

One cannot turn one’s back on the beloved with bow-like brows,
Nor can one shield oneself from the arrows of fate.¹⁵⁰

Jahān Malik Khātūn responds with a verse that mirrors this sense of helpless devotion:

More than this, you cannot oppress this wretched soul,
Yet despite your cruelty, I cannot abandon my loyalty.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 257.

¹⁴⁹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 175.

¹⁵⁰Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 660.

¹⁵¹Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 177.

¹⁵²Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 177.

¹⁵³Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 69.

¹⁵⁴Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 264.

¹⁵⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 158.

¹⁵⁶Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 683.

1.3.6

Khvājū Kirmānī, invoking spiritual imagery, writes:

Send us a fragrance from the gardens of Paradise,
And for the sins of broken hearts, send a cure.¹⁵²

Jahān Malik Khātūn echoes the plea for healing but situates it more personally within the experience of separation:

From your grace, send a remedy for the pain in my heart,
O you, deprived of union, send me a melody of reunion.¹⁵³

1.3.7

Khvājū Kirmānī depicts the power of the beloved's beauty to disturb the soul:

When your hyacinth-like locks cast a chain upon the Judas tree,
They sowed turmoil in the heart of this helpless one.¹⁵⁴

In a similarly sorrowful tone, Jahān Malik Khātūn laments the enduring pain of separation:

Once again, the sorrow of separation has inflicted pain upon
my soul,
How long can one burden a weary heart with grief?¹⁵⁵

1.3.8

Khvājū Kirmānī emphasizes the hopelessness of unfulfilled longing:

As long as you are not united with us,
Our affairs will find no prosperity.
From your mouth, as I now see,
The fulfillment of my soul's desire will not be granted.¹⁵⁶



Jahān Malik Khātūn expresses a similar resignation:
There will be no cure for our pain,
Nor will the fulfillment of my longing from your lips be granted.¹⁵⁷

These poetic engagements likely belong to an early phase in Jahān Malik Khātūn's poetic career, during which she refined her craft by emulating the works of established poets. At this stage, her poetry followed pre-existing models to master the forms, techniques, and themes characteristic of the tradition. A later stage in her career is marked by more confident poetic responses, in which she engages other poets in literary dialogue with the intention of surpassing them or asserting her poetic identity. The following section will examine one of Jahān Malik Khātūn's ghazals that exemplifies this later, more assertive mode of composition.

2. A Ghazal by Jahān Malik Khātūn, Inspired by and Responding to the Poetry of Her Contemporaries

In *Javāhir al-‘ajāyib* (The jewels of wonders), reference is made to the gatherings hosted by Jahān Malik Khātūn, during which individuals known for their wit and refinement would convene to compose poetry extemporaneously and engage in poetic exchanges.¹⁵⁸

One particular ghazal with the refrain *narasīdīm* (“we did not attain”) and rhymes such as *darmān* (remedy), *hayvān* (animal), *pāyān* (end), *Sulaymān* (Solomon), *jānān* (beloved), *khīrāmān* (strolling), and *sāmān* (order), first appears in the *Dīvān* of *Khusraw Dihlavī*.¹⁵⁹ This same poetic structure and set of rhymes later appear in the *Dīvāns* of *Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī*,¹⁶⁰ *Khavājū Kirmānī*,¹⁶¹ and *Jahān Malik Khātūn* of Shiraz.¹⁶² Within this poetic framework, the influence of contemporary poets on Jahān Malik Khātūn becomes evident, particularly as several verses are common across these poets' ghazals. Accordingly, it may be suggested that Jahān Malik Khātūn refined her poetic

¹⁵⁷Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 242.

¹⁵⁸Sultān Muhammad Fakhri Hīravī bin Muhammad Amīrī, *Tazkirah-‘i Rawzat al-salātīn va Javāhir al-‘ajāyib* (ma‘a *Dīvān-i Fakhri Hīravī*) [Memoir of the garden of kings and the Jewels of wonders (Along with poetry compendium of Fakhri Hīravī)], ed. Sayyid Hisām al-Dīn Rāshīdī (Hyderabad: Sindhī Adabī Būrd, 1968), 123.

