



PRE-MUGHAL PERSIAN
IN HINDŪSTĀN

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IN HINDŪSTĀN

A CRITICAL SURVEY OF THE GROWTH OF PERSIAN
LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN INDIA FROM THE
EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ADVENT OF THE MUGHAL RULE

By

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WITH A FOREWORD

by

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*The late Hon'ble Justice Dr. Sir Shāh Muhammad
Sulaimān, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., J.L.D.*

who very kindly contributed a *Foreword* to this volume
before his sad and untimely demise on 12th March, 1941

IN MEMORIAM

*While this book
was yet in the Press,
the news of the death
of Sir Shāh Muḥammad
Sulaimān, which occurred on
the 12th of March 1941, came
through. The deceased had written
an illuminating Foreword to this
book, but it is much to be regretted
that he passed away before he could see it
in a final shape. It is hardly necessary for
the author to speak of his great qualities as
a judge and his wonderful insight and scholarship
in Oriental Learning. The author enjoyed the
unique privilege of discussing with him certain
fundamental and basic points in this book,
which, till then, had not been fully
investigated and brought to light; and
hereby he wishes to pay a tribute of
homage and respect to the memory
of one who was among the only
remarkable intellectual figures
in contemporary Indian life,
and a great supporter
and lover of research
in arts and science.*

FOREWORD

By •

THE HONOURABLE
SIR SHĀH MUḤAMMAD SULAIMĀN
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Judge, Federal Court, India.

FOREWORD

It is a great pleasure to me to write a Foreword to  Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindūstān" by Shamsul 'Ulamā Professor 'Abdul Ghanī, which is the first comprehensive and critical survey in English of the growth of Persian language and literature in India. The subject furnishes an important and hitherto untrodden field of research, and promises to open a new chapter in the History of the literatures of Hindūstān for a further deep study and thorough investigation by orientalists.

The author has endeavoured to establish in this work certain fundamental propositions in regard to the Persian of Hindūstān, and has attempted to remove misconceptions of European orientalists concerning them. It is his claim that India was entirely on a level with Persia in the use and cultivation of Persian language and literature; and he maintains that the efforts of India's poets and prose-writers, in almost every period of history, from the time of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī down to the reign of Akbar the Great, were no less important and valuable than those of the Persian scholars themselves. It must be admitted that as both poetic and prose styles in India were not only based on Persian models, but

even improved upon by Indian writers, there could be no real justification for a sharp line of demarcation between "Persian Persian" and "Indian Persian", a somewhat arbitrary distinction which has always operated to the prejudice of India.

The learned author begins with a consideration of cultural relations between Persia and India, and between the 'Arabs, the Persians and the Hindūs. He has emphasized the close cultural harmony that existed between the two major communities of Hindūstān during the Mughal and the pre-Mughal days of administration. Professor 'Abdul Ghanī's investigations into the lives and works of eminent men like al-Bīrūnī, Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd-i-Salmān, Abul Faraj Rūnī, Khusrāu, Hasan and the great Sūfī saint Khawāja Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī Iṣfahānī, who settled and died at Ajmēr, are the fruits of a painstaking and laborious research.

The author has narrated historical data in support of his theme that in certain periods of the Indian history the centre of learning *thrice* shifted from Irān to India, when the eminent poets that arose in the Panjāb gave a lead to their Persian contemporaries. The author comes to the interesting conclusion that the cultural contact between India and Persia was of great antiquity and must date back to a period long before the appearance of the Ghaznavīds on the scene.

For a comparison with the Persian literature, a

PREFACE

After completing the first *three* volumes of my work on the *History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court* (published by the Indian Press Ltd. Allāhābād), it was severally suggested to me by some worthy friends and colleagues, prominent among whom are Nawāb Dr. Sir Amīn Jang Bahādur, K.C.I.E., LL.D., Secretary to the Nizām Government, Hyderābād, Deccan; the Hon'ble Dr. Sir Shāh Muḥammad Sulaimān, LL.D., Bar-at-Law, Ex-Chief Justice, Allāhābād, now Judge, Federal Court of Judicature of India, Delhi, and Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, 'Alīgarh; the late Dr. Sir Muḥammad Iqbāl, Lāhore; Dr. Mansūr Ahmad, M.A., PH.D. (Berlin), 'Alīgarh; and my own brother, Professor M. A. Qavī Fānī, M.A. ('Alīg.) of the Lucknow University that I should undertake the writing of a companion volume, dealing with the history of Persian literature in India from the earliest times, that is, from the 'Arab conquest to the advent of the Mughal rule. After some hesitation I accepted their suggestion, as I realised that it was a necessary prelude to my previous work.

The work done already in this field was from Bābur to Akbar. Consequently, a link was needed to connect the study of Persian life and literature under

the Mughals with a previous history of its own, so as to make the subject historically complete. The difficulties in the way were enormous, owing to lack of appreciation and facilities for research on this subject in the C. P. After much patient and sustained effort, however, I have been able to construct a history of Persian literature in India, as it had been influenced and moulded by Arabic, from the advent of the first 'Arab expedition in Sindh to the Mughal entry in Hindūstān. The materials are drawn from the original sources and the contemporary records of the 'Arab and Persian authors, of which full reference is given in the foot-notes. The reader will obtain a clear view of the growth of "Arabicised Persian" in India in the Pre-Mughal era from a perusal of these pages. The real value of this work is that it has started a fresh inquiry and presented a new phase in the history of Persian literature by establishing certain fundamental truths against the hitherto accepted verdicts and beliefs of some of the accredited modern Persian and English writers in regard to India's output. It will be a revelation to many to find that India of the Pre-Mughal era was at par with Persia, and many a Persian poet of repute came to India and learnt poetry in its Indian setting. Even the best poets of Persia took their cue from the poets that arose in the Punjāb, which remained for centuries the radiating centre of Persian culture in the East. This assertion might sound to many orientalists a

pretentious claim, specially to those who are familiar with the views of European scholars on the nature of Persian literature produced in India. Their judgment is, in fact, based on the opinions expressed by Persian writers, chiefly of the modern era. For example, they maintain that the Persian culture in India has not been integrally connected with the Persian culture as such, and consequently it never rose to the level of Persian culture. Concerning the literature or the writings in the Persian tongue by the Indians, the Western critics maintain that the literature produced in India remained *Indian*, meaning thereby that it was inferior to the Persian literature produced in Persia. To show this alleged inferiority, they have been in the habit of using the expression *Indian Persian*, contrasting it with *Persian Persian*.

This work begins by challenging the opinion cited above in regard to the Persian of our land. In fact, the Indian scholars of the nineteenth century never paid any serious attention to this question, probably for the reason either that they never suspected any injury to India, or that the voice of their European and Persian critics was not heard so loud as to disturb their equanimity and equilibrium of mind. Time rolled on, and with it went forth the conviction, like passive realism, until the nineteenth century closed and the twentieth century dawned with a brighter outlook and a wider and more real quest for the search of facts. Consequently, the belief

that had gained ground began to be shaken, and attempts were made by some indigenous writers to unravel the truth by going deep into the question. The pioneer work in this field was done by India's great scholar, Shibli Nu'mānī. Every student of Persian knows the tremendous effect Shibli's *Shi'ru'l 'Ajām* has had in dispelling the wrong notion about the Persian of Hindūstān. The great Shibli, however, did not live long to show the exact nature and the grandeur of Persian literature of India to the world. The task still awaits completion.

India's contribution to the enrichment of Persian, both in form and content, and its advancement as a classical and International literature, is so substantial that Persia cannot at any stage of its development afford to neglect it. We see that from the very commencement of the Ghaznavīd rule, the whole tract of land, extending from the borders of Delhi to the centres of learning in Persia, was one long connecting chain dominated by Persian influence and culture, and specially Persian poetry, which represented fully the Persian thought and Persian learning. All the Provinces and cities lying in this zone were swayed by one civilization and one literature which was Persian, and this had penetrated so deep into the heart of the population, from the man in the street to the king on the throne, that the distinction between Ghaznī and Lahore or Khurāsān and the Punjāb was never felt. Ghaznī, being the capital

seat of Mahmūd's vast Persian and Indian empire, and the central city of the kingdom, had very close connection with Hindūstān, specially the Punjāb, and was then actually reckoned among the cities of *Hind*. After the Ghaznavīd rule, this aspect of cultural unity ever kept on developing under the fostering care of the Muslim kings, beginning with the first Ghōrī king to the last great Mughal who sat on the throne of Delhi. The taste of these people for poetry and art, and the custom, fashion, food and dress were all adopted after the Persian manner and style. The Punjāb was the foremost among the Provinces of Hindūstān which became so completely Persianised that the centre of Persian learning and culture *thrice* shifted from Iran to India.

A great reason for India's claim for equality with Persia in classical learning and culture, during the early and the middle ages, is that the Persians from the Pre-Islāmic times used to migrate to the cities of the Punjāb, and settle there. They and their descendants continued to be in close communication with their relations in Persia, and visits were mutually exchanged between them every now and then, which always gave fresh vigour to their genius and taste, and kept the torch of Persian culture burning bright in the Punjāb. In addition to this, fresh bands of Persian scholars kept on migrating to India owing to the better appreciation and scope for their literary productions in the Indian atmosphere. Thus we

see that the Persian culture, which the early and subsequent emigrants brought with them to India, was neither borrowed nor second-hand, but was pure and original in tone. The result was that immediately after the Muḥammadan conquest and the establishment of the Muslim rule and influence in upper Hindūstān, the taste of the people here for art, science and literature was found to be rigidly Persian to the core. This process of emigration from amongst the Persian people to India, as already pointed out, had commenced long before the 'Arab conquest of Persia. Thousands of Persian families living in Khurāsān were banned and banished from the country in the Achaemenian period, because of their suspected fidelity to the crown. They came to India, and settled in the districts of Multān, Delhi and specially Lāhore. This great event caused the appearance of an important Persian colony in the Punjāb, which swelled ever afterwards with their descendants and the incoming fresh bands of the Persians. Historians relate that a big city of Persian population had, in the course of time, grown up near Lāhore, from where Maḥmūd's grandson, Sultān Ibrāhīm, once caused to be sent *one hundred thousand* Persian settlers to adorn his capital Ghaznī. The Ghaznavīd kings, as also the long line of their successors in India, loved Persian art and literature, and patronized their creators liberally. We read that there were in Maḥmūd's attendance no less than *four hundred* poets

of Persian language, whose leader was 'Ungurī. One can imagine the tremendous cultural influence exerted by an Eastern monarch in those days. Picture the literary atmosphere and the taste for Persian poetry created through his person when he moved about in upper Hindūstān with all his retinue of select poets and scholars in attendance.

The Indian capital of the Ghaznavīd empire was Lāhore which vibrated with the wave of Persian civilization and learning, and became a great emporium of Persian art and culture in the East. The ancestors of the famous *Indīa-born* poets writing in Persian, who carried away the palm from Persia, were also living at Lāhore. They were followed by many others whose poetic greatness was acknowledged by their contemporaries in Persia, and glowing tributes were paid to their genius and composition. Even the leaders of thought in Persia, like Ḥakīm Saḥā'ī, Amīr Mu'izzī, Anwārī, Falakī Shīrwānī, and their colleagues at Kāshghar, Balkh, Bukhārā and Samarqand, off and on, bowed to these Indian masters, calling them *teachers of the world in the art of Persian versification*, and closely followed them in style and thought. There was, so to say, no dearth in India of first-rate poets, though the later Persian biographers went to the length of declaring to the world that there arose no poets of consequence in the Pre-Mughal era, except one, Amīr Khusrau. But the fact is that there were many Amīr Khusraus

whom India produced, but they were all denied due recognition by their less generous Persian friends who came long after their forefathers had pronounced a judgment which did not appear palatable to their sons. Their assertions, nevertheless, were supported by reference to no historical source, nor their validity subsequently tested by any European writer. The result was that their verdict passed unchallenged from one author to the other until it became a common place in the modern propagandist literature of Persia to the detriment of India. Even Browne, the well-known English critic and authority on Persian affairs, was misled by such criticism, and differentiated between *Persian Persian* and *Indian Persian*. But he too suspected the unfair treatment meted out to India at the hands of the later Persian biographers when he wrote:

“Care must be taken not to overlook any poet of originality and talent merely because he has not found favour with the Persian biographers who, especially in their treatment of contemporaries, are apt to be swayed by personal, political, and even religious prejudices and predilections.”

(*Persian Literature under Tārtar Dominion*, page 105).

During my stay at Cambridge, I, too, had personal discussions with him, but he would not give

weight to anything which was contrary to what the Persian historians had said on the subject. Vide his views in an autograph note to the C. P. Government recommending my leave:—

December 17th, 1923^d

FIRWOOD,

TRUMPINGTON ROAD,

CAMBRIDGE.

Sir,

I am in general agreement with the consideration put forward by Sir Georgey Butler & Mr. Butler in favour of allowing Professor Muhammad 'Abd al-Ghani' to remain here for another year in order to complete the period required of Persian students before they can proceed to a degree.

Professor 'Abdu'l-Ghani
appears to cling to what I
regard as the delusion that
Indian Persian is better than
Persian Persian—a matter
of constant conflict between us.

I am,

Yours faithfully,

Edward G. Browne

The Last sentence which reads:—

“Professor ‘Abdu’l Ghani appears to cling to what I regard as the delusion that Indian Persian is better than Persian Persian—a matter of constant conflict between us.....”

is noteworthy. My whole contention was that *Indian Persian* generally was in no way inferior to *Persian Persian*, and in certain periods of history was even superior to the latter in thought and diction,

which, in Persia itself, had deteriorated owing to lack of patronage and dearth of first-rate poets. Had Browne lived to read through the pages of this volume, his views, I feel certain, would have been greatly modified as they did to some extent, when my dissertation on *Mughal Persian* was completed and presented to the University.

Happily, the data, on which the real merit of India's poets and authors is to be based, survive to this day, and the integrity of Persian idiom with the loftiness of style and diction, which received the highest encomiums in contemporary Persia, may be seen still in their works. All this, in fact, was due to India's long and abiding connection with the Persian centres of learning, through social and blood relationship channels. The later Persian biographers, who were not privy to this mystery, were baffled by this phenomenon, and thought its convenient solution lay in minimising India's importance by methods which may be analysed as follows:—

(i) by attributing a Persian home to India-born poets who were acknowledged in Persia itself as masters, like Abdul Faraj Rūnī (Iāhore), Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān Lāhaurī, Mazhar 'Tattawī, Khwājah 'Amīd Dehlavī, Khwājah Abū 'Alī Multānī, Saif-uddīn Dabīr Dehlevī and others;

(ii) by taking very little notice of the works of

many a first-rate indigenous poet and a new-comer who later developed his art here, and threw a challenge to Persia, like Khwājah Mu‘īnuddīn Chishrī Isfahānī, Ustādush-Shu‘arā Ruknī Shihāb Mehmārah Badāūnī, Maulānā ‘Iṣāmuddīn *‘Iṣmī* Dehlevī, Ḥamīduddīn Mas‘ūd Shālikōb Lāhaurī, Malik ul ‘Allām Shamsuddīn Dabīr, Malik ul Kalām Amīr Fakhruddīn ‘Amīd Naunakī, Bahā’uddīn Ooshī Dehlevī, Khwājah Ḥasan Sanjarī Dehlevī, Khwājah Badruddīn Shāshī (better known as Badr i Chāch), Qaṣī Zahīr Dehlevī, Shaikh Jamālī Kambūh Dehlevī and many others;

- (iii) by an adverse criticism of all such Persian emigrants as perfected their poetic art in Indian surroundings; and
- (iv) by a faint half-hearted praise of those poets who had the backing of a strong public opinion both in India and Persia.

These four methods of the later Persian biographers have been fully scrutinized in this book, and the real truth established, which gives India its rightful place and makes it the honoured equal of Persia.

The gigantic proportions of this self-imposed work have been brought home to the reader. In the discharge of this onerous yet necessary task, an

almost utter lack of research facilities has added to the many other difficulties of place and circumstance. Although I have spared no pains in securing the highest degree of accuracy, yet I am conscious of the many shortcomings and imperfections of my work, for which I crave the indulgence of my critical reader. *He who undertakes to write a flawless book writes nothing* is a well known maxim which is universally true. With these words I commend my book to my appreciative readers.

There remains the pleasant duty of expressing my thanks to my brother Prof. M. A. Qavī Fānī, M.A. ('Alīg), of the Lucknow University; to my worthy colleague Mr. J. N. W. Paul, M.A., F.R.H.S. (London), Deputy Director of Public Instruction, C. P. and Berār; and to my learned friends, Professor Hādī Hasan, B.A. (Cantab), PH.D. (London) and Maulānā Shaikh 'Abdu'l 'Azīz Maiman, Heads of the Departments of Persian and Arabic in the University of 'Alīgarh, for their great encouragement, appreciation and valuable help.

Lastly, my thanks are due to The Allāhābād Law Journal Company Ltd., Allāhābād, for their unfailing courtesy and care with which they have printed this work, the completion of which has been a source of real pleasure and satisfaction to me.

ROBERTSON COLLEGE

JUBBULPORE

October 18, 1940

Shams u'l 'Ulamā al-Hāj
Muhammad 'Abdu'l Ghanī

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A NOTE
ON
THE SIGNS USED FOR DETERMINING ARABIC
AND PERSIAN CHARACTERS OF SIMILAR
SOUND IN THE TRANSLITERATION OF ORIENT-
AL NAMES AND WORDS OCCURRING IN
THIS BOOK

(With apology to scholars)

An important problem yet to be solved in the transliteration of oriental names and in the transcription of original Persian and Arabic texts is the successful employment of special signs to distinguish between the alphabetical characters of similar sound. For example, the sound of ث, س, and ص is expressed by a simple 'S' in English; that of ذ, ز, and ط by 'Z'; of ح and ه by 'h'; and of ت and ط by a soft 't' as in *thrill*. Indian scholars who have received their training in English Universities, and those who have learnt the English method in India, follow in some cases a most unnatural system. For instance, *one single letter* ث as in مثنوی is represented by *two letters* in the English alphabets, with the help of a third sign '—' underneath them (as in 'th'), which confounds the reader more than it helps him. Similarly, the sound of ط as in نظامی is expressed by 'dh', that

of چ by 'ch', of خ by 'kh', of چ by 'ph' and of ه by 'sh'. The correct and simple method would be to employ *one single letter* to convey *one single sound* as is done in the Continental and other Universities of the world.

This note is a warning against the odd method of transcribing مثنوی as 'mathnawī' instead of the simple 'masnawī' or نظامی as 'Nidhāmī' instead of 'Nizāmī'. It may here be pointed out that in England the use of 'th' (denoting ت) and 'dh' (denoting ط) was perhaps needed for the guidance of the average English student who is not very familiar with Arabic and Persian script. But in India such is not the case, and hence recourse to this practice is not at all necessary, since the average Indian student well knows that there is ت in مثنوی (not س or ص), and ط in نظامی (not ذ, ز or ض).

What is virtually needed is that a separate uniform method specially suited to India, should be adopted by Indian scholars, and the problem be solved once for all by a special Committee of distinguished scholars of India meeting in conference. Until such time, however, one must adopt the simplest course or what may appear to him the most convenient and popular in the circumstances for the spelling of oriental names and words.

For the guidance, therefore, of the general reader I have adopted special signs as follows, in close conformity with the International system:

	Capital	Small
س	S	s
ش	Ş	ş
ص	<u>S</u>	<u>s</u>
ز	Z	z
ذ	Ẓ	ẓ
ظ	<u>Z</u>	<u>z</u>
ض	Ẓ̣	ẓ̣
ه	H	h
ح	<u>H</u>	<u>h</u>
ط	T	t
ث	<u>T</u>	<u>t</u>

The letters چ-خ-غ and ه continue to be represented by 'ch', 'kh', 'gh' and 'sh' respectively for the purpose of this book.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

Section I—Preliminary remarks; a passing reference to the cultural relations between Persia and India; relation between Arabic and Persian in the wake of the 'Arab conquest of Persia.

India and Persia have been neighbours, and have had cultural connections with each other since times immemorial through the contacts of their civilizations and literatures. Their cultures, though distinct today, bear the same relationship to each other as exists between two sisters married in distant and different homes. The same is true of their spoken tongues, Sanskrit and Persian, which belong to the same family and bear a close kinship.

Time was when these languages possessed similar form and style, and were governed by similar aims, spirit and tendencies. The origin of these languages is identical, a fact which is a commonplace of philology and linguistics. Nevertheless, what has not been realized fully is that when India, for the first time, heard the Sanskrit accents from the lips of her Aryan conquerors, she really was listening to the music of Persian speech. The Aryan race had

spread out to India and Persia from a common centre somewhere in Central Asia. Thus it is easy to look upon the advent of Persian proper in India as the settling down of a person in his sister's home.

We find that almost all the invading or conquering races, except of course the 'Arabs, who had entered India in ancient and mediæval times, did so through the Passes lying on the North-Western frontier. This means that they came to India speaking either Persian or a language highly coloured by the Persian idiom, owing to the dominating influence of Persian civilization in Central Asia. Hence it is obvious that Persian civilization and language have had more than just a superficial association with the culture of Hindūstān for some thousands of years. The one has vitally affected the culture of the other. "It seems pretty certain," says Browne, "that the Indians and Persians were once united in a common Indo-Irānian race located somewhere in the Punjāb."¹ The Persians, long before the rise of Islām, had close relations with India, and their monarchs, until the Sāsānian regime, wielded authority over the Western Punjāb and the Provinces of Sindh and Balūchistān. In the Achaemenian period (B.C. 521), when the Persian empire was at its zenith, King Darius, the Great, had deputed one of his officers, Scylax (the Greek Admiral), to discover the sea-route to India.

¹ A Literary History of Persia, Vol. I, p. 33.

This discovery finally led to the conquest of Sindh; part of the Punjāb and Afghānistān, and their annexation to the Persian empire. The relations thus established between the two great peoples of Persia and India evoked a natural regard for each other's culture, language and mode of living.

There is further evidence to show that the *Jāts* of the Punjāb, whom the 'Arab historians have styled *ذئب* (*Zūt*), formed part of the Persian army which fought with the 'Arabs in the famous battle of Nihāwand under Yezd-gurd¹. III, the last Sāsānian

¹ It is a compound of *یزد* and *گُرد*. The former is a contraction of *یزدان* (the god of Virtue); while the latter indicates a *warrior* or a *soldier*. Hence the expression *Yezd-gurd* means a *soldier of the god of Virtue*, which is almost similar to *Cibārt* or *Knight*. Another reading is *Yezd-i-gird*, which has been commonly adopted by European writers. The word *گُرد* is derived from a Pahlawī verb meaning 'to make' or 'create'. Hence, the expression means 'god-made', which as a name or title of a Persian king is less significant. Originally, *گُرد* in old Persia was a title of highest honour given to a national hero who, in popular esteem, was held equal or even superior to the king. For instance, Bahrām, Hūmān, Rustam, Suhrāb and other great heroes of Persia have been addressed by Firdausī thus:

بر آویخت چوں شیر بهرام گُرد به نیزه برایشان بیکه حمله بُرد

بپاسخ چنین گفت هومان گُرد که بنمود سهرآب را دست بُرد

چو آتش برآگنده شد پیدلن درختی بجست از در باب زن

king of Persia.¹ Besides, thousands of Persian families residing in Khucāsān had been expelled from their country by the order of the Persian king Afrāsiyāb. They fled to the Panjāb, and found a home and shelter in the districts roundabout Lāhore, Multān and Delhi. Their permanent settlement here gave rise to an important city of Persian population which swelled with their descendants and the incoming fresh bands of the Persians². This is the first great instance of direct historical connection of Persia with India, which sowed the seed of Persian culture securely in Indian soil. It also explains why the Persian speech in India had a marvellous growth, and remained intact for centuries, rivaling its glories in Persia itself. Apart from this

یکے نورۂ گورے بزد بر درخت کہ در چنگِ او پیر مرغے نہ سخت
چو بریاں شد از ہم بکند و بشورد ز مغز استخوانش بر آورد گرد
ازاں پس خرد شید سہراب گرد ہی شاہ کاؤس را بر شُرد

It was also a proud title for the king. Cf. Ferīdūn, the mighty monarch of Persia, who defeated Zāhhāk, was called گرد in the following verse:

شیددی کجاز افریدون گرد ستمکارۂ ضحاک نازی چہ بُرد

¹ Tirmizī, Chap. "Abwāb ul Amṣāl".

² Muntakhab' ut Tawārikh, Vol. I, p. 35.

earliest relationship which existed in the Pre-Islāmic era, we see that a still closer bond of union subsisted between the peoples of the two great countries at the birth of the Prophet of Islām and at the landing of the 'Arabs in Sindh.

Persia's fondness for the Sanskrit story of *Kalīlab-Damnab* and the favour shown by the Persian monarch, Anūshīrwān the Great, in deputing a special envoy, Barzawāh, who was a scholar of Persian and Sanskrit, to secure Persian translations of this and several other books of Sanskrit, is a fact of history. The editor of the Arabic version of *Kalīlab-Damnab* describes the great Persian enterprise in the following words:—

أصل هذا الكتاب محفوظان في خزائن ملوك الهند يتدبرهون علومه حرمهم
على أنمن الكنوز لا يسمحون لسواهم بالاطلاع عليه غير ما تقدم من نقله
إلى التبتية حتى القرن السادس الميلاد أما أننى عرض فارس إلى كسرى
أنشردان و كان متعبا لاسباب الاصلاح و أخذ فى نقل العلم و الادب فبلغه خبر
هذا الكتاب فاستشار خاصة فى رجل يبعث به لهذا المهمة يكون عارفا
باللسانين السنسكريتى والفارسى مع علم و فلسفة فاختار و له طائيفه فيلسوفا
اسمه برزويه ابن اشر فاسرأله امر الكتاب و حرضه على نقله و نقل ما يتيسر
من علوم الهند التى ليس فى اللغة الفارسية شى منها و أمده بما يحتاج اليه
فى سبيل ذلك الغرض فسافر برزويه بعشرين جرأبا من المال كل جراب فيه
عشرة آلاف دينار حتى قدم بلاد الهند فاجعل يجالس الحكماء و يستأصل

¹ Introduction, p. 22, Cairo.

مختص الملك و جاساء من العلماء و الفلاسفة و اوشمهم انه رجل غريب قدم
بالدسم لطالب العلم و الادب و انه يحتاج الى معونتهم و لم يزل كذلك و هو
يبحث سرا عن مكان ذلك الكتاب في خبر طويل استندم فيه دهاء و در
ايته حتى ظفر بالكتاب و نقله من اللسان الهندى السنسكريتي الى اللسان الفارسي
و هو يومئذ النمازي و نقل غرضه من كتب العلم و عاد الى انوشيروان فاجازة
بالاموال و البسة التاج و اجاسه على سريره تشريفا و زيادة في اجلاله -

“This book was preserved in the treasures of the kings of Hindūstān and guarded like a most cherished treasure. No one could get a clue to it until the sixth century A. D., when the throne of Persia passed to Kīsrā Anūshīrwān. During this period once only was access had to it when it was translated into the Tibetan language. He loved peaceful means and the pursuit of knowledge and literature. The news of this book reached his ears, and so he consulted his courtiers on the problem of finding a man who could be sent on this enterprise—one who should be well versed in Sanskrit and Persian, and be a sound student of philosophy. So they selected for him a physician who was also a philosopher whose name was Barzawāh ibn Azhar. Anūshīrwān then divulged to him the secret of his desire for this book, and urged him to secure a copy thereof and also of other sciences of India which he could obtain access to and of which nothing then existed in the Persian language. He provided him with the necessary material for the achievement of this object. So

Barzawāh set out on his journey with twenty bags of provisions in each of which there were ten thousand *dīnārs* until he arrived in India. Here he used to sit in the company of the learned, and sought to find out the favourites of the king and his chief associates from among the learned and the philosophers; and he made them understand that he was a stranger who came to their cities for the purpose of acquiring their knowledge and literature, and that he needed their help and support. He continued to do this, and secretly tried to discover, in the course of his long inquiries and searches, the location of this book which was the custodian of their intellect and wisdom, till at last he succeeded in gaining access to it and in translating it from Sanskrit into Persian or *Pahlavī*. Besides this, he copied other books of Hindī learning, and returned with them to Anūshīr-wān who rewarded him with cash and property, and put on his head the crown, and made him sit on his throne to exalt his rank and add to his glory."

The present work, however, does not concern itself with the earliest and almost forgotten relationship which existed between India and Persia in ancient times. It restricts its inquiry to the age which witnessed the appearance of Arabicised Persian on the stage of Indian life in the wake of the Muslim conquest of India. It is, thus, primarily concerned with the distinctive nature of the culture and the literature which the Arabicised Persian has been instrumental in

bringing into existence in India.

We have characterised the language that came to India along with the Muslim conquerors as *Arabised Persian*. This observation needs some explanation.

Picture the world as it was a little before the rise of the 'Arabs. By the end of the sixth century A. D., the world had witnessed revolutions everywhere, some of them being epoch-making, as every student of history knows. Restricting our attention to the cultural upheavals and changes made possible by these revolutions, the following phenomena stand out prominently. The 'early, perhaps the original, Persian had disappeared from Persia, and a rapid succession of dynasties had effected a complete transformation in matters cultural, religious and linguistic for the Persian people. In India, one finds that the classical Sanskrit ceases to be a living language and a new language called *Prākṛit* becomes the common speech. Europe, at this time, was fast sinking into a deep slumber from which it was to rise at the Renaissance.

Such was the state of affairs all over the world with regard to culture, when the 'Arabs ventured out of their desert home into the wide world, with the banner of Islām in their hands. It could be easily imagined what a time of upheaval this period of revolution must have been for the languages and cultures of the then civilised world. In the inundation caused by the rising 'Arab power, reinforced by

religious zeal, not merely did the principalities such as Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine, Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco, Sudān and Zanjbār suffer shipwreck, but even the civilization of these lands was completely swept away. This, however, cannot be said of Persia. Persian culture and language alone escaped shipwreck. Perhaps it was not possible for the 'Arab culture to swamp the culture of Persia. In fact, Persian, which firmly resisted the Arabic advance, refused to merge itself into Arabic culture. The critical times which Persian had to pass through for its survival, compels recognition of the fact that the Persian language possesses some unusual virility and virtues to have resisted the cataclysmic onslaughts of Arabic. In this connection we ought to bear in mind that Persian is an off-shoot of the Aryan language; while Arabic is of Semitic descent. Thus the difference between the two is one of kind rather than of degree. Barring the interchange of nouns, they are distinct from each other in their syntax and verbs, with little possibility of modifying each other.

With the end of the Rāshidiyyah Caliphate and the break-up of the kingdom of Medinah, the Umayyids set up their throne in Syria, which had been for a long time a noted centre for classical learning, particularly Greek and Latin. When Syria became an 'Arab principality, the greatest benefit in the way of culture she received from her new masters was provision for recitals from the Holy Qur'ān and from

the Traditions of the Holy Prophet, while at the same time a stimulus was given to Arabic poetry. Thus says the 'Arab historian, 'Abdu'l Raḥmān al Maghribī, on the authority of Qāzī Sā'id Undulūsī:

قال القاضي سعد بن أحمد الأندلسي أن العرب في صدر الإسلام لم تكن
 بشئ من العلوم إلا لغتها و معرفة أحكام شريعتها فهذه كانت حال العرب
 في الدولة الأموية -

Qāzī Sā'id bin Aḥmad Undulūsī said, "Verily the 'Arabs in the beginning of Islām did not pay attention to any branch of knowledge except their own literature and the study of the commandments of religion; and such was the condition of the 'Arabs during the rule of the Umayyids."

The inevitable effect of such an educational system was the quick replacement of the classical learning of Greece and Rome, and their civilization in Syria by those of Arabia: Arabic becoming, in due course, the language of the Syrians, whether Muslims, Jews or Christians. What is true of Syria is equally true of other lands conquered by the 'Arabs. The impact of Arabic on the language of the 'Arab-conquered territories resulted either in the total disappearance of the native tongues or in their complete transformation. For an illustration of the total disappearance

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, Chap. Daulat ul 'Abbāsīn.

of a language as a result of the superimposition of Arabic, the reader may be reminded that the language of Egypt and Tripoli was Coptic before the 'Arab conquest of these lands, yet there was little trace of Coptic left soon after the 'Arab occupation, and Arabic, instead, became the court language.

In regard to the way in which the language of the 'Arab conquerors and settlers influenced and transformed the native tongues of the conquered lands, the present linguae of Madagascar, Jāvā, Mālay, Malābār and Sindh may be examined. The influence of Arabic is clearly noticeable on the language of each of these territories, even after a period of thirteen hundred years.

The 'Arabs attempted a similar cultural experiment in Persia also, though with little success. The Persian language, because of its inherent qualities, such as softness, enchanting accent and melody, gradually enslaved 'Arab settlers in Persia, and drew them further and further away from their mother tongue. They eagerly accepted the Persian speech as their language for business or art. Surprising though it may appear, a considerable number of Persian words, expressions and phrases crept into Arabic itself, as any Arabic lexicon will testify. More striking still is the manner in which the 'Arab conquerors in Persia allowed themselves to be conquered by Persian in regard to culture and literary art, a phenomenon not unlike what happened to

Rome after she conquered Greece. The cultural relation of Persia with Arabia is a case of the captive capturing the captor.¹

The influence of Persian over Arabic, as a matter of fact, had begun to be felt even before the rise of Islām. For a justification of this remark, one has to notice Persian words and ideas used in the verse of the un-lettered 'Arab poets. Persian words and Persian sentiments found their way in the Arabic of Arabia at the time when the Ghassāns held sway over the north-western borders of Arabia, and eastern Arabia was ruled by the descendants of Nu'mān and Kandah. The Ghassāns were under Romān influence, whereas the rulers of Eastern Arabia owed allegiance to the Sāsānīds. The religion of the former was Christianity, and that of the latter Zoroastrianism tinged with belief in Greek mythology and Greek conception of deities. Through the agency of these two 'Arab kingdoms, the social and cultural tendencies of Greece, Rome and Persia were at work, and their influence extended far beyond their boundaries from the coasts of Arabia down to Yemen to the extreme South-West. But it is strange that Arabic did not assimilate as many Greek and Latin words and idioms as those of Persian. A fairly large number of Persian expressions and sentiments had become part of the texture of the Arabic

¹ Ibid, Muḡaddimah.

- Immediately after the advent of Islām, when the 'Arabs as a nation had no love or use for the Sāsānian culture, the 'Arab poets began to make use of Persian expressions and sentiments in their compositions. This assertion finds its proof in the elegy of the well-known 'Arab poet, Yazīd ibn Mufarrigh of

(i)	حتى يعطوا الجزية عن يد وهم صاغرون	Chap. 10, Rk. 10
(ii)	ألم تر كيف فعل ربك بأصحاب الفيل	„ 30 „ 30
(iii)	يسقون من رحيق مختوم ختامه مسك	„ 30 „ 38
(iv)	و يستقون فيها كأساً كان مزاجها زنجبيلا	„ 29
(v)	تبارك الذي جعل في السماء بروجا وجعل فيها سراجا و تمرا منيرا -	„ 19 „ 4

لِجَام is found recorded in the Traditions and the works of the early poets, cf:

من أبى هزيمة قال قال رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم من سأل عن علم
علمه ثم كتمه ألجم بلجام من نار -

(Mishkāṭ, Kitāb ul'Ilm)

Also, cf. the verse:

وما أسن بركت عليه
كان ملاخها ملقى لِجَام

تَاج occurs in a *qasīdah* of 'Umar ibn Kulṣūm, cf. :

و سبي معشر قد توجوه
بتاج الملك يحى المبحرينا

فِلْسِل is used by Imra'ul Qais in the following verse:—

ترى بحر الأرام في عرصاتنا
وقيعانها كانه حب فلل

Other words are common in the writings of the 'Arab poets of the first century and the pre-Islāmic days.

Yemen, who wrote after the invasion of the border lands of India by Ziyād's son, 'Abbād, in 59 A.H. Witness one of Ibn Mufarrigh's verses in the elegy just named :

كَمْ بِالْجُرُومِ وَ اَرْضِ الْهِنْدِ مِنْ قَدَمٍ وَ مِنْ سَرَايِنِكَ قَتْلَى لَا هُمْ قَبْرُوا¹

What a large number of followers in the tropical regions and in India's land,

And from among soldiers, lost their lives, who were denied even a tomb!

In this verse, جُرُوم is the plural of جَرْم which is the Persian گُرم in Arabic dress; and similarly سَرَايِنِكَ is the Arabic rendering of the Persian word سرهنگ . But the word سرهنگ in its original form is also used by the 'Arab historians.² This should serve as an illustration of the manner in which Persian words invaded the Arabic vocabulary. It further points out to the fact that Persian words entered the Arabic vocabulary and came to India through the agency of the Arabic language. In the works written by the Persians in Arabic, one comes across countless Persian terms without any modification in their original form. For example, Avicenna, in his works on

¹ Balāzurī, Futūḥ ul Buldān, Chapter on Sindh.

² Cf : و وصل عباد الدولة سرهنگ معاونین الی واسط و منها الی النيل فی شهر رمضان .

(Tārikh Āl Saljūq, p. 71, Egypt).

medicine, makes use of such terms as *الاستقام*, *الاستقام*, *النهم* *برشت* and the like with the Arabic signification of *ال* prefixed to them. Also, he uses *دارق* which is a pure Persian compound, even without the Arabic sign.¹ As regards the Persian sentiments in Arabic literature, one should read the elegiac poems of Abū Dulāmah, Buhturī and Muranabbī. These poems are impregnated with Persian thought, and are composed in the Persian manner after the pattern of conventional elegiac odes. To make this point more clear and definite, it may be pointed out that the Arabic elegy is content with an account of the dead hero's virtues, such as valour, lineage and hospitality, to preserve his memory in the world. But on the other hand, the aforementioned Arab poets exhibit Persian colour in their elegies in a striking manner. They are fond of such imagery as "the cloud shed tears", "the sun sprinkled blood on the earth through its rays," "the eye wept, and people smeared their heads with dust," "they tore their hair", "they wore mourning dress, and drenched it with tears of blood" and many other idioms or forms of imagery which

¹ Cf: أما البروز فمثل نهر الساجم والفتوح البستاني واللائق و دار قفل
(Al Qānūn, Vol. III, p. 430, Lucknow).

Also, of:

والطاف منها أجلكة الفرائج والطاهيج والنهم برشت الرقيق القوام
(Ibid, Vol. IV, p. 37).

resemble Persian conceits, as is evidenced in the national custom of mourning in Persia, which Firdausī has depicted in his immortal epic. Witness the scene on the death of Suhrāb at the hands of Rostam, who lived in the Achaemenian period (B.C. 550); therein one finds several lines which enshrine the ancient custom of Persian mourning:

به پرده سراے آتش اندر زدند همه اشکروش خاک بر مهر زدند
فغانش زایوان به کیوان رسید همی زار بر پرست هر گل شنید
تنش را بدان تا مداران نمود تو گفتی که از چرخ برخاست دود
پوشید آن چاهه نیلگون همه نیلگون غرق گشته بخون

Similar sentiments are to be found in an ode of the 'Arab poet, Abū Dulāmāh, which shows the steady influence of Persian culture on the 'Arab writers. This ode is an elegy inasmuch as it refers to the death of the Caliph Ja'far al Manṣūr 'Abbāsī and is at the same time a congratulatory poem in so far as it refers to his son Muḥammad al Mahdī's accession to the throne. The following verses from this ode will bear on the point we have noticed:

عینای واحدة تری مسرورة بامیرها جزای و آخری تذرف
تنبی و تضحک تارة و یسوءها ما انکرت و یسرها ما تعرف
فیسوءها موت الخلیفة محروما و یسرها ان قام هذا یختلف
ما ان رأیت کما رأیت ولا ادی شعرا اسرحه و آخر انتف
هذا حباه الله فضل خلافة و لاک جنات النعیم تز خرف

I have two eyes: one is full of joy,
 Because of my Caliph, and the other weeps;
 It weeps and expresses joy betimes, and what
 causes it to grieve
 Is that which it considers ill, and what pleases
 it is that which it considers good;
 So, the death of the Caliph Mansūr, which oc-
 curred while he was in the pilgrim's dress,
 grieves the one,
 And al-Mahdī's succession to the Caliphate plea-
 ses the other;
 What I have seen now, I did not see before, nor
 shall I see hereafter,
 That I comb my hair with joy on the one hand,
 and tear it in grief on the other;
 May God grant this king the excellence of the
 Caliphate,
 And for that king (the deceased), may Paradise be
 adorned.

The works of Mutanabbī contain sometimes
 verses the texture of which is essentially Persian, for
 instance:

لم يحدك نالک السحاب و أنا حست به فصيها الرضاد

The cloud could not rival thy generosity, and for
 this reason,

It was ashamed, thereby augmenting its tem-
 perature; thus the rain, which fell from it,
 is its perspiration.

Such a subtle fancy or delicate imagery is foreign to the taste of Arabic verse, and such conceits are not to be discovered therein prior to the day when Persian cast its spell on 'Arab authors. In some of the Arabic prose-writings also, which belong to the early period, the Persian metaphors, similes and conceits appear to play a considerable part. This is explained by the fact that some of the authors were either born in Persia, or they had some intimate intercourse with the Persian people, thus leaving them open to the influence of Persian culture. This observation finds its justification in the pages of the recognised historian Imām 'Imāduddīn al Kātib's famous work, the *Tārīkh Āl Saljūq*. Here is a passage from it:—

وَلَيْتَ يَوْمَ الْخَمِيسِ الْخَمِيسَانِ يَعْبِيَانِ وَادْعَى الْمُنُونِ يَلْبِيَانِ وَالشَّمْسُ
تَشْكُو حَزْمًا تَصَادُ إِلَيْهَا مِنْ زُنُرَاتِ الْاِحْتِنَادِ وَكَأَنَّمَا شَعَاعُهَا دُمٌّ ارْتَقَتْ عَلَى الْأَفَاقِ —

And both the contending armies fought enthusiastically on Thursday, welcoming death all the while; and the Sun was perturbed with the heated breath which rose from the animosity and fierce rage of the contending forces, as if its rays were like drops of blood which it had sprinkled on the Universe.

During the rule of Banū 'Abbās, the influence of

¹ *Tārīkh Āl Saljūq*, p. 69.

Persian on Arabic began to be felt still more perceptibly. The *Mumallidūn* gave further stimulus to the growing hold of Persian language and culture on the 'Arabs, with the result that the Court of the Caliphs adopted the Persian nobility's style of living along with their acceptance of the Sāsānīd splendour. The well-known Caliph Mu'tasim Billāh 'Abbāsī's affecting the Persian kings' mode of life is a case in point. This Caliph kept eighteen thousand Turkish slaves as his body-guard, and made them wear silk uniform and gold necklaces after the fashion of the Persian kings.¹

In the days just referred to, the residence of the Caliphs was termed *دربار*²; the pay and Accounts offices were called *دفتر*³; the pleasure-garden was known as *بستان*⁴, the bouquet which the florist presented to his master was called *دستنبویه*⁵; the slave-girls of the *harem* were named *بستان*⁶ and *نرجس*; the liquors which they drank in the hour of their mirth at social gatherings was called *شراب خسروانی*⁷,

¹ Cf: *وكان المعتصم سديد الراى . . . وكان يتشبه بملوك الاعاجم وبلغ
غلمانة الانراك ثمانية عشر الفا و البسهم اطواق الذهب والديباچ -*

(Ibn Khaldūn, *Caliphate of Mu'tasim Billāh*).

² Āghānī, Vol. XVII, p. 154.

³ Ibid, " p. 18.

⁴ Ibid, V, p. 85.

⁵ Ibid, XVIII, p. 22.

⁶ Ibid, " p. "

⁷ Cf. the verse of an 'Arab poet, Ibrāhīm bin Abī Muḥam-

and their cup-bearer offered them the wine-cup, with the words "يامردمى خور"¹; and for their recreation they played the game of شطرنج or نردشير. The people nick-named the Caliph Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr, who succeeded to the caliphate in 136 A.H., ابو الدانق², (father of farthings) because of his miserliness: the term being coined from the Persian word دانگ meaning *farthing*. The 'Arab poet, Laqīṭ bin Zūrārah, named his daughter, who also

mad Yazidī of the Court of Caliph al-Māmūn :—

أشرب على وجه جان شرابك الخسروانى

¹ Cf. another poet Ishāq al Mūsālī writing to Mūsa bin Sālīh :

إذا قال لى "يامردمى خور" و كرها على و كنانى مزأحا بصفان

(Ibid, Vol. V, p. 80).

² The first Ibrāhīm says again :

أن لم يكن عندى غناء ولا عون فعندى النمر بالنود شير

(Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 92).

³ دانق is the plural of دانق which is the Arabic form of the persian word دانى signifying a very small coin. It was also a weight of six grains used in Persia. The historian, Ibn Khaldūn, makes the following observation in regard to this title :

وكان مبخلا يضرب بشكة الامثال فسمى لبخله "ابو الدانق"
لنكاسة العمل والصناع على الدانق والكبة -

(Account of Abū Ja'far al-Mansūr).

*subsequently became a poetess of repute, دخت نوس¹. The pawn in Arabic was called بندق which is derived from the Persian پناه. The 'Arabs in Persia used the Persian term هزار مرد² to designate their brave men. They called their Caliph's throne تخت الملک, using the Persian term تخت with the Arabic word ملک. The Persian Princes were named مَرزبان by the 'Arabs, which is again a Persian term; and the landlords were called دِهقان³ (which is دهقان⁴ or ده خان⁵). Also their plurals were formed مَرزبانان and دِهقانان in true Arabic style. Again, when they wanted to describe the finery of their dress, they chose to apply to it the

¹ This is the Arabicised form of دخت نوس which was the name of the daughter of the famous Persian king Kīsrā Anūshīr-wān, the Great.

(‘Abdul ‘Azīz Memon, *Simt ul La’ālī*, Vol. II, p. 835, Cairo, 1936).

² It is the epithet of ‘Uṣmān bin Hafs bin ‘Uṣmān, Cf :

ثم ولي ثغر السند عمر بن حفص بن عثمان هزار مرد

(Balāzurī, *Futūh ul Buldān*, Chap. 4). Also see Āghānī

Vol. XVIII, p. 19.

³ Firdausī has used this expression in the sense of ‘the old man of the village,’ who is supposed to be a well-informed and a wise man.

⁴ A ‘rustic’; ‘a true type of a villager.’

⁵ The lord of the village.

epithets *ازدر* and *بهار الشجر*¹, which are Persian similes; their hospitals were called *بیمارستان* and *مارستان*²; their gate-keepers were called *در وکیل*³; the quatrain in Arabic prosody is still called *در بیتی*. The name given to Constantinople was *آستانة العلیه*, which is a compound word formed by prefixing the Persian noun *آستانه* to the Arabic adjective *علیه*; the Persian terms *کوس* and *لاغر کوبه* meaning *drum* and *club*, and the Persian word *مرد* were commonly used by the 'Arab writers⁴; the word *باز* meaning *hawk*, *شاگرد* (معرب شاجرد) and *کردن* (معرب کورد) were also borrowed from Persian, and

¹ Cf. the verse of Bakr bin Nattāh of Rashīd bin 'Abdul Malik's reign:

لیالی کنت ازدرالتیان کان ثیابی بهار الشجر
(Āghānī, Vol. XVII, p. 159).

² Ibid, Vol. XVIII, p. 39.

³ Cf: وکان وکیلدرالسلطان فی وزارة سعدالملك امیر القزوينی المعروف بالزکی -

(Tārīkh Āl Saljūq, p. 85).

⁴ Cf: فان السلطان عقد علی فخرالدوله بن جیحیر دیار بحر و خلع علیه :
و اعطاه الکوس و العلم -

(Ibid, p. 69).

also Cf:

وَلَهْمَنِي وَتَعِ الْأَسِنَّةَ وَالْقَنَا وَكَافِرٌ كَوْبَاتِهِ لَهَا عَجَبٌ قُفْتُ
بایدی رجال ما کلامی کلامهم یسوموننی مَرْدُوماً انا وَالْمَرْدُ

(Jāhiz, al-Bayān wat Tabyin, Vol. 1, p. 80).

included in Arabic vocabulary;¹ and similarly numerous other words, simple and compound, crept into the Arabic language. Of the Persian words which found their way into the Arabic lexicon, as a result of the religious unity between Arabia and Persia in the earliest period of Islāmic history, some from the works of travel, history, medicine and literature are reproduced here to serve as an illustration:²

¹ Cf. the verse : كَسَتْهُ شَعَا عَا عَلَى الْمَكْبِ إِذَا نَظَرَ أَبَا زَيْ فِي عَيْتِهِ
(Mutanabbī, Vol. 1, p. 105, Cairo).

also Cf. : وَمَا كُنْتُ شَاجِرًا وَلَا كُنْ حَسْبَتَنِي

إِذَا مَسَّحَلَّ سَدَى لِي الْقَوْلَ أَوْ نَطَقَ

(A'shā, Dīwān, Gibb. memo. series, Vol. IV, p. 148).

ضَرْبَانَا دُونَ الْأَنْثِيَانِ عَلَى الْكَرْدِ

(فَرَزْدَقِ)

ثَالِ أَبُو مَلْصُورِ الْأَنْثِيَانِ هُنَا الْأَذْنَانِ وَالْكَرْدُ الْعُنُقِ

(Shihābuddīn Aḥmad, Shifā'ul Ghalīl, p. 192).

² Among the works consulted in the preparation of this and the previous lists, the following were most helpful:—

1. Balāzuri's فتوح البلدان
2. Avicenna's طبقات الأطباء and القانون
3. 'Imāduddīn al Kātib Isfahānī's تاريخ آل سلجوق
4. Abul Faraj Isfahānī's آغانى
5. Jāhiz's البيان والتبيين
6. Jawāliqī's المعرب من الكلام الأعجبي and
7. Dr. Arnold's سوانح السبيل

Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)	Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)
موزج	موزه	أَرْجَوَان	آرغوان
فَالَوْدُ - فَالَوْدَج	پالوده	خَنَدَار	خون کار
بَسِير	بیسر	تَرَاذِي	ترازو
بَسْدَق	فَسْدَق	بَابُونِج	بابونه
جَرْدَبَان	گردبان	خِيَار شَنِير	خیار چنبر
بَوْدَنَّة	بوته	بَادَنجَان	بادنگان
جَرْدَق و جَرْدَنَة	کَرْدَنَة - گَرْدَنَة	قَرَنجَبِين	ترانجبین
قَبِغ	قنباکو	دَخْدَار	تختدار
بُورِيَّة	بوریه	دِيهَاج	دیبا
فَوْتَلِج	پودینه	جَامُوش	گاومیش
بَسْفَسِج	بفشه	جَوَغَة	چوغه
جَلَنَار	گلنار	نَرَجِس	نرگس
فَنزَج	پنجه	جَمَنبَار	جانباز
جَوَارِش	گوارش	جَرَمُوق	سرموزه
خَشَاف	خوش آب	دَوْرَاق	دوره
بِرْگَار	پَرگَار	تَبَان	تنبان
بُورَق	بورَة	جَلَنَسَرِين	گل نسرين
أَبْرِيسَم	ابريشم	جَلَنَجَبِين	گل انجبین
دَمَق	دمه	فِيلَج	پيله
		جَلَاب	گل آب

Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)	Arabic (borrowed)	Persian (original)
شِشْمَه	چشمه	جاستان-فَلِسْتَان	گلستان
سِرِّوَال	شاور	هِنْدَام	اندام
بِيَادِي	پیاده	فَرَسَنَج	فرسنگ
امیر آخورد	میر آخورد	یَارِج	یاره
زَنَزَلَخْت	آزاد درخت	نِیلِج	نیله
فُولاد	پولاد	آبِ مَوْذَج	نمونه
سَبَاهی	سپاهی	مُومِیَّه	مومیائی
صنار	چنار	صَوْبِج	چوبه
قَلَنْدَر	قرندل	مِهْتَار	مهر
نَرَجِیل	نارگیل	شَاکَرِی	چاکر
جَل	گل	شِهَرِآز	شهرآزه
بابُوج	پادوش		

Besides this, many Persian words are to be found in Arabic writings in their original form, for example:—

تُرکِش - میخانه - نیلوفر - قهرمان - تازہ - آفہن - دِہلیز - دَہنہ -
 تَخْتِ دِوَال - زَرَّآب - زَنْدِیق - سادہ - شلغم - شاہترہ - شِہرہ -
 شاہ - شاہانہ - صندل - تَبَر - فرزین - کَتَّخْدَا - کارخانہ - مومبیا -
 کوسہ - کھربا - پوسپا و شان -

This is not all. From contemporary writings

it appears that in the reign of Banū ‘Abbās, the courtiers not only understood Persian but wrote and conversed in it in their homes, in evidence of which may be cited the name of the ‘Arab writer Ibn Manāẓir. In a satire on one of the nobles, Muḥammad bin ‘Abdul Wahhāb, he wrote:

“وقال الشيخ سر جريه ”داء السوء من تحت“¹

And Shaikh Sarjūyah said, “Man’s disease begins from below.”

Sarjūyah was an authority on medical matters, and was a recognised physician. When this remark, with its authorship assigned to him, reached his ears, he feared that Muḥammad bin ‘Abdul Wahhāb would be offended with him. To check this impression he forthwith betook himself to the nobleman’s house, where he found the latter sitting with a large party of men, and gave vent to the following significant Persian speech which was understood by all:

”بر کسست من نه گفتم آن پسر ملادر گفت“²

I never said this concerning any one; that was said by Ibn Manāẓir.

The audience at these words burst into laughter.

¹ Āghānī, Vol. XVII, p. 19.

² Ibid.

Sarjūyah felt that the audience's laughter was an expression of their distrust in his words. He therefore repeated his speech many times and on oath.

The 'Arab scholars in particular had acquired good knowledge of Persian. Some even taught Arabic literature through the Persian medium. One such instance is Mūsa al-Uswārī who interpreted the verses of the Qur'ān in Persian¹ in public gatherings. Within two hundred years of the 'Arab conquest of Persia, by the time when the linguistic and religious unity between the two nations had assumed a permanency, Persian civilization and ideals began to be clearly perceived in Arabic letters; and the taste for Persianisms became so popular with the poets and scholars of Arabic by the third and the fourth centuries A. H. that Persian verse compositions were freely rendered into Arabic verse in 'Arab territories. Many instances of this from the works of the poets, writing in the days of the Tāhirīds and the Sāmānīds, could be cited. Take, for example, the following verses from a Persian ode by Maṣṣūr bin 'Alī Mantiqī Rāzi:

یک موی بپزد دیدم از دو زلفت چون زلف زدی ای صام بشانه
چونانش بسختی همی کشیدم چون مور که گندم کشد بخانه
با موی بخانه شدم پدر گفت منصور کدام است ازین دوگانه

They were rendered into Arabic at the instance

¹ Jāhiz, al Bayān wat Tabyīn, Vol. I, p. 196.

of Abul Qāsim Ismā'il bin 'Abbād bin 'Abbās bin 'Abbād al-Vazīr, surnamed "صاحب کافی النماء"

سو قت من طرته شعرة حين غدا يشداها باليشاط
ثم تدلعت بها مثقلا تدلج النمل بحب الحنط
قال ابي من دلى منكما كلا كما يدخل سم الحنط

Another instance is to be found in the following Persian verses of Muhammad bin Sālih:—

سیم دندانک و بس دانک و خندانک و شوخ
که چهاں آنک بر مالِبِ او زنداں کرد
لبِ او یَبَنی و گوئی که کسی زیرِ عقیق
با میاںِ در گُلِ اندر شکرے پنہاں کرد

They were done into Arabic by Abul Qāsim bin Abul 'Abbās Isfarā'īnī thus:—

فقی نغر لبیب ضاحک عزم من عشق مہیسہ اصہکت مسجونہ
بسکر قد رأیت الیوم مہیسہ نکست العقیق بذاک الوزن مکنونہ

Again, Abū Shakūr Balkhī's following Persian quatrain :

از دور بدیدارِ تو نگریمتم اندر معجروح شد آن چہرہ پوخس و ملاح
و ز غمزه تو خستہ شد آزرده دل من وین حکم قضا نیست جراحات بجراحات

was put into Arabic verse as follows:—

رَمیتک عن حکم القضاء بنظرة و مالی عن حکم القصاص مناص
فلما جرحت اللحد منکم بمقتلی جرحت نوء ادى والجروح قصاص

The following Persian verse from an ode of the Persian poet Shamsuddīn Muḥammad Ma'rūfī of the court of the Sāmānīd king, Maṣṣūr bin Nūḥ, was once read before the 'Arab poet Abul Ḥasan 'Alī bin Muḥammad of Baghdād:

خون سپید بآرم بر دور خانِ زردم آرم سپید باشد خونِ دلِ مصعد¹

He at once gave it an Arabic dress, and incorporated it into one of his odes. The Arabic rendering is as follows:—

وكان دما فا بيض منه احمراره بنار التماهى حين فاض مصعد²

Often entire Persian poems and proverbs were rendered into Arabic verse. The author of the *Dumyat ul Qasr* and the famous 'Arab writer, Ṣa'ālibī, have collected some such pieces. Here, for instance, is a line from an ode of Abū 'Abdullāh Abīverdi:—

و من عشق قدرام مشبه قبحه فانسى مشاه و لم يمش كالعجول²

Some other notable Persian proverbs, which were rendered into Arabic verse, may here be transcribed along with their Arabic dress:—

¹ Yatīmat ud Dahr, Vol. III, p. 164.

² Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 25.

Persian	Arabic
... شب است آبستنی بیدم چه زاید	اللیل عتایی ایس بخدوی مایاد
... خاک از توده کلال بردار	اذا رفعت علی الاراءس التراب نفع من اعطام التل ان النفع منه يقع
... آفتاب به گل اندودن نتوان	الشمس با لتطیین لاتعشی
... چون آب از سرگذشت چه یک نیزه چه یک دست	ان الماء فوق غریق طما فقاب قنائة و اناب سوا

Also, instances of mixed Arabic-Persian verses by the 'Arab poets who flourished in the third century A. H. are noticeable. One good specimen by Aswad bin Abi Karīmah is as follows:—

بِسْكْرَةٍ فِي يَوْمٍ سَبْتٍ	١ تَزِمُ الْغُرَامُ ثَوْبِي
مَهْلُ زَنْجِي بِمَسْتِ (بمستی)	فَتَمَّا يَدَّتْ عَرَابِهِمْ
أَوْ عَتَارُ أَبَا يَخْضَسْتِ (باینه است)	قَدَحَسَا الدَّائِي مِرْفَا
وَيَحْكُمُ أَنْ خَرَّ غَسْتِ (خر)	ثُمَّ كَفْتُمْ ذُو زِيَادِ
أَهْلُ صَنْعَاءَ بَحْثِ	إِنْ جِلْدِي د بَغْتِ
أَنْ كُورِ يَذْ نَمَسْتِ	وَأَبُو عَمْرَةَ عِنْدِي
أَيَا عَمْدِ بَلَشَسْتِ	جَالَسَ أُنْدَرِ مَكْنَادِ

¹ Jāhiz, al-Bayān wat Tabyīn, Vol. 1, p. 80.

Section 2:—The first glimmerings of Persian in India; relations between the 'Arabs and the Hindūs; the unprejudiced mind of the Rājās and the 'Arab conquest of Sindh.

The inevitable effect of the 'Arab fondness for the Persian language, as evidenced by the annexation of Persian terminology to the Arabic vocabulary, was that the two languages found themselves getting into an ever-increasing closer bond. This close relation was felt even in India for the simple reason that the governors of Sindh were appointed and sent from Khurāsān.¹ Soon after the Persian families and the 'Arabs residing in Persia came to Sindh, they found themselves pre-occupied with a taste for the native tongue to such a degree that they even produced poets writing in Hindī, and their works were appreciated by the people and well received at the courts of the Hindū Rājās. The 'Arab families that had settled in Sindh knew Prākritis well, and their poets composed poems both in Hindī and Arabic. Among them may be mentioned a young 'Arab resident of Maṣūrah, the capital of Sindh, who had composed a *qasīdah* in the current Prākrit in praise of Rājā Mahrūg of Alūrā,² a city on the east bank of

¹ Since the days of the Umayyids, all the Muslim territories east of Arabia were under the sway of the governors of Baṣrah; while the administration of Sindh was entrusted to the rulers of Khurāsān. (Kāmil Ibn Aṣīr.)

² Buzurg bin Shahryār, 'Ajā'ib ul Hind, p. 4, Leyden.

the Indus in Upper Sindh. This poem was so much appreciated by the Rājā that he sent a special messenger to escort the young poet to the court, where he was greatly honoured and rewarded. He further translated the Holy Qur'ān into Hindī at the desire of the Rājā, having stayed for three years at the royal court as State guest.¹ The contemporary geographers and historians of 'Arab descent, who travelled through Persia to Hindūstān, have commented on the life of the Muslims in Sindh in those days. They observed that the feeling of amity and fellowship between the Muslims and the Hindūs was so stable that the 'Arabs in Sindh became united with the Hindūs, and followed the Indian customs and ceremonies spontaneously. They took for their wives Indian women, showed their liking for the spoken tongues, and readily adopted the Indian titles and Hindī names.² It goes without saying that considerable modifications were effected in the spoken Arabic and the Indian languages current in the districts scattered between Multān and the Arabian sea, obviously as a result of the Hindū-Muslim cultures coming in close contact with each other. The point which emerges from this, which is of interest to us here, is that it was really the Persian language and

¹ Ibid.

² Bashshārī, *Aḥsan ut Taqāsīm*, Chap. on Sind, Leyden, 1906.

culture which took root in Northern and Western India, though, as it were, in subjection to Arabic. Nearly all the 'Arab officials, traders and soldiers, who came to India, did so through Persia, and succumbed to the influence of Persian culture. Bashshārī Muqaddasī, in his description of Sindh, in the *Ahsan ut Taqāsīm* says that the Persian *Khutbah* of the Dailamites was current in his day in the mosques in Sindh and Multān. This fact is also indicative of the way how Persian was making its appearance in India. It would not be out of place to give here a brief account of the manner in which the 'Arabs first came to India, and how their language, in contrast with Persian, gradually influenced the Prākṛit of the land and the literary taste of the people.

It is clear from history that few 'Arab Muslims were interested in territorial acquisition in India until nearly the close of the first century A. H. The 'Arab exodus to India in Islāmic era. They at first came to this country, in the regime of the *Khulafā-i-Rāshidīn*¹ in small batches which consisted of innocent visitors, having largely trade interests, who have distinguished themselves for their simple and pious lives.² It so happened that a group of

¹ Title of the first four successors of the Holy Prophet:

أبو بكر - عمر - عثمان - علي

² The prevalent conception in the minds of most people

'Arab traders sailed for India, and arrived at Tāna (Bombay) in 16 A. H. Subsequently two more groups landed at Baroach and Dibul,¹ where some skirmishes were fought with the natives, but none was undertaken either for conquest or was authorised by the Caliph. These new-comers went back, having traded and stayed for a while in India. It is related that the Caliph 'Umar was greatly displeased when he was informed of the safe return of the first batch from Tāna. In a letter to the governor of Bahrain, 'Uṣmān bin Abī al 'Āsī Ṣaqafī, who was originally responsible for the dispatch of this contingent, the Caliph remarked:

يَا أَخَا ثَقِيفٍ حَلَلْتَ دُرُوداً عَلَى عُرْدٍ ، أَنِّي لَأُخَفِّفُ بِاللَّهِ إِلَّوْ أُمِيبُوا
لَاخَذْتُ مِنْ قَوْمِكَ مِثْلَهُمْ -

O brother of Ṣaqif, thou didst make an insect climb over a wood. And I swear by God, if they had come to grief, I would have taken the same number from thy tribe.

After 'Umar, a special envoy, Ḥakīm bin Jabalah al 'Abdī, was despatched to India at the instance of

even today is that the 'Arabs were led towards India for territorial conquest in all cases. This error could be removed if people were to take the trouble of consulting the early 'Arab historians dealing with India.

¹ It is the original Hindī word *dēval* (देवल) meaning a temple.

² Balāzuri, Chap. I (Futūḥ us Sind).

the third Caliph 'Uṣmān who, out of curiosity, wanted to know something about India and her people. But no expedition was sent out for territorial acquisition to Hindūstān either in his or in his successor's regime.¹

¹ Cf the statement :

فلما ولي عثمان بن عفان وولي عبدالله بن عامر كرز العراق كتب اليه يا مرة ان يوجه الى نغرا الهند من يعلم علمه و ينصرف اليه بخبرة فوجه حكيم ابن جبلة العبدى فلما رجع او فده الى عثمان فسأله عن حال البلاد فقال يا امير المؤمنين قد عرفتها و تنكرتها قال فضلهالى قال ماؤها و شل و تمرهات قل و ليها بطل ان قل الجيش فيها ضا عوا وان كثروا جاءوا فقال له عثمان ا خابر ام ساجع قال بل خابر فام يغزها احداً —

(Ibid.)

It is to be noted that the same governor of Trāq, 'Abdullāh bin 'Āmir, had sent Hārīṣ in the reign of the fourth Caliph 'Alī, with his permission, to make conquests on the borders of Sindh in Balūchistān. He and his men, after winning some victories, eventually died in Kelāt, and their activities remained confined to the outskirts of Hindūstān. The same happened later in the Caliphate of Amīr Mu'āviyah, when Muḥallab bin Abī Sufrah led his attacks in the same region in 44 A. H., leaving the interior provinces of Hindūstān unmolested. Cf. the statement:—

فلما كان آخر سنة ٣٨ و اول سنة ٣٩ فى خلافة على بن ابي طالب دى توجه الى ذاك النغرا الكورث بن مرة العبدى متطوعا باذن على فظفر و اصاب مغنما و سبيا ثم انه قتل و من معه بارض النقيقال الا قليلا انج

(Ibid.)

The 'Arab traders and travellers kept coming to India and returning home, after transacting business, for some nine decades, until in 93 A. H., a contingent of 'Arab soldiers sailed in Walid bin 'Abdul Malik's time with the avowed object of preaching Islām and settling in India. The ground was prepared for the 'Arab missionaries and travellers as their predecessors had already established agreeable relations with the inhabitants of the land, leaving behind them a good reputation of their achievements. The new-comers chose to settle here permanently. They raised families and built estates. In a word, they came to look upon India as their home, and so did their descendants.

One of the most remarkable features concerning the lives of these early settlers, as well as their predecessors who had come and gone, is that the people were profoundly impressed with the purity of their living, their zeal for the new Faith and the principle of world-wide brotherhood which they preached. This striking feature attracted many an Indian to Islām at once. An idea of the conversion to Islām

ثُمَّ غَزَا ذُو لَكَا أَنْتَغَرُ الْهَاسِبِ بْنِ أَبِي صَفْوَةَ فِي أَيَّامِ مَعَاوِيَةَ سَنَةَ ٢٢٣...
ثُمَّ وَلِيَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ عَمْرِو بْنِ زَمَنٍ مَعَاوِيَةَ بْنِ أَبِي سَفْيَانَ عَبْدُ اللَّهِ بْنُ
سَوَّادَ الْعَدَنِيِّ وَ يُقَالُ وَلَا مَعَاوِيَةَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِ فَعَزَّاهُمْ فَغَزَا الْقَيْقَانِ النَّحْ -

(Ibid.)

could be had if we are told that over fifty thousand people were received into the Islāmic fold every year.¹ The Hindūs were attracted far more to Islām than either to the religion of Christ or Buddha. Buddhism had, at this time, become a great force in Sindh.

The 'Arab historian Ibn Hauqal, who visited Sindh in person in the second quarter of the third century A. H., says that Arabic and Sindhī were the spoken tongues of Sindh in his time, and were understood generally, so that during his stay there, he had no difficulty in making himself intelligible to the natives. It is mainly through the influence of Arabic in Sindh that its speech is described as different from the rest of Hindūstān. Thus says Mas-ūdi:

”فهذه جمل من أخبار ملوك السند والهند و لغة السند خلاف لغة الهند

So these are few sentences about the history of the kings of Sindh and Hind; and the lingua of Sindh is different from that of Hind.

He further speaks fervently of the happy relations prevailing between the Hindūs and the Muslims, and more particularly of the religious toleration

¹ Lane-poole has used the expression “Turk” for “Muslim”. Cf. “It has been estimated that about fifty thousand Hindūs ‘turn Turk’ annually.” (Mediæval India, Introduction, p. 4).

² Murūj uz Ḍahab, Chap. XVI.

shown by the members of one community for the other. For instance, he pays a high tribute of praise to Rājā Balhārī for his just and generous treatment of the Muslims, and the esteem in which he held their mosques in the following significant passage:

¹وایس فی ماوک السند والهند من یعز المسلمین فی ملکة مثل البهاری
فالاسلام فی ملکة عزیز و مضمون و لهم مساجد مبنیة و جوامع معمورة للصلوة
الخمیس و یماک الیماک منهم اربعین سنة و خمیس فصاعداً - و اهل
ملکته یزعمون انه طالک اعمار ملوکهم لسنة العدل و اکرام المسلمین -

There is none among the rulers of Sindh and Hind who in his territory respects the Muslims like Rājā Balhārī. In his kingdom Islām is honoured and protected. And for them mosques and congregational mosques, which are always full, have been built for offering prayers five times. Every one of these kings rules for forty or fifty years or more. It is the general belief of the people of his kingdom that the lives of these kings are long because they administer justice and honour the Muslims.

After Balhārī, he places the Rājā of Tāfin² in

¹ Ibid.

² No city of this name could be traced on the map. Elliot in his History has taken it to mean the hilly tracts or the mountainous region of salt.

this respect, and compliments him as follows:

ثم ياي هذا الملك ملك المسلمين مواعظ لمن حواه من الملوك مكرم
للمسلمين —

Balāzurī also has quoted instances of the kind and just treatment meted out to the Muslims by the Hindūs. Once in an encounter against Sindān, a coast town of Sindh, the Hindūs gained victory over the Muslims, and captured the town. But they never destroyed or damaged the mosques, nor interfered with the liberty of the Muslims as citizens. He observes: —

ثم أن الهند بعد غلبوا على سند أن فترکوا مسجدها للمسلمين یجمعون
فیہ ویدعون للخليفة —

A curious story is told illustrating the high sense of justice of a Rājā of Gujarāt by the Persian historian ‘Auṣī, in his *Jamāmi*¹. He writes that when he happened to visit Khambāyat (Cambay) which was a big town on the coast of Gujarāt, he found there a small population of devout Muslims, who entertained travellers and also extended their hospitality to him. During his stay in the town, he heard a story of *Naushīrmān*-like justice which runs as follows:

¹ Murūj, Chap. XVI.

² Futūh ul Buldān, Chap. Futūh us Sindh.

³ Chap. II (ذكر ملوك طوائف و احوال ایشان).

In the days of Rājā Jang, there was a mosque which had a minaret, from the top of which the *Alu'aggin* gave the call for prayers. It so happened that the Fārsīs incited the Hindūs to make war on the Muslims. The latter's mosque with its minaret was razed to the ground, and along with it eighty Muslims, who had taken their stand by the mosque, were slain. 'Alī, the *Imām* of the mosque, fled to Naharwāla, the capital seat of the Rājā, and tried to approach him for the redress of the wrong done to the mosque and the Muslims. Failing access to the Rājā, he made complaints to the officials at the court, but none paid any heed to his representation. Not discouraged at this, he composed a poem in current Hindī, narrating therein the full story of Hindū atrocity and the official indifference, and planned to present this versified petition to the Rājā, when he rode out for *shikār* on the appointed day. The opportunity soon came, and the *Imām*, who had carefully hid himself in a bush on the Rājā's track, rushed out and boldly stood in front of his elephant, barring the way, and prayed that his petition be heard. The Rājā took compassion, and ordered his *Mahout* to stop the elephant. He then heard the versified Hindī petition of the *Imām* from the beginning to the end with forbearance and attention. When the *Imām* finished, the Rājā took this poem, and gave it to his Secretary, with instructions to remind him of it on his return from *Shikār*. That day the Rājā did not tarry long

in the jungle, and returned early. He called his Minister and told him that he felt tired, and would remain within the Palace and rest for three days, adding that the usual work of the State should be carried on during these three days without reference to him. Having said this, he retired, and when the night fell, he robed himself in a merchant's dress, and mounting on a fast camel rode to Khambāyat, which lay at a distance of forty *farsang* from Nahar-wāla. The next evening he reached his destination, and went about the streets of the city, listening to the talk of the passersby and the local shop-keepers. He also inspected the spot, and made casual and unconcerned inquiries about the incident from the residents of the quarter. He heard every one say that great outrage was committed on the poor Muslims, their innocent blood was shed, and their shrine with its minaret was pulled down to the ground. The Rājā then went to the coast, and taking out his jug he filled it with the sea-water, sealed it, and repaired to his Capital, covering the distance as before in one day and one night. On the next day of his arrival, he held a public *darbār*, which was attended by the people and the officials of the State. The *Imām* of the mosque was also present. When the *darbār* was in full swing, the Rājā suddenly recalled the Muslim petitioner's case, and asked the Minister-in-charge to produce the *Imām* and his Hindī petition. The *Imām* appeared and made his obeisance. The Rājā

granted him permission to read his petition. When he finished, the officers of the Rājā unanimously declared the contents to be false. Thereupon the Rājā ordered his ewer-bearer to bring the sealed jug, break the seal, and distribute the water to every one of them. They all tasted it, and found it to be the brackish water of the sea. The Rājā then related in the *darbār* how he had gone in person to Kham-bāyat in the guise of a merchant to ascertain the facts, and returned with the truth. He declared that the Muslims were the oppressed, and in his kingdom no community should come to grief, and his Rāj could not tolerate such oppression. He then ordered that the ring-leaders from among the Hindūs and the Pārsīs, who had a hand in the crime, should be brought to book, and the Muslim sufferers be awarded from the Royal Treasury one lac of *balūtrā* (silver coin) to rebuild their mosque and its minaret. The Imām received *khl'at* and other gifts from the Rājā, which were retained in the mosque for centuries afterwards as a token of the Rājā's unparalleled act of clemency and justice to the aggrieved Muslim subjects of his State. The Persian traveller was an eye-witness to these gifts which were there as exhibits till 665 A. H., when he visited Cambay. Many such instances can be quoted from reliable authorities, but there is no place for them here.

