

The Reception of Hafiz:

Textual Transmission in a Historical Perspective*

The great German scholar Hellmut Ritter died in 1971 without having been able to fulfill his intention of publishing a critical edition of the *divan* of Muhammad Shams ad-Dīn Ḥāfiz. His article on Hafiz in the Turkish *İA* of 1950 already gives a concise résumé of all the important facts and research findings; since then we have not progressed much further. Ritter's "*nīya*" now survives in Wickens' article on Hafiz in the *EI*² which appeared in the year of Ritter's death.

In the secondary literature on Hafiz, various references to old MSS that have since been evaluated also remind us of Ritter; so do letters to younger colleagues published by them and which still prove stimulating today. Furthermore, we remember him in connection with the sad fate of the 105 Hafiz ghazals that an Afghan colleague had copied for him – in his own hand – from a *madjmu'a*-manuscript of the year 1400 to which he had but brief access. These he had mailed to Ritter who was living in Istanbul. But, as the sender recounted in a lecture in Shiraz in 1971¹, they never reached their destination. And so, once more, a veil of mystery enshrouds the oldest, most comprehensive Hafiz text known to this day – which is, by the way, nothing unusual in the history of Hafiz research. I do not know how far Ritter had progressed with his Hafiz edition, but I suspect that even for this philologist with such a profound knowledge of the MSS and texts of Islamic literature, the reconstruction of an authentic Hafiz text with a comprehensible critical apparatus would have proved an almost impossible task. We should therefore be more than grateful for the 2 volume critical edition by the Iranian scholar Khānlārī, available since 1980/1983, despite its minor shortcomings. For when we turn to the textual transmission of Hafiz' poetry, it becomes quite obvious that the seemingly insoluble problem of reconstructing a philologically sound edition is closely related to the history of the reception of Hafiz. I shall confine my remarks in the following to the aspects in the history of the reception of Hafiz' poetry which bear on textual transmission.

No autograph nor authentic contemporary manuscript of the *divan* of Muhammad Shams ad-Dīn Ḥāfiz exists to our knowledge. This is no coincidence:

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¹ Sālih Parwantā, "Chand athar-i kuhan-i Sa'di wa Ḥāfiz dar Afghānistān," in: Mansūr Rastgār, ed., *Maqālātī dar bāra-i zindagī wa shi'r-i Ḥāfiz, Kungra-i djabānī-i Sa'di wa Ḥāfiz*, Shiraz 1350/1970, p. 148.

although Hafiz was a well-known poet even in his own day², he himself did not compile his poems in a *divan*. This is already explicitly stated in the oldest biographical sources, e.g. in Dawlatshāh (d. 1487)³ or – and this has always been said with particular emphasis – in the preface by a certain Muhammad Gulandām which is (often anonymously) prefixed to several MSS, and always left undated. Using Persian rhymed prose and without presenting much concrete biographical material, this author professes to be Hafiz’ student and *murīd*, and to have taken it upon himself to compile his master’s poems posthumously.⁴

The textual transmission of this famous preface (*muqaddima*) has not yet been examined in detail. Since it appears (again anonymously!) in only one of the 14 oldest yet known MSS, all of which Khānlārī used for his edition, this editor views it with great scepticism and does not print it in his edition. But Khānlārī himself found a clue that merits some consideration. In one of his MSS (dating most probably from between 1414 and 1434 since it is dedicated to Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh, then governor of Fārs) there is a *qasida* to Sultān Ibrāhīm by one Muhammad Gulandām. It seems obvious that he could be the compiler and author of the preface. In this collection of MSS there are, however, only 47 ghazals by Hafiz and the preface (*muqaddima*) is not transmitted.⁵ One may thus well ask: if no contemporary compilation of Hafiz’ poetry exists and if the recension of the reputedly competent compiler Muhammad Gulandām remains as yet unavailable in a reliable, old version, what kind of textual basis, then, was used for the innumerable printed Hafiz editions published since the first, which appeared in Calcutta in 1791 and comprised 725 ghazals?