¹⁵⁹Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī, *Dīvān*, ed. Iqbāl Salāh al-Dīn, with an introduction by Muhammad Rawshan (Tehran: Nigāh, 1380/2001), 580.

¹⁶⁰*Azud Yazdī*, *Dīvān*, 151.

¹⁶¹*Kirmānī*, *Dīvān*, 265.

¹⁶²Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 393.

¹⁶³Sayf Jām Hiravī, *Ma-jmū'ah-'i latā'if va safinah-i zarā'if* [A collection of subtleties and a vessel of delicacies], British Library Manuscript, No. 4110 Or, f. 307v.

¹⁶⁴Asīrī Lāhijī, *Dīvān-i ash'ār va rasā'il* [Book of poems and letters], ed. Barāt Zanjānī (Montreal: Institute of Islamic Studies, McGill University, 1357/1978), 219.

skills by participating in what appears to have been a literary exchange or contest. This exchange was first initiated several decades earlier by Khusraw Dihlavī and continued by other poets across generations.

Among the poets mentioned, only Khusraw Dihlavī originated from outside Shiraz. Jahān Malik Khātūn herself was a native of Shiraz, and both Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī and Khvājū Kirmānī spent periods of their lives in Shiraz, where they also composed poetry. Another poet who composed a ghazal using this structure was Shams al-Dīn Qalandar (AH 8th/14th century?), whose poetry survives only in the anthology *Latā'if* (Subtleties) and the collection *Safīnah-'i zarā'if* (The vessel of delicacies). Sayf Jām Hiravī also mentions Shams al-Dīn Qalandar, though only with an incomplete invocatory phrase of blessing (rahmah, mercy).¹⁶³

There is no doubt that the poetic “ground” established by Khusraw Dihlavī attracted the attention of poets from Shiraz and its surrounding regions. Nevertheless, the notion that all of these poets composed their ghazals during the same period, perhaps encouraged by a poetry-loving patron such as Abū Ishāq Injū, the uncle of Jahān Malik, appears unlikely, particularly in light of the chronological gap separating them from Khusraw Dihlavī. Asīrī Lāhijī,¹⁶⁴ active in the AH 10th/16th century and known for engaging with this same poetic form or “ground” (zamīn), also spent time residing in Shiraz. Given this precedent, it would not be implausible to suggest that Shams al-Dīn Qalandar may likewise have had a connection to Shiraz.

The Rhymes jānān (beloved) and darmān (cure)

The rhyme jānān (beloved) appears in the first hemistich, except in the cases of Khvājū Kirmānī and Jahān Malik Khātūn, and the rhyme darmān (cure) appears in the second hemistich (except in Jahān Malik Khātūn's verse, where it appears in the first hemistich).



In the *Dīvān* of Khusraw Dihlavī, the couplet is as follows:

¹⁶⁵Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī, *Dīvān*, 580.

We endured our toil but could not reach the beloved (*jānān*).
Our hearts were pierced by pain, yet we found no cure
(*darmān*).¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁶‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 151.

¹⁶⁷Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 265.

¹⁶⁸Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 393.

Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī expresses a similar sentiment:

¹⁶⁹Hiravī, *Majmū‘ah-‘i latāyif*, fol. 307v.

We gave much of our soul but could not reach the beloved
(*jānān*).
We perished in pain, yet we found no cure (*darmān*).¹⁶⁶

Khvājū Kirmānī preserves the second hemistich exactly, but makes a slight modification by replacing *jānān* with *sāmān*:

We bowed our heads but could not attain order (*sāmān*).
We perished in pain, yet we found no cure (*darmān*).¹⁶⁷

Jahān Malik Khātūn inverts the structure, placing *darmān* in the first hemistich and *sāmān* in the second:

We perished in pain, yet we found no cure (*darmān*).
We relinquished all yet could not attain order (*sāmān*).¹⁶⁸

Shams al-Dīn Qalandar composes a similar verse in these lines:

Our soul grew weary from separation, yet we could not reach
the beloved
We perished in this pain, yet we found no cure.¹⁶⁹

The hemistich *dar dard bimurdīm va bih darmān narasīdīm* (We perished in pain but found no remedy) is repeated verbatim in the poetry of Khvājū Kirmānī, Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī, and Jahān Malik Khātūn, while Shams al-Dīn Qalandar composed a closely related version. Jahān Malik Khātūn uses the phrase in the first hemistich, while Khvājū Kirmānī and Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī employ it in the second.