In short, the 'Arab invaders came to India by sea through Persia. Their first armed batch landed

at Dībul, at the mouth of the Indus, having sailed from Śarāfah (or Sarrāfah) in the Persian Gulf, and passed along the Persian coast. The circumstances which attracted them to India for the purpose of territorial conquests on the Indian soil, may be briefly stated as follows:

The early 'Arab merchants and travellers who had returned home, having traded with the people and preached their religion in India, spoke freely to their countrymen about India's wealth, its rich products and its abundant shady and fruit trees, which they had seen during their sojourn in Sindh, Cambay, Calicut and Gujarāt, in contrast with their own desert lands. No detailed account of their activities is available now. What is probable, however, is that these people had no intention of territorial acquisition in Hindūstān. The opportunity for territorial conquest presented itself to the 'Arabs, as stated above, long afterwards, when the 'Arab travellers and traders were not sufficiently protected against the attacks of the robbers and pirates by the Rājās of Sindh and Gujarāt. Several ships carrying merchandise from the Persian towns, and a party of widows and orphan daughters of the 'Arab traders who had died in Ceylon and were sent under escort by the Rājā to Hajjāj, the Caliph's governor of 'Irāq, to please him, had been robbed at Dībul, which was the chief mediæval harbour of Sindh at the mouth of the river Indus. When the pirates, coming out

of their armed barges, attacked the ship carrying the women and their property, a woman cried out, "O Hajjāj come to our help." On this news being conveyed to Hajjāj, he forthwith answered the call, saying, "I come to your help." These pirates had become a menace to the 'Arab trade on the coast of India. Their strong-holds were the harbours of Sindh and Gujārāt, and the Rājās were unable to chastise them, as was confessed by Rājā Dāhir himself in his reply to the demand made by Hajjāj.¹ To add to this injury, Rājā Dāhir had incensed the Caliph Walīd bin ²Abdul Malik and his governor Hajjāj, by his refusal to arrest and hand over to them the 'Arab convicts who had fled and taken shelter in the Rājā's dominion. These were the main causes

¹ ثم استعمل الكعجاج بعد منجاعة محمد بن هارون ابن ذراع النمرى
فأشدى الى الكعجاج فى واليته ماك جزيرة الباقوت نسوة وادن فى بلاد
مسلمات و مات آباؤهن وكانوا تجارا فاراد التقرب بهن فعرض للسفينة التى
كن فيها قوم من مهد الديبل فى بوارج فاخذوا السفينة بما فيها فنادت امرأة
منهن وكانت من بنى يربوع يا كعجاج و بلغ الكعجاج ذاك فقال يا لييك
فارسل الى داهريسئله تكلمة النسوة فقال انما اخذهن لصوص لا أقدر عليهم
فأغزى الكعجاج عبيد الله بن نهان الديبل فقتل فكتب الى بديل بن طهفة
البحلى وهو بسان يامرة أن يسير الى الديبل . . . ثم ولى الكعجاج محمد
بن قاسم . . . فغزا السند وكان محمد بفارس النخ -

² (Balāzurī, Chap. Futūh us Sind).

which led the 'Arabs to think seriously of the occupation of the coast towns of Sindh. The first remedy that suggested to them lay in their seizure of the port of Dībul. Consequently an army, under the command of Muḥammad bin Qāsim, consisting of six thousand soldiers from the inhabitants of Syria, and many more from other towns, was collected at Shīrāz, together with large supplies of war material, including even needles and thread to prepare sand-bags. Muḥammad Qāsim was instructed to remain and wait in Shīrāz until the whole equipment was ready and all his comrades and soldiers had arrived and joined him. Several armed barges with men and material sailed in advance to meet him at Dībul. The army from Shīrāz marched along the Persian coast, and reached the valley of the Indus on Friday, substantially added and increased in bulk on its way, and laid siege to the fort of Dībul which enshrined the sacred temple.

Balāzurī, more than any other historian of this period who wrote on India, gives a fuller account of this battle in his *ʿUtūbul Buldān*, which he completed in the latter part of the third century A. H. This historic battle was fought in 93 A. H. The 'Arab army, consisting mostly of the Persian troops, was led by the young general, who was then only seventeen;¹

¹ Cf. the verses of Ḥamzah ibn Bīḍ al Ḥanafī:

ان المروءة والاسماحة والندى لمحمد بن القاسم بن محمد

while Rājā Dāhir's governor of the town was in command of his and the allied forces, including the garrison in the fort. The 'Arab general ordered trenches to be dug, and stationed his gunners and spearmen in small detachments, each carrying its own banner.¹ The big stone-battering ram of the 'Arabs, called the *'Arās*² (bride), which was pulled by five hundred men, proved very effective, and brought down from the top of the temple the huge red ensign which was hoisted on a tall dried palm-pole that served as the flag-staff. This was accomplished in accordance with the instructions from Hajjāj who was consulted on all important matters. A special envoy was despatched every fourth day carrying to Hajjāj a report of the events that occurred and the problems that confronted the general during the past three days. The reply received in respect of the same was duly attended to³. In regard to the

سأس العجوة في سبع عشرة حجة يا قرب ذلك سوداً من مولد

(Ibid.)

Also Cf. another poet:

سأس الرجال سبع عشرة حجة ولداته عن ذاك في اشغال

¹ Cf. فتخندق حين نزل الدليل و ركزت الرماح على الخندق و
نشرت الاعلام و انزل الناس على اياتهم - (Ibid.)

² Cf. و نصب منجنيقاً تعرف بالعرس كان يمد فيها خمس مائة
رجل - (Ibid.)

³ Cf. وكانت كتب الحجاج ترد على محمد و كتب محمد ترد عليه
بصفة ما قبله و استطلاع رايه فيما يعمل به في كل ثلاثة ايام - (Ibid.)

conquest of this fort, Hajjāj wrote to Muḥammad Qāsim to fix the 'Arabs with its mouth facing to the east of the town, and shorten its angle, and direct the gunner to strike at the pole to which the red ensign was tied. The general acted accordingly. When the gunner with an accurate aim hit the pole, it broke asunder, and the huge flag, which flew in the air majestically over the town, came down.¹ This struck consternation into the rank and file of the garrison, and the inhabitants took the incident to be a bad omen, and became desperate, and came out of the town to give battle to Muḥammad Qāsim in the open. A fierce encounter took place, which resulted in the latter's partial success in defeating the enemy and driving him back into the town. The walls of the fort were then scaled, and after a sustained struggle the fort fell to the 'Arabs, and the bulk of the Rājā's army together with his governor fled to the North of the Indus. Thus the victors were placed in undisputed possession of the town, and celebrated their victory for three days. Muḥammad Qāsim ordered a mosque to be built there, which survived for centuries to commemorate his first victory on the soil of India. After a few days' rest,

¹ Cf. *فورد على محمد من الهجاء كتاب أن انصب العروس و انصر*
منها قائمة والكن مما يلي المشرق ثم ادع صاحبها فزوره أن يقصد بوميته الدقل
 الذي وصفت لي فومى الدقل فسكر - (Ibid.)

the 'Arab general led his troops further up the valley in pursuit of the enemy, leaving a strong garrison in the fort. Some historians assert that he first went to Bīrūn, an old city of Siadh, which later became the birth-place of the famous mathematician and astronomer Abū Raihān, better known as al-Bīrūnī.¹ The inhabitants of Bīrūn had already secured peace terms from Hajjāj by sending to him two *Samonīs* (Buddhists) as plenipotentiaries. After entering Bīrūn, and receiving the subsidy in accordance with the terms of this treaty, he marched triumphantly through other towns, and came to Mihrān where another treaty was signed between him and the Rājā of that place, through the good offices of a Brahman named Srī Bēdās, who was specially deputed by the Rājā for this purpose. Muḥammad Qāsim then came within sight of Rājā Dāhir's main army encamped on a plain on the right bank of the Indus, with a vast military equipment and rows of horses and elephants. When the news of the general's approach was reported to the

¹ Cf. Abul Fidā: و بیرون مدینة بالسند... وهی مولد ابی ریحان
Also, cf. Ismā'īl bin 'Alī al Ayyūbī:

والبیرون اسم مدینة من الدیبل... وقال ابن سعید مدینة البیرون التي
ینسب اليها أبو ریحان البیرونی —

(Taqwīm, MSS. vol. 147b, Rāmpūr State Library).

Note :—This latter view is unsupported by facts. For details vide discussion under al-Bīrūnī (Chapter III), *Supra*.

Rājā, he declared his readiness to fight. Undismayed, the 'Arab general began seriously to consider plans to cross the river which had no bridge built over it in that area. There was, one, however, at some distance in the adjoining neutral territory of Rājā Rāsil, which Dāhir least thought the 'Arab general would make use of.¹ Dāhir, in fact, was over-confident of the enemy's inability, to cross the Indus, and had neglected to keep an eye on his movements. The 'Arabs seized the opportunity, and succeeded in crossing the river at this strategical point. The Rājā was soon dis-illusioned when he found, to his surprise, that the 'Arab general and his army had crossed the river and stood face to face. It caused consternation in the Rājā's camp, and a fierce hand to hand fight ensued between the two contending armies. The Rājā was surrounded by war elephants manned with his archers, and his own stately elephant was in the centre.² The great havoc done by the catapults and the naphtha-arrows of the 'Arabs were the chief factors contributing to the Rājā's defeat. These arrows, it appears, set fire to the *howdas* of the elephants, who fled in dismay in all directions, mad-

¹ Cf. ثم ان محمدًا احتال لعبور مهر ان حتى عبدة مما يلي بلاد راسل
ملك قصّة من الهند على جسر عقدة و دأقر مستخف به لا عنه النج
(Balāzurī, Futūh us Sind)

² Cf. (Ibid.) و لقيّة محمد والمسلمون وهو على فيل و حواء القيلة

dened with fury, causing utter confusion in the camp. The morale of the Rājā's army was broken. In this hubbub Dāhir, who was in supreme command of his *lashkar* got down from his elephant, and fought heroically till the last. Both the parties, says the 'Arab historian, fought with such valour as had not been heard of in history.¹ Rājā Dāhir's courage was specially to be seen in the fact that he kept on fighting single-handed when all his body-guards and personal attendants had deserted him. Towards the evening he was over-powered and killed² by an 'Arab of the tribe of Banī Kīlāb, named Qāsim bin Ṣa'labī bin 'Abdullāh bin Ḥasan, who was also a poet, as is depicted in his verses :

الليل تشهد يوم داهر و القنا
و مستعد بن القاسم بن مستعد
أني فرجت الجمع غير معز
حتي علوت عظيمهم بهند
فتركتك نكت العجاج مجيد لا
متعقر الكنديين غير موسى

¹ Cf. فاقتلوا قتلا لا شديداهم يسسمع بمثله و ترجل داهر و قاتل
(Ibid.)

² فقتل عند المساء و انهزم المشركون (Ibid.)

'The horses and the spears bear witness when
 I gave battle to Dāhir,
 And so does Muḥammad bin Qāsim bin Muḥam-
 mad too,
 That I dashed straight through the lines of the
 enemy,
 Till I came upon their leader with the Indian
 sword¹ in my hand,
 Then I threw him down on the ground in fight,
 His cheeks were smeared with dust, and he
 was without a pillow.

The full size pictures of Dāhir and his slayer
 were painted at Baroach, and were preserved there
 for a long time. This victory opened for the 'Arabs
 an easy way to Brahmanābād, the key to Multān,
 which was a religious centre and a strong-hold of
 Hindū political power and wealth.² Both these for-
 tified towns fell in rapid succession to the great joy
 of the village population which welcomed the new-

¹ The steel of an Indian sword was known all over the world
 for its superfine quality. It was tempered through a special
 scientific process. (Royle's *Antiquity of Hindoo Medicine*,
 pp. 46-7).

² Multān has been called by the 'Arab historians:
 فَرْج بَيْتِ الْذَهَبِ (the mouth of the treasure of gold). The temple
 of Multān was held to be most sacred by the Hindūs because
 of its idol which was believed to represent the Prophet Ayyūb
 (Cf. Balāzuri: — رَوَيْتُ عَنْ أَبِي هُرَيْرَةَ أَنَّ رَسُولَ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ قَالَ: هُوَ أَيُّوبُ الَّذِي). The city was
 called "Multān" after the name of its idol, and attracted pre-
 sents and pilgrims from the whole of Hindūstān.

fully subdued by Muḥammad bin Qāsim's son, after the father had been recalled home by the Caliph's order. The fact that Muḥammad bin Qāsim's forces were collected at Shīrāz, and consisted largely of Persian soldiers, goes to suggest that Persian must have been spoken in the newly conquered land. Nevertheless, it is open to doubt whether Persian culture could assert itself at the time we are speaking about, owing to the dominating influence of Arabic, the language of the conquerors. The historians; Mas'ūdī and Ibn Hauqal, record how they found the 'Arabs in Sindh down to the fourth century A. H., speaking their mother-tongue even in their daily life. Sindhī which contains such a large number of Arabic words owes them to the fact that the 'Arabs adhered

attention of the 'Arabs. Thus the meeting of these two great nations of the world happily influenced each other, and benefited India immensely in thought, and substantially improved its social, commercial, rural, religious, linguistic, economic, architectural, administrative and military aspects. As a matter of fact, so many various sects and creeds that came to, or rose in, India from time immemorial merged into one absorbing religion, Hinduism, though retaining their separate identities and religious customs; while Islām, which brought its own culture and faith has since stood by itself. The 'Arab civilization and culture had a due share in the subsequent making of India, and in the uplift and advancement of the people of Sindh, Gujarāt and part of the Punjāb as is evident from the system of land revenue, trade, social inter-course, town planning, defence, and buildings with domes and minarets, prevalent in the second and the third centuries of the Hijrah, during the 'Arab rule. Also, the effect of Arabic is noticeable even today on the spoken language of Sindh.

to Arabic in India for centuries. Their influence was noticed not only on the native tongue, Sindhī, but also on the culture of the province, which is a separate subject altogether, and will be dealt with in its place. Persian, in fact, had little chance of attracting the Indian people yet. But a tremendous event was about to happen, to open an entirely new chapter in the cultural history of India. This great event was the appearance of the Ghaznavids on the Indian scene, to which we shall turn our attention after a preliminary survey of the general state of Persian literature in its own home.

CHAPTER II

THE PRE-GHAZNAVID PERIOD

Section I:—General state of Persian literature and poetic taste in Khurāsān and other adjoining territories.

In order to be able to realise the full effect of Persian culture on India through the Ghaznavīd connection, one must take a bird's-eye view of the general state of Persian language and literature a little prior to the emergence of the Ghaznavīds in history. It is essential to note the rise of Persian as a spoken and literary tongue of the people of Central Asia, and the great liking for it in the territories lying to India's North-West frontier, particularly in the districts politically connected with the Punjāb, and linked by one rule.

Before the Ghaznavīds appeared on the scene, the Province of Khurāsān, which was the chief seat of Persian culture, was ruled by the Tāhirīds in the name of the Caliphs of Baghdād. The Tāhirīds displayed an exceedingly great interest in Arabic poetry. Their predilection for and patronage of the arts made Khurāsān, during their regime, a notable centre of Arabic learning. Many an Arab poet of repute found patronage with the Tāhirīds. Thus

the 'Arab poets and the noblemen, from among those 'Arab settlers and travellers who came to India at this time from Khurāsān, naturally brought with them, along with the Arabic language, the native literature of that Province and the taste for its poetry and art. The last days of the Tāhirīds should be reckoned as the earliest date for the coming of Persian proper in India. It came then, as was to be expected, depending upon Arabic. Although Persian poetry was not much heard of among the people of Khurāsān, yet the Tāhirīds valued Persian poetry no less than Arabic poetry. This statement is borne out by the fact that there were present at the Court some famous Persian poets such as Ḥakīm Abū Ḥafs, Ḥinḡalah Bādghīsī, Maḥmūd Warrāq,¹ I'rūz Mashriqī and several others whose poetry has survived to this day.

It is necessary here to defend the Tāhirīds against the preposterous charge of having burnt to ashes the whole mass of Persian literature that was produced or could then be found in Khurāsān, which some unscrupulous historians have fixed on them, and, in particular, on 'Abdullāh bin

¹ Maḥmūd Warrāq was the court-poet of the last Tāhirīd king.

Tāhir, the Caliph's governor of that Province.¹ The facts that throw doubt on this view are the following:

¹ Cf Daulat Shāh:—

حکایت کنند که امیر عبداللہ بن طاہر کہ بروزگار خلفای عباسی امیر خراسان بود روزی در نیشاپور نشستہ بود شخصی کتابی آوردہ و بہ تہنہ پیش او پندہاں - پرسید کہ این چہ کتاب است گفت این قصہ وامق و عذراست و خوب حکایتی است کہ حکما بنام نوشیروان جمع کردہ اند - امیر فرمود تا آن کتاب را در آب انداختند و حکم کرد کہ در قلمرو من ہر کتبا کہ از زمانہ عجم و مغان کتابی باشد جملہ را بسوزانند - ازین جہت تا روزگار آل سامان اشعار عجم را ندیدہ اند -
(p. 30, ed. by Browne)

It is related that 'Abdullāh bin Tāhir, who was the governor of Khurāsān during the 'Abbāsīd regime, was sitting one day in Nishāpūr. A certain person brought to him a book and presented it to him. The Amīr asked him what book it was. He replied that it was the story of *Wāmiq* and 'Azrā, and a very good story that the sages had preserved in the name of Naushīrwān. The Amīr commanded that the book be thrown into the water, and ordered that in his dominion wherever any book from the literature of the Persians and the fire-worshippers be found, it should be completely burnt. For this reason Persian verses have not been seen until the days of the Sāmānīds.

Also Cf. Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyat:—

ظاہر است کہ اشعار قدیم شعرلی عجم بسبب غلبہ عرب از میان رفتہ چنانکہ مشہور است کہ تمام کتب و نواریج عجمیان را عرب سوختند و از کتب قدیمہ چیزے برجا نماندند الا قلیلے کہ پندہاں داشتند - چون مردم را قدغن بلیغ نمودند قاعدہ سخن فارسی و شعر متروک شد -

(Majma'ul Fusahā)

The Tāhirids, and in particular, ‘Abdullāh bin Tāhir and his Caliph al-Māmūn ‘Abbāsī, were not only patrons of knowledge, but they were striking examples of learning themselves. They valued scientific and literary works, caring little to which nation or race these works belonged, as is evidenced by the fact that they had many books on history, science and geometry translated into Arabic. They also sent for Greek writings on philosophy, medicine and mathematics, and had them translated into Arabic. They entertained no prejudice against any literature and like the great Mughals held periodical religious discussions, which they themselves attended. Witness what the well-known ‘Arab historian, ‘Abdu’l Rahīmān al-Maghribī, remarks concerning al-Māmūn’s profound interest in letters:

أَوَّلُ مَا سَمِعْتُ مِنْ أَفْضَلِ السُّلْطَانِ وَ عُلَمَائِهِمْ وَ حُكَمَائِهِمْ وَ حُجَّاتِهِمْ أَنَّهُمْ
 رَجَعُوا إِلَى بَنِي عَبَّاسٍ حَزَمُوا وَ عَزَمُوا وَ فَرَسُوا وَ فَهَمُوا وَ كَانُوا إِذْ أَخَذُوا مِنَ الْعُلُومِ بِقِسْطٍ
 وَ ضَرَبُوا فِيهَا بِسَهْمٍ وَ تَأَمَّلُوا دِينَ وَ تَفَقَّهُوا وَ بَرَعُوا فِي فُنُونِ التَّأْرِيخِ وَ الْأَدَبِ وَ النُّجُومِ
 وَ لَمَّا كَرِهُوا اعْتَنَى بِالْفَلَسَفَةِ وَ عَاوَمَ الْأَوَّلَ وَ هُوَ الَّذِي اسْتَشْرَجَ كِتَابَ الْفَلَسَفَةِ

It is evident that the ancient poetry of the poets of Persia vanished after the invasion and supremacy of the ‘Arabs, and the report goes that they burnt all the books and historical literature of the Persians, and left nothing from their ancient books which they did not destroy, except a very few of them which they had kept hidden. Since the ‘Arabs proscribed Persian writings, the practice of Persian composition and poetry among them was abandoned.

¹ Ibn Khaldūn, account of ‘Abdullāh al-Māmūn.

و أمر بترجمة و تفتيحه و عقد المجالس في خلافته للمناظرة في الاديان
 و المناظرات... فا قبل على طالب العلم في مواضعه و داخل ملوك الروم
 و سلاطهم صلاته بالماد يقيم من كتب الفلاسفة فيبحثوا اليه منها ما حضرهم فاستجاب
 لها مهرة الترجمة و تأليفهم احكام ترجمتها فتُرجمت له على غاية ما امكن...
 ثم حرص الناس على قراءتها و رغبهم في تعليلها فكان يدخلو بالكماء يانس
 بمناظرتهم و يتلذذ بذاكرتهم علما منه بان اهل العلم هم صفوة الله من خلقه
 و نخبته من عباده -

“And al-Māmūn was among the most qualified, learned, wise and mild Caliphs. He was one of the most accomplished of the people of Banū ‘Abbās, gifted with foresight, determination, intelligence and understanding; and had acquired a considerable share in all kinds of learning, and achieved success in them. He studied literature and jurisprudence, and excelled in the knowledge of history, literature and astronomy. And when he grew up, he turned his attention to philosophy and ancient sciences. And it was he who searched out the book of Euclid, and ordered its translation and commentary to be written. He convened assemblies during his Caliphate to hold discussion on different religions and subjects. And he visited the seats of learning in search of knowledge, and entered into friendly communication with the *Kaisers* of Rūm. And whatever stock of books of philosophy was with them, he asked for it, and made this a means of friendship with them, and they sent to him whatever stock they

had. Then he invited the experts in those subjects to translate those books into Arabic, and entrusted the work of translation to them. And the translations were made for him with the utmost possible care. He then encouraged people to read those sciences, and made them acquire this knowledge. He sat with the learned, and took interest in their literary discussions, and derived pleasure from their conversation, because he knew that the possessors of learning are the chosen of God among His creatures and the best among His servants."

At the close of the Tāhirīd rule in 260 A. H., the Saffārīd gained ascendancy in Turkeṣtān and Māwarā un Nahr, which lasted for about thirty-one years, giving place to the most important and cultured dynasty of Persia known as the Sāmānīd. The latter's influence was noticeable in Turkeṣtān even in the Tāhirīd days, but since the beginning of 279 A.H., it became more pronounced and definite under the leadership of Ismā'il bin Aḥmad, who proclaimed himself ruler of Turkeṣtān and Māwarā un Nahr, and ordered the *khutbah* to be read in his name. After the founder's death, his nephew Naṣr bin Aḥmad succeeded him to the throne. During his regime, Rūdakī, the distinguished poet of the court, attempted lyric poetry. Naṣr was a lover of arts and letters, and is famous in history for his patronage of Rūdakī, the first great poet of Persia. After Naṣr, his son, Nūh, who became king in 331 A. H., excelled his

father in literary taste. He founded a library unrivalled for the size and rarity of its contents, and brought together a band of eminent scholars and poets at his court. The famous scientist, Avicenna, who personally inspected this unique collection, has given an elaborate account of it in his autobiography. He says:

وكانت عديم المثل فيها من كل فن من الكتب المشهورة بأيدي الناس¹
 وغيرهم مالا يوجد في سواها ولا سمع بأسه فضلا عن معرفته

And this library was peerless. There were in it almost all famous and current books on every subject; and in addition, there were books that could not be found anywhere except in this library; and even their names were not heard of, not to say of their subject matter.

The Sāmānids claimed Persian descent. Hence it was but natural for them to pay special attention to the production of Persian literature, with the result that it did not take very long for Persian art and culture to assert themselves in the life of the people under the Sāmānīd regime. A number of important works, such as the *Kalīlah wa Damnah* and the *Tārīkh Tabarī*, were translated from Saṅskṛit and Arabic

¹ *Tabaqāt ul Aṭibbā*, Vol. II, p. 4.

into Persian. The poets composed *divāns*, and Daqīqī was deputed to write the great epic, the *Shāhnāmāh*, which later was taken up and completed by the immortal Firdausī, after Daqīqī had done only a thousand lines when he met his tragic death at the hands of a slave. There arose at this time about twenty poets writing in Persian in the various centres of Persian culture in Central Asia, including Persia itself. Of these poets the leading were Abū 'Abdullāh Farālāwī, Murādī, Shahīd Balkhī, Rūdakī, Daqīqī and a poetess, Rābi'a of Baṣrah, who wrote both in Persian and Arabic. Since the Sāmānīds had little to do directly with India, it is out of place here to refer, in any detail, to the condition of Persian culture or the styles of Persian composition formed and adopted during the Sāmānīd regime, except a general remark which would be necessary as a prelude to the growth of Persian writing in India.

The Ghaznavīd dynasty, which succeeded the Sāmānīd, directly brought to India Persian literature, civilization and taste for poetry, all of which came to stay and develop in the congenial surroundings of their new home.

This dynasty fully represented the Sāmānīds in all their cultural aspects, tendencies and interests, and was largely responsible for the initiation of Persian literature in India, independently of 'Arab influence and

Relation of the Ghaznavīds with the Sāmānīd dynasty of Persia.

Arabic medium. It sprang, so to speak, "at the feet" of the Sāmānīds closely succeeding them, and came to power through the elevation of one Alptagīn to the governorship of Khurāsān, who was a slave of 'Abdul Malīk, the last ruler of the Sāmānīd descent. After Alptagīn, his son, Abū Ishāq, sat on the throne in 367 A.H., but died within a few days, and the people chose one of Alptagīn's slaves, Subuktagīn, who was also his master's son-in-law, as their king. After his death, his son, Mahmūd, the most famous figure in the history of Muslim rule in India, succeeded to his father's kingdom of Khurāsān and Ghaznī. It was under his banner that the Persian language made its serious and undisputed appearance in India. It came to stay, and acquired a place in the comity of Indian languages and literatures. Within Mahmūd's lifetime its progress was marked with wonderful strides, and it became very popular in the Punjāb, because of the congenial atmosphere and the pro-Persian tendencies about which we shall speak hereafter.

It seems probable, however, that the taste for Persian culture and Persian poetry had taken root in India during his father's regime, since the latter had visited India several times on his mission of conquest, and returned to Ghaznī soon after giving battles to Jaipāl, the Brahman Rājā of the Punjāb. It is not known which poets accompanied him on

Persian in India in Mahmūd's father's regime.

these expeditions, but it seems certain that many attended on his person according to the fashion of the day. It is due to his interrupted sojourns in India that the taste for Persian poetry among the people did not become so clearly visible under him as it did under his son, Maḥmūd. There is no record to show that poets, in their customary fashion, presented him with *qasā'id*, on memorable occasions of victory, except a *naẓm* by Abul Fath Bustī, who composed it at Ghaznī; nor is there any clear hint in the early histories to throw light on their poetical activities in Hindūstān. This is why Persian poetry has no recorded history in India prior to Maḥmūd's conquest.

Some distinguished poets and writers of Subuk-

tagīn's reign, who were at
Some distinguish- Ghaznī and received favours
ed poets and writers:—
Abul 'Abbās bin from him, were Abul 'Abbās
Ahmad Isfarā'īnī. bin Ahmad Isfarā'īnī, Abul

Fath Bustī and Abū Naṣr Muḥammad bin 'Abdul Jabbār 'Utbī. Isfarā'īnī was formerly the chief Munshī at the court of Naṣr bin Ahmad, ruler of the Sāmānīd dynasty, and was later appointed Minister by Subuktagīn when he ruled Khurāsān in the name of Nūh bin Naṣr. Being a Persian by birth, Isfarā'īnī, in addition to his Arabic learning, was a profound scholar of Persian, and rendered invaluable service to Persian language and Persian poetry. It was he who introduced Firdausī to the

court of Sulṭān Maḥmūd, and recommended him for the composition of the great epic, the *Shāh Nāmā*. Further, he substituted Persian language for Arabic which, until his time, was the court language of the rulers of Ghaznī. Firdausī gratefully refers to him in the following verse:

زدستورِ فرزانۀ داد گر . پراگنده رنج من آمد بسر

The second great poet and writer was Abul Fath Bustī, whom 'Aufī calls Sadr ul Afāzīl Abul Fath Bustī. (the head of the learned and the calligraphists). He had full command of Arabic and Persian, and wrote fluently in both. Sulaimān bin 'Abdul Ḥusain Sarakhshī opines:

او اوردادر لغتِ تازی و پارسی ژرفی و شرفی بوده که بالغ کلامان
در امصار به عذوبت و متانت آن معترف اند و خطباتش در نثرِ پارسی
معروف -

'Aufī testifies to his Arabic and Persian *dimāns*, and quotes from the latter the following Persian *qit'a*:

بیکه نصیحت من گوش دار و فرمان کن
که از نصیحت سود آن کند که فرمان کرد

¹ Tazkira i Salāṭin i Āl i Ghaznī, MS., foll. 37.

² Lubāb, vol. I, pp. 64-65.

نه به صبح گرای و همه مدارا کن
 که از مدارا کردن ستوده گردن مرد
 اگرچه قوت داری و عدت بسیار
 بگرد صلح گرای و بگرد جنگ مگرد
 نه هر که دارد شمشیر حرب باید کرد
 نه هر که دارد پا زهر زهر باید خورد

The third great poet and writer was Abū Naṣr Muhammad bin 'Abdul Jabbār al-'Utbi, who wrote his famous history, the *Tārīkh Yamīnī*, after his master's death, in elegant and florid Arabic, and dedicated it to Sultān Maḥmūd, to commemorate the occasion of the latter's receiving the title of *Yamīn ud Daulah* from the Caliph of Baghdād. In this history, he has recorded the events of Subuktagīn and his son Maḥmūd. It was written in about 415 A. H., after Maḥmūd's Indian campaigns, when the author was in his employ. A detailed account of this work is published in German by Noldeke, in the *Sitzungsberichte der Kaiserlichen Akademie*, Vienna, and another in English by Elliot, in his *History of India*. The original Arabic text was translated into Persian in about 605 A. H., by one Abu'sh Sharaf Nāṣih of Jurbāzāqān,¹ and its translation into English was

¹ A small town situated between Hamadān and Isfahān.

published by the Oriental Translation Fund, London, in 1858. 'Aufī, commenting on Yamīn's elegant style, says:

الصدق كتابه قد غرائب مبین و در وایع کلمات آن در لطافت آب زلال
و طراوت باد شمال است - دَرز و غَرز الفاظ آن آرایشِ نغورِ حور شاید و
مطالعهٔ متالع و مناطق آن آسایشِ دایِ صبور بود -

After the Ghaznavīds, the same patronage was shown by the kings of the succeeding dynasties of Ghōr, Slave, Khiljī, Tughlaq, Lōdī and the Mughals,² which kept alive the unity and friendship between the two countries, and enabled the Indian contribution to Persian letters to be at par with the original literature of Persia. This resulted in bringing the peoples of the two countries nearer to each other in sympathy and understanding in all their social and literary activities through the common bond of the Persian language.

Prior to Mahmūd's invasion, India was split up into small kingdoms with independent rulers who styled themselves as *Rājā*. Their languages also were different, as we observe today in the Provinces of India. The Persian language, before the Ghaznavīds entered Hindūstān, was current in the Central

¹ Ibid., p. 24.

² The Sayyid dynasty has not been mentioned, as its part in the uplift of Persian art and literature was comparatively small, and is fully covered by the Tughlaq and the Lōdī rule.

Asian States, and its chief centres were reckoned to be Khurāsān, Herāt, Ghaznī and Balkh. In India, the Provinces of the Punjāb and Sindh were particularly affected, since large numbers of foreigners had been coming to India for the purposes of trade and travel. Besides, they had established social relations with Lāhore, owing to the innumerable Persian families having come and settled in its vicinity before Islām.¹ For these reasons Persian civilization and the Persian tongue were not alien to the Punjāb, and their influence, though unperceived in the beginning, had been exerting itself on the people for some time past. The people of Lāhore, in particular, were already susceptible to it, and the taste for Persian speech was clearly noticeable among them.

The dynasty immediately preceding the Ghaznavīd was the Sāmānīd. Its regime had lasted in Persia for about a century. The advance made by poetry in this period was remarkable because of the unprecedented patronage extended to arts and science by the Persian nobility and government. No details, however, need be given here of the extensive growth of literature in Persia under the Sāmānīds.² The average level attained by Persian compositions, the impetus given to various kinds of poetry, chiefly the *qasīdah* and the *ghazal*, and the polish which the langu-

¹ Vide Supra, pp. 7—9.

² A general survey is given in Chap. II (Sec. II), Supra.

age, as a whole, had received at the hands of the poets and other writers, might well be studied in the works of the earlier authors, wherein are preserved the specimens of all kinds of writings.

A careful study of Persian poetry in the early days in Persia reveals the fact that it was founded on the model of Arabic verse. Persian poetry indebted to and founded on the model of Arabic poetry. Arabic poetry exercised a great influence on Persian thought, a fact freely admitted by Persian poets themselves. As has been pointed out before, the 'Arabs, at the beginning of their conquests, dominated over Persia, and their civilization and culture became supreme in that country. For about two hundred years the literate Persians, after their conversion to Islām, paid little heed to their own literature. They followed Arabian ways, and studied the Arabic language, which every convert to Islām was by religion bound to do. In the third century, however, versification in the Persian tongue began, as it did, with the impress and print of Arabic poetry upon it. The composers either merely translated Arabic verse into Persian verse or reproduced the same thought in their composition. Arabic metres also were adopted with convenient modifications to suit Persian melody. In short, Persian poets took their cue from Arabic poetry, and acknowledged their indebtedness to the 'Arabs whom they regarded as their models in

the art of versification. For example, Mīnūchehrī, in a *qasīdah* which he composed in the metre and rhyme of the famous 'Arab poet Abu'sh Shīs, says :

بدان وزن این شعر گفتیم که گفت ست ابو الشیخس اعرابی باستانی
ساقاک واللیل ماق التجران غراب یفوح علی غفن بان

Again, declares Anwārī:

شاعری دانی گدای قوم کردند آنکه بود
اولِ شاه امرء التیس آخرِ شاه بو نواس

In fact, to be a poet in those days, the one essential condition was to remember by heart the famous *qasā'id* of the leading poets of Arabia, and a thorough acquaintance with the works of 'Arab poets, so as to inculcate in the national Persian poetry not only the same style and vigour, but to enliven it with Arabian expression and thought. The same Mīnūchehrī in a retort to a colleague of his, who was not very conversant with Arabic poetry, says with pride:

من بسے دیوان شعر تازیان دارم زبیر
تو ندانی خواند الاشی بصحنک فامحیین

The people's taste for poetical composition in
General taste for their own tongue in Persia dates
Persian poetry in from the third century A. H.
its own home dates When the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs of
from the third cen-
tury A. H. Baghdād ceased to be suzerains

and their influence declined, Persia was split into many small and independent states known as the *Tamūʿif ul Mulūk*. Although stray instances of Persian verse, which belonged to the first and second centuries of the Hijrah, and even pre-Islāmic days, have been discovered, yet they are too scanty, and form no link with regular versification or the art of poetry in Persia. Men of genius paid all their attention to Arabic lore, and cultivated a taste for Arabian sciences and arts, which made them famous throughout Arabia and the Islāmic world as authors and poets in Arabic. It was more so in the time of the ʿAbbāsīd suzerainty, when they took up the composition of *qasāʾid* in Arabic, which the Caliphs' court well appreciated.

It is a matter worthy of notice that the ʿArab predominance in Persia had distinctly two phases which fell into two periods. One began with the conquest of Persia and lasted for about two centuries, when the whole country owed allegiance to Arabian civilization and literature, with the result that the native tongue, Persian, was for a time discarded by the Persian people as their literary medium. The other period opened with the third century, when a reaction set in. The Persian nation, realising its individuality, was ablaze with national fervour,

and this was the cause of the overthrow of Arabian influence and authority in Persia. The result was that the 'Arabs, who had in the beginning superimposed their culture on the Persians, were in their turn penetrated to the core by the latter's civilization and language. The 'Arab families had remained in Persia for a considerable time, and had established relations with its people, owing to the Caliphs' suzerain power. Thus the Persian national life and the Persian language had fully asserted their influence over the 'Arabs and found a soft corner in their hearts. They succumbed to Persian manners in the third and fourth centuries of the Hijrah, and took to the study of Persian literature of which they had taken no notice before. Their authors incorporated hundreds of Persian expressions in their Arabic works, to say nothing of innumerable words which permanently became part of the Arabic vocabulary. Their poets started translating Persian verse into Arabic verse, and entered into subtle niceties of thought.¹ Those of the 'Arabs who did not even go to Persia, nor had occasion to come into personal contact with the Persians, imitated Persian ways of life. Apart from the 'Arab officials, the 'Arab aristocracy too had adopted this fashion. One notable

¹ Cf. a similar feature in Persia when the Persian poets, in the beginning of their career, adopted Arabic verse as their model, and started their national poetry by translating Arabic verse into Persian verse.

instance is to be found in the mode of living of the Caliph Mu'tasim Billāh 'Abbāsī himself.¹

Only a few instances of Persian poetry prior to the conquest of Persia by the 'Arabs are available. The first person who, according to 'Aufī, composed a verse in Persian was

Instances of Persian verse in Pre-Islāmic days.

Bahrām Gūr:—

و قتی آن پادشاه در مقام نشاط و مرقف انبساط این چند کلمه موزون
بلفظ راند:—

منم آن شیر گله منم آن پیل یانه نام من بهرام گور و کنیتم بو جبله

Bahrām was brought up in Arabia, and was a poet by temperament. He had a full command of the Arabic language, and wrote poems in it, of which some are preserved to us even to this day. 'Aufī had himself seen his Arabic *dhvān* in the library of *Sar-Pul* in Bukhārā, and had transcribed many a poem in his note-book.² His two verses, which he had composed in reply to the desire of his kinsmen that he should marry a Persian noble's daughter, are quoted below:—

¹ Vide Supra, p. 24.

² 'Aufī, *Lubāb*, vol. I, p. 20.

³ Cf. — و بنده در کتابخانه سر پیل بازار چه بخارا دیوان او دیده

است و در مصاحفه آورده است و از اینجا اشعار نوشته و یاد گرفته —

(Ibid., p. 19).

بزمون تزویجی من الکفو طلبا و مالی من جنس الملوک عدیل
اردل ان مثالی کالمکال وجوده و لیس ای نیل المکال سبیل

His two other verses are as follows:—

فقلت له لما نظرت جنوده کانک لم تسمع بصولات بهرام
فانی لکامی ملک فارس کله و ما خیر ملک لا یكون له حام

Another notable instance of Persian verse is to be found in an inscription engraved on a broken arc of the *Qasr i Shīrīn*, discovered in the time of 'Azīd-
daulah of Dailam. It is considered to be older than
Bahrām Gūr's time. It is as follows:—

هز برابکپهان انوشه بنی جهان را بدیدار توشه بنی¹

One verse quoted by Mīrzā Asad Bēg in his *Bayāz* runs thus:—

زیان دارد آن هز بوا به ددها او شاه ابر نکه نو ندا نترسا

There is yet another mentioned in the *Tazkira i Āi i Ghaznīn*:—

زن شاهست در داؤر گردا گوزگر دده نه دارد بیم از کس

Besides these few stray verses, there is one Pahlawī epic poem "*Yātgar-i-Zarīrān*" which is attributed to Zoroaster. It is surmised that this poem

¹ Daulat Shāh, p. 17. (Bombay).

served as an incentive to Firdausī and a model for his *Shāh Nāmā* almost a thousand and five hundred years later. It sings the heroic deeds of the warriors, and extols the powers of the deities. Its rhyme, however, is not perfect, and it has a prosaic tone, which depicts the nature of ancient Persian poetry. It is popularly called "*Shāh Nāma-i-Gushtāsp*" or "*Pahlavī Shāh Nāmā*".- Further, the two famous minstrels of the Sāsānian regimes, who flourished at the court of Khusrav i Parvīz, were Bārbad and Sarakhsh. They have been mentioned by almost all the historians of Persia. The ballads of the former (نَوای باربد) are well known to every student of Persian. Sharif Mujallidī of Gurgān refers to them in the following quatrain:

از آن چندان نعیم این جهانی که مانداز آل ساسان و آل سامان¹
 ثنای رودکی ماندست و مدحت نوای باربد ماندست و دستار

These ballads were thirty in number, and were known as سی لحن (thirty musical notes). They were sung on thirty days of the month, each ballad corresponding to a day.

Another important specimen of Persian verse of this period is the following religious song which was composed and sung in Irān by the followers of Zoroaster:

¹ Chahār Maqālāh, p. 35 (Lucknow).

¹نَـزْخُـتْ بَادَا دُوش خَـنِـدَـه گُـشَـسِـپِـه دُوش
 هَمی پُـسـت اَز چُـوش نُـوش کُن مِی نُـوش
 دُـسـت بَدَا گُـوش بَـآفـریـس نِـهـادَـه گُـوش
 • بَـه آغُـوش ۱۲
 هِـمِـیـشَـه نِـیـکِی کُـوش دِی گُـزِـشـت و دُـوش
 شَـاها خُـدا یِـگَـانَـه بَـآفـریـس شَـاـهـی
 •

This shows that Persian poetry, however meagre in form, had existed in Īrān in almost every period of the Pre-Islāmic era. There were poets present until the eve of the rise of Islām; as is evidenced by a reference occurring in the 'Arab writer 'Abdullāh Ibn Muqaffa's Preface to his Arabic translation of the Sanskrit story of *Kalilah-Damnab*. He says that Naushīrwān had held a public *darbār* and a banquet, to which he had invited all the poets and scholars of his court to celebrate the occasion of the first arrival of this Sanskrit story from India. His special messenger, Barzawaih ibn Azhar, a famous philosopher and physician of his day, who knew Sanskrit well, was the bearer of this work.

The Greek invasion of Persia was a precursor

Causes of the dearth of Persian poetry in the first and second centuries of the Hij- rah.	of great disaster and had wrought havoc in the country, causing wide-spread destruction and dis- content in the land. Royal man-

¹ Tārīkh i Sīstān, p. 37.

sions and public buildings were all pillaged and burnt. Their religious literature also met with the same fate, and was destroyed in this turmoil. That which remained was again subject to destruction at the hands of the Parthians, whose kingdom lasted for about five centuries. During their regime the national literature of the Zoroastrians met a set-back, and their sacred books were searched and destroyed. This process went on until the overthrow of the Parthians by the Sāsānīds in 226 A. D., when peace was restored in the country, and people enjoyed protection under a strong government against such inroads. In short, the national literature of Persia had been despoiled twice before the 'Arabs appeared on the scene. With regard to the dearth of Persian poetry itself, the following points will have to be observed:—

I. The first cause which appears on the surface is that there seems to have been very little poetry in existence in Persia after the ravages by the Greeks and the Parthians. In fact, the Sāsānian regime cannot boast of any great poets like those who flourished in Persia after the 'Arab conquest and its conversion to Islām, such as Abul 'Abbās, Rūdakī, Daqīqi, 'Ungurī, Firdausī and others. Also, there is no reference to any substantial poetical works in the ancient records that survive, nor are any specimens handed down to us in the form of inscriptions or by

word of mouth, except some religious songs,¹ which give no clue to the existence of any serious and regular poetic art practised in the period under review. These events show that there was indeed very little taste for poetry left among the Persians, and their poetical activities had been reduced to a minimum by the time the 'Arabs made their appearance in Persia.

II. The second cause seems to be that, after the Arab occupation of Persia, the Persians had embraced Islām and adopted Arabic, the language of the conquerors, as their literary medium, in preference to their own mother tongue; and so did their poets who sang of the praises of the Caliphs in Arabic, in expectation of rewards and appreciation from them.

III. The third reason appears to be that the Arab invasion of Persia was followed by a change of religion for the Persian people, when every house resounded with the Islāmic formula in the Arabic tongue. A cultured people like the Persians, who came to realize the unity of God, after centuries of darkness, devoted themselves, above everything

¹ 'Aufī refrains to classify them under poetry on the ground that there was neither rhyme nor metre in them, cf.—

در عهد پرویز نوای خسروانی که آنرا بار جد در صوت آورده است
بسیار است فاما از وزن شعر و قافیت و مراعاتِ نظائر آن دور است —

(Lubāb, Vol. I, p. 20).

else, to the new religion and its literature. In Arabia itself, the same phenomenon had happened. When the verses of the Qur'ān were revealed to the Holy Prophet of Islām, the 'Arab poets who recited their poems at the public places and at the fairs at 'Ukkāṣ, and even hung their compositions on the door of the *Ka'bah*, remained mute for years to come, being overawed by the superior intelligence of the Arabic text of the Holy Qur'ān. The Persians, indeed, had with them little literature of their own worth the name, except the alleged hymns and the legendary tales of their gods Ahriman and Yezdān which, after the teachings of Islām, appeared to them slight and scarcely worth serious attention.

IV. The fourth obvious reason was that the Persians had their own refined culture, and their standard of society was higher than that of the 'Arabs, who were accustomed to hardships of life and plain living. Then again, the fertility and the richness of the Persian soil, as compared with the barrenness of Arabia, had made the Persians fond of an easy, comfortable life. They sought refinement in everything; their motto of life was their wine-cup which virtually taught them to remain contented with what they possessed. Thus it could be seen that they had no ambition or adventurous spirit like the 'Arabs, whose poetry was enlivened with new ideals and heroic sentiments wanting in the Persian people. This was again a set-back to the revival of their

national poetry and literature to which they, for the time being, seem to have paid little or no attention.

V. The fifth reason was that Arabic literature had become comparatively richer in sciences and arts during the earlier centuries of the 'Arab occupation of Persia. The Persians too had contributed to its uplift by adopting the Arabic language as their literary medium. Persian, on the other hand, was neglected in its own home, and its literature also remained poor in material and scope, specially after it had been ransacked by the Greeks and the Pārthians.

In the face of the above facts, it is wrong to suppose that the 'Arabs destroyed or meddled with the literature of Persia. The accusations of the later historians are spurious and have no foundation in fact. The subsequent causes that appear to be solely responsible for the inattention of the Persian people towards their own poetical culture, in the early centuries of the Hijrah, have been briefly stated above and are fully supported by historical facts and internal evidence.

Before entering into the main subject and dilating on the Persian of Maḥmūd's time, it seems expedient to mark the stage of its progress prior to his entry into Hindūstān. A short general survey of Persian poetry, demarcating the line of its progress in subject-matter and style, from the very inception

of poetic taste in Persia under Islām to the eve of the Ghaznavīd ascendancy, now follows, with a view to helping the reader to understand and appreciate better the age of Maḥmūd.

Section II—(i) The first poet in the Persian language under Islām in the 1st century A. H.

(ii) The experiments and activities of poets in the various branches of Persian poetry with their characteristic features during the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries of the Hijrah, which cover the Tābirīd, the Saffārīd and the Sāmānīd regime.

Persian poetry had not yet made its appearance outside Persia when the Caliph al-Māmūn of Baghdād appointed a noble man of his court, ‘Abdullāh Tāhir bin Husain, as the governor of K̲h̲urāsān. The story of his exaltation to this high office was that al-Māmūn had, at first, deputed him against his elder brother, al-Amīn, who was the rightful successor to the Caliphate and was in possession of the throne at Baghdād. Tāhir accomplished this task to his master’s satisfaction by laying siege to the royal palace and forcing al-Amīn to abdicate in favour of his younger brother.¹ He also caused the death of al-Amīn who was under a guarantee of protection of his life, and was permitted to swim across the Tigrīs to make good his escape. But while the latter was yet in the middle of the stream, Tāhir’s men, who were lying in ambush, shot their arrows at him and killed him before he

¹وكان الامين كثير الهو . . . فا قبل يفتك عهد الامون فجهز الامون لقتاله
طاهر بن الحسين وهرثم بن اعين فساروا اليه و حاصروه ببغداد الخ
(Ibn Khaldūn Chap. on al-Māmūn).

could reach the other side. His head was cut off and sent to al-Māmūn who immediately proclaimed himself Caliph. Nevertheless, he remained penitent ever afterwards, and wept over his brother's fate in moments of solitude. The first thing he did by way of penance was to remove Tāhir from his presence by sending him away to Khurāsān as its governor, for otherwise it was difficult to get rid of him and his growing influence at the Capital. The next step was to issue secret instructions for putting him to death, which were carried out by the officials in Khurāsān. Tāhir was succeeded by several governors who, though they outwardly wielded authority in the name of the Caliphs of Baghdād, were virtually independent rulers. This line of kings is known in history as the Tāhirīd dynasty which ruled in Persia from 205 A. H. to 260 A. H. The Tāhirīds were succeeded by Ya'qūb Ṣaffār, 'Umar bin Laiṣ and Tāhir bin Muḥammad, who all died in rapid succession, giving place to the Sāmānīd dynasty whose regime in Persia may be called the Golden Age of Persian National Poetry and Arts.

The progress made by the people in the art of Persian poetry under the Tāhirīd and the Ṣaffārīd regime. The progress made by the people in the art of versification, during the period covered by the Tāhirīd and the Ṣaffārīd dynasties of Persia, was limited in scope and character. Of the various forms practised, *qasīdah*, *maṣnavī*, *ghazal* and *rubā'ī* stand out prominently. Examples of experiments, together

with the extent of the popular taste and the number of poets that arose, will clearly demonstrate the general tendency and the level reached in the art of Persian poetic composition. A short selected list taken from the early Arabic and Persian chronicles is as follows:

1. Yazīd Ibn Mufarrigh Himyarī of Yemen.
2. Hakīm Abu Hafs.
3. Abul 'Abbās Mervī.
4. Hinzalah Bādghisī.
5. Mahmūd Warrāq.
6. Abū Salik Jurjānī.
7. Sa'īdā i Hiravī.

A very strange thing for Persian poetry was that the first poet in the Persian language under Islām happened to be a non-Persian, viz., the celebrated 'Arab poet, Yazīd ibn Mufarrigh of Yemen, a reference to whom has already been made at the beginning of the preceding chapter.¹ There are two very interesting specimens of Persian verse preserved in the early Arabic records, of which one belongs to a period prior to Hakīm Abū Hafs, who was hitherto known to be the pioneer in the field of Persian metrical composition. This specimen verse is from Ibn Mufarrigh who seems to have composed it in about

¹ Vide Supra. pp. 18—19.

Abū Munzīr Asad bin ‘Abdullāh al Qasrī, ruler of Balkh, led an expedition against Khuttalān in 108 A. H., but suffered defeat at the hands of the Turkish Amīr, Khaqān. Asad fled to Balkh to save his life. On his entering the city, he was hailed with the following satirical song sung by the people in the Persian language:

¹ از ختلان آمد یه نر و تباہ آمد یه
آبار باز آمد یه خشک نزار آمد یه

Another specimen which takes precedence over the one just cited has been reproduced by Rīzā ‘Qulī Khān Hidāyet. It was composed by Ḥakīm Abū Ḥafṣ, and is said to have been in existence in the 1st century A. H. It runs thus:—

² آتشی کوهی در دشت چگونہ دودا اوندار دیارے یار چگونہ بودا

There is yet a fourth specimen preserved in the form of two verses composed by Abul ‘Abbās bin Tarkhān who was the chief Munshī of Ja‘far Barmakī, the famous vazīr of Harūn ul Rashīd. They were found written on the barricade wall of the city of Samrqand towards the close of the 2nd century A. H. The date of their composition may be fixed between 174 and 177 A. H. They are as follows:—

¹ Tabarī, vol. II, p. 2. Leyden.

² Majma‘ul Fuṣahā, vol. I, p. 64.

۱ سر قند کند مند بزینست کی افکند
 از شاش نه بهی هسی شد نه چیهی

It will not be out of place to mention here in this

The beginnings of Persian prose in the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Hijrah. connection that no specimens of Persian prose, pertaining to the 1st and 2nd centuries of the Hijrah,

are recorded in history. During the 3rd and 4th centuries, however, a limited number of prose-works appeared which are important from the historical standpoint as being the earliest specimens of Persian prose-writing. With the advent of the 3th century A. H., this taste became distinctly more popular, and a good number of books were written and translated, which widened the scope of Persian literature, absorbing much of the subject-matter of foreign origin. The following list prepared from authentic sources shows at a glance some notable prose-works that had come into existence in Persia by the middle of the 5th century A. H.²

۱. *Ā'in i Burzurgī* (Laws of Greatness) by Dādbeh

¹ Kitāb ul Masālik wal Mamālik, p. 22.

² A valuable work entitled "فارسی نثر (قرن چهارم و پنجم)" (by Āqā Mahdī Bayānī, Officer-in-charge, Imperial Library, Tcherān) was published at the Capital in the month of Āzar, 1317. It gives a long list of prose-works, written during the 4th and 5th centuries of the Hijrah, together with specimens of their prose.

Pārsī, better known as ‘Abdullāh ibn ul Muqaffa’, written in about 237 A. H. This is, perhaps, the earliest specimen of Persian prose that is extant.¹ The author begins by a brief account of his ancestors. It was edited by a learned Persian, Āqā Behrūz, and printed and published at Teherān with a Preface by the editor in 1315 A. H.

2. The Persian translation of the Sanskrit story of *Kalīlah-Damnab* made from the Arabic version of ‘Abdullāh ibn ul Muqaffa’ in about 304 A. H., for Nasr bin Ahmad of the Sāmānīd dynasty. It was entrusted, on completion, to Rūdakī, the famous poet, who put it into Persian verse.

3. The Persian translation of *Tafsīr Kabīr*, an Arabic commentary of the Qur’ān by Abū Ja’far

¹ Āqā Mahdī in his work assigns the first place in the realm of Persian prose to مقدمه شاهنامه written in 346 A. H., at the instance of Abū Mansūr Muḥammad bin ‘Abdurrazzaq Tūsī, governor of Tūs and Nishāpūr, asserting that it is the oldest prose in Persian extant. Cf. the statement:—

تاریخ اتمام این شاهنامه بطوریکه در مقدمه آن مصرح است سال
۳۴۶ میباشد و بنابر این قدیمترین نثری که بفارسی اکنون در دست است
همین مقدمه شاهنامه ابو منصورى است —
(p. 1).

This is an error, since there were already *two* well-known works (refer nos. 1 and 2 in the given list) in existence long before the author of the said *Shāhnāmā* was even born. The date of the one is 237 and that of the other is 304 A. H. The مقدمه شاهنامه may therefore occupy a third place in the list.

Muhammad ibn Jarīr Ṭabarī who died in 310 A. H., was made for Maṣṣūr I, after Ṭabarī's death, in 350 A. H.

4. The Persian translation of Ṭabarī's Arabic history entitled *Tārīkh ul Umam wal Mulūk* similarly made for Maṣṣūr I by his chief Minister, Abū 'Alī Bal'amī, in about 352 A. H.

5. The Persian translation of the Pahlawī text of the *Khudā i Nāmab* made for the same monarch by his learned Munshī, Qāzī Abū Maṣṣūr bin 'Abdur-razzāq Mu'ammārī, in 352 A. H.

6. The Persian work *Kitāb ul Abniyah'an Haqā'iq ul Adviyah* by a learned physician, Abū Maṣṣūr Muwaffaq of Herāt, on Greek medicine. The year of its composition is 360 A. H. A copy of it in the Kūfī character, dated Shawwāl 447 A. H., is preserved in the library of Vienna, of which a reprint was published by Seligmann in 1859 A. D.

7. An old Persian commentary of the Qur'ān of about the same period exists in the University Library, Cambridge. This is the second part of the work which has survived, and deals with the latter half of the Qur'ān. The first part has not yet been traced.

8. *Tarjumān ul Balāghat* on Persian prosody and rhetoric by Abul'Hasan 'Alī Farrukhī, the famous poet of Sultān Mahmūd's court. It was written at Ghaznī in about 395 A. H., before the author's entry into Hindūstān. It is mentioned by Hājī Khalfah

and Daulat Shāh Samarqandī in their works. The latter has also quoted one sentence from it. No copy of it is so far known to exist anywhere.

9. *Tārīkh i Barāmakab* written in chaste Persian towards the close of the 4th century A. H. Its author appears to be one Abul Qāsim bin Ghassān who, in the Preface, styles himself as گردآورنده اخبار آل برمک (the collector of the accounts of the Barmacids). The work was discovered by Mirzā ‘Abdul ‘Azīm, Khān Gūrkanī, lecturer in Persian in the University of Teherān, and printed and published under his editorship in 1353 A. H.

10. *Ghāyat ul ‘Arūziyyīn* on Persian prosody by Abul Hasan ‘Alī al Bahrāmī al Sarakhshī, who was a poet of Sultān Mahmūd’s court, and later became an associate and council of Sultān Mas‘ūd. The author of *Al-Mu‘jam*, Shamsuddīn Muḥammad bin Qais al Rāzī, has actually drawn much material from this work in his compilation.

11. *Kanz ul Ghurā’ib* on rhetorical beauties of verse by Ahmad bin Muḥammad al Manshūrī, a poet of Sultān Mahmūd’s court. A reference to this work occurs in the *Tazkira i Salāṭīn i Al i Ghaznīn* which fixes the date of its authorship between 399 and 401 A. H. The famous Persian author and poet Rashīduddīn Waṭwat appears to have later consulted this work while writing his book *Hadā’iq us Sihr*, which contains several formulae and canons

of its predecessor with very little change in language. An imperfect copy of it dated 977 A. H., 6th Rajab, is preserved at the Āsī Press Library, Lucknow.

12. *Mi'rāj Nāmah*, a brief philosophical discourse by Avicenna on *mi'rāj* (the ascension of the Holy Prophet). It was written during the author's stay in the service of Amīr 'Aẓduddīn 'Alā'uddaulah of Isfahān in about 419 A. H. The work is mentioned in the list of books assigned to Avicenna by his pupil 'Abdul Wāhid Ibn Muḥammad Jauzjānī. It received the attention of the Persian scholars in recent years, and has been printed and published with a Preface by Professor Bahrām Karīmī at Resht in 1352 A. H.

13. *Risāla i Nabẓīyah*, a very short medical treatise on the art of examining the pulse by the same author. It was written for Amīr 'Alā'uddaulah during the same period of Avicenna's stay at Isfahān (417-428).

14. *Dānish Nāma i 'Alā'ī*, by the same author. It is a discourse on the *five* branches of philosophical science (Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Mathematics and Music). It was similarly written in Persian *darī* for the same Amīr, and completed just before the author's death which occurred in 428 A. H. The work was edited after his death by the same pupil, 'Abdul Wāhid, who declares that the original section on Mathematics was lost, and that the deficiency was supplied by him. Three sections on

Logic, Ethics and Metaphysical science have been printed in India.

15. *Nawrūz Nāmāh*, a short treatise by the famous Persian astronomer and poet, 'Umar Khayyām, believed to have been written in the beginning of the 6th century A. H. It deals with the history and origin of the festivities of the Persian New Year in a most simple and un-adorned style. The published copy is based on the unique Berlin manuscript which attracted the attention of some orientalisists in recent years. It was edited by Āqā Muḥtabā Mīnūvī, and published in 1352 A. H.

16. *Zīnāt Nāmāh*, on prosody by Abū Muḥammad 'Abdullāh al Rāshidī of Samarqand who was the court poet of Sultān Malikshāh Saljūqī. It was written some time after 425 A. H. The work is mentioned by Hājī Khalfah and 'Aufī. No copy of it is known to survive.

17. *Khujistab Nāmāh*, on metre and rhyme. 'Aufī in his *Lubāb* assigns the work to Abul Ḥasan 'Alī al Bahrāmī al Srakhshī, author of the *Ghāyat ul 'Arūṣiyyīn*. The date of its authorship may be fixed between 427 and 431 A. H. No copy of it is extant.

18. *Tārīkh i Baihaqī*, by Abul Faḥl Muḥammad of Baihaq. It is a most important work of the Ghaznavid period. It deals with the history of the reign of Sultān Mas'ūd, son of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī, from 421 to 432 A. H. It is the remaining portion of an extensive history of the Ghōr Dynasty which is

said to have consisted of no less than 30 volumes, as stated by Mirkhwand. Its proper title was *آل سہتکین*. The part which is extant is appropriately called *جامع تاریخ مسعودی* after the name of Sultān Mas'ūd, with whose administration and achievements it exclusively deals. It comprises volumes VII, VIII, and IX of the original work. The author, when recording his master's death in 431 A. H. (p. 749), says that he had been working under him for 19 years, and had always been treated by him with the utmost consideration and fatherly love. The work is brought down to the month of *Safar* 432 A. H., and has been printed and published in instalments in India and Persia.

19. *Zain ul Akbbār*, also called *Tārikh i Gard-ezī* after the name of its author, Abū Sa'īd 'Abdu'l-Rahmān bin Zāhhāk bin Maḥmūd Gard-ezī, who was a contemporary of al-Birūnī. It was written at Ghaznī in 440 A. H., on the pattern of al-Birūnī's *Aṣār ul Bāqiyah*. A part of it has been printed and published under the editorship of Dr. Nāẓim at Berlin from the rare manuscripts in the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford.

20. *Farhang i Fārsī*, by 'Alī Ibn Aḥmad Asadī Tūsī, the chief poet of the court of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It is also called *Lughāt i Furs* (Persian lexicon). It is a valuable poetical record of the early poets who mostly lived in the author's time, and is believed to have been written in 443 A. H. (circ.).

References to this work occur in many of the historical, biographical and poetical records belonging to the 5th and 6th centuries of the Hijrah.

21. *Safar Nāma i Ḥakīm Nāṣir Khusrāu*, by Abū Muḥṣin Nāṣir bin Khusrāu of Merv, who was a clerk in the government Accounts Office in Khurāsān. The work is a narrative of his journey to Mecca, which he undertook in 437 A. H. to perform *Haj*, in pursuance of a dream he had in his sleep. He took full five years to reach Mecca, travelling by a longer route through Nishāpūr, Dānghān, Rai, Qazvīn, Mosāl, Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo, and making prolonged halts in the towns and cities he visited on his way. He returned to Merv in 444 A. H., travelling along the Arabian coast through Yemen, Makallah, Bahrain, Basrah and Isfahān. In the same year he wrote his book of travel in simple and chaste language, describing fully the experiences of his travel, the towns and places he visited, and the people he met. It has been printed and published in Berlin and Teherān. A recent edition by Dr. Nāẓim has appeared from the University Press, Cambridge.

22. *Tārīkh i Bal'amī*, by Muḥammad bin 'Abdul-lāh-al-Bal'amī, the famous *vaẓīr* of Naṣr bin Aḥmad of the Samānīd dynasty. It was written by the author in his old age in about 446 A. H.

23. *Tārīkh i Sīstān*, by Shamsuḍdīn Muḥammad Mawālī written in about 448 A. H., and subsequently continued by Maḥmūd bin Yūsuf Isfahānī in the first

quarter of the 8th century A. H., after a gap of more than two and a half centuries from the date of the author's death. This is a very important historical work which throws ample light on the literary aspects and poetical activities of Persia during the 5th, 6th, 7th and 8th centuries of the Hijrah. The work was lately discovered in Persia, and edited by Bahār, the poet-laureate of modern Persia. It has been printed and published at Teherān with a copious index and valuable notes and appendices by the editor.

After the 'Arab poet, Yazīd Ibn Mufarrigh, and the Persian poet, Ḥakīm Abū Ḥafṣ, who lived and composed the historic Persian verses in the 1st century A. H., there arose in Persia numerous poets in the 2nd century of the Hijrah, whose works may be said to possess an abiding place in the realm of Persian poetry. Of these, Abul 'Abbās and Hinzalah deserve special mention. The first-named composed a marvellous *qasīdah* eulogising the Caliph al-Māmūn, at Merv, in 193 A. H. Some lines recorded by 'Aufī are given below. In this *qasīdah* the poet asserts that no one ever wrote a like poem in Persian language before him:—

۱۱ ی دسانیده بدولت نرقی خود تا نرقدین
گسترانیده بجود و نفل در عالم یدین

¹ Lubāb, Vol. I, p. 21.

Note :—Browne and Qazwīnī, the well-known modern critics, have expressed a doubt as to the authenticity of this *qasīdah*. While the former has preferred to remain silent as to his points of difference, the latter has come out with the following reasons :—(Bist Maqālah, p. 50)

1. The metre of the *Qasīdah* is Arabic (i.e. *Ramal Muṣamman Maqsūr*) which was not adopted in Persia until the close of 200 A. H. Hence if this *qasīdah* had been composed in that period, its metre should have been different.

2. Arabic words abound in this *qasīdah*, while the admixture of Arabic words with Persian speech was not so common up to the time of al-Mansūr. Also, the language of the *qasīdah* is more lucid than could be imagined to be in that age.

3. The Arabic metres came into vogue in Persia with their introduction by Khalīl Ahmad bin Farāhidī, whose death occurred in 175 A. H. ; while the date of the *qasīdah* is 193 A. H. It is, hence, inconceivable that during this short period of 18 years Arabic metres and rules of prosody had acquired so much popularity in Khurāsān, which was remote from the seats of learning in Arabia, that people began to compose verses in Arabic metres.

4. ‘Aufī alone has made a mention of this *qasīdah* in his *Lubāb*, and no other writer from among his predecessors or contemporaries has made any reference to this important event.

These objections of Qazwīnī, specially Nos. 1 and 2, do not appear to be historically sound, although, *prima facie* it might strike a student of literature how the language of the *qasīdah* of Abul ‘Abbās came to be so chaste, and why it abounds in Arabic words. But it is a fact universally acknowledged by early ‘Arab historians and later Persian writers that the Persians, after their conversion to Islām in the first century of the Hijrah, were so profoundly influenced by ‘Arab culture and inclined towards the acquisition of Arabic sciences and literature that they cared little to save their old literature or to continue their national poetry. By the close of the 2nd century A. H., they

مر خلافت را تو شایسته چو مردم دیده را
دین یزدان را تو بایسته چو رخ را هر دو عین

had attained complete mastery of Arabic, and their poets not only made abundant use of Arabic words in their Persian composition, but also wrote with ease in Arabic, and followed Arabic rhyme and metre. Abul 'Abbās was a good instance of this. He had acquired considerable knowledge of Arabic. Rīzā Qulī Khān observes as follows:—

خواجہ ابوالعباس مردزی کہ درلسان تازی و پارسی طایق السان
بود نظای پارسی و عربی بہم آمیختہ در مدح مامون منظوم و موزون نمود -

Khawājah Abul 'Abbās of Merv, who was fluent both in Arabic and Persian, prepared a composite poem, mixing Arabic with Persian vocabulary, in praise of al-Māmūn.

(Majma 'ul Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 64).

Another poet Waṣīf of Khujistān, who lived only 30 years after Abul 'Abbās, composed several *qasā'id* in Persian which contain even a greater ratio of Arabic words than his predecessor's composition did. Not only this, but quotations and references from the Holy Qur'ān are noticeable in his verses, e.g. *فاستقم* (کما أمرت) and *د کم من نیک قلیلة*, *لنن السلک* (الایوم) are used in the following lines:—

لنن السلک بخوانندی توا میرا بییقین با قلیل النبیہ کد زاد دران لشکر کلم

قولی خداوند بخوان فاستقم معتقدی شو و بران بر بایست

In fact, a display of Arabic was held to be the sign of literary accomplishment; whereas mere Persian composition did not entitle an author to that distinction.

The Persians who are famous for adaptability thought it their religious duty to learn Arabic, because it was essential for offering their prayers and the reading of the Holy Qur'ān and

کس بریں منوال پیش از من چنین شعری نه گشت
 مر زبان پارسی را نهست تا این نوع بین

the Traditions of the Holy Prophet.

Again, the lucidity of a composition much depends on the comprehension and capability of an individual poet. For example, Rūdakī, who belongs to the 3rd century A. H., is so fluent in his diction that he may easily be mistaken for a very modern poet like Qā'ānī who flourished in the 13th century A. H. Another example is Wasīf who has to his credit verses which seem to belong to the modern era. Notice the following :

ای امیری که امیران جهان خاصه و عام
 بنده و چاکر و مولی و ستانند و غلام
 اولی متخاوق چه باشد زوال کار جهان اول و آخر یکبست
 قولی خداوند بشوال ناستنم معتقدی شو و بران بر بایست
 دولتِ یعنوب دروغا برفت ماند عقوبت به عقب بر حواس
 هر چه بکردیم بخواندیم دید سود ندارد ز قضا احتواس
 (Tārīkh i Sistān, pp. 210, 260 and 286).

The third objection as to how it was possible for the Persians to assimilate Arabic laws of poetry and follow them in their Persian composition within the short period of 18 years is a mincing of facts. First, the learned critic has erred in the counting of figures, i.e., 18 years have been calculated since 175 A. H., which is the year of Khalil's death. But we have nothing to do with the date of his death as it throws no light on the real issue. We have only to see in what years the introduction of Arabic metres and laws of prosody took place in Khurāsān. According to the statement of the Arab historians, the date of Khalil's birth is 100 A. H., and the rules and regulations of Arabic metres were introduced in Persia between the years 143 and 145 A. H.; while the date of the qasidah is 193

لیک زان گفتیم من این مدحت ترا تا این لغت
 گهرد از مدح و ثنای حضرت تو زیب و زین

A. H. Hence it is evident that Arabic metres were popularised in Khurāsān during the long period of 50 years, and not 18 as stated by Qazwīnī. Again, these laws of poetry, which, however, remained a theory, were introduced and taught in schools which, as a matter of fact, produced no poets of repute. The real poetry came from outside. Poets like Abul 'Abbās, Hinzalah and Wasīf, perhaps, never cared or waited for Khalīl's rules. They followed straight in the footsteps of the 'Arab poets who wrote long before Khalīl's birth.

The second point worthy of notice is that the historians have named Khurāsān دارالعلم, the seat of learning of that period.

It was in fact the centre of Arabic and Persian cultures. Even Baghdād did not show so much educational awakening as did Khurāsān. Also, because practice generally preceded theory, it appears quite likely that the rules of poetry were framed long after they had been followed by the people in Persia. It was only at the stage when the Arabic metres had become common in Khurāsān, and the poets used to write in them, that the need was felt to prevent the mediocre poet from committing errors in his poetical composition. It is an admitted fact that the grammar of a language follows its literature.

The fourth objection that none of 'Aufī's contemporaries or predecessors has mentioned this important event, though partially true, is feeble. The *Tārīkh i Sīstān*, which is an earlier work does, no doubt, declare that there was no poet in Persia prior to Muḥammad bin Wasīf, cf.—

محمد بن وصیف حاضر بود... پس شعر فارسی گفتن گرفت و اولی
 شعر پارسی اندر عجم او گفت و پیش از و کسی نگفته —

Muḥammad bin Wasīf was present....., so he took to Persian metrical composition. And the first Persian verse in Persia he composed, and none else did it before him (p. 209).