A glance at the origin of the oldest known MSS, the discovery of which we owe to Ritter, shows that we are indebted to the cultural zeal of Timur’s grandsons for the first MSS containing fairly comprehensive collections of ghazals. After his victorious campaigns, Timur deported many scholars, artisans and artists from the Iranian provinces – from Shiraz too, in Hafiz’ lifetime – to Samarkand; in their time, his grandsons, captivated as they were by the charm of Iranian poetry and painting, sought to develop the Iranian provincial capitals where they

² We have evidence of this, for example, in the transmission of individual ghazals or quotes of verses in contemporary poets, cf. Qāsim Ghani, *Balith dar athar wa afkar wa ahwal-i Hafiz*, vol. 1: *Tārīkh-i ‘asr-i Hafiz*, *muqaddima*, pp. kāf-hā through nūn-dāl.

³ Dawlatshāh as-Samarqandī, *Tadhkirat ash-shu‘arā*, ed. Muḥammad Ramažānī, Tehran 1366/1988 (Reprint of the 1338/1959 edition), p. 228: “ba’d az wafāt-i khwādja Hafiz mu’taqidān wa musāhibān-i ū ash’ār-i ū rā mudawwin sākhṭa’and.” Dawlatshāh mentions the followers and friends who collected the poems after Hafiz’ death in the plural; there is no mention of Gulandām.

⁴ This *muqaddima* has been printed in the Hafiz edition of Muhammad Qazwīnī and Qāsim Ghani, *Dīwān-i Hafiz-i Shīrāzī*, Tehran 1320/1942 under the title: “*Muqaddima-i djamī‘-i Hafiz*”, pp. sād-bā through qāf-yā.

⁵ *Dīwān-i Hafiz*, ed. Parwiz Nātil Khānlārī, vol. 2, 1st printing, Tehran 1362/1983, pp. 1136, 1147.

had been appointed as governors, into cultural centres.⁶ Thanks to their patronage we have a cultural legacy from which research on Hafiz can also benefit.

Under the Muzaffarids, with whom Hafiz had close contacts, a new style of book illumination and calligraphy had already been introduced in Shiraz. During the young Timurid Iskandar b. 'Umar Shaikh's governorship it was now further developed. A whole series of MSS dedicated to Iskandar originated in the period between 1409-1414, i.e. some 20-30 years after Hafiz' death. Among them are 3 which contain the first anthology of ghazals by Hafiz.⁷ These MSS, which are dated and bear the name of the scribe, confirm that, at that time, various compiler-scribes performed pioneer work more or less simultaneously. For in 2 of these MSS the Hafiz ghazals do not appear as a complete divan, but are divided into two groups, each arranged according to end-rhyme and with duplicates that contain variants. Iskandar's scribes apparently did not have a complete divan from which to copy. Indeed, it is highly improbable that they intended to offer only a selection since in one MS, the 2 groups of ghazals add up to 458, i.e. roughly the number which is reliably attributed to Hafiz by textual criticism today. Iskandar's successor, his cousin Ibrāhīm b. Shāhrukh, who was governor of Fars between 1414-1434, continued to employ Iskandar's scribes and painters. 9 of the 14 MSS used by Khānlārī belong to this period, although not all of them can be reliably dated nor proved to have been dedicated to Ibrāhīm.

I already mentioned the MS with the 47 ghazals which also contains the qasida of Gulandām but not his preface.⁸ The only MS from this early period

⁶ Cf. Jean Aubin, "Le mécénat timouride à Chiraz," in: *Studia Islamica*, vol. 8 (1957), pp. 71-89; Basil Gray, "The Pictorial Arts in Timurid Times," in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6, 1986, pp. 843-872. Mirzā Iskandar's love of art, and especially poetry, is pointed out even by Ibn Taghribirdī (*an-Nudjūm az-Zāhira*, ed. Popper, vol. 5, Berkeley 1936, p. 451).

⁷ On the oldest Hafiz MSS cf. Hellmut Ritter, "Philologica XI. Mawlānā Ḡalāladdīn Rūmī und sein Kreis," in: *Der Islam* XXVI (1946), pp. 239-241; R. M. Rehder, "New Material for the Text of Ḥāfiz," in: *Iran* II (1965), pp. 109-119; id., "The Text of Ḥāfiz," in: *JAOS* 94 (1974), pp. 145-156; on the latter article see Michael C. Hillmann in: *JAOS* 95 (1975), pp. 719-720.