¹⁷⁰Hiravī, *Majmū'ah-i latāyif*, fol. 307v.

¹⁷¹'Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 151.

¹⁷²Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 265.

¹⁷³Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī, *Dīvān*, 580.

¹⁷⁴Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 393.

The rhyme *jānān* appears in the second hemistich in several examples. In the final couplet attributed to Shams al-Dīn Qalandar, the poet writes:

Upon the dust at the threshold of your abode, like Shams the Qalandar,
We died a thousand deaths, yet the beloved remained afar.¹⁷⁰

In the fourth couplet of Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī's ghazal, the theme continues:

They said, "You will reach your beloved if you let go of yourself."
We let go of ourselves, but we did not reach the beloved.¹⁷¹

Khvājū Kirmānī expresses a similar sentiment in his second verse:

They said, "Sacrifice your soul and give yourself away"
We offered our very soul, yet to the beloved we did not arrive.¹⁷²

Khusraw Dihlavī echoes the motif in the eighth couplet of his ghazal:

With the ink of our heart's blood, we wrote the letter of pain for you.
Our entire life passed, yet to the beloved we did not arrive.¹⁷³

A comparable expression appears in the second couplet of Jahān Malik Khātūn:

Our soul was sacrificed on the path of love's sorrow.
She took our heart in her hands, yet to the beloved we did not arrive.¹⁷⁴

A closer analysis of the use of the rhyme *jānān* reveals that Khusraw Dihlavī, Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī, and Shams al-Dīn Qalandar



employ it twice, once in each hemistich. By contrast, Jahān Malik Khātūn and Khvājū Kirmānī use this rhyme only once, and only in the second hemistich. With the exception of Jahān Malik Khātūn, who slightly shifts the thematic focus, Khusraw Dihlavī, Shams al-Dīn Qalandar, Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī, and Khvājū Kirmānī associate the second-hemistich appearance of jānān with the recurring theme of “sacrificing the soul” and “failing to reach the beloved.” Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī also introduces this very theme in the first hemistich, which renders his use slightly repetitive. The first hemistichs by Khusraw Dihlavī and Shams al-Dīn Qalandar share a common theme: “enduring hardship and exhausting the soul” and “failing to reach the beloved.” The influence of Khusraw Dihlavī, the earliest among these poets, is unmistakable and at times directly imitated by the others.

The Rhyme sāmān (order)

A similar pattern is found with the rhyme sāmān, which appears in the second hemistich in most cases, except in the poetry of Khvājū Kirmānī, who places it in the first. In the first couplet of Jahān Malik Khātūn’s ghazal, the poet writes:

In pain we perished, yet found no remedy.
We let go of ourselves yet found no resolution and order.¹⁷⁵

In the second couplet of Shams al-Dīn Qalandar’s poem, the theme continues:

You said, “You shall attain order if you let go of yourselves.”
We let go of ourselves yet found no resolution and order.¹⁷⁶

A similar expression appears in the second couplet of Asīrī Lāhijī’s ghazal:

We ran tirelessly, seeking our desire,
Our very self was lost in pursuit yet found no resolution and order.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁵Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 393.

¹⁷⁶Hiravī, *Majmū’ah-i latāyif*, fol. 307v.

¹⁷⁷Asīrī Lāhijī, *Dīvān-i ash’ār va rasā’il*, 219.

¹⁷⁸Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 265.

¹⁷⁹Hiravī, *Majmū'ah-'i latāyif*, fol. 307v.