But this view cannot be relied upon, since there were poets

When this *qas̄īdah* was read in the open court, it was greatly appreciated and applauded by the audience. The Caliph was so very pleased with it that he conferred on Abul ‘Abbās a costly robe of honour with rich presents and an annual grant of one thousand gold *mohars* for the rest of his life by way of reward.¹ ‘Aufī remarks that no poet could supplant or even imitate this *qas̄īdah* up to the time of the

in Persia who composed verses in Persian even in the first and second centuries of the Hijrah, like Ibn Mufarrigh, Hakīm Abū Hafṣ Sughdī, Hinzafah Bādghīsī and ‘Abbās bīn Tārkhān. The author of the *Tārīkh i Sīstān* was evidently not aware of the existence of any of these poets, nor did he in his lifetime ever know their verses which were discovered later. The same may be said in the case of Abul ‘Abbās whose *qas̄īdah* was similarly not known to this author.

¹ Rīzā Qulī Khān agreeing with ‘Aufī gives a good reason for the Caliph’s attention and liberal support to Persian poetry in the following statement :—

چون مامون شعر فارسی کمتر شنیده بود و بواسطهٔ حکمرانی در خراسان
بدانستنی زبان پارسی شوق تمام داشت دل بدان اشعار و گفتار خوش کرده
و خواجه را به تحسین و احسان بنواخت و یک هزار دینار زرین بمله
و بجایزهٔ وی علی الاستمرار مقرر داشت —

(Majma ‘ul Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 64)

Note:—The real reason probably was that al-Māmūn, who had come from Baghdād to reside temporarily in Khurāsān, was seeking the sympathy and help of the Persian people for his political ambition against his brother, al-Amin, who had succeeded to the Caliphate. This evidently he could not hope to gain without showing his goodwill and patronage to Persian letters.

Samānīds. This is the first specimen of *qasīdah*-writing that Persian poetry presents. It was so replete with poetic grace and grandeur worthy of a *qasīdah* that none ventured to attempt writing anything in that style for some time to come.

After this, we must notice the poetical effusions

First specimen of of Hinzalah Bādghīsī (deceased
rubāʿī. 219 A. H.) who was a celebrated
poet of the 2nd century A. H. The number of
his verses is reported to be some thousands, but,
unfortunately, his *divān*, which is mentioned by
Nizāmī ‘Arūzī Samarqandī, is lost today, and only
two quatrains of his survive. He occupies the first
rank among the earliest Persian poets for having
enhanced the prestige of poetical composition as an
Art, and compiled a *divān*, which has been regarded
as a prototype for his contemporaries and successors.
Nizāmī has recorded this fact in connection with a
strange incident. He says that Ahmad bin ‘Abdullāh
Khujistānī rose from a very humble position to the
exalted office of governor of Khurāsān through read-
ing only two verses of Hinzalah. One day when he
was looking into Hinzalah’s *divān*, of which he was
very fond and a copy of which he always kept with
him, his eyes fell on the following quatrain:—

¹مهتری گر بدلم بشیر در است تو خوار کن زکام شیر بجوی
 یا بزرگی و عز و نعمت و جاه یا چو مردانت مرگ (دبا روی)

If kingship lies within the jaws of a lion,
 Risk thyself, and get it from his jaws;
 Either you will attain greatness, honour, riches
 and rank,
 Or like the brave you will face death.

His manly ambition was stirred and he felt incited to improve his lot by striving hard to acquire an honourable place in life. Ultimately he succeeded in obtaining the governorship of Khurāsān, which was the richest Province of Persia, being the centre of Persian culture and trade. His second quatrain which fulfils the condition of rhyme also, and hence is worthy of being called perfect, is the following:—

²یارم سپند اگر چه بر آتش همی کند
 از بهر چشم تا نرسد مرورا گزند
 لورا سپند و آتش ناید همی بخار
 باروی همچو آتش و باخال چون سپند

An honoured contemporary of his was Mahmūd Warrāq whose year of death is given as 221 A. H. In other words, he died only two years after the death of Hinzalah. The dates of their birth are not recorded

¹ Chahār Maqālah, p. 34.

² Lubāb, Vol. II, p. 2.

anywhere, and because of this fact it is difficult to assert the priority of the one over the other. Like Hinṣalah, Warrāq too was an eloquent and mighty poet though only one quatrain of his survives in the history of poetry:—

۱ نگارینا به نقد جانن ندهم گرانی در بها ارزانت ندهم
گرفتستم بجان دامن وصلت نهم جان از کف و دامانت ندهم

Two other poets of this period, who are worthy of notice, are Abū Salik Iurjānī and Sa'īdā i Hiravī. Their works are equally scarce. But in what is preserv'd, we notice didactic and ethical features as the most prominent elements. Some verses by way of illustration are quoted below:

در صیانتِ عرض

۲ خون خود را گر بریزی بر زمین به که آبِ دوی ریزی در کنار
بت پرستیدن به از مردم پرست پند گیر و کار بند و گوش دار

وله

بمژه دل زمین بدزد دیدی ای بلب قاضی و بزرگان دزد
مزد خواهی که دل زمین ببری این شگفتی که دید دزد بزد

¹ *Majma'ul Fusahā*, Vol. I, p. 511.

² *Lubāb*, Vol. II, p. 3.

Note:—Rizā Qulī Khān Hidayet gives the last verse as follows:

مزد خواهی که دل زمین بزدی ای شگفتا که دیده دزدی و مزد

(*Majma'ul Fusahā*, Vol. I, p. 66)

The poetry of the first two centuries is indicative of the fluency and simple diction in which emotions are truly depicted. There is comparatively little hair-splitting and intricate philosophical conceit of the later poets in the poetry of this age. The similes used are for the most part natural, and the real meaning does not lie hidden under the thick veil of metaphorical language. The earliest characteristic of Persian poetry is this freedom from all complexity and obscurities. It throws light on the following points in particular:—

General features
of poetry in the 1st
and 2nd centuries
A. H.

- (i) A taste for poetry existed in Persia for some time past, prior to the advent of Islām, and the poets used to amuse themselves by the exercise of their wit. The fluency of the verses quoted above prove the fact that they could not have been the very first or the earliest attempts at verse-making.
- (ii) The free admixture of Arabic words with Persian had started in Persia almost immediately after the 'Arab domination, and the poets regarded this as a source of the enrichment of the diction and enhancement of beauty of style.¹

¹ Notice 18 Arabic words in the 4 couplets of Abul 'Abbās :—

- (iii) The foundations of *qasīdah* and *rubā'ī* were already laid. The verses quoted are the earliest specimens under Islām.

The list of the poets of the 3rd and 4th centuries of the Hijrah is a long one. The poets of the 3rd and 4th centuries, and the advent of Persian poetry in India. Among them there were many who wrote complete poetical works with facility, and laid the art of Persian versification under deep obligation, greatly widening and enlarging the field of various forms of poetry, e.g., the *maṣnawī*, *qasīdah*, *ghazal* and *rubā'ī*. They framed rules for each of these in such a way that poetical composition became easier for their successors who have trodden the path with their eyes almost shut ever since. The taste for Persian poetry in India dates with the coming of Maḥmūd of Ghaznī who led his army into the Punjāb towards the end of the 4th century A. H. He was the first great royal patron of poetry among all his predecessors and contemporaries, and it was he who founded the rank of *Malik ush Shu'arā'*¹ for the

فرق - دولت - جود - فضل - عالم - ید - خلافت - دین - عین -
 منوال - شعر - نوع - بین - مدمت - لغت - مدح - ثنا - حضرت -
 Also, 4 Arabic words in the first quatrain of *Hinzalah* :—
 خطر - عز - نعمت - جاه -

¹ The term means "King of Poets" a title corresponding to *Poet-laureate*.

cultivation of Persian poetry. The first poet-laureate appointed by him was 'Unsurī.

The following is a selected list of the poets of the 3rd century A. H. which includes some of the best poets of the Samānīd regime:—

1. Muḥammad bī Wasīf.
2. Muḥammad bin Muḥallad.
3. Firūz Mashriqī¹.
4. Rūdakī.
5. Abū Shakūr Balkhī.
6. Abul Mu'ayyid.
7. Abul 'Abbās Zanjānī.
8. Shahīd Balkhī.
9. Abū 'Abdullāh Farāwī.
10. Khabbāzī Nishāpūrī.
11. Abul Maṣāl Kūhī.
12. Abul 'Ulā Nawa'ihī.
13. Abū Taqī Rāzī.
14. Murādī Bukhārī.

The Sāmānīd dynasty remained in power for over a century and a quarter prior to the Ghaznavīd dynasty, and, because of their literary taste and patron-

¹ In some biographical works the reading is "Mushrifī". "Mushrif" was an old habitation on the coast of Yemen, from where the dynasty is said to have migrated.

age, rendered distinguished service to Persian literature and art, specially to poetry. Their rule came to a close in 395 A. H., beginning from about 261 A. H., when the Caliph Mu'tazid billāh had appointed the sons of Āsad bin Sāmān as governors of the protected dominions of Persia and the Central Asian states. The dynasty was called after the name of Āsad's father, Sāmān, who was an 'Arab. Āsad, the founder of the dynasty, was a favourite noble of Mamūn ul Rashīd's court. Among his descendants, the most notable princes who helped in the uplift and evolution of Persian poetry were Naṣr bin Aḥmad bin Ismā'īl, Nūh and Maṣṣūr. Their court was the resort of men of letters. A short description of some of the distinguished poets from among those mentioned above is given below:—

Muḥammad bin Waṣīf was a prominent poet of the Ṣaffārīd period who completed a *dīwān*. Those verses of his that are extant are in the form of panegyric odes. Of these, there are two important *qasīdas* composed in the manner and style of Abul 'Abbās. The one written on the occasion of Amīr Ya'qūb's conquest of Herāt and his peaceful possession of Sīstān, Kermān and Fārs is as follows:—

Muḥammad bin
Waṣīf, Muḥammad
bin Muḥallad and
Fīrūz Mashriqī.

¹ ای امپروی کت امپران جهان خاصه و عام
 بنده و چاکر و مولی و سزاند و غلام
 از لی ختلی در لوح که مانی بد سید
 بی ایی یوسف یعقوب بن الیث هم
 بلتام آمد زنبیل و لتی خور بلنگ
 لیره شد لشکر زنبیل و هها گشت کتام
 لمن اللمک بخواندی توا میروا² یقیین
 با قلیل الذیه کد زاد وراں لشکر کام
 عمر عمار ترا خواست و زر گشت بری
 تیغ تو کرد میانجی بمیان دد و دام
 عمر او نزد تو آمد که تو چون نوح بزی
 در آکار تن اوسراو باب طعام

His other *qasīdah* runs thus:—

² مملکتی بود شده بے قیاس از حد هند تا بحد چین و ترک رأس زنب گشت و بشد مملکت دولت یعقوب دریغا برفت عمرو عمر رفت و زر ماند باز ای غما کا مد و شادی گشت هر چه بکر دیم بخواهیم دید ناس شدند نسناس آنکه همه	عمر و بران ملک شده بود رأس از حد زنگ تا بحد روم و گاس زر زده شد ز نکوست نکاس ماند عقوبت بعقب بر حواس من هب روباه به نسل و نواس بود دام دائم ازین پر هراس سود ندارد ز قضا احتراس راز همه نسناس گشتند ناس

¹ Tārīkh i Sīstān, p. 210 (Note: only six lines are quoted).

² Ibid., p. 286.

دورِ فلکِ کردنیِ چوں آسیا لا چرمِ این اُس همه کرد آس
ملکِ ابا هزل نکرد انتساب نور ز ظلمت نکند اقتباس
چهد و چید یعقوب باید همی تاکه ز جدّه بدر آید ایاس

And again:—

¹کوششِ بنده سبب از بخششِ است کارِ قضا بود و ترا عیب نیست
بود و نبود از صفتِ ایزد است بنده در ماندۀ بیچاره کیست
اولِ مخلوق چه باشد زوالِ کارِ جهان اول و آخر یکپست
قولِ خداوند بخوان فلسفتم معتقدی شو و بران برپایست

Another poet of the same period was Muhammad bin Muḥallad. Some of his Persian verses that survive are as follows :

²چیز تو نژادِ حوا و آدم نکشت شیرِ نهادی بدل و بر منشت
معجزِ پینسیرِ مکی توئی بکنش و بشش و بگوشت
فتخرِ کند عمارِ روزی بزرگ که هسانم من که یعقوب کشت

Next comes Fīrūz Mashriqī whose time was nearly a century prior to that of *'Unsurī* and about 65 years after Hinzalah. The date of his death is 283 A. H. Only one quatrain and one verse which give us some idea of his style are preserved:—

¹ Ibid., p. 260.

² Ibid., p. 212.

مَرغِیَسْتِ خَدَنَگِ اُمِّ عَجَبِ دِیدِی ۱ مَرغِیَکِ شَمِ شَدَّارِ اَوِ جَانَا
دَادِی ۲ بُوِ خَوِشِ کَرِ گِشِ شَدِی ۳ تَا بَدِجِ اَشِ رَا بُرَدِ بَهِ مِهْمَانَا

سَرِ رِ سَمِیَنِ تَرَا دَرِ مَشْکِ تَرِ ۴ زَانِیَ مَشْکِیَنِ تُو سُوِ تَا پَا کَرْدَتِ ۵

The leading poet of the Sāmānīd regime was Rūdakī, the renowned poet of the Samānids; essentials of his poetry. Abū ‘Abdullāh Ja‘far bin Muḥammad, surnamed Rūdakī. He was born blind and had a charming voice and could sing most beautifully. He was a great success as a courtier, and was a genius with a fine poetic taste and wit. While quite young, he entered the service of Naṣr bin Aḥmad, and rose to the high office of ‘King’s courtier’. Of the various forms of poetry, he enriched the ode and lyric, and raised their level to a high standard. His lyrics (*ghazals*) are marked by their fluency, simplicity and charm combined with a sonorous effect; while his odes (*qasā'id*), which retain all these qualities, display the essentials laid down by himself, viz., *tashbīb* (تشبیب) ³, *ghurīz* (گُرِیز) ⁴ and *dhā* (دَعا) ⁵. He has been

¹ Lubāb, Vol. 11, p. 2.

Note the following variation in the first verse:—

مَرغِیَسْتِ خَدَنَگِ اَوِ عَجَبِ دِیدِی مَرغِیَکِ شَدَّارِ اَوِ هَمِ جَانَا

² Majma ‘ul Fusahā, Vol. I, p. 381.

³ Literally, to recall the youthful days. In a restricted

in this respect imitated by the Persian poets ever since. He was the first Persian poet who took a fancy for Indian thought and wit, and influenced the growth of Persian poetry in India. He put into verse the story of *Kalilah-Damnah* from a simple prose version which was specially prepared for this purpose from the Arabic translation of Ibn ul Muqaffa'. Rūdakī undertook this work at the instance of his master, Naṣr bin Aḥmad, who had deputed men whose duty was to read to the blind poet portions from this prose text, and then take down his off-hand poetical rendering of the same.¹ Firdausī has referred to this historic incident in his great epic, the *Shāh Nāmāh* thus:—

کلله بتازی شد از پهلوی بدینسان که اکنون همی بشنوی

sense, it signifies a discourse with the loved one and refers to the introductory lines of the ode written in praise of the person eulogised.

¹ A flight towards praise.

² The concluding part of a poem bearing the good wishes of the poet.

³ It may be noted in this connection that all great poets had their reciters whose duty was to recite the poems of their masters on suitable occasions. It was considered below the dignity of a poet to recite his verses himself. The chief reciter of Rūdakī's verses was *Maj* who is addressed by Rūdakī thus:—

ای میج کنون تو شعر من از بر کن و بخوان
از من دل و سگالش و ز تو تن و زبان

O *Maj*, thou shouldst now learn my poems by heart and recite them, From me comes the heart and the thought, and from thee the body and the tongue.

Nizāmī describes this episode in the following words:

نهر بن احمد که واسطه عقد آل سامان بود در زمستان به
ملک دارالملک بخارا مقام کرد و تابستان به سمرقند رفته مگر یک سال
نوبت هری بود به فصل بهار بیا دغیس بود که با دغیس خرم ترین چرا
خوارشای خراسان و عراق است چون امیر نهر بن احمد مهرگان و
نمرات او بدید عطایش خوش آمد - امیر گنت تابستان کجا رویم که
ازین خوشتر مقام نباشد مهرگان برویم و چون مهرگان در آمد گنت مهرگان
هزی بخوریم و برویم - هیچنیز فصلی به فصلی همی انداخت تا چهار سال
برین آمد هه ملول گشتند و آرزوی خانمان برخاست پادشاه را ساکن
دیدند پس سران لشکر و مهتران ملک بنزدیک استاد ابو عبد الله
الروندی افتند و گفتند پنج هزار دینار ترا خدمت کنیم اگر صنعتی بکنی
که پادشاه ازین خاک حرکت بکند که دلهای ما آرزوی فرزند همی بود و
جان ما از اشتیاق بخارا همی بر آید روندی قبول کرد که نبض امیر گرفته
بود و مزاج او بشناخته - دانست که به نثر با او درنگبرد وی به نظم
آورد و قصیده بگفت و در پرده عشاق این قصیده آغاز کرد :-

بوی جوی مولیان آید همی یاد یار مهربان آید همی

پس فرو تر شود و گوید :

دیگ آموی و درشتیهای او	زیر پایم پر نیل آید همی
آب جیخون از نشاط روی دوست	خنک مارا تا میل آید همی
ای بخارا شاد باش و دیر زی	میر سویت شادمان آید همی
میر ماه است و بخارا آسان	ماه سوی آسمان آید همی

میز سر و است و بخارا بوستان سر و سوی بوستان آید همی
 چون رودکی بدین بیت رسید امیر چنان منفعل گشت که از تخت
 فرود آمد و بی موزه پای در دگاب خنگ نو بتی آورده روی به بخارا نهاد
 و عمان تا بخارا هیچ جای باز نگرفت و رودکی آن پنج هزار دینار مضاعف
 از لشکر بستید . . . هنوز این قصیده را کس جراب نگفته است که مجال
 آن ندیده اند -

“Naṣr bin Aḥmad, who was a precious link in the chain of the Sāmānīd dynasty, used to halt in winter at Bukhārā, and in summer at Samarqand. He remained in spring at Bādghīs because it is the happiest and most fertile meadow of Khurāsān and ‘Irāq. When Amīr Naṣr bin Aḥmad saw its spring and its fruits, he was well pleased with it. The Amīr said, “Where could we go in summer, because there is no place better than this?” “We shall go in spring.” But when the spring season came, he said he would remain and enjoy the spring at Herāt, and will go afterwards. In this way he postponed his departure from one season to the other until four years passed. All became weary, and the desire for going home obsessed them. They found the king unmoved. So the heads of the army and the officers of the government went to Abū ‘Abdullāh al Rūdakī and said to him “We shall present you with five thousand *dinārs*, if you suggest some device by which the king should move from this place, because our hearts yearn for our children and our souls keenly desire to see Bukhārā.”

Rūdakī accepted this request of theirs, for he had felt the pulse of the Amīr and understood his temper well. He knew that he could produce no effect upon the king by mere prose (i.e. talking to the king in plain language). He, therefore, turned his attention to poetry, and composed a *qasīdah*, and began to sing it in *parda i 'ushshāq* (lovers' air) as follows:—

The smell of the stream of the *Māhīyān* cometh,
The breath of the kind friend cometh.

Then in a lower note he sings:

The sands of the *Āmīr* and its rough path
Come under my feet like silk;
The water of the *Jahān*, in its joy to see the face
of the loved one,
Cometh up to the buttocks of our horses;
O Bukhārā, be happy and live long,
The Amīr cometh towards thee joyfully;
The Amīr is the moon, and Bukhārā the sky,
The moon cometh towards the sky,
The Amīr is the cypress, and Bukhārā the
garden,
The cypress cometh towards the garden.

When Rūdakī came to this verse, the Amīr felt so much that he got down from his throne and walked up to the royal horse, and without putting on his leggings he rode off for Bukhārā, and did

not stop on the way until he reached his destination. Up till now none has composed a counterpart to this ode because not one dared do it."

The truth is that both in Rūdakī's lifetime and after his death, many a poet of repute tried to compete with him in the same metre, but none could attain his beauty of expression and thought. Even Amīr Mu'izzī, the *poet-laureate* of the court of Malik Shāh Saljūqī, who was later approached by people with a request to write a parallel ode, pleaded his inability to do so, saying, "I cannot." But when pressure was brought to bear on him by his friend and colleague, Zain ul Mulk Isfahānī, he composed a few couplets of which two are preserved as follows:—

دستم از مازند ران آید همی زین ملک از امینان آید همی
آفرین و مدح و سود آید همی گر به گنج اندر زیان آید همی

The difference between this composition and that of Rūdakī is apparent.

Rūdakī is the first poet who embodied in his ode the essential features of the true ode.

His *یَر* or 'skip', as displayed in the lines given below, is remarkable. He compares a garden to Paradise, and descanting thereon gracefully glides into praising the king, Abū Maṣṣūr Sāmānī, almost without attracting our notice; nor is there any visible premeditation in this regard by the poet:—

¹ بود هر جا بهر نز سقاده بار و نقل و مل
 گستان در گلستان و میوه اندر میوه زار
 یار من گفتا بهشت است ای شکفت این باغ نیست
 گفتم این باغ نیست خرم چون بهشت کردگار
 آن بهشت ناپدید است این بهشت است عیاں
 این به نقد است آن به نسیه آن نهان این آشکار
 آن مکاران نماز است این مکاران مدیحه
 آن عطای کردگار است این عطای شهر یار

We do not find anything equal to this delicacy in Persian poetry prior to Rūdakī. During the Ghaznavīd days, 'Unsūrī and Farrukhī closely followed in their odes his style which remained a standard up to the age of Salmān (deceased 785 A. H.). Rūdakī invariably begins his *qasīdah* in a key of sublimity and grandeur which the best poets of the later generation like Anwarī and Zahir Pāryābī adopted. By way of

¹ *Diwān i Ustād Rūdakī*, MSS. p. 22. The Āsi Press Library, Lucknow.

Note.—The Teherān edition dated 1315 A. H. is not reliable, as it has hopelessly mixed up the works of Hakīm Qatrān, Rūdakī's contemporary. The verses quoted here as Rūdakī's composition were duly checked from a valuable MS. of the *Diwān* of Qatrān in possession of my worthy friend, Dr. Hādī Hasan, who very kindly placed it at my disposal. For more information about Rūdakī's works and how they got mixed up with Qatrān's, vide Sa'īd Nafīsī's

"*احوال و اشعار ابو عبد الله جعفر محمد رودکی*" published in 2 vols. at Teherān (1309 A. H.)

example the opening verse of an ode is quoted below:—

¹مشویش است دلم از کرشمهٔ سلسلی چنانکه خاطر معجنوں ز طرهٔ لبلی

Three more couplets of this ode are as follows:—

چو گل شکر دهی ام درون دل شود تسکین
 چو تترش روی شوی و ارهانی از مشرعی
 به غنچهٔ تو شکر خنده نشسته باده
 به سنبل تو در گوش مهرهٔ افغنی
 بر ده نرگس تو آب جادوی بابل
 کشاده غنچهٔ تو باب معجز عیسی

We find many illustrations of forceful portraiture and style in his works. Very often his odes contain such metaphors, similes and constructions as are found in modern poets. Besides, his language is sometimes so refined that we cannot help feeling that it is the work of Qā'ānī, a poet of the 19th century. One specimen illustrating this point is given below:

وله

²مرا بسود و فرو ریخت هر چه دندان بود
 نه بود دندان لای چرخ دندان بود

¹ Dīwān i Ustād Rūdakī, p. 103.

² Ibid., p. 8.

نه نهکس کیوان بود و نه روزگار دراز
 چه بود راست بگویم قشای یزدان بود
 هسی نه دانی ای ماه روی غالیه موی
 که حال بنده ازین پیش بر چه سامان بود
 شد آن زمانه که رویم بسان دیبا بود
 شد آن زمانه که مویم بسان قطران بود
 عیال نه زن و فرزند نه معاونت نه
 ازین همه تنم آسوده بود و آسان بود
 تو رودکی را ای مَیج کنوں هسی بینی
 بدان زمانه ندیدی که زین خسروسان بود
 بدان زمانه ندیدی که زی چمن رفتی
 سر و دگوان گوئی هزار دستان بود
 کرا بزرگی و نعمت ازین و آن بودی
 کرا بزرگی و نعمت ز آل سامان بود
 کنوں زمانه دگر گشت و من دگر گشتم
 عما پیار که وقتِ عما و انبان بود

An ode, like a panegyric poem, originated from
 The basic principle of his lyric poem; its introduction in Persia by him. the poet's desire to honour some great person or place. Its essential features were the use of refined language and vivid description¹. Later, it grew

¹ Notice the poem of Abul 'Abbās, the founder of the *gasīdah*, already cited, pp. 104—107, *supra*.

more pedantic with a tinge of Sūfistic and philosophical thought. The language also became figurative and terse. A lyric, on the other hand, was a tender poem or sonnet composed in simple, sweet and chaste language in praise of one's object of love. It was a love-song in which a lover described to his beloved the pangs that he felt or his distraction and the pain of separation that afflicted him so that the beloved might be moved to pity him. But the beloved is depicted to be utterly callous and indifferent to all such wailings, and the reply put in his mouth by the poet is generally that of a proud and unsympathetic party. This sort of poetry was introduced and promoted in Persia by Rūdakī. Sa'dī, Khusrāu, Ḥasan, Ḥāfiz, Nazirī and 'Urfī later built upon the same model. Some specimens from Rūdakī, showing his style and trend of thought, which constituted and later remained the essentials of a Persian lyric, are cited below:—

¹چو بکشاید نگار من دو بادام و دو مرغیان را
 بدین نازان کند دل را بدان دنجان کند جان را
 من و جانان بجان و دل تو و بستیم بازارے
 که جان و دل مرا داد است من جان دانه جانان را
 نشاند اندر دل من دوست زهر آلوده پیکارے
 که جز با جان ز دل نتوان کشیدن نوک پیکان را

¹ Dīwān i Ustād Rūdakī, p. 5.

وصال و سحر او املی است دایم رنج و راحت را
 به جنگ و آشتی مایه است دایم درد و در مان را
 به کثر ایمن تب گردد و لیکن رنج مردم را
 زمانه بود دین و دل به کثر آرد است ایمن را
 چو نار کشته دارم به ز نار تفته آگنده
 از آن گاه هیبت دل دایم نگار نار پستان را
 از آن گاه هیبت پنهان کرد از من روی پیدا را
 سر شک روی زردم کرد پیدا راز پنهان را

وله

۱ زودکی جنگ برگزشت و نواخت باده انداز کو سر و دنواخت
 آن عتیق می که هر که بدید از عتیق گداخته نشناخت
 هر دو یک گوشت اند ایک بطایع این بیخسود و آن دگر بکناخت
 تا بسوده دو دست رنگین کرد تا چشیده بتارک اندر تاخت

وله

۲ بیمار آن می که پنداری روان یاقوت ناب استی
 و یا چو بر کشیده تیغ پیش آفتاب استی
 بیانی گوئی اندر جام ماند گلاب استی
 بشادی گوئی اندر دیند بیخواب خواب استی
 سحاب استی قدح گوئی و می قطره سحاب استی
 طرب گوئی که اندر دل دعای مستجاب استی

¹ Ibid., p. 7.² Ibid., p. 102.

اگر مے نیستی یکسو همه دایا خراب استی
و مگر در کالبدِ جاں را بدیدستی شراب استی
اگر این مے باور اندر به چنگالی عقاب استی
ازاں با نا کسان هرگز نه خوردندی صواب استی

Rūdakī has shown skill and efficiency in elegiac poetry as well. In one of his His elegiac poetry poems all the essential features of an elegy are found to their fullest extent, for example, he recounts in great detail the virtues of the deceased and his generous and charitable disposition in life towards all, so that the audience might be overcome with grief in the same way as the mourners, and join with them in their mourning for the dead, feeling the bereavement as their own. He has a marvellous elegy on the death of an Amīr's son who died in the prime of his youth. In this, he depicts very beautifully the father's grief, and exhorts him to complete surrender and submission to the Divine Will. A few lines from it are quoted below:—

و اندر نهال اشک همی باری	۱ ای آنکه غمگینی و سزاواری
بود آنچه بود خیره چه غم داری	رفت آنکه رفت آمد آنکه آمد
زاری مچن که نشنود از زاری	مستی مچن که نشنود از مستی
کی رفته به زاری باز آری	شو تا قیامت ایدر زاری کن

¹ Ibid., p. 104.

آبِری پدید نی و کسوفی نه بهرنت ماه و گشت جهان ناری
 اندر بالای سخت پدید آمدند فصل بزرگواری و سالاری
 همواره کرد خوالهی گیتی را گیتی است کی پذیرد همواری

Another instance of his elegiac poetry is a *rubā'ī* (quatrain) which he had composed on the death of a contemporary poet, Abul Hasan Murādī Bukhārī:—

مُرد مرادی نه همانا که مُرد مرگ چنان خواجه نه کاربست خُرد
 جان گرامی به پدر باز داد کالبد تیرِ برِ سادر سپرد

One *rubā'ī* composed on the death of another colleague, Shahīd Balkhī, gives the date of that event. This is the first instance of a chronogrammatic composition in the history of Persian poetry:—a *rubā'ī*.
 First instance of a chronogrammatic composition in the history of Persian poetry, and is reproduced as under:—

¹ کاروان شهید رفت از پیش و آن مارتته گیر و می اندیش
² از شمار دو چشم یک تن کم در شمار خرد هزاران پیش

Some more *rubā'īs* are as follows:—

چون کار دلم ز زلف او مانده گره در هر دگِ جان صد آرزو مانده گره
 امید ز گریه بود افسوس افسوس گل هم شب وصل در گلو مانده گره

¹ Ibid., p. 112.

² Ibid., p. 113.

وله

1 مهتران جهان همی مردند مرگ را سر همی فرو کردند

از هزاران هزار نعمت و جاه روز آخر یکم کفن کردند

وله

2 ای از گل سوخ رنگ بر بوده و بو رنگ از پی دو رفته بو از پی مو

گلگون گر دن چه روی شوئی همه جو مشکین گر دن چه موفشانی همه کو

وله

3 با آنکه دلم از غم هجرت خونست

شادی بغم توام ز غم افزونست

اندیشه کدم هر شب و گویم یارب

هجرانش چنین است و صالح چونست

In *git'a*-writing his art ranks second only to his
Specimens of his ode or lyric.
git'a.

Some specimens, which are very much akin to
rubā'i, are given below :

4 زمانه پندنی آزانه وار داد مرا زمانه را چو نکو بنگری همه پند است

بروز نیک کسان گفت غم مخور ز بهار بسا کسا که بروز تو آرزو مند است

وله

5 بهسرای سپینچ میهمان را دل نهادن به مسمی نه رواست

¹ Ibid., p. 111.

² Ibid., p. 113.

³ Ibid., p. 108.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 107.

زیر خاک اندر و نت باید خشت گرچه اکنون نت خواب بر دیباست
با کسان بود نت چه سود کند که بگور اندرون شدن تنهاست
وله

¹ روی به مکراب نهادن چه سود دل به بستارا و بتان طراز
ایزد ما و سوسه عاشقی از تو پذیرد نه پذیرد نماز
وله

² تا کی گوئی که اهل گیتی در هستی و نیستی لئیمند
چون تو طمع از جهان بریدی دانی که همه جهان کریمند
وله

³ نگارینا شنیدستم که گاه مکننت و راحت
سه پیراهن نشان بوده است یوسف را بعر اندر
یکه از کید شد پر خون دوم شد چاک از تهمت
سیوم یعقوب را از بوی روشن کرد چشم تر
رخم ماند بدان اول دام ماند بدان دویم
نهیب من شود در وصل آن پیراهن دیگر

His position in *maṣnavī* may be estimated from his poem, the *Kalīlah-Damnāh*, for which the king had rewarded him with 40,000 *dirhams*. Daulat Shāh states that Rūdaki's *qasīdah* and *maṣnavī* were the best among all his poetry:—

¹ Ibid., p. 111.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., p. 107.

تصايد و مثنوی را نیکو می گویند - استاد رودکی عظیم الشان و مقبول
خاص و عام بوده -

He writes *qas̄idah* and *maṣṣnavī* very well. Rūdakī, the master-poet, enjoyed high rank and was popular with all classes of people.

This is the first instance of *maṣṣnavī* to be met with in the history of Persian poetry.

The dates of his birth and death are not preserved.

Dates of his birth and death. Taqī Auhādī, in his *Arafāt*, mentions 253 A. H. as the date of birth, and 321 A. H. as the date of death. From this, it appears that Rūdakī lived to the age of 68 years. Shibli, in his *Shi'r ul 'Ajam*, gives the date of death as 304 A. H., which cannot be correct; while Qazwīnī, in his *Bist Maqālah*, gives it as 329 A. H. None of them has mentioned the source of his information.

Rūdakī has been acknowledged by all the leading poets of Persia, both during his time and after, as the *father of Persian poetry*. Some views of his contemporaries and of those who came immediately after him, during the 4th century A. H., may be cited here. Ma'rūfi of Balkh, a renowned poet of Rūdakī's time,

¹ Daulat Shāh, p. 19.

calls him *King of poets* :—

از رودکی شنیدم سلطانِ شاعران کاندز جهان بکس مگر و جز بقاطبی

Shahīd Balkhī, another contemporary, thinks :—

بسختن ماند شعرِ شعرا رودکی را سخنش تاو یناست
شاعران راخه و احسنتِ مدیح رودکی راخه و احسنتِ هجاست

Daqīqī, Firdausī's senior collaborator in the preparation of the great epic, the *Shāh Nāmāh*, says :—

کرا رودکی گفته باشد مدیح امام فنون و سخنور بود
دقیقی مدیح آوردن نزد او چو خر ما بسوءِ هجر بر بود

‘Unsurī, the poet-laureate of the court of Sultān Mahmūd, eulogises Rūdakī's *ghazal*, declaring, at the same time, his own inferiority to him in this form of poetry :—

غزلِ رودکی وارِ نیکو بود غزلهای منِ رودکی وار نیست
اگرچه بکوشم بیاریک و هم درین پرده اندر مرا بار نیست

It is related that a colleague of Nizāmī ‘Arūzī Samarqandī (6th century A. H.) once happened to pass an adverse remark in the latter's presence on Rūdakī's style of ode. Nizāmī at once became furious and gave the critic the following sharp reply in *rubā‘ī*, pointing out his ignorance of prosody and calling Rūdakī *maḥqarān* شاعری (“the lord of the two ages in the art of versification”) :—

ای آنکه طعن کردی در شعرِ رودکی
 این طعن کردن تو از چهل و کودکی است
 آنکس که شعر داند داند که در جهان
 صاحبقرانِ شاعری استادِ رودکی است

Abū Shakūr Balkhī, a contemporary of Rūdakī, was a poet of rank. His poems are seldom found in the biographical works, but from a perusal of his life and writings it is known that he was the first who planned and wrote a complete *maṣnawī*, the *Āfrīn Nāmāh*, in the Persian language. Daqīqī and Firdausī, who came after him, followed in his footsteps. 'Aufī gives 336 A. H., the year of the composition of this *maṣnawī*, but from the following couplet of Abū Shakūr himself it becomes clear that it was written in 333 A. H.:—

چنین داستاں کس نگفت از خیال
 ابر سه صد و سی و سه بود سال

Abul Muayyid's *maṣnawī*, the *Yūsuf-u-Zulaikbā*, is another instance of an original composition in this period. Its style was followed by Khusrāu and Jāmī, the most renowned poets in the Persian language.

His full name is Abul ‘Abbās Faḡl bin ‘Abbās Abul ‘Abbās Zan- Zanjānī. He was a contemporary of Rūdakī and Abū Shakur, and was an undisputed master of technique. His poetry is majestic and sweet. The style of the *qaṣīdah* which he wrote on the occasion of the coronation of Nūḥ and the demise of Naṣr has been imitated by many a poet of repute. The following verses are worthy of notice:—

پادشاه نشست فروخ زاد	پادشاه گذشت خوب نژاد
زین نشستہ جهانیاں دلشاد	ز ان گذشتہ زمانیاں غمگین
ہر چہ بر ما ز ایزد آمد داد	بنگر اکڑوں بچشم عقل و بگوی
باز شمع بجای او بنہاد	گر چراغے ز پیش ما برداشت
مشتوی نیز داد خویش بداد	ورزحل نکس خویش پیدا کرد

The renowned poet Farrukhī, of the Ghaznavid Court, later incorporated these verses in his elegy on the death of Sultān Maḥmūd. In this, he calls Abul ‘Abbās with the proud title of ‘*master*’:—

شمع داریم و شمع پیش نہیم
گر برفت آن ملک ز ما بگذشت
پدشاه کسریم پدشاه کسریم
سخت خوب آمد این دوییت مرا
کہ شنیدم ز شاعرے استاد
پادشاه نشست فروخ زاد
پادشاه گذشت خوب نژاد
بر گذشتہ ہمہ جہاں غمگین
بر نشستہ ہمہ جہاں دلشاد

The general style of Daqīqī's poetry is different from that of Rūdakī. It is evident from 'Aufī's version that Rūdakī and Daqīqī were contemporaries, and both composed odes in praise of the Sāmānīd king, Naṣr bin Aḥmad. Daqīqī is the first Persian poet who laid the foundation of epic poetry in Persia. Firdausī, in his *Shāh Nāmā* pays a high tribute of praise to Daqīqī's poetry, which is a clear proof of his mastery over style. The significant lines are as follows :—

سستایند که شهر یاران بدے
 بدخ افسر نامداران بدے
 چو از دفتر این داستانها بے
 همی خواند خواننده بر هر کسے
 چہاں دل نہادہ بریں داستان
 ہمہ بخردان و ہمہ داستان
 چوانے بیامد کشادہ زبان
 سخن گوی و خوش طبع و روشن روان
 بہ نظم آرم این نامہ را گفت من
 از و شادمان شد دل انجمن

He took up the composition of the *Shāh Nāmā* at the request of his patron, Abul Fazl Bal'amī. When he had finished 1,000 verses, he met with his tragic death at the hands of one of his slaves with

whom he was in love. Firdausi refers to this event thus :—

ز گشتاسپ و ارجاسپ بیتِ هزار بگفت و سر آمد و را دروگار

Daqīqī stands on a high pedestal in Persian versification, and was an adept in every branch of poetry. As he was destined to set his hand to the "*Book of the Kings of Persia*," the greatest epic of the age, his thoughts had taken the same turn. He was the first rider to traverse this field. Firdausī, on Daqīqī's death, incorporated the latter's verses in the *Shāh Nāmāh*, of which the following may be cited as a fair example :—

لشکر کشیدن گشتاسپ بر ارجاسپ و شکست خوردن ارجاسپ

بفرمود بردن ز پیش سپاه

درفش هایونش فرخنده شاه

سوی رزم ارجاسپ لشکر کشید

سپاه که آنرا کرانه ندید

ز بس بانگ اسپان و جوش و خروش

همی ناله کوس نشنید گوش

درفشان بسیار افراشته

سر نیزه ها زیر بگذاشته

چو دسته درخت از بر کوهسار

چو بیشه زیستان بوقت بهار

ز تازیکی گمر دو بانگ سپاه

کسی دروژ روشن نمی دید راه

بکردند یک تیو باران نخست
 بهسان تگرگِ بهاران درست

بهوشیده شد چشمه آفتاب ز پیکانهای درخشان چو آب
 تو گفתי هوا آب دارد همی وزان آبِ الماس باران همی
 هوا زین جهاں بود شبگون شده زمین سر بسر پاک در خون شده
 یکے باره بر نشستہ چو بیان به تن همچو آهن به تگ همچو نیل
 چو بینائی دیده بے رنج راه رسیدے بهر جا کہ کر دے نگاہ
 در و دشتها شد همه لاله گون بدشت و بیابان همی ریخت خون
 چنان شد ز بس کشته آن درزمگاه کہ بروے ندانست رفتن سپاہ
 ز توران بگشتند چندان سپاہ کجا رحمت آورد گستاخ شاه
 چو آگاه شد قیصر آن شاه روم کہ فروخ شد آن شاه و ارجاسپ شوم
 فرستہ فرستاد با خواستہ غلامان و اسبان آراستہ

Firdausi takes precedence over his contemporary Comparison of in beauty of style and grandeur Firdausi with Daqīqī. of conception, and his verses are generally more appropriate to his theme and create a greater impression. But in judging Daqī-qī the fact should not be lost sight of that his verses had to pass through several hands, and underwent changes through the tender mercies of the scribes before they reached Firdausi. Some critics observe that the original verses had altogether been mutilated. Firdausi himself says:—

به نقل اندرون سست گشتش سخن ازو نو شده روزگار کهن

In short, Daqīqī deserves the credit for originality, because he was the forerunner who paved the way for others to tread. The outlines of an epic poem laid down by him, such as the mode of describing events, laws of warfare, rules of etiquette to be observed by the warriors, the language employed by all ranks and the author's fidelity of expression were all followed in their entirety by Firdausī. Daqīqī was the first who thought of purging Persian epic of Arabic words. This spirit was subsequently imbibed by Firdausī and retained to the last. Daqīqī was lavish in the use of redundant letters, examples of which abound in Firdausī also.

It is evident from the verses cited above that the general tenor and vivacity of tone found in the poetry of Daqīqī resemble closely the qualities found in Firdausī. The distinguishing feature of Firdausī's *maṣnawī* is that both the hemistiches in the line balance equally and the force of narration is not broken; while in Daqīqī's verses the second hemistich is often less forceful than the first, and the force and continuity of description dwindle gradually. But this must be admitted that Daqīqī did not get as much time and opportunity to acquire force in his composition as did Firdausī. Some critics observe that Daqīqī, had he lived to finish the work, might have attained in the course of time the same degree of vigour and lucidity as did Firdausī.

Examples of *qasīdah* are also to be found in Daqīqi's poetry. They show that he had a masterly hand and possessed insight into this branch of poetry as well. The following verse of Firdausī, which refers to Daqīqi's *qasā'id* written in praise of the kings and nobles, reflects upon the eminence of Daqīqi as a *qasīdah*-writer:—

• ستاینده شهر یاران بده بدح افسر نامداران بده

Some extracts from his *qasā'id* are cited below by way of specimen:—

ای ابر بهمنی نه بچشم من اندری
دم زن زمانکی و بر آسای کم گری
این روز و شب گریستن زار بهر چیست
نی چون منی غریب و غم عشق بر سری
در داجدا بماندم و در غم ز عشق یار

من زین توانگرم که مهرا این توانگری
یاری گزیدم از همه خلق آن پری نژاد
ز آن شد ز پیش چشم من امروز چون پری
لشکر برفت و آن بت لشکر شکن برفت
هرگز مهرا کس که دهد دل به لشکری

• وله

در مدح امیر ابو سعید محمد مظفر چغانی گوید

ای کرده چرخ تیغ ترا پاسبان ملک وی کرده چون کف ترا پاسبان خویش

تقدیرِ گوشِ امرِ تو دارد ز آسمان دینارِ قصدِ کفِ تو دارد ز کانِ خویش

وله

دو مدحِ سلطان

ز دو چیز کردند مر مملکت را یکے بر بنانی یکے زعفرانی
یکے زر بنام ملک بر نوشته دگر ز آهن آب داده یمانی
کرا بوی و صامت ملک خیزد یکے جنبشِ بایدهش آسمانی
زبانے سخن گوی و طبعے کشاده دله هوش کینه هوش مهربانی
که مملکت شکاریست کو را نگیرد عتابِ پرنده نه شیرِ زبانی
دو چیز است کو را به بند اندر آرد یکے تیغِ هندی دگر زرِ کانی
بشمیر باید گرفتن مر او را بدینار بستنش پی آرتوانی
کرا بخت و شمشیر و دینار باشد بهلا تن نیزه پشتِ کبانی
خرد باید آنجا و جود و شجاعت فلک مملکت کی دهد رایگانی

He also composed *ghazals* which come next to His *ghazal* and those of Rūdākī in sweetness and *rubā'ī*. music. Two samples are quoted below:—

غزل

کاشکے اندر جہاں شب نیستی	تا مرا ہجرانِ آن لب نیستی
زخمِ عقربِ نیستی بر جانِ من	گر ورا زلفِ معقوبِ نیستی
در نبودے کو کیشِ دیرِ زیرِ لب	مونسِ تا روزِ کو کبِ نیستی
در مرکبِ نیستی از نیکوئی	جانم از عشقِ مرکبِ نیستی
در مراے یار باید زیستن	زندگانی کاش یا ربِ نیستی

وله

در افکند ای صنم ابر بهشتی	زمین را خلعت اُردی بهشتی
زمین برسانِ خون آلوده دیبا	هوا برسانِ مشک آلوده دشتی
بدان ماند که گوئی از می و مشک	مثال دوست بر صحرای نوشتی
تب رخسار او همرنگِ یاقوت	می بر گونه جامه کنشتی
چهار طاووس گو نه گشت گوئی	بجائے نرمی و جائے درشتی
ز گل بوئی گلاب آید بد انسان	که پنداری گل اندر گل سرشتی
دقیقی چار خصلت بر گزید است	به گیتی از همه خوبی و زشتی
اسی یاقوت رنگ و ناله چنگ	می خون رنگ و کیش زرد هشتی

At this period, Persian poetry in all its spheres had advanced its steps beyond the preliminary bounds of its activity, and was quickly traversing the various stages to reach the high road to perfection. Poets who now indulged in this art spent their energies principally on writing *qas̄'id*, prefacing them with love verses. This portion was the *ghazal* of that period.

Daqīqī is the author of a complete *dīvān*, as is evident from his biography. His quatrains (*rubā'īs*) were incorporated in his *dīvān* just in the same way as were his *qas̄'idah* and *ghazal*. But it is to be regretted that his quatrains are no longer extant. Only one, which is preserved in the early records, is cited below to serve as an instance:

رباعی

گویند صبر کن که ترا صبر بر دهد آرد دهی و لیک به عمری دگر دهد
من عمر خویش را به عبوری گذاشتم عمری دگر بباید تا صبر بر دهی

He also wrote *qit'āt* of which some are reproduced as follows:—

قصاعه

چرخ گردان نهاده دارد گوش تا ملک مرو را چه فرماید
زحل از هیبتش نمی داند که فلک را چگونه پیماید

وله

من اینجا دیر ماندم خوار گشتم عزیز از ماندن دایم شود خوار
چو آب اندر شمر بسیار ماند عقوبت گیرد از آرام بسیار

وله

نکه کن آب و یخ در آبگینه فروزان هر سه همچون روز روشن
گدا زیده دو تا یک نافریده بیک لون این سه گوهر بین ملون

وله

بزیر دیبۀ سبز اندر آنک ترنج سبز و زردار بار بنگر
یکه چون حقیقت زر از حقیقت یکه چون بیفتی بینی ز عنبر

We arrive at the following conclusion from the
Characteristic features of Persian composition of this period. surviving poems of Daqīqī and his contemporaries with regard to the general trend of Persian composition in this age:—

(i) There are few conceits or verbal impedi-

ments in their composition.

- (ii) The thoughts expressed are free from the taint of artificiality, pervaded as they are with natural and true emotions. The versification of subjects and themes is simple and lucid, and no attempt at intricacies of diction is noticeable.
- (iii) Uncommon words and constructions are not frequently used, so that there is no abstruseness or ambiguity in meaning to mar the understanding of the real idea.
- (iv) The technical means of poetry do not go beyond a certain limit; and because of this, the description of events produces a wholesome effect on the reader. Also, the true picture of a real event does not become overlaid or hidden, as in later poets, under the intricacies of word and meaning.
- (v) The composition was to a great extent free from far-fetched similes and metaphors and other ornamental forms of speech. Whenever a figurative diction is used, it is always within the bounds of reason and governed by the laws of rhetoric. Hence it is not repugnant to good taste.
- (vi) The subtle idioms and technicalities of philosophy, astronomy and other sciences, which are so frequently found in the works of *Badr Chāch*, *Amvārī*, *Khāqānī* and *‘Urfī*

are rarely used by the poets of this period.

- (vii) The metres of the poems are mostly of native and ancient origin. The Arabic metres used are confined to *qasīdah* only. Those of *rubā'ī* and *qit'a* are Persian. *Ghazals* are written in Persianised metres to suit the Persian taste and requirements.
- (viii) The use of pure Arabic forms of speech is rare; while the admixture of Arabic words is more frequent.
- (ix) The poets who wrote in Persian are not, in their style of poetry, which was founded on patriotic lines in Persia, the pupils of Arabia; rather the 'Arab poets themselves exhibit tendencies of succumbing to Persian forms of speech, and forgetting their own national pride freely indulge in singing praises of the Amirs and nobles, as was done by the Persian poets who lived during the first and second centuries of the Hijrah. Some notable examples of this new feature are to be found in the poetry of Mutanabbī, Abū Tammām and Abū Dulāmah.
- (x) Regular instruction in moral philosophy and ethics is given through verse.
- (xi) Of the various forms of poetry, *qasīdah*, *qit'a* and *ghazal* are more commonly adopted.

- (xii) The use of redundant letters, with a view to conforming to the metre, becomes a common practice. For example, Hinzalah, Firūz Mashriqī, Rūdakī and Daqīqī are in the habit of affixing and suffixing l to their words as in اير , جانا , مهانا , نگارينا , and sometimes , as in چونان , which is written as چنان .

In short, a most important change that came over Persian poetry, towards the close of the 4th century A. H., was that it did not remain confined to the singing of panegyrics, but was progressing steadily as a distinct art in the field of literature. Also, a good deal of useful matter concerning historical affairs was being poured into it. The poets and men of letters, in addition to translating books from foreign languages, were now devoting their attention to writing useful treatises in Persian prose. Thus the translation of the Sanskrit story of the *Kalilah-Damnab* from the Arabic version of Ibn ul Muqaffa' into Persian verse, and of the Arabic history of Tabarī into Persian prose, the compilation of a Persian lexicon by Asadī Tūsī, the writing of the *Kitāb ul Abniyah*, a treatise on Greek medicine by Abū Mansūr Hiravī, and the composition of the *Naushirwān Nāmab* by Badāyī'ī Balkhī are some of the most notable monuments of this age in literature, history, medicine and ethics.

Another useful purpose served by Persian poetry in this period was that when all other agencies failed to give effect to certain important administrative measures, the help of poetry was successfully sought at delicate moments of crises. For example, a reference may be made to the instantaneous change wrought by Rūdakī's ode in the attitude of king Naṣr bin Aḥmad of the Sāmānīd dynasty, who was leisurely enjoying himself in the gardens of Herāt, but was stirred to depart at once for Bukhārā. The poem, though a very plain one, had made Naṣr fall into an ecstasy and longing for home and get rid of his obstinate obsession.

It has already been pointed out that people in this age liked a simple style, and a natural and spontaneous flow of thought was greatly appreciated. The constant use of figurative language with scientific technicalities, remote similes and artificial rhythmic expressions was generally not found in the works of poets. Hence the verses of Rūdakī possessed a charm and sweetness which naturally affected the heart of the king.

Another important feature which marks the poetry of this epoch is that the Persians, once more, set their hearts on guarding their national language against the inroad of foreign elements, specially Arabic. The versification of the history of Persian kings, the *Shāh Nāmāh*, Persia's greatest book, was due only to this national awakening, and Daqīqī

was to take the lead. This is the first example in Muslim Persia, after the Sāsānian regime, that such a marked historical service was rendered by poetry. There is yet one other literary phase. It is that the poets, besides writing an epic, or a love story, or depicting some natural scene of a mountain or river-side or a garden in the Spring, paid special attention to versifying the common events of daily life and teaching moral lessons to humanity. Some instances are quoted below.

Shahīd Balkhī persuades people to make haste in doing benevolent deeds thus:—

عیب باشد بکار نیک درنگ گر شتاب آمدے رفیق ملام
عاقبت را ہم از نخستین بین تا به غفلت گلو نگیرد دام

Hakīm Qatrān of Tabrīz points out in the following verse how to benefit oneself with one's own property, and at the same time to benefit others:—

نیک بخت آنکسے کہ داد و بخورد شور بخت آنکے او نخورد و نداد

This very idea was echoed by the great Sa'dī of Shirāz *three* hundred years later in the following words which are closely similar to those of his predecessor:—

نیک بخت آنکے خورد و کشت و بد بخت آنکے مرد و هشت

Another moral lesson is taught to the world at large by Rūdakī thus:—

تاکی گوئی که اهل دنیا در هستی و نیستی لبمزمند
چون تو طمع از جهان بریدی دانی که همه جهان کریمند

The great teaching of the Qur'ān that Man should remain happy and contented with whatever boon God bestows upon or takes away from him¹ is recounted by Qatrān thus:—

ز آمده شادمان نباید بود و ز گذشته نکود باید یاد

Another lesson of the Qur'ān to regard one's life in this world and its riches as insignificant² is expounded and conveyed as follows:—

زندگانی چه کوله و چه دراز نه به آخر برسد باید باز
خواهی اندر عنا و محنت زی خواهی اندر نشاط و نعمت و ناز
خواهی اندک تو از جهان بهیو خواهی از دے بگهر تا به حجاز

مَا أَصَابَ مِنْ مُصِيبَةٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ وَلَا فِي أَنْفُسِكُمْ إِلَّا فِي كِتَابٍ مِنْ قَبْلِ أَنْ نَبْرَأَهَا إِنَّ ذَلِكَ عَلَى اللَّهِ يَسِيرٌ لَسَيَلَا تَرَوْهُنَّ إِلَّا سَوَاءً عَلَيْكُمْ فَا تَكْفُرُونَ وَلَا تَسْقِرْ حَوَا بِمَا أَنْتُمْ آتُونَ

(Chapter 27. Rk. 19)

² Cf:— اَعْلَمُوا أَنَّهَا تَكُونُ الدُّنْيَا نَعْبُ وَ لَسَهُمْ وَ زِينَتُهُمْ وَ تَفَاخُرُهُمْ
بَيْنَهُمْ وَ تَكَاثُرُهُمْ فِي الْأَمْوَالِ وَالْأَوْلَادِ الْأَنْفُسِ

(Ibid.)

این همه بود و باد تو خوابست خواب را حکم نمی مگر به مجاز
این همه روز مرگ اگر بینی نشانی ز یکدیگر شان باز

Again, in the following verse he, in an appealing manner, condemns outward piety which, later, became the chief topic of Hāfiz's poetry. In fact, the whole of Hāfiz's *diwān* may be said to be an interpretation of this single verse:²

دوی به مکراب نهادن چه سود دل به بخارا و بتان طراز

Abū Shakūr Balkhī comments on the universal bit of wisdom that "a bad seed germinates a bad fruit" thus:—

درختی که تلخش بود گوهرآ اگر چرب و شیرین دهی مرودآ
همان میوه تلخ آورد پدید ازو چرب و شیرین نخواهی چشید

This subject was taken up later by almost all the leading poets of Persia, and presented in verse in various ways. For example, Firdausi's rendering, which is nothing but a copy of Abū Shakūr in letter and meaning, is as follows:—

درختی که تلخ است ویر اسروشت گرش بر نشانی باغ بهشت
سر انجام گوهر بکار آورد همان میوه تلخ بار آورد

Such teachings of moral philosophy and universal truth are commonly met with in the works of poets of this age. Shahīd Balkhī propounds the philosophy

of non-association of wealth with learning by comparing the latter with narcissus and the former with rose thus:—

دانش و خواسته است نرگس و گل که بیک جای نشکفتند بهم
هر کرا دانش است خواسته نیست هر کرا خواسته است دانش کم

Abū Shakūr puts in verse the utterance of Socrates: “after so much learning and research I came to know that I know nothing”:—

تا ب اینجا رسیده دانش من که بدانم همی که نا دانم

Thus the subtleties of poetry were just beginning to grow side by side with the exposition of these philosophical thoughts. The scope of poetry was also widening, and poets were out to explore untrodden fields. Creative imagination was stirred to its keenest activity as the poets searched for all possible means of raising their art to a higher level.

Whatever has so far been said is but the gateway to the main structure of Persian poetry which was in the process of building outside Hindūstān. But the real theme, the advent and growth of Persian proper, specially poetry, in India, as compared with Persia, commences from the time of Mahmūd of Ghaznī.

CHAPTER III

THE GHAZNAVIDS

*Section 1:—The period of Mahmūd—the greatest patron
of Arts and Sciences in the Muslim world*

Mahmūd was the greatest patron of learning and of Persian Arts and Sciences in the Muslim world. He had founded a Royal Academy and a Museum at Ghaznī, the seat of the capital of his Persian Empire. Prominent men of letters, poets and philosophers were constantly in attendance on him. The two most eminent scholars invited by him to come to his court were Avicenna and Abū Raihān al Bīrūnī. For some reasons the former could not attend, but the latter responded and produced under Mahmūd's liberal patronage such scientific and literary works as are still to be seen with an eye of wonder.

His works are all either in Sanskrit or Arabic, the consideration of which is beyond the scope of this book.¹ But since he ranks high in his knowledge

¹ It may be noted that he had selected Arabic and Sanskrit

and grasp of Persian language and literature, and also finds an honoured place in Indian history, having left many valuable works concerning the people of Hindūstān; and also because some 'Arab historians have declared Sindh to be his birth-place, it seems expedient to enter into some discussion here of his person and activities which would determine his identity and connection with India.

His full name was Abū Raihān Muḥammad bin Ahmad al-Bīrūnī. There are various conflicting statements in the early records about his birth-place of which a short summary together with necessary comment is given below.

Al-Bīrūnī's home:
whether Sindh or
Khwārazm?

The 'Arab historian, 'Abdul Karīm bin Muḥammad 'as Sam'ānī mentions the suburbs of Khwārazm as al-Bīrūnī's home, and observes that as the latter resided outside the boundaries of Khwārazm proper,

as the media of his writings on astronomy, Hindū sciences and other mathematical and geometrical subjects. He also translated many scientific works from Arabic and Greek languages into Sanskrit e.g. Greek almanac, Euclid, Principles of astrolabe etc. His reason for adopting Arabic medium in preference to his mother tongue, Persian, in the translation of foreign books, was that Arabic, in his opinion, was more flexible and extensive than Persian for the translation of the technical terms of Arts and Sciences. In fact, Arabic was the recognised literary medium of the Muslims all over the world in those days; whereas Persian did not have this status.

the residents called him *Bīrūnī*, an outsider.¹ This anecdote was subsequently quoted by Yāqūt Ḥamvī who, having heard it from a learned associate, tells us with the comment that al-Bīrūnī's stay in Khwārazm proper was very brief, as brief as that of a traveller, and the inhabitants of Khwārazm called a traveller by that name.²

The word *Bīrūn*, as it is transcribed in the works of Ibn Ḥauqal, the famous 'Arab geographer, and 'Alī bin Ḥāmid Abū Bakr Kūfī, author of the *Chach Nāmā*, is not clearly decipherable, because of the first letter being undotted. Hence it may be read either as *Bīrūn* or *Nīrūn*. The English historian, Sir Charles Elliot, however, has read it as *Nīrūn*³, a view which has since found support in some quarters. The reasons for this view are, *prima facie*, based on the fol-

¹ Cf. the statement: هذه النسبة إلى خارج خوارزم فإن بها من يكون من خارج البلد ولا يكون من نفسها يقال له "فلان بيرونى" يقال "فلان بيرونى ست" و يقال بالفتحهم "أن بيرونى ست" و المشهور بهذه النسبة إلى ديكان المنجم بيرونى -

(Kitāb ul Ansāb, Gibb. Mem. Series, p. 98 b)

² Cf. Yāqūt: سَأَلْتُ بعض الفضلاء عن ذلك فزعم أن مقامه بخوارزم كان قليلا و أهل خوارزم يسمون الغريب بهن ألا سم كان له لما طالت غيبته عنهم كان غريبا و ما اظنه يريد به إلا أنه من أهل الرستاق بمعنى أنه من برابك -

(Irshād ul Arīb, Gibb. Mem. Series, p. 308)

³ History of India, vol. I, pp. 396-401.

lowing data :

- (i) There is no city of the denomination of *Bīrūn* in modern Sindh; while there is a trace of an uninhabited place named *Nīrūn*.
- (ii) Abū Raihān, according to Samʿānī, was the inhabitant of Khwārazm, and was known as *Bīrūnī* in the terminology of its people.

To deny the existence of *Bīrūn* on the ground that there is no trace of any such town in modern Sindh is perhaps going too far, unless it be established that there was never a place of that name at any time in the history of that Province. A good many ancient towns of Sindh, like *Alūrā*, *Tāfin*, *Hamūs* and *Qalūrī*, whose existence is vouchsafed by early 'Arab travellers, have long ceased to exist. *Bīrūn* also is one such instance. Several 'Arab writers have mentioned that there existed a city of the name of *Bīrūn* in Sindh. Also, there is al-Bīrūnī's own evidence, which is irrefutable and is a conclusive proof against the modern conception. The 'Arab historian, Balāzūrī, who lived in the third century A. H., almost three centuries earlier than Samʿānī, has written in detail about the city of *Bīrūn*, and has authoritatively stated that when Muḥammad bin Qāsim led his attack on India in the beginning of 93 A. H., he invaded Sindh,

and entered the city of *Bīrūn*¹, after conquering the fort of Dībul at the mouth of the Indus. The inhabitants, having sent two Buddhist plenipotentiaries to Hajjāj, concluded a treaty with the Caliph, and took Muḥammad 'bin Qāsim inside the city, and paid him the amount of the annual subsidy according to the terms of the treaty. Again, Ibn Uṣayba' in his *Tārīkh ul-Atibbā*, Shahrzū'ī in his *Nuḥbat ul Arwāḥ* and the famous 'Arab geographer Abul Fidā have mentioned *Bīrūn* as a city of Sindh, and have stated that some people attributed it to al-Bīrūnī. Also, the author of the *Taqwīm ul Bulḍān*, al-mu'ayyid Ismā'il bin 'Alī al-Ayyūbī, has cited *Bīrūn* as an old city of Sindh with its location between Dībul and Maṅsūrah. In support of his statement he has quoted al-Mahallabī, al-Idrīsī and Ibn Sa'īd, stating that *Bīrūn* was not a big city and was inhabited by the Muslims, and had a strong fort at the entrance, and was commonly attributed to al-Bīrūnī.² The

¹ Cf. the statement:—

قالوا واتی محمد بن القاسم البیرون و کان أهلها یعتنوا ثمنین منهم
الی الکباج فصالحه فاقاموا بالمحمد الطوفه و ادخلوه مدینتهم و و فوا بالصالح —
(Chap. I, Futūḥ us Sind, p. 437)

² Cf. the statement:

و البیرون اسم مدینة من الدیل و من المنصورة علی نحر نصف الطريق
و د بها قیل هی الی المنصورة اقرب و قال الملهی البیرون مدینة أهلها مسلمون
و منها الی المنصورة خمسة عشرة فرسخا و قال ابن سعید مدینة البیرون التي

French scholar, Reinaud, whose investigations into the life and works of Abū Raihān are of special interest, because he was the first to introduce the name of this scientist in Europe by publishing a few chapters of his famous work, *Kitāb ul-Hind*, entertained no doubt as to the existence of Bīrūn, a view which, subsequently, was not credited by Elliot. The latter has, perhaps, missed the evidence of al-Bīrūnī himself, which is a great factor in determining the truth. Al-Bīrūnī in his *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī*, has expressly mentioned *Bīrūn* as a city of Sindh, and has given its longitude and latitude as follows¹:—

long.	..	..	94-30'
lat.	..	..	24-45'

which, according to the modern calculation comes to

long.	..	..	69-0'
lat.	..	..	25-0'

respectively.

The historian Ismā'il bin 'Alī al-Ayyūbī has referred to this calculation of al-Bīrūnī, and has taken

ينسب اليها ابو ريحان البيروني و هي من فرض بلاد الهند التي عليها خليجهم
المالح الخارج من بحر فارس و قال الانديسى من البيرون الى المصورة ثلاث
مراحل و بعض مرحلة و هي مدينة ليست بالبحيرة و عليها حصن حصين -

(*Taqwīm ul Buldān*, p. 147, Shibli Academy, A'zamgarh).

¹ *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī*, chap. V, Mss., foll. 217-219, Imperial Library, Rāmpūr State.

special care to transcribe the name of this city by expressing each letter in words, a custom followed by the 'Arab lexicographers and other cautious writers, which admits of no mistake or doubt whatever in the spelling of any name.¹

In the face of these positive proofs, the existence of *Bīrūn* as a city in Sindh cannot be denied. Nevertheless, its claim to be the home of al-Bīrūnī is disproved by his own statement. He says that he came to India as a stranger, and in the beginning of his stay here became a pupil of the *Pandits* for the study of Sanskrit. What is most striking in his account is that he acquired in a short time complete mastery of Sanskrit, and even excelled his teachers, so that the most eminent *Pandits*, with whom he held discussions, wondered how a stranger and a new-comer could attain such a height of perfection in their sciences, specially astronomy and Hindū lore. Abū Raihān further says that their *savants* had begun to suspect him as a sorcerer, and believed that it was through his sorcery that the secrets of their religion, philosophy, mathematics and astronomy were revealed

¹ Cf.—

يبرون - بكسر الباء الموحدة و سكون اليا آخر الحروف و ضم الراء المهملة
و بعدها واو و في آخره هانون -

(Taqwīm, p. 146).

Note:—This statement is made by the author on the authority of Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī.

to him.¹ The second proof of his not being a native of Sindh is that in the Preface to his book, *‘Ilm ul Adviyyah*, he writes that he passed his childhood in Khwārazm, where he used to learn the Greek language from a learned Greek scholar and used to enquire from him the Greek names of herbs and plants.²

In short, the contention that Abū Raihān was born at *Bīrūn* in Sindh cannot be upheld. But it is a fact that he was closely connected with India and its culture. Although he was proficient in Mathematics and Astronomy, yet the ‘Arab historian, Yāqūt, has classed him with the literary men of the time. It appears that he was a poet as well, and his relations with Maḥmūd were cordial. Yāqūt has quoted an Arabic *qas̄idab* of Abū Raihān in praise of Maḥmūd, in which he admitted, with characteristic frankness, the bounties of the Sultān and his unequalled patronage of letters.

It is clear from the life of Abū Raihān that he completed his studies of Arabic in Khwārazm, where he had ample opportunities for it. He was gifted with a retentive memory, quick wit and intelligence from his very childhood, and soon got admittance into the court of Sultān Abul ‘Abbās Māmūn Khwārazmshāh who appointed him his *مشور* (counsellor³).

¹ Al-Bīrūnī's *India*, Sachau, chap. I. *

² F. Krenkow, "Al-Bīrūnī", *The Islāmic Culture*, Hyderābād, 1933.

³ Baihaqī, *Tārīkh i Mas‘ūdī*, Mss., fol. 121 a, Āsī Press

This position he held for seven years. Subsequently, he became attached to the court of Sultān Maḥmūd, where he was sent on an embassy by Khwārazmshāh.¹ Maḥmūd patronized Abū Raiḥān and made him his chief courtier. This gave him a good chance to do full justice to his natural inclinations for acquiring knowledge of Indian arts and sciences. He, therefore, applied himself to this task with zeal and promptitude until Maḥmūd's death. In the journeys which Abū Raiḥān undertook in quest of knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindū learning, he had to bear untold sufferings and hardships. The *Pandits* treated him with disdain and looked down upon him as an "untouchable", but he tolerated all this, and by his perseverance and devotion learnt their sacred sciences, and translated Sanskrit books into Arabic, and Arabic and Greek books into Sanskrit.

Now the question arises as to what his mother tongue was. His own reply to this appears in the

library, Lucknow.

¹ Cf. the statement:—

و البیرونی حکیم را کہ از خرد سالکی فضلالی آن دیار اورا دانستندے
و ہر علم و دانش او تحسین گفتندے ہرسم حضوری بدرگاہ ابوالعباس مامون
خوارزمشاہ آوردند و ستودند — امیر حاجب کہ روزگارش مساعد ہون اشارت
بہ نشستن کرد و فرمان شاہی مہم سفارت سلطان مکتوب را با و تفویض
نمود و فوق تر از و ندیدند —

(Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 79)

Preface of his book *‘Ilm ul Advīyyab* in the form of a puzzle. He says that his mother tongue is a language which was never made a medium of script in literary works. He further mentions that neither Arabic nor Persian is his mother tongue.¹ Persian was the literary and spoken language of the high class people of Khwārazm proper, but the common colloquial language of the district was a local dialect, *Khwārazmī*.² Also, in the outskirts of Khwārazm, mixed rural dialects were current which were unfit to be used in literary works.

Abū Raiḥān, as in Arabic, holds a prominent place in Persian literature as well, because he was a

¹ Cf. the statement:—

و ان كانت كل امة تتكلم لغتها التي افاتها... ثم منتقلة الى العربية و
الفارسية في كل واحدة دخيل و لها متكلف -

(F. Krenkow, "Al-Bīrūnī", Islamic Culture, 1933).

² Cf.—

امير ابوالعباس مامون يعقوب كندی را بوقع مظنة فاسد که از قضيۀ نا
مرضيه خانان ترکستان سرکشیده بود نزد وزير سلطان محمود فرستان -
او متمدنه در غزنین مانده لا فهامی زد و از اعیان و سران کسے نزدیک
او نیامد و معتبر نداشت - بالآخر دلتنگ شده سطرے چند در شکایت
اهل غزنه بخط و لغت خوارزمی که برسر آن کسے مطلع نشود نگاشته
خریطه بدست حاجبی خرد میرزا حمید بخاری بخوارزم بطرف امیر
فرستان -

(Tazkira i Salāṭīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 87).

citizen of Khwārazm, and hence a Persian by blood. He was also closely associated with the elite of Persia, and learnt Arabic in Khwārazm under eminent local teachers of Arabic language and literature through the Persian medium.

The officers and soldiers of Maḥmūd's army were the first to bring and introduce the Persian language into India in a stable form, but the admixture of Persian and Hindī began from the time of Abū Raiḥān. As a matter of fact, he could not avoid using the words of the current Prākritis and of the language of the *Pandits* and the high class Brahmans, with whom he came in contact in his daily intercourse. They too, in their turn, used the words of Abū Raiḥān's language in their address to him. The result was that the words of Sanskrit and Persian vocabularies became thus, consciously or unconsciously, intermingled with each other.

The *al-Hind*, the *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah* and the *Qānūn*

His most famous *ul Mas'ūdī* are among his best works: the *al-Hind*; known works. The first is the *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah*; directly concerned with India. and the *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī*.

In this, the sciences of the Hindūs, their religion, philosophy, astronomy and beliefs have been described in detail. It is, thus, a complete history of the culture of the Hindūs. It has also been translated into German and English, with a Preface by a German orientalist, Edward Sachau.

The *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah* is a comprehensive history of the nations of the world in ancient times. It contains a history of the calendar; the causation of Day and Night; the renewal of the world after the great Deluge; an account of the deluge; the mission of the Reformers and the Claimants to the Prophethood and their disciples; an account of Zul-Qarnain and Zoroaster; the laws of the Jews, the Magis, the Egyptians, the 'Arabs and the Persians and their festivals, together with the author's comment on their religious observances and rituals. Like the *al-Hind*, this book also was translated into German and English, and published with a Preface by Sachau.

The *Qanūn ul Mas'ūdī*¹ is a most valuable work on astronomy. It is a mirror of the achievement of the Muslim world in science and shows their sturdy

¹ Some attempts were made at 'Aligarh in 1915-16 by the late Nawāb Muḥammad Ishāq Khān, Honorary Secretary, Muḥammadan-Anglo-Oriental College, to form an Academy to edit and publish this work under the liberal patronage of the Nizām's government, but it fell through for want of suitable men to handle the task. To understand and edit the chapters of this great work, it is necessary to find scholars who may have completed their study of advanced Mathematics and astronomy originally in Arabic. An Academy was founded in Italy under the patronage of Leone Caetani, a great lover of Islāmic studies, which, besides other literary activities in its programme, also undertook the responsibility for editing and publishing this work. It is to be hoped that through the enthusiasm of European orientlists this gigantic task will soon be completed.

refined taste for scientific subjects. In this book Abū Raihān has recorded many a theoretical observation and his experiment relating to the position of the stars and their distance from the Earth, together with the phenomena which he noticed in the Solar regions by means of his apparatuses from the *Observatory* at Ghaznī in 410 A. H. and subsequent dates.

Abū Raihān has given a list of his works, which are more than a hundred
 His other works. in number, in a small pamphlet which he wrote for one of his friends. This pamphlet is preserved in the library of Leyden, to which a reference has been made by Sachau in his Preface to the *Āṣār ul Bāqiyah*. The list is by no means complete since there are other sundry works mentioned by historians.

After Maḥmūd's death, Abū Raihān remained in the service of Sultān Mas'ūd, and received royal patronage and favours from him. This, indeed, was a great encouragement to Abū Raihān for carrying on undisturbed his scientific researches to which he had already devoted himself. His open and full acknowledgment of Mas'ūd's liberal support is made in his Preface to the *Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī*, his best work, for which reason it was dedicated to the Sultān and called after his name "*Mas'ūdī*."