Khānlārī, *Dīwān-i Ḥāfiz*, vol. 2, pp. 1127-1144, describes all the old MSS known to this day and which he used for his edition.

The three MSS from the time of Iskandar are:

- 1) Aya Sofya 3945 containing 458 ghazals in two groups in the margin; dated 813/1410; Khānlārī uses the sigla "bā".
- 2) British Museum London, add. 261/27 containing 152 ghazals in two groups in the margin; dated 813 and 814/1410-1411; Khānlārī "*djim*" (he has erroneously add. 261/17).
- 3) Aya Sofya 3857 containing 153 ghazals; *madjmu'ā*, written in four columns, no text in the margin; dated 816/1414; Khānlārī "*dāl*".

Aside from these, there is the oldest MS used by Khānlārī: Köprülü 1589, from the year 811/1408, *madjmu'ā*, 36 ghazals in the margin; Khānlārī "*alif*".

⁸ Khānlārī, vol. 2, p. 1136 "*nūn*". This MS is preserved in the Kitābkhāna-i Madjlis-i shūrā-i Milli, Tehran. Because of the dedication to Sultan Ibrāhīm it can be dated between 817 and 838/1414-1434.

which transmits the *muqaddima*, though only anonymously, is, like almost all of these MSS, contained in a *madjmu'a*. Our poet's divan, here, is placed on the left margin; the centre is taken up by Sa'di, while Hafiz has to share the margin with his contemporaries Salmān-i Sāwadjī, Djalāl-i 'Azud and Kamāl-i Khudjandī.⁹

I cannot go into details of other interesting features of the early Hafiz MSS here, but what we would have to conclude from careful observation is the following: we must accept the fact that no stemma can be drawn on the basis of the MSS dating from the first phase of the textual transmission, i.e. from the Iskandar/Ibrāhīm period (1409-1434) from which all 14 MSS of the Khānlārī edition date.¹⁰ The ghazals recorded, which vary in number between 47 and 496, some poems appearing twice, with variants in one and the same MS, are the collective fruits of several scribes. Dependencies which may exist can scarcely be ascertained since it seems that no one MS was used as the original from which any of the others were directly copied. Only the autograph of the compiler Muhammad-i Gulandām might – if it ever existed – be considered as a reliable textual basis. Indeed, since other compilations of Hafiz' ghazals had already been recorded before his, we must assume that later copyists did not adhere strictly to his MS but inserted variants from other MSS available to them.¹¹ The confusing increase in the number of variants that continued to be generated in the following centuries thus seems to date back to this earliest period of the textual transmission.

In the Timurid 15th century, Hafiz' divan was not just compiled and distributed; the foundations for his fame were laid and he eventually became the best-known poet in the Persian language. He freed himself from his shadowy existence among his contemporaries – known today often only to the philologist – with whom he had had to compete during his lifetime and with whom, after his death, he now found himself united – their mere equal – in anthologies.¹² In the 15th century, anecdotes which already contain essential features of the still prevailing image of Hafiz, are formed and passed on. Hafiz appears not as a human being with flesh and blood; he remains strangely abstract. It is his word which

⁹ Khānlārī, vol. 2, pp. 1133f. "yā", dated 824/1421; the MS belongs to Sayyid Hāshim 'Alī Sabzpūsh who lives in Gorakhpur (UP, India). Khānlārī has used it for his edition in an indirect way, through Nadhīr Ahmad and Sayyid Muhammad Rizā Djalālī Nā'ini's edition of the *Dīwān* (Tehran 1320/1941-42) which was compiled on the basis of this MS.

¹⁰ Interestingly, there exists a *madjmu'a* from Shiraz, dated 801/1398-90, which does not contain any poems by Hafiz. Cf. H. Ritter/B. Reinert, "Die persischen Dichterhandschriften der Fatih-Bibliothek in Istanbul," *Oriens*, vol. 29-30 (1986), p. 244.