¹⁸⁰Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 151.

In the first verse of Khvājū Kirmānī's ghazal, the poet reverses the structure:

We died, yet found no resolution and order,
In pain we perished yet found no remedy.¹⁷⁸

The hemistich *az sar biguzashtīm va bih sāmān narisīdīm* ("we let go of ourselves yet found no resolution and order") is repeated verbatim by Jahān Malik Khātūn and Shams al-Dīn Qalandar, indicating that one poet had access to or was influenced by the work of the other. Regarding the first verse of Jahān Malik Khātūn, it has been previously noted that the hemistich *dar dard bimurdīm va bih darmān narisīdīm* is repeated verbatim in the works of Khvājū Kirmānī, Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī, and Jahān Malik Khātūn, while Shams al-Dīn Qalandar also reproduces nearly the same line. Khvājū Kirmānī and Asīrī Lāhijī repeated the rhyme *sāmān* with the same theme of "letting go of ourselves" and "yet found no resolution and order," albeit with minor variations that do not alter the core meaning. The phrase *bih sar davīdan* ("to hasten in obedience") in Asīrī Lāhijī's hemistich echoes the rhyme *khirāmān* in Khvājū Kirmānī's verse, suggesting that Asīrī Lāhijī may have borrowed from Khvājū Kirmānī's poetry, transforming *khirāmān* into *sāmān* while drawing inspiration from earlier poets. Similarly, Khvājū Kirmānī, in his fifth verse, alters the rhyme but retains the thematic framework of Shams al-Dīn Qalandar's verse, as mentioned above:

We set forth to cast our souls upon the arena of Her love
Yet, letting go of the self, we never reached the arena.¹⁷⁹

The Rhyme *hayvān* (Fountain of Life)

Regarding the rhyme *hayvān*, Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī's second couplet states:

In the darkness of sorrow, we perished, parched with thirst,
Yet never did we reach the shores of the Fountain of Life.¹⁸⁰



Khvājū Kirmānī echoes this in his seventh couplet:

¹⁸¹Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 265.

In the gloom of separation, we perished, and from his ruby lips,
Never did we taste the waters of the Fountain of Life.¹⁸¹

¹⁸²‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 151.

The Rhyme pāyān (end)

¹⁸³Hiravī, *Majmū‘ah-i latāyif*, fol. 307v.

The rhyme pāyān emerges in Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī’s third couplet:

¹⁸⁴Asīrī Lāhijī, *Dīvān-i ash‘ār va rasā‘il*, 219.

For years we wandered in the desert of love,
Our life reached its end, yet we never reached the end.¹⁸²

¹⁸⁵Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī, *Dīvān*, 580.

Shams al-Dīn Qalandar adapts this theme in his fourth couplet:

¹⁸⁶‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 151.

In the desert of Your love, like one without head or end,
We ran so far, yet we never reached the end.¹⁸³

Asīrī Lāhijī continues this formula in his own fourth couplet:

In the desert of Your love, bewildered and lost,
However much we ran, we never reached the end.¹⁸⁴

The Rhyme Sulaymān (Solomon):

The theme of Sulaymān appears in Khusraw Dihlavī’s second couplet:

We are ants, trampled under the hooves of riders,
Left in a corner, never reaching the court of Solomon.¹⁸⁵

Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī mirrors this in his sixth couplet:

We are those ants, crushed beneath the feet of riders,
Stranded, never attaining the threshold of Solomon.¹⁸⁶

In Shams al-Dīn Qalandar’s third couplet, a similar rhyme unfolds

¹⁸⁷Hiravī, *Majmū'ah-'i latāyif*, fol. 307v.

¹⁸⁸Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī, *Dīvān*, 580.

¹⁸⁹Amīr Khusraw Dihlavī, *Dīvān*, 580.

¹⁹⁰Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 393.