Abū Raihān states that Sultān Mas'ūd possessed His estimate of a wider and more advanced Mas'ūd's literary taste. literary taste than his father.¹ Mas'ūd had received the best scientific training, and had acquired competent knowledge of Arabic and ornate Persian prose. He was one of the most eloquent speakers of his time. Historians relate that when he talked to his courtiers in Persian, the most accomplished scholars in attendance were astonished to hear his eloquence.² His Persian speech was particularly sweet and his composition weighty and of a high order. 'None but he among the Ghaznavīd kings, says Sulaimān bin 'Abdul Husain Sarakhshī, used to speak and write pure idiomatic Persian with fluency and ease.³

¹ Qānūn ul Mas'ūdī, Preface.

Also, cf. Yāqūt:—

وكان السلطان مسعود شجاعاً كريماً ذافضائل كثيرة محباً للعلماء كثير الاحسان اليهم
والتقرب لهم... صنفاً الى التمايز الكثيرة في فنون العلوم وكان كثير الصدقة
والاحسان الى اهل الحاجة —

² Cf. Baihaqī:—

چون ایں پادشاہ در سخن آمدے جہانیاں بایستے کہ در نظارہ بودندے
کہ در پاشیدے و شکر شکستے —

(Tārikh i Mas'ūdī, p. 19).

³ Cf.—

گویند از سلاطین عظام ایں سلسلہ عالیہ مثل سلطان شہید (مسعود)
انار اللہ برہانہ کیسے در پارسی سخن نظیف تر نہ داندے —

(Tazkira i Salāṭīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss. p. 39)

Persian being the court language of the Ghaznavids, Abū Raihān must have carried on his conversations with the people in that language. Also, because by virtue of his office, he was to be in close touch with Maḥmūd and his son, he had frequent occasions of meeting and talking with them in his and their mother tongue: Persian. Further, he employed it in his conversations with the citizens of Ghaznī and the literate and business class Muslims of the Punjāb. Persian, in fact, was gaining popularity at the hands of Persian poets in the vast territory of Sultān Maḥmūd, which extended from the eastern part of the Punjāb to the furthest end of Afghānistān and Persia in the West. Abū Raihān's mastery of the Persian language and literature is evident from the fact that he was a Persian, even though he has not used Persian as a vehicle of thought in any of his literary works. In short, he holds a very prominent place among the world's writers. His works on scientific subjects are of unique value, and have no parallel in history. The historians, speaking of his insatiable thirst for reading and writing, state that his pen and his mind and eye were constantly at work, and they never ceased their activity throughout the year but for *two* days only, and that too to procure for himself the bare needs of living. Thus says Yāqūt:—

¹ و كان مكباً على تحصيل العلوم منصباً الى تصنيف الكتب بفتح ابوابها
و يحيطوا بها و اقرأ بها و لا يتاد يفارق يده القلم و عينه النظر و قلبه الفكر
إلا فى يومى النيروز و المهرجان من السنة لا عداد ما تمس إليه الحاجة
فى المعاش من بلغة الطعام و علة الكرياش -

He is a most conspicuous figure among the elite of the Ghaznavīd court. Sultān Mahmūd had kept him with due honour, and raised him to the high rank of *chief counsellor*. He also took him from Khwārazm, after its conquest, to Ghaznī, and afforded him facilities for acquiring knowledge of Sanskrit and Hindū lore in India under royal patronage. Mahmūd was from the very beginning much impressed by Abū Raihān's vast learning, and treated him with great kindness and consideration, since he had been introduced to Mahmūd at Khwārazm with the following significant remark:—

² انه امام و فته فى علم النجوم و ان الملوك لا يستغنون عن مثله -

He (Abū Raihān) is the *Imām* of his time in astronomy, and the kings cannot do without one like him.

Abū Raihān himself acknowledges Mahmūd's generosity in a *qasīdah* as follows:—

¹ Irshād ul Arīb fi Ma'rifat il Adīb, Gibb. Mem. Series, vol. VI, pp. 308-309.

² Ibid., p. 311.

و لم يلق بض محمود على بنعمة ذا غنى و اقلنى مغنيا عن مكاسبها
عفا عن جميعا لاني و ابدى تكربا و طرى بجلا دوننى و لها سبها

He was born, according to Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm al-Tabrizī, at Khwārāzm in 362 A. H.; and died, according to Yāqūt, at Ghaznī in 403 A. H., at the age of 41 years, which is, however, incorrect, as it is inconsistent with Abū Raihān's own statement preserved in a letter to one of his friends, stating that he was 65 years of age in 427 A. H.² This rightly gives 362 A. H., as the date of his birth. The mistake, therefore, lies in the date of his death given by Yāqūt, which cannot be earlier than 427 A. H. by any calculation.

The reign of Sultān Mahmūd must be viewed from

Mahmūd's regime two different angles, as a conqueror and as a patron of letters, from territorial and literary point of view. when considering the introduction and growth of the Persian language in India. His conquest was more effective in introducing the peoples of Hindūstān to this new tongue, while his patronage gave it popularity and consequent growth in the more congenial and healthy atmosphere of the Indian soil. After his victories in the Punjāb, he had to deal with the nobility and the masses of the Hindū population in his administrative and private capaci-

¹ Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 71.

² Sachau, Aṣār ul Bāqiyah, Preface.

ties. The medium of such dealing and communication was, *de facto*, the language of the conqueror, which was acceptable to the Muslims and the non-Muslims alike. A few such notable occasions, out of the many that presented themselves to the emperor, are just cited here to show how Persian language was being peacefully propagated in upper Hindūstān.

Anandpāl, the Rājā of Lāhore, had concluded a treaty with Maḥmūd. When the latter wanted to attack Thāneshwar, the only safe route open to his army was to pass through the Rājā's territory. Maḥmūd, thereupon, sent a special envoy to the Rājā with the message that he should depute some trustworthy officers who should let him know what inhabited and fertile tracts lay in the Rājā's territory, so that they might not suffer harm at the hands of the army. The Rājā, thereupon, sent his own brother in command of a squadron of 2,000 horsemen to act as guides, until the whole army of the Sultān had passed clear of the Rājā's dominion. This affair took a complete year to finish. Historians relate that under strict orders from Maḥmūd not a single soul from among the subjects of Anandpāl nor their property was to be molested by the Muslim soldiers. The Rājā had also sent along with these guides 5,000 *chākar* (menials) to serve the army, and 3,000 shop-keepers to open their stalls of goods like

earthenware, grain, cloth, sheep, ghee, sugar, milk and nuts, at the various camps, to supply the Muslim army with provisions on their way to Thāneshwar.¹ The chief point to be noticed in this connection is that the common folk of India, by coming in contact with the Persian army, must have learnt the rudiments of Persian, and become acquainted with Persian manners and customs. Likewise, the Persian soldiers must have gained knowledge of Indian dialects and civilization at first-hand in their close association with the Indian peoples, and in their daily transactions with the *Banyās* and other merchants. Thus the mutual influence of their respective cultures on each other cannot be denied.

On another occasion, Maḥmūd had taken several regiments of brave Hindū soldiers with him to Ghaznī, whom he treated with great kindness and consideration. The command of these regiments was placed in the hands of able and experienced Hindūs of noble families. The two most renowned among them were Sobindrāi and Nāth, who, with their

¹ Cf. the statement:—

و آنندپال... همراه قانددین پنج هزار کس چاکر و سه هزار کس باز
دگانان را که از هر جنس سفال و پارچه و ماکل و غله و شیر و میده و
میش و قند در لشکر گاه سلطان مهیا دارند فرستاد —

(Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl Ghaznī, Mss., p. 89).

troops, lived for several years in the midst of the Persian army at Ghaznī, and fought numerous battles for the Sultān. Sobindrāi was so greatly trusted by the royal house that immediately after the death of Maḥmūd, his son, Muḥammad, sent the Hindū general to the city of *Bust* in the West to crush a rebellion against the State. He fought with great valour and died on the battle-field. Nāth, no less brave and loyal than his colleague, was sent by Mas'ūd against his enemy, Niyāltagīn, a Turk. This general also died a glorious death in the thick of a battle, after gaining a number of victories for Maḥmūd and his successors. Mas'ūd on hearing of Nāth's death, was so much grieved that he did not take food for three days, and appointed none other than a near relation of the deceased, named *Tūlak*, to succeed him in command.

Another military officer was *Harī Tēk* who rendered signal services to Maḥmūd in his territorial expansion and in quelling disturbances in the Punjāb. He was the chief artillery officer and was in command of a detachment of 10,000 horse and foot, consisting mostly of Rajpūts. He and his troops remained with Maḥmūd's central army. After Maḥmūd's death, Harī Tēk went away to Kashmīr, being displeased with Mas'ūd, but his son Maudūd, Maḥmūd's grandson, tried to win him back to his court, and sent Abū'Alī Kotwāl, then governor of Lāhore, to Kashmīr, who effected a reconciliation and brought him

back to Lāhore with honour. On arrival, Maudūd held him in greater esteem and kept him near his person at Ghaznī.¹ All these facts indicate how the Persian language was making itself familiar to the people of Hindūstān and influencing their culture and taste.

At this time, the famous saint and warrior, Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, a young bachelor and a prominent member of the Ghaznavid dynasty, who had come to India from Ghaznī during the time of Mahmūd, advanced with an army of Persian soldiers towards Qannauj, and having crossed the Ganges reached Oudh. He met with some resistance at Sirhind, Kūl, Mathrā and Āgrā, but overcame all, because of the adventurous spirit of his Persian followers and their missionary zeal to efface idol-worship and spread the kingdom of Allāh upon earth. The young Ghāzī's forces, which had greatly dwindled on their long and tedious journey, reached Bahrā'ich in an almost exhausted condition. A great battle was fought against a fresh and well-equipped combined army of the Rājās of Qannauj, Gōnda and Bahrā'ich, in which the saint lost his life, after a fierce 17-hour struggle on Sunday and Monday of the first week of

Spread of Persian
in Upper Hindūstān
through Sayyid Sālār
Mas'ūd Ghāzī.

¹ Farishtah, p. 46.

Jūth, which is the hottest month of the Hindū calendar year. The annual 'Urs (death anniversary) is held in the first week of this month, commencing on Sunday, in commemoration of his martyrdom and "wedding," though this never took place in his lifetime, and he died a bachelor. His tomb is held in great veneration by the Muslims and the non-Muslims alike, and wedding processions come from the neighbouring towns like Rudaulī, Satrikh, Benāres and Jaunpūr. Thousands of people gather every year to witness the ceremony of the *Fātiha*, and to pray for the cure of their ailments by seeking the saint's benedictions. This is one of the biggest 'Urs which is held in Northern India. People from all parts of the United Provinces and from Bihār and Bengal come to pay their homage to the bachelor saint, who lies buried in the *Dargāh*. The most striking feature is that many of them come all the way on foot, believing that by doing so they get the saint's blessings, which is the chief thing sought after for the fulfilment of their desires.

The cultural consequences of his journey from Lāhore to Bahrā'ich are noteworthy. It is to be seen that hundreds of his followers, who were the elite of Persia, had settled down after their general's death and the break-up of the army, in the districts of Oudh, where their descendants are still to be found. Their permanent settlement there played an important part in the introduction and spread of Persian civilization

and language in the interior of Oudh, and had a most salutary effect on the culture and literary taste of the people of this part of India. The followers of Sayyid Sālār were all Persian-speaking men who had dispersed and settled in the districts of Oudh. Because of this fact, Persian vocabulary and Persian manners found their way into the interior of the country as well. This is why the Hindū population of this Province shortly afterwards developed a taste for Persian language and literature, and within a century of the cessation of the Ghaznavid rule began to speak and write in Persian.

The second result, which concerns itself with the growth and popularity of the Persian language in the country and the cultivation of a taste for it among the literate classes, is still more important. The chief factors responsible for this were Mahmūd's own refined taste for Persian poetry and his liberal patronage of men-of-letters. It is stated that no less than *four hundred* scholars and poets always accompanied him on his expeditions.¹ Hence it was impossible for the indigenous taste not to have been influenced by Persian thought. The presence of these Persian elite, coupled with Mahmūd's munificent rewards to poets, was creating a very favourable atmosphere for the Persian language to develop in India, and was earnestly attracting the people towards everything Persian.

¹ Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī, fol. 67a. Also, see Daulatshāh, p. 24.

One can imagine the tremendous influence exercised by an Eastern monarch in those days. When Mahmūd moved about with his vast army of Persian followers and *four hundred* scholars and poets in attendance, his influence must have been very great on the culture and the taste of the people of Hindūstān. The Ghaznavīd *darbār* was the only centre of Persian culture in the East. The poets born in Persia were attracted to Ghaznī and Lāhore, the Persian and the Indian seats of government. This means that the territory lying between the Persian towns and the Indian Capital was all under the sway of Persian culture. The most renowned poets and scholars crossed the Punjāb, and reached as far as Oudh under the banner of Mahmūd and Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, and left their impress on the language and civilization of that place. Of the poets in Mahmūd's attendance, the following *seven* were most prominent:—

1. 'Unsurī.	2. 'Asjadī.	3. Asadī.
4. Farrukhī.	5. Firdausī.	6. Mīnū-
	7. Ghazā'irī.	chehrī.

It is out of place to discuss here the respective merits of each of them and to show how these poets refined and enriched their composition in the more congenial surroundings of India. In other words, what beneficial effect did the Indian atmosphere produce on their poetry? Briefly speaking, the niceties of thought, gaiety of composition and the buoyant

mode of expression, with which their eulogistic and descriptive poetry abounds, would not have been possible but for the Indian atmosphere which had thoroughly affected them. Besides, their *qas̄ā'id* are historically important, specially those written to describe the scenes of battles, expeditions and victories of Maḥmūd and his successors. Persia did not produce verses to compare with these. This is the peculiarity of Persian *qas̄ā'id* written in India in this period. A few concrete instances to illustrate this point more fully are cited below:—

Farrukhī accompanied Maḥmūd in his expedition to Somnāth. He has versified the thrilling events of this historic march in a remarkable *qas̄idah*, portraying the jungles of India, the dread of the snakes, the clearing up of the way, the victories gained and, what is most important, the track and toils of the journey, which no biographer of Maḥmūd has considered his worth while to give. He also presents a faithful account of the tanks that were built to supply water for the rear guard of the army, the victories gained over the fortified towns in the way, the armies of idolators who filled the forts and the temples, the manner in which they worshipped their idol-gods and washed them every day with the holy rose water, milk and saffron, the storming and surrender of the city, Maḥmūd's generous disposition towards the vanquished, the high spirit of his personal staff and the army, and his return journey. Farrukhī,

by his graphic account, has rendered a valuable service to Persian poetry and has enhanced its prestige and worth. The original poem is a long one. Here, only a relevant portion is quoted:—

در ذکر سفرِ سومنات و قدحِ آل و شکستِ منات و رجعتِ سلطان گوید
فسانه گشت و کهن شد حدیثِ اسکندر سخن نو آر که نوراً حلا و تہمتِ دیگر
فسانه کهن و کارنامه بدروغ بکار ناید رو در دروغ رنجِ مبر

.....
گمان که بُرد که هرگز کسی ز راهِ طراز به سومنات بود لشکر و چنین لشکر؟

.....
هوای او دژم و بان او چو دو دیکیم زمین او سیہ و خاکِ او چو خاکستر
ہمہ درخت میان درخت خار کشن نہ خار بلکہ سنانِ خلدہ و خنجر
نہ مرد را سرِ آن کاند و نہانے پای نہ مرغ را دلِ آن کاند و کشانے پر

.....
عجب تر آنکہ ملک را ہمی چنین گفتند کہ اندرین رہ مار دو سر ہوں پیمر
بشب چو خفتہ ہوں مرد سر بر آرد مار ہمی کشد نفسِ خفتہ تا بر آید خور
چو خورد بر آمد و گرمی بہ مردِ خفتہ رسید سہک نکردن از آن خواب تا گہِ معشر
بدین درشتی و زشتی رہے کہ کردم یان گزشت شاہ بتوفیقِ خالقِ اکبر
بساخت بہر ز پسماندگان و گم شدگان میان بادبہ ہا حوضہای چوں کوثر
بدان رہ اندر چندین حصار و شہر بزرگ خراب کرد و بکند اصلِ ہر یک ازین و بر
نخست اسکدرہ کز روی برج و بارہ او چو کوه کوه فرو ریخت آہن و مرمر

.....
چو چیلودار کہ صندوقہای گوہر یافت بکوه پایہ او شہر یار شہر شکر

¹ *Diwān i Farrukhī*, p. 68.

چو نه پناهواره به نه پناهواره هسی گرد بر شهاں مفتخر
 چو مندر شیر که در مندر شیر حوضه بود چنانکه خیره شده اندرون و چشم فکر
 نواح پناه حوضه به صد هزار عمل هزار بتکه خرد گرد حوض اندر
 دگر چو دیو لواره که سنجو دیو سنید بدیدن بون سر افراشته میان گذر
 یکے حصار نوی بر کران شهر و درو ز بت پرستان گرد آمده یکے متعشر
 فرینه سر روز آن سنگ را بشستند به آب گنگ و به شیر و به زعفران و شکر

*On Sultān's journey to Somnāth and its storming and
 breaking the idol Manāt and return*

The discourse of Alexander has become old and
 a fiction, Bring in new speech, for a new thing
 has a new taste;

An old fiction and a false work

Serve no useful purpose, go and do not labour
 in falsehoods;

Who could think that any one ever by way of
 Tarāz,

Would lead an army towards Somnāth? And
 such a huge army!

Its climate is dirty, its air like the smoke of hell,

Its land black, and its dust like the burnt ashes;

It is all thick jungle, and its trees are full of thorns,

Not thorns, but piercing spears and daggers;

Neither man could dare put his step therein,

Nor has the bird courage to spread its wing;

The most wonderful thing is that the people
 had told the king

That in this path there are countless two-headed
 snakes;
 These snakes come out at night when men are
 asleep,
 And bite them to death till it is day-break;
 When the sun appears and its heat reaches the
 sleeping man,
 He does not rise from his slumber till doomsday;
 Through this hard and evil path as above des-
 cribed,
 The king passed safely by the grace of God,
 the Almighty;
 His Majesty built for those who had lagged be-
 hind and gone astray,
 Tanks like *kaṣar* in the midst of the jungles;
 In that path there were many forts and big cities
 Which he devastated and pulled them each from
 its foundation;
 The first fort was that of Ludravah, from the
 turrets and walls of which,
 They hurled mountains of stones and iron;

.....

Another was Mandhēr which had a tank inside,
 It was so marvellous that the two eyes of percep-
 tion were dazed with wonder;
 It was a big tank built with a hundred thousand
 art,
 And contained one thousand small temples
 within;

The other tank was Dēvalvārah which, like the
white demon,

Was visible with its head aloft on our way;

A very strong fort was in front of the city, and
in it

The huge crowds of idolators were collected;
As a sacred duty they washed this idol every
day,

With the Ganges water, milk, saffron and sugar.

Farrukhī, as the result of his stay in India, has
also made use of Hindī words in his Persian composi-
tion. An instance of it is to be found in the follow-
ing verse in the word شل ;

۱ برون شل افغانیاں دو پرہ و تیز چو دستہ دستہ بہم تیر ہای چوں سو فار

Mīnūchehrī, a contemporary of his, who is a
connecting link between Persian and Arabic poetry,
was, perhaps, influenced by Indian society more than
his comrade. He has used both Hindī words and
sentiments in a *qas̄dah* in which he says:

۲ الا تا مومنان دارند روزہ الا تا ہندوان گبرند لنگہن

Another poet, Mukhtārī, who was a colleague
of Hakīm Sanāʾī, had come away to India from Ghaznī
in the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm Ghaznavī, and settled

¹ Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 97a.

² A History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal
court, vol. I, p. 64.

in the Punjāb. He wrote numerous *qasā'id* during his stay at Lāhore and Multān in praise of the king, of which the following is the most famous:—

مسلمانان دِلے دارم کہ ضایع می شود جانش¹
در افتادم بدآن دردے کہ پیدا نیست در مانش

The chief peculiarity of these *qasā'id* is that they were copied in style, metre and thought by such perfect masters of poetry as Khusrau, Anwarī, Khāqānī Salmān, 'Urfī and others,² but none could approach Mukhtārī in sweetness of expression and style.³ After his arrival in India, he too could not save his literary works from the powerful influence of society and the influx of Hindī vocabulary. In a *qasīdah* writing about a slave, whom he had purchased in the market of Multān, he says:

¹ Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 108.

² Cf. Khusrau:— بسنے چوں سگاں از دور خرسندم ز دربانش

Cf. Anwarī:— بیس وقت سخن گفتن لب شیرین و دندانش

Cf. Khāqānī:— دل من پیر تعلیم است و من طفل زباندانش

Cf. Salmān:— دل عارف در معنی بود از بکر عرفانش

Cf. 'Urfī:— دل من باغبان عشق و حیرانی گلستانش

³ Cf. the statement:—

و بسیاری از اکابر این قصیده را جواب گفته اند همانا بزبانی این
قصیده نگفته باشند —

(Daulatshāh, p. 94, ed. by Browne)

۱ "چوں" بادے بچستہ گفتے
 مگس بدیدے بر من نشستہ گفتے "مار"

The opening line of this *qasīdah* is:—

یکے غلامکِ ہندی خریدم از بازار بدآن بہا کہ ز گفتارِ آنم آید عار

His name was 'Uṣmān which he had originally adopted as his *nom de guerre*, but subsequently changed it for Mukhtārī. He enjoyed the confidence and company of the Ghaznavid kings. His ideas and poetic fervour could be gauged from his *qasā'id*. The following, which is one of the best, has been imitated by almost all the leading poets of Persia:—

دو زگارے خوشتر است از شکر و عنبر ترا
 یاسمن در عنبر است و لاله در شکر ترا

He was a most independent but least cautious poet of the time. When he monopolised freedom in the domain of poetry, specially satire, he, at times, broke the bounds of even ordinary rules and conventions. The best example of it is to be found in the *qasīdah* describing the purchase of the slave, already referred to. In another *qasīdah* written in praise of an *amīr*, he begins with the desire of purchasing a slave, which indicates his originality and his peculiar taste for strife against conventionalism. He says:—

¹ Bayāz i Mīrzā Asad Bēg Turkmān, Mss. fol. 67a.

دی غلامے دیدم اندر راہ چوں مہر منیر
 کز پروں گل بود و مشک و از دروں می بود شیر
 تن چو اندر آب شیر و رخ چو گل اندر چمن
 لب چو لعل اندر نہایت و ہر چو سیم اندر حریر
 پیکرے بس دلستان و قامتے بس دلربا
 ناز کے بس دلفریب و شاہدے بس دلاپذیر
 دست و بازویش بلور و عارض و دندان چو در
 زلف و آب و چوں کمان و غمز و بالایش چو تیر
 من برو چشمے زدم چونان کہ بے شرمیں ز دند
 او ز شرم آنس پرآگند از ہر بدر منیر
 چوں بیامد گفتم ای کردہ دلم زیر و زبر
 خار باد آں کت ہمی بیرون فرستد قہر قہر
 چوں تو حورالعین کہ دارد چشمہا پر آب کرد
 گفت حورالعین بدست دیو کے باشد اسیر
 خواجہ دارم کہ گوش از نام او دارد نفور
 طلعتے دارد کہ چشم از دیدنش گر دیدہ خیر
 او چنانست از من و بے من جہانے در فغاں
 او نفور است از من و بے من جہانے در نفیر
 گفتم ای جانم فدائے روی چوں مالا تو باد
 گر تو بفر و شد بجان باشد روا جان حقیر
 گفت رو تدبیر زر کن جان مدہ زیوا کہ هست
 چوں ترا از جان خداوند و مرا شد در گزیر
 گرت باید آستین از بہر من پُر زر کنی
 دامن عثمان عبداللہ اسمعیل گیر

The last verse containing گریز or "skip" towards the praise of his benefactor, 'Uṣmān 'Abdullāh bin Ismā'il, is so pleasing to the ear that the listener cannot but be inclined to fulfil the desire of the writer of the *qasīdah*.

In one of his *qasā'id*, he has praised his riding-camel in much the same way as was done by the 'Arab poet, Mutanabbī, who, on a critical occasion, was carried by his animal safely through the midst of his enemies from Syria to Kūfāh. The chief feature of Mukhtārī's poem is, that his similes and ideas, which are Persian, are modified by his Indian surroundings, since he had to traverse with the king's troops the mountainous region of the frontier and the forests of the Punjāb. He says:—

چو من به قوتِ اسلام و نصرتِ داور	ز بهر خدمتِ بستم کمر به عزم سفر
مدیج بود مرا رهبر و سخن مونس	امید بود مرا همسر و خرد یاور
بخواستم ز مجبزی جواز آرد	یکم هیو نی صحرای نوردن کهر پیکر
سپهر گردن و آگنده ران و پهن قفا	بلند قامت و بسیار موی و کوچک سر
بریده از دهنش خوشهای مروارید	دمیده از کتفش برگهای سوسن بر
چو بان پای به کوهان او در آوردم	ز جای برجست آن باد پای کوه سپهر
بسان نافه صالح بیک شب اندر کوه	هزار بار بروں آمد از میان حجر
فلک بود متکبر ز شورش عالم	زمین بود متحرک ز جنبش لشکر
ز خاک تیره کنی رزمگاه را بالین	ز خون تازه کنی جنگجوی را بستر
در آفرینش بر نده بود خنجر تو	نه تربیت ز فسوں یافت باز آهنگر
نعون بالله اگر نام او بود یا جَبَج	بریده گودن صد جای سی اسکندر

A specimen of Mukhtārī's quatrain, which is on love, is cited below:—

خواهم صنما همه جهان دشمن من پیراهن تو بیکه و پیراهن من
از بازوی من قلاده در گردن تو وز گیسو تو کمند در گردن من

Besides Farrukhī, many a Persian poet of fame, The coming of who came to India along with 'Asjadī to India, and his congratulatory poem on the victory on the occasion of his victories. of Somnāth. One such was 'Asjadī, who accompanied the Sultān to Somnāth, and presented a marvellous *gasīdah* of which only a few lines are extant:—

تا شاه خسروان سفر سو منات کرد کردار خویش را عام معجزات کرد
آثار روشن ملکان گذشته را نزدیک بکردار همه از مشکلات کرد
بزدو دز اهل کفر جهان را بر اهل دین شکر و دلی خویشان از واجبات کرد
محمود شهر یار کریم آنکه ملک را بنیاد بر مقام و بر کمونات کرد
شمارنج ملک باخت ملک با هزار شاه هر شاه را به لعب دیگر شاه مات کرد
شاهان تو از سکندر پیشی بدان جهت کو هر سفر که کرد بدیگر جهات کرد
عین الرضاء آیزد جوئی تو در سفر باز از سفر به جستن عین الکیافه کرد
تو کارها به نیزه و تیر و کمان کنی او کارها بکینه و کلک و دوات کرد
سر در ننگه پیشت هر مهتوی و ری چونان که جیل و بهرج و پال و جات کرد
مندهیر را گرفتگی و می بایدت چنانک دیدیم نیزه تو چه در سومنات کرد

The word دیدیم in the second line of the last verse clearly suggests his presence during the attack

on and conquest of Somnāth.

‘Unsuri, the poet laureate of the court of Sultān Mahmūd, also accompanied his master in several battles that were fought with Jaipāl and his allies. He has described in a remarkable *qasīdah* the storming of the fort of Peshāwar and the brilliant victories gained on the way in the historic march on Multān. Some lines are quoted below:—

شلیده خبر شاه هندوان جیبپال که بر سپهر بلندش همی بسود انسر
بدان صفت سپهر چو شب سپاه بزرگ بدست ایشان شمشیرهای همچو سحر
چو د تیره درو آتشی زبانه زناں تو گنته که پر اگنده شد بدشت سقر
خداگانا خراسان بدشت پیشاور به حمله پیراگند آن همه لشکر
حکایت سفر مولتان همی دانی و گر ندانی تاج الفتوح پیش آورد
اگر ز دجله نریدون گذشت بے کشتی بشاهنامه بر آن بر حکایت است سمر
لزان سپس که درو دهم را نبوده پای وزان سپس که بران باد را نبون عبر
به مولتان شد و در ده دیو بست قلعه کشان که هر یک را صد بند بون چون خبیر
بلاد و بتدۀ شان کشاد و سوخت همه بهرون باد همه تونهای خاکستر

Similarly Zīnatī, who was among the chief counsellors of Sultān Mahmūd, has fulfilled his duty as a poet. When the Sultān, in one of his expeditions from Ghaznī, entered into Hindūstān, after suffering the hardships of the journey all along, Zīnatī at once wrote a *qasīdah* consoling the king against his troubles

and weariness thus:—

ای خداوند روزگار پناه	مطربان را بخوان و باده بخواه
تا بدان لعل می فرو شویم	کا مها راز گرد و محنت راه
پس جوانمرد وار برسازیم	مجلسے پر نهنک و شیر آگاه
میسره مطربان خوش سازیم	میسنه دوستان نیکو خواہ
غم گریز د ز پیش ما چونانک	خان و قیصر ز پیش شاهنشاه
خسرو خسروان ملک محمود	ملت و ملک را همیشه پناه

In another *qas̄idab* he addresses the king on a similar occasion as follows:—

ایا شهر یارے کہ گرد سپاہت	ہمی چشم دین را کند توتیائی
بود داد تو مرجہاں را همیشه	چو اندام آزرده را مومیائی
ز خون عدو گرد فتنہ نشانی	بہ تیغت ہمہ زنگ بدعت زدائی
مگر نذر داری کہ ہو مہ کہ نوشد	شہے را بہ بندی و شہرے کشائی
مگر عہد داری کہ همچوں سکندر	ملوک زمیں را تو قدرت نمائی

During the rule of the Ghaznavīds, the whole of the Punjāb was annexed to the Persian empire, by virtue of which the first Persian *darbār* was held in the very lifetime of Maḥmūd at Lāhore. Besides the Persian nobility, the civil and military officers and the soldiers, many a learned citizen of Ghaznī and Khurāsān, including the poets, came down to stay in the neighbourhood of the Indian capital. The Indian people had become familiar with stray Persian

expressions and sentiments in Subuktagīn's time, but when Maḥmūd made his triumphant entry into Hindūstān with his vast Persian following, an impetus was given to Persian learning unprecedented in history, as a result of which they became fully acquainted with the Persian language and Persian ways of life. Immediately after Maḥmūd's death, Lāhore became virtually the seat of the government in preference to Ghaznī, owing to Maḥmūd's stay in the Punjāb for the most part of the year, as necessitated by political exigencies. At this time, the great Sūfī saints, Abul Ḥasan 'Alī bin 'Uṣmān al-Hujwīrī and Shaikh Farīd-uddīn Zanjānī, migrated to Lāhore, where they spent the rest of their lives in propagating their mission and educating their new converts in the principles of Persian mysticism.¹

The ancestors of the renowned poets, Abul Faraj Rūnī and Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, of whom notice will be taken hereafter, had also come to stay in the Punjāb long before it was occupied by Maḥmūd, in consequence of which they were born and bred at Lāhore. At this time, Persian literary taste prevailed all over the territory extending from the cities of Persia to the extreme east of Lāhore. The boundaries of the empire, during Sulṭān Mas'ūd's reign, were extended further eastwards, so that Isfahān, Rai, Kirmān, Sajistān, Ghaznī, Sindh, Gujarāt, the

¹ Ma'aṣīr ul Kirām, p. 6.

kingdom of Ghōr and the whole of the Punjāb came under his sway, which, in other words, 'was the realm of Persian culture. The 'Arab historian, Yāqūt, speaking of the extent of Mas'ūd's empire, his literary taste and patronage of letters, observes:—

١ و اما ابنه السلطان مسعود فقد كان فيه اقبال على علم النجوم و محبة
لحقائق العلوم و كان السلطان مسعود شجاعاً كريماً انضال كثيره محباً للعلماء
كثير الاحسان اليهم و التقرب لهم و جاز الشعراء بجوائز عظيمة على قصيدة
الف دينار و اعطى آخر لكل بيت الف درهم و كان يكتب خطاً حسناً و
كان ملكه عظيماً فسيحاً ملك امهوان و الرى و كرمان و سجستان و السند
و غزنة و بلاد الغور و الهند و ملك كثيراً منها -

Abul Fazl Baihaqī, the eye witness, writes about Mas'ūd's Persian taste and his command of the language as follows:—

٢ از پادشاهان این خاندان عالمقام رضى الله عنهم كسى را ندیدم كه پارسی
چنان خوانده و نهشته كه وے -

Among the kings of this exalted dynasty, may God be pleased with them!, I did not see any one who could read and write Persian so well as he.

The official and court language of his great empire was Persian. Hence it is authoritatively stated that

¹ Irshād ul Arīb, vol. VI, pp. 308-309.

² Tārīkh i Mas'ūdi, Mss. fol. 347a.

the poetic taste of the people acquired in the *Ghaznī darbār of India*, was keeping pace with the progress made in Khurāsān and elsewhere. Probably it was for this reason that the Ghaznavīd kings finally declared Lāhore to be the metropolis of their Empire in 429 A. H. It is no wonder then, if India, at this stage, produced poets who, in general merit, equalled their Persian colleagues. The two noteworthy personalities, in this connection, were Abū ‘Abdullāh Alankatī and Ḥamīduddīn Mas‘ūd *Shāl-i-Kōb*, who flourished at Lāhore. ‘Aufī says about the latter that his poetry approached that of Rūdakī and ‘Unsurī¹, the two great leaders of Persian thought who have been already cited. He lived in the time of Sultān Shihāb-uddīn Ghōrī; while the other, Abū ‘Abdullāh Alankatī, was a contemporary of Sultān Mas‘ūd. Another striking personality, whose arrival and stay at Lāhore during the reign of Sultān Ibrāhīm gave a great incentive to Persian taste and learning in the Punjāb, was Abū Naṣr Fārsī, better known as ادیب (an adept in literature). He founded a University at Lāhore called خانقاه ابو نصر or, according to ‘Aufī, خانقاه عمد²,

¹ Cf. the statement:—

حمید الدین مسعود بن سعد شالی کوب از احرار خطهٔ لوهور بود و در طبع
ذکی و شعر وی قرین (و ذکی و عنصری —
(Lubāb, vol. II, p. 411).

² Cf.—
الصاحب الكبير قوام الملك نظام الدين ابو نصر هبة الله الفارسي

which remained for centuries, under different designations, the centre of Persian and Arabic cultures in the East. It imparted instruction in the various branches of Persian learning, besides those of Arabic, comprising chiefly of literature, rhetoric, philosophy, mysticism, commentary of the Qur'ān and Ḥadīṣ. It was endowed with permanent royal *jāgīrs* bestowed by the government and munificent charities from the public. The number of alumni residing in the hostels attached to the University and those attending as day-scholars could be estimated from the fact that an altogether new town had come into existence with their continual influx.¹ They came from all parts of Hindūstān and even foreign countries like Kāshghar, Trans-Caspian Province, Bukhārā, Samarqand, Khurāsān, Ghaznī and Herāt. This great Eastern University continued to flourish under State patronage until the invasion of Tīmūr. It gave fixed allow-

رحمه الله وزیرے صاحب کفایت فاضل د رایت وافر فضل شامل بذل در
دولت سلطان رضی ابراهیم رحمه الله کارهای بزرگ کرده و به فضل و
کفایت معروف و مشهور گشته - خانقاه عمد در لوهور یکی از خیرات اوست -
(Ibid., vol. I, p. 71).

¹ و جوق جوق تشنگان علوم از سائر بلاد هند و ولایتهای کاشغر و ماوراءالنهر و
عراق و بخارا و سمرقند و خراسان و غزنین و هری و غیر ذلک از آن خیرات
منیع منتفع می شدند چنانکه یک آبادانی نو در حدود لوهور پدید آمد -
(Tazkira i Salāṭīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 37).

ances to the poor scholars in addition to providing food and clothing to the boarders free of cost. It was mainly because of this institution that the study of the Persian language became wider and more popular day by day among the people of upper Hindūstān.

In the beginning, when the Persian schools were first started in the Punjāb, it was mainly the Muslim population that was, on account of their natural liking and aptitude, benefited thereby, as the Hindūs obviously were less inclined towards the acquisition of Persian arts and sciences. But they cannot be said to have wholly escaped the influence of their Persian neighbours. In fact, after the Muslims, they were the next to take the advantage of such institutions. We see that the Persian Primary schools had sprung up in almost every important street and *bāzār* of the towns of Lāhore and Multān by the end of the 6th century A. H., and the inhabitants, irrespective of their religion, were taking an interest in the study of Persian. As a result of this, the Hindū nobility of the Punjāb, who were the first recipients of honours from the Ghaznavīd kings and their successors, were holding important positions in the civil and military ranks of the State. They not only understood the Persian language, but also cultivated a poetic and literary taste. This was more specially due to the continued influx of cultured Persian families into the towns of the Punjāb, so that their multi-

plicity in the Provinces had made its capital the cradle of the Persian language, even under the Ghaznavids. Their rule lasted for about two centuries, beginning from the coronation of Sultān Maḥmūd in 387 A. H. until 582 A. H., when Shihābuddīn Ghōrī wrested Lāhore from the last Ghaznavīd king, Khusrau bin Bahrāmshāh.¹ Since long before Maḥmūd, there was a continual procession of scholars and poets from Persia and other countries coming to India. The result was that India produced scholars who vied with their Persian colleagues. Among such poets born in India, the first and the most noted is Abul Faraj Rūmī, and the second is Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān. They were born in the Muslim families which had migrated to Lāhore from Khurāsān. Both of them gained their reputation in the reign of Sultān Mas'ūd Ghaznavī and his son Ibrāhīm, and produced numerous *qasā'id* in praise of the Sultāns to whose courts they were attached.

It is strange that the Persian historians have, one and all, assigned a Persian Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān. home to Mas'ūd.² This grave

¹ Note :—Nizāmuddīn Hiravī, in his Tārīkh, states that Khusrau Malik (son of Khusrau bin Bahrāmshāh) was the last Ghaznavīd king from whom Shihābuddīn Ghōrī wrested the kingdom of Lāhore, and whom he sent to Ghaznī as a captive.

² Cf. Āẓar:—

مسعود سعد سلمان - بعضی دیگر اهدائی دانند و چون مشهور بجزجانی

error was committed even by such an eminent writer as 'Aufi.¹ Against these verdicts, we have the authority of Mas'ūd himself, which is irrefutable. It appears that Lāhore was his ancestral home, where he owned some landed property as well, which, however, was confiscated in the time of Sultān Ibrāhīm by his officers, who were not on good terms with Mas'ūd. His family, which resided at

است درین جا نوشته می شود -

(Ātashkadah, p. 162).

Cf. Daulatshāh:—

ابوالفخر مسعود بن سعد سلمان نور قبره جرجانی است و دیوان او در عراق عجم و طبرستان و دارالمرز شهری عظیم دارد -
(p. 47, ed. by Browne).

Cf. Rizā Qulī Khān Hidāyet:—

نام مسعودش مسعود پدرش سعد بن سلمان و اصلش از همدان و منشاءش جرجان و خون در خدمت مسعود بن محمود و سلطان ابراهیم غزنوی رتبه بلند و پایه ارجمند گزید امیر بے نظیر و فاضل صافی ضمیر در شعر و شاعری کمتر کسے بپایه او رسیده و فصحا تبیع طرز وی را گزیده -
(Majma'ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 514).

Note:—Mīrzā Muḥammad bin 'Abdul Wāḥḥāb Qazwīnī is, perhaps, the first Persian scholar who, in his valuable monograph on *Mas'ūd Sa'ad i Salmān*, has pointed out that the latter was an Indian and a product of Lāhore.

¹ Cf.

مسعود سعد سلمان و اگرچه مولاد او همدان بود

(Vol. II, p. 246)

Lāhore, consisted of 30 to 40 members, including all his relations. He had a son, a daughter, an old mother and two sisters: the daughter had become blind. His father, Sa'd Salmān, had served the Ghaznavīd kings in India for the long period of sixty years. The ancestral property at Lāhore was the main support of the family, so that its confiscation subjected the members to grave hardships, in consequence of which Mas'ūd had undertaken a journey from Lāhore to Ghaznī, to prefer an appeal. But the result was just the opposite: he was imprisoned twice, on suspicion of being a rebel, in the forts of *Nāy* and *Sā*. All these events are fully described in the versified appeal and other *qasā'id* which he composed, at different times, in praise of the Sultān. A few extracts from them, which throw light on the real point in question, are cited below. In the following, he dwells on his relation with India, detailing his father's long service, the plight of the members of his family, and his exile and imprisonment in the fort of *Sā*:—

پدر بنده سعد بن سلمان	¹ شصت سال تمام خدمت کرد
دادو خواهر بوم هندستان	دختر خرد دارم و پسرے
پسر از روزگار سرگردان	دختر از اشک دیده ناپیدا
بسته در راحت تو جان و روان	سی چهل تن ز خویش مرا پیوند

¹ *Dīwān i Ustād Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān*, Mss. fol. 29a (Prof. A. Q. Fānī, Lucknow University).

.....
 ۱ و لیک زالے دارم کہ درکنار مرا چو جهان شهریں پروردو مرد کرد و کلاں
 نہ بست هرگز اورا خیال و نندیشید کہ من بقلعہ سو مانم او ہندستان

For sixty whole years service was rendered thee
 By my father, Sa'd bin Salmān;
 I have a small daughter and a son,
 With two sisters in the soil of India;
 The daughter on account of tears of the eye is
 blind,
 The son on account of the vicissitudes of time
 perplexed;
 From thirty to forty people among my rela-
 tions and kinsmen
 Have bound with thy comfort their lives and
 souls;

.....
 But I have an old lady (my mother) who, in her
 lap,
 Brought me up like her sweet soul, and saw me
 grow up a man;
 Never had she thought or imagined
 That I would remain in the fort of Sū, and she
 in India.

In another *qasīdah* he declares that India is his
 مولد (place of birth) where he has his father's property

¹ Ibid. fol. 19a.

and his son and daughter:—

سوی مولد کشید هوش مرا¹ بویۀ دختر و هواي پسر
چون بهندوستان شدم ساکن بر ضیاع و عقار پدر

Towards my land of birth drew my thoughts
The fragrant breath of my daughter and the
longing for my son;
Since in India I became a sojourner
On the fertile and barren land of my old
father.

Still more significant are the lines in which he recalls Lāhore with passionate longing and emotion, fixing it as his birth place:—

مولدم لوهور و از لوهور دور ويحک اي لوهور بے توکے سردر

My birth-place is Lāhore, and I am far away from
Lāhore,
Alas, O Lāhore, where is joy without thee?

چہ یادِ شهر لہار و یارِ خویش کنم مباد کس کہ شد از شهر و یارِ خویش نفور³

How fondly I recall to my mind the city of
Lāhore and my friends!
May there be none who shows disgust with his
own city and friends.

¹ Ibid. fol. 27b.

² Ibid. 33a.

³ Ibid. fol. 18b.

¹ بهیچ نوع گناہے دگر نمی دانند مرا جز اینکه درین شهر مولک و منشاست

No crime of mine other than this they know

That in this city (Lāhore) I was born and bred.

Mas'ūd was a distinguished and most accomplished poet writing in the Persian language. His birth took place in the reign of Sultān Maḥmūd, but he acquired fame in Sultān Ibrāhīm's time. In the beginning of his poetic career he was greatly honoured by the Sultān, but subsequently fell in his estimation, because of suspected infidelity towards the State, and was consequently imprisoned in the fort of *Nāy*. Later, he was released on Ibrāhīm's death, but was again put in prison in the fort of *Sā* by his successor. On his second release, he gave up the service of the king and repaired to Ghaznī, where he passed his life in contemplation and retirement. He has been declared by competent judges and the leaders of thought in Persia a perfect master of poetry. Thus says 'Aufi:—

² مسعود سعد که از نوادر ایام و افاضل انام بود گاه بیال اقبال در قضای
 هوای جلال پرواز کرد. . . . گاه چون تے بشکر فضل و افضال کام جهان را
 شیرین کرد. . . . و بر او رنگ بیان سلطان بود. . . . و آنچه از شعر او
 استماع افتاد است هم استادانہ و مطبوع است و بیتے چند از لطایف اشعار
 او ایراد کرده آید -

¹ Ibid. fol. 15a.

² Lubāb, vol. II, p. 246.

Nizāmī 'Arūzi Samarqandī writes:

¹ و اربابِ خرد و انصاف دانند که حسنیات مسعود در علو بجهت درجه
است و در فصاحت بجهت پایه بون - وقت باشد که من از اشعار او همی
خوانم موی بر اندام من بر پای خیزد و جای آن بود که آب از چشم من
برود -

And the possessors of wisdom and impartial judgment know in what degree are the poetic touches of Mas'ūd striking in grandeur, and to what extent in eloquence. At times, when I read his poems (I feel as if) the hair stands on end in my body, and it chances that tears very nearly flow from my eyes.

The most striking point about Mas'ūd's poetic talent is that the great masters of Persian thought like Hakīm Sanā'ī, Amīr Mu'izzī, Mukhtārī, Adīb i Sābīr and Anwārī have followed his style of writing, specially in *qasīdah*, and have accepted him as their master and guide. Of these, Sanā'ī, Mu'izzī and Mukhtārī were among his contemporaries and friends. Sanā'ī, in fact, was passionately fond of Mas'ūd's poetry, and had taken upon himself the task of collecting Mas'ūd's verses in a separate book called *diwān*. This is borne out by Sanā'ī's own statement in which he pays a high tribute of praise to Mas'ūd's compo-

¹ Chahār Maqālah, p. 56, Lucknow edition.

sition, comparing its charm and effect on the people to those of the *Qur'ān* on the unbelievers in converting them to the faith when the Holy verses were read to them by the associates and companions of the Holy Prophet. The following lines from a *qit'ā* of Saḥā'ī addressed to Mas'ūd are worthy of notice:—

کافران را همی مسلمان کرد	چون بدید این دهمی که گفته تو ¹
که صحابی ز نزل قرآن کرد	کرد شعر جمیل تو ز انسان
عقل او گرد طبع جویان کرد	چون علو جهان بشعر تو دید
چون فراهم نهاد دیوان کرد	شعرها را بجمله در دیوان
در جهان در و گوهر آردان کرد	تا چو دریای موجزن سخت
لعل را با خرف بمیزان کرد	گفت آرد سنائی از سر جهل
معجز شعرهاست حیران کرد	لیک معذور دار از آنکه مرا

دافع مسعود سعد سلمان کرد	پس چو شعر بگفت و نیک آمد
چگر و دل چو لعل و مرجان کرد	شعر چون در تو حسود ترا
بر همه شعر خواندن آسان کرد	سخن عذب سهل مستمع است
مر ترا پیشوای گیاهان کرد	چه دعا گویمت که خود هنرت

When this slave saw that thy poetry
Turned the infidels into Muslims;
He did with thy beautiful verses the same
As the Companions of the Prophet did with the
Qur'ān; *

When he saw the world uplifted by thy poetry,

¹ *Dīwān i Ustād Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān*, Mss., fol. 56a.

His wisdom swiftly went round his disposition
 (desire);
 When all his verses in a book
 He (Sanā'ī) put together, he named it *diwān*;
 So that thy speech like a surging sea
 Made the pearls and jewels in the world cheap;
 Sanā'ī said, "Aye in ignorance,
 He put the ruby along with a shell in one balance";
 But pardon me for this reason that me
 The miracles of thy verse hath perplexed;
 Thereafter if any one who composed a line and it
 was good,
 It took the brand of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān;
 Thy pearl-like verse made thy enemies'
 Liver and heart like ruby and coral;
 Thy sweet poetry looks easy but impossible to
 imitate,
 It made easy for all to recite poetry;
 What good could I wish thee since thine own
 skill
 Verily made thee leader of the world.

Adīb i Sābir, while priding on his poetry, recalls
 to his mind the powers of Mas'ūd thus:—

۱ گھر آیں طرز سخن در شاعری مسعود را بودے
 بجاں مد آفریں کر دے روان سید سلمانش

¹ Dr. Hādī Hasan, *Falākī Shīrwānī*, p. 92 (James G. For-
 long Fund, vol. VI, London, 1929).

If this beautiful style of composition in poetry
 had been the lot of Mas'ūd,
 A hundred tributes of praise the soul of Sa'd
 Salmān would have paid to itself.

Amīr Mu'izzī, the poet-laureate of the court of Malik Shāh Saljūqī, and Adib i Sābir both were among the great admirers of Mas'ūd. They hailed him not only as their master but as their *lord* in the realm of Persian verse. Mu'izzī's tribute is of special significance, since he goes many a step beyond his comrade, and assigns to Mas'ūd's work a rank after the Qur'ān, a tribute which, very curiously, coincides with Sanā'ī's. Thus says Mu'izzī:—

آن شاعرے سخنور کز نظم او نکوتر کس در جہاں کلامے نشنید بعدِ قرآن¹
 در مجلسِ بزرگانِ خالی مباد هرگز پیرایهٔ بزرگی مسعودِ سعدِ سلمان

That learned poet, better than whose verse
 None in this world heard a speech after the
 Qur'ān;
 In the assembly of the great, may never be amiss
 The ornament of greatness: Mas'ūd Sa'd
 Salmān.

In another *qasīdah*, he compares Mas'ūd's power

Note:—The learned author has found this verse to belong to Adib i Sābir, and corrects Daulatshāh who wrongly ascribes it to Falaķī. (Cf. Daulatshāh, p. 47).

¹ *Dīwān i Malik ul Kalām Amīr Mu'izzī*, Mss. fol. 43a.

over poetry with that of Solomon over genii :—

¹ شریفِ خاطرِ مسعودِ سعدِ سلمان را
 مسخر است سخنِ چونِ پریِ سلیمان را
 حمایتِ خورشِ روشنی دهد دل را
 روایتِ سخنش تازگی دهد جان را
 اگر دلیلِ بزرگی است فضلِ پس نه عجب
 که او دلیلِ بزرگی است فضلِ یزدان را

To the noble intellect of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān
 Poetry is captive, as fairy to Solomon;
 The tale of his quick wit gives light to the heart,
 Recitations from his poetry impart freshness
 to the soul;
 If learning be the sign of greatness, it is not a
 wonder then
 That he is the sign of the greatness of God's
 munificence.

Mukhtārī calls Mas'ūd an unfathomable ocean and a deep and endless cloud of poetry :—

² چونِ جز و بکل باز شد معانی
 زِ خاطرِ مسعودِ سعدِ سلمان
 مخدومِ سخنِ پرِ درانِ مجلس
 سرِ دفترِ خوانِ گسترانِ میدان
 طبعش به سخن ده هزار دریا
 دستش به سخاوت هزار چندان
 ابرِ هنرش ناپدید گوشه
 بجز سخنش ناپدید پایان

¹ *ibid.* fol. 13b.

² *Dīwān-i-Mukhtārī*, Mss., fol. 43a.

Like the part to the whole, the meaning reverted
 To the intellect of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān;
 He is the leader of the nourishers of poetry in
 the assembly,
 He is the chief of the spreaders of the banquet of
 discourse before the public;
 His poetic imagination equals ten thousand
 seas,
 His hand in liberality is a hundred times as
 great;
 The cloud of his merit is without end,
 The sea of his poetry has no shore.

In the following lines Mukhtārī further tells us that Mas'ūd's poetry was taken to Khurāsān as a rare gift to the people. This, in other words, means that contemporary Persia bowed to Mas'ūd's poetic genius, and greatly welcomed his poetry:

هر بیت کم اندیشه تر شعرت شد نادر تر تکلف خراسان¹
 اشعار ترا در جهان گرفتند باشد اثر خاتم سایمان

Every couplet of thine from the least thought
 out composition
 Became a rare gift for Khurāsān;
 To be in possession of thy verses in this world
 Is just as good in effect as to possess the seal of
 Solomon.

¹ Ibid.

The universal esteem in which his poetry was held in Persia is a real asset to India's achievement in the art of Persian versification and makes it an equal partner in the elevation of Persian letters. What is most important to notice in this connection is that many a Persian poet, both in Mas'ūd's life-time and after his death, came down to Lāhore from the Persian centres of learning, and became his pupil and his pupil's pupil.

There are several *qasā'id* of Mas'ūd in his *dīwān* in praise of Maḥmūd's grandson, Sultān Ibrāhīm. The following *qasīdah*, in which the poet dwells on Ibrāhīm's bravery and exhorts him to extend the boundaries of his Indian Empire by waging war and making fresh conquests, is quoted below as an illustration of his heroic poetry:—

¹ ای عزمِ سفر کرده و بسته کمرِ فتح
 بکشد چپ و راست فلک بر تو در فتح
 منسعود جهانگیر که از دهر سعادت
 هر لحظه بسوی تو فرستد نفرِ فتح
 مانند سنابل سر بسوی دزم نهادی
 چون تیر میان تو بپندد کمرِ فتح
 صد فتح کنی بیشک و صد سال ازین پس
 در هند بهر خطه ببیند اثرِ فتح

¹ Muntakhab, vol. I, pp. 36-7.

چندانست بون فتح که در عرصهٔ عالم
هر روز بگویند بهر جا خبر فتح
دمی تو و تیر تو و شمشیر تو باشد
گر نقش کند رحم مصور صور فتح
چون گفت زخم سبک تیغ گرانست
سوگند گرانس نبود جز بسر فتح

He also wrote *qas̄'id* in praise of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznavī. In this connection it may be noted that he has made an important departure from the established practice in the sphere of panegyric poetry which was, up till his time, limited to *qas̄idah*.¹ Very few poets, indeed, had before him used any other form of metrical composition as a vehicle for praise. But Mas'ūd extended its bounds by using freely all types of poetry for the purpose. The forms which were commonly employed by him to supersede *qas̄idah* were *musaddas*, *ghazal* and *qit'a*. Some instances of each are given below:—

Musaddas

¹ بهرام شاه خسرو گیتی کشای گشت خورشید دهر و سایهٔ فرّ خدای گشت
چترش که شد همایون فرّهای گشت اورا خدای عز و جل دهنمای گشت
آن خنجر ز دو دهن دولت فرای گشت
دوی عدوی او شده چون چتر او سیاه

¹ Ibid. p. 43.

تا در زمانه شاه جهان قنیمِ عدل کاشت
 هر مجرمی که یافت از و جرم در گذاشت
 گر مدحِ او سپهرِ بر آبِ رواں گذاشت
 چون نقشِ سنگِ صورتش آبِ رواں گذاشت
 تا اوجِ چرخِ دینِ حق و داد سر فراشت
 آن شاه داد گستر و حق و رزقِ دین پناه

Ghazal

ای سلسلهٔ مشکِ فکندۀ بقمرِ بر
 خندیدۀ لبِ پر شکرِ تو بشکرِ بر
 چون قامتِ تو نیست سہی سر و خرامان
 چون چہرہٗ تو نیست گلِ لعلِ بپرِ بر
 گل از سبقِ چہرہٗ تو شستہ بخونِ رخ
 سر و از حسدِ قامتِ تو دستِ بسرِ بر
 تا در سرِ من گشته کہ در بر کشت تنگ
 گہ دستِ بسرِ بر زنم و گاہ بپرِ بر
 چنداں غم و اندوہ فراز آمدہ در دل
 تا تودہ شدست اندہ و غم یک بہ دگرِ بر
 دل شد سپرِ جان ز نہیبِ مژگِ تو
 تا چون مژگِ زخمی زند آید بہ سپرِ بر
 تا ہجو نشستہ است بہ نزدیکِ تو ساکن
 آن وصلِ سراسیمہ بماند است بدرِ بر
 من بر تو ہی ہو چہ کنم دستِ نہایم
 ای رشکِ قمرِ دست کہ ناید بقمرِ بر

وله

با من بتافت یارو نایم ز تابی او
 طاقبت نماند پیش مرا با عتاب او
 از رشک آن نقاب که بر روی او رسد
 گشت این تنم ضعیف چو تار نقاب او
 چو نوشم آید ارچه چو زهرم دهن جواب
 ز یراکه هست بر لب دایه جواب او
 داند که هست بسته بز لفتین او دام
 هم ساعتی فزون کند آن پیچ و تاب او
 خوردم شراب عشقش یک جام و زان هنوز
 اندر سر منست خسار شراب او
 چون ز پخته شد رخ و چون مشک خام تن
 زان آفتاب تابان و ز مشکتاب او
 گر ز ز آفتاب زیادت شود همی
 نقصان چرا شود زرم از آفتاب او
 چنگ عتاب زلفش و روی قدر و رخ
 ایمن رخ قدر و ز چنگ عتاب او
 باز سپید روی غراب سیاه زلف
 و ز بیم باز او شده لرزان غراب او

Qit'a

چون بدیدیم بدیده تحقیق که چهل منزل فناست کنون
 زان مردان نیک محضر را روی در بروج خفاست کنون
 آسمان چون حریف نا منصف بر ده عشوه و دغاست کنون

طبع بسیار من ز بستر آرز شکر یزدان درست خواست کنوں
 و ز عتائیر خانۀ توبه نو شدای روی صدق خواست کنوں
 وین زبان جہاں خدیو سراى ما دح حضرتِ خداست کنوں
 لہجۀ تو نوای خوش و خمہ بلبلِ باغ مصطفاست کنوں
 عزتِ جامہٴ قصب بر من چون قزوں شد خرد بکاست کنوں
 سر آسودہ و تن آزادہ پنج گز پشم و پنبہ راست کنوں
 مدتِ خدمتِ شما کردم نوبتِ خدمتِ خداست کنوں

There are about five thousand verses in Mas'ūd's Persian *dīvān*, but his poetic flight was not confined to Persian only. He wrote three *dīvāns*: one *Arabic*, one *Persian* and one *Hindī*. This is borne out by 'Aufī's statement as follows:—

۱ و او راسہ دیوان است یکے بتازی و یکے پیارسی و یکے ہندوئی

And he has *three dīvāns*, one in Arabic, one in Persian and one in Hindī.

This is further supported by Amīr Khusrau:—

۲ پیش ازین از شاہان سخن کسے راسہ دیوان نبود مگر مرا کہ خسرو
 ممالکِ کلام — مسعود سعد سلمان را اگرچہ هست اما آن سہ دیوان
 در عبارتِ عربی و فارسی و ہندوی است و در پارسی مجنون کسے سخن
 راسہ قسم نہ کردہ جز من —

Before this, none from among the kings of

¹ Lubāb, vol. II, p. 246.

² Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction, p. 66.

poetry had three *dīvāns* except myself who am the sovereign of the territories of speech; although Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān possesses three, yet those three *dīvāns* are in Arabic, Persian and Hindī languages, and no one divided Persian poetry exclusively into three kinds but me.

His Arabic and Hindī works prove his versatility and his rare accomplishments of which no parallel instance is to be found in the Ghaznavid period. It is regrettable that not a single specimen of his pure Hindī composition is preserved in any of the hitherto known chronicles, but some instances of the admixture of Hindī with Persian are quoted below from his Persian *dīvān* :—

برِ شِکالِ اِی بهارِ هندستان اِی نجاتِ ازِ بالایِ تابستان
 اِی پرستارِ سنگ و سکه درِ دین وی گرفتارِ عشقِ شمع و لکن
 دل نمی‌آرد که ازِ مستیشِ کس وارهاند یا به دیوِ هاری دهد

This age, after Mahmūd's regime, is the most noted in the history of Persian literature in India for the productivity of its poets and prose-writers. When Bahrām Shāh died, his *darbār* was full of Persian and Indian poets, but Mas'ūd was the second great poet, after Abul Faraj Rūnī, who was a genuine Indian product.

Mahmūd fought *seventeen* important battles in Mahmūd's Indian connection with his conquest of campaigns. India, which are given in order of succession as follows¹:—

1.	Forts of Sarhad and Lāmghān	390	A.H.
2.	Peshāwar	391	„
3.	Bhīrā (Bhātyā) and Bhatindā ..	395	„
4.	Multān	396	„
5.	Nausā	398	„
6.	Nagarkōt	399	„
7.	Attock and Narain	400	„
8.	Fort of Multān	401	„
9.	Fort of Nandūna (borders of Lāhore)	404	„
10.	Thānēsar	405	„
11.	Fort of Lōhkōt (borders of Kashmīr)	406	„
12.	Meerut and Kannauj	409	„
13.	Mathrā	410	„
14.	Lāhore, Kirāt and Narain ..	412	„
15.	Forts of Kālinjar and Gwalior	413	„
16.	Sōmnāth	416	„
17.	Naharwāla (expedition against Jats)	418	„

¹ This list has been prepared by a reference to Baihaqī, foll. 57b-62a; Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, pp. 29-37 and 42-59; Zain ul Akhbār by Gūrdizī, pp. 63-88; 'Utbī, p. 134 and the following; Farishtah, vol. I, pp. 24-35; and The Life and Times of Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazna by Dr. Nāzīm, pp. 86-122.

The Caliph of Baghdād, al Qādir billāh ‘Abbāsī, His titles:— had conferred upon Mahmūd, 1. Yamīn ud Daulah Walī Amīr ul Mūminīn. through the efforts and personal recommendations of Imām Abū Mansūr Ṣa‘ālībī of Nishāpūr, who was specially deputed on this mission to Baghdād, the title of: امیر المومنین *Yamīn ud Daulah Walī Amīr ul Mūminīn* in recognition of Mahmūd’s brilliant victories and services to Islām in India. But Mahmūd’s literary wit could not tolerate the word ولی, which, in common Arabic speech and address, was used for a *friend* as well as a *slave*. He, therefore, decided to have it changed for الی, by sending rich gifts with 100,000 *dīnārs*, through his emissary at Baghdād, to the Caliph, by way of present, with a view to securing from him one *alif* more to the original title, to remove the stigma which the word ولی, carried with it. The Caliph understood the real significance of Mahmūd’s anxiety, and praised him for his great learning and sagacity, and acceded to his request.¹

¹ Cf.—

و اودرا در منشور خلافت نوشتند سلطان یمین الدوله ولی امیر المومنین و کلمه ولی در لقب عام بمعنی صدیق و مملوک باشد پس سلطان ازین مسئله خواست که آنرا با یزاد الفی مبدل گرداند فی الحال امیر سفارت امام ابو منصور تعالی را که برسم وکالت بغداد فرستاده بود نوشت و مکتوبه مستحکم با تکائف و صد هزار دینار برای نذر خلیفه بدست قاضی محمد بن شیخ رفیع الدین فقیه روال کرد - چون رسول سلطان باین منوال بهارگاه خلافت

In addition to this, *nine* more titles were conferred upon him as follows:—

2. 'Aẓd ud Daulah wa Muayyid ul Millah,	1. 'Aẓd ud Daulah wa Mua'yyid ul Millah
3. Shihāb ud Daulah wad Dīn,	2. Shihāb' ud Daulah wad Dīn
4. Amīn ul Millah	3. Amīn ul Millah
5. Jamāl ul Islām wal Muslimīn,	4. Jamāl ul Islām wal Muslimīn
6. Kahf ud Daulah wal Islām,	5. Kahf ud Daulah wal Islām
7. Amīr ul Muslimīn,	6. Amīr ul Muslimīn
8. Jamāl ul Millah,	7. Jamāl ul Millah
9. Abul Ghāzī,	8. Abul Ghāzī al Mujāhid fī Sabīlillāh
10. Muḥī ul Islām.	9. Muḥī ul Islām

All these titles were freely and spontaneously showered upon him by the people and the neigh-

رسید و تکائف و مکتوب منیع سلطان را بحضور خلیفه القادر بالله عباسی گذرانید امام زبان شفاعت برکشاد که مکتوب که مدت سی سال عمر عزیز را در حرب کفار و روشن کردن شمع دین مبین در بلاد و اقطار هند که تیره و تار بود صرف نموده عوض صد دینار یک الف الکافی می خراهد و عظیم حق دارد - خلیفه با اعیان مشاورت کرد و از مظنه سلطان خبردار شده علم و فضل وزیر کی او را بستود و سپس بالقاب والی و سلطان ائمه نوشتند -

(Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 47).

Also, cf. Daulatshāh, p. 19:—

خلیفه از کمال فضل و کسایت سلطان تعجب کرد ألن

bouring Muslim States, including the Caliphate, after his great feat at Sōmnāth in entering the temple and breaking the idol, which symbolised his mission of carrying the name of Allāh in the heathen land and planting there the Islāmic formula :

لا إله إلا الله محمد رسول الله

There is no god, but Allāh; and Muḥammad is
His Apostle.

The storming of Sōmnāth was a great event in history, and was hailed throughout the Muslim world as the triumph of Islām over idolatry. The temple inside the fort of Sōmnāth was not only held as a sacred place of worship by the Hindūs in Western India, but it was an important centre of Hindū religion and national spirit. The idol *Nāth* or *Manāt* was supposed to give guidance and inspiration to its countless devotees as their patron *god*. The news of Maḥmūd's expedition to Sōmnāth had brought all the neighbouring Rājās together to defend, with all their might, the sacred temple against desecration at the hands of the invaders. When the Sultān led his attack, he had to face the bitterest opposition of the bravest army of the Rājās and the bands of devout worshippers of the image, whose zeal to fight in defence of their god, religion and honour was not less than that of the Muslim *Mujāhids* who had collected there

under the banner of Islām. The two armies met with unshaken faith, the one in Allāh and the other in the idol, with the result that victory fell to the arms of the servants of Allāh on Friday, 15th Zūlqa‘dah, 416 A. H., and the forces of the enemy were routed by the heroic action of Muslim cavalry under superior generalship.

The walls of the fort were then scaled, and a public proclamation of Muslim victory was made by trumpets and call to Friday prayer by *Mu‘azzins* from above the parapets of the fort. But the Hindūs, though they apparently had suffered defeat and fled in disorder, abandoning their posts, rallied soon after under their generals, determined to recapture the lost positions and to oust the Muslims from the fort. When the entire army of the Sultān, having just finished their prayers and thanksgivings to God, were at ease and enjoying the fruits of their hard-earned victory, the enemy suddenly reappeared and rushed the gates. Thousands laid themselves low before their deity and, invoking its benediction and aid, gave a fierce battle to the Muslims who could not stand the dash. Before sun-set, they were forced to surrender all strategic points, thus leaving the Hindūs undisputed masters of the situation.¹ The next

¹ Ibn ul Aṣīr, vol. IX, p. 242.

morning the Muslims made a fresh rally and charged their opponents with stupendous energy and vigour with the result that the latter's morale was broken, and they continued to lose their ground until they were completely overpowered and put to flight, leaving their arms and their dead behind. Thus the fort was recaptured and finally came into full possession of the Muslims.

Before Mahmūd laid his hand on the image, the Hindū Rājās and the devout worshippers had approached him with fervent appeals to spare their deity, and offered him one million *gold mohars* (1,000,000 *asharfī*) as a consideration, a price which he was readily advised by his generalissimo to accept. But Mahmūd's reply to them was that, if he did so he would be known throughout the Muslim world and for generations to come as *bet فروش* "*idol-seller*" which he disapproved, remarking that his ambition was to become and be known to the world as *bet شکن* "*idol-breaker*", to please his Allāh and the Holy Prophet.¹

¹ Cf. the statement:—

و در حکایات الصالحین آورده اند که هرگاه محمود قصد منات کرد سائر راجگان و برهمنان آن ابعاد و اعمار متفق شدند که ده لک دینار نثار فرقی آنحضرت بکنیم و رافت نمودند که سلطان مرورا بگذارند و از بت شکنی به دلشکنی نگرانید اما محمود را خوش نیفتاد و گفت نمی خواهم "بت فروش"

When the image was broken and its head was severed from the trunk, it was discovered to contain a hidden treasure in the shape of precious jewels, ornaments and a large stock of rare stones, which had been presented to the deity by the credulous public and the rich Hindū States from time immemorial. The gold furniture and other equipment of the temple, including a *takht* and about 100 smaller images of solid gold valued at 100,000,000 *dīnārs*, of which one-fifth (i.e. 20,000,000 *dīnārs*) was the Sultān's personal share.¹ Thus Providence gave him many times more than what the Rājās had promised to do.

Of the broken pieces of the image, one was sent with rich presents to Mecca, one to Baghdād, and others remained at Ghaznī to demonstrate to the world his might and to impress the Muslim countries favourably. The huge artistic gate of the temple was specially taken under escort to the capital seat, Ghaznī, with great pomp and ceremony, and was received on arrival by the representatives of the royal

بگردم و باین رسوائی نام من بماند مرا ملک بسیار و دولت کماگار مساعد است
جز رضای الهی و سرخروئی پیش حضرت رسالت پناهی نمی جویم —

(*Taḏkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn*, p. 51).

¹ *Rauzat us Ṣafā*, p. 741.

house, the Qāzīs, the civil and military officers of the Sultān and a vast crowd of the over-zealous public, including the 'Ulamā and the teachers of the educational institutions. On entering the city gate it was led in gorgeous procession, through the main streets, to the central mosque, and then put in the royal museum as a fine art exhibit.

The causes of Maḥmūd's leading an attack on Causes of the Sōmnāth, which was a most ar-
attack on Sōmnāth. duous and hazardous task, were mainly two. The first, which is commonly mentioned by the Persian chroniclers, was the king's own ambition to serve Islām, like the early Caliphs, to earn the benedictions of Allāh and the Holy Prophet; and a name and place for himself in the world besides. His court poets, in their long panegyric *qaṣīdās* have specially compared him in the conquest of territories with Alexander the Great.¹

¹ Cf. Farrukhi:—

فسانه گشت و کهن شد حدیثِ اسکندر سخن نو آر که نو را حلا و تبست دگر

Cf. 'Asjadī:—

تا شاه خسروان سفر سومنات کرد کردار خویش را عالم معجزات کرد
شاه تو از سکندر پیشی بدان جهت کو هر سفر که کرد بدیگر جهات کرد

Cf. Zīnati:—

مگر عهدداری که همچو سکندر ملوک زمین را تو قدرت نمایی

The second cause, as emphasised by the 'Arab historians, was that the Hindūs held the idol of Sōmnāth as the *patron-god*, and dismissed Maḥmūd's Indian conquests and his destruction of smaller temples with the remark that Sōmnāth was displeased with them, otherwise Maḥmūd or any other mighty monarch on earth, who believed in Allāh, could not injure them. When this news was carried to Maḥmūd, he made a vow to destroy this patron god immediately,¹ to uphold for all times to come the doctrine of the Unity of God preached by Islām. He, therefore, marched from his Capital on this mission on Monday, 22nd *Sha'bān*, 416 A. H., with a small army which swelled with volunteers on its way to Multān, his first halt. When Maḥmūd arrived at Sōmnāth, he heard the Brahmins say the same thing that none from among the kings could lay his hand on the deity, and if any one would dare this insult, his entire house would be damned and his seed uprooted. Thrice cursed he must be. This talk was the general topic within the temple and outside it, among the worshippers and in the rank and file of the Hindū army. But Maḥmūd on his conquest of the fort was not deterred by any such predictions. He solemnly entered the temple and broke the idol, to demonstrate to the credulous multitudes the folly and falsity of their ways.

¹ Ibn ul Aṣīr, vol. IX, p. 241.

This act of Maḥmūd's infuriated the Hindūs Mischief of a still more, and they resolved on guide who led Maḥmūd and his army making his retreat difficult, if not astray; their lucky impossible. Apart from several escape. encounters which the Sultān had to face during his return journey home, the one most dangerous plot hatched against him was to see his army entrapped and destroyed in the waterless desert of Sindh. With this end in view a fanatic *jātrī*, who was known to be an experienced traveller, was made to offer his loyal services to Maḥmūd as his chief guide. The unsuspecting Sultān readily gave his assent and, conferring upon him the customary *khil'at*, admitted him to the royal presence. On the way he played false and, risking his own life, led the Sultān and his army by a tedious untrodden track, under the pretence of leading them by a shorter route, into the midst of a deep sandy desert in the hope that the whole army would be entrapped and die of thirst with its leader. But luckily Maḥmūd got out of it safely and very few lives were lost.

This expedition took Maḥmūd nearly eight months

The linguistic effects of the attack; its repercussions on Hindū faith. from the start to the finish, and supplied much food and material for the poets who sang of his praises at almost every step he advanced. Whenever the soldiers fought a battle, conquered a fort or overcame any real difficulties in their way, the poets

always made it a subject for their poems, extolling the heroic deeds of the warriors, which kept their spirits high. The conquest of Sōmnāth was perhaps the most important of all, for on this occasion not only did the poets in attendance write congratulatory poems, but even those who were far away from the scene wrote *qasā'id* in honour of the king, comparing him with the great ancient monarchs of Persia, like Jamshīd, Kai-Khusrau and Anūshīrwān. Several poets declared him to be superior to Alexander the Great in making conquests, and gave their own reasons for it. In this way the impetus given to Persian versification in India and the services rendered to it as a whole were very great and valuable. New channels of thought had to be found by poets who were competing with one another for supremacy, in the hope of rewards from the Sultān. Thus his Indian campaigns created a real and popular taste for epic and historical poems in contrast with the mere panegyric which had fallen into decay.