¹¹ Hellmut Ritter, too, did see it in this way, cf. Robert Rehder, *JAOs* vol. 94 (1974), p. 146: "Prof. Ritter wrote to me (9.20.1961) that the oldest MSS were 'before the redaction of M. Gulendam' (the anonymous friend), but I do not know what evidence he had for this statement."

¹² Dawlatshāh (p. 270), tells us, for example, about the vanished fame of 'Ismat Bukhārī, d. 826 or 828/1422-23 or 1424-25, who is to be found in earlier anthologies together with Hafiz.

lives. Thus the famous epithet *lisān al-ghaib*, “the tongue of the hidden world,” according to some old sources refers not to Hafiz himself but to his divan.¹³

In the encounter with Timur, which is reported in the earliest anecdote we know of,¹⁴ Hafiz appears as the witty fellow (*latīfagū*) who succeeds in mollifying the conqueror with his apt repartee. The Iranian literary historian Yarshater sees this as a characteristic feature of the poet and recently compared Hafiz the satirist with ‘Ubaid-i Zākānī.¹⁵ In another anecdote, the poet himself is made to discuss a major problem of Western research on Hafiz, viz. the question of the coherence of the ghazals, in a conversation with his *mamdūh* Shāh Shudjā‘.¹⁶ He only manages to save himself from a *fatwā*, with which the contemporary clergy want to condemn him as a heretic, by recourse to a trick suggested to him by a Sufi Shaikh – the interpolation of a verse which passes off a heretical verse as a quotation. The suspicion of heresy, however, is not ruled out by the anecdote.¹⁷

These anecdotes always refer to specific verses or, as in the conversation with Shāh Shudjā‘, to the art of Hafiz’ ghazal as it appears to the readers or listeners. There have always been attempts to bring the historical Hafiz to life from his poetry. The attempts to establish a chronology of the poems are also based on the interpretation of the panegyric verses. We have, however, indications as to which circles helped circulate the *Diwān-i Hāfiz* in the 15th century; these are of particular interest for the history of the reception of Hafiz.

In Herat at the beginning of the 15th century, Qāsim al-anwār (d. 1433) exercised a great influence on the young free-thinkers among whom were the Timurid princes; for this reason, he was hated by Shāhrukh, Timur’s son, as a corrupter of youth. Later he was connected with the attempted assassination of Shāhrukh by the Hurūfis.¹⁸ Since Qāsim al-anwār was a great admirer of Hafiz and always had the divan read aloud to him,¹⁹ Hafiz probably became popular in free-thinking, heretical circles. Among the Hurūfis there were calligraphers who could devote themselves quite literally to the circulation of the divan.²⁰

¹³ Khwāndamīr, Ghiyāth ad-Dīn, *Habīb as-siyar*, ed. Djalāl ad-Dīn Humā‘ī, Tehran 1333/1954, vol. 3, p. 315; Nūrallāh Shūshtarī, *Madjālis al-mu‘minīn*, vol. 2, ed. Sayyid Ahmad Kitābchī, Tehran 1376 q./1956, p. 119; Hans R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit – Das Šaraf-nāmā des ‘Abdallāh Marwārid*, Wiesbaden, 1962 (VOR III), p. 141.

¹⁴ Shudjā‘-i Shīrāzī, *Anīs an-Nās* (written in 830/1426), ed. Iraj Afshār, Tehran 2636/1977, p. 317.

¹⁵ Ehsan Yarshater, in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6 (1986), p. 969; Paul Sprachmann, “Persian Satire, Parody, and Burlesque,” in: E. Yarshater, ed., *Persian Literature*, New York 1988, pp. 234-238.

¹⁶ Khwāndamīr, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 315.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Hans R. Roemer, in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6 (1986), p. 140; Jan Rypka (Karl Jahn), *History of Iranian Literature*, Dordrecht 1968, pp. 283f.

¹⁹ Dawlatshāh, op. cit., p. 227.