We are feeble ants, lost on the path of riders,
Stranded, never granted the honor to kneel before Solomon.¹⁸⁷

Analysis of the rhyme of Sulaymān indicates that Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī and Shams al-Dīn Qalandar were influenced by Khusraw Dihlavī, directly echoing his themes and structure. As with the earlier rhyme pāyān, Shams al-Dīn Qalandar shows a closer resemblance to Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī's verse than to Khusraw Dihlavī's original, with textual similarities such as the repetition of māndīm ("we remained") and the substitution of dargāh (threshold) with pābūs (literally, "kissing the feet", paying homage, devotional visit), reinforcing this observation. Regarding the rhymes hayvān (Fountain of Life), Sulaymān, and pāyān, Jahān Malik Khātūn appears not to have experimented or introduced her own couplets in these forms.

The Rhyme of Khirāmān (graceful)

The sixth couplet of Khusraw Dihlavī's ghazal expresses the elusive nature of the beloved's presence, using the rhyme khirāmān:

O breeze, should you convey a greeting, for we
Could not attain the service of that graceful cypress.¹⁸⁸

Khvājū Kirmānī echoes this yearning in his fourth couplet:

Like a shadow, we swiftly pursued, yet
We could not reach the shade of that graceful cypress.¹⁸⁹

In her own poetic response, Jahān Malik Khātūn offers this variation in her fourth couplet:

We beheld the world and wandered far and wide
Yet in your shade, O graceful cypress, we could not arrive.¹⁹⁰

Jalāl 'Azud Yazdī, too, evokes this theme in his ninth couplet:



Like Jalāl, we traversed most horizons
Yet like the wind, we could not reach that graceful cypress.¹⁹¹

¹⁹¹‘Azud Yazdī, *Dīvān*, 151.

¹⁹²Jahān Malik Khātūn, *Dīvān*, 393.

Earlier, in the discussion of the rhyme *darmān*, it was noted that Khvājū Kirmānī, Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī, and Jahān Malik Khātūn employ identical hemistichs. In the couplet under consideration, their shared influence from Khusraw Dihlavī and his rhyme scheme is again apparent. However, the resemblance of Jahān Malik Khātūn’s poetry to that of Khvājū Kirmānī on one hand, and to Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī on the other, is particularly noteworthy. The second hemistich of Jahān Malik Khātūn aligns more closely with that of Khvājū Kirmānī, while the first hemistich bears a stronger resemblance to that of Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī. The central theme throughout these verses centers on striving toward, yet failing to reach, the beloved’s graceful cypress (*sarv-i khirāmān*).

In his second hemistich, Khvājū Kirmānī envisions a shadow for the cypress, an image that also appears in the verse of Jahān Malik Khātūn. Similarly, Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī speaks of traversing the *āfāq* (horizons) without reaching the beloved’s graceful cypress, while Jahān Malik Khātūn describes wandering the world without attaining the shade of the beloved’s cypress-like stature. In other words, the couplet by Jahān Malik Khātūn may be seen as a synthesis of the verses by Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī and Khvājū Kirmānī.

It was previously mentioned that a similar phenomenon occurs in another couplet by Jahān Malik Khātūn:

To whom shall I speak of my heart’s pain?
From whom shall I seek a remedy for my heart?¹⁹²

In that couplet, each line draws inspiration from Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī and Khvājū Kirmānī, respectively, reflecting her method of poetic synthesis.

¹⁹³Hiravī, *Majmū'ah-'i latāyif*, fol. 307v.

¹⁹⁴Kirmānī, *Dīvān*, 265.

The Rhyme Īmān (Faith):

Using the rhyme īmān, Shams al-Dīn Qalandar reflects on separation and belief in his fourth couplet:

Your separation is disbelief, and your union is faith
We remained in disbelief and did not attain faith.¹⁹³

Khvājū Kirmānī mirrors this sentiment in his ninth couplet:

By your grace, we donned the sacred thread, and like Khvājū
We remained in disbelief and did not attain faith.¹⁹⁴

Both Shams al-Dīn Qalandar and Khvājū Kirmānī employ the hemistich containing the rhyme īmān identically, indicating that one poet copied or closely modeled his verse on the other. Jahān Malik Khātūn, however, does not have a verse using this rhyme. The poets in question clearly had access to one another's *Dīvāns*, particularly the poems discussed here, and the poetic "ground" (*zamīn*) originates with Khusraw Dihlavī. Some of the poets cited reproduce entire verses and hemistichs from his work. Asīrī Lāhījī, writing in the following century, also replicates hemistichs by drawing from the poetry of the aforementioned poets.