It also paved the way for Islām in Kāthiawār and Gujarāt. Many a devout worshipper from among the Hindū public and the intelligentsia, whose opinion carried weight with his community, embraced Islām, seceding from idol-worship. The Persian writers, both of the contemporary and the later periods, have attached greater importance to Maḥmūd's last two expeditions in the rapid propagation of Islām in Western India than to all the combined efforts of

missionaries and propagandists who had worked before him.

The one great factor in creating a general taste for the Persian language among the people of Hindūstān was the institution of *diwān* (correspondence department) founded by him, which achieved great popularity.

Mahmūd's correspondence department: a great factor in creating a taste for and in the spread of Persian language in upper Hindūstān.

It was an essential element in the administration of the empire, and was considered to be one of the main pillars of his power and kingly dignity in and outside India. It was more or less similar in its functions to the foreign department of a modern European power. It was manned by a governor, or secretary to the government, who was styled *ṣāhib diwān* and a sub-governor or *nāib diwān* with an elaborate and efficient staff of *dabīrs* (correspondence clerks). The duty of the latter was to make drafts in the Persian language, giving instructions on all matters of the administrative policy of the government to the various heads of the departments on the one hand; and to address *communiqués* to the foreign countries on the other. The importance attached to the post of *dabīr* was very great. He sometimes commanded more respect and favour from the Sultān than even a Minister. Only the learned who were efficient writers of Persian prose, having a good taste in poetry, were eligible

for the appointment. Thus the competition among the public for possessing a competent knowledge of the Persian language was very keen, since every one who had brains and ambition aspired to this post.

Lane-Poole's estimate of Mahmūd's character, literary taste, and disposition towards the vanquished is as follows:

Lane-Poole's estimate of Mahmūd's character, literary taste and disposition towards the vanquished.

Mahmūd was not cruel; he seldom indulged in wanton slaughter; and when a treaty of peace had been concluded, the rājā and his friends were set free.¹

Napoleon imported the choicest works of art from the countries he subdued to adorn his Paris, Mahmūd did better, he brought the artists and the poets themselves to illuminate his court. From the cities of the Oxus and the shores of the Caspian, from Persia and Khurāsān, he pressed into his service the lights of oriental letters, and compelled them not unwillingly, to revolve round his sun like planets in his firmament of glory. The ruin of the Samānīd dynasty, who had been noble fosterers of Persian literature, left many scholars unprovided, and these came eagerly to the

¹ Mediaeval India, p. 19.

new home of learning.¹

The great Nizām ul Mulk, famous vazīr of the Nizām ul Mulk's Saljūq kings, writes in his *Siyāsat* view of Maḥmūd. *Nāmā* that Maḥmūd was a great lover and patron of learning, and was a devout, magnanimous and just emperor, the like of whom was hard to find in the Islāmic world.

Maḥmūd, in fact, was not only a patron of Muslim lore, but himself possessed a fine literary and poetic taste. Some specimens of his poetical composition in Persian are still preserved in history, which go to prove that he was a poet of a high order. The following three verses from his elegy, which he wrote on the death of one of his *harem*, named "Gulistān" whom he dearly loved, are quoted by 'Aufī:

تا تو ای ماهِ زیرِ خاک شدی خاک را بر سپهرِ فضل آمد
دل چزع کرد گفتم ای دل صبر این قفا از خدایِ عدل آمد
آدم از خاک بود و خاکی شد هر که زو زاد با زامل آمد

Another instance of his Persian poetry is the following, which he had written a few days before his death:

ز بیمِ تیغِ جهانگیر و گرزِ قلعه کشای
جهانِ مستخِرِ من شد چو تنِ مستخِرِ دای

¹ Ibid. p. 30.

² Lubāb, vol. I, p. 24.

³ Ibid. p. 25; also see Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 19.

گه به بعز و پدولت همی نشستم شاد
 گه به ز حرص همی رفتی ز جای بجای
 بسے تفاخر کرد که من کیسه هستم
 کنوی برابر بیم همی امیر و گدای
 اگر دو کله پوسیده بر کشی زد و گور
 سر امیر که دانی ز کله کرای
 هزار قلعه کشادم بیک اشارت دست
 بسے مصاف شکستم بیک نشودن پای
 چو مرگ ناختن آورد هیچ سون نکرد
 بقا بقای خدایست و ملک ملک خدای

His poetic insight and patronage of Persian verse could be judged from the fact that he had rewarded Ghazā'irī with *seven thousand* gold *mobars* in appreciation of only *two* verses of a *qasīdah* in which the poet had very beautifully used the figure استغراق (hyperbole) and raised its level considerably. The verses referred to are quoted below together with the opening lines written in نخریه (self-exaltation), which is an equally important figure of speech in Persian poetry, and has been very popular with poets :

¹ اگر مراد بجای اندر است و جای بهال مرا بین که بیینی جمال را بکمال
 من آن کسم که بمن تا بخشش فخر کند هر آنکه بر سر یک بیت بر نویسد نال

Note :—Daulatshāh attributes this *qit'a* to Sultān Sanjar, and quotes only three verses with slight variations (pp. 34-5).

¹ Daulatshāh, p. 19.

صواب کرد که پیدا نکرد هر دو جهان یکانه آید دا دار بے نظیر و هال
وگر نه هر دو ببخشیدے او بروز عطا امید بنده نماندے با یزد متعال

The *qas̄dah* written by Farrukhī, mourning Mahmūd's loss to the Empire and its capital city, Ghaznī, is most remarkable in the history of Persian elegiac composition. Some lines are reproduced as follows :

¹ شهرِ فزین نه هانست که من دیدم بار
چه فتاد ست که امروز دگرگوں شد کار
کوچها بینم پر شورش و سر تا سر کوی
همه پر جوشن و جوشن درو پر خیل و سوار
مہتران بینم بر روی زنان همچو زنان
چشمها کرده ز خوں نا به بونگ گلزار
میک امسال دگر باز نیامد ز غزا
دشمنی روی نهادست درین شهر و دیار
سیر می خورده مگر دی که بگفته است امروز
دیر تر خاست مگر رنج رسیدش ز خسار
خیز شاها که رسولان شہا آمده اند
ہدیہ ها دارند آورده فراوان و نثار
کہ تواند کہ بر انگیزد آیین خواب ترا
خفتنی خفتنی کز خراب نگر دی بیدار

¹ Dīwān i Farrukhī.

به حصار از فزع و بیم تو رفتند شهاں
 تو شها از فزع و بیم که رفتی به حصار
 شعرا را به تو بازار بر افروخته بود
 رفتی و با تو بیگانه برفت آن بازار

The Sultān's love for Ayāz, his favourite Tur-
 Sultān's love for komān slave, who was known
 Ayāz, by the title of *Abun Najm*, is a
 mysterious fact of history. The poet Farrukhī in
 a *qasīdah* describes Ayāz as a man of no great
 personal beauty or charm, remarking that the
 Sultān's regard for him was more for his devotional
 service and refined manners than for his physical
 attraction. Nizami 'Arūzī Samarqandī also writes
 to the same effect as follows:—

¹ عشقه که سلطان یمین الدوله محمود را بر ایاز ترک بوده است معروف
 است و مشهور — آورده اند که سخت نیکو صورت نبود لیکن سبز چهره
 شیرین بوده است متناسب اعضاء و خوش حرکات و خرد مند و آهسته و
 آدایب مخلوق پرستی او را عظیم دست داده بوده است و در آن باره از
 نادرات زمانه خویش بوده است — و این همه اوصاف آن است که عشق
 را باعث کند و دوستی را برقرار دارد و سلطان یمین الدوله محمود مرده
 دیدار و مقتی بود با عشق ایاز بسیار کشتی گرفته تا از شارع شرع و منهج
 حریت قدیمه عدول نه کند —

The love which Sultān Yamīnu'ddaulah Mahmūd

¹ Chahār Maqālah, pp. 43-46.

bore towards his slave, Ayāz, is commonly known, and famous. It is related that he was not very handsome in appearance, but had a tender and sweet countenance, symmetrical body and pleasing manners; and was intelligent, mild and gifted with a magnificent share of creature-worship. And in this virtue, he was a rare example in his day. And all these virtues are such as beget love, and make friendship stable. And Sultān Mahmūd was a God-fearing and pious man, and struggled hard with his love for Ayāz, with the result that he did not go one step beyond the path of religion and the way of chivalry.

This simple affair, being extraordinary in its character as subsisting between a mighty monarch like Mahmūd and his slave, soon caught the imagination of the contemporary poets who wrote on the subject with poetical fulness, until it became a real romance in history and a permanent topic of interest for all succeeding poets seeking for a popular theme for their metrical compositions.

Mahmūd's scholarly disposition and love for letters are too well known in history. The Royal Museum and the Academy that he had founded at Ghaznī are counted among the rarities of the period and speak for themselves. The latter possessed a

large and valuable collection of books on Arabian, Greek and Indian sciences and arts. Whenever a city was sacked or conquered, its libraries were left intact under special orders of Maḥmūd, and removed to the Capital city under escort to enrich the Royal Academy.¹ Again, his love for the society of scholars and poets is clear from the fact that he had invited the most eminent of them from all parts of the Empire and other independent Central Asian States to come to his court. Al Bīrūnī, the famous scientist, was one of them. Also, it is said as many as *four hundred* poets travelled with him to every corner of the empire on whom he spent *eighty lacs* of rupees yearly in the shape of fixed allowances.² In addition to this, he had settled permanent *jāgīrs* on the Qāzīs, Imāms, Traditionalists and poets, and built numerous colleges and hostels for the education and residence of scholars. His sporadic rewards to the poets and the learned amounted to several *lacs* annually, which he paid from his private purse. As a scholar he is the author of a standard work entitled *Tafrīd ul Furūʿ* (تفرید الفروع) on Muslim Jurisprudence. Another book he wrote on *مِلّات* (giving rewards) in praise of which the famous poet 'Asjadī observed:—

بر دامنِ مِلّاتِ کتابِ بگردِ شاه چو ناکه بو حنیفه کتابِ ملوٰه کرد

¹ Ibn ul Aṣīr, Vol. IX, p. 262.

² Taẓkira i Salāṭīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, p. 43.

On giving rewards the Shāh wrote a book,
Just as Imām Abū Hanīfah did write one on
Prayer.

In short, Maḥmūd is a most conspicuous figure among the eastern monarchs who patronized and loved Persian art and culture. His greatest service is that he advanced the claim of Persian literature in India to rank as a national literature.

Section II—Literary taste in the Age of Mahmūd's successors

Mahmūd's poetic taste, which came up to the standard of Persian taste, continued among his descendants and patronage of Mahmūd's descendants; and the famous as well, who, after his death, poets of their Courts. succeeded to the throne of Hindūstān. This may be seen in the elegy which his son, Sultān Muḥammad, wrote on his father's death. In form and matter it is perfect and represents all the essentials of elegiac poetry. The opening lines are as follows:—

۱ ای حالِ دلِ خسته مشوہے ہے تو عیشِ خوشِ منِ شدست ناخوش ہے تو
تو رفتہ و آمدہ مرا ہے تو جاں تو در تہِ خاک و من در آتش ہے تو

Among his successors, the reign of his grandson, Sultān Zahīruddīn Ibrāhīm bin Mas'ūd, was conspicuous in history, since he had Abul Faraj Rūnī as his court-poet, who had no equal in Khurāsān, whom contemporary Persia recognised as the leading poet of the day. Zahīruddīn's ministers also were scholars of renown, like Abū Sahl Khujandī, Khwājah Mas'ūd Chachī and 'Abdul Hamīd Aḥmad. The last-named was a great administrator and a poet besides, in whose praise Abul Faraj Rūnī wrote a *qasīdah* of which the opening line runs thus:—

¹ Bayāz i Mirzā Asad Bēg, Mss., fol. 67a.

¹ ترتیب ملک و قاعدہ جود و رسم داد عبد الصمد احمد عبد الصمد نہاد

Abul Faraj Rūnī's birth-place was a small town

The famous poet named *Rūn* or *Rūyan* in the neighbourhood of Lāhore, of an Indian.

which mention is made in the biographical works and in Persian dictionaries. Mullā 'Abdu'l Rashīd Tattawī writes thus:—

¹ درون بالقہ در فرهنگ نام قصبہ ایست در ہند کہ مولیٰ ابوالفرج است -

Rūn with the vowel sign (و) in Persian lexicon is the name of a town in India, which was the birthplace of Abul Faraj.

'Aufī says:—

² ابوالفرج بن مسعود الرونی، مولیٰ و منشاء او خطہ لہور بود -

Abul Faraj bin Mas'ūd of Rūn:—His place of birth and where he grew up was the district of Lāhore.

Badāūnī remarks:—

³ استاد ابوالفرج روینی ہم مداح سلطان ابراہیم بود و ہم مداح سلطان مسعود و قصائد بسیار بنام ایشان در دیوان اوست و روین نام دیہی است از توابع لہور و دریں روزگار گویا خراب است کہ اثرے از وی باقی نماندہ است -

¹ Farhang i Rashīdī.

² Lubāb, vol. II, p. 241.

³ Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 37.

Ustād Abul Faraj Rūyanī was the eulogiser of Sultān Ibrāhīm as well as of Sultān Mas'ūd. And he has many a *qasīdah* in his *dīwān* in their praise; and *Rūyan* is the name of a village within the jurisdiction of Lāhore, and in this age, so to say, it is in ruins, so that no trace of it survives.

The same view is held by Amīn Ahmād Rāzī, author of the *Haft Iqlīm*, and Mīrzā Muḥammad Khān Qazvīnī, a modern Persian writer.

As against these, the Persian biographers unhesitatingly declared that Abul Faraj was a Persian, just as they did in the case of Mas'ūd, obviously to save Persia from the ignominy of accepting an Indian as the leading figure in his day in the art of Persian composition. Their resentment was, perhaps, further aggravated when some responsible critics and judges of Persian poetry thought that Anwārī, the renowned poet of Persia, imitated Abul Faraj's style and trend of thought.

The views of the Persian writers with regard to Abul Faraj's nativity are as follows. Thus writes Rīzā Qulī Khān Hidāyet:—

سختگوئیست شیروین زبان و فصیحی نیکو بیان
اصلش از دونه و آن نام قریه ایست از نشاپور..... چندی ابوالنرج در لاهور زیسته باز برگزیده
سلطان پیوست لهذا برخی ادر ا لاهوری دانند —

¹ Majma'ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 70.

He is a poet with sweet tongue and great eloquence. His origin is from Rūnah, and this is the name of a village in Nishāpūr. For sometime Abul Faraj lived in Lāhore, but went back to wait on the stirrups of the Sultān. Consequently some people know him as belonging to Lāhore.

Lutf'Alī Bēg Āzar says:—

ابوالنرج از شعرای جلیل‌الشان و از فصحای عذب‌الدیان است و اکثر
شعرا باستانی او اعتراف کرده اند... اصلی وی از قصه رفته من محال
داشت کاروان است -

Abul Faraj is from among the poets of high rank and the most eloquent of them. Many poets have acknowledged him to be a master. His origin is from the village Rūnah which is situated in the district of the desert of Khāwarān.

The same view is held by Hamdullah Mustaufī, author of the Tārikh i Guzīdah, and other responsible writers. The truth of the matter is that in Abul Faraj of the Punjāb we have a genius who gave a fresh turn to Persian poetry as he found it. The great masters of Persia and India have recognised Abul Faraj's imaginative power and style. Mas'ūd Sa'd

¹ Ātashkadah, p. 137.

Salmān, Anwārī, Faizī, ‘Urfī, Masīh Ruknā i Kāshī, Sā’ib and Tālib Āmulī not only mention his name in their works with respect, but even imitate him in their *qasā’id*. Mas‘ūd addresses him in a *qasīdah* as his *master* with a high sense of pride. The chief line is quoted below:—

1 نازم بدانکه هستم شاگرد تو شادم بدانکه هستی استاد من

I pride myself on this that I am thy pupil,
I am happy over it that thou art my master.

This points further to the fact that Abul Faraj ~~was a~~ predecessor of Mas‘ūd.

Anwārī declares his passionate love for Abul Faraj’s poetry in the following complimentary verse:—

2 باد معلومش که من بداده بشعر بوالفرج تا بدیدستم ولوعی داشتم بس تمام

He may know that I am a slave to his poetry,
Since I saw it I became all the more avid of it.

Again, he compares Abul Faraj with Farrukhī,
• one of the few bright gems of Sultān Mahmūd’s court:—

3 در عذوبت نظم اقبالست چو نظم فرخی -

In sweetness thy fortunate poetry is like that of
Farrukhī.

¹ *Dīwān* i Mas‘ūd Sa’d Salmān.

² *Dīwān* i Ustād Abul Faraj Rūnī.

³ *Ibid.*

He further declares his resolve to imitate Abul Faraj's poetry, and compares it with a bird which it is not easy to ensnare:—

عزم دارم کان پرورے چند بنویسم کہ نیست¹
شعر او مرغے کہ آساں اندرون افتد بدام

Faizī also acknowledges him as his superior and guide, as is evident from the following verse:—

خوفے کہ توان گرفت از شعر از شعر ابوالفرج گرفت²

The taste (benefit) that could be derived from
poetry,

I drew from that of Abul Faraj.

Faizī, as is well known, occupies such an important place among the poets of Akbar's time that even the best poets of contemporary Persia have seen in him a master mind. 'Urfī too, who looked upon himself as the greatest poet of the day, recognises in a *qasīdah*, which he wrote in praise of the *Khān i Khānān*, his indebtedness to Abul Faraj and Anwarī,³ boastfully declaring them to be the pioneers in that field, and himself only a follower of their style and metre. The significant lines are as follows:—

¹ Ibid.

² A. History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court, vol. III, p. 63.

³ It is to be noted that Anwarī himself followed Abul Faraj, and was proud of it.

۱ انصاف بدہ ہوالفرج و انورۃ امروز بہر چہ غنیمت نشمارند عدم را
 بسم اللہ ز اعجاز نفس جان دہ شاں باز تا من قلم اندازم و گیرند قلم را
 اول دہ این نظم خود ایشان بسپردند پس باز نمود یم بہم منزل ہم را

Give justice, Abul Faraj and Anwarī today,
 Why should they not be content with their non-
 existence?

In the name of God, bring them to life once more
 by thy miraculous breath,

So that I may lay down the pen, and they may
 take it up again;

The path of this poetry was first traversed by
 them,

Thereafter we all trod in the same path.

This is indeed a great tribute which 'Urfī paid to the memory of Abul Faraj. The famous poet Zākī of Kāshghar also recognised Abul Faraj's greatness, since Taqī Auhadī records that Zākī sent to Abul Faraj, through a special messenger, the following laudatory verse in appreciation of his poetical powers, styling him as *Sāheb Qirān* (Lord of the two Ages) of Persian poetry:—

صاحبقران عالم کافی توئی کہ هست گلزار وار خلد نمودار شعر تو

Thou art the *Sāheb Qirān* of the world: thy presence is enough, since it is a fact

¹ *Dīwān i 'Urfī.*

That thy verses appear like the garden of Paradise.

To this an appropriate reply was given by Abul Faraj in the form of a *qit'a*, beginning with the following verse:

سلطانِ نظام و نثرِ ذکی آنکه در جهان دادِ سخن بدادِ بعیارِ شعرِ خویش

The king of poetry and prose, Zākī, who, in the world,

Did justice to poetical composition by his efficient verses.

Abul Faraj's poetical virtues have evoked the greatest admiration from the leading poets of Persia. Anwarī, himself one of the *three* acknowledged apostles of Persian poetry and a creator of new forms of style, not only appreciated Abul Faraj's composition, but also imitated it in subject, thought and style. So greatly fond of Abul Faraj's poetry was Anwarī that he always kept his predecessor's *dīwān* with himself to serve as a guide and model for his own compositions.¹ Again, Āzar and Rīza Qulī

¹ Cf:—

و انوری پیوسته تتبع سخن او کرده و دیوان او همواره در نظر داشته و در آن قصیده که گفته است مطلع :-

و یحک ای صورتِ منصوره بآنچه نه سرای بل بهشته که بدنیات فرستان خدای -
یک بیت تمام بعینه از شعر ابوالفوج بیا ورده است بے تضمین - اگر توارد

Khān Hidāyet, the well-known biographical writers of later Persia, pay Abul Faraj a glowing tribute, recognising him as a great master of the art and a peer of the most gifted and eloquent poets of Persia and mistake him for a Persian.. This point is worthy of special notice, since the learned critics, whose apathy for poets of Indian origin is well-known, see in Abul Faraj a classical poet, and fully corroborate 'Aufi's statement that Anwarī, the leading *qasida*-writer of Persia followed Abul Faraj's style and trend of thought¹. This fact alone is a refutation of the

خاطر ست بغایت نادر ست و در آن قطعه که گفته است قطعه -
 اندران مجلس که من داعی بشعر دیوانفرج
 تا شنید ستم و لوعی داشتستم بس تمام -
 دلیل است که او پیوسته در بوستان دیوان ابوالفرج تفرج کرده -
 (Lubāb, Vol. II, p. 241)

NOTE:—The first hemistich of the opening verse of the "qasidah", quoted in the above extract, has a typographical error. The correct reading is as follows:—

ویحک ای صورت مصوریه باغ و سرای
 و شاهد اُستادی او همین بس است که حکیم انوری متتبع¹
 طریقه او بوده و گاهه تفسیر مصارع اومی کرده -
 (Ātashkadah, p. 137)

Also Cf. Rīzā Qulī Khān Hidāyat:—

در شاعری الحق طرز خوشه دارن حکیم انوری متتبع طرز اوست -
 (Majma'ul Fusahā, vol. I, p. 70)

views held by some Western critics that the Indians writing in Persian, in spite of their linguistic attainments, could not equal Persian poets in imagination and style. Abul Faraj's poetry completely dispels this false notion. It is a matter of pride for India that Lāhore produced a poet whom Anwarī imitated. But there is nothing strange about it when we recollect how the entire territory from the Punjāb to Persia was one complete region dominated by Persian culture in the wake of the conquests of Maḥmūd. In fact, during the regime of the Ghaznavids all local and geographical distinction between Ghaznī and Lāhore had disappeared. This continuity of cultural unity was not broken after the cessation of the Ghaznavid rule, but remained intact till the end of the Mughal sovereignty in India. During this time the centre of Persian poetry and learning shifted *thrice* from Irān to India, first, during the Ghaznavid,¹ secondly, during the Khiljī² and thirdly, during the

¹ Cf. the royal courts of Ghaznī and Lāhore, which became the chief seats of Persian culture, where almost all the leading poets and scholars of Persia had assembled under the liberal patronage of Sultān Maḥmūd and his sons. The former is reputed to have had 400 select poets always in attendance on him during his stay and campaigns in India (*Daulatshāh*, p. 24). There were, thus, hardly any distinguished men of letters left behind who did not attend on the king.

² Cf.---

و در تمامی عصر علانی در دارالملکِ دهلی علمائے ہند کہ آنچنان استادان
کہ ہر یکے علامت و قوت و در بخارا و در سمرقند و بغداد و مصر و خوارزم و

Mughal reign.¹ One of the main reasons why India

دمشق و تبریز و صفاهان و دی و روم و در ربع مسکون نباشند -

(Barnī, p. 352)

And in the whole reign of 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī there were men of letters in the capital city of Delhi, every one of whom was a great exponent of learning and a perfect master of the age, the like of whom were not to be found in Bukhārā, Samarqand, Baghdād Egypt, Khwārazm, Damascus, Tabrīz, Isfahān, Rai, Rūm and the habitable quarter of the globe.

Also Cf:—

اگر مفتی طمطراق اوستادی بر سر کرده از خراسان و ماوراءالنهر و خوارزم
و یا از شهره دیگر در دهلی برسیده و کمالات علوم بزرگان مذکور را مشاهده
کرده سبق درست گرفته و به تلمذ پیش ایشان بزانوی آداب در آمده -

(Ibid, pp. 354-55)

If any learned scholar with the pride of mastery in his head reached Delhi from Khurāsān, Trans-Caspian Province, Khwārazm or from any other city, and witnessed the perfections of learning of these great Doctors, he would take lessons from them, and bend his knee in reverence before them as their pupil.

This age may also boast of having poets like Khawājah Hasan of Delhi and, particularly, Amīr Khusrau who had no equal in Persia in his day in the realm of Persian poetical composition. Barnī says that a perfect master of both prose and poetry, like Khusrau, never appeared before, nor is expected to appear in future. Cf. his statement:—

و هم در عصر علانی شعرائے بودند که بعد از ایشان بلکه پیش از ایشان
چشم روزگار مثل ایشان ندیده است لا سیما امیر خسرو که خسرو شاعران

could equal Persia in the early and the middle ages of

سلف و خلف بوده است و..... نظیر خود نداشت و... در سلف نبود و
در خاف تا قیامت پیدا آید یا نیاید .

(Ibid, p. 359)

¹ Cf. the statement of Sā'ib, who was appointed *poet-laureate* of Persia after his retirement from the service of Shāh-jahān in India, that he considered the Indian poetical atmosphere definitely superior to that of Persia in the following clear and unmistakable language:—

نیست در ایران زمین سامان تحصیل کمال
تا نیامد سوی هندوستان چنا رنگین نشد

There is not in the Persian land the requisite material for
perfection in the poetic art,
Until *benā* (myrtle) came to India, it acquired no colour.

Also Cf. Kauṣarī, the court-poet of Shāh 'Abbās the Great, complaining of the dearth of real poetic appreciation in Persia, as compared with its more fortunate rival India which, he says, has become the asylum of Persian poetry in his day:—

شکایت کم توجهی اهل ایران بآداب معانی

دریں کشور خریدار سخن نیست	کسے سر گرم بازار سخن نیست
نباشد از اکابر تا اراذل	کسے را دل بسوی شعر مائل
ببین کز بے خریداری دریں دور	چگونه شد بر آداب سخن جور
در ایران تلخ گشته کلم جانم	بہاید شد سوی هندوستانم
بر آنم کو ثری آبیان خود را	شدہ نازل عرش آیات خود را
کہ نبود در سخن دانان دوراں	خریدار سخن جز خانخانان
سخن را قدر و مقدارے نماندہ	معانی را خریدارے نماندہ

Islāmic history is that hundreds of thousands of

بود امروز شعر و شاعری عار	زبس باشد سخن بے قدر و مقدار
که باشد جنس معنی را خریدار	که در ایراں کسی ناید پدیدار
بدانک هند آزاں کردند ماوا	همه طوطی منازان شکر خا
متاع خود بهندستان فرستم	چو قطره جانبِ عمان فرستم
جہاں را همچو او آمادہ گنجے	سگن را نیست جز اونکتہ سنجے
کہ از دست سخایش بہرہ ور نیست	بعالم هیچکس ز اہل ہنر نیست

(B. M. Mss., Or. 342, fol. 11a)

*Complaint against the inattention of the people of Irān towards the Possessors of meaning (poets):—
 In this dominion there is no purchaser of speech,
 No one is eagerly busy in the mart of speech;
 To speech value and weight remained not,
 Nor for meaning any customer remained;
 From the greatest to the humblest, there is not
 Any one whose heart is inclined to verse;
 So valueless and insignificant has speech become,
 That today poetry and the profession of a poet are in disgrace;
 See that owing to want of a mart in this age,
 What tyranny was practised on the possessors of speech!
 In Persia no one appears
 Who is a customer of the commodity of meaning;
 In Persia the palate of my soul has become bitter,
 Now ought I to go towards Hindūstān;
 All the sugar-eating parrots
 Have for this reason made their abode in India;
 Kauṣārī, I am now determined that my verses,
 Which are signs descended from the *ninth heaven*,
 Like a drop towards the ocean I should send,
 I should send my commodity to India;
 That there is not among the learned of the age,
 A customer of speech except the *Khān i Khānān*;
 For discourse there is not a weigher of subtle points ex-

Persian families had come down to India in the pre-Islāmic era and settled in the land of the Punjāb. Thus long before the invasion of Maḥmūd, a cultural connection with linguistic affinity between India and Persia had been established with the result that the Punjāb assimilated the Persian speech and taste for poetry. A reference to this Persian emigration is to be found in Faḡluddīn Hiravī's statement, of which the source is the early 'Arab historian Shihābuddīn Yā qūtu'r Rūmī, that a big city near Lāhore was founded by the Persian exiles from Khurāsān during the reign of Afrāsiyāb.¹ It is mentioned by the author of the *Tabaqāt i Akbarī* and also by *Badā'ūnī* in connection with their accounts of the Ghaznavīd king Ibrāhīm. It is recorded that the last-named once caused to be sent a hundred thousand Persians from this great city of the Punjāb to his capital Ghaznī,

cept he,
For the world there is none like him a ready treasure;
In the Universe there is none from among the possessors
of art
Who is not profited by his bountiful hand.

¹ Cf:—

و در اطرافِ لوهور آبادانی ست قدیم که مردمانش همه از اهل
خراسان اند و قاضی علامه شهاب الدین ابو عبد الله یاقوت الرومی در معجم
اشارات بیان کرده که آنان در عهدِ افراسیاب گریخته در هند اقامت گزیدند -

(Tazkira i Salātīn i Āl i Ghaznīn, Mss., p. 37)

to add to the latter's population and splendour.¹ The cultural value of this great Persian influx into India and the benefit that accrued from the long contact of Persian civilization in the sphere of her educational and linguistic effort is immense. It influenced and completely transformed the literary taste of her people so that there arose in succession in the Punjāb poets whose composition received tributes from Persia, and equalled those of the best Persian masters of art in all the requisite features. Abul Faraj left several works of which those extant are a treatise on Persian prosody, and a voluminous *divān* which he dedicated to his patron Sultān Ibrāhīm. The dedication begins with the verse:—

سپهرِ دولت و دین آفتابِ هفت اقلیم
ابوالمظفر شاهِ مظفر ابراهیم

The sky of worldly fortune and religion, the
sun of the seven regions,

Abul Muzaffar, the victorious king Ibrāhīm.

His *divān* consists of *qasīdah*, *qit'ā*, *ghazal*, *rubā'ī* and *hajv*, and was printed in Persia at the International Trading Socialist Press, in 1345 A. H.

¹ Cf:—

و از یک شهر که اهل آن از نسلِ خراسانیان بودند و آخر (افراسیاب)
ایشان را اخراج کرده و در هند آبادان شده بودند صد هزار کس را اسیر
ساخته به غزنین برد

(Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 35)

In a *qit'ā*, he called Mas'ud Sa'd Salmān the *Keeper of the mansion of poetry*. The chief line, which is also the last line, runs thus:—

تا جهان است او نگهبان باد این بنا را که او نگهبان است¹

Till as long as the world exists, may he remain
the guardian
Of the structure of which he is already the guar-
dian.

Some of his *qasā'id* in praise of the royal house are magnificent, and have been imitated by, besides Anwarī, the leading poets of Persian language, like *Zahīr Fāryābī*, *Salmān Sāwajī*, 'Urfī *Shīrāzī* and others. His *ghazals* are melodious and sweet, and his *rubā'iyāt* chaste and attractive. About twenty years after *Ibrāhīm's* death, *Mu'izzudīn Bahrām Shāh*, aided by *Sultān Sa'id Sanjar* of *Khurāsān*, wrested the crown from his cousin, *Malik Arsalān*, in 511 A. H. He was a great patron of learning and a cherisher of art, and his reign was a period of development for Persian

¹ *Dīwān* i *Abul Faraj Rūnī*, p. 125.

NOTE:—In acknowledgement to this, *Mas'ūd* wrote an appropriate rejoinder, which is to be found in his *dīwān*. The first line is reproduced as follows:—

خاطرخواجه بوالفرج بدرست گوهر نثر و نظم را کان ست

The intellect of *Khawājah Abul Faraj* has rightly
Become a mine of the rubies of prose and poetry.

poetry. On his accession to the throne at Ghaznī, Sayyid Hasan, a learned divine and a preacher by profession, who is better known as a Sūfī than as a poet,¹ read a congratulatory *qasīdah* in his praise, of

¹ Cf.—

سید حسن بطور نسب و سمر حسب موصوف و به کارم اخلاق و محاسن
 اوصاف معروف و در معانی فصاحت و بلاغت قدوة عرفا و زبدة طرفا و در
 زهد و تقوی سر آمد روزگار و در ارشاد خلایق سر حلقه احرار بوده — گویند
 در غزنین روزی در مجلس وعظ ایشان قریب هفتاد هزار کس در پای منبر
 جمع آمدند و چهار هزار از ایشان بشرف ارادت اختصاص داشتند این خبر
 را سلطان بهرام شاه رسا نیدند یکی از ندمای خاص را دو ششبر برهنه
 و یک غلاف داده بخدمت سید فرستاد که در غلاف کن سید مطالب را در
 یافته هم در آن زودی از غزنین عزیمت حرمین شریفین کرده —

(Ātashkadah, p. 107)

Sayyid Hasan was gifted with high lineage and lofty personal qualities, and was known for high morals and praise-worthy habits. And he was the leader of the possessors of the knowledge of God in the assemblies of eloquence and rhetoric, and was the head of those endowed with wit. And in piety and abstinence he was the pioneer of his age, and in guiding the public he was the central point of the ring of the free people. It is said that one day in Ghaznīn about 70,000 people gathered together at the foot of the pulpit, to listen to his sermon, of whom 4,000 became his disciples. This news was carried to the Sultān who sent one of his chief courtiers with *two* naked swords and *one* sheath to the Sayyid, with the message that he should put the two swords together in that sheath. The Sayyid, having understood its significance, soon resolved to go from Ghaznīn to the holy places (Mecca and Medīna).

which the opening verse proclaims his coronation

While so much is said about his lineage, piety and sermon, his poetic talent is judged in one simple phrase as follows :

و الحق در فنِ نظم کمال مهارت داشته

And verily he had perfect practice in the art of versification.

Also Cf. Daulatshāh:—

سید اشرف حسن الکسینی رحمه الله بزرگوار فاضل و دانشمند و اهل
دل بوده و قصیده نثریه را می گوید و شعرا بعضی جواب آن گفته اند مثل
مجید بیلقانی و کمال الدین اسعیل و شیخ آذری نیز گفته اما قبل از سید
حسن کسی مثل این قصیده نگفته است :-

داند جهان که قره عینِ پیبرام شایسته میوه دلِ زهرا و حیدر ام

(p. 50)

Sayyid Ashraf Hasan al-Husainī was a learned sage and a wise and spiritual man. He has composed a *qasīdah* in self-praise, and some poets like Mujir Bīlqānī, Kāmāluddīn Ismā'īl and Shaikh Āzarī have written rejoinders to it. Nevertheless, before Sayyid Hasan, none else wrote a *qasīdah* like that:—

The world knows that I am the comfort of the eye
of the Prophet,

I am a worthy fruit of the heart of *Zahrā* and *Hydar*.

In this connection Daulatshāh, on the authority of the *Tārīkh i Guzīdah* of Hamdullāh Mustaufī, refers to another poem of Hasan in praise of the Holy Prophet, in which the poet asked for a *Khil'at* which, it is asserted, was bestowed upon him in a concrete shape. Cf. the statement:—

و چون بزیارتِ مرقدِ مطهر حضرت سید المرسلین رسید ترجیع گفت
و التماس خلعت کرد :-

thus:—

۱ مَنادی بر آمد ز هشت آسمان که بهرام شاهست شاه جهان
یا رب این مائیم و اینی درگاه صدر انتساب
یا رب این مائیم و این خاک جناب مصطفی است^۲
سلاموا یا قوم دل صلاوا علی صدر الامین مصطفی ما جاء الا رحمة للعالمین
و در حسن اطلب این بیت فرموده:—
لافروندی نیارم ز دل در حضرتت مدحتی آوردم اینک خلعتی بیرون فرست
خواجہ حمد اللہ مستوفی در تاریخ گزیده می آورد که خلعت از روضہ
حضرت رسالت جہۃ سید بیرون آمد و بر صحت آن اطمینان می کند —
(Ibid)

The alleged view of the appearance of the *Khil'at* from the tomb of the Holy Prophet is a fantastic one, unless by the *Khil'at* is meant 'inward bliss' or 'consolation' which the poet felt on the completion and presentation of the said poem. His poetry consists chiefly of *Qasā'id* — رباعیات — and *Qasā'id*, and is limited in its character, scope and bulk. He has to his credit a small *divān* containing about 5,000 verses all told. Cf. the statement:

دیوانش پنجہزار بیت است

(*Majma'ul Fusahā*, vol. I, p. 192)

He does not seem to have attempted *Ghazl* and *Masnū'ī*, of which no specimen verses are preserved in any of the biographical works under reference. Some of his *Qasā'id* رباعیات and *Qasā'id*, in praise of Bahrām Shāh, Prince Khusrāu, Abū Muhammad Tāhir (Prime Minister) and Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī, are quoted in full in the *Lubāb* (vol. II, pp. 270-6), the *Majmū'a i Tazkār* (pp. 89-92) and the *Majma'ul Fusahā* (vol. I, pp. 192-6).

¹ *Tabaqāt*, p. 24.

A loud call came from the *seven skies*
That Bahrāmshāh is the Emperor of the world.

Again, he composed another *qasīdah* when he went on a pilgrimage to Mecca, and sent it to Sultān Ibrāhīm at Lāhore, in which he expressed his keenest desire to be in India at the Sultān's court. The lines of the poem bearing on the point are quoted below :—

خرم بود که باز ببینم لقا^ی شاه شکرانه درد و دیده کشم خاک پای شاه
بهرام شه که جان سلاطین نثار باد باشد که جان ایشان باشد فدای شاه
تا هند و پارس خط^ه او را مسلم است آیم به بوم هند و بیارم ثنای شاه

How happy would I be to see again the face of
the king.

In thankfulness I would apply the collyrium of
the dust of his feet to both my eyes;

May the lives of many a king be sacrificed for the
king Bahrām,

May be that their lives serve as an offering to his
person;

Since the whole tract from India to Persia is
under his sway,

I come to the soil of India, and bring with me a
gift of his praise.

The well-known Sanskrit story, the *Kalilah-Damnab*, was again translated into Persian from the Arabic version of 'Abdullāh Ibn ul Muqaffa' by the

order of the king,¹ and became very popular in Persia.² Among the most notable poets of this period are Hakīm Sanā'ī, Mukhtārī and Mīnūchehrī.

Sanā'ī, besides being a poet, was also a philosopher and a great Sūfī. Anwarī and Khāqānī revered him; even Rūmī, the greatest mystic poet of Persia, refers to him in these terms :

نیم جوش کرده ام من نیم خام از حکیم غزنوی بشنو تمام

I, the half-ripe, have got a half-boil,
From the sage of Ghaznī listen to what is perfectly ripe.

عطار روی بود سنائی دو چشم او ما از پی سنائی و عطار آمدیم

'Attār was a face, and Sanā'ī its two eyes,
I came in the wake of Sanā'ī and 'Attār.

¹ Cf:—

سلطان بهرام شاه بن مسعود بن ابراهیم پادشاه شد و حکیم سنائی مداح
او بود و کلیله دمنه و کتب بسیار در زمان او تصنیف شد -

(Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 39)

² This book was first translated into Pahlavī from the original Sanskrit text in the time of Naushīrwān the Great, but it did not gain much popularity, and was forgotten soon after its production. From this old Persian version a translation was later made into Arabic by 'Abdullāh Ibn ul Muqaffā', which survived, and from which subsequent Persian translations were made in the time of Sultān Nasr bin Ahmad Sāmānī, Bahramshāh Ghaznavī and 'Sultān Husain Mirzā of Herāt.

In his early career, Sanā'ī used to write odes in honour of the Ghaznavīd kings, but he later gave up this kind of versification, and devoted his life to religious meditation and mystical writings.¹ His famous *maṣnawī*, *Ḥadiqat ul Ḥaqīqat*, popularly called *Ḥadiqah*, was written in Ibrāhīm's time and dedicated to him. The year of its completion in 525 A. H. is indicated by the concluding lines quoted below:—

شد تمام این کتاب در مه دی که در آذر فکند او را پی
پانصد و بیست و چار دهم ز عام پانصد و بیست و پنج گشته تمام

It is a masterly exposition of the Unity of God-head and the fundamentals of mysticism.² It was this *maṣnawī* which led some of his opponents at the court to bring a case of heresy against him, but the decision of the divines of Baghdād, to whom the matter was finally referred, was in his favour, and he was acquitted of the charge. The letter which Sanā'ī wrote to Ibrāhīm on his acquittal is fortunately preserved and is reproduced here to give the reader some idea of Sanā'ī's prose style. It further throws

¹ How this change, took place is stated to be as follows:—

One day Sanā'ī overheard a mystic pitying Ibrāhīm's lust for conquest and Sanā'ī's habit of flattering him with laudatory poems in complete forgetfulness of God's retribution on the day of Judgment. This incident brought about the great moral transformation here referred to. For further details see Daulatshāh p. 96, (Ed. by Browne) .

light on the art of letter-writing and the religious thought of the time:—

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلوة على خير خلقه محمد وآله واصحابه
أجمعين — اما بعد در آثار است که دو چیز در عمر افزایش و سبب باریدن
باران و رستن درختان بود یکی نصرت مظلومان و دیگر قهر ظالمان و حکمتی
که برین گفته اند آنست که پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وسلم فرمود که بالعدل
قامت السموات — عدل تمثال مرغیست که هر کجا سایه افکند آنجا توسعه
دولت شود و آنجا که خانه سازد قبیله استدامت شود و باران از آسمان
بایستد و ظلم مرغیست که هر کجا پیرد قضا سال شود و حیات و حیا از
میان خلق معدوم شود و حق سرکانه و تعالی سلطان اسلام و پادشاه عادل
بهرآم شاه بن مسعود شاه بن ابراهیم شاه بن مسعود شاه بن مسعود شاه را
از ظلم و جور نگاهدارد و اگرچه همه عالم جمع شوند تا بضاعت و مایه
شناخت دل این بنده نویسد و بعبارت بزد نتوانند و درختی که مالک
الملک آنرا نشانده در مشاهده اسرار غیب جبرئیل و میکائیل که از تصرف
کردن دران معزول بودند یقین است که در کل احوال عادل سعید است
و جابر شقی و بدترین ظلم آنست که جماعتی اندک چیز را بخوانند و
فهم نکنند و دران مغرور شوند و زبان طعن در حق عالمان نهند از نیجاست
که پیغمبر صلی الله علیه وسلم فرمود ارحموا ثلثا غنیا افتقر و عزیز قوم ذل
و عالما بین الجهال — کتابی که بزبان اهل معرفت گفته بود عارف بینا دل
باید چنانکه بایزد و شلی که دران کتاب تصرف کنند و بدانند که دران چه
نوشته اما دانشمندان که بوی معرفت ندارند از سر حق و نادانی بود که
دران کتاب طعن زنند و دلائل برکور دای ایشان آنست که می گویند آل

مروان را نکو هیده است و خاندان مصطفی را صلی الله علیه وسلم ستایش
از حد برده و تفضیل امیرالمومنین علی کرم الله و چه بر دیگر مصحابه رضی الله
عنهم نهاده است و آن نمی بینند که او را فرود صدیق و فارق و ذی النورین
مرتبه نهاده است بر طریق سلف و خلف صالح و از سید کائنات محمد
مصطفی صلی الله علیه وسلم اخبار صحیح مرویست در مثالب آل مروان
و مناقب آل محمد مصطفی صلی الله علیه وسلم اگر دروغ است و کافه الناس
بر این اند عقل داند که چنین است - و کلمه حق آنست که بار خدایا
آراسته گردان عالم را بعالمی که از تو بتوسند یا از خلق شرم دارند و ما
را مبتلای بیگانگان کوی قهر خود مگر دای بفضلک و جودک و کرمک یا
ارحم الراحمین -

عرش گز بارگاه را زین شاه بهرام شاه را زین

Bahrām's patronage of letters is memorable in history¹ inasmuch as the foundation of philosophical and mystical poetry in Persian language was laid firmly in his time. Sanā'i himself claimed that after the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadīs* it was his *Hadīqah* alone which

¹ Cf. Farishta's estimate of Bahrām's literary patronage and love of letters:—

او پادشاه بود فی شوکت و صاحبِ حشمت با علما و فضلا بسیار
نشسته و صحبت ایشاں را دوست داشته و هر کس را بقدر علمش رعایت
کرد پس لهذا فضلی آن روزگار به اسم شریفش کتب ساخته اند و تصنیفات
پرداخته -

dealt with the principles of mysticism.¹ This claim was accepted by the great mystics like 'Attār and Rūmī. Even Sa'dī's didactic writings pale before Sanā'ī's, because Sanā'ī combines beauty of description with criticism of life. Witness Sanā'ī's own assertion:—

کس نگفت این چنین سخن به جهان در کسے گفت گو بیار و بخوان
 ۲چوں ز قرآن گذشتی و اخبار نهست کس را بدیں نمط گفتار

No one composed such poetry in the world,
 And if any one² did, tell him to bring and recite
 it; .

When you stepped beyond the Qur'ān and the
 Traditions,

In no one else you would find utterance like this.

Sanā'ī had a special gift for expressing mystical ideas in a beautiful and impressive language. Take, for instance, his ode on the *transitoriness of the world*, which was a common topic of the day, and had been tried by so many poets before his time too, but his

¹ This is to be noted that the first person who introduced the Sūfī ideas in Persian poetry was Abū Sa'īd Abul Khair. But his composition consists mainly of quatrains which do not expound the principles of Sūfism like the *Hadiqah* of Sanā'ī, but expatiate on *love* only. Thus they may be said to be the outpourings of a lover to his beloved, seeking union.

² Note: Rūmī's *Maṣnawī* is said to be the *Qur'ān* in the Persian language, and occupies the first rank; while Sanā'ī's *Hadiqah* is said to occupy a second rank, being placed after the *Qur'ān* and the *Hadiṣ*.

treatment of it has a peculiar charm and is, perhaps, the last word on the subject:—

مکن در جسم و جان منزل که این دین است و آن والا
 قدم زین هر دو بیرون نه - نه اینجا باش و نه آنجا
 بهر چه از راه باز آفتی چه کفر آن حرف چه ایسا
 بهر چه از دوست و امانی چه زشت آن نقش چه زیبا

The concluding portion, which is very touching, is particularly noteworthy:—

نخواهم لا جرم نعت نه در دنیا ته در جنت
 همی گویم بهر ساعت چه در ضرا چه در سرا
 که یا رب مرسائی را سنائی ده تو در حکمت
 چنان کزوی بر شک آید روانِ دو علی سینا
 مگر دامنِ عمر من چون گل که در طفلی شوم کشته
 مگر دامنِ حرص من چون مل که در پیری شوم برنا
 بهر چه از اولیا گفتند اَرْقَنی و وَفَنی
 بهر چه از انبیا گفتند آ مَنَّا و صَدَّقْنَا

Another *qasīdah* on spirituality, reproduced below, is a marvellous composition, a parallel to which would be hard to find:—

برگِ بے برگِ نداری لافِ درویشی مزن
 رخ چو عیاران میازا جان چو ناسردان مکن
 یا بزو شمشیرِ زنان رنجه و بوئے پیدش گیر
 یا چو مردانِ اندر آ و گوی در میدان نکن

ہر چہ یا ہی جز ہوا آن دیں ہوں در جاں بکار
 ہر چہ بینی جز خدا آن بت ہوں در ہم شکن

سر ہر آر از گلشن تحقیق تا در کوی دین
 کشتگان زندہ بینی انجمن در انجمن

در یکے صف کشتگان بینی بہ تیغے چوں حسین
 در دیگر صف خستگان بینی ہزہے چوں حسن

دردِ دین خود ہوا عجب دردِ یست کاندروی چو شمع
 چوں شوی بیمار بہتر گردی از گردن زدن

ہر کسے از رنگ و رفتارے بایں دہے کے رسد
 دردِ باید صبر سوز و مردِ باید گلم زن

قر نہا باید کہ تا یک کون کے از لطف طبع
 عائلی کامل شود یا فاضلی صاحب سخن

سالہا باید کہ تا یک سنگِ اصلی ز آفتاب
 لعل گردد در بدخشاں یا عقیق اندر یمن

ہماہ ہا باید کہ تا یک مشہ پشم از پشتِ میش
 صوفی را خرقتہ گردد یا حصارے را رسن

ہفتہ ہا باید کہ تا یک پلکہ دانہ ز آب و گل
 شاہدے را حلقہ گردد یا حصارے را رسن

روز ہا باید کشیدن انتظار بے شمار
 ناکہ در چو فِ صدف ہاراں شود دُرِ عدن

صدق و اخلاص و درستی باید و عمر دراز
 تا قرین حق شود صاحبِ قوالے در قرن

با دو قہلہ در دہ توحید نتوان رفت راست
 یا رضای دوست باید یا ہوا ی خوشستن

دی ز دلنگی زمانے طوف کردم در چمن
 یک جہاں جہاں دیدم آنجا خستہ از زندان تن
 من در آن صحرائی خوش بادل ہمی گفتم چنین
 کاینست عقل افزای صحرا وینست جہاں پرور وطن
 بالغ گفت از راہ دیدی ای سنائی چون توئی
 بر چنین آواز و رنگ و بوی گردن مفتتن
 شادباش ای مہتری کز بہر دفع چشم زخم
 خرقہ در باز فقیر و بت بسوزد برہمن

A very fine *qasīdah* in praise of the Holy Prophet runs as follows. It is remarkable for its originality and thought:—

ای سنائی گر ہمی از لطف حق جوئی سنا
 عقل را قرباں کن اندر بارگاہ مصطفیٰ

The bulk of his ethical poetry survives, and provides food for the *Sūfīs*.

He was a resident of Ghaznī, yet to him there was no difference between Ghaznī and Lāhore. His long stay in Indian surroundings had influenced his thought and style, and he often gave vent to Indian ideas, and made use of Hindī words and expressions in his Persian compositions, as is evident from the following verses:—

لمکہنت گر ترا کند فرہ سیر خوردن ترا ز لمکہن بہ

نہ دران معدہ خدرگ میدہ نہ دران دیدہ قطرہ پانی

He has several works to his credit. Of those which have survived to us, the most important, besides the *Hadiqah*, are his *maṣnavī Rumūz ul Anbiyā al-ma'rūf ba Karṣ ul Auliya* and a *diwān*. The first-named consists of 280 and the second over 30,000 verses. The works *Siyar ul 'Ibād*, *Rumūz ul Asfiyā*, *Tariqat Nāmab* and the *Babrām Nāmab*, whose names occur in the early records with their authorship assigned to him, have not been traced. His death took place in 547 A. H.¹

¹NOTE:—There is much difference of opinion as to the date of his death. Taqī Aḥadī places it in 545 A. H., Daulatshāh and Āzar in 576 A. H., and Jāmi in 525 A. H., which is the very year when the *Hadiqah* was completed.

CHAPTER IV

THE GHŌRĪ AND THE SLAVE KINGS

India produced a good many poets and prose-writers during the reign of the Ghōrī and the Slave kings, besides those who came away in their youth from the cities of Persia and entered the service of the emperors of Hindūstān. The poets and the authors reviewed in these pages are primarily those whose writings have contributed to an advance of Persian poetry and prose. The first Ghōrī king of Hindūstān was Muʿizzuddīn Muḥammad bin Sām surnamed *Shihābuddīn* who, with the help of his brother Ghiyāṣuddīn, ruler of Ghōr, subdued the last Ghaznavīd king, Khusrau Malik, in 580 A. H., and occupied Lāhore two years later in 582 A. H. Shihābuddīn conquered the whole of the Punjāb, and held his court at Delhi.

A distinguished writer and poet of this period

The poets of Shihābuddīn's court: was Ruknuddīn Hamzah. [He was the *poet-laureate* as well as the chief Secretary to Shihābuddīn's government. The letter which the king sent to Rājā Pithōrā of Ajmēr was drafted by him. Another figure Shihābuddīn *alias* Muḥammad Rashīd, whose pen-name

1. Ruknuddīn Hamzah, the *poet-laureate*, and
2. Rashīd *Shihāb*.

was *Shihāb*, was born at Ghaznī but lived most of his life in India. He was a pupil of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, the famous Indian poet already cited. It is a pity that both his and *Hamza*'s writings are not preserved in full; nevertheless, what is available gives one some idea of their respective powers of Persian composition and of their poetical talents. The remarks of the author of the *Tazkira i Salāṭīn i Āl i Ghaznīn* about these two poets are worthy of notice. He says:—

۱ د رکن الدین حمزه را که از سر آمد موز و نان و منشیان سحرکار بود
خدمت نگاشتن نامه شکر و تفویض شد و الحق این خدمت را بشایستگی
انجامید - مکتوب را بملاحظه سلطان گذرانیدند و از مهر و تولک مزین
ساختند . . . و همدراں زمان امیر شهاب الدین علی که شهاب تخلص کرد
و بسیار نغز گوی و بیک واسطه شاگرد مسعود سعد سلمان بوده بدار الخلافه
مراجعت نمود -

And to Ruknuddīn *Hamzah*, who was one of the leading poets and marvellous writers of the age, was entrusted the duty of writing the momentous letter, and verily he accomplished this task well. They presented the letter to the king, and adorned it with the royal sign and seal. And at the same time Amīr Shihāb-uddīn 'Alī, who used *Shihāb* as his *nom de guerre* and was a very elegant poet and in a way

¹ Mss. pp. 89-90.

a pupil of Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, returned to the capital.

Even the later Persian biographers and critics have recognised Shihāb's greatness as a poet, a fact which they attribute to the patronage and appreciation of Persian poetry by the Ghaznavīd kings.¹ 'Aufī mentions Shihāb under the poets of Ghaznī and Lāhore, and pays a glowing tribute to his poetic genius and wit, calling him a *king* among poets and a *moon* among stars.² His compositions consist chiefly of *qasīdah*, *ghazal*, *rubā'ī* and *qit'a*. Some specimens are given below:—

¹ Cf. Lutf 'Alī Bēg Āzar:—

شهاب‌الدین و هو محمد رشید - مولک و موطن و مفتوحش غزنین و
معاصر شیع سنائی و دانش میدان نظم و نثر و مداح پیرام شاه بن مسعود و
خسرو شاه غزنوی و تربیت یافته آن سلاطین بوده -

(Ātashkadah, p. 118)

² Cf.—

اگر شعری ممالک بیان پهلوانند او شاه بون و اگر فضل بر آسمان فضل
اُختوانند او ماه بود شعر او سحر حلال و آب زلال را تعبیر کرده است و نظم
او و عقده منظوم و در مثنوی را تنقیر کرده معانی دلیغریب او روح را روح و
عقل را ذوق بخشیده و صفاء خاطر او کوثر را مکر خوانده -

(Lubāb, vol. II, p. 276)

قصیده در ستایش بهرام شاه غزنوی

سپیده دم چو خفا نور بر ظلام کشند بر آق خسرو سیاره در لجام کشند
 همی بر آید خورشید از ممالک شرق چو خنجر بیکه بتدریجش از نیام کشند
 چنان نماید اطراف لاجورد سپهر که سوده شنجرفی بر رخ رخام کشند
 ز آفتاب فلک زان سبب چنان گردد که زر پخته که بر روی سیم خام کشند
 ز پیش صبح چنان بردم تو می گوئی که ز آشیانه عقق همی لکام کشند
 ستارگان را یک یک ز پشت لشکر ماه زدوی چرخ یکایک میان دام کشند
 بدست حام چو یابند سام را مظلوم ز ایتسام صبا انتقام سام کشند
 گهمه ز ماه بر او نا چرخ و سپر سازند گهمه ز قهر بر او نیزه و حسام کشند
 ز عدل شاه همانا خبر نداشته اند که صبح و شام ز یکدیگر انتقام کشند
 خدا یکتا خسرو که مرکب ظفرش بر زمگاه بر مسند انام کشند
 کمان دولت و بختش هنوز نیم کش است جهاں چو تیر شود راست گرتام کشند
 ابوالمظفر بهرام شاه بن مسعود که بار منتش از شکر خاص و عام کشند
 یمین دولت شاهی که خسرو آن جهاں بیان بزمش بر پای مے زجام کشند
 بروز هیچا اقبال و فتح و نصرت و بخت نجیب مرکب میمونش را لجام کشند
 گم یساق بملکون و ابرشش برسد سپاه و خنگ شب و روز اگر چه گام کشند
 زبان آنکه بملکش چو سوسن است دوسر بنفشه وار ز سوی قفا زکام کشند
 ز دشمنانش شب و روز آفتاب و بخار بجای فضل حیات از ره مسمام کشند
 چنان نمایش دارد بخنجرش خورشید که از نیامش هر روز لعل فام کشند
 اگر بمشوق در یک نیام ببیندش بوقت صبح ندانند کز کدام کشند
 زهی مظاهر و منصور خسروی کا فلاک غبار جیش تو در دیده ز احترام کشند
 ز انتصاف و انصاف تو شگفتی نیست ذوات مکتب اگر چنینه حمام کشند
 سگن صید ترا چون قلاده نو باید ز یال شیر بروز شتر خام کشند
 به نفع صور چو پیکر اعظام بر خوانند به شکرگاه در از رزم تو عظام کشند

مظفرا ملکا در جهان سپاهی کش که بر و بگر از آن کوب از دام کشند
 فلک فزون شود از لشکرت سپاه زند زمیں کم آید اگر دامن خپام کشند
 چو هند و سنده گرفتگی مثال دہ ہمسپاہ کہ تا ز چین و یمن سوی مصر و شام کشند
 ز قیغ دست مکش نامجوی از آن بجہاں کہ پادشاہاں تیغ از برای نام کشند
 برنج نفس جہاں را فکن بہ آسایش کہ رنج نفس ہملک اندرون کرام کشند
 برای ملک روا باشد از جہاد کنی برای گل سزد از مالش ز کام کشند
 ہمیشہ تا بخزید و فروخت باشد نرخ کہ ہر چہ می شود آنرا ربا و وام کشند
 ہماں ہشاہی چنداں بزی کہ مے سرکہ شون حلال بریں چیز کت حرام کشند

The following verses from one of his lyrics are quoted by Āzar. Their melody recalls Rūdakī and Sa'dī:—
 Ghazal

۱ لبرے خوش است پردہ بر آفاق می کشد دل سوی ساقیان سمن ساق می کشد
 دستان مرغ پردہ عشاق می درد عزت گرفتہ دامن عشاق می کشد

Another specimen supplied by 'Aufī is as follows:—

۲ ز برگِ نستو نش چون بنفشہ سر بر زن ہزار عاشق دیدم کہ دست بر سر زد

He has further quoted two specimens of *qit'a* which were composed when Bahrāmshāh sat for the operation of *fasd*³:—
 Qit'a

¹ Ātashkadah, p. 118.

² Lubāb, vol. II, p. 281.

³ *Fasd* is the process of opening the artery in the right arm to let out the excess blood. This is generally done in Persia once a year in the spring season.

¹ملک بخوردن بادۀ چو مطربان بنشانند
 بزرگرفتن خوں قصد کرد و رگ زن خواند
 بجشکِ فروخِ فرخنده مہارگ پی
 بجوی سیم دروں شاخِ سرخ بید نشانند
 بنوکِ آهنِ پولادِ جوی سیم بکند
 ز دستِ زرِ فشانِ ملک عقیقی فشانند
 دیگر

²آمد آن کودک مسیح پرست نیشِ الماسِ گونِ گزفته بدست
 طشتِ زرین و آبدستانِ خواست بازویِ شهرِ یارِ عالم بست
 نیشِ بگریست گفت عزّ علیہ اینچنین دستِ راکہ یاردِ خست
 سرِ فردِ بود بوسہ داد برو وز سرِ نوکِ نیشِ خوں برجست

The following is an example of his *rubā'ī*, which
 he wrote to one of his friends
 Rubā'ī
 who had presented him with a
 bouquet of flowers consisting of narcissus and
 rose:—

³شاخکی چند نرگسِ رعنا گلکی چند تازہ و چیدہ
 آن ہمہ دید ہای بے چہرہ وہیں ہمہ چہرہ ہای بے دیدہ

¹ Lubāb.

² Note.—Shibli has attributed this *qit'ā* to Rūdakī, saying that the latter had composed it for Maḥmūd of Ghaznī (Shi'r ul 'Ajām, vol. I, p. 63). It is evidently a mistake, for Rūdakī was not living in the time of Maḥmūd, but flourished at the court of the Sāmānīd king Naṣr bin Aḥmād, long before the Ghaznavids came to power.

³ Ātashkadah, p. 118.

Another famous poet of Mu'izzuddin's court

Nāzūkī of *Marā- was Nāzūkī of Marāghah. His
ghah. several poems in praise of the

Sultān are preserved in various histories. The follow-
ing *qit'a* which he composed on the occasion of
the Sultān's coronation is reproduced here by way
of illustration:—

¹ شه معز دین که از دولت اوست همچو گلدسته فلک بسته میان
 رفت بر تخت چو گل در وقتے که فلک برد خور اندر میزبان
 آنکه در آتش قهرش بد * خواه جان شیرین بدهد شکر سان
 شکر دین و گل دولت را با هم آمیخت سپهر گردان
 یارب این گلشکر دولت و دین سبب صحت عالم گردان

Besides being a poet, he was deeply learned in

Qāzī Hamīd of Ethics and Jurisprudence. One
Balkh.

qit'a which he wrote in praise of
the Sultān on the occasion of a victory in battle is
quoted below:—

² خسرو غازی معزالدین و الدنيا که هست
 روز هیبت با همایون را پیتش همسر ظفر
 بوالمظفر شهر یار شرق کاندز معرکه
 گوئیا دارد های چترش اندر پر ظفر

¹ Badāūnī gives the first line as follows, which is out of
metre:—

شه معزالدین کر دولت اوست

(Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 54)

² Ibid.

The one important factor in the development of Persian literature in Mu'izzuddīn's time was the arrival of fresh bands of Persian men of letters from Khurāsān along with his army, with which he quelled the rebellion at Lāhore, which took place during his stay at Ghaznī where he had been urgently called by reason of his brother Ghiyāṣuddīn's death. This immigration of Persian men of letters is a link in the cultural connection between India and Persia, which was firmly established by Maḥmūd.

One of the most distinguished men of learning of Mu'izzuddīn's court was Imām Imām Fakhruddīn Rāzī, and his connection with India. Fakhruddīn Rāzī, the famous divine. He was much admired and respected by the king and the people; even in times of war Rāzī's tent used to be near the King's. Rāzī preached to the army once a week, whether in India or at Ghaznī, and the king with all his officials attended Rāzī's sermons which were delivered in the Persian language. It is authoritatively asserted that Rāzī often had to stay in India for months and years together while in the company of the king. The real significance of these weekly Persian sermons which were attended by hundreds and thousands of India's common folk, besides the bulk of the royal army, has not yet been fully understood in all its aspects by the Persian chroniclers. Its effect was undoubtedly far-reaching, inasmuch as it completely revolutionised the literary taste of the people, and

stirred up the cultured and poetically-minded class to take to writing in Persian. The Sultān was so greatly devoted to Rāzī that he often wept in the presence of the audience.¹ One day Rāzī pointedly addressed, in the course of his lectures, the following lines to the king, purporting that the world is transitory, and that he should try to live at peace with all, even with his enemies :—

اگر دشمن نسازد با تو ای دوست تو باید که با دشمن بسازی²
و گر نه چند روزی هجر فرما نه او ماند نه تو نه فخر رازی

Another great event of this period is the immi-

The immigration of some learned Sūfis of Sūfis from Persia; and the beginning of mystical teaching in India. Their stay here with a view to imparting spiritual instruction and propagating mystical ideas among the people, and thereby creating an unprecedented taste and enthusiasm for Persian mysticism opens a new chapter in the growth of ethical ideas in India. This teaching was conducted partly in the Persian language and partly in the

¹ Cf.—

امام تخرالدین رازی... در لشکر سلطان معزالدین محمد سام اقامت
داشته هر هفته بوعظ قیام می نمود و سلطان در پای وعظ او رونق
بسیار می کرد —

(Ibid., p. 53)

² Ibid.

local Prākritis, which the Persian Sūfis made a special effort to acquire. But, on the whole, the main vehicle was Persian, specially Persian poetry.

Islām was progressing side by side with Persian literature under the banner of the Ghaznavīd kings, and the number of the reciters of the *Kalima i Taḥīd* (the formula of the Oneness of God) was fast multiplying in the North-Western territory of Hindūstān. The Hindū States connected with the Punjāb were under the sway of idolatry, and the same was the case with the vast tracts of Rājputāna. There were rich temples, where idols were worshipped with great zeal and ceremony as in Sōmnāth, of which a vivid account was given by Farrukhī in his memorable *qasīdah* already cited. The supposed principle of the Unity of God, which a section among the Hindū elite advocated and claimed to be inherent in the worship of the animals, trees and stones, was not a feature or tendency in common practice, nor was it believed in theory. The public viewed the form itself to be the substance, and rejoiced in its worship. The custodians of the temples had attributed such miracles to their deities that the worshippers entertained no doubt as to their absolute power and might, and made no attempt to discover the real *One*. The assertion, therefore, that these physical objects were the manifestations of One God, worshipped to emphasise and impress His greatness on the mind, was a delusion. People in general were

not very different from the educated public in their religious beliefs and customs so that everywhere in the towns and villages of India the worship of the creature, instead of the Creator, was the order of the day and was conducted with solemnity and ceremony.

Such was the state of religion and society when
 Arrival of Khwājah Khwājah Muʿinuddīn Chishtī
 Muʿinuddīn Chishtī Sanjarī Isfahānī arrived in India
 from Persia. from Persia in the beginning of
 556 A. H. He finally settled in Ajmēr, the capital
 city of Rāi Pithōrā, and here founded a school for the
 teaching of Sūfism which spread its influence not
 only on the soil of Rājputāna, but also on the minds
 of the people far beyond its boundaries, irrespective
 of caste and creed. Many spiritual men and Sūfis
 had come to India before, and it is possible that dur-
 ing the time of the *Khulafā i Rāshidīn* even the Com-
 panions of the Holy Prophet might have visited the
 country, but their names and enterprises are not
 preserved in history. As far as we know, the Khwā-
 jah was the first to come and light the candle of Sūfism
 in upper Hindūstān by laying the foundation of a
 regular school for the teaching of the Sūfī cult.¹

¹ It is to be noted that Abul Hasan bin ‘Uṣmān bin ‘Alī al Hujvērī, a learned theologian and Sūfī, the famous author of the *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, who was a resident of Ghaznī, had come down to Lāhore in 433 A. H. Here he spent the rest of his life in teaching the Holy Qur’ān and the Traditions of the Holy

The ancestors of the Khwājah lived in Sīstān, but he was born at Isfahān¹ in 537 A. H.,² and was brought up in Khurāsān,³ where he also received primary education and became a regular disciple of Shaikh 'Uṣmān Hārūnī of Chisht.⁴ He served his

Prophet. He died in 455 A. H., and was buried at Lāhore. He had, doubtless, created a taste for Sūfism and a desire for the purification of *self* among the peoples of the Punjab, but his teaching was not so universal and organised as that of the Khwājah. It could not, therefore, be said to have laid the foundation of any permanent spiritual structure in India, and consequently no traces of his school and his teachings are to be found anywhere today. On the other hand, the Khwājah is a living force, and his disciples are to be met with in every town of upper Hindūstān, carrying the Khwāja's message to every seeker of divine knowledge. Abul Hasan's *Kashf ul Mahjūb*, which he wrote at Lāhore, is a collection of answers to particular questions put from time to time by a fellow Sūfī and friend Abū Sa'īd al Hujvērī. The nature and trend of the aforesaid questions were *Who is a Sūfī? Who is a learned man? What is the good of their existence in the world?* Abul Hasan, in response to this, explained the term *Sūfī* in its broadest sense, and defined *learning* and the *learned* as interpreted in the Holy Qur'ān:—

أَنَا يَتَخَشَى اللَّهَ مِنْ عِبَادِهِ الْعُلَمَاءُ

¹ Cf.—مولد شریف وی بلد اصفهان است (Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, p. 241)

² Cf.—ولادت با سعادت آنجناب در سال پانصد و سی و هفت بموقع آمد (Ibid., p. 250)

³ Cf.—و نشو و نما در خراسان یافت (Ibid.)

⁴ *Chisht* is a small village in Khurāsān, to which Khwājah Abū Ishāq, a teacher of Shaikh 'Uṣmān Hārūnī, had migrated from Syria. Here he used to impart instructions to his disciples, who became subsequently known as *Chishtīs*. The Khwājah also, for this reason, was called *Chishtī*.

master for eight years,¹ and during this time gained a good insight into Sūfism, and was appointed his *Khalīfah* (Deputy) in his very lifetime.² The saint died in 554 A. H., when the Khwājah was seventeen years old. The Khwāja's father, Ghiyāṣuddīn, had his ancestral property at Sīstān, but had left the place only two years after the birth of the child, owing to the periodical attacks on Sīstān by the barbarous and troublesome Tārtars known as the *Ghaz*. He went to Khurāsān and took up his residence in the suburbs of Nishāpūr, where his death occurred in 551 A. H. The Khwājah was then only fourteen years old. He had two other brothers on whom the inheritance devolved. The share he received consisted

¹ Cf.—

خواجه بزرگ معین الحق والملة والدين حسن الحسينى سنجرى...
هشت سال در خدمت خواجه عثمان هارونى قدس الله سره بود -
(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 22, Nawāzish Khān
Press, Delhi, 1327 A. H.)

Note:—A later printed edition gives the reading *بیست سال* (twenty years) which is not supported by any other writer, and may be a misprint for *هشت سال* (eight years).

(Ibid., Muḥtabā'ī Press, Delhi, 1332 A. H.)

² Cf.—

در سفر و حضر جامه خواب خواجه نگاه داشته -- انگاه به نعمت خلافت
مشرف گردید --

(Ibid.) .

of a small garden and a stone-mill. In 549 A. H., when he was hardly twelve, he had seen with his own eyes the devastations of the Ghaz Tārtars, the massacre and plunder of Nishāpūr, the burning of its precious libraries, the slaughter of hundreds of scholars of renown,¹ the defeat and arrest of Sulṭān Sanjar at the hands of the Tārtars and the insults and humiliation to which the dignitaries were subjected. Consequently, his heart had become cold towards worldly splendour and wealth. After his father's death he remained for about four years in the district of Nishāpūr where his ancestral garden, which was his only means of subsistence, was situated. At the close of the fourth year, a *majzūb* saint, Ibrāhīm Qalandar, who resided in that vicinity, chanced to pass that way. When he arrived, the Khwājah accorded him a warm welcome, spread out a carpet

¹ Some most notable persons who were put to death were:

- (i) Muḥammad bin Yahyā *Faqīh*, a learned theologian of the Shāfi'ī school of thought, who is said to have no equal in his day in the entire Muslim world.
- (ii) 'Ārif 'Abdurrahmān bin 'Abduṣṣamad Akāf, whose piety and learning, which were of household repute in Khurāsān, had attracted thousands of disciples to Nishāpūr. Even Sultan Sanjar used to attend in person on the 'Ārif to profit by his company and to gain his blessings.
- (iii) Aḥmad bin Husain al-kātib, the philosopher, who was the nephew of Imām Muḥammad Qushairī.
- (iv) Imām 'Alī Ṣabbāgh, the well-known writer and logician of the age.
- (v) Qāzī Ṣā'id Undulīsī, the historian and *adīb*.

for him, knelt and kissed his hands and presented him with a bunch of grapes fresh from the garden. Pleased with this demeanour and hospitality of his young host, the saint took out a piece of کنبجاره (oil-cake) from his wallet, bit it with his teeth and then put it into the mouth of the Khwājah. As soon as he ate it, he felt a radical change in his condition, and his heart became completely averse to material concerns¹. Soon after the saint's departure, the Khwājah sold his garden and the mill with all other appurtenances, divided the proceeds among the poor and left the place with some of his faithful followers in search of the Divine Light. He arrived first in Bukhārā, which was a noted centre for religious and ethical knowledge in Central Asia. Here he learnt the Qur'ān by heart, and read its commentary with the learned divines of the town. He then travelled through Samarqand and other cities of Tur-kistān, and subsequently returned to his native place, Isfahān, where he met with Khwājah Qutbuddīn

¹ Cf.

روزے در آن بانج تشریف می داشت که معذوبے ابراهیم قلندر نام را
در آنجا گذر افتاد... قدرے کنبجاره از بغل آوردہ در دہان خود نہاک و
بدندان خائیدہ بر آورد و بدست خود در دہان خواجہ نہاک بمجروح خوردن
کنبجاره انوار الہی در دل خواجہ جلوه گر شدند و خاطر فیض مآثر از اسباب
دنیا سرد شد -

(Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, pp. 241-42)

Bakhtyār Kākī, a young ardent Sūfī, who became his disciple and accompanied him to India.