²⁰ We know of the Hurūfi and calligrapher Mawlānā Ma‘rūf Baghdādī who worked also as a copyist for Iskandar’s library, cf. Hasan-i Rūmlū, *Absan at-tawārikh*, ed. Nawā‘ī, pp. 192f;

Soon Hafiz' divan was considered an inspired book, *lisān al-ghaib*. The great patron of Iranian culture in Herat, Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī (d. 1501), studied the divan several times with his *murshid*, the Naqshbandī Shaikh and poet Djāmī (d. 1492).²¹ Djāmī makes only very guarded pronouncements about Hafiz' connections with organised Sufism, and puts the following judgment into the mouth of an anonymous member of the Naqshbandī order: no divan is better than Hafiz', but only for the real Sufi. His poetry is too famous (*mashhūr*) to even prompt the desire for criticism and one should curb one's pen.²²

By the end of the 15th century, Hafiz was very famous, especially in Herat, and, as a book of omens, his divan could be found even in the house of a high-ranking ecclesiastic.²³ Not only Djāmī and Mīr 'Alī Shīr imitated his ghazals, so did the hundreds of poetasters, the Latifis, Zarīfis and Nāzirīs who rallied around the patron of literature, Mīr 'Alī. (This we know from the sources which treat this period of Iranian literature at the court of the Timurids in Herat, a time which was both a cultural zenith and a period of decadence.)

Furthermore, towards the end of the 15th century, an important authority for the Hafiz reception of that period lived in Shiraz. The famous scholar Dawānī (d. 1502) whose reputation was not confined to his native city, but who, like Djāmī, was regarded as a moral authority throughout the whole Islamic world, was himself not a poet, but a *mutakallim*, a moral philosopher. In at least one *risāla*²⁴, Dawānī interpreted a poem by Hafiz, and in his *Akhlāq-i Djalālī*, which is in the tradition of Naṣīr ad-Dīn Tūsī's *Akhlāq-i Nāṣirī*, he quotes some verses by Hafiz, admittedly without mentioning the poet's name, alongside the Koran, Plato and Aristotle.²⁵

As a result of the great popularity of the divan, the text of many Hafiz MSS was felt to be corrupt by literati at the beginning of the 16th century. In the year 1501, not long after Djāmī's and Mīr 'Alī's death and just before a period of upheaval in which Herat was destined to be occupied alternately by the Uzbeks and by the Safawids, a Timurid prince erected yet another monument to the cultural tradition of his dynasty in Herat: Prince Farīdūn presided over a literary commission which had set itself the task of comparing the many different Hafiz MSS and of editing the text of the divan which was already corrupt due to carelessness

Basil Gray, in: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 6 (1986), p. 849, about Ma'rūf Baghdādī. Doesn't it make one think, if Djāmī in his *Bahārīstān* compares Hafiz' poetry with that of the free-thinker and blasphemist Nizārī? (Cf. Rypka, op. cit., pp. 256, 275).

²¹ Cf. 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī, *Mubākemet ül-lughateyn*, Istanbul 1315/1897, p. 58.

²² Cf. Djāmī, *Nafabāt al-uns*, ed. Mahdī Tawhīdīpūr, Tehran 1336/1957, p. 614.

²³ Cf. Maria Eva Subtelny, *The Poetic Circle at the Court of the Timurid, Sultan Husain Baiqara, and its Political Significance*. (Harvard Thesis – May 1979), p. 197; Zain ad-Dīn Wāṣifī, *Badā'ī' al-Waqā'ī'*, ed. Boldyrev, Moscow 1961, pp. 561-581.

²⁴ Shūshtarī, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 228; Ahmed Ateş, *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde Farsça manzum eserler*, Istanbul 1968, p. 459.

²⁵ Djalāl ad-Dīn Dawānī, *Akhlāq-i Djalālī*, s.d., s.l., pp. 10, 14, 35, 44, 136.

and mistakes made by the copyists. The preface to this edition was contained among the *inshā'* documents of the Timurids, published by Roemer.²⁶ We will not be able to judge whether the version of the text reconstructed in 1501 meets the expectations raised by the preface before we have complete MSS of the divan which contain the preface. E. Boelke (1958) examined a London MS, identified as being one edited under Farīdūn, with disappointing results.²⁷ However, Qudsi (see below) says he has used it and this makes it seem probable that other MSS in this chain of transmission (with the Herat preface) must exist in private libraries.