As previously mentioned, poets throughout the history of Persian literature often began their poetic careers by imitating and emulating the works of others. In doing so, many followed a model such as the one described above, composing verses in response to earlier poetry in order to compete with contemporaries or to refine preexisting meanings.

As Sayf Jām Hiravī notes in the *Jāmi' al-Sanāyi'*, if the imitating poet's work is of lower quality than the original, it is termed *mutāba'at*. None of the poets mentioned here—including Jahān Malik—manage to improve upon the wording or meaning of Khusraw Dihlavī's poetry. As a result, literary precedence and



excellence remain with Khusraw Dihlavī. In such cases, and by following the formal and thematic cues described above, it is possible to compose a ghazal with minimal effort. For instance, the author of the present article, following this model, composed the following ghazal in Khusraw Dihlavī's poetic "ground" and meter, with little effort and only in a short span of time:

We perished, soul and body, yet did not reach the beloved.
Our hearts, torn from our chests, found no remedy.
In the path of love's sorrow, we let go of ourselves
We gave our souls to the beloved yet did not reach the beloved.
We ran headlong to the destination of your love
O head, what does it matter if we found no order?
We died from the grief of separation from your ruby lips.
Yet did not reach the spring of life.
In your alley, bewildered and lost, this heart and I
Ran for a lifetime yet did not reach the end.
An ant trampled by the riders' hooves
We are and did not reach the court of Solomon.
We traversed all horizons like the wind
Yet did not reach the head of the graceful cypress.
In the disbelief of your curled locks, we tied the sacred thread
From that disbelief, we did not reach the summit of faith.

Such mechanical emulation, while illustrative, does not yield profound poetic insight. Instead, it may place the composer among imitators rather than innovators.

Conclusion

The analysis of a poet's work requires an understanding of the sources that shaped their poetic vision. Like many before her, Jahān Malik Khātūn engaged in imitation, emulation, and poetic dialogue with the work of others, first as a form of artistic apprenticeship, and later as a way to compete with her contemporaries. The *Dīvāns* of luminaries from Shiraz such as Saʿdī and Hāfiz, along with those of poets who spent time in Shiraz,

including Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī and Khvājū Kirmāni, were familiar to her. As a Shīrāzī princess, she found profound inspiration in these masters. Beyond them, the poetry of her near contemporaries such as Khusraw Dihlavī and Salmān Sāvajī also captured her attention, and their influence is clearly reflected in her ghazals. Given her privileged access to the royal library of Abū Ishāq Injū, a devoted patron of poets, it is highly likely that she studied these collections firsthand.

Jahān Malik Khātūn followed a deliberate and patterned approach in composing many of her ghazals. She would begin by selecting a favored ghazal from one or more poets, then replicate most or all of its rhymes, rearranging them to suit her own composition. While preserving the original mood and thematic structure, she would introduce modifications, omitting certain elements, altering syntactic structures, or substituting words with their synonyms. For instance, in the first case examined in this article, she draws from a nine-verse ghazal by Jalāl ‘Azud Yazdī, adopting five of its rhymes and reproducing the corresponding hemistichs with subtle adjustments. As evidenced by other examples, she sometimes uses synonyms or conceptual equivalents in order to create her own poetic voice within a pre-existing framework.

Although the presence of a woman poet among the major figures of the AH 8th/14th century Persian literature is a noteworthy phenomenon in itself, Jahān Malik Khātūn’s poetry ultimately remained within the bounds of imitation. Her verse did not attain a distinct stylistic identity, nor did it break free from the influence of the great masters of Persian poetry.