From Iṣfahān he repaired with his followers to Balkh, where a strange event,

The occurrence of a strange event: conversion of Ziyā'uddīn Hakīm, the famous logician, who had no faith in Sūfism, which was attributed to his supernatural powers, occurred. It was the conversion to faith of the famous logician Ziyā'uddīn

Hakīm, who was a strong opponent of the Sūfis and derided their cult in his public lectures. Some details of this incident are as follows. In 555 A. H., when the Khwājah reached Balkh, he stayed in a village, and one evening shot a *kulang* (wild crane) with his arrow to break his fast. He always carried with him a salt-cellar, a flint-stone and a bow with arrows to serve him in the hour of need. He would shoot some *halāl* bird or quadruped in the jungle when nothing could be had for his own and his followers' break-fast. This, from the purely religious point of view, was to be the best earned food. It so happened that one day Ziyā'uddīn, who with his pupils had gone out for a stroll, passed that way, and seeing a stranger offering his evening prayers with devout zeal and reciting the Holy Qur'ān in a sweet, beautiful voice, stopped to hear him. When the prayer was finished, Ziyā'uddīn embraced the Khwājah and entered into conversation with him. In the meantime, one of the attendants of the Khwājah put before him

the roast *kulang* with the salt-cellar. The Khwājah offered a portion to his guest, who thankfully accepted it and ate with him. No sooner did he do this than he fell in a swoon, and when he regained his consciousness, he found himself to be a totally different man, and his former disbelief in Sūfism was completely shattered and turned into a firm belief.¹ He and all his followers accepted the Khwājah as their spiritual guide, and became afterwards devout adherents of his cult.² This incident created a sensation in Balkh, and multitudes thronged to have his *darshan*. From there he set out to India via Ghaznī, and reached Lāhore in 556 A. H. This Indian capital city was ahead of its rival in worldly splendour

¹ Cf.—

و ضیاء الدین حکیم که بغایت مغرور و منکر تصرف بود نیز اتفاقاً از
آنطرف گذر کرد و از خوش خوانی و قرأتِ خواجه بزرگ متأثر شده
بنشست تا یکدیگر را یافتند. . . مصاحبه کلنگ کباب کرده را پیش نهاد
خواجه پاره ازال به حکیم بخشید و بخوردنش اشارت نمود - بمجرد خوردن
حکیم از خویشتر برفت و چون صحت یافت خود را بکلی منزّه و مهرا از
همه و ا همه دید -

(Siyar us Sālikīn, pp. 41-42)

² Cf.—

همه یاران با صفا به ارادت و اخلاص تمام معتقد آنحضرت شدند و دل
در طاعت او بستند -

(Ibid., p. 43)

and in religious and cultural advancement. But here too he did not tarry long. After a forty days' vigil at the tomb of his predecessor, Abul Ḥasan 'Alī bin 'Uṣmān al-Hujvērī, he left for Multān, and asked his comrade-in-chief, Khwājah Qutbuddīn, to go to Delhi and start his teaching there. Before his departure to Multān, the Khwājah composed a fine *qasīdah* in honour of the saint at whose tomb he had completed the vigil. The first verse runs thus:—

گنج بخش فیض عالم مظهر نور خدا کاملان را پیر کامل ناقصان را دشمن¹

The same year he reached Multān where he seriously applied himself for about five years to the study of Sanskrit and the Prākṛit of the land,² to enable him to come in personal contact with the masses and preach successfully to them the cult of *Sūfism*. This appears to have been his avowed mission from the very beginning of his career when, in 549 A. H., he had seen Nishāpūr sacked at the hands of the Ghaz Tārtars, and the magnates and the elite of the town massacred in cold blood and their vanity fallen to dust. Having secured his objective,

¹ Ibid.

² Cf.—

حضرت ایشاں قدس سره تا قریب پینچ سال در بلاد ملتان قیام نموده
جهد بسیار در حصول زبان هندویان بکار بردند و فائز المومنان برگشتند —

(Ibid., p. 44)

he with his followers left for Delhi where he stayed for some time with his *Khalīfab* whom he gave fresh instructions on the divine mission entrusted to their care. Finally, he departed for Ajmēr of which, it is asserted, he had been apprised in his dream. There were neither Muslim institutions here as in Lāhore and Delhi, nor had any Muslim preacher, prior to him, trodden the ground and left his print, showing the way to others. His difficulties were enormous, but his determination surmounted them all. There were large and powerful Hindū States all round, which had formed a bulwark against the propagation of any such mission in the interior of Rājputāna. He reached Ajmēr on the 10th of Muharram 561 A. H.,¹ when only four and twenty. A tall, handsome figure with a *faqīr's* mode of living, imbued with a high sense of devotion, a true example of self-denial and service to mankind, with no personal ambition for power or fame, fasting in the day and keeping vigil at night and plainly dressed in coarse hand-woven cloth, he could not but impress even the most wary. He came, accompanied by *forty* devout adherents, in the reign of Rāi Pithōrā at the time when the latter

¹ Cf.

چند در دهلی قیام پذیر مازده بتاریخ دهم ماه مکرم سنه ۵۶۱ ه
روثق افروز دارالکبیر اجمیر گشت

(Khazīnat ul Asfiyā, p. 243)

was present in his capital,¹ and like a stranger stayed at first under a *peepal* tree outside the gate of the city, where the Rājā's camels rested at night.² In the evening, when the camels arrived and their keepers objected to his passing the night there, he moved to Ānā-Sāgar, from where he subsequently shifted to his permanent place of residence in the heart of the town, where his mausoleum now stands.³

¹ Cf. و در زمان پتهورا راء هندوستان باجمير آمد و عبادت موالى مشغول شد و پتهورا نيز دران زمان در اجمير بود - (Akḥbār ul Akhyār, p. 22)

² Cf: چون خواجه معين الحق والدين در اجمير رسيد بيرون شهر زير درخته كه شتران راجه اجمير در انجا مى نشستند مقام فرمود - (Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā, p. 244)

Note:—The tree under which the Khwājah took shelter on his arrival at Ajmēr is stated by a modern writer, Abul Fazl, to be a *peepal* tree; also the number of his disciples, who accompanied him on his mission to Ajmēr, is said to be *forty*.

(Tarikh i Khwājah Mu'īnuddīn Chishtī, p. 43)

³ Cf.—چون شب شد شتران راجه اجمير در انجا جمع آمدند و سا بانان بخدمت حاضر شده عرض کردند كه اين مقام مقام نشستن شتران راجه ما است مجلس شما در اينجا نخواهد بود فرمود كه ما از اينجا بزمي خيزيم شتران شما نشسته باشند پس از انجار وانه شده بر لب حوض آنا ساگر كه بت خانه هاى بے شمار در انجا تعمير ساخته بودند مقام فرمود بعد چند خواجه مكان بود و باش خويش اندرون شهر تكويز فرموده در شهر تشریف آورد و بجاييكه الحال روضه منوره آنجناب واقع است قيام فرمود - (Khazīnat ul Aṣfiyā, pp. 244-46)

This was the period of the decline of the Ghaznavīd empire and the rise to power of the Ghōrī kings. Sultān Shihābuddīn led his first attack on Rājputāna in 587 A. H., when the Khwājah was there for over a quarter of a century and had been successfully preaching his mission since then among the masses. Rāi Pithōrā aided by Gobind Rāi, the mandatory Rājā of Delhi, and several others¹ presented to the Sultān a united front, and their combined armies inflicted a heavy defeat on the latter, who was wounded on the battle-field and fled for his life.² He was again preparing for a

¹ Cf.

شنیدم چو را یانِ هندِ ایں خبر شنیدند بستند در کینِ کمر
پتھورا ز اجسیر لشکر کشید بسے اهلِ ہندش بیاری رسید
ز دہلی بہ پیوست گوہند راے بفوج پتھورای لشکر کشاے
دگر جملہ را یانِ ہندی دیار شدہ ساختہ از پے کارزار
(‘Isāmī, *Futūh us Salātīn*, p. 67, National Press, Agra, 1938)

² Cf.

چو از ہر دو جانب صف آراستند حریف از دو جانب ہمی خواستند
شنیدم خود آن خسرو چہرہ دست خروشید و جوشید چون شیر مست
بر انگیخت و خش آن یل صف شکن بزد نیزہ گوہند را بر دھن
ہماں چہرہ گوہند پر خاشِ گر بر انداخت ز و پین بران شیر نو
چنان بازویش شد ز روپیں نگار کہ از اسب افتاد آن شہر یار
چو لشکر دران حال شہ را بدید عدائ را بعزمِ ہزیست کشید

second attack to wipe off the disgrace of this defeat. Meanwhile the Khwājah was busy with his mission, gaining more popularity every day among the State subjects, because of his benevolent nature and saintly life. The people at large, and the Hindū nobility,

بانواج ترکان شکستے فتاد سوے ملکِ خودِ هر یکے سر نہاد

(Ibid.) pp. 67-68

Note:—I had no knowledge of this poet until sometime after the publication of the *Futūh us Salātīn* in 1938, edited by Dr. Āghā Mahdī Hasan of the Agra College, Agra. The work was discovered by him in the India Office Library during his stay in London. It is a valuable addition to the existing poetical literature of our country, and supplies one more instance of an indigenous poet trying to compete with Firdausī, the renowned epic poet of Persia. The published work contains 11,524 verses written in the manner and style of Firdausī's *Shāhnāmah*, and dedicated to Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Hasan, the founder of the Bahmanī Dynasty. The nativity of the poet is established on the authority of the author of the *Majmū'a i Taṣṣkār*, who incidentally mentions a young poet of Delhi by name 'Isāmuddīn. This is corroborated by the poet's own statement that he left Delhi for Daulatābād when only 16 years old. He lived during the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule, and was a contemporary of Khusrau. He finished his work, which may worthily be called the *Shāhnāmah of India*, in 751 A. H., when he was 40 years of age. The most surprising event is that it took him only 5 months and 9 days to complete the whole poem. Thus he was easily ahead of Firdausī in speed, a fact which shows his perfect mastery and command of the language. The work in quality and general historical aspect is similar to Firdausī's *Shāhnāmah*. It begins with:—

بنامِ خداوندِ هر دو جهان کد ابتدا نامہ کار آگہاں

(Ibid. p. 1)

who came to visit him at Ajmēr felt attracted towards him, and the stamp of his virtuous life was impressed on their hearts. Many a stranger and traveller, who came from far off places in search of *light* or livelihood, applied to him for shelter and help which he always ungrudgingly extended. His influence over the common people and the nobility had grown considerably, and a word of recommendation from him in respect of any one carried weight with them, so that the needy seldom returned from his door gloomy and disappointed. It is for this reason that he was popularly called *Gharīb Nawāz* (the entertainer of strangers). His motto of life, as he himself stated, was:—

درویش آنست که هر آن بنده بر آن کس که به حاجت آید مکروم و
 نا مراد نگر داند —

A *darwīsh* is he who does not deprive and disappoint any one who cometh to him in his need.

Rāi Pithōrā seemed at first to have no grudge against the Khwājah, because of his harmless and non-political mission, but subsequently smelt danger, and did not like his growing religious influence, which was drawing many of the State subjects to his fold. The worst was that the sepoys of the

²Malfūzāt, p. 35.

Rājā's army too were embracing Islām and becoming his disciples. At this time, the Muḥammadan kings of the line of Ghōr were leading their attacks against Delhi and Ajmēr, which endangered the very existence of the Hindū power and suzerainty in those parts. Another factor which enraged Pithōrā was that one of his own servants was reported to have embraced Islām and become a devout adherent of the Khwājah. This state of affairs could not be tolerated by the royal house, as it was feared that others would follow suit. The servant consequently lost all favour, suffered a good deal of injury and was eventually dismissed from the service on some pretext. Thereupon, the latter solicited help from the Khwājah, who sent a special messenger to Pithōrā interceding for the servant and recommending his reinstatement. But Rājā Pithōrā not only contemptuously rejected the Khwāja's request, but made adverse remarks, whereupon the latter prophesied Pithōrā's fall from power and his capture at the hands of the Muslim king.¹ Shortly after this incident,

¹ و هم دریں اوان یکے از ملازمان پتهورا بدستِ خواجہ بیعت نموده قدم
از کفر و ضلال بیرون نهاد - بسجود استماع این خبر او از نظر رأی و رایان
بیفتاد و رنجها کشید و در فکر ما یکتاج سر گشته و حیران ماند و التماس
بخواجہ بزرگ آورد - حضرت ایشان از راه تلافی که جبلت کریمان
است قاصدے نزد پتهورا بشفاعت فرستادند - اما پتهورا الفاظ نامالیم که ما

Shihābuddīn Ghōrī led his second attack in 588 A. H. The strength of his army, including his cavalry and infantry, was estimated to be at one *lac*, against which Rāi Pithōrā's forces were three times as great. The Rājā of Delhi and other ruling chiefs of surrounding States had brought together on the battle-field a huge garrison with seven hundred veteran fighting elephants to create panic in the rank and file of the enemy at the very outset. Both the armies met at Tirōrī and tried their strength heroically. At last, after a day's fierce battle the united armies of the Rājās were defeated, and Khandē Rāo, the Commander-in-chief, was killed on the battle-field. Rāi Pithōrā, who at first managed to escape under cover of darkness, fell a captive in the hands of some

اورا از شهر بیرون کنیم بر زبان را ند و التفتائے نکرد - چون حضرت ایشای
سخنهای اورا بشنیدند فرمودند که بے نصیب است و بگردار خود گرفتار آمده
و ما اورا بیرون کردیم و دادیم -

(Siyar us Sālikīn, p. 44)

Also cf.—

روزے پتھورا مسلمانی را از پیوستگان خواجه قدس سره بسبب از
اسباب رنجاند - آن مسلمان التماس بخندمت او آورد و خواجه بشفاعت
بر پتھورا گفتند فوستاد - پتھورا گفتند شیعہ قبول نکرد و گفت این مرد دریں
جا آمده است و نشستہ سخنان غیب می گوید - چون این سخن بخواجه
رسید فرمود که پتھورا را زندہ گرفتیم و دادیم -

(Akhhār ul Akhyār, p. 22)

Pathāns, and was brought back and put to death. In this way the prophecy of the Khwājah came to be literally true.

After this victory, the Sultān entrusted the kingdom of Ajmēr to Pithōrā's son, and himself repaired to Ghaznī, having appointed Qutbuddīn, one of his trusted and able slaves, as the Viceroy of his Indian possessions. Qutbuddīn nominated a pious and learned Sūfī, Sayyid Ḥasan Mashhadī, popularly known as *k̄hing-sawār* (horse-rider), as his 'Āmil (agent) of Ajmēr. He was a great admirer of the Khwājah, and, according to some writers, had already become his disciple. This afforded a very favourable opportunity for the Khwāja's mission to succeed and spread in the whole of Rājputāna and Central India. Hundreds of people from the interior of the country visited Ajmēr every day and freely embraced Islām and became his converts. His death occurred at the advanced age of 97 on the 6th of Rajab, 633 A. H., on which date his 'Urs (death anniversary) is held every year at Ajmēr. Late in life, he married the daughter of Sayyid Wajihuddīn, uncle of Sayyid Ḥasan Mashhadī, following in the footsteps of the Holy Prophet, and had issue whose descendants are still the custodians of his tomb.

The great belief of the Indian people in his saintly life and devotion in the service of mankind contributed to his immense popularity and endeared him to every heart. His motto of life

"to deprive and disappoint none who cometh to him in his need" was inviolate in his life-time and even after his death. Millions have since been visiting his tomb every year to have their wishes fulfilled, and what is more important, return home successful. The childless get children, the poor money, and the sick health. Akbar, the Great, went on foot from Āgra to Ajmēr to pay his homage to the Khwājah, in fulfilment of his vow to God on the birth of Jahāngīr in 977 A. H.¹

He was a Persian by birth, and had come away

¹ Cf.—

توجه فرمودن حضرت شاهنشاهی پیاده از دارالخلافه باجمیر
و کامیاب شدن... بمطالع صوری و معنوی

چون شعار اقدس پادشاهی استمدادِ همت از بزرگان است در آن هنگام که
جریبای فرزند آرجمند بودند معامله با ایزد خود رفته بود که چون این امنیت
باصول انجامد از ابواب شکر عملی که بنفس مقدس متعلق شود آن بود
باشد که از دارالخلافه آگره پیاده بزیارت روضه متبرکه خواجه معین الدین
چشتی که از مقربان درگاه الهی اند رفته لوازم اطاعت ایزدی بتقدیم رسانند
و مقرر بود در رجب که ماه عرس گرمی ایشان است این نیت از
مسکین قوت بفعل آید و چون آنچنان گوهر شب تاب درج خلافت بساحل
امید آمد ایقانی نذر از شرائط حق گذاری و وفا بعد از لوازم سپاسداری
نشناخته... روز جمعه دوازدهم ماه شعبان از دارالخلافه آگره پیاده قدم در
وادی مرحله پیمائی و بیابان نوروی نهادند -

(Abul Fazl, Akbarnāmah, Vol. II, pp. 349-50)

to India in his early youth when only eighteen. His latent poetic powers were developed and displayed in the new surroundings after his arrival in India. He did not attempt panegyric or epic poems in the expectation of reward like the poets of the Ghaznavid regime. Of the various kinds of poetry, he chose to write the *ghazal* and the *qaṣīdah*, every couplet of which is full of divine love. It is also noticeable that the tone of his verses is quite different from the general trend of Persian and Indian composition of his time. He left poetical works consisting of over seven thousand *bait*,¹ but unfortunately only a small portion of it has survived, which is a mirror of the development of Sūfistic poetry in India. Some specimens of his *ghazal* and *qaṣīdah* are cited below which throw ample light on the standard attained by him in the art of poetical composition, and also give us an insight into the poetic atmosphere obtaining in India which influenced and shaped his Sūfistic poetry.

¹ Cf.—

حضرت ایشان در زمرهٔ شعرائی نامدار از مختصاتِ روزگار اند و در
امنائی شعر قصیده و غزل مرعی دارند - مجموعهٔ کلامِ عرفان آنحضرت که
گنجینهٔ بیش از هفت هشت هزار بیت بوده از دستِ دورانِ نامهربان
از میان رفت و اندکی از آن مانده -

غزل

در حمد

دبود جان و دلم را جمال نام خدا نواخت تشنه لبان را زلال نام خدا
 وصال حق طلبی همنشین نامش با من بهین وصال خدا در وصال نام خدا
 میان اسم و مسمی چو فرق نیست بین تو در تعالی اسما کمال نام خدا
 یقین بدان که تو با حق نشسته شبر روز چو همنشین تو باشد خیال نام خدا
 ترا سزد طیران در فضای عالم قدس بشرط آنکه پیری بهال نام خدا
 چو نام او شنوم گر بود مرا صد جان فدای اوست بعز و جلال نام خدا
 معین ز گفتن نامش ملول مگر دد که از خداست ملالت ملال نام خدا

In praise of God.

The beauty of the name of God has robbed me
 of my heart and soul,
 The pure water of His name quenched the thirsty
 lips;
 If thou desirest His Union, be an associate of
 His name,
 Realise the Union with God in the recitation of
 His name;
 When there is no difference in the *Name* and the
Named, see
 In the glorification of His name the perfection
 of the same;
 Believe that thou art sitting in the company of
 God day and night,
 When thy companion is the reminiscence of
 His name;

It is befitting for thee to fly in the air of the
celestial world,

If only thou fliest with the wings of His name;
When I hear His name, if there be a hundred
lives in me,

I swear by the glory of His name that I would
sacrifice them all;

When does Mu'in grudge the repetition of His
name?

Since that grudge implies a grudge against Him.

وله

در حمد

دلا بکلفهٔ رندان بزم عشق در آ که جرعهٔ ز شراب بقا دهند ترا
بیاو هر دو جهانرا بششدر اندر نه درین قمار بیک داد هر چه هست درآ
اگر بقا طلبی اولت فنا باید که تا فنا نشوی ره نمی بری به بقا
تو باز شاهی و از دست شاه پریدی بغیر شاه مکن میل و سوی شه باز آ
ز ظلمت بشریت چو بگذری بر سی ازین حقیض دناست بر اوج او ادنی
براق عشق برای تو صد قدم طے کرد تو هم مضایقه بگذار و یک قدم پیش آ
تو چند در طلب یار در بدر گردی بخود نگر که توئی مظهر همه اسما
باین مبین که تو خاکی و خاک نیروه بود باین نگر که تو آئینهٔ جمال نما
سکاب عشق چو باران شوق می بارد عجب مدارگر از خاک بشکند گنها
نقاب هستی خود را تو از میان بردار دگر ببین که جمال که می شود بینا
بعیر مصقلهٔ عشق و زنگ تن بر دای ببین در آئینهٔ جان جمال جانان را
بکوش تا که ز چشمت غبار بر خیزد که تا معاینه بینی ظهور نام خدا
اگر تجلی نور قدم همی خواهی معین نقاب حدوث از جمال خود بکشا

In Praise of God

O heart, come to the circle of libertines in the
assembly of love
So that they may give thee a draught from the
wine of Eternity;
Come and put both the worlds within the *six*
gates,
In this gamble stake the whole of existence;
If thou seekest eternal existence, seek first non-
existence,
Because thou canst not get the way to eternal
existence, unless thou hast renounced thine
own existence;
Thou art the king's hawk, and thou hast flown
from the king's wrist,
Do not intend to fly in any other direction with-
out the king's assent, come back to the king;
As soon as thou hast passed the darkness of hu-
manity, thou wilt reach,
From the depth of this lowness, to the height
of nearness to God;
The *burāq* of love has trodden a hundred paces
towards thee,
Thou shouldst give up hesitation and go a step
forward;
How long dost thou wander from door to door
in search of the Beloved?
See within, because thyself is a mirror of all His

names;

Do not think that thou art dust and the dust is gloomy,

See that thou art the mirror which reflects *beauty*;
When the cloud of love pours down the rain of desire,

Do not wonder if flowers grow out of the earth;
Lift the curtain of thy existence from thy midst,
Then behold whose beauty becomes manifest;
Take the polish of love and remove the rust of thy body, •

See in the mirror of thy soul the beauty of the loved One;

Try that the dust be removed from thine eye
So that thou mayst see the blaze of Divine light;
If thou desirest to possess the effulgence of *Eternal light*,

Mu'in, lift the veil of *mortality* from thy beautiful figure.

وای

در حمد

ز پیش خویش بر افکن نقابِ دعوی را	بین بکسوتِ صورتِ جمالِ معنی را
بزن بسلکِ ملامت ز جاجه ناموس	بکوی عشق بویز آبروی تقوی را
بچو هست باغِ جنال خوشتر خرمین من	به نیم جو نخرم کشت زار دنیا را
بهی او که به کونین چشم نکشایم	که تا نخست نه بیم جمالِ موائی را
ز برگ برگِ درختِ وجودِ خود شنوم	دمر و عشق که گفت آن درختِ موسی را
اگر ز آتشِ عشقت بسوختم چه عجب	که کوه تاب نیا ورن یک تجلی را

معین بچشم خرد حسن دوست نماند
 بیس بدیدۀ معنوں جمال لایق را

In Praise of God

Throw off the veil of conceit from before thy
self,
 See the beauty of Reality in the clothing of form;
 Break the glass of prestige with the stone of
 reproach,
 Strip off the robe of outward piety in the lane of
 love;
 Since the garden of Paradise is a mere bunch
 from my barn,
 I shall not buy the sown-field of the whole world
 even for half a grain of barley;
 I swear by Him that I shall not open my eye
 unto the two worlds,
 Until I first see His beauty;
 From every leaf of the tree of my existence I
 hear
 The secrets of love which that tree told Moses;
 If I got burnt in the fire of Thy love, it is no
 wonder,
 For even the *Mountain* could not bear a single
 ray of Thy splendour;
 Mu‘in, the beauty of the Beloved cannot be seen
 by the eye of wisdom,
 See the beauty of *Lailā* with the eye of *Majnūn*.

وله
در نعت

عالم نَمِ از رشکِ بکرِ کرمِ اوست آدم کفِ خاکِ ز غبارِ قدمِ اوست
آدم شده بیدار و هنوز او بشکرِ خواب شایش وجودیکه طفیلِ عدمِ اوست
عیسی که چو خورشیدِ زندِ خیمه بر افلاک در آرزوی سایه عالمی علمِ اوست
در در شکمِ بکرِ نِها نیست و دل او در نیست که صد بکرِ نِها در شکمِ اوست
هر بنده که دارد خطِ آزادیِ دروغ آن بنده غلامِ وی و آن خطِ رقمِ اوست
شادیِ جهان کرد فدایِ غمِ امت دانست که شادیِ جهانِ بغمِ اوست
چون دید که نیکی تو کم بود بدیِ بیش زمین واسطه دانم که غمِ بیش و کمِ اوست
چنان که طرد هر نفس از بهرِ وصالش موقوفِ یروں آمدنِ کم به دمِ اوست
داریم امیدے که نه پوسند به مکشَر تقصیرِ معینِ که بنابرِ کرمِ اوست

In praise of the Holy Prophet

The world is a moisture from the drop of the
ocean of his benevolence,
Adam is a handful of dust from the dust under
his feet;
Adam was awake when he (the Prophet) was
still in sweet sleep,
Praiseworthy is the existence of the former
which came only because the latter was to
come;
Jesus, who like the sun pitches his tent on the
skies,
Aspires for the shadow of his (Prophet's) lofty
banner;

The pearl is hidden in the stomach of the ocean,
 and his heart
 Is an ocean which contains a hundred oceans
 inside it;
 Every one who possesses a letter of release from
 hell,
 Is his slave and carries his writ;
 He forsook the joys of the world for the sake
 of his followers,
 For he knew that the happiness of the world
 could only be gained through his suffering;
 When he saw that thy virtues are small and thy
 vices great,
 It was for this reason, I know, that his grief
 became more and joy less;
 My life that in every breath burns for union
 with him,
 Is but awaiting to depart at his breath (order);
 We have a hope that they will not question, on
 the day of Resurrection,
 Mu'in's sins, which relied on his forgiveness.

وله

در حمد

کسیکه عاشق و معشوق خویشترن همه اوست
 حریف خلوت و ساقی آنجمن همه اوست
 اگر بدیده تحقیق بگری دا نی
 که ناظر دل و منظور جهان و تن همه اوست

چو اندر آینه دل فتاد عکسِ رخس
 چنان نمود که در جسم و جان من همه اوست
 اگر تو خرقه هستی خویش پاره کنی
 نظر کنی که درین زیر پیرهن همه اوست
 ز جامِ عشق نه منصور بیخود آمد و بس
 که دُر نیز هسی گفت با رسن همه اوست
 رموزِ عشق کند آشکار و نندیشد
 چو دل بدید که در سر و در عین همه اوست
 مگو که کثرتِ اشیا نقیض وحدتِ توست
 تو در حقیقت اشیا نظر فکن همه اوست
 تغلب است گر از اعتبار ما و منست
 ز اعتبار گذر کن که ما و من همه اوست
 چو نائی که نهد بردهان نی لب خویش
 نهاده بر دهن عاشقان دهن همه اوست
 چه جای باده جام و کدام ساقی هست
 خسوش باش معینی و دم مزن همه اوست

In praise of God

He who is the lover and himself the beloved,
 'Tis all He,
 A companion in solitude and a cup-bearer in
 the assembly, 'Tis all He;
 If thou seest with the eye of discernment, thou
 wilt find
 That the looker into the heart and the one the
 soul and the body looked to, 'Tis all He;

When in the mirror of the heart the reflection of
His face appeared,
I so felt that in my body and soul 'Tis all He;
If thou tearest the garment of thy existence,
Thou wilt observe that under this clothing 'Tis
all He;
Not Mangūr alone became intoxicated with the
wine of love,
The scaffold also told the rope the same tale,
'Tis all He;
The secrets of love the heart freely discloses and
is not afraid,
Since it has perceived that in what is hidden and
what is apparent 'Tis all He;
It is wrong if the impression of *we* and *I* is crea-
ted,
March past this impression, because *we* and *I*
'Tis all He;
Like the flutist who puts his lip to the mouth of
the flute,
He has put his lip to the mouth of the lovers,
'Tis all He;
What is the place of the wine in the cup, and
who is the cup-bearer?
Be silent Mu'in and restrain thy breath, 'Tis
all He.

دل

در حد

مرا در دل بغیر از دوست چیزی در نمی گنجد
 بخاکوت خان، سلطان کسی دیگر نمی گنجد
 درون قصر دل دارم یک شاه که گر گاه
 ز دل برون زند خیمه به بحر و بر نمی گنجد
 به مدبر مسند هر دل خیالش که زند تکیه
 که مهر کبریا او بهر منظور نمی گنجد
 تبت گر چند موی شد حجاب جان بود ویرا
 میان عاشق و معشوق موی در نمی گنجد
 صغیر هفت غیبی بکوش مرغ جان آمد
 که در آوج هوای عشق بال و پر نمی گنجد
 نفی ذات خود بودن ز اثبات صفات اولی
 ترا افسر چه کار آید چو اینجا سر نمی گنجد
 حساب سر مد عاقل بهکشر بگذرد یکدم
 حساب یکدم عاشق بهد مکشر نمی گنجد
 رموز عشق اگر خواهی ز لوح دل توان خوانی
 که حرف از روا یاقش بهد دفتر نمی گنجد
 ز بحر عشق یک قطره ظهور سر منصور نیست
 بطرف هست عشق ازین کمتر نمی گنجد
 باں جامیکه من خوردم نهان که ماند اسرارم
 شراب عشق در جوش است در ساغر نمی گنجد
 معینی گر همی خواهی که سرش بر زبان دانی
 مقام آن سر دار است بر منبر نمی گنجد

• *In praise of God*

In my heart none but my Friend doth enter,
In the private chamber of the King none but He
doth dwell;
In the mansion of my heart I have a King Who,
if ever,
Pitches His tent outside it, whom the sea and the
land would not bear;
How could the thought of Him grace the daïs
of every heart!
Because the signet of His grandeur does not
suffer every sight;
The body however much it has thinned like the
hair, still the veil of life is there,
Between the lover and the loved even a hair's
difference would not do;
The call of the Divine Messenger came to the
ear of the bird of life,
That in the height of the sphere of love feather
and wing are of no avail;
The negation of one's self is better than the
assertion of one's attributes,
Of what use to thee is the crown when there is
no place for the head?
The account of the lives of a hundred sages
will be settled in one breath on the day of
Resurrection,
While that of one breath, of a lover cannot be

dealt with even in a hundred Resurrections;
 If thou desirest to learn the secrets of love, read
 from the tablet of the heart,
 Since a single letter of the recitals of His love
 cannot be contained in a hundred volumes;
 From the sea of love the revelation of the secret
 of Manṣūr is a drop,
 Less than this is not possible for a lover's spirit;
 With the cup of wine I have taken, how could
 my secrets remain hidden?
 Love's wine is overflowing and is not contained
 in the cup;
 Mu'īn, if thou desirest to bring His secret to the
 tongue,
 The place for it is the scaffold: this the pulpit
 cannot hold.

وله

در حمد

مگر صبا ز سرِ کوی دوست می آید
 که از زمین و زمان بوی دوست می آید
 چه رشک‌هاست که از باد می برم هر شب
 که روی او ز چه بر روی دوست می آید
 ز کوی دوست چو عاشق کشیده دارد پای
 کمندِ شوق هم از موی دوست می آید
 وفا چگونه کند عقل و هوش بامی دوست
 از آنکه جامِ هیا هوی دوست می آید

هر آنچه آیدت از غیب نیک و بد منگر
 همین بس است که از سوی دوست می آید
 ازین مصائب دوران منال و شادان باش
 که تیر دوست ز پهلوی دوست می آید
 بیا به وعظ معینی رموز عشق شنو
 که از حکایت او بوی دوست می آید

In Praise of God

Methinks the breeze comes from the lane of the
 Beloved,
 That the Universe is filled with the breath of
 the Beloved;
 How jealous am I of my power of remembrance
 every night!
 Why does it place its face on the face of the
 Beloved?
 When the lover has withdrawn his feet from the
 lane of the Beloved,
 An attractive snare is laid from the curly locks
 of the Beloved;
 How could my senses remain faithful to me when
 I am intoxicated!
 Since the cup of ecstasy comes from the Beloved;
 Whatever comes to thee from Invisibility, do
 not look into its good or ill.
 It is enough for thee that it comes from the Be-
 loved;

Do not lament over these worldly troubles, but
be happy

That the arrow comes from the direction of the
Beloved;

Come to the preachings of Mu'in and hear the
secrets of love,

Because from his speech comes the breath of the
Beloved.

وله

در معرفت

واقف آنست که دل واقف اسرار شود

مرد آنست که جان طالب دیدار شود

گنج مخفی چو بازار ظهور آمده است

عارف آن به که ز خلوت سوی بازار شود

.....

او در آئینه من چهره خود می بیند

خود بدین واسطه مطلوب و طلبکار شود

.....

قدر جوهر نشناسد مگر آن جوهری

که صدق بشکند و خود در شهوار شود

پرده آب و گل از روی دل و جان بردار

تا همه ظلمت هستی تو انوار شود

.....

هر که در یزم بقا جام بقا نوش کند

دست در حیل انا الحق زده بردار شود

عکس رخساره ساقی چو فتد بر رخ جام :-
 در به میخانه کند زاهد و خسار شود
 هر کرا عقد زلف تو در آرد بکشد
 بگسار رشته تسبیح و بزوار شود
 این چه راز است که از پرده درون می افتد
 تا دل بے خبران واقف اسرار شود
 یعنی آن لطف و عنایت که خداوند مراست
 چه عجب باشد اگر بنده گدگار شود
 چون به رسیدن بیمار خود آئی سکرے
 تندرستان همه زمین راتحه بیمار شود
 تو بخوانی و سرت یار گرفته بکنار
 چشم بختت بون آرزو که بیدار شود
 هر که چون نقطه نهد یک قدم از خود بیرون
 اندرین دایره سر گشته چو پرگار شود
 اینهمه باده که بر جان معین پیروی
 دل سر مستش از آن نیست که هشیار شود

On Divine knowledge

Apprised of His knowledge is he whose heart
 knows the secrets,
 That soul is the *soul* which becomes the seeker
 of the vision of God;
 When the hidden treasure has come to the open
 mart,
 Blessed is the devotee who comes to the mart
 from his cell;

He sees His own face in my mirror,
 Himself for this reason is the seeker and the
 sought;
 The value of a jewel does not know but that
 jeweller,
 Who breaks the shell (of his body) and himself
 becomes a precious jewel;
 Lift the veil of dust and water from the face of
 the heart and soul,
 So that all the darkness of thy existence be turned
 into light;
 Whoever drinks the cup of Eternity in this
 assembly of existence,
 He holds the rope of union with God and ascends
 the scaffold;
 When the shadow of the face of the cup-bearer
 falls into the wine-cup,
 Even a devotee turns his face towards the tavern
 and becomes a drunkard;
 Whomsoever the curls of thy locks ensnare,
 He breaks the rosary and takes to the *Brahma-*
nical cord;
 What is this secret which comes out of the
 curtain,
 That the hearts of the unmindful become aware
 of it?
 That is to say, with that kindness and favour
 which my lord bestows on me,
It is no wonder if the slave becomes a sinner;

If thou comest on a morning to inquire after
 thy patient,
 The healthy, wistful for this event, will all
 become sick;
 Thou art asleep and thy head is placed in the
 lap of thy beloved,
 It will be a fortunate day for thy eye when it
 will awake;
 Whoever puts his step like the dot outside his
self,
 He wanders in this circle like the compass;
 From the effect of all this wine that thou hast
 given to Mu'in,
 His drunken heart will not emerge.

وله

راه بکشی که دل میل به بالا دارد
 پرده بر گهر که جان عزم تاشا دارد
 باز دل از شرفِ قصرِ ازل کرد نزول
 باز پرواز کنان میل همانجا دارد
 دلم از عینِ عدم رفته سوی قافِ قدیم
 صوره را بین که هوس صحرایِ عناق دارد
 من اگر خود نروم او کشدم جانبِ خود
 هم از آن سلسلهٔ عشق که باما دارد
 که بخورد خواند و گاهی ز خودم می راند
 آه ازین غمزه که با عاشق شیدا دارد

حسنه اندر پسر صد پرده چنینه جاویدگر است
 رده از آن روز که آن چهره هویدا دارد
 گر چه از جای برون است و لیکن بخدا
 که شب و روز درون دل ملجا دارد
 عاقبت چهره دلدار عیان خواهد دید
 هر که آئینه ز زنگار مصفا دارد
 حسن آن ماه چو خورشید پدید است معین
 محرم آنست که او دیده بینا دارد

Open the way, for the heart is inclined to soar
to the higher regions,

Lift the curtain, for the soul desires to come to
the *show*;

Again, the heart has descended from the heights
of the mansion of Eternity,

Again, soaring it has the inclination to go there;
My heart from non-entity has gone towards
Eternity,

Look at the small bird which desires to associate
with the phoenix;

If I do not go myself, He draws me towards
Himself,

It is because of the relation of love that exists
between Him and me;

Sometimes He calls me near Himself, and some-
times drives me away,

Woe to this coquetry which the Beloved shows
to the lover;

His beauty from inside a hundred curtains is well
manifest,
What a happy day will it be when that Face will
appear without a veil
Although He is above place, yet I swear by Him
That He has His place within my heart day and
night;
Ultimately he will see the face of his Beloved
clearly,
Who keeps the mirror of his heart clean from
rust;
The beauty of that Moon appears as bright as
the sun, O Mu'in,
He knows it who has the eye to see.

والہ

ہر کسے را در ازل رزقے مقدر کرده اند
رز بر آئے ہر کسے کارے مقرر کردہ اند
عشق را آمیزشے دادند با جان و دام
پیش ازل کاب و گل آدم مختصر کردہ اند
عاشقان را زمین پر رویاں بزنند بے بلا
اینچنین دیوانہ زلف معنور کردہ اند

ساقی باقی دھن در بزم جان جام طہور
ہر دلے را کز غبار تن مطہر کردہ اند
نی بہم دل ہسی گنجد نہ اندر جام جان
بادہ کز بہر سر مستان بسافر کردہ اند

پر تو نور شهید افتاد در قصر وجود
 کز شمعش حجره دل را منور کرده اند
 یا رب این معنی جان با صورت جانان ملست
 آنچه کز وی خانه دل را مصور کرده اند
 عکس نور ذات بر مرآت جان شد منعکس
 زین مرآیا بیکه با حسنش برابر کرده اند
 سر بسر ذرات عالم مظهر انوار اوست
 چنانکه را آئینه دار حسن دایر کرده اند
 چنانکه مهرش عاقبت بیرون پرده زین دام قن
 گرچه مرغ روح را به بال و پیر کرده اند
 چنانکه باشد تا کند عزم زمین بوسی و لیک
 ذره را سر گشته خورشید انور کرده اند
 گرچه شاهان را به تخت و تاج زینست می دهند
 جلوه مسکین معین بر تاج و منبر کرده اند

For every one they have ordained his provision,
 And for each they have allotted a work;
 They mingled love with the heart and the soul,
 Before they prepared the clay of Adam by mixing
 water and earth;
 They have enchained the lovers with the chain
 of distress—the chain of the fairies,
 For this reason the lovers have become mad
 after the musky locks;
 The Eternal cup-bearer gives the pure wine, in
 the assembly of the soul,
 To every heart whose body's dust they have

washed off clean;
Neither is it contained in the palate of the heart
nor within the cup of the soul,
The wine that they have poured into the cup for
the drunkards; •
A radiance of the light of His Manifestation has
fallen on the *mansion of existence*,
From the rays of which they have illumined the
cell of the heart;
O God, is it the hidden soul or the exposed face
of my beloved? •
What is that from which they have adorned the
cell of the heart?
The image of the glory of His Being is reflected
in the mirror of my soul,
Passing through all these mirrors which they
have kept facing His beauty;
All the particles of the Universe are the expres-
sions of His glory,
All of them have been made a *mirror-holder* to
the beauty of the Beloved;
The soul in the end flies out of the net of the
body on account of His love,
Although they have made the bird of the soul
without wing and feather;
What courage has soul to kiss the earth? But the
fact is that
Every particle is mad after the light of the efful-
gent sun;

Although the kings are exalted with the crown
and the throne,
Yet the glory of poor Mu'in shines over crown
and mitre.

وله

من چگویم که مرا ناطقه مد هوش آمد
بر دام ضابطه عقل فراموش آمد
سیل را نعره ازا نیست که از بکر جداست
وانکه با بکر در آمیخته خاموش آمد
نکته دوش دام گفت و شنید از لب یار
که نه هرگز بزبان رفت نه در گوش آمد
شاهد غیب کشاد است نقاب از رخ خویش
تو نه مکرم از آن بهر تو روپوش آمد
زاهد از کوی مغال پای کشیده امشب
بقدم رفته در آن کوچه و پردوش آمد
شب هجر تو که جان از بدنم کرد و داع
روز وصل تو دگر باره در آغوش آمد
سکون تلخ که چون می بابت می گذرد
بر حریفان همه زهر است و مرا نوش آمد
چه گهرهاست کزین سینه برون می ریزند
بکر اسرار الهی ست که در جوش آمد
هر کرا هوش و قرار است مین ده ساقی
که معینی ز ازل بیخود و مد هوش آمد

What should I say now that my power of speech
has bewildered me,

The laws of wisdom have forgotten my heart;
The torrent roars, because it is separated from
the sea,
The one united with the sea became silent;
Some thoughts of wisdom my heart uttered last
evening: it heard them spoken from the lip
of the beloved,
They were such as were never uttered by the
tongue nor heard by the ear;
The Divine beloved has lifted off the veil from
His face,
Thou art not a confidant: it is for this reason that
He appeared with His face covered before thee;
The devotee has withdrawn his step from the
lane of the Magis tonight,
He had gone there on foot, but returned on the
shoulders of others;
It was on the night of separation from Thee that
my soul left the body,
But it came back once again in my lap on the
day of union with Thee;
Bitter words that pass like wine on thy lips,
They are poison to the rivals but honey to me;
What pearls are they that are thrown out of this
breast!
It is the ocean of the secrets of God, which has
grown stormy;
Whoever is sane and sober give him wine, O
cup-bearer,

But Mu'in has come intoxicated and drunk from
Eternity.

وای
 سوی من آ که ترا یار وفادار منم
 هر چه داری بمن آدر که خریدار منم
 گر تو شادی و دلت عزم تماشا دارد
 بر من آئی که باغ و گل و گلزار منم
 و گر از رنج معاصی دل تو گشته ملول
 سوی من آ که طیبِ دل بیمار منم
 بیدای کم کن و از بیکسی خویش منال
 که ترا در همه جا دایر و دادار منم
 تو بهر معرکه از راز دل خویش مگوی
 که بخاونده جان محرم اسرار منم
 تا بیک نقطه صفت دائره می بنمائی
 تو چو مرکز بنشین گرد تو پرگار منم
 همیزم شخص معین سوخت چنان ز آتش عشق
 که شدم آخگر و گفتم که مگر نار منم

Come towards me, for I am thy faithful friend,
Whatever thou hast, bring it to me, for I am its
purchaser;

If thou art pleased and thy heart wishes to see
the great feat,

Draw near me, for I am the garden, the flower
and the flower-bed;

And if thy heart is grieved at the thought of thy
sins,

Come towards me, for I am the physician of the
 sick hearts;
 Do not be disheartened and do not weep at thy
 helplessness,
 For I am in every place the cherisher of thy
 heart and a friend;
 Do not divulge the secrets of thy heart at every
 strife,
 For I am thy confidant in the secluded cell of
 thy soul;
 How long wilt thou, like the point, make a circle
 round thee?
 Sit like the centre, for I am around thee a com-
 pass;
 The dry wood of the body of Mu'in did so burn
 with the fire of love.
 That he became a spark, and said to himself:
 "Methinks I am fire."

وله

صفات و ذات چو از هم جدا نمی بینم
 بهر چه می نگرم جز خدا نمی بینم
 مگو که دیده حادث قدیم کی بیند
 همین بس است که من خویش را نمی بینم
 ترا چو آئینه نوره است و چشم نا بینا
 مخور نسوس که من هم چرا نمی بینم
 ز من می پرس که آن ماه را کجا دیدی
 چو من ز خویش برفتم کجا نمی بینم

بهر بلا که تو خواهی یواز منی مرا
 • که در مشاهده تو بلا نمی بینم
 و من بهر چه کنی یاد راضیم حقاً
 که هر چه از تو رسد جز عطا نمی بینم
 بهر طرف که مرا می روی بکند الله
 که خویش را و تو یکدم جدا نمی بینم
 عروج جان معینی بر اوج او اندلی م
 بجز متا بعت مصطفی نمی بینم

The *Self* and the *Attributes* since I do not see
 them separate from each other,
 On whatever I cast my glance I see nothing but
 God;

Do not say that the mortal eye cannot see the
 Immortal,

It is enough that I do not see my *self*;
 Since thy mirror is unclean and thy eye is blind,
 Do not be sorry that thou dost not see;
 Do not ask me "Where did I see that moon?"
 When I have gone beside myself, where do I
 not see it?

With whatever calamity Thou wishest Thou
 mayst try me,

For in seeing Thee I do not see calamity;
 Whatever Thou desirest of me I am most willing,
 O God,

Because whatever reaches me from Thee I see
 nothing but a gift;

In whatever direction Thou carriest me I praise
Thee,
For I do not see myself separated from Thee
for a moment;
The ascension of the soul of Mu'in to the height
of nearness to God,
Except in following the Chosen Prophet I do not
see.

وله

چو من از هستی خود دور باشم	بخود هم ناظر و منظور باشم
چو جام و باده و ساقی میبایست	روا باشد که من مخمور باشم
ز جام و حاتم یک جرعه بخش	که در دار فنا منصور باشم
از آن جامیکه چون سر انا الحق	بر آیین بر زبان معذور باشم
ز تاب عکس خورشید حقیقت	چو ذره مظهر آن نور باشم
ندارد تاب نور چشم خفاش	همان بهتر که من مستور باشم
ز شهر عشق می آید معینی	عجب نبود اگر مشهور باشم

When I keep away from my *self*,
I am myself the beholder and the beheld;
When the cup, the wine and the cup-bearer are
at hand,
It is befitting for me to be intoxicated;
Give me a draught from the cup of Unity,
So that in this transitory world I may become
a second *Manṣūr*;
Give me from that cup with which the secret of
anahāq (I am God)

May come upon my tongue, and I be excused;
From the light of the reflection of the sun of
Reality,

I may, like the atom, become an expression of
its glory;

The eye of the bat cannot bear the light,
It is better then that I remain hidden;
Mu'in is coming from the city of love,
It were no wonder if he becomes famous.

وله

این درد که من دارم باکس نتوان گفتن
سوز دل عاشق را با خس نتوان گفتن
پیشِ دل خود که که درد تو هستی گفتم
دل نیز رسید از من زین پس نتوان گفتن
بر دار دلم از تن تا صید کنم جان را
شهبازِ هایون را کر گس نتوان گفتن
بیمار لبِ لعنت بر بسترِ خون خسبید
بالینِ غریبان را اطلس نتوان گفتن
تقصیر بسے دارم پیش تو وے عییم
در رویم اگر گوی در پس نتوان گفتن
سرِّ غمِ عشقش را با خلقِ معین کم گوی
احوالِ سلاطین را با کس نتوان گفتن

This pain which I possess cannot be divulged to
any one,

The burn of the heart of a lover cannot be dis-

closed to a straw;
 Before my own heart, off and on, I used to dilate
 upon thy love,
 But the heart too was scared away from me;
 this tale hereafter cannot be renewed;
 Pluck my heart from the body, so that I may
 hunt the soul,
 The auspicious royal hawk cannot be called a
 vulture;
 The one, sick for thy ruby lip, sleeps on a bed of
 tears of blood,
 The pillow of the poor lovers cannot be said to
 be silky;
 I have many shortcomings in my service to thee,
 but my faults—!
 If thou sayst them in my face thou canst not tell
 them behind my back;
 Mu'in, speak little of the secrets of the pangs of
 thy love for him,
 The affairs of the kings cannot be communicated
 to every one.

و

دلا چو محرم آن دایر یغانه توئی قضا چو تیر بلا می زند نشانه توئی
 و گر فرزند کانون عشق آتش شوق شراره که بر یزدن آزان زبانه توئی
 تنم چو دائره و نقطه در میانه دام و یا چو دائره او نقطه در میانه توئی
 بگفتم از چه بهانه تو در حجابی گفت وجود تست حجاب من و بهانه توئی
 همای عشق بدام حدوث کی گنجد چو مرغ خانگی در قید آب و دانه توئی

چو حلقه منتظاری بر در و نمی دانی که طالبِ خودی و درِ درونِ خانه توئی
معین بر آی به مندر بگوی که عشق که بارلِ چمنِ عشق در زمانه توئی

O heart, since thou art the confidant of that
unique beloved,

Of Destiny, when it shoots the arrow of distress,
thou art the mark;

And if the furnace of love set the fire of longing
ablaze,

Thou art the spark that it would give out;

My body is like a circle and the heart is its centre,

Else, my heart is a circle and thou art its
centre;

I asked him, "What is the cause that thou dost
remain within the curtain"? He replied,

"Thy existence is my curtain and thyself the
cause";

How could the mortal net contain the phoenix
of love!

When like a tame bird thou art living in a cage
for food and water;

Like a circle thou art waiting at the door, and
dost not know

That thou art thy own seeker and art present
inside the house;

Mu'in, come to the pulpit and dilate on the sub-
tlety of love,

Because in this age the nightingale of the garden
of love art thou.

قصیده در حمد

حمدیکه هسچو بحر کرم بیکراں بود
 حمدیکه شکر نعمت هر دو چهاں بود
 حمدیکه در تضاعف ذر است کائنات
 چندانکه مستزاد کنی بیش از آن بود
 حمدی بدان مثابه که ادراک کند او
 بر تر ز پایۀ خود خورده دامن بود
 حمدیکه چون عاری عزت کند روان
 بر منکب ملائکه حکمش روان بود
 حمدیکه در هوای هویت همای دار
 بر تختگاه ملک قدم سائبان بود
 حمدیکه ظل را فتش آر بر کسی فتد
 بر مسند مقاصد خود کامران بود
 حمدیکه چون ز حیطه جان سر برون کند
 هر تار موی بر تن از آن صد زبان بود
 حمدیکه چون قدم کشد از ضیق کن فکاح
 چو لا نگش بنا حیت لا مکان بود
 حمدیکه چون زبان دهدش زبیر بیان
 تکسیر قدسیان همه نعم البیان بود
 حمدیکه در هواش ملائک فکندہ پر
 آن خود چه جای حوصله انس و جان بود
 حمدیکه نه ملک کند انشانه انس و جان
 بل خون بذات خود مصدق آن بود

بادا نثار بآرگه قدس کبریا
 کل مصعد متکام قدوسیاں بود
 آن حمد نا قصیکه بگویند بندگان
 کی در خور خدای حق عز و شان بود
 لا الهی ست هست تفت خالص در آن جناب
 این گفتگو چه لایق آن آستان بود
 در اوج کبریاش فکندست بال عجز
 آن شاهباز قدس که عرش آشیان بود
 او بے نشان محض چه جوئی از آن نشان
 هر ذره بر خدائی او صد نشان بود
 چشمت چو نیست پرده ز رخ کی بر افکند
 صاحب نظر کجاست که او خود عیاں بود
 آنرا که پرده ها ز نظر بر گرفته اند
 در صد هزار پرده دیگر نهان بود
 حقا که کوشش تو بجائے نمی رسد
 گر بینش ز جانب او هر زمان بود
 سد وجود بشکن اگر مرد این رهی
 در نه هزار ساله ره اندر میاں بود
 او بود در ازل متحد که در وجود
 جز وے نبود و تا به ابد همچنان بود
 از مطلع وجود چو نور قدم بتافت
 از ظلمت حدوث چه نام و نشان بود
 تا حسش از دریچه هستی نمود رخ
 زین گفتگو بهر سر کو داستاں بود

ز آئینه وجود نماید بآب و خاک
 آن صورتیکه معنی روح در آن بود
 در نقطه گاه خاک مهین جز باعتبار
 گل مرکز مکان. ز هفت آسمان بود
 اندر دهان خاک نهد نفس ناطقه
 تا از زبان غیب ترا ترجمان بود
 گنجیکه شاه عشق نهد در دل خراب
 نقد در کون در عوض رایگان بود
 هر هفت دروخ از قف دل یک شرازه ایست
 هر هشت خلد یک گل ازین بوستان بود
 دیو و ملک به نقطه دل در تنازع اند
 چون سعد و نکس کش بفلاک اقتراں بود
 عقل و شوا فرشته و دیوند در نهان
 با جسم و جان نشان بمثل تو امان بود
 جانرا مدد ز حکمت و تن را ز شهوت است
 نقصان این مقوی و رجحان آن بود
 کم خوردن است مایه حکمت در آن قراى
 سود دل است گرچه تنیت رازبان بود
 تن مرکب است بسته بر آخور ز بهر رزم
 آن به که روز معرکه لاف میاں بود
 دل چیست در بکر صفا و آن کرا سزد
 آنرا که چون صدف همه تن استخوان بود
 جان چون مسیح گر دهد از مهد مریم
 با روح قدس تا به فلک همعنان بود

هر کس که با بنامین هست کشد چو کوه
 از تند باد حادثه اندر امین بود
 وانرا که دل بکف بود از مهر بهر دوست
 دل همچو بکر باشد و کف همچو گل بود
 وانرا که دیده تر بود از آتش درون
 چون آبر بر بساط جهان کبر فشان بود
 در محنت فراق چو دل میبرد ز دست
 در لذت وصال بدین تا چسبان بود
 از ذره ذره آتش بچکید قطره قطره خور
 با هر دایم عشق تو در امتحان بود
 هر مرهمی ز غیر تو بر دل جراحت است
 زخمیکه از تو میبرد سد آرام جان بود
 یا رب بحق سید کونین مصطفی^۳
 کش جسم و جان خلاصه کون و مکان بود
 شاهیکه تخت سلطنتش گر برون زنند
 قدرش فراز ملک کن فکان بود
 آن خواجه کز حریم حرم تا فضلی قدس
 کلاه عروج نه فلکش نرد بان بود
 آن خرّقه پوش فقر که بر درش عرشهاں
 از گرد دامن کرمش طلیسهاں بود
 یاران اهل بیت که در دار ضرب عشق
 بر نقد دوستی رقم نام شان بود
 ز ایشان شنیده ام که ز لطف تو بندگان
 هر چه گسار بوند یقین آن عیال بود

نو مید چوں شود دل و جان امیدوار
 جائیکه برحمت و کرم دیگران بود
 دارد معین برحمت حق منتهای تو
 امید از آن ز یاد که اندر گمان بود

He was the greatest lyric poet of his age. His style is exuberant and precise at once. His poems are a store-house of transcendental thoughts beautifully ordered and forcefully expressed. There is always a sense of pious serenity and joy in his verses which are teeming with Divine Love.

Of all the Persian poets of the Sūfī class, who wrote *ghazal*, like Sa'dī, Khusrau, Hasan, Hāfiz, Jāmi and others, his poetry closely resembles that of Hāfiz. But his wine, tavern, cup-bearer and the object of adoration are at the first sight celestial, unlike the latter's wine, rose, nightingale and the tresses of damsels, which expose the poet to public jeer as being the greatest free-thinker and libertine of the day. None of these words, however, in the Khwāja's poetry have their material significance, but are pregnant with great spiritual truth and are symbolic of Divinity and Divine Love.¹ The young lovers invariably find a solace in Hāfiz's poetry, be-

¹ Cf. his own statement:—

بیا بوعظِ معینِ رموزِ عشقِ شدو که از حرایتِ ار بوی دوست می آید

cause they read their own thoughts in his utterances. This is why Hāfiz is more appealing and popular.

Much controversy exists on the point whether Hāfiz's love is material or spiritual, and whether his roses are those of a flower-garden or they are only symbolic representation of Divine Beauty. The answer is that it is both. If we see and read Hāfiz with the eye and brain of a worldly lover, we find it full of شیراز but if we look at it with the perspective of a Sūfī, there is much حقیقت in it. This is the dual characteristic of Hāfiz. To those who hold that his love of God is expressed in terms of material love, his poetry provides real food, perhaps, more than does any other author after Rūmī. Sometimes, his language does not keep pace with his thoughts, and he becomes vague and hidden in the clouds of mystery. He paints, without distinction, every Divine and earthly thought in the light of human and worldly concept. Throughout his poetry he gives us a hint that he had so great a love for wine in his lifetime that he even desired the regular toppers to attend his grave after his death. He, thus, works on our minds in such a way that by his love for wine we generally understand the wine made and sold as merchandise. Again, his longings for the Persian girl, *Shākb-i-Nabāt*, whom he remembers with the ardour of a lover, are too well known. His early life was a free unrestricted life. He professed Sūfism in his later age but, though he became a Sūfī, one

could conclude from his odes that he has given expression to earthly love and pleasures. When Mubārizzuddīn Muḥammad bin Muẓaffar, who was a harsh and stern monarch, forbade the drinking of wine publicly in the streets of Shīrāz and ordered all the taverns to be closed, Ḥāfiz gave vent to his chagrin in many an ode¹; but when Shāh Shujā' raised all those restrictions which were imposed by his late father on drinking and profligate life, Ḥāfiz became very happy

¹ Cf. his lament and denunciation in the following *ghazal*:—

اگرچه باده فرح بخش و باد گلپز است
 بهانگِ چنگِ مخور می که محتسب نیز است
 مرا حیف و حریف اگر بدست افتد
 به عقل کوش که ایام فتنه انگیز است
 در آستینِ مرقعِ پیااله پلهای کن
 که همچو چشمِ مراحتی زمانه خونریز است
 ز رنگِ باده بشوئید خرقها از اشک
 که موسمِ ورع و روزگار پوهیز است
 مجبوی عیشِ خوش از دور وازِ گونِ سپهر
 که صافِ این سرِ خمِ جمله دردی آميز است
 سپهر بر شده پرویزن است خوں افشان
 که قطره اش سرِ کسری و تاجِ پرویز است
 عراق و پارس گرفتنی بشعرِ خود حافظ
 بیا که نوبتِ بغداد و وقتِ تبریز است

and expressed his gratification and joy in his poems.¹

The Khwāja's poetry and personality, however, are above suspicion and they have no such mystery about them. He was a *Sūfī* from first to last and his early life and occupation are blameless. His allegory is clear and is nothing but a straight talk. He does not sing of the worldly love which is full of anguish, torment and passion, but consecrates his mind to the holy love which is sublime and unalloyed, and discloses the real secret of life and the meaning of our existence. He takes his readers along with him solely to spiritual ecstasy and gives them a peep into

¹ Cf. his exultation:—

سکر ز هاتفِ غیبم رسید مژده بگوش
 که دور شاه شجاع است می دلیر بنوش
 شد آنکه اهل نظر بر کناره می رفتند
 هزار گونه سخن بر دهان و لب خاموش
 بیانگِ چنگ بگوئیم آن حکایتها
 که از نهفتن او دیگِ سینه می زد جوش
 شرابِ خانگی از بیمِ مستسب خوردن
 بردی یار بنوشیم و بانگِ نوشا نوش
 ز کوی میخانه دو شش بدوش می بردند
 امام شهر که سجاده می کشید بدوش
 رموزِ مصلحتِ ماک خسروان دانند
 گدای گوشه نشینی تو حافظا مشغولش

the ethereal world. The more impressive trait of his poetry is a sturdy spirit of independence which is lacking in others, including Hāfiz. He never cringed before any Prince for reward. In the whole range of his poetical composition, there is not to be found a single *ghazal* or *qasīdah* in praise of any magnate, not even the Sultān himself. He was the master of a most dignified and magnificent style, although *love* and *wine*, the common symbols of Persian poetry, are equally the dominating feature of his composition. In a word, the Khwāja's wine is truly depicted in the following verse of his:—

مرأ از قدح بادۀ سر مدیست و زین بادۀ مقصود من بیخود یست

The wine of Hāfiz is, however, uncertain; and though his poetry in manner and expression is exquisitely charming and sweet, it lacks the stamp and the fire of the Khwājah.

Sultān Mu'izzuddīn was a great patron of learning and Persian poetry. Badā'uni
 Literary patronage of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn bin Sām, surnamed "Shihābuddīn Ghōrī." observes as follows:—

۱ علماء و فضلاء و شعراء در زمان او بسیار تربیت یافتند

And in his time the learned, the accomplished masters and the poets received great patronage.

¹ Muntakhab, vol. I, p. 52.

From among the numerous poems addressed to him by the court poets, the following *gī'āt* are here quoted, in which he is mentioned by name:—

سلطان مهر دین شاه غازی که در جهان
 تیغش چو ذوالفقار علی مرتضی شدست
 سلطان حق محمد سام آنکه خلق را
 مهرش چو مهر و درستی مصطفی شدست
 وله

شاه زمانه خسرو غازی مهر دین کزوی فزرد زینت تاج و کلاه را
 اصل ظفر محمد بن سام بن حسین آن حضرتش نشانه شده فر شاه را

The slave dynasty had gained considerable power during the very lifetime of Sultan Mu'izzuddīn Ghōrī. It so happened that the Sultān, on his retreat to Ghaznī in 586 A. H., had nominated a favourite slave of his, Qutbuddīn Aibek, to be his Commander-in-Chief and Viceroy of Indian possessions; and had deputed him against his adversary, Khandē Rāi, who was becoming a menace to Muslim power and rule in India. Khandē Rāi had defeated the Sultān's army in successive battles, and occupied the forts of Delhi and Meerut. Qutbuddīn finally collected a large and well-equipped army, and led it successfully against Khandē Rāi and his allies in 589 A. H. The same year he advanced on Meerut and Delhi, and recap-

tered them along with other territories. In 593 A. H., the Sultān's brother, Ghiyāṣuddīn, ruler of Ghōr, having died at the capital, the Sultān, who was then at Tūs, hurried to Ghaznī, and, after settling the affairs of his late brother's kingdom, started once more for Lāhore in 600 A. H. to put down the *Khakkar* rebellion. He was received at Lāhore by Qutbuddīn who had come on purpose from Delhi. The one noteworthy point, which emerges from history of interest to us, is that Persian men-of-letters had, at this time, volunteered themselves in considerably large numbers to accompany the Sultān's forces to India from Tūs, Nīshāpūr and the capital seats of Ghōr and Ghaznī, which were the resorts of the elite and poets of Persia. Many were actuated by religious fervour, while others aimed at gaining the favour of the Sultān, and reaping the benefit of his company, and to return home enriched with the spoils of war or settle down peacefully in the new home if convenient. This process assuredly kept up the same standard of Persian speech and poetic taste among the peoples of Hindūstān as was obtained during the time of Maḥmūd. The Sultān, after quelling the rebellion at Lāhore, returned to Ghaznī. On his way back, he was murdered by a *Khakkar* assassin on the 3rd of Sha'bān, 602 A. H., at Damyak, a place about seven miles from Ghaznī. The court poets in attendance composed off-hand the following chronogram giving the date of his

demise:—

شهادت ملک بکر و بر شهاب الدین کز ابتدای جهان هم چو او نیا یدیک
سوم ز غره شعبان بود شش صد و د و فتاده در ره غزنین بمنزل دسک

On the Sultān's death, the nobles of the court Qutbuddīn's pat- unanimously chose Qutbuddīn ronage of letters. Aibek to succeed his master, and seated him on the throne at Lāhore in 602 A. H. To greet him, Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Maḥmūd, a nephew of the late king, sent a special envoy from his capital Fīrūzkūh to Lāhore, with royal presents and a bejewelled ivory casket containing a Decree of formal recognition of the proud title of the *Sultān*. Aibek kept up the cultural tradition of his master. For his liberal patronage of Persian letters, which was manifest from the huge gifts of money to his poets, sometimes a *lac* (of rupees) for a single ode, he was called لک بخشش (bestower of a *lac*)¹.

¹ Cf. the following quatrain by Imām *Malik ul Kalām* Bahā-
'uddīn Ooshī, mentioning the Sultān's لک بخشش, and asserting
that it was he who introduced into the world the practice of
giving rewards of not less than one *lac* of coins to his poets:—

ای بخشش لک تو به جهان آوردی کل را کف تو کار جهان آوردی
از رشک کف تو خوش گرفته دل کل بس لعل بهانه در میان آوردی

Qutbuddīn met his death while playing *chaogān*
 His death. (polo) in Lāhore in 607 A. H.

Among his successors, the most notable for literary patronage, more especially Persian poetry, were Sultān Shamsuddīn *Ilutmish*, popularly called *Altamash*, Sultān Bahrām Shāh, Sultān 'Alā'uddīn, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans¹: the Junior and the Senior.

After Qutbuddīn's death, his eldest son, Ārām-shāh, ascended the throne at Delhi in 607 A. H. But the nobles of the court desired the crown for Shamsuddīn, surnamed *Altamash*, who was a favourite slave and son-in-law of the deceased king. Consequently, a fight ensued between the two rival factions, in which Ārāmshāh was defeated and taken prisoner by Altamash, who duly proclaimed himself king, and caused the *Khutbah* and the coin to be read and struck in his name for the valid recognition of his kingship.

He was called *Ilutmish* which was dubbed as *Altamash* in the popular tongue. His title explained. His birth had taken place at night exactly at the hour of the eclipse of the moon. The Tārtars generally called the child born

¹ A discussion on the progress of Persian literature under Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans is to be found in chapter V, dealing with Khusrau, Ḥasan and Barāi.

in such circumstances by that name. Hence this appellation.

It has been shown how the liberalities of the Muslim kings and their patronage of Persian letters had drawn the Persian intelligentsia from the distant corners of Persia, Bukhārā and the Trans-Caspian Provinces to Hindūstān. The same conditions of literary advancement and taste as obtained in the Ghaznavīd and the Ghōrī regimes continued under the Slaves as well.

Among the poets who newly arrived from Persia at the Indian Capital in the reign of Altamash, there were many distinguished personages who had left their homes, being attracted by the superior patronage and taste of the Indian court. The one most noted poet was Nāsīrī who came from Khurāsān. He brought with him a marvellous *qasīdah* in praise of the Sultān, and recited it in the open court before a distinguished gathering of poets and scholars of the time. It began thus:—

Arrival of fresh
bands of Persian
poets:—
1. Nāsīrī.

ای فتنه از نهیب تو ز بهار خواسته تیغ تو مال و ملک ز کفار خواسته

O thou, terror of anarchy terrified has sought
shelter from thee,

Thy sword has wrested the territory and wealth
from the infidels.

It elicited the highest praise from the audience, and was much appreciated by the Sultān himself, who asked the poet to count its lines which were declared to be *fifty-three* in number. The Sultān, thereupon, ordered *fifty-three thousand* coins to be awarded to the poet as his reward. It is related that Nāsiri, on his arrival in India, went first to Khwājah Qutbuddīn Bakhtiyār Ooshī, *al ma'ruf ba 'Kākī*, a learned Sūfī, who had accompanied Khwājah Mu'in-uddīn Chishtī to India, and showed him the *qasīdah* seeking his *islah*¹ and benediction². Nāsiri was the leading poet of Khurāsān, who came away to India, not because of his fondness for travel, as told by some Persian chroniclers, but because of superior appreciation and patronage of Persian poetry obtained in India as compared with Persia. Not only Nāsiri, but many other poets before and after him came down to India, and prospered under Indian patronage. Āzar gives Nāsiri's full name as Khwājah Abū Nasr and his native place Mahnah, a Tahsīl in the district of Khurāsān. He was a direct descendant of the famous saint and Sūfī poet, Shaikh Abul Khair Abū Sa'id, and had a gift for poetry. Some of his verses are found recorded in the Persian biographical works. The following *gīt'a* is quoted by Āzar:—

¹ Siyar us Sālikīn, p. 51.

² Fawā'id ul Fuwād, p. 74.