Around 1500, the divan, which was not compiled after Hafiz' death, was already a "mass product" on which not just calligraphers, but, above all, less competent copyists, worked their fingers to the bone. This is probably closely connected with the fashion of consulting omens (*tafā'ul*) for which the divan was widely used already in those days.

There are many anecdotes about the miraculous results of the *tafā'ul*. They range from the frivolous story that takes place in upper-class Herat at the time of Mir 'Alī Shīr (in which the homophile inclinations of famous teachers and ecclesiastics are exposed by means of a Hafiz verse),²⁸ to the account of Shāh Ismā'īl's visit to Shiraz shortly after his accession to the throne in Tabriz (1501). The young Shāh had devastated the graves of many famous Sunnites in the courses of the shi'itization of Iran. Ismā'īl entrusted the decision as to whether Hafiz could go on resting peacefully in his grave to the "tongue of the hidden world," "*lisān al-ghaib*." The divan, which was chained to the poet's tombstone built by the Timurid prince Abū l-Qāsim Bābūr (d. 1452), gave the Shāh a satisfactory answer with respect to the purity of Hafiz' Shi'ite beliefs.²⁹ In his *Madjālis al-mu'minīn* (ca. 1600), Shūshtarī, who handed this tale down to us, presents a new ideological interpretation of the classical Persian poets, in all of whom he discovers Shi'ite tendencies. Hafiz' fame thus survived undiminished in the Shi'ite Safawid empire as well. Shāh Ismā'īl himself composed a *takhlīs* after a Hafiz ghazal.³⁰ Sumptuous, partially illuminated MSS of the divan have come down to us that originated in Safawid workshops.

Hafiz' divan may have become even more widespread precisely because of the Sunnite-Shi'ite conflict. The Emigrants from Persia who now sought their fortune in the Ottoman empire, as well as the artists who were brought by Sultan Selīm I to Istanbul after the battle of Chaldīrān (1514), are all doubtless partly responsible for the high esteem which was bestowed on the Persian poet in the empire of the Sunnite enemies of the Safawids. The commentaries of Shem'ī (d. 1591), Surūrī (d.

²⁶ Roemer, *Staatsschreiben*, pp. 134-141.

²⁷ Elisabeth Boelke, *Zum Text des Hāfiz*, Diss. Köln 1958, p. 13.

²⁸ See note 23, Wāsifi.

²⁹ Shūshtarī, op. cit., vol. 2, pp. 120f.

³⁰ Dhabihullāh Safā, *Tārikh-i Adabīyāt dar Iran*, 4th printing, Tehran 1366/1987, vol. 6, p. 137.

1561), and especially of the Bosnian Sūdī (d. 1601) constitute an immortal testimony to the Ottoman reception of Hafiz' poetry in the 16th century.

Sūdī's *Sharh-i Hāfiz* presents a text which Sūdī had reconstructed from the study of the variants in many old MSS. Sūdī even undertook special journeys in order to discuss difficult passages with Persian Hafiz specialists. Thus, for example, he visited the emigrant Muslih ad-Dīn Lārī (d. 1569) in Diyār Bakr and engaged in debates with Persian pilgrims, merchants, and scholars in Bagdad which had meanwhile become part of the Ottoman empire (since 1555). He did not dare travel to Shiraz, for he had heard that Hafiz' grave had been desecrated³¹ – a false rumour as we now know. The fact that the famous Ottoman Shaikh al-Islām Abū Su'ūd (d. 1578) was asked for a *fatwā* about the *Diwān-i Hafiz* is a sign that the reading of Hafiz' poems and the discussions about the mystical or anacreontic interpretation of many ghazals aroused the feelings of the pious in the Ottoman empire too. Thanks to the Solomonic judgment of Abū Su'ūd who was then just dealing with the case of the Qizilbash sect which had been accused of heresy, the admirers of Hafiz could heave a sigh of relief. The Mufti did not declare Hafiz' popular divan to be heretical as the orthodox fanatics had hoped: "The poems contain established truths, though here and there there are minor details which really do skirt the outer fringe of the law but these verses can clearly be distinguished from the others."³²

In the Indian Moghul empire as well, emigrants from Persia helped to spread the *Diwān-i Hāfiz*. But that is quite a different story. The vast number of MSS that are preserved in libraries all over the world and the innumerable prints that have been – and still are – authorized time and again ever since the editio princeps of 1791 in Calcutta,³³ deviate quite considerably from each other with respect to the number of poems and verses, the position of the individual verses in the ghazal, and linguistic variants – a consequence of the centuries old vitality of the divan.