از زود رفتنت همه روز است ماندم روز دیر آمدن همه شب مانمے دیگر
ترسم اگر حکایت غمهای خرد کنم غمگین شوی ازین غم و این هم غمے دیگر

Another famous poet, Amīr Rūhānī Samarqandī,¹

2. Amīr Rūhānī of who had settled in Bukhārā, Samarqand, came to India during the rise of Changīz Khān, whose onslaughts and savage treatment of the Muslim divines and men-of-letters had established a reign of terror in Central Asia. Rūhānī arrived in Delhi in 622 A. H., and was received in audience by the Sultān on the recommendation of the grand *vasīr*. The first impression that he created of his greatness as a poet was through his epic poems and *qasā'id* which he composed in praise of the Sultān, describing the latter's conquests of the Province of Bihār and the forts of Ratanbhūr and Mandū in the years 622, 623 and 624 A. H. respectively. He was profusely re-

¹ He is called by 'Aufī تاج الحکماء عطار الدانی (the "Diadem of the Learned" and the "Second Mercury", cf.—

الاجل الافضل تاج الحکماء عطار الدانی ابو بکر بن محمد بن علی اردکانی

(Lubāb, vol. II, p. 282)

Note :—The Persian equivalent for the Arabic عطار is دیر, also called منشی (the clerk or the *Munshī* of the sky). The planet Mercury, which is associated with *learning*, is represented as the Chief Secretary of the sky, who is responsible for all-correspondence.

warded by the Sultān for these poems which were both historically and poetically important. Some specimen verses are cited below:—

خبر به اهل ساء بُرد جبرئیل امین ز فتکنامه سلطان عهد شمس الدین
 که ای ملائکه قدس آسمانها را بدین بشارت گوئید کلمه آمین
 که از بلاد ملا حد شهنشه اسلام کشاکش بار دگر قلعه سپهر آئین
 شه مجاهد غازی که دست و تیغش را روان حیدر کرار میکند تکسین

وله

قصه خویش از زبان قلم	کرده ام یاد در بیان قلم
رقم رنج گوئیا بود است	بر خطِ عمر من نشان قلم
با قلم تا قرین شدم بجایان	روز من گشت چون جهان قلم
ناگهان با تکار دفتر من	ز دل درشتی کند سنان قلم
که باواز نرم می ماند	نال زار ناگهان قلم
گرچه پیوسته در میان ضرر	دارم نفع بیکران قلم
آخر احوال من ننوید کس	پیش صاحب مکر زبان قلم
خواججه منصور بن سعید کز اوست	تیز بازار امتحان قلم
آن بزرگی که دارد از لفظش	بار انصاف کاروان قلم
چون بنای را سوار کرده بود	مرکب او خنجرسته ران قلم
زو کفایت کند رکاب گران	پس بگیرد سبک عنان قلم
هر هنر عقل را چو بکارد	آشکارا کند نهان قلم

The third poet of repute among the court poets
 3. Tājuddīn Dabīr¹ of Sultān Altamash was Tāj-
 of Delhi. uddīn Dabīr who was a native
 of Delhi. His grandfather had come down to India
 during the reign of the last Ghaznavīd king, Khusrau
 bin Malik Shāh, and had joined the royal army.
 The young poet's father was born at Delhi, soon
 after the arrival of the family in 580 A. H. Among
 his ancestors no one was gifted with poetic taste
 like him. He lived till after the death of Sultān
 Ruknuddīn Firūz Shāh whose praises he sang in
 his *qasā'id*. He wrote several poems in commemo-
 ration of the conquests made by Altamash. The
 following *rubā'ī* was composed off-hand when the
 Sultān laid siege to the fort of Gwalior which fell in
 630 A. H., after seven months' stubborn resistance:—

هر قلعه که سلطان سلاطین گرفت از عون خدا و نصرت دین گرفت
 آن قلعه کالبد و آن حصن حصین در ستایه سنه ثلثین گرفت

On this occasion, other poets of the court also
 presented poems, but the Sultān liked this *rubā'ī*
 most, and rewarded the poet with *seven bags* of sil-
 ver coins. The Sultān further ordered that the quat-
 rain be inscribed on a red marble which should be
 affixed to the main gate of the fort to commemorate

¹ Note:—The author of the "*Siyar us Sālikān*" styles him Tājuddīn Shams Dabīr, and says that he was a teacher of Nizām-uddīn "Auliya", the famous saint of Delhi.

the date of the event. Tājuddīn's poems in praise of the Sultān's successor, Firūz Shāh, have also been referred to by historians. Of those extant, the following *qasīdah*, of which only the opening lines are here cited, is noteworthy for its elegance and impressiveness:—

مبارکباد ملک جلودانی ملک را خاصه در عهد جوانی
 یمین الدوله دکن الیدیں کہ آمد درش از یمین چون دکن یمانی

After Altamash, his son Ruknuddīn ascended the throne of Delhi with the title of Firūz Shāh. The most famous poet of his reign was Shihāb Mehmaraḥ of Badāūn, the poet-laureate of the court. Shihābuddīn Mehmaraḥ of Badāūn, whose *qasā'id* rivalled those of the leading poets of Persia like Farrukhī, Khāqānī, Anwārī and others. Amīr Khusrau, the king of poets, was proud of Mehmara's exalted intellectual power, and paid a glowing tribute of praise to his memory in several *qasā'id* of which one is as follows:

در بدایوں مہمراہ سر مست ہو خیزد ز خواب
 گوہر آید غلغلہ مرغانِ دہلی زیں نوا

Mehmara's *qasā'id* are an eloquent testimony to India's genius and achievement in the art of Persian composition. Those preserved in the biographical works are, for the most part, ethical and spiritual, and are unsurpassed in sublimity of thought,

forcefulness of expression and grandeur, which are the essentials of a *qasīdah*. It appears, that 'Urfī, on his arrival in India, did, in his *qasā'id*, follow Mehmara's style of writing and tread of thought. Mehmara's nobility of character and his indifference to worldly success did not make him stoop to kings and sing their praises for money. The same spirit was shown by 'Urfī who, though he came away to India from Persia in search of fortune, did not take to panegyric like other poets, nor did he dote on Princes and the nobles of the court recklessly seeking reward.¹ The ideals of life and riches of mind pervading in Mehmara's *qasā'id* are abundantly found

¹ It is to be noted that 'Urfī in his poetical career in India wrote several panegyric poems in praise of the following *four* persons, whose patronage made him independent of others:—

1. Prince Jahāngīr, cf.—

صباحِ عید کہ در تکیہ گاہِ ناز و نعیم

2. Hakīm Abul Fath, cf.—

چہرہ پردازِ جہاں رخت کشد چوں بہ حل

3. 'Abdurrahīm Khān i Khānān, cf.—

ز آسمان و زمین مژدہ ناگہاں آمد

- and 4. Akbar, the Great, cf.—

ای دلِ معنی سرشتِ رازدانِ آفتاب

He called panegyric poetry *beggary*, and did not adopt it as a regular profession.

in 'Urfī also, who subsequently wrote *qasā'id* of the same length. Of Mehmara's *qasā'id* three are quoted here in full by way of specimen and contrast. The first is in praise of God and the Holy Prophet with a pun on the words موی and مور — a unique and clever device invented by the author. It is full of technicalities, which is a special feature of Khāqānī's writings:—

قصیدہ در حمدِ باری تعالیٰ عز اسمہ
و در نعتِ پیغمبر گوید
از زبانِ گرچہ شگافِ موی شکافِ بیابان
در ثنائیِ حق ز حیرتِ ہسچو مورم بے زبان
در پئی زنجیرِ مویانِ پرپر و از ہوس
بستہ ام بسیارِ چوں موران ز دل جان پر میان
وز بولیِ مور چشمانِ شکر لب در خیال
سفتہ ام موی سخنِ صدرہ ز روی امتحان
تا ذخیرہ با شدم چوں مور اندر مدح او
مور و نیمہ کردم و یک موند ید از کس نشان
بعد ازین چوں مور بندم بر درِ بیچوں کمر
وز بنِ ہر موی تو فیقش کشایم صد زبان
کی کشایم بے زبان چوں مور و چوں ماہی دھن
بلکہ از ہر مو زبانے سازمش گوہر فشان
زین خطِ چوں مور و لفظِ شکرین از روی نظام
موی بشگافِ بتوحیدِ خدای غیب دان

آن خداوندی که بر صنعتش بهر موی گو است
 هر چه هست از مور و مار و حش و طیر و انس و جان
 آن یکی از روی بقستی نه از عدد گاندر و کون
 نیست بر علمش یک موری سر موی نهان
 لطفش از موری فتد بر بیفتد موری از آن
 صد جم آید هر یکی صد هم چو جم در یکز میان
 قهرش از یک موی بر پیلای گمارد پیل از آن
 بیند آن کز مور بیند بچگ شیر ژیان
 می نگنجد عقل را موی درین از بهر چیست
 زانگ شیر توانا زان مور ناتوان
 نیست با حکمش سر موی مجال اعتراض
 در دهد ملک سلیمانی بدورے رایگان
 بوده از حکمش موافق شمل شهر و مورچه
 گشته از صنعتش مخالف رنگ موی استخوان
 گر دد از فضلش کز هر موی دارد آگهی
 آید از عدالش که بر هر مور آید یاسبان
 خاک در کف کیمیا و آب در دریا گهر
 مور در چشم ازدها و مو بر اعضا چون سنبل
 ای بقدرت موی و خون و استخوان را نقش بند
 ای بروزی مرغ و مور و مار و ماهی را ضا
 با تنی هر مور عدالت را حسابی بے غلط
 بر سر هر موی فضیلت را سپاسی بے کراں
 عین فضیلت پانی مرد رزق هر مور و ملخ
 دست لطفش رنگریز موی هر پیر و جوان

خائنه صنعت نماز انچه هست آثار او •
 بر تن هر مور پیدأ بر سر شو مو عیاں
 خال بر چهر عروساں چوں نقط بر آیینه
 موی بر روی شهاں چوں مورچه بر ارغواں
 گر سنه در ره باهر تست مور بے شکم
 سپهر بر تن از عطائے تست موی بے رواں
 آنکه موئی سر نه پیچد از درت بر در گهش
 گشت مور بے زباں چوں سوسار مدح خواں
 در رهت چوں مور بَد بے خواب و بے خور لاجرم
 ماله را چوں مو دو نیمه کرد از تیغ بیاں
 آیتی چوں صبح صادق مو شتاف اندر کلام
 امتش بر کو دمان دیں چو موران کامراں
 هفت اندام چو سیم چرخ گشتی مورچه
 چوں بر افکندی ز مشکبیں مو یهپایش طبلساں
 بَد چو موران بر زمینش در طریق فقر زیست
 زان کم از موی مژه آمد بجشمش آساں
 اندراں موضع که پر چوں مور افکندی ملک
 گر سر موی نهادی پای پیش از آشهاں
 موصفت اندر شفاعت از سبک روحی چنانک
 از بئی موری سر موئی برو نامد گراں
 بر خطا رقت از بئی موری نمودش معذرت
 بے عطا ماند از سر موی نشد هم داستاں
 یک سر مو اندراں شب دید نورانی سراى
 هم چو موروش سر برآمد در شوالی لا مکاں

دیدہ اندر لقمہ چربِ جہاں موی فنا
 راہِ معدہ بست ششچوں مور زین پرورده خواں
 زلہ برداری پئی موران دین زانسان کہ ماند
 بر سرِ هر موی زان لقمہ نشان چاوداں
 صانعاً هر موزبانے کرده ام لیکن چو مور
 در ثنات از بے زبانی می کنم در دل فغان
 کرده روشن کز بدی چوں نار موی چشم مور
 بے جوار رحمت تو نکردن این کارواں
 هم چو مور و مو در آباد آتشم زیرا کہ نیست
 این شکو ریز ضمیرم در خورِ این آستان
 پای کوشش در رشت چوں موی دارم در رکاب
 تا زمن یک موی می ماند نگو دائم غناں
 چوں کشاید یکسر موی از قبولت بسته ام
 کی کم بدم چو مور از پیش حرصِ این و آن
 گرچه از دست هوا چوں مور گشتم پایمال
 یکسر موی ندیدم چیز ز تو سود و زیان
 چوں ز تست این خوشدام گرچه پریشانست و تنگ
 دل چو چشم مور حالِ هسچو موی دلستان
 مور اگر پای ملنج آورد پیش جم شهاب
 آمد از سرِ بر درت بسته چو موی پای جان
 مورِ خزان لطف تو صالح نمود این ره بدو
 یارِ پیش ده زان پل چوں موی بر آتش امان
 بر سرِ هر موی او صد لطف داری زان سبب
 زو دلِ موی نیاز آرد بسوی در جہاں

خمسِ ملکِ شاه را بابِ نگارشِ دارِ بد
هشجُو مو در آتش و چوں موردِ آبِ روان

The second in praise of the Holy Prophet is as follows:—

قصیدهٔ غرا در نعتِ پیغمبرِ صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم
گوید

الفم بلوحِ هستی همه هیچ در نشانی
ببقای غیرِ قائم ز وجودِ خویش فانی
صفِ آخرِ ایستاده بامید به نشینی
ز تکررِ آرمیده بصفاتِ بی نشانی
صفتِ الف ندارم که الف کسر ندارد
همه نقش من کسر است ز صکیفهٔ امانی
دمِ بلبل است و گل خوش من بی خبرِ چو سوسن
چو الف زباں ندارم چه کنم به ده زبانی
چه بگیرم آرمیده چه درم بسے دریده
چه ببینم آشکارا چه درم دهِ نهانی
فلک از زمین بکلیت نشناسم اگر چه هستم
چو فلک بچهرهٔ کردی چو زمین بناردانی
نه چو آب از طراوت نه چو آتش ز رفعت
نه چو باد از لطافت نه چو خاک از گرانی
نه ازین چهار طبعم نه به چارِ یار کنیم
فضلاتِ پاره گیتی زده لافِ پارکانی

خردم چو تن گرفته صفت خطا ستانی
 طایم چو کوه بسته کمر عطا ستانی
 شده وقف راه حرصم ز حقیقت آیتی نه
 زده رحمت مشالب راه رحمت مثنائی
 طایم فریفت ز انسان که برون از نهادم
 حرکات خمس خواری برکات عشر خوانی
 گهرم چو جسم خالی ز تفکر و تذکر
 بصرم چو شمع مائل بغوانی و افغانی
 سخن آبدار خواهم ز زبان هسچو تیغ
 قلم نموده دهره ز پی دوناں ستانی
 سخن آب شد که آتش شد ازین حدیث آری
 بود این همه کم آبی ز هوای پیش نانی
 منم آن خسیه کم از کم که بجهت نیز ارزم
 دگرم جوئے بدانی نخوری بر ایغانی
 معجب ای شهاب از تو که ز سلطنت درین راه
 نه امیر هفت خانه نه سوار هفت خوانی
 نه فرشته نه شیطان ز کدام کار گاهی
 نه مقیم و نه مسافر ز کدام آستانی
 دل و عقل سر کشیده ز گزند کورخانه
 بر سینہ بر نهاده بیرون کورخانی
 ز هوس بزدی عشوت شده مست لا ابالی
 ز هوا برآه تهمت زده گم کامرانی
 در عقل نیک بسته غم ناز لاله عارض
 رگ دیده خون کشاده پی جام ارغوانی

عینِ هوا مثالی ز من زمیں نظیری
 گهرِ عرض بقائی صد فِ تہی دہانی
 بودم چو برقِ سوزاں بد و نیک را فسونی
 ز دل چو سنگِ خارا تو و خشک را فسانی
 ز هوس بطایعِ گرداں چو فلک بہ نقشبندی
 ز صبا بہ حرصِ پویاں چوں صبا بہ ناتوانی
 غمِ هفت و چار در دل زده ہو دم از رعونت
 در صد ہزار حینتِ بادای یکد وکانی
 چو زمیں کثیفِ دایم سختت بمالہ گردوں
 نرسی بسیرِ ملکی ز مقامِ پاسبانی
 تو خود از سرِ بطالت نرسیده یکزماں ہم
 ز نقیضہ زمانہ بفریضہ زمانی
 ز صلاحِ اہل دل ہا خبریت باد یکوہ
 کہ درین دو کون یاری بفسادِ داستانی
 کوی از دل تو زاید چو تہر از سفاہت
 بدی از تن تو خیزد چو تہر از غوانی
 نیم کوزہ ریائی دم کوزہ جفائی
 گلِ روضہ ہوائی گلِ حوضہ روانی
 بکصور جان گدازی مگر از تفِ تموزی
 بہ عصید برفِ ربزی مگر از دمِ خزانِ
 تو بشبہ طفل طالبِ ہمہ عمر نقشِ باطل
 ز خیالِ گردِ پیروت غمِ دہر در جوانی
 ہوس است شعرو بکروش چو سرابِ زابِ خاکی
 نفس است رنج و ذوقش بہ از آبِ زندگانی

هوست چو جمع گردد شود آن خیال بازی
 نیست چو نظم یابد بود آن گهر فشانی
 هوسی خیال تا کے نفسی گهر فشان کن
 به ثنائی آنکه اول خردش ندید ثانی
 شه تخت کی محکم که سرانق شرف زد
 بسوی در مهین ز سرای اُم هانی
 بشری ملک لطافت فلکی زمین تواضع
 چو فلک به پاک جسمی چو ملک به پاک چانی
 گهریکه بود جایش بخزانہ الہی
 قمریکه تافت نورش ز سپهر جاودانی
 گهریکه قیمتی تر زو چون او نیامد
 بدالات عذاصر ز محیط آسانی
 قمریکه هر سحر گے چو شب سیاه گیتی
 ز خجالت عقیقش رخ کوکب یمانی
 شکرین زبان رسولے که بود نجات امت
 به قصیده زبانش ز عقیقہ زبانی
 گهرین بیاب فصیحے که فصاحت بیانش
 چو ضمیر کل کند خوں دل گنج شایمانی
 ز جمال عارضش کم رخ آفتاب شرقی
 ز قوام قامتش خم تد سرو بوستانی
 بحساب بر گرفته ره مالک الرقابی
 بلام بر کشاده در صاحب القرآن
 جذبات شوق باطن بمکاشفت کشیده
 ز بسط کائناتش بمحیط لا مکانی

بنوید دوست جاننش شده مست بر امیدش •
 پسر ابو قحانه زده قحطی دوستانی
 بطی بنا فکنده سخنش قضاى حق را
 شده از بی سببست عمرش بعدل بانی
 قدم سیوم درین ره ز پیش نهاده مردی
 که نزد غرور راهش ببتاع این جهانی
 شده رکن چار میش علی آنکه بد گه کین
 ز شعاع ذوالفقارش رخ مهر زعفرانی
 ملکا بحق یاران که مرا بیاری خود
 ز بلای یار ندان همه عمر دانهانی
 ز من آنکه این قصیده طاییده باد جاننش
 چو قصیده ام مزین بجواهر معانی

A specimen of his panegyric poetry is to be found in the following *qasīdah* which was written in praise of Sultān Fīrūz Shāh, with characteristic resourcefulness and pun on گرگ, گرگ, و شیر, فیل and شیر:—

قصیده غرا مرصع
 در مدح سلطان رکن الدین فیروز شاه
 بالتزام چهار چیز گرگ و گرگ و فیل و شیر می فرمایم
 هر زمان این گرگ و گرگ و فیل و شیر و طفل خوار
 آن کند با من که پیل و گرگ و دشت کارزار
 آسان پیلگون ملک تنم را گرگ سان
 روزگار شهروش صبرم رباید گرگ دار

زورِ کرگم نی و با من تند پیل آسان
 شیر مردی میکنند چون کهنه گرگِ روزگار
 پیل با کرگ آن نکرد و کرگ با پیش آنچه کند
 شیر چرخ از جور با این شخص چون موی نزار
 حیاتِ گرگست و زورِ کرگ با شیر فلک
 ز آن همیشه بر دل من درد بارد پیل وار
 پیل مستت این سپهرِ کرگ موی کرگ دوست
 مردم ار شیر نر است از وی بر آرد هم دمار
 چرخِ کرگ انداز شهرِ انهن بازی کر چه کرگ
 پیش جان رستم آر پیل بند استوار
 کرگ صبرم بکنند بارانی از وی هیچو شیر
 کرگ دارم بسپرد گر پیل این نیلی حصار
 شیر شریزه پیل فربه کرگ سیرت می کند
 چو شون صبرم چو چرم کرگ سازد تار تار
 دوش چون شد نیلکون شیر فلک در چرم کرگ
 سر برون زن یوسف از گرگان گودون بے شمار
 چنان من در دستِ شیر و پای کرگ درن بود
 تا ز چرخ پیل پیکر شد دمِ کرگ آشکار
 چنگِ شیر و شاخِ کرگ و آشکِ پیل و موی کرگ
 گرچه در تعویذ دل بنهی بتار است این چهار
 کی کند سودم خواص شیر و کرگ و کرگ و پیل
 چون ز من زر پیل بالا خواهد آن سیمین عذار
 حمله کرگ و دل شیر و دمِ کرگم چو نیست
 می روم با پیل بار غم با استقبال یار

در دهان شیر و پای کرگم و این کرگِ پیر .
 دار دم پر اشک پیل از عشقِ یارِ چو نگر
 یار با شمشیر و قبضه کرگ پویش همچو کرگ
 من چو پیل بر پئی او با تنی مانند تار
 بعد کرگِ جوشنِ کرگِ سپهر پیل گوی
 شیر گهر چرخ پیدا شد چو شمع شهر یار
 رکنِ دنیا شاه پیل افکن بگوز شیر سر
 کز سمند کرگ پویش کار بر گرگست زار
 دیده کرگِ فلک از شیر گوزش رنگ رنگ
 کوهه کرگِ زمین از پای پیلش غار غار
 پیل پیکر گوزش از گرگال کند بیسته تهر
 کرگ پویش چنگش از شیران ستاند مرغزار
 دور باش دسته کرگش در دل کرگِ سپهر
 کرگ همچو پیل پایش کرده شیران را نگار
 از سر زد پیل شیر گوز او بر کرگ و پیل
 آن رسد کز تیغِ رویش تن بجان کر گسار
 ای ز شیر گوز کرگ انداز پیل آسای تو
 گور بر گرگین بسان چاهِ بیرون تنگ و تار
 عکس تیغِ نیکوشت گوزند بر شیر و کرگ
 دیده چو عذاب گر گانی کند شانرا چو نار
 باد شیر را یتیم بر خاکِ عالم چو و زد
 کرگ مست از پیل و کرگ از میش خواهد زینهار
 چون تو گوز پیل پیکر گر گدائی بفکند
 شیر دندان کرگ ناخن زهره کرگ و مهر مار

کرگ حمله کرگ پیویه شیر زهره پیل تن
 رخش تست ای یل غلامت همچو رستم صدهزار
 خسروا در مدح تو بر کرگ و کرگ و شیر و پیل
 گشته ام نادر بامر صاحب چرخ اقتدار
 پیل تن شیر افکن گزنت اگر خواهد دهد
 کرگ را چون دم کرگس بر سر گردون قرار
 آن وزیری کز بولای گو شمال کرگ چرخ
 دل نهاده همچو کرگ و پیل و شیر از اضطراب
 بے فسون کرگ و زور کرگ عزمش می زند
 بر سر پیلان کرگ در دیده شیران شرار
 خورده در ملک تو شاه از پیل بند حزم تو
 شیر ظلم و کرگ مکرو کرگ فتنه زمیندار
 ای قدر قدرت بفرماں وی که از تو شاه
 چون قضا بر کرگ و کرگ و شیر و پیل کامگار
 چرم و شاخ و موی و اشک از کرگ و کرگ و شیر و پیل
 در ره جان و دل و طبع و زبان آب بکار
 از بولای جوشن کفشت سپهر کرگ خوی
 آشک و چرم از پیل و شیر و کرگ چون کرد اختیار
 بر تو این کرگ کهن از پیل و شیر و کرگ از آن
 چرم هدیه پوست تحفه آورد دندان نثار
 کرگ ماده چپ دهد شیر نری را در شکون
 گر به پیش پیل کرگ اندازت آید در شعار
 پیل بخشا در بدایون بایدم ویرانه
 گرچه جای کرگ و کرگ و شیر باشد این دیار

تاکه شیر و پیل باشد در مهابت همقدم
 تاکه گرگ و کرگ باشد در کثابت یک شعار
 خصمِ گرگ افسونت ای کرگ افکن و پیل استناد
 باد پیش شیر دهلِیزت میان خاک خوار
 همچو شیر و پیل و گرگ و کرگ در گر مابها
 دشمنان بے جال شده بر آخر سنگین قطار

After Fīrūz Shāh, his sister, Razīyah Sultānah
 Razīyah Sultāna's ascended the throne at Delhi
 regime. in 634 A. H. During her short
 regime, civil strife afforded her little opportunity
 to pay any serious attention to the advancement
 of literature and to watch its growth under her
 patronage. Nevertheless, scholars and poets thronged
 the *Darbār*, which ensured the development
 of Persian culture which was steadily permeating
 the very soul of India. Her rule was marked
 by the short-sighted and spendthrift policy of her
 counsellors, which offended the rank and file of the
 army and the civil services. But the chief factors
 which were responsible for her dethronement and
 imprisonment were not, however, so much her administrative
 faults as her openly showing favours
 to a slave named Yāqūt, and her discarding *purdah*
 and appearing in public in man's dress on ceremonial
 occasions. This caused wide-spread resentment in
 the country, and turned the 'Ulamā and the influential
 nobles against her.

She was succeeded by three successive rulers who all met the same fate one after the other, until the crown passed to Nāsīruddīn Maḥmūd, son of Altamash, in 644 A. H. His reign is chiefly noted for the progress of historical literature and munificent patronage of Persian poetry. On his accession to the throne, a new coinage was struck and the *khutbah* was read in his name in accordance with the established practice of succession. The court poets in attendance wrote congratulatory poems to commemorate his coronation. Of the many poems composed and read, the following by the famous poet and author of the *Ṭabaqāt* is here quoted by way of specimen:—

¹ آن شهنشاهی که حاتم بذل و رستم کوشش است
 ناصر دنیا و دیں محسود بن التتمش است
 آن جهاندارى که سقف چرخ از ایوان او
 در علو مرتبت گوئی فر و دیں پوشش است
 فرق فرقد سادر است و دست و پای دولتش
 فرتاج است و نگین و زیب تخت و بالش است
 سکه راز القاب مہمونش چه انداز است فخر
 خطابه راز اسم ہمایونش چه مایہ نازش است

¹ *Ṭabaqāt i Nāsiri*, p. 202.

راحت دلهاست روح عهد او با روح خلق
 بندگی دودمانش زانکه در آمیزش است
 چاکر ایوان او هر جا که ترک و تازی
 بنده فرمان او هر جا که هند و گورخ است
 وارث ملک بحق دودش ز سلطان شمس دین
 هر که از انصاف در چشم بصیرت بینش است
 دولتش حساد را در هر زمان صد شوم است
 صولتش احباب را در هر مکان صد را مش است
 گرچه بشکفتش گل دولت ولے از صد یکی
 چون نهال است او که باغ ملک را نو بالش است
 تیغ زنگارش چون شنگرف ریز آمد مطیع
 شاخ و برگ نقش عمر دشمنان در ریزش است
 از نهیب زخم گرز گاؤ ساروش بین که چون
 راکب شیر فلک در لرزه و در تابش است
 تا نوازی بزم ملکش راست شد زیر اوفتاد
 حاسد اندر چنگ غم چون زیر زان در نالش است
 کلاه گشت از انقلاب جور باد آیین چو کوه
 در پناه عهد عدلش چون که هر آرامش است
 ای شهنشاهی که ذیل عفو و دست بدل تو
 محکوم و محتاج را هم پوشش و هم پاشش است
 بیست سال است تاه منہاج سراج خسته را
 در دعاگوئی آیین حضرت فراز پاشش است
 از برای نصرت و تائید شاه و بندگانش
 در و غادر کوشش است و در دعا در خواهش است

مستور چرخ جلالت باد خاک در گهت
 ناکه خاک و چرخ در آرامش و در جذبش است
 گردش اهل زمین بر وفق فرمان تو باد
 تا بر دج آسمان گرد زمین در گردش است

A most important historical work, written in India during his reign and dedicated to him, was the *Tabaqāt*, which was called after his name *Nāsiri*,¹ by the grand Qāzī of Hindūstān, Abū ‘Umar bin Muhammad al Minhāj Sirāj Jauzjānī. It begins from the earliest times and concludes with his reign during which the author lived. The portion which deals with the author’s age is particularly valuable inasmuch as it throws ample light on the events of this period which, but for this work, would have remained much in darkness.

The author’s grandfather, Minhājuddīn ‘Uṣmān, popularly known as Imām Aḥmad Bukhārī, was a man of great piety and learning. He had, in his later life, settled in Sistān where he breathed his last. The author’s father, Minhājuddīn Sirāj, who was equally a distinguished scholar and a most eloquent speaker in Persian, held the high office of the *Qāzī*

¹ Cf.— و این تاریخ در قلم آمد و بالقاب هابیون و اسم مبینون او
 موشح گشت و نام این طبقات نامری نهاده شد -

(Ibid, p. 4)

of the army of *Hindūstān* for over eleven years under Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Sām. Our author's birth took place in about 590 A. H., and the present work was undertaken by him in 657 A. H., and completed in a little less than two years' time towards the end of 658 A. H.

The author of the *Akbbār-ul-Akhyār* places our historian among the great Sūfis and the learned divines of the age, and states that the famous saint of Delhi, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn *Auliya*, used to attend the Qāzī's sermons regularly every week, and find much spiritual food in them.¹ It is a peculiarity of this work that it was written by a pious man

¹ Cf.—

صاحب طبقات ناموی بزرگ بود و از فاضل روزگار از اهل وجد و
سماع بود - چون قاضی شد این کار استقامت گرفت - شهنش نظام الدین
می فرماید که من هر دوشنبه در تذکیر او برفتمی تا روزی در تذکیر او
بودم این رباعی بگفت :

لب بر لب لعل دلبران خوش کردن
واهنک سر زلف مشویش کردن
امروز خوش است لیک فردا خوش نیست
خود را چو خسی طعم آتش کردن

من چون این بیت شنیدم ببخود گو نه گشتم ساعتی بایست تا بخود
باز آمدم -

(Akbbār ul Akhyār, p. 80)

of learning who found it worth his 'while to devote his time and energy to a chronicle of this nature. European critics generally consider it to be a most trustworthy record in existence, and the integrity and care with which the events have been described have impressed them very much. Captain Nissau Lees observes:—

What is related is, doubtless, taken from the authorities considered most trustworthy at that early period, authorities some [of which are no longer extant; and it will be interesting and satisfactory to this society to hear that the author supports their opinion of Baihakī as a historian.

The same view of his work is held by Sir H. M. Elliot, Major H. C. Raverty and other scholars.

Among the poets of the court, Minhāj Sirāj,

The poets of the court:— the historian, occupies a prominent place. He wrote poetry

1. Minhāj Sirāj, both in Persian and Arabic.
the historian, a prominent poet.

His knowledge of the latter can be estimated from the following specimens of prose and poetry:—

¹ الحمد لله الاول الذى لا ابتداء لوجوده - الآخر الذى لا انتهاء لوجوده -
 الملك الذى ليس لملكه زوال - الدائم الذى لا
 Specimens of his Arabic compositions:—
 يكون لسلطانه انتقال - والصلوة على من ختمت
 (i) Prose برسالته مصارع باب الدعوة وفتحت بجلالة
 مشارع كتاب الفتوة والسلام على آله الناصرين لدين الاسلام واصحابه التاسرين
 الاصنام و سلم تسليميا كثير كثيرا -

² الحمد لله المعبود بكل لسان - المقصود بكل جنان - المعبود بكل مكان -
 المسجود فى كل آوان - والصلوة على محمد المصطفى المبعوث فى آخر الزمان -
 صلى الله عليه و علي آله واصحابه خير آل و اخوان -

(ii) Poetry

³ الدين فى غبطة و الملك فى جزل والتاج والتخت فى حلى و فى حال
 و كم اقيم بعد العصر من صغر و كم اسد بصرف الدهر من خلل

⁴ قد صادف الرضوان ايام الورى من روح هذا البزم للسلطان
 لا زال يهتفى فى جلالة ملكه و مزيد امكان و رفعة شان

The whole of the *Tabaqāt* is a good example of his Persian prose. A few lines from the beginning as well as from the middle of the book are cited below by way of illustration of his style:—

¹ *Tabaqāt*, p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, p. 5.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 319.

¹ اما بعد چندین گوید بندۀ دعاگوی مسلمانان الناصر لاهل السنۀ و الجماعۃ
 اداعی الی اللہ تعالیٰ ابو عمر عثمان بن محمد المنہاج سراج الجوز
 جانی عصمت اللہ تعالیٰ عن الزل و التوانی کہ چون فیض فضل آفریدگار
 تعالیٰ و تقدس تاج و تخت سلطنت ممالک ہندوستان و بالش مسند
 اقبالیم اسلام را بشر تارک مہارک و یمن پای گردوں سالی خداگان عالم -
 سلطان سلاطین ترک و عجم - ممالک رقاب ملوک امم فرمان فرمای انہاء
 آدم - ناصر الدنیاء الدین - غیاث الاسلام و المسلمین - صاحب الخاتم - فی
 ملک العالم - ذوالامان لاهل الایمان - وارث ملک سلیمان - ابوالمظفر محسن
 بن السلطان التمش یسین خلیفۃ اللہ قیم امیر المؤمنین اعلی اللہ سلطنتہ -
 و خلک برہانہ و عظم شانہ - و ادام لکرز الاسلام امانہ - آراستہ و مزین
 گردانید - و خطبہ و سکہ بخلیفہ اسم و لقب ہمایون آل پادشاہ زیب و زینت
 یافت - و ایوان شاہی و میدان پادشاہی بشعاع طلعت خورشید لقاض
 نور و بہا گرفت - و پر تو آفتاب سلطنتش از مطالعہ بختیاری بر اطراف
 گیتی مستطہر گشت - و نسیم صہای عہد مہارکش ریاحین امن و امان
 در چین بساتہیں جہاں بشکفانید و سراں و سردراں جہاں گوش جان را
 بقرط طواعیت درگلہ گردوں پناہش مقرط گردانیدند - و گردن کشان گہاں
 رقبہ عہودیت را در رقبہ امتثال او امر و نواہی حکمش کشیدند -
 و زبان زمان و بیان جہاں بلبل آسا بر شاخچہ ثناء این نو اسرائیدن
 گرفت -

² و کاتب این حروف منہاج سراج در رجب سنہ اربع و عشرين و

¹ Ibid, p. 1.

² Ibid, p. 172.

ستمایه از طرف غور و خراسان ببلادِ سندھ و اچہ و ملتان رسیدہ بود و در غورہ ربیع الاول سنہ خمس و عشرین و ستمایه سلطان سعید شمس الدین طاب ثراہ بہای قلعہ اچہ رسید و ملک ناصر الدین قباچہ بدرِ حصارِ امرود لشکرگاہ داشت و تمام بھر و کشتی ہا با بنہ و اتباع لشکر در آن آب بر کشتی ہا پیچہ لشکرگاہ بستہ کہ روز آدینہ بعد از نماز از طرفِ ملتان مسرعان رسیدند و خوردند کہ ملک ناصر الدین ایتمر مقطع لوہور بہای حصارِ ملتان آمد و سلطان شمس الدین از راہ تہرہندہ روی بطرفِ اچہ دارد ملک ناصر الدین قباچہ منہزم در کشتی ہا با تمام لشکر خود بطرفِ بھر رفت و وزیرِ خون عین الملک حسین اشعری را فرمان داد تا خزائنہ کہ در قلعہ اچہ است بطرفِ قلعہ بھر برد و سلطان شمس الدین مقدمہ لشکر خود دو ملک بزرگ را بر سرِ لشکرِ خود بہای اچہ فرستاد یکے ملک عزیز الدین محمد سالاری کہ امیرِ حاجب ہوں و دوم کزلک خاں سنجرِ سلطانی کہ ملک تہرہندہ ہوں و بعد از چہار روز سلطان قاب ثراہ با باقی لشکر و پیلان و بنہ بہای قلعہ اچہ رسید و لشکر گاہ نصب کرد و وزیرِ دولتِ خود نظام الملک محمد چندیدی و دیگر ملوک را در عقبِ ملک ناصر الدین بطرفِ قلعہ بھر فرستاد و مدتِ یکماہ در پای حصارِ اچہ جنگ فرمود روز سہشنبہ بیست و ہشتم ماہِ جمادی الاولی سنہ خمس و عشرین و ستمایه قلعہ اچہ بصلح فتح شد -

Of his numerous *qit'āt*, the following he
 Poetry:— wrote in praise of the Sultān
 (i) *qit'a* on the occasion of his corona-
 tion:—

تعالی دولت او گوی زانکه بے کوشش جهان بدولت او آنچنان شد آبادان
که بیخ سوسن سیمیل همی کشد خنجر که شاخ گلبن زرین همی زند پیکان

The following pertains to his own historical work:—

هرچه کردم سماع بنوشتم اصل نقل و سماع گوش بود
در گذارد خطا چو دیدن کریم زانکه با عز و عقل و هوش بود
هرکه او ذوق مهتری دریافت نون صبرش صبر چو نوش بود
دامن عفو پرورش مدام در ره حاکم عیب پوش بود
بدعا یاد ناردش منهای گرچه اندر نفس خموش بود

The following was written on the occasion of the coronation of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Bahrām Shāh:—

زهی در شان تو منزل ز لوح آیات سلطانی
این در رأیت شاهی علامت جهانبانی
معزالدین والدینا مغیث الخلق تا خلقی
سلیمان سانت در فرمانست هم انسی و هم جانی
اگر سلطانی هند است ارث دودۀ شمسی
بکماله ز فرزندان توئی آتش ثانی
چو دیدندت همه عالم که بر حق وارث ملکی
درت را قبله گه کردند هم قاضی و هم دانی

¹ Ibid, p. 2.

² Ibid, p. 4.

³ Ibid, p. 191.

چو منہاج سراج این است خلائ را دعائی تو
 کہ یا رب بر سریر ملک دردت جاؤںاں مانی
 بہ عہدت راست چوں نیزہ چنار گردد ہمہ عالم
 کہ جز در قطرہ پر چم نہ بیند کس پریشانی

The following is in praise of Khān i Mu'azzam,
 Ulūgh Khān:

شہر یارِ جہاں الغ خاں آنکہ	خان البرز پست و شاہ سک
ہر کہ از حضورش قبولی یافت	پیش ہرگز نکشت رو بفاک
پیش او کیست حاتم طائی	نزد او چیست بیکہی برمک
کرد آرزو لوجِ خاطرِ منہاج	غصہ دہر را باحسانِ حک
بشنود این سخنِ زمنِ ہمہ خلق	از طریقِ یقیں نہ از یہ شک
نود و نہ مراست قسم کرم	دیگران را ہمہ ازل صدیک
ہر دعائی کہ گویش از جاں	کند آمین آن بصدق ملک

Of his several *qasā'id* written in praise of the
 Sultān, the following are note-
 worthy:—

شاه را چون نامِ خویش عاقبت مکتو دیاد²
 نصرت و تائیدِ حق با عزمِ او مشدود باد
 دوستاں را زی بقا و دشمنان را زی فنا
 نفع و ضرر در بخشش و در کوشش موجود باد

¹ Ibid, p. 453.

² Ibid, p. 204.

در جهان بادیه امان از عدل او مفتوح باد
 بانی بیداری به عهدش مغلق و مسعود باد
 چون مسعودش شد طالع از فلک منکوس ورد
 طالع او در پناه ایزدی مسعود باد
 سفره ملک جهان را دوده او شمع بس
 چهرة اعدای او در دیدها چون دود باد
 اهل ایمان را ز چتر و رایتش امن و امان است
 سایه بان دین حق اند ظل شان مسعود باد
 مقصدش بر فضل حق چون تکیه گاه دارد مدام
 به توقف شاه را حاصل همه مقصود باد
 خاتم سرش چون نقش عدل و احسان یافت است
 شاهد بخش جولان بر تاج او مشهود باد
 دولتش بر مدتی احمد مبارک آمده است
 ملک مسعودی به میمنه میسام زون باد
 داعی این سلطنت منتهای را ورد این دعا
 تا که باد و خاک و آب و آتش است مرور باد

The following poem was read in the public *darbār* at Delhi on the occasion of Sultān's victory over his adversaries gained by his general, Ulūgh Khān, and the reception held in honour of the emissaries from Turkistān:—

زهی جشنی کز و اطراف چون خلد برین گشته¹
 خهی بزمی کز و اکناف عدل راستین گشته

¹ Ibid, p. 319.

ز ترتیبِ نهاد و رسم و آئین و نشاطِ او •
 تو گفتی عرصهٔ دنیای بهشتِ ششتمین گشته
 ز فرِّ ناصرالدین شاهِ مکه بود بنِ انتمش
 ملکِ نذرش دعا خوانده فاک پیشش زمین گشته
 شهنشاهی که در عالمِ بغیضِ فضلِ ربانی
 سرایِ چترِ شاهی لایقِ تخت و نگین گشته
 چو خاقانانِ کین آور چو سلطانانِ دین پرور
 بدلِ ماحیِ کفر است و بجایِ حامیِ دین گشته
 مبارک باد بر اسلامِ این بزمِ شه عالم
 کزین ترتیبِ هندستان بسے خوشتر ز چین گشته
 مهین از جمله شاهانِ بادشهرِ بنده ز درگاهش •
 چو منهجِ سراج از جاں دعا گوئی کین گشته

Another poet of great merit was "Malik ul
 2. Amīr Fakhrūddīn Kālām" Amīr Fakhrūddīn
 'Amīd Naunakī, "King 'Amīd Naunakī who may easily
 of Poets". be reckoned among the greatest

qasīd-writers of the age. His *qasā'id* which survive
 show the grandeur and resourcefulness characteristic of
 Anwari and Khāqānī, the two leading poets of Persia.
 Like the latter, he had almost given up panegyric
 poetry in his later days, and taken to Sūfism, singing
 the praises of God, the Holy Prophet and the bliss
 of contentment and celestial love. Some of his
qasā'id by way of specimen and contrast are cited
 below:

• در حمدِ باری تعالی

بر خیزد عید از نه فسر دست دل تو بگذر ز غزل حمدِ خداوند جهان گو
 مداحی درگاهِ خدا کن که بر افراشت بے زحمّتِ آلاتِ بسے گنبدِ مینو
 دو شاهِ روان کرد برین طایرِ ارزق پس داده ز سیارِ شان خیل زهر سو
 صد شاهی اختر بکشد شام نموده مشاطهٔ صنعتش ز پسِ پردهٔ نه تو
 فرموده بخاتونِ جهان از شب و از روز دو خادمِ چالاک لقبِ رومی و هندو
 بے هیچ درگازدار به درگاهِ گردون آویخته یک خوشهٔ بد و کفهٔ نوازو
 صنعتش بسیر کوهِ برور یانده شقایق در باغِ درِ آندۀ کرمش سوری و راهو
 گاه از سرِ پرگار کرم نتشِ دهن بست گاه از قلمِ لطفِ نگاریدهٔ دو آبرو
 برز از کرمش گشته همه رخ بسطیدی شب نیز ز صنعتش بسپاهی همه گیسو
 شاهانِ مجازی ز سرِ بندگی عاجز مالیدهٔ پی آبِ بخاکِ در او رد
 هر ماه بپیدایان فالک دار دمه را که چون خمِ چوگان و گهی بر صفتِ گو
 آن داه گری کو بکشد داد همیشه نازد گهی شخصِ کس از ظلمِ سرِ مو
 اورا که ز خونِ دل انگور غذا داد فرداش سیه روی کند چون رخِ آلو
 تپهو بسیر پنجهٔ بصد باز در آید گر چند سرِ مور دهد زدر به تپهو
 بخشید نسیمِ سحر از لطفِ عیشش هر چین و خطا را شرف از نافهٔ آهو
 بشنو ز من ای یار چو توحید شنیدی بندے که از باز شود گوشِ من و تو
 هان تاندھی گوشِ باوازِ رگِ چنگ هان تانکنی رایِ صراحیِ دلِ آجو
 آنانکه بدینسان سرِ خوش داشته با یار امثالِ تو زان جملهٔ نکوئی که بکشد گو
 خود هر سحرے یوں که بدین لطفِ گواه است بر شاخِ چمنِ فاخته از گفتنِ کو کو
 بر خاکِ فکن چشم که تارِ پخته پینی بس یار نکو روی بسے دایرِ خوشِ خو

شو باز عیدِدا بسرِ رشنه توحید در عتدِ مناجاتِ در آویز چو لو لو
 ای داورِ دارارِ چہاں دارِ کہ هستی بے روحِ ابدِ زندہ و بے کلمِ سخن گو
 از حکمِ تو پیدا شدہ از نفسِ ستہ دخترِ بے زحمتِ دردِ زہ و بے واسطہ شو
 با حکمِ قدیمِ تو چہ کسری و چہ قیصرِ در پیشِ قضایِ تو چہ خاقانِ چہ ہلاکو
 بے امرِ تو یکِ مورِ بعدا نزنِ دمِ بے علمِ تو یکِ خفّہ نگرِ داندِ پہلو
 گرچہ صفتِ چنگِ شوم کور و نگونسارِ در بزمِ امیدِ تو زخمِ پردہ یا ہو
 آنروزِ کہ از ہیبتِ تو جملہ در آیند ارکانِ نبوتِ ز سرِ پا بہ دو زانو
 یا ربِ بکرمِ یو منِ بیچارہ بہ بخشایِ کز معصیتِ آلودہ ام و غرقہ بہر سو

وله فی نعت النبی صلی اللہ علیہ وسلم

سخنے طرازِم اکنون کہ طرازِ آستینش
 ز طرازِ جاں بجوید چو طرازِ آفرینش
 رہ طرزِ تو گزینم ز طرازِ نعتِ یکرہ
 کہ دو کون شد کتابہ ز طرازِ آستینش
 گلِ روضہ نبوتِ کہ ز سنبلش ہما چین
 تکفی برون زنافہ نبوتِ صبا ز چینش
 سرِ کائناتِ عالم کہ بیایِ ہمتِ او
 چو صدفِ نثارِ بردہ تلک از درِ ثبینش
 فلکش ز پنجِ نبوتِ دو علمِ ستہ پایہ کردہ
 ز قنورِ مسدسِ بکصارِ ہفتمینش
 بنگینِ جمِ ندیدہ ز سرِ گوشہ جز عشق
 کہ ز ماہ تا ماہی شدہ مہرِ بو نگینش

قدر و قنماش را عی اجل و امل موافق
 زمن و زمانش داعی ملک و فلک رهینش
 لبش انگبین و گل رخ چنه، مشید عالی شد
 خفتان محصیت را مدد گل انگبینش
 دهن صدف پر از در ز کلام در مزاجش
 کمر افق مرصع ز درازی یقینش
 کتب معشر یقین را همه یسر در یسارش
 رخ سالکان دین را همه یمین در یمینش
 صفحات هفت گردون نقطیست از وجودش
 دو جهان بجوی هست عرقیست از جبینش
 بزبان سوسمارش رقمی بد از سنجاش
 ز نسبیج عنکبوتی تتقی بد از قرینش
 بسپهر مه گریبان نظارش بیک اشارت
 چو نواره زدن دو نیمه دل ماه نازنینش
 یونا نطاق بسته زو حوش تا طهورش
 بدرد لب کشاده ز شیوخ تاجلینش
 گل و خار در دیاجین ثمری ز مهر و لطفش
 شکر و شرنگ هر دو اثری ز مهر و کینش
 چون از نثار خلقتش چو بلفشه رخ شکون
 اثر کبودی اینک بعد از یاسمینش
 تن او ز روح قدسی که شفاء روح انسی
 نرسد بطولیت او که ز نور شد عجینش
 چو بواق برق سرعت برکاب او در آمد
 نعبان چرخ برزد چو هلال عطف زینش

رخِ رقعۀ زمین را چو سپرده ده نوردهش *
 بمثالبِ قدم زد که شد آستانِ زمینش
 کرۀ سپهر تو سن به جنبیتش روان شد
 ز هلالِ نعلِ داعی زده ماه بر سرینش
 کرمِ جلتش بین که ز بهر ما بعقبش
 شده آمتی سرایانِ دلِ زین قبلِ حزینش
 خرد از چه ضلالتِ بعنایتش بر آمد
 بطنابِ جلِ عصمت که خطاب شد متینش
 دلِ حاسدانِ سگِ جانِ چو زبانِ سگ کشیده
 به ستانِ آبِ داده اسدِ الله از غریبش
 کرمی چو مورِ صفصفِ نرخی چو مویِ بویان
 بمثالِ بوقِ لامع ز فروغِ شمعِ بینش
 گرهی چو مویِ رفته بختمیرِ آتش از پل
 که میانِ چو مورِ بسته چو مخالفتِ بکینش
 برخِ بساطِ صدقش زوغا که بوزند سر
 که بچرخِ باز ماند بمرادِ کعبیلش
 طبقاتِ آسان را که به قطب شد مسمر
 شده هفت رکنِ ثابتِ بچهارِ همنشینش
 هم ازین چهارِ نجمش چو قرآنِ هر دو سعدین
 مه و مشتریِ مقارنِ بقرآنِ هر قرینش
 بد و گروشِ چارِ عنصرِ چه خوش است گوشوارم
 زد و قرطِ هشتِ جنتِ بدو نورِ چشمِ بینش
 رصدِ عمیدِ گشته سرِ چارِ سویِ نعتش
 که مگرِ رواجِ گیونِ سخنِ غث و ثمینش

به نسب چه نازم اینجا که نیازمندم از دل
 بشنویع روزِ متکشر که گزید حق بدینش
 ز طرازِ نعمتِ سحرآمیز چه حلال می نماید
 چو مئی که حرفِ صفوت ز پیاله شد معینش
 ز طبرزد و حدیثش لبِ طوطیانِ شکر چین
 خور خوانچه فصاحتِ خردست ریزه چینش
 چه کسم چه طوطیم من که کنم سخن سرائی
 من و آنکه می شنایش مگسی و بس طنینش
 دمِ طوطیانِ جانم نفسی مباد خالی
 ز تر نمِ ثنائیش ز نوای آفرینش

وله فی التوحید

منکه چون سیمرغ در یک گوشه مسکن کرده ام
 ماورای مرکزِ خاکی نشین کرده ام
 ننگِ هر مرغی درین بوم از چه معنی می کشم
 رفته ام عتقا صفت در کوه مسکن کرده ام
 مرغِ هست تا نکردد خرمین سفلی گرای
 خرمین چرخش ز انجم پوزِ ارزن کرده ام
 مه چه خرمین می زند چون دانه نسیاید بکس
 من به آتشهای مروت چند خرمین کرده ام
 نو عروسِ بکر معنی را بنورِ معرفت
 در شبستانِ خرد چون روزِ روشن کرده ام
 سیرِ اجرامِ سپهر از جدولِ تقویم کن
 برد رنجِ ناطقه یک یک مبرهن کرده ام

در انام چار حلقه گل ستام عنصریست
 بس ریاضتها که من بر نفس توین کرده ام
 طوطی جان را که قلاب گلخن مستوحش است
 هر نفس دستان سرای سیر گلخن کرده ام
 شد بگلخن طوطی و زانغ هوا را بر اثر
 گرد بر گرد طبیعت وقف گلخن کرده ام
 در بسی فن اهل حکمت را گران رغبت نبود
 من دران صد گونه ده چون مرد یک فن کرده ام
 گنج حکمت را ضمیر من چراغ افروز شد
 در فتیلهش تا ز نور عقل روغن کرده ام
 گوهر اسرار معنی شد چنان حاصل که من
 خاطر از گنجینه اسرار مخزن کرده ام
 دوزی از راه رعونت در گلستان هوا
 چلوه حکمت چو طاووس ملون کرده ام
 شاهباز غیبت حق از کمین زد پنبه
 زان کبوتر وار در یک گوشت مسکن کرده ام
 ده درین یک برج به دوزن نمودندم دلی
 من بهست ده بروں از هفت دوزن کرده ام
 بر جی آنکه چون دلم بل کز دل من تنگ تر
 دشته ام گوئی مکان در چشم سوزن کرده ام
 برج قوس است این و من خورشید سل بر عالمی
 نو بهاری را ز آله سون بهمن کرده ام
 این نه بس آهنگر آوردم نوید بهشت بد
 گفتهش بر گردن از خونی بگردن کرده ام

مسندِ خورشید ز زینِ تخت می زهد مرا
 حال را من تکیه بر کر سی آشن کرده ام
 در گریبان سر فرد درد ازدهای هفت سر
 تا من این مار دو سر در زیر دامن کرده ام
 بند بیژن می کندم عرض در چاه ستم
 نی منیزه دیدم و نی جرم بیژن کرده ام
 صبر بازی تهمتن دارد از روی قهاس
 قوتِ مستخلص بازوی تهمتن کرده ام
 همد مانم هر یکی در شغل دمن در بند حبس
 حاض لله زین سخن تنها گله من کرده ام
 کار بر عکس است ورنه خود که روز بد کشد
 شغل آشنائی که من بر وجه احسن کرده ام
 ناوک چرخ ستمگر بگذرد روشن ز پشت
 گرچه روی صبر را از سیله جوشن کرده ام
 قن غلأ خواهست در بند قم و من را تهنش
 شربت از خون و کباب از دل معین کرده ام
 یک زبان بودم چو لاله در شعلت بعد ازین
 خویشتن را بعد ازین مانند سوسن کرده ام
 چون بنفشه سر به پیش افکنده از تحط کرام
 هم چو سوسن ده زبان از مدحت آکن کرده ام
 کثیر لب می بزم کز گفتن مدح دروغ
 هر گدائی را شه و آشه ز لادن کرده ام
 سه سهارا بر فروغ ماه رجکان داده ام
 گاه دریا را کم از فیض غریزن کرده ام

دوستی با حرص کردم چون عَمید از آرز خون
 زان قناعت را بروی خویش دشمن کرده ام
 طبع آنش پای را از دست بے آبی چرخ
 زیر حمل محنت اکنون بیس چه کردن کرده ام
 خاطر معنی طراز و طبع گوهر زای را
 گر چه دیری شد که بی قطران سترون کرده ام
 هستم این یک شعر دیوانی و صد درج گهر
 بلکه هر بیتش به از شعر ملون کرده ام
 حبس بر من شیون آورده است و از لطف سخن
 سوز دیدستی که من در عین شیون کرده ام
 یا رب از نخل کرم برگ و نوای من بده
 مرغ جان را چون بتوحیدت نوازن کرده ام
 خلعت امنم کرامت کن که ما را در گهت
 مامن اصلیت اینک قصد مامن کرده ام
 دور دار از ظلمت شرک و نفاق و حق و کین
 باطلی کز نور اخلاص مزین کرده ام
 آفتاب معرفت در سینه ام تا بنده دار
 چون گهر های یقیں را سینه معدن کرده ام

وله قصیده در مدح سلطان سنجر

زهی ز نرگس مست تو بر خمار آهو
 ز بند ناف مشک تو شرمسار آهو
 بکبر تست دران چشم دیده نرگس
 بغیر تست دران زلف مشکبار آهو

بگرد بوستانِ صده چو دایره بر گشت
 ندید چون خطا تو یک بنفشه زار آهو
 چه صنعت است در آن نرگسش که آن غمزه
 درونش صیدِ دلست و برون شکار آهو
 ز رشکِ نطفه مشکین که بر گل تو چکد
 مدام دارد در سینه خار خار آهو
 ضرورت است که با این دو صورت مفتون
 کند حمایتِ زلفِ تو اختیار آهو
 حدیثِ عذیرِ زلفِ تو تا رسیده بدو
 نکند قصه ناله در اختصار آهو
 ز چشمِ مست تو بودش خمار و می شدند
 ز جامِ بزمِ جهان پهلوانِ خمار آهو
 خجسته شورِ کمینِ تاجِ دینِ حق ساجد
 که شر و غلغله فلکش هست در شمار آهو
 صواب دید که سوی خطا ز خاکِ درش
 برد شمامه کافور یادگار آهو
 مگر بظاکِ جنابش که دید زینش خور
 که بر و حوش شد از ناله کامگار آهو
 زهی شهابِ خدنگی که از تو دیو دالان
 حذر کنند که از ضیغمِ الحذر آهو
 مخالفی که بچنگت در اوفتاد نوست
 ز چنگِ شیو که دید است رستگار آهو
 چو فنو کرد بچنگِ نگارِ این دم
 مسلم از نگِ خود داشت است عار آهو

بوقتِ حمله غباری که خیزد از سم او
 کجا رسد بتکلف دران غبار آهو
 عجب مدار گر از غایتِ عنایتِ او
 پیاده یوز رون زین سپس سوار آهو
 بجنبِ لخلخله خانی تو چه باز کند
 بخون سوخته ناف در تار آهو
 ز عینِ لطف چو تریاک تو ندارم پاک
 اگر چه رنگِ غذا خور شود زمار آهو
 غذایش ارقم و پس چوین گوزن جز تریاک
 بعرضِ نافه کند هر طرف نثار آهو
 به عرصه که توئی ازو فور انصافست
 غمین تشسته در و یوز و غمگسار آهو
 بروزِ عزم تو نمودن جز که شانه راست
 چو از یمین صفت راند بر یسار آهو
 باعتماد تو گر پرورد عجب نبود
 ز مشفق بیچکه شیر در کنار آهو
 چه پای دارد باکبر تو دو صد دشمن
 بیچشم یوز چه سنجید صف هزار آهو
 عدو برزم تو وقتی رسد که با شرزه
 عیان کند بسر شاخ کارزار آهو
 برقعِ کرم تو سرین و پهلوی آن
 ندیده هرگز چون ساقِ خون نزار آهو
 چهل کشایا بستم بامتکال چو شتر
 بگردِ مدح تو برسی و سه قطار آهو

ردیف مدح تو صد باره زبید آهوی مشک
 ز مکر مت چو فرستاده ام دو بار آهو
 بنافه داشت ازین پیش کاربار اکنون
 ز تر مدح تو دارد رواج کار آهو
 کشاده نافه حکمت عمید در مدحت
 چو نافه که بر آن کرد افتخار آهو
 همیشه تا که سر ناف بر زمین چستون
 ز خاصیت نه نهد هیچ نافه دار آهو
 کمال عدل تو جائے رسیده باد مدام
 که یوز را شود از طنز ناف خار آهو
 بهای بخت گذارنده باطن و ناز نده
 چو در بهار در اطراف مرغزار آهو

The ingenuity and force with which this *qasīdah* in praise of Sultān Sanjar is written are noteworthy. The poet has very cleverly made *آهو* *radīf* and *بار - خار - کار* *qāfiyah*, introducing a novelty in the art of *qasīdah*-writing and panegyric poetry, and throwing a challenge to other poets to compete with him.

The general trend of the verses written during these two periods of Indian history was more historical than panegyrical. Most of the poets in the service of the kings and the nobility remained attached to the person of their masters, and accompanied them in their tours and territorial campaigns. They too, like the soldiers of the regular

Distinctive trait of Persian poetry in India under the Ghōris and the Slaves.

army, took active part in the country's warfare, and remained present in the Camp with the sepoy and officers whom they praised and entertained with their poems depicting the battles and the heroic feats of their comrades. Besides such historical literature, which was coming into existence and gaining popularity, the poets took delight in writing chronogrammatic quatrains which gave the dates of events. This kind of composition which had its own utility was welcomed by people, because of its brevity and outspokenness. It was a distinctive step towards advancement in the art of Persian composition at the Indian court. Such a feature was absent in the growth of poetry in Persia. Many of the poets living in this period at Delhi and Lāhore were influenced by Sūfism, and produced poetry of a really high order. Also, the writing of *qasīdah* with pageantry and clever devices, using the technicalities of profession and classics, to make a display of knowledge, dates from the regime of the Slave kings.

The Ghōrīs were, from the beginning, devoted to Persian poetry, and were subject to Persian influence. Their taste for Persian poetry. Their educated people used the Persian language in their own homes and in private talks, and had a soft corner for Persian manners and customs. Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Husain Ghōrī, son of Sultān Husain Sūrī, had a gift for Persian poetry, and com-

posed verses on the occasions of his victories over his enemies. Once, he wrote a *qit'a* to appease his vanity, when Ghaznī was ransacked by his soldiers for *seven* days and nights to avenge for the murder of his brother, Saifuddīn Sūrī, at the hands of Bahrām Shāh Ghaznavī. It was sung before him by the *nā'iks* and talented musicians of the age in *three* different notes: Turkī, Hindūstānī and Persian. The verses that survive are as follows:—

قصائد

چراغِ دودۀ عبا سپاهم	جہاں داند کہ من شاہِ جہانم ¹
کہ دایم بادِ ملکِ خاندانم	علاء الدین حسین ابن حسین ام
یکے باندِ زمیں و آسمانم	چو ہر گنگون دولت پر نشینم
اجل بازیگرِ نوکِ سنانم	املِ متزعِ زنِ گردِ سپاہم
بہر شہرے شہرے دیگر نشانم	ہم عالمِ بگردم چوں سکندر
چو رودِ نیلِ جوئیِ خوں برانم	بر آں بودم کہ از او باشِ غزنی
شفاعتِ می کند بختِ جوانم	و لیکن گندہ پیرانند و طفلان
کہ بادا جانِ شاں پیونِ جانم	بہخشیدم بدیشاں جانِ ایشان

Again, when he repaired to Firūz Kūh, his capital, he held a public *darbār* and gave a banquet to which skilled musicians were invited from all parts of the Empire, and his verses were sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments. The following *qit'a* of his composition was among the poems

¹ Ibid, p. 57.

sung on this occasion:—

قطعهٔ دیگر
 ۱ آنم که هست فخر ز عدام زمانه را
 آنم که هست جور ز بدام خزانه را
 انگشت دست خورش بدندان کند عدو
 چون بر زه کمان نهم انگشتوانه را
 چون جست خانه خانه کمیتم میان صف
 دشمن ز کوی باز ندانست خانه را
 بهرام شه بکینه من چون کمان کشید
 کدم بکینه از کمر او کنانه را
 پشتمی خصم گرچه همه رانی و رانه بود
 کردم بگور خورد سر رانی و رانه را
 کیس سوختم به تیغ در آموختم کلان
 شاهان روزگار و ملوک زمانه را
 ای مطرب بدیع چو فارغ شدم ز جنگ
 بر گوی قول را و بیار آن ترانه را
 دولت چو بر کشید نه شاید فرو گذاشت
 قول مغنی و می صاف مغانه را

He also wrote quatrains of which two good instances have been preserved to our day. The following was composed off-hand, when, on his being defeated and

¹Ibid, p. ۶۹.

brought before Sultān Sanjar, he was pardoned and rewarded by the latter with a tray of pearls:—

¹ بگرفت و نکشت شاه مرا در صف کین
 هر چند بدم کشتنی از روی یغین
 بخشید مرا یک طاق در نهی
 بخشایش و بخشش چنان بود و چنین

On another occasion, he recited the following in a similar refrain, when he happened to kiss the mole on Sultān Sanjar's right foot:—

² ای خاکِ سم مرکبِ تو افسرِ من وی حلقهٔ بندگیِ تو زیورِ من
 چون خالِ کفِ پایِ ترا بوسه زدم اقبالِ همی بوسه زند بر سرِ من

These extempore compositions represent his best poetic talents, and may compete with any standard poet of Persia in beauty of language, figurative style and chastity of thought.

¹ Ibid, p. 61.

² Ibid.

CHAPTER V

PERSIAN LITERATURE UNDER THE KHLJĪS AND THE TUGHLAQs AND THE LAST THREE KINGS OF THE SLAVE DYNASTY: SULTĀN MU'IZZUDDĪN KAIQUBĀD AND THE BALBANS.

The period covered by the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule and the last *three* kings of the Slave dynasty, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans, opens a golden page in the history of Persian literature in Hindūstān. It produced many a poet, prose-writer and historian, the importance of whose works was fully acknowledged by contemporary as well as later Persia. The most notable among them were the following "*five wonders*" (١٠ خمسة متعجب) whose contributions to Persian language and literature are of immense value:—

1. Amīr Khusrau,
2. Khwājah Ḥasan Sanjarī,
3. Ziyā'uddīn Barnī,
4. Badr i Chāch and
5. Qāzī Zahr Dehlevī.

¹ Technically it refers to the following *five* radiant stars:—

عطارد - زهره - مریخ - مشتری - زحل

Of these, a short notice of the life and works of only the first *three* (Khusrau, Hasan and Barni) will appear in the following pages.

A valuable monograph on the poet has been written by Shibli in his *Shi'ru'l* Amīr Khusrau of 'Ajam. The author drew his Etah. materials from such authentic records as Khusrau's own Preface to his *dīvān*, the *Ghurraṭ ul Kamāl*, which gives his autobiography; his Introduction to the *Tuḥfa tuṣ Ṣiḡhar*; Dr. Rieu's account of Khusrau in the Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the British Museum Library; the *Tārikh i Farishtah* and other chronicles of first magnitude. It is expedient, therefore, to recount in these pages only such events and circumstances as are vital to the interest of this book, clarifying India's position and accomplishment, so as to make the study of this poet truly representative and historically complete.

Khusrau stands out most prominently among the poets of Hindūstān, whose compositions through their retaining the integrity of Persian idiom knew no distinction between *Persian Persian* and *Indian Persian*. He is fortunately the only indigenous poet against whom even the bitterest Persian critic could not open his mouth, but had to acknowledge his greatness as a poet. Of the various forms of Persian poetry, he selected *ghazal* and *maṣnawī* for his themes, introducing substantial improvements in

the art of versification. His pathos in *ghazal* and continuity in *maṣnavī*, with sundry sweet and natural methods of approach, have a peculiar charm which distinguish him from his other comrades in calling, and give new tone to these two branches, widening their scope and popularity. His *ghazal* in sweetness of language and heart to heart converse has an effect which only Rūdakī and Sa'dī could claim. But to this he added a charm of his own by giving his verses a musical character, himself being an adept in music and the inventor of the Indian *Sitār*, which definitely improved the melody of the Persian *ghazal* and made it more popular in the assembly of the *Sūfis*.

His position as a *maṣnavī*-writer is still higher. Firdausī and Nizāmī were the two outstanding figures in Persia who had devoted all their energy and given their best to *maṣnavī*. The former's *Shāh Nāmā* and the latter's *Sikandar Nāmā* and the *Khamsā* were already a household word in Persia. Hence it was not an easy task for a poet in Persia, much less in India, to attempt to write anything in this kind, after these two masters, for fear of public opinion. But Khusrau's genius, which knew no bounds, flashed at once, and he flung himself in this field undaunted, with a confidence born of equality and fellowship. Like his two worthy predecessors, Abul Faraj Rūnī and Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān, he gave a new turn to Persian poetry and enhanced its prestige,

which was frankly and fully acknowledged in Persia in every period of its literary advancement.

His father's name was Saifuddīn Mahmūd,¹ who was by descent a Turk of the *Lāwīn* tribe. He had fled to India during the early reign of Sultān Nāsiruddīn Mahmūd, son of Altamash, from his native village, *Kish*, in Turkistān, being afraid of the rise and devastations of Changiz Khān, and halted at Patyālī, a Tahsil in the Ētah district of Āgra Division. He had three sons, of whom Khusrau was the youngest. His birth took place here in 652 A. H.¹ He received his early education at Ētah where he attended the school for some years. His father had appointed the famous calligraphist, Maulānā Sa'uddīn Khattāt, as the boy's tutor to give him lessons in the art of writing *nasta'liq* and *shikast*. Numerous stories are told of his quick wit and intelligence

¹ Shibli, in his *Shi'ar ul 'Ajam*, Vol. II, p. 108, gives the year of Khusrau's birth 605 A. H., which cannot be correct for the following reason:—

Khusrau wrote his first *maṣnavī*, the *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*, in 688 A. H., when he was, according to his own statement, 36 years old, thus establishing the fact that his birth had taken place in 652 A. H. Cf:—

در رمضان شد به سعادت تمام یافت قرآن نامۀ سعدین نام
آنچه بتاریخ ز هجرت گزشت بود سن شصت و هشتاد و هشت
سال من امروز اگر بر دسی راست بگویم همه شش بود دسی

while he was still quite young. He had a gift for poetry in his tender age, and was endowed with a powerful memory besides. He remembered and composed verses while yet in his mother's lap¹. His tremendous success lay in his voice which was extremely sweet and melodious like the great Rūdakī of Persia. He loved music as an art in which he made considerable progress, rising to the highest rank of *nā'ik*. He died at the ripe age of 74 in 725 A. H.² after a chequered but most brilliant career as a poet, soldier and royal associate, and was buried at Delhi in the mausoleum of his spiritual teacher and guide, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn, better known as *Nizām ul Auliya*.

¹ Cf. Khusrau's own statement:—

در آن صغر سن که دندان می افتاد سخن می گفتم و گوهر از دهانم
می ریخت
(Ghurrat ul Kamāl, Introduction)

² Cf. a chronogrammatic *qit'a* by Maulānā Shihāb Mu'ammā'i, giving the date of Khusrau's death. It was engraved on a piece of marble and put over Khusrau's tomb:—

میر خسرو خسرو ملک سخن	آن محیطِ فضل و دریای کمال
نثر او دلکش تر از ماءِ معین	نظم او صافی تر از آبِ زلال
بلبلِ دستانِ سرایِ بیقرین	طوطیِ شکرِ مثالِ بے مثال
از پی تاریخِ سالِ فوتِ او	چون نهادم سرِ بزا نوی خیال
شد عذیمِ المثلِ یک تاریخِ او	دیگرے شد طوطیِ شکرِ مثال

Khusrau's works, according to Jāmi's calculation, consist of more than *four* His works and less than *five lacs* of *baits* (lines) including his prose.¹ It is also asserted that Khusrau was the author of *ninety-two* original works,² a number which no poet in Islāmic India surpassed.

His *Khamsab* consists of *five maṣnavīs* written as a rejoinder to Nizāmī's *Khamsab*, The Khamsah. entitled the *Panj Ganj* (five treasures), as detailed below :—

- (i) The *Matla'ul Annār*. It is a moral poem, rivalling Nizāmī's *Makbẖan ul Asrār* of the *Panj Ganj* series, written in 698 A. H., in a wonderfully short space of two weeks.³ It contains 3,310 verses, and begins with :—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم خطبة قدس است به ملك قديم

- (ii) The *Shīrīn-Khusrau*. It is a counter-part to Nizāmī's *Khusrau wa Shīrīn*. In one of its chapters, Khusrau has performed a public duty and given valuable advice to his young son, Mas'ūd, as a dutiful father would do. It took him about three months, and was completed in the same year. It

¹ Nafahāt, p. 348.

² Ibid.

³ Cf.—

از اثر اختبر گردون خرام شد بد و هفتکده مه کامل تمام

contains 4,126 verses. The opening verse is as follows:—

خداوند! دلم را چشم بهشای بمعراج یقینم راه بنشای

- (iii) The *Majnūn-Lailā*. It stands in competition with Nizāmī's *Lailā wa Majnūn*, and was similarly written and finished in the same year in two months and ten days. It contains 2,663 verses, and begins with:—

ای داده بدل خزینه راز عقل از تو شده خزینه پرداز

- (iv) The *Ā'ina i Iskandarī*. It is a rejoinder to Nizāmī's *Sikandar Nāmāh*, and was written in 699 A. H. It contains 4,450 verses, and took him about three months to finish. The opening verse is as follows:—

خدایا جهان پادشاهی تراست زما خدمت آید خدائی تراست

- (v) The *Hasht Bibisht*. This is the last *maṣnavī* of the *Khamsab*, and rivals Nizāmī's *Haft Paikar*. The year of its authorship is 701 A. H. It contains 3,384 verses. The first line runs thus:—

ای کشایند؟ خزانه جود نقش پیوند کارگاه وجود

All these five *maṣnavīs* were written as a rejoinder to Nizāmī's *Khamsab* (the *Panj Ganj*) and completed in a little over two years' time. Qāzī Shihābuddin *Adīb*, a scholar and a great admirer of

Khusrau's poetic genius, edited these *maṣnavīs* which were presented to the reigning Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī, who rewarded the poet with a robe of honour and 1,000 *tankas* per month as his stipend for life.

His other works are classified as follows:—

- (vi) The *Tuḥfat us Sig̃har*. It is the work, as the very name suggests, of his youth. It contains poems written by him while he was yet in his *teens* and preserved under this head.
- (vii) The *Wasat ul Hayāt*. This is the work of his middle age, and contains *qaṣā'id* in praise of Malik Chajjū and Sultān Shāhīd, written between the 20th and the 35th year of his life.
- (viii) The *Ghurrat ul Kamāl*. This is, similarly, a collection of his *qaṣā'id* in praise of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and Sultān Jalāluddīn Khiljī. Its value is greatly enhanced by a Preface from the author, in which he gives some important particulars of his life. It was completed, like the *Maṭla'ul Amvār*, in the short space of two weeks.
- (ix) The *Baqiyyah Naqiyyah*. This is the work of his old age, consisting of panegyric poems and an elegy on Sultān 'Alā'uddīn

Khiljī's death, which occurred in 716 A. H. It is a collection of poems written between 716 A. H. and 720 A. H.

- (x) The *Nibāyat ul Kamāl*. This is the last work of his life. It consists of *ghazals*, *qasā'id* and *marṣiyas*. His *marṣiyab* on Sultān Qutbuddīn Mubārak's death (720 A. H.) and several congratulatory poems in honour of his successor, Sultān Khusrau Khān, together with a description of certain events occurring in the early part of 725 A. H., which is the year of the author's death, suggest, beyond doubt, that it was his last work.

- (xi) The *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*. This is the first and the most important of his *maṣnawīs*. It was written in 688 A. H., at the invitation of Sultān Kaiqubād, when the poet had attained his 36th year. This is historically important and gives a graphic description of the meeting of Bughrā Khān, the ruler of Bengāl, and his son, Sultān Kaiqubād, the king of Delhi.

- (xii) The *Tāj ul Futūḥ*. This is his second *maṣnawī* written in the Coronation year of Sultān Jalāluddīn Firūz Shāh Khiljī (689 A. H.). It describes the events from the beginning of his accession to

the throne to the middle of the following year, 690 A. H.

(xiii) The *Dunwālānī-Khizir Khān*. This is his third *maṣnavī* which was written at the instance and special request of Sultān 'Alā-'uddīn's son, Khizir Khān, who, having fallen in love with Duwālānī, the beautiful daughter of the Rājā of Gujarāt, had married her. The incidents of their love, as preserved and supplied to the poet by the hero, are faithfully depicted with characteristic grace and beauty. It contains about 4,200 verses, and was written in 715 A. H. The poet originally gave it the name *Isbqiyyah*, and took four months to complete it.

(xiv) The *Nub Sipabr*. This was written for and dedicated to Sultān Qutbuddīn Mubārak Khilji. It is so called because it contains, like the *nine* skies, *nine* chapters, each of which has a different metre. It was completed in 718 A.H.

(xv) The *Rasā'il i I'jāz*. This is a voluminous work written in three parts, and is the best specimen of Khusrau's prose. The poet, in this work, lays down the guiding principles of prose composition, and dwells at length upon each to emphasise their importance and indispensability. It

was completed in 719 A. H.

Besides the above, there are sundry works like the *Tugbīlaq Nāmāh*, the *Miftāḥ ul Futūḥ*, the *Afzal ul Favā'id*, the *Khawā'in ul Futūḥ* and the *Tārīkh i Dehlī*, which survive and have been reviewed by famous authors.

Khusrau's poetic talents have elicited the high-

Views of distinguished personalities on Khusrau's poetry:—

(i) Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddiṣ Dehlevī.

est tributes of praise from distinguished Persian and Indian scholars, including poets and historians, whose views are held in great esteem by modern European orientalists, and serve as a cold douche to the bitterest Persian critics of India. The views of India's renowned scholar, Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddiṣ Dehlevī, on Khusrau's poetry, are clearly expressed in his works. He holds that since the beginning of Persian poetry up till his times, no poet of Khusrau's genius and perfection had come into existence. The learned author calls Khusrau سلطان الشعرا (the Sultān of poets), یکتا عالم (unique in the world) and an عالم (a Universe) by himself. He further says that Khusrau used to compose verses in the style and trend of thought of the poets of Isfahān in obedience to the wishes of his spiritual guide, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn, surnamed *Nizām ul Auliya*, of Delhi. The author's own words are worthy of notice:—

¹ وی سلطان الشعراء و برهان انفال است - در رادی سخن یکنانه عالم و
 نتاوه نوح بنی آدم است وی در سخن عالی است از عوالم خداوندی که
 پایان ندارد - آنچه او را از مشامین و معانی در اطوار سخن و انواع آن
 دست داد هیچکس را از شعرای متقدمین و متاخرین نداده و در طرز
 سخن بر فرمود شیخ خود رفته است که فرموده سخن بر طرز امشانیان بگو -

He is the Sultān of the poets, and the proof of the learned. In the valley of speech, he is unique in the world and is the essence of mankind (i.e. specially chosen for poetry among men). In speech, he is a world from the worlds of God, that has no end. Whatever, in the art of poetry and its various forms, has accrued to him from the subject-matter and meaning, to none else among the ancient and subsequent poets has it occurred. And he is devoted to the orders of his Shaikh who told him to write poetry in the manner and style of the people of Isfahān.