A reliable textual basis for literary historians working on Hafiz was missing for a long time. Towards the middle of the last century Brockhaus (1854-61) in Leipzig and Rosenzweig-Schwannau (1858-64) in Vienna took the recension of the Ottoman Sūdī as the basis of their editions. In doing so they probably made the best possible choice at that time. In Persia itself, yet another edition of the divan was published by the Shirazian poet and calligraph Qudsī towards the end of the Qādjar period. This is worth mentioning because Qudsī also consulted the 1501 Herat Farīdūn recension for his edition, in addition to 50 other MSS. For 8 years, so Qudsī tells us movingly, he worked day and night on the reconstruction of the Hafiz text which he wrote down himself in *nasta'liq*. He went on frequent

³¹ Nazif M. Hoca, *Sudī ve bayatı ve eserleri ve iki risalesinin metni*, İstanbul 1980, pp. 12-14.

³² Joseph v. Hammer, *Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemsed-din Hafis, aus dem Persischen zum erstenmal ganz übersetzt*, Stuttgart und Tübingen 1812, vol. 1, pp. XXXIIIff.

³³ On the basis of several of these MSS printed in Calcutta, Bombay, Bulaq, İstanbul, and Tehran.

pilgrimages to the poet's grave where an exquisite divan from the time of Karīm Khān-i Zand was chained. This he consulted to great advantage; he also talked to learned friends with whom he had nocturnal rendezvous at the revered site. Qudsi's edition, which has hitherto been rather disregarded by Western researchers, again reveals how hopelessly confusing the variants are for an editor. This edition was published in Bombay in 1904, and even then it contained many glosses in the editor's own hand.³⁴

In every century there have thus been Hafiz experts and admirers who, in their distress about the many bungled texts in circulation, tried, to the best of their knowledge, to "resuscitate" the genuine divan. As is known, these editions are distinguished in the Persian language by the *izāfat*-construct: *Hāfiz-i Sūdī*, *Hāfiz-i Qudsi*, *Hāfiz-i Khalkhālī*, *Hāfiz-i Shāmlū*, etc. But the vicious circle which everyone who undertakes such a task becomes a victim of, was described – and experienced – by Sayyid Khalkhālī who published an edition of Hafiz' divan based on the oldest then known MS, which he possessed himself and which dates from the year 1423. He writes: "The emendation and correction (*tashīh wa-tanqīh*) according to personal talent and taste (*qarība wa-satīqa*) is difficult, indeed impossible, for it is these very corrections according to personal taste that have produced all these variants."

Khalkhālī is the first editor who used the principle of basing his edition on the oldest MS available. But his edition itself³⁵ fell victim to this lax, very personal type of "expertise" that has confused the texts for centuries. The many errors that crept into his 1928 edition and which were corrected by Khalkhālī himself or by Qazwīnī (in his 1941 edition), are reputed to be also due to the fact that Khalkhālī's *mustansikh* and composer knew their Hafiz better and loved him more than the Hafiz of the old MS of 1423. No wonder, then, that a scholar even of the calibre of Hellmut Ritter, did not succeed in finding a way out of this maze. Alas, as it is, we do not have a *Hāfiz-i Ritter*.

³⁴ I was shown this edition by Chosraw Behrouz, lecturer at the University of Freiburg i. Br., who had inherited it from his grandfather of Mashhad. Qudsi on the method of his edition, cf. pp. 483f. His edition was reprinted together with an introduction by 'Azīzallāh Kasīb in 1364/1985.

³⁵ From whose preface (p. kāf-alif) this quotation is taken.