Khusrau and his friend Khwājah Ḥasan (who will be noticed hereafter) were (ii) Sa'dī of Shirāz. for five years the court poets of Prince Muḥammad Sultān, better known by his posthumous title of *Sultān Shabād*. He was appointed by his father, Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban, to be the Governor of Multān, where he had collected

¹ Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 99.

the best poets in the hope of making it the *Shīrāz of India*. The Prince was keenly interested in Persian poetry and had extended liberal patronage to worthy poets. He had conferred the title of *Amīr ush Shu'arā* on Khusrau whom he held in high esteem. He had also twice invited Sa'dī from Shīrāz to come to Multān, and sent emissaries with rich presents and passage money to the poet. The Prince was so sure of Sa'dī's arrival in India that he had planned to build a grand *Khānqāh* with a big college of Persian and Arabic learning attached to it at Multān, and to appoint the revered new-comer to be the head of the institution to accord him honour. The Prince had asked his father to contribute handsomely towards the building of this proposed seat of Islāmic culture, and appoint suitable *jāgīr* for its maintenance. The name intended to be given to this institution was *Khānqāh i Sa'dīyah*. The object behind this move was to attract from Persia the only worthy poet living at Shīrāz, and make India the home of Persian learning with Multān as its chief centre. But it is a pity that Sa'dī on both the occasions put forward the plea of his old age, and commended Khusrau to the Prince with the remark *در هند خسر دس است* (in India Khusrau is enough). The version of the Indian historian, Ghulām Husain Gulshan Lāhaurī, who compiled a short history of the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule in the form of anecdotes, incidentally touching on the lives and circumstances of a group of

authors, poets and dignitaries, whom he termed *darbārīs*, is significant. He says:—

آوردہ اند کہ قاآن ملک عاجلاً و آجلاً التماسِ قدومِ شہنشاہِ سعدی از
شیراز نموده و سید حسین شرنی و عمویش عکرا را با تکفِ گرامی و
خروجِ کافی نزدِ شہنشاہ در شیراز فرستاد اما آنحضرت عذرِ ضعفِ پیری درمیان
نہاده و سنابین غزل را ہر دو مرتبہ بخطِ مبارک نبشتہ بر سولان سپرد و
فرمود کہ در ہند خسرو بس است —

It is said that Qā'ān Malik³ invited Shaikh Sa'dī from Shīrāz to come (to India) soon or late, and sent Sayyid Husain Sharqī and his uncle 'Akrah with rich presents and sufficient passage money to the Shaikh at Shīrāz. But he put forward the excuse of his old age, and having written *ghazals* in his own hand on each of these two occasions entrusted them to the emissaries remarking, "*In India Khusrāu is enough.*"

¹ Majmū'a i Tazkār, Mss., p. 39, Jaunpūr.

Note:—It is a useful small work which throws some light on the literary phase of the Khiljī and the Tughlaq rule. It is written in the form of anecdotes interspersed with verses and does not profess to be a regular or connected history of any period. The copy kindly lent to me by the owner, Shaikh Rahmat 'Alī, Zamīndār, Jaunpūr, U. P., is an imperfect one and damaged in the opening pages. The copyist styles himself نور خان خطاط خادمِ شیرینِ قامِ نیکنوی. The date of transcription is 21st Sha'bān, 1243 A. H.

² Qā'ān Malik is the official title of Prince Muḥammad Sultān. It was conferred upon him by his father, Sultān Ghiyāṣ-uddīn Balban.

Barnī's statement, which throws further light on the contemplated project and the building of the *Khānqāh* for the sake of Sa'dī, is as follows:—

۱ و خان شهید از و نور دانشه که داشت دو گرت از ملتان در طلب
شیخ سعدی قاصداً و عامداً کسان و خرج در شیراز فرستاد و شیخ را در ملتان
طلب کرد و خواست که بجهت او در ملتان خانقاه سازد و در آن خانقاه
دشها وقف کند خواجه سعدی از ضعف پیری نتوانست آمد و هر دو گرت
یکان سینه غزل بخدا خون بر خان فرستاد و عذر نیامدن خون در نام آوردن —

And Khān i Shāhid, on account of his considerable learning, sent emissaries with passage money from Multān to Shīrāz twice, inviting Shaikh Sa'dī to come to Multān; and planned to build a *Khānqāh* for the sake of the Shaikh at Multān, and endow villages for that *Khānqāh*. But Khwājah Sa'dī, on account of the infirmity of old age, could not come, and on both the occasions sent *ghazals* in his own handwriting to the Khān, and wrote therein his excuse for not coming.

Sa'dī rightly felt that Khusrau, who could worthily represent him, was living in India, and his presence there was enough. This outspokenness of Sa'dī is a lesson to those modern critics who refuse

¹ Barnī, p. 68.

to acknowledge that India was raised to the level of Persia in the sphere of literature.

Badāūnī relates that Sa'dī also wrote a letter to the Prince, commending to his notice Khusrau's poetic talents and urging on the Prince the need of showing the young poet a most liberal and munificent patronage in the following words:—

و شیخ بعذر پیری نیامد اما بتربیت میر خسرو سلطان را وصیت فرمود و سفارش او فوق الحد نوشته —

And the Shaikh did not come on account of his old age, but he advised the Sultān to show his patronage to Mīr Khusrau, and laid exceeding stress on his recommendation of the same.

The first and the most important historian of (iv) *Ẓiyā'uddīn* Indian blood, *Ẓiyā'uddīn* Barnī, a contemporary of Amīr Khusrau and his coassociate in the royal *darbārs*, who had witnessed Khusrau's immense popularity and success as a poet, states as follows:—

در عصر علائی شعرائی بودند که بعد از ایشان بلکه پیش از ایشان چشم روزگار مثل ایشان ندیده است لا سیما امیر خسرو که خسرو شاعران سلف و خلف بوده است و در اختراع معانی و کثرت تصنیفات و کشف رموز

¹ Muntakhab, Vol. I, p. 130.

² Barnī, p. 359.

غریب نظیر نداشت و اگر استادانِ نظام و نثر در یک دو فن بے همتا بودند
 امیر خسرو در جمیع فنون ممتاز و مستغنی بود همچنان دو فنونی که در
 جمیع فن های شاعری بسر آمده و استاد باشد در سلف نبود و در خلف
 تا قیامت پیدا آید یا نیاید امیر خسرو در نظام و نثر پارسی کتابخانه تصنیف
 کرده است و داد سخنوری داده است

In 'Alā'uddīn's reign, there were poets such as after them, nay, even before them, the eye of Time had not seen the like, particularly, Amīr Khusrau who is the 'King of the poets' of the Past and the Future; and in invention of meanings, abundance of literary productions and the opening of strange secrets, he had no equal. And if the masters of poetry and prose were unparalleled in one or two branches, Amīr Khusrau was distinguished and rich in all the branches. A versatile writer like him, who in all the branches of poetry has come to the top and is master of each, could not be found among his predecessors; and among his successors, perhaps, none would appear till doomsday. And Amīr Khusrau in Persian poetry and prose has written works equal to a library, and has done full justice to speech.

He further states that a contemporary poet of

the royal *darbār*; Khwājah Sanā'ī¹, says about Khusrau thus:—

بخدا ار بزیر چرخ کبود هیچو او هست و بود و خواهد بود

I swear by God that underneath the blue sky
There is not another like him or was or will be.

Barnī, at another place, compares the period of Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī and Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghaznī with that of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī in point of literary patronage and the skill of its poets in the following significant words:—

اگر هیچو امیر خسرو در عهد مکتوبی و سنجری پیدا آمده ظاهر
و غالب آنست که آن پادشاهان ولایتی و اقطاعی بد و انعام
دادند. . . . و سلطان علاءالدین اینچنین نادرگ شعراء و نقلائی
سلف و خلف را همین یک هزار تنکه مواجب دادے —

If one like Amīr Khusrau had appeared in the time of Maḥmūd and Sanjar, it is apparent and most probable that those kings would have rewarded him with land and *jāgīrs*; while Sultān 'Alā'uddīn has bestowed on such a rare personality among the poets and the learned

¹ The one named is other than the famous Khwājah Hakīm Sanā'ī who was his predecessor and flourished in the Ghaznavid period.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid, p. 366.

of the past and the future, only *one thousand tankas* as his stipend.

In the above passage, he clearly expresses his view that a poet of Khusrau's merit did not appear in Persia nor in India during the reigns of Sultān Sanjar and Sultān Maḥmūd. Had there been one like him, he adds, those kings, who were noted for their munificent patronage of Persian letters, would have greatly honoured him, and appointed suitable *jāgīrs* to maintain his position and rank.

Amīr Khusrau became first attached to the court of *Khān i Mu'azzam* Kishlū Khusrau's connection with royal Khān, *alias* Malik Chajjū, who *darbārs*. was the nephew of Sultān Ghi-yāṣuddīn Balban, and remained in his service for two years.¹ He next entered the service of Bughrā Khān, Governor of Bengāl, who was the son of Sultān Ghi-yāṣuddīn. But as the climate of Bengāl did not suit him, and he also felt constantly worried at his being far away from his people, specially his mother whom he dearly loved, he returned to Delhi on long leave, and subsequently submitted his resignation. His fame as a poet was already widely spread, and he had no difficulty in finding a suitable situation. He received invitations from various Princes to come to their courts, but accepted the one from Prince Sultān

¹ Ghurraṭ ul Kamāl, Introduction.

Muhammad, Governor of Multān. This Prince showed Khusrau and his colleague, Khwājah Hasan, great favours, and held them in the highest esteem. They both remained at Multān for about five years, until the Prince's death which occurred in a fight between him and Tīmūr Khān Tārtar, midway between Dībalpūr and Lāhore.² His death removed a great patron of poets and men-of-letters from India. It came as a shock to all ranks, charitably disposed as he was towards all, particularly towards the poets and scholars who were directly connected with his court. They mourned his death as a personal loss. The Prince, as has already been pointed out, wanted to make Multān the chief seat of Persian learning in India, and was working for it for years. He was the first Indian Prince to whom the idea of inviting Sa'di to a city of the Panjāb and making it by his presence the *Shīrāz of India* had occurred. Khusrau and Hasan were deeply grieved at the Prince's death, and felt the loss perhaps more than any other fellow-poets did, as is evidenced by Barni's account as fol-

² Cf:—

و در شهر سنه اربع و ثمانین و ستایه خان ملتان را که پسر بزرگ
سلطان بلبن و ولی عهد او و پشت و پناه ملک او بود در میان لوهور و
دیو بالهور با تمر ملعون مبارزه و مقاتله افتاد از قضا و قدر باری تعالی
خان ملتان با امراء و سران و معتبران لشکر دران مبارزه به شهید شد —

(Barni, p. 109)

lows :—

۱ بار ہا از امیر خسرو و از امیر حسن شنیدہ ام کہ ہر طریقہ حسرت
و نالہں روزگار گفتندے کہ اگر مارا و ہنرمندان دیگر را بخت بودے خان
شہید زندہ ماندے —

And many a time I have heard from Amīr Khusrau and Amīr Hasan that they said out of a passion of grief and lament that if there had been luck for them and for others skilled in arts, Khān i Shahīd would be still living.

Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn and the whole court remained in mourning for months. Almost every public institution or private house in Delhi and Multān was filled with grief for the dead. Khusrau and Hasan, who were among the fighting unit with the Prince, were taken prisoners by the Tārtars (683 A. H.), and kept in their custody at Balkh for about two years. They wrote several elegies in poetry and prose, and sent them to Delhi where they were eagerly read by the people. The near relations of those who had lost their lives with the Prince on the battle-field recited those compositions in their homes, and wept over their dead with unmitigated sorrow and feeling of separation. When Khusrau returned to Delhi, on his being released by the Tārtars, he

¹ Ibid, p. 68.

recited a newly composed poem at the royal *darbār*. It was so remarkably pathetic that the audience could not restrain their emotions, and wept so loud that the whole *darbār* resounded with their laments. The Sultān himself burst into tears, and contracted fever which ultimately caused his death. This marvellous elegiac poem is a real portraiture of the pangs of love and pathos, and stands unequalled in the realm of Persian elegiac poetry for its tremendous charm and effect. It consists of *eleven bands* which are reproduced here in full from the original as an abiding specimen of Khusrau's great mastery and skill in this art:—

۱ ترکیب بندی خسرو در مرثیہ خان شہید

بندی اول

واقعہ است ایں یا بلا از آسماں آمد پدید
آفت است ایں یا قیامت در جہاں آمد پدید
راہ در بنہادی عالم داد سیل فتنہ را
رخنہ کامسآں در ہندوستان آمد پدید
مجلسِ باراں پریشان شد چو برگِ گل ز باد
برگِ ریزی گوئی اندر بوستان آمد پدید
ہر مزہ بے دیدنِ ایشان سنائے شد بچشم
نیزہ بالا خون زہر نوکِ سناں آمد پدید

¹ Majmū'a i Tazkār, Mss. pp. 43—57.

دل بہ پیچد چون زمانہ رشتہ صکت گسست .
 در بریزد چون خال در ریشم آمد پدید
 بسکہ آب چشم خلق شد رواں از چار سوی
 پنج آب دیگر اندر مولتاں آمد پدید
 خواستم تاز آتش دل بر زبان آرم سخن
 صد زبان آتشیم در دہاں آمد پدید
 سہنہ خالی بکندم گر یہ بکشاد از دو چشم
 چون زمین کاویدہ شد آب رواں آمد پدید
 گر یہ ہم بے پوست روئی می کند با من کزو
 پوست از رویم برفت و استخوان آمد پدید
 جمع شد سیارہ در چشم مگر طوفان شود
 چون بد برج آبی انجم را قراں آمد پدید
 من نخواہم جز شمال جعبیت و این کے شود
 خود محالست این بغالت النعش پروین کے شود

بلد دوم

اں چہ طالع بد کہ شاہ از مولتاں لشکر کشید
 تیغ کافر کش برای کشتن کافر کشید
 آنچه حاضر بود لشکر لشکرے دیگر نجست
 زانکہ رستم را نشاید منت لشکر کشید
 چون خبر کردندش از دشمن بدان قوت کہ داشت
 بے محابا خشم در سر کرد و رأیت بر کشید
 یک کشش از مولتانس تا بلوہور افتاد
 یعنی اندر عہد من کافر تواند سر کشید

من نه آن شیرینک شمشیر چو آب و آتشم
 از کشش شو سال شاں در خاک و خاکستو کشید
 بسکه بر گل خون ایشان را روان کردم چو آب
 شمشیر چو بتا بر آب کورس بر سر خون بر کشید
 آنچنان رنگین کنم امسال خاک از خون شاں
 کز زمینی باید شفق را گونهٔ احمر کشید
 او درین تدبیر و آگه نه که تقدیر فلک
 صفهٔ تدبیر را خط مشیت در کشید
 ز اختراش چشمش رسید اردست باشد چون شهاب
 میل می باید که اندر چشم هفت اختر کشید
 غره شد از محرم نی بر و بر گل خالق
 چون بساط اندر گلوئی دشمنان خنجر کشید
 تا شوند عاشوره در صف غزا شد چون حسین
 گرد جنگش سرمه در چشم مه انور کشید
 آن چت ساعت بد که گافر بر سر اشکر رسید
 جوق جوق از آب بکشدند و ناگه در رسید

بلد سوم

خنک شده دیدی و بر گردون غبار انگیزختن
 باد پا بر کافران خاکسار انگیزختن
 غلغله در انجم از جوش سپاه انداختن
 زلزله در عالم از سیر سوار انگیزختن
 از خروش کوس و بانگ اسپ و آواز سوار
 لرزه در صحرای دشت و کوهسار انگیزختن

نعل در آنش نهادن تو سنان گرم را
 وز سم قهر آتشین نعلی شراز انگیزختن
 آن چه حیرت بود گاه کار زار انداختن
 وین چه هیبت بود گاه گیر و دار انگیزختن
 از فروغ تیغ در سر تف و تاب انداختن
 وز خیال نیزه در دل خار خار انگیزختن
 پر دلا در حمله از بهر مخالف سوختن
 بیدلان در حمله از بهر فرار انگیزختن
 ضربتی مردانه در پهلوی نامردان زدن
 شعله آنش ز تیغ آبدار انگیزختن
 دیو بندی را علم جمشید وار افراختن
 ملک گبری را فرس خورشید وار انگیزختن
 آسمان اندر قصرع زان فزع برداشتن
 آفتاب اندر تبسم زان غبار انگیزختن
 اندران میدان که فرق از مرد تا نامرد بود
 اے بسا کس را که لبها خشک روها زرد بود

بندی چهارم

روز را تاریکی آمد چون بهم بر یافتند
 زرد شد خورشید چون خنجر به خنجر یافتند
 روز نزدیک فرو رفتن شده از رزم تیر
 آسمان بر سر خورشید لشکر یافتند
 شانه را مانند آن صفهای تیغ از هر دو سو
 سر کشان چون موی در مو یکدیگر بر یافتند

آنگون شد خاک چوں چوشتن بجوشتن دوختند
 گلستان شد دشت چوں اسپر در اسپر یافتند
 آسمان بر می کشد گوئی که بگریزد ز تیر
 تیرها بالای سر زان پر که در پر یافتند
 صاف گشت از تیغ چوں نییے سر کافر تمام
 کافران هر صف که چوں مرغول کافر یافتند
 از سر شک خوں همه یاقوت سرخ تیغ جست
 تا ممال شد علمپائے که در زر یافتند
 هم یگان سر شد و گان شمشیر چوں برهم زدند
 هم درگان سر شد یگان سر ها چو در سر یافتند
 گشتان افتاده در صحرای از اطراف سر
 همچو صورتها که در دیبای اخضر یافتند
 پیش ازین کوشش بود کز چاشتمه تا وقت شام
 دزدوری و سر بمرگ و سر بسو پر یافتند
 خواست شه تا نطع نصرت گسترد لیکن چه سود
 کز فلک آن نطع را بر شکل دیگر یافتند
 یک زمان شمشیر فتانهای نیا سود از قتال
 از زوال روز تا شب اندران روز زوال

بند پنجم

یا رب آن خوں بود کاندرووی صحرای می دوید
 یا بسوی تشنهال موجی ز دریا می دوید
 آب در غربال ریزی چوں فرو ریزد بزیز
 خستهال را خوں بر آن گونه بر اعضا می دوید

کشته اندر خاک جاں می کند بر خود می طپید *
 در گاویش موج می زد خون و مبالا می دروید
 این بدوزخ برد آب و آن بختنت برد چوی
 گرچه خون گهر و مومن هر دو یکجا می دروید
 تو سنان در خیز و سرهای سواران می فتاد
 مرد را سر می دروید و اسپ را پا می دروید
 هر کرا از قوت دل بازو اندر کار بود
 راست کرده تیر سوی قلب اعدا می دروید
 * و آنکه از ضعف درونی دست و پا گم کرده بود
 گه بسوی آب و گاه سوی صکرا می دروید
 تیر کشتیهایی تن میزد اند بر دریای خون
 بیلکی میزد به تندى و گذارا می دروید
 از وجود مرد هر خولے که آن از تیر جست
 چون کسے از خاک جسته بے مکتبا می دروید
 شاه لشکر کش به ترتیب صف و آئین جنگ
 می دروا نید اشهب اقبال را تا می دروید
 پای پس می برد گردون مو گرفته فتح را
 فتح هر چند از ملاعین جانب ما می دروید
 کافر اندر انتظار شب که تا بیرون شود
 ناگهان میزبان مارا پله دیگر گون شود

بند ششم

تا چه شب بود آنکه از چرخ آفتاب افتاده بود
 دیو آتش در جهان می زد شهاب افتاده بود

گر حسین کربلا را ره به بے آبی افتاد
 او مکتد بد که در آبش مآب افتاده بود
 روز چوں باقی نبود آن آفتابِ تعست را
 روز باقی بود چیزه کافتاب افتاده بود
 دایم ماهی شد دل مردم که از دستان دیو
 دستِ جم را خاتمِ شاهی در آب افتاده بود
 گافر اندر خوں چو خر در پارگیں غلطیده بود
 مومن اندر گِل چو گوهر در خلاب افتاده بود -
 فوج اندر آبِ طوفان بلا را می گذشت
 فوج دیگر تشنه در راهِ سراب افتاده بود
 هر یک در تخته خاکی فروشد بهر آنک
 کارِ شاه با دفترِ یوم الحساب افتاده بود
 چو ز هندوی بد منتقص کرد از شنکرفِ تو
 کلاهائے سر که اندر خوں ناب افتاده بود
 از وداعِ جلالِ جراحتِ پای دل خوں می گریست
 در فراقِ زندگانی تن خراب افتاده بود
 ای بسا زنده که از هیبتِ میان کشته گان
 تن بخون آلوده و دیده بخواب افتاده بود
 فعلِ این گرگِ کهن بنگر که از دستِ سگان
 شیر در زنجیر و فیل اندر طناب افتاده بود
 بے فزع بود آن قیامت را معین دیده ام
 مگر قیامت را نشان اینست پس من دیده ام

ہند ہفتم

دائراتِ آسمانی گردشے برکار کرد
 مرکزِ اسلام را سر گشته چوں پرکار کرد
 ذرہ را دیدی کہ آبِ چشمہٴ خورشید برد
 سنگ را دیدی کہ کار لو لوی شہوار کرد
 تا شہ اندر کہفِ عصمت شد شکست آن آدمی
 گر نہ ز افغان خفگانِ کہف را بیدار کرد
 مگر بغارِ غیبِ رقت از پیشِ دشمنِ عیب نیست
 مصطفیٰ م از رزمِ دشمنِ عزمِ سوی غار کرد
 در شہارے آمدش از تیرِ موگال مرہست
 خشمِ نمرود آخرِ ابواہیم را درنار کرد
 در بدارِ قدسِ رقت از تنگنا دل بد مکن
 عیسیٰ م از جورِ نصاریٰ سرِ فدای دار کرد
 در سگالِ دو بہ فلی کردند با او ہم بخوار
 زانچہ سکساری بروی ^{رزم} حیدرِ کرار کرد
 در ز دیوانش گذشت آب از سرِ آخرِ یاد کن
 زانچہ دیوے تہمتن را غرقِ دریا بار کرد
 با مغول ہر سال بہرِ دین سروکارش بود
 عاقبتِ جانِ گرامی در سرِ آن کار کرد
 دستِ تقدیرِ است گہ خوں ریخت و گہ جان برد
 نانوانا نیمِ نتوانِ کینہ با قہار کرد
 شیرِ نر از نیشِ مورے صد خروہی صعب زد
 پیلِ مست از نوکِ خارے صد فغانِ زار کرد

جمعه بود و سابع فی حبسه که بود آن کارزار
آخر هشتاد و سه آغاز هشتاد و چهار

بندی هشتم

مهر و مه بر روی آن فروخ لقا بگریستند
روز و شب بر سال آن اندک بقا بگریستند
همچو فرمانش رواں شد شرق تا غرب آب چشم
بنده فرماناں که بے فرمانروا بگریستند
بسکه اندر عهد او ماهی و مرغ آسوده بود
مانیاں در آب و مرغاں در هوا بگریستند
آسمانها با هزاراں دیده بر اهل زمین
همچو باران بهاری بر گیا بگریستند
شبنمی کز آسمان شر صبح مهریزد بخاک
اشک اینچم داں که از لوج سا بگریستند
خاقی ملتان مرد و زن مویه کنان و موکناں
کو بکو و سو بسو و چا بچا بگریستند
از خردش گریه و بانگ دهل شب کس نصفت
بسکه در هر خانه اهل عزا بگریستند
هم بآب چشم خود کردند ترتیب وضو
مغفرت جویاں که در وقت دعا بگریستند
دیده خوں افشاند بر گل چوں گلوی تشنه‌اں
بسکه هر کس کشته‌اں خویش را بگریستند
شد زبان از ناله چوں پای اسیراں آبله
بسکه از بهر اسیراں بلا بگریستند

در آواں بندِ بلا ناگه اسیرے باز گشت
 روی او دیدند هر کس بے ویا بگریستند
 گر یه چنداں شد که موج دیدہ از جیبھوں گزشت
 حال من این بود حال دیگران تا چوں گزشت

بندِ نہم

دست مالم یا خود از دندان کنم بازو کیود
 یا بپوشم جامہ زین مینای چوں مینو کیود
 هر کسے نامی زند سوزن بہر بازو و من
 نام شہ خہرؤن چو از دندان کنم بازو کیود
 وہ کہ از چرخ کیود او خفتہ پہلوی زمیں
 در زمیں خفتن ہمہ آفاق شد پہلو کیود
 ہم سپاہی شد ز ہندو ہم سفیدی شد ز ترک
 بسکہ می پوشد کنوں ہم ترک و ہم ہندو کیود
 مصر جامع را بہر سوی دران شد رود نیل
 شستہ شد از گر یه چنداں جامہ از هر سو کیود
 نیلمو را خود عروسی شد بخانہ بسکہ شد
 بو مثال نو عروسی در عزای شو کیود
 نیل پوشیدن کنوں چوں رسم شد زین پس رواست
 گر کنند اسفید با فال رشتہ در ماکو کیود
 خوبو یانرا کہ پیشانی زند و خوں گریست
 زیر آبرو سرخ شد بالا تر از آبرو کیود
 نیل حاجت نیست خوبانرا و سرخی بعد ازین
 چوں ز کنندن سرخ شد رخ وز زند شد رو کیود

بسکه می کنند موار فوق نازک سر بسر
 شد ز آزار چنان کردن تہ هر مو کبود
 موی سر تا چند ازین غم زارد گریاں بو کنم
 این تین چون موی بارے از سر چاں بو کنم

بند دهم

وہ کہ دل یکبارگی خوں شد برآے دوستان
 آہ از آن جمعیت راحت فزای دوستان
 دیدہ بہر دوستان شد آشنای آب و خوں
 تا میان آب و خوں شد آشنای دوستان
 بسکہ خوں بے بہا خوردہ است خاک از دوستان
 واجب است از خاک جستن خونبہای دوستان
 منتقلان خاک را گر خاستن ممکن بود
 سر باقی می کنم وقف بتای دوستان
 حینک باشد مردمان از چشم و چشم از مردمان
 دیگرانرا چون توان دیدن بجای دوستان
 خاک شاں در دیدہ می آرم در انصافے بود
 اینچنین بے قدر باشد خاک پای دوستان
 دوستان رفتند غیرے را چہ گہوم در کنار
 چون کشم بر قامت ہر کس قیای دوستان
 وہ ہوائی دوستان گر از سرم بیرون کنند
 از سرم بیرون نخواهد شد ہوائی دوستان
 خسروا ہر بار مہکوتی فرا خواہم درید
 جامہ جاں تا ہذا من در عزای دوستان

جاس که صد جا پاره شد از غم کجا باشد روا .
 پاره را پاره کردن از برای دوستان
 دوستان رفتند از بهر که میگوئی سخن
 ختم کن مطلق سخن را از برای دوستان
 یاد می کن رفتگان را خاصه در حال دعا
 کت برحمت یاد بنماید مگر دال دعا

بند یازدهم

یارب آن خورشید رحمت نور در جاس بادشاه
 جاس ز فیض نور چون خورشید تابان بادشاه
 بون شاه در روز هیجا خان اعظم پیشوا
 پیشوای جنت الفردوس هم خان بادشاه
 در هوای گل فلک آنجا پرد گردد مکتس
 پر طایوسان فردوسی مکتس را بادشاه
 فیض رحمت آب حیوان است از ظلمات دور
 یا رب اندر ظلمت گور آب حیوان بادشاه
 چون دیوان سیاست نامه شاه بر کف نهند
 از کتابا بالیمین در نامه عنوان بادشاه
 قمار خوی که گشت از خلق ایشان ریخته
 بهترین نعلی برای تاج غفران بادشاه
 تشنگان را که جانها شاه ز به آبی برقت
 بر سر از آب کرم هر لحظه باران بادشاه

بسته‌ای را که دشواری بر ایشان دیر ماند
 یا رب امید رهائی زود آسای بادشای
 بستگان بند را رنجی که اندر بند بود
 موجب از بهر بجاتِ آخرت آن بادشای
 و آنچه باقی مانده اند و زان بلاء باز آمده
 فضل یزدان بادشای احسانِ سلطانِ بادشای
 چون مکتوب رفت شاه را عاقبت مکتوب باد
 کیقبادش اسعد و کیخورش مسعود باد

After Khān i Shahīd, Khusrau remained for some years in the service of Malik Amīr 'Alī, who was an influential noble of Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn's court. The Malik was known by his popular title of *Ḥātim-khān*, because of his *Ḥātim*-like generosity in rewarding men-of-letters. Khusrau wrote several *qasā'id* in praise of his new patron, and also dedicated to him a poem entitled the *Asp Nāmāh* from which the following lines, in which his name occurs, are here quoted:—

شاه عهد اختیار دولت و دین آفتابِ شرف بخانه دین
 هم علی نام و هم بشیر دلی شیرِ دلدل سوارِ همچو علی
 عالمی چون علای بجنابانی بسرِ تازیانه بستانی

On Ghiyāṣuddīn's death, his grandson, Mu'izz-uddīn Kaiqubād ascended the throne of Delhi. He invited Khusrau to come to his court, but the poet did not accept the offer because of his differences

with the Minister, Malik Nizāmuddīn, and preferred to go to the Khān i Jahān, the king's *‘āmil* (governor) of Oudh. This direct invitation by the king was the first of its kind in the history of Khusrau's service to which he refers thus in the following verse:—

ز شاهل کسمے کاوالم کرد یاد معزالدنا بود شه کیقباد

Besides several *qaṣ̣ā'id* in the king's praise, Khusrau wrote his famous *maṣ̣nawī* known as the *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*, already noticed, at the king's special request.

The Khān i Jahān held Khusrau in high esteem, but the latter did not like to live in a far-off place from Delhi, being separated from his dear mother. He consequently left Oudh after two years' peaceful stay there, as related by him in the following lines:—

خان جهان حاتم مغلّس نواز گشت به اقطاع اوده سرفرار
در او دم برد ز لطف چنان کیست که از اطف بتابد عنان
در اوده از بخشش او تا دو سال هیچ غم و ناله نبود از مثال

On Sultān Jalāluddīn Firūzshāh's accession to the throne, Khusrau got admission into the royal court, and was appointed *nadīm i kebās* (royal associate) and *mushafdār* (keeper of the Qur'ān).

The Sultān always addressed him as *Amīr*, Khusrau's titles:— in consequence of which he
(i) *Amīr*. was subsequently known at the court and in the public by this dignified title. He

the deceased, and wrote several *qas̄'id* in his praise, and a *maṣnū'ī* entitled the *Khaṣṣā'in ul-Fatāḥ* which gives an account of his campaigns and victories. Besides the above works, his famous *Khamsab*, already noticed, was written for and dedicated to the Sultān.

This epithet was given him by the famous (iv) Khātim ul biographer Daulatshāh Samarqandī¹ to distinguish the poet from all his successors. It is indeed the highest tribute of praise that could be paid to a poet by his judges after his death. It means that Khusrau is the last word in Persian poetry.

This title which is equivalent to *Bulbul i Hind* (v) *Tūfī yi Hind*. (the nightingale of India) is a most important one conferred upon him by the public in recognition of his great merit as a poet. It is significant that this judgment of his poetry by the people of Hindūstān is endorsed by the Persian judges as well, and was echoed in Persia and the Persian-speaking territories alike, and their leading poets like Hāfiz, Mullā Shihāb Mu'ammā'i and 'Urfī called Khusrau by that name.²

¹ Tazkirat ush Shu'arā, p. 105 (Bombay).

² Cf. Hāfiz:—

شکر شکر شوند همه طوطیان هند زین قند پارسى که به بنگاله مى رود

Cf. Mu'ammā'i's chronogrammatic verse giving the date of Khusrau's death:—

شد عديم المثل یک تاريخ او و ان دگر شد طوطي شکر مقال

This title is also among his proud titles. It is (vi) Sultān ush not known whether it was given Shu'arā. him during his lifetime or after his death, but this much is certain that he had this title conferred upon him by competent judges of Persian poetry.¹

Khusrau stands first among all the Persian and Indian poets both with regard to the volume of his work and the variety of his subjects. According to the modest calculation of his biographers as well as his own,² he wrote less than *five* and more than *four* *lacs* of *baits* (lines). Firdausī has to his credit *sixty thousand* verses in his *Shābnāmā*, to which may be added *ten thousand* verses more, at a most liberal calculation, including his *Yūsuf u Zulaikbā* (9,000) and occasional poems (1,000), all told *seventy thousand* verses. Sa'dī's work too, as is extant, remains below *one lac* *baits*. Khusrau's other features are his speed and versatility which are possessed by few

Cf. 'Urfī:—

به روح خسرو ازین پاری شکر دادم که گام طوطی هندوستان شود شهرین

¹ Cf. Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddiṣ Dehlevi calling Khusrau by that name:—

دی سلطان الشعراء و برهان الفضلاء است

(Akhhār ul Akhyār, p. 99)

² Ghurraṭ ul Kamāl, Introduction.

poets in Persia under Islām. While Firdausī is, undoubtedly, a master of *maṣnavī*, Sa'dī of *ghazal*, and Kamāl i Ismā'īl, Khāqānī, Anwārī, Zahir and 'Urfī of *qasīdah*, our poet singly is a master of all, with the credit of completing the books like the *Ghurrat ul Kamāl* and the *Matla'ul Anwār* within fifteen days each.

Apart from these virtues, the royal courts to which he belonged were passionately fond of hearing Khusrau's *ghazals*, and he was required by the kings to bring fresh compositions with him every day. The *Arbāb i Nashāt* of the Sultāns had standing orders to wait for Khusrau's new *ghazals*, and sing them every day to the accompaniment of musical instruments in the royal presence. Khusrau, thus, had this onerous duty to perform, and bring to the court, irrevocably, new *ghazals* every day on the subject of *love* and in praise of the art and beauty of the *Arbāb i Nashāt*.¹ Such an arduous and delicate position

¹ Cf.

د هر روز امير خسرو دران مجلس غزلهاي نو آرد دي و سلطان شيفته
غزلهاي امير خسرو شده بود --
(Barnī, p. 199)

Also cf.

امير خسرو که مراک اندام مجلس سلطان بود هر روز در وصف جمال
ساده پسران ماهر و . . . و در جان نوازي در بيان مایه ناز غزلهاي تازه و
تر آرد دي --
(Ibid., p. 200)

could hardly be said to have been the fate of any of the poets at the Persian court.

Khusrau's Hindī poems are said to be as large as his Persian poems are. This view is held by some later writers who have been cited as authority by Khusrau's biographers. Shiblī also believes in Khusrau's Hindī works, and refers to Auhādī, author of the '*Urafāt ul 'Ashiqīn*', as expressing such a view. The other source of this information is said to be Mīr 'Taqī Mīr (an Urdū poet of the 18th century A. D.), who is quoted by some as saying in his *Nikāt ush Shu'arā* that Khusrau's Hindī verses were being sung at Delhi in the author's time.¹ The third source, which is mentioned by some chroniclers with greater confidence, is Khusrau's own statement in his Introduction to the *Ghurrah ul Kamāl*.

All these sources are, however, so meagre and historically poor that no reliance can be placed on the alleged view. Khusrau's statement, which is the best source and a deciding factor, is as follows:—

تپیش ازین از شاعران سخن کسی راسه دیوان نبود مگر مرا کہ خسرو
ممالکیہ کلامم - مسعود سعد سلمان را اگرچہ هست اما آن سے دیوان در

¹ His version is as follows:

اشعار ریختہ آن بزرگ بسیار دارند درین خود تردید نیست از
انجملہ یک قطعہ نیمہ نوشتہ آید -

² *Ghurrah ul Kamāl*, Introduction.

عبارت عربی و فارسی و ہندوی است و در پارسی متجدد کسیے سنتن را سے
قسم نکرده جز من -

Before this, none from among the kings of poetry had *three dīwāns* but me, who am the sovereign of the territories of speech; although Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān possesses *three dīwāns*, yet those *three* are in Arabic, Persian and Hindī languages, and no one divided Persian poetry exclusively into *three* kinds but me.

Khusrau's statement is clear on this point. He assigns the Hindī work *not* to himself but to his predecessor, Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān; and further emphasises the fact that all his *three dīwāns* are exclusively in Persian, there being none in Hindī. This authoritative declaration must set all speculation at rest. Besides, no reference to his Hindī *dīwān* ever occurs in any contemporary record. Even Barnī's *Tārīkh i Fir̄ngshūhī*, which gives a brilliant account of Khusrau's poetical career, is silent on the point. Hence it is inconceivable how some later writers, who came to live centuries afterwards, could assign Hindī works to Amīr Khusrau, unless he was mistaken for one of his namesakes who lived and wrote in Birj Bhākā in the later Mughal age. Among the notable figures one was Khusrau Khān whose name is first heard under Shāh Jahān. It seems very likely that Taqī Auhādī and Khusrau Khān were known to each other, and the former referred to his comrade's Hindī

poems.

The other was Mīr Khusrāu, who flourished in Aurangzēb's time. The Hindī works commonly assigned to Amīr Khusrāu Dehlevī by the modern writers, like Mīr Taqī Mīr, Āzād and others, could probably be no other than those of this Mīr Khusrāu. Their statements, therefore, which have no historical background beyond their own surmise or hearsay reports, must be taken with caution, since there exists, besides Khusrāu's own denial, strong internal evidence against the possibility of the alleged Hindī works belonging to the 7th century A. H.¹

The second great poet of the age was Khwājah Khwājah Hasan Amīr Najmuddīn Hasan bin Sanjārī Dehlevī.² 'Alā'uddīn Hasan Sanjārī of Delhi. He was the *poet-laureate's* personal friend and companion at the royal courts. The historian Barnī's intimate acquaintance and frequent meetings with the poet give us some valuable information about his life and works. Another contemporary

¹ For detailed discussion under this head, vide: A History of Persian language and literature at the Mughal Court, Vol. I, pp. 66-68.

² A valuable collection of the poet's Persian *ghazals*, *qasīdas*, *rubā'iyāt* and *maṣnawīs*, together with a short review of his life in the Urdū language, is published at Hyderābād (Deccan) under the patronage of the late Mahārāja Śīr Kishen Prāsād, K.C.I.E., entitled:—

دیوان حسن سجری دهلوی

(Dīwān i Hasan Sijrī Dehlevī)

historian, Shaikh Muhammad Mubārak 'Alavī *alias* Amīr Khurḍ, who, like Barnī, knew the poet full well, has made some equally important observations about his poetical worth and genius. He was born and bred at Badāūn and Delhi respectively, as is evident from his following verse:—

پرورده نعلِ ایزدش ارشادِ غیبی مرشدش
بوده بدایون مولدش دهلی است منشاء داشته

His father's name was 'Alā'uddīn Hasan Sanjārī, who was later known by the short title of '*Alā i Sanjārī*'.¹

¹ The editor of the *dh̄m̄n*, Maulānā Mahvī, calls the poet Sijzī, *not* Sanjārī, which he believes to be an error of the copyist. He further doubts the authenticity of the word '*Alā*', a puzzle which he is unable to solve.

'*Alā*', in fact, is a short form of 'Alā'uddīn, which was the name of the poet's father. This view, which is held by more than half a dozen Persian and Indian chroniclers belonging to widely different periods of history, admits of no ambiguity whatsoever:

Cf. Jāmī:—

لقب و نسبتِ وی نجم‌الدین حسن بن علام‌السنجری است الٰع
(Nafahāt, p. 549)

Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muhaddis Dehlevī:—

امیر حسن بن علام‌سنجری دهلوی الٰع
(Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 101)

Ghulam Husain Gulshan Lāhaurī:—

خواجہ نجم‌الدین حسن المصططب بہ امیر حسن بن علام‌الدین حسن

The date of his birth is not given in any historical or biographical work, but according to some authorities he

سنجری دهلوی رحمہ اللہ تعالیٰ یکے از فناء و شعرائی عہدِ سلاطینِ خلیج
است - گویند لقب وی امیر از قدیم است کہ اجدادش در عہدِ سلطان
سنجر سنجوق ازین نسبت ممتاز بوده اند -

(Majmū'ai Tazkār, fol. 43 b.)

Amīr Shīr 'Alī Khān Lōdī:—

خواجہ حسن دهلوی و هو نجم الدین علاء السنجری النج
(Mir'āt ul Khiyāl, p. 48)

Muftī Ghulām Sarwar:—

امیر حسن عالی سنجری قدس سرہ از ساداتِ عظام النج
(Khazīnat ul Aṣṣiyā, p. 329)

Mīrzā Sa'dullāh:—

امیر حسن سنجری دهلوی بن علاء الدین حسن یکے از شعرائی مصر
النج
(Malfūzāt i Auliya, p. 54)

In addition to this testimony, the authority of the two most distinguished orientalists is as follows:—

- (i) Dr. Rieu in his Catalogue of Persian Mss. in the B. M. gives the father's name 'Alā'uddīn Sanjarī.
 - (ii) Dr. Sprenger also in his Oudh Catalogue gives the full name 'Alā'uddīn.
- Again, the epithet of the poet has been clearly transcribed by both English and Persian writers in the manuscripts as well as in the printed editions

was older than Amīr Khusrāu.¹ The difference between their ages does not, however, appear to be of more than a year. In a Preface to his *quṣṣidih* entitled *Khamsīn* preserved in his *dīwān*, of which a good manuscript copy exists in the Khudā Bakhsh Khān's Public Library at Bānkīpūr, he says that he wrote this work in the reign of Sultān 'Alā'uddīn Khiljī, and completed it on Sunday in the month of *Rabī' ul Awwal* 714 A. H., when he was 63 years of age,² thus establishing the fact that he was

as *Sanjarī* not *Sijrī*. It appears that some ancestor of the poet held a high rank in the service of Sultān Sanjar Saljūqī, in consequence of which the family retained the distinction of being known as *Sanjarī* as a mark of hereditary honour. This view is based on the statement of the author of *Majmū'a i Taghkār* quoted above.

¹ Cf. the statement of Shaikh 'Abdul Haq Muḥaddiṣ Dehlevi:—

اورا نسبت بہ میر خسرو تقدم گونہ هست اگر چہ ہر دو مصاحب و
معاصر یک دیگر بودند —

(Akḥbār ul Akhyār, p. 101)

² Cf.—

جمع کردن این مجموعہ و بتأی این معانی مطبوع در عہد ہمایون
علاءالدینیا والدین ظل اللہ فی العالمین خلد اللہ ملکہ و سلطانہ و اعلیٰ امرہ
و شائہ بودہ است و درین ایام ہندہ حسن را کہ صبح از اتقی وفاد میدہ و
سال عمر ہشت و سہ رسیدہ . . . چون اشارت امکاب را طاعت داشتن
واجب بود و بکمک ایشانرا بکمک مضاعفت پیش آمدن اوراق این دیوان

born in 651 A. H., one year prior to Amīr Khusrāu.

While Khusrāu's poetry, particularly *ghazal*, was

His merit as a *gha-* admired by Sa'dī, Hasan's *ghazal*
zal-writer, was considered superior to that

of Amīr Khusrāu. The latter himself acknowledged Hasan's excellence in *ghazal*, and boastfully imitated him, as is evident from the following verse:—

خسروا شعر تو اسرارِ حدیث است مگر
کز سخنهای تو ام بوی حسن می آید.

O Khusrāu, thy verse is the store of secrets of
speech, perhaps

From thy utterances comes forth the breath of
Hasan.

Ziyā'uddīn Barnī, the contemporary historian,

Barnī's statement relates that Hasan, during his
about Hasan: very life-time, was given the
"Sa'dī of Hindūs- title of سعدی هندیستان (Sa'dī of
tān".

Hindūstān) which made him the peer of Persia's grea-

بتحریر آمد و معاملت این مصالح را قد لئے پیدا شد اتفاق عهد این عوایس
نفایس را روز یکشنبه غرة ماه ربیع الاول سنه اربع عشر و سبعمائة -

(Preface to *Khamsīn*, Mss., K.B.K.P.L., Bānkipur.)

N. B.—I am indebted to my worthy friend Prof. N. A. Nadvī, M.A., of the Ismā'īl College, Bombay, for his very kindly supplying me with a copy of the much-needed *Khamsīn* and its Preface.

test *ghazal*-writer then living.¹ This is evidently due to the fact, that Hasan in his poetry displayed the virtues of Sa'di more fully and bore closer resemblance to him than did any other poet of the age. This characteristic feature of Hasan was later pointed out by many a poet and critic as well as by himself.² The great Indian writer, Shibli, has very clearly expressed his view about Hasan's *ghazal* in the following words:—

۳ حسن کا تذکرہ ہم الگ نہیں لکھتے۔ صنفِ غزل پر اُنکا خاص احسان ہے۔۔۔ جو سوز و گداز اور جذبہ و اثر اُنکے کلام میں موجود ہے اُنکے کشتہٴ محبت امیر خسرو میں بھی نہیں —

*We do not propose to write an account of Hasan separately. He has put *ghazal* under special obligation. The pathos, charm and

¹ Cf. the statement:—

و دویم شاعرے از شعرائی یتیمانه در عصرِ علائی امیر حسن سنجر
بوده است و اورا تالیفاتِ نظم و نثر بسیار است و بسامتی ترکیب و روانی
سخن آیت بوده است و از بسکه غزلی و جدائی در غایتِ روانی بسیار
گفته است اورا سعدی هندوستان خطاب شده بود —

(pp. 359-60)

² Cf Hasan's verse:—

حسن گلے ز گلستانِ سعدی آورده است کہ اهلِ معنی گلچیں ازاں گاستاند

³ Shi'r ul 'Ajam, Vol. I, pp. 131-32.

effect, which exist in his poetry, are not to be found even in his devoted friend Amīr Khusrau.

Among his writings, the most important, besides

the *dīwān*, is his prose-work entitled *Ḥamīd ul Ḥamīd* which he wrote to please his spiritual guide, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn *ʿAlīyā* of

Delhi. It contains the utterances of the saint and a sketch of his life, and is held in great esteem by the Sūfīs all over India even to this day. Amīr Khusrau's remark about this work is as follows:—

کتاب تمام تعظیفات من بنام حسن بود و این کتاب از من بود —

Would that all my writings be in the name of Hasan, but this book be in my name.

It was undertaken in 707 A. H., and finished in about 15 years' time in 722 A. H.

The second noteworthy item is his elegy in prose, which he wrote on the death of Sultān Muḥammad, better known as Khān i Shahīd. It appears somewhat peculiar for a poet to write an elegy in prose against the accepted form and the prevalent custom of the times. But this unique departure on the part of Hasan might be due to the

¹ Akhbār ul Akhyār, p. 101.

fact that his friend Amīr Khustau had already written an elegy in verse, which was unsurpassed. Hence the former did, perhaps, consider it fit for himself to do his duty in prose. It is reproduced here in full as a rare specimen, illustrating his art in making his prose as effective as poetry for the purpose of elegy:

مرثیہ امیر حسن

میر باز است تا سپهر ستمگر اگرچہ مدتے عقد موافقت می بندد و
مہدِ مصافقت می پیوندن بر می گردد و روزگار ناسازگار اگرچہ رسمِ رضا می
نہد وعدہ وفا می دهد در می گذرد آسمان شوخ چشم کہ مردمکِ مرد می
او بہ خس خساست معیوب است اگرچہ اول چون مستان ہے آنکہ شہیج
کرمے باعث باشد چیزے می بخشد و لیکن آخر چون طلائ ہے آنکہ شہیج
خیالتے مانع آید باز می ستانی عادات و معهودات جانے سمویں منوال چہ
بہ تجارب و چہ بہ تسامع دیدہ و شنیدہ آمدہ است کہ سر کرا چوں ماہ
بر آمدہ می بیند می خواہد کہ روی کمال اورا بدایغ نقصان سپاہ کند و سر
کرا چوں ابر بر سر آمدہ می یابد درل می کوشد کہ جوش اورا پارہ پارہ
در اطرافِ آفاق پراگندہ کند دریں باغِ حیرت و بہستانِ خسرت چنانکہ
شہیج گلے ہے خار نرست شہیج دلے از خار خار نرست آی بسا سوزا نورستہ
کہ از خزان آفت در مقام لطافت زرد روی ماندہ و آی بسانہال نو خاستہ
کہ از تند باد اجل در خاکِ زمیں پہلو نہادہ بیت

در بادِ خزان ہیں کہ چہ حد سردی کون بر سر و جواں چہ ناجوانمردی کرد
یکے از امثالِ این تمثیل واقعہ خسرو ماضی کا آن ملک غازی است
انار اللہ برہانہ و نقل بالکسبات مہزائے روزِ آدینہ سلجہ ماہِ ذی الحجہ سنہ

فلک و ثمانین و شصت و شصت (۶۸۳) که ماه چوین مهر در دل کافر هیچ جا پدید
 نبود آفتاب بمصطفی لشکر اسلام تیغ زنان بر آمد و شاهزاده اعظم که آفتاب
 آسمان ملک بود نورانیست غزا دروغ غریبی او لایع و جهد افراطی جهاد در
 ضمیر منیر او ثابت پای مبارک در رکاب آورد شایسته بر رای مشکل کشای
 عرض داشتند که ایتمر باتمامی لشکر بسه فرسنگی فرود آمده است چون
 بامداد شد بر عزیست کوچ آزان مقام نهضت فرمود و بیک فرسنگی آن
 مالدین پیش باز آمده بموضع معاف در حدود بلخ سر بر بر کرانه آب لاهور
 اختیار کرد چنانچه متصل آب دیرینه بزرگ بود آنرا حصن حصین ساخت
 و صورت بست که چون کفار مقابل شوند هر دو آب در عقب لشکر باشد
 تا نه ازین جماعه کسی رو بفرار تواند نهان و نه آزان مضامیل سائق لشکر را
 آفتی تواند رسید و الحق آن اختیار از غایت حزم و نهایت کاردانی آن خان
 جهان ستان بود اما چون قضای بد می رسد سر رشته همه مصالح در تاب
 می رود و سلب همه تدبیر بنا از انتظام می شود - شعر

شر کرا از بنیت بد راه او فتد کار او در کام بد خواه او فتد
 بنیت چو دیوانه از ره گم شود عقل چو شب کور در چاه او فتد

قفارا آنروز ماه و آفتاب که نسبت بملوک دارند نشانه ماهی آویخته
 بودند و مزین که سرخروئی او همه از خون اعیان مملکت است همه از
 ترکش آن برج خدنگ خدلان و طعانه طغیان می کشان خان جوڑا کمر را
 که استی بود از برج آبی خانه خوف و خرابی و دلایل فتن و مضامیل
 فتور برین نوع ظاهر و باهر و رمز و اشارات جباران فضا در سیاق
 اوراق تحریر افتاد -

الفقه نیم روز است که سوار چرخ در ولایت نیمروز رسید و روز آن
 شاه گیتی فرود را وقت زوال نزدیک شد ناگاه گروهی از سمت آن کفره پدید

آمد خان غازی همان زمان سوار شد و مثال داد که همای خیل و خدم و حاشیه و حشم او بر قبیله افغانان شرکین کافه صدها بار قوی تر از سید سکندر بر کشیدند بعد از ترقیب میمنه و ترکیب میسره بذات عالی صفات در قلب گاه چون در جمع کواکب ماه بجهان ایستاد و کنار تار علیهم التخلان و التخرسان از آب لهارز عبزه کردند و مقابل صف اسلامیان در آمدند ازین وحشیان خرابی دوست بیابان زاده پر های بوم بر سر شوم خون نهاده و غزوات اسلام از ملوک ترک و خلج و معارف هندوستان و سائر سپاهی در نماز گاه معرکه از آن جهت که مصطفی علیه الصلوٰه و السلام جهاد را باصلوة نسبت فرمود که رجعنا من الجهاد الا صغر الی الجهاد الا کبر تکبیر گویان دست بر آوردند و در اول حمله چندین زبردستان را از خیل مغول زیر تیغ گذرانیدند و نیزه ملوک درگاه در افعالی اعدا چنان می نشست که نیزه وار از بالای هو یک خون بر می خاست و شست ترکان خاص تهر دریافته چنان می بود که جامه بود بر اهل تار تار می شد - بیت

در اول نگ خدنگ شه جست گشتند تاربان شه پست

خدایگان شهر دل شمشیر زن با شمشیر چون عقیده خود صاف از میان مصاف هر بار حمله می آورد شمشیر گوئی در آن حرب گاه بر شمایل آن شاه می لرزید و همه تن زبان شده با و می گفت که امروز دفع این ملاعین به بندگان دولت حواله کن و بنفس نفیس خود حرکت مفرمانی که شمشیر دو رویه است و تیغ اجل را زخمی بے محتاجا نتوان دانست که از تقدیر قادر بر کمال بکه دست من از عین الکمال چشم می زنم - شعر

مر و تا خاک تو بر چشم بندم مکن کز چشم بد اندیشه بندم
فلک روئے چنان روشن ندیده است من از دیده بر آن آتش سپندم
تا زمانی که در میدان سپر غزا و رسوم هیجا با قامت می رسانید

هر يك از اسلحه، بزبان حال در مثال آمده نيژه مى گفت كه شاه امروز دست از من کوتاه كن كه زبان سنان من از بسياري جدال و قتال كند شده و مرا در دمي خشم منجبال طعن نموده مبادا كه بر جهم و حركت بويشان از من بياورد آيد و تيز مى گفت اى عقيد شست تو عقده جزا بر كشاده بشني اين فسده پيش مرود من خود در رفتن مهلكه خاك بر سر مى كنم نبايد تنگ چشم فلک كه بر بام پنجم است و بر در خانه هشتم در توشه كمين از گمان كيد و كين بر سيل جسارت و جفا بر تو خدنگ خطا رواں كند و كند مى گفت كه امروز سر رشته تدبير از دست تفر نسي بايد دان كه من ازين جنگ بے درنگ و رزم بے حزم تو بر خون مى پنجم ساعتی توقف كن كه اسلام و اسلاميان چون طناب بر بسته خيمه نعم توان الله الله با اين طانيه رسم طناب اندازي را چنديں اطناب مده - شعر

من به رغبت پيش تو سر بر طناب آورده ام
تو كند از زلف اندازی كند انداز من

فی الجماعه آن شاه دين پناه كنز كاه بهمه قاسب سپاه باين گروه گمراه از نيم روز تا شامزده غزوه بے اجبار و اكراه مى كرد و غوغای و غلبان طالبان سرغره غزا گوش گيتی و اسماع سماء كرده زبانهای آتشين كه از سر نيژه غزا مغز مى خناست و زبانهای تبغ كه در گذاردن پيغام اجل يك حرف خطا نمي كرد دران قيامت همه بدین آية رواں بون كه يوم يفر المرء من اخيه پشت زمين چون چشم پيران بصر بباد داده پَر خون ، دروي آسمان چون فراق پسران پدر گشته پَر گرد - شعر

آهن شمشير چون آتش چه تابی اى پدر
يا مرا داغ يکمی بر جگر خواهی نهاده
هم در عين اين عنا و ائلی اين آشوب و بلا ناگاه تهرے از شست نضا

بر بالِ آن شهیارِ فضلی غزا رسید و مرغِ روح از قفسِ قاصبِ آنحضرت
 بجانِ گِلشن و زلفِ رضوانِ نعلِ کرد انا لله و انا اليه راجعون سالی زمان
 پشتِ دینِ محمدی صلی الله علیه و سلم چون دلِ یتیمان زار بهشتست و
 سبِّ ملتِ احمدی صلی الله علیه و سلم چون گورِ غریبانِ پست بیفتاد و
 اعتقادِ که بازوی ملک را بون از دست بشد و اعتمادِ که بیضهٔ اسلام
 داشت از جای برفت راست وقتِ غروبِ آفتابِ عمرِ آن شاه که آفتابش
 زرد شده بود بمغربِ فنا فر و رفت و گردون بر شعارِ سوگوارانِ جامه در
 نیل زده و اشکِ سیاه بر اطرافِ رخسارهٔ روانِ گردیدن گرفت زحل بر
 وقفِ قضای وفا و شرطِ عزِ اکسوت سیاه گردانید و از مرگِ او بر اهلِ
 هندوستان نوحه می کرد و مشتری بر دریغِ آن اندامِ گرد اندود قهای خون
 آلود دراعهٔ چاک می کرد و دستار بر خاک می زد و مریخ که دستِ قوتِ
 او چون چشمِ ترکان و رویِ معیشتِ او چون جعدِ زنکیان تنگ و تاریک
 باد از تا سفِ آن خار خار که در دلِ خوں انگیخت چون هوت در پیشِ
 آفتاب و چون حمل در قبضهٔ ثصاب می طپید و آفتاب از شرمِ آنکه چرا در
 دفعِ این حادثه و قمعِ این واقعه نکوشید بر نیامد و در زمین فرو شد و
 زهره چون دید که اجرام از چنگِ ایام چه زهست یافتند زان فی الظنور
 نغمهٔ دف را ورق بگردانید و سماع در پردهٔ دیگر آغاز کرد و بر وفاتِ آن
 شاه بندهٔ نوازِ خود بجای ساز نالیدن گرفت و عطارد که در غزوات و فتوحات
 بر موافقتِ کاتبِ فتکدامها در قلم می آورد درانِ نظام از سوادِ دواستِ خود
 روی سیاه می کرد و از اوراقِ دفترِ خریش پیراهنِ کاغذین می پرداخت
 و ماهِ حالی در صورتِ هلالی باقامتِ منکنی در آن قیامت زمین سر بر
 دیوار و در افق می زد و مرانِ مرانی نگاه می داشت - نظام

روی بشتاک می نهی وه که چنین نخواست
 مساله زمانه مرا زیر زمین نخواست
 گر بشتاک می روی جان منست خاک تو
 خاوت خاک خوش بود جان من این نخواست

حق تعالی و تبارک روح مطهر و مطیب آن شاهزاده غازی را پمدارچ
 اعلی و مراتب والا بر ساناد و نمدم جام مالامال تجلی جمال و جلال
 خویش بخشاد و هر شفقت و مرحمت و عاطفت و تربیت که در حق
 این شکسته پیکس داشت سبب مزید در جات و محو خطیات او گرداناد
 آمین یا رب العالمین -

He lived the pious and retired life of a Sūfi, specially in his later days, after His life and death, he had become a disciple of Shaikh Nizāmuddīn *ʿAuliya*. Before this event, it appears that he was given to wine-drinking, and lived a free unrestricted life.¹

¹ Cf. his own verses:—

ای حسن توبه آنکه کردی که ترا طاقت گناه نماند
 بسیار خطا کردی باز ای حسن اکنون روزه به زمین آورد درویشی درویشان
 جز سیه کاری نکردی تا سیاهت بود موی
 چون سفیدت شد کنون بعد از سیاهی رنگ نیست

Also, in the following couplets (addressed to his spiritual guide) he recalls his sins before the transformation had

He was for some time in the service of the royal army, but had given it up to attain the bliss of remaining permanently with his Shaikh at Delhi. He had also severed his connections with the royal *darbārs*, and devoted his time peacefully to religious observances for the purification of his soul.

He died at Daulatābād in 738 A. H., about 12 years after Khusrau's death. The date was found in the words: *مخدوم اولیا*

We must now turn to his *ghazal* which is said to Specimens of his rank with that of Sa'dī of Shīrāz, *ghazal*. and reproduce some specimens here, with their English translation, for the entertainment of our readers who might also judge his claim to be called "*Sa'dī of Ulindūstān*". His own view about his *ghazal* is: *شعرِ حسنِ شعرِ متین خاصه غزلِ سحرِ مبین*

غزل

یا رب بخش خجّ کرم بر سیّاتِ مامنی

پرہیزِ شا کرم دے بجائے التماسِ ضائق النما

taken place, complaining that his long association with the Shaikh had failed to bring about the desired end:—

سالہا باشد کہ ماہمِ صدیقیم گر ز صدیقہا اثرِ بودے کجاست

زہی تان فسق از دلِ ماہمِ نکرد فسقِ مایاں بہتر از زہدِ شماس

Further, there are sundry statements in the *Fawā'id ul Fawā'id* which fully support the above view.

گرد ارادت آیدشتی بر فوق جانم ریختی
 جانم به نفس آیدشتی ندیم بزنچیر قضا
 گو روضه سازی در رسم جان در رضای تو دهم
 هرگز برآور کی نهم صد روضه را با یک رضا
 شاخه که فعلم بوزند جز فطمت آنرا نشکند
 از فطمت این واجب کند روز رحمت این اقتضا
 در ماندن از بار گران لب خشک چون تو دامن
 ز آب کرم سیله بران بر کرد های ¹ مامضا
 همچو حسین ام خسته تن از جور مشتے شور فن
 چشم رضا نه بر حسن حق ² علی مرتضا
 یا رب ز قوط نیکوئی قولم نگهدار از دوئی
 خود بهترین حافظ توئی فالله خیر حافظا

ایضاً

ای دوی تو ملا محفل ما جز عشق تو نیست در دل ما
 ما عشق تو را بجان خریدیم اینست ز عمر حاصل ما
 از خاد و نعیم بے نیازیم تا کوی تو گشت منزل ما
 از دوی دشوم نیست مه را کاید همه شب مقابل ما
 بیچاره حسن تو نهان گفت
 پیداست که کیست قاتل ما

¹ مامضی

² مرتضی

ایضاً

دل شد و دنیا شد و دین ساقیا گر همه رفتند تو باز ایها
جام تو بر دستِ چو من مقاسی حقه غیب است پر از کیمیا
تا چو قراچه نشوی پاک دل خرقة نکو نایدت از بوریا
هرچه دهی باز ازانت دهند کرده ام این تجربت از آسیا
ایها دل گمراه شده نشهد پند دیدگاه اعمی چه کند توتیا
باز کجا آیستی این آب چشم تا نه دم از گل گورم گیا
ای حسن این زهد چه آوردی
زهد درون رخنه و بیرون دیا

ایضاً

بنده را تدبیر جز تسلیم نیست سر تو انداز؟ تفهیم نیست
ره اگر بر تیغ یا بر آتش است هرکه را همراه تو باشی بیم نیست
اخترم روشن شد از خاکِ درت این سعادت در همه تقویم نیست
نور رویت را تجلی خواند عقل نیز اعظام بدین تعظیم نیست
در چراغِ اشکِ خون از روی زرد وجه زر پیدا کنم گر سیم نیست
چون کنم سلطانِ عشق از حکم کرد حکم سلطان را به از تسلیم نیست
نکته عشق از تو آموزد حسن
گرچه درسِ عشق را تعلیم نیست

ایضاً

آندر غم تو ام سر و سامان چه حاجتست
چون دردم از تو باشد درمان چه حاجتست

چنانا فدای دوستی تست جان من
 عاشق بدوست زنده بود جان چه حاجتست
 ششاقی دوی تو به تماشا نی روز
 مرغ بهشت را بهستان چه حاجتست
 یک چشم زد لب تو دهنی عمر جاودان
 چندین حدیث چشمه حیوان چه حاجتست
 سرکه بتو رسید رسیدش همه مراد
 کشت رسیده را نم باران چه حاجتست
 خیز ای رقیب بر در او چه نشسته
 در سای آسان را دربان چه حاجتست
 حاجتکه حسن در دلعت رسان تست
 آمدن کز درت برسد آن چه حاجتست

اینها

دوستان در سرم امروز روانه دگر است
 گل امید مرا بوی روانه دگر است
 روشنائی دگر یافتم اندر دم صبح
 در پیک خاستگان صدق و صفای دگر است
 ای تنگ دل که تو از دادن جان میترسی
 مردن اندر نظر دوست بقای دگر است
 از من و تو سخن اهل حقیقت ناید
 مرغ آن باغچه را بانگ و نوازه دگر است

من خود آنشدۀ مستقیم و دلدار را
 دمدم در حق این سوخته رائے دیگر است
 خطِ مشکینش دلِ خوں شدۀ را درهم کرد
 زلفِ درهم شدۀ اش باز بلائے دیگر است
 چند پیچپی حسن از عقدۀ زلفِ خوبان
 کیں سر رشته کہ جنید ز جائے دیگر است

ایضاً

دل کہ در و چاشنی سوز نیست مکرر اسرار دل افروز نیست
 حالِ صلاحیتِ صبرم مہروس آنچہ کہ سی داشتام امروز نیست
 غمزدہ خوبان صفِ جان می درد عقلِ دریں معرکہ پیروز نیست
 ترکش آن ترکِ جگر خوارہ را نیست خدائے کہ جگر دروز نیست
 ای دلِ نا پختہ بہ عشقش بسوز خام بود ہر کہ در و سوز نیست
 ابجدِ عشقش تو چہ دانی کہ چیست عشقِ چو قرآن صبی امروز نیست
 دمِ مزن از صبح و مالِ ای حسن
 چونکہ شہت را اثرِ روز نیست

ایضاً

دل بدائعِ یارِ من بہتر چو با من یار نیست
 خوش دلے دارم کہ در وی جز غمِ دادار نیست
 ہر درخ با آنکہ نہد بار بارے بکدرم
 کاشکے این بارِ خون گویند کہ بکدر بار نیست

گر زند هو چنانچه چون آفتابم تیغِ تیز
 گو بزن از جانبِ من ذرّهٔ آزار نیست
 پس خوش است این مجلس از یارم در آید خوشتر است
 آنکه شیرین جوی شد با جوی شیرین کار نیست
 تشنهٔ دیدار یارم چند گوئی از بهشت
 من نه باشم در بهشته کاند و دیدار نیست
 وصل میخواستی قدم از کوی هستی باز کش
 کیمیا در حقهٔ غیب است در بازار نیست
 آنچه من دارم درون سینه از سر حسن
 چون برون اندازم کانداز؟ گفتار نیست

ایفا

ای دوست ترا بر سرِ وقتم گذرے نیست
 از حال دل بیخبر انت خبرے نیست
 گفتی بگلستان دو و در لاله و گل یوں
 چیزے که مرا با تو بود با دگرے نیست
 ای من سگِ کوی تو مزن سنگِ جفايم
 زان رو که مرا جز در تو هیچ درے نیست
 زان می که لبت خورد نصیب من مسکین
 کمتر مکن از جرعه اگر بیشترے نیست
 پرهیز میسر نشد از زخم که زد عشق
 حبلت چه کنم تیر اجل را سپرے نیست

ای خواجۀ عاقل تو دلِ خویش ننه دار *
 بر دلِ شدگان عیب گرفتن هفت نیست *
 سر در سر سودای بتان کرد حسن باز
 ای خاک برآں سر که در او درد سر نیست

ایضاً

کو دیده کز فراقِ رخ تو پُر آب نیست
 کو دل که در کشاکشِ عشقت خراب نیست
 روزم تو بر فردز د شدم را تو نور بخش
 این کار تست کار مه و آفتاب نیست
 ای محبتسپ تو خیمه بختار خانه زن
 بگذر ز ما که مستی ما از شراب نیست
 آن میزبان که کا سه مهیا همی کند
 گو هیچ لقمه خوش مزه تر از کباب نیست
 گفتی ترا چه سوز و چه شورست در سماع
 این زان سوالهاست که آنرا جواب نیست
 بے حلقه کمنی سر زلفِ نیکوای
 گر کعبه می رویم دعا مستجاب نیست
 هر در که در خزانه دل داری ای حسن
 آنرا بساک کلک کشیدن مواف نیست

ایضاً

با سر زلف تو مارا سر و سودائے هست
 وصل هر چند متعالست تمنائے هست
 دیده گر از رخ خرب تو ندید آسایش
 سینۀ را از غم دیوینۀ دل آسائے هست
 نگذاری که سرت گردم و پایت بوسم
 آخر این کار مرا هیچ سر و پائے هست
 لب تو خواستم از غمزه زدی نبش آرد
 هر کجا فرض کنی خارے و خرمائے هست
 خاق گویند دلت را از کتجا صبر آمد
 لے دل از صبر نشانم ده اگر جائے هست
 ای که نظاره دیوانه نکردی هرگز
 قدمی زنبجه کن ایی سوی که رسوائے هست
 دمدم تیره مکن روز حسن را امروز
 آخر اندیشه کن امروز که فردائے هست

ایضاً

چه رویت آنکه گوئی نو بهار است غلط کردم بهشتِ روزگار است
 بنقد امروز با او در بهشتم مرا بانسیه فردا چه کار است
 اگر هر دو جهان از پا در آیند چه غم چون پایۀ عشق استوار است
 خرد معزول و عشق اندر تعریف عسس بیرون و دزد اندر حصار است
 همه عمر از لب میگون معشوق مرا مستی و حاسد را خمار است

اگر قصد کند زلفِ چو مارِش شتابت چوں کیم او یارِ غار است
 بیوسم نامۀ خود روزِ محشر که از خفا سیاحتش یانگار است
 گرم چو گل زند بر سرِ بزن گو نه این گو از برای آن سوار است
 حسن از چشم شوخش گوشه گیر
 هنوز آن ترکِ مست اندر شکار است

ایضاً

عالمِ عشقت جهانِ دیگر است
 آستانِ آسمانی دیگر است
 عقل را از دفترِ عشقت چه علم
 آن ورقها را نشانی دیگر است
 دوزخِ اندر راهِ مشتاقان تو
 شهرِ شرارتِ بوستانِ دیگر است
 عالمِ پُر شد ز خاموشی من
 بے زبانانِ را زبانِ دیگر است
 هرگز در باطنِ من جا نبود
 خالقِ ظاهر را گمانِ دیگر است
 عشقِ ابروی تو خونِ من برینخت
 وه که آن تیر از گمانِ دیگر است
 با بلاهای تو عادتِ کود نیست
 عاقبتِ اندر جهانِ دیگر است
 درد و راحت در جهاں بسیار بود
 دردِ تو راحتِ رسانِ دیگر است

جاں بدیں یکت بیت داد است آن بزرگ
 آردے اُن گوہر ز کالے دیگر است
 "دُشمنانِ خنجر تسلیم را
 ہر زمان از غیب جانے دیگر است"
 ای حسن سوداۃ زحمت می دہد
 وہ کہ اُن رخت از دکالے دیگر است

ایضاً

کو دلے کز دست تو صد پارہ نیست یا بشمشیر غمت آوارہ نیست
 سر عشقت از دل عشاق پُرس عقل را زحمت مدہ این کارہ نیست
 خوار گشتم در غمت طرفہ تر آنک اندرین غم جز غم غمخوارہ نیست
 آفتاب از کوہ جلوہ می کند با سر پایان این نظارہ نیست
 با حسن گوئی کہ بے من صبر کن
 صبر بے تو حدِ این بیچارہ نیست

ایضاً

سر وے چو قد تو در چمن نیست مشکے چو خط تو درختن نیست
 ہو پھرہنے کہ می درد گل بوئے تو بہ ہیچ پھوہن نیست
 ہر چوں تو کیسے دگر گزیدن کار دگر یست کار من نیست
 دایم سخن از لب تو گویم شیریں تر ازین سخن سخن نیست
 از عربدہ ہای من چہ رنجی دیوانہ بدستِ خویشین نیست
 جاں پیس خیال تو فشاندیم مارا سر بے تو زیستن نیست
 گفتی کہ چرا جدائی از من
 این از فلک است از حسن نیست

ایضا

ساقی شیبِ ما شبِ دراز است می دِه که در آمید باز است
 رویت نکریم و سجده آریم در منسوبِ ما همین ناز است
 شهنامه چه خواست کرد محمود او عاشقِ قصه ایاز است
 با وصلِ توام نساخت کارے این کار بدستِ کارساز است
 از ناز نمی کنی بن روی روی که تر است جای ناز است
 از زلف و ریخ تو عشوتم را شمعِ روشن شبِ دراز است
 تا شیوہ تست سر بسر ناز
 تدبیرِ حسنِ شمعِ نیاز است

ایضا

تا دو چشمِ تو مست و فتا نند همه عشاق در تو جھوا نند
 می لبِ خورن و مست چشمِ تو شد گیسوانِ است چرخِ پریشا نند
 گسر بجائے سر اندر آری تو جہاں بگردِ سر تو گر دانند
 بے دلاں را رعایتی کن از آنک از دمی بے تو آند بے جا نند
 تو هم اینجا و ماز تو غافل مگرهاں قدیرِ کعبه کے دانند
 عارفان نگذرند از در تو بلبلانِ پسائے بسندِ بیستا نند
 ای حسنِ مونسِ بلبلان چه خوش است
 گوئیها گفتہ تو می خوا نند

ایضا

رسمِ عاشقِ چپ‌بست جان در عشقِ جانان باختن
 هم بیک دادِ نداشتین کفر و ایمان باختن
 بر بساطِ عشق‌بازی قایم‌ست این تعبیه
 از بتان دل بردن از اصحابِ دل جان باختن
 این دلِ مگر دیده رسوا چه باز در رهش
 پاکیز آنست و آنجا قلبِ نتوان باختن
 ذره را گفتم که رقص است اینک پیدا کرد
 گفتم عشقِ آفتاب آنگاه پنهان باختن
 نند جان در شد در عشقِ بنده عیار وار
 اینچنین نرود نی شاید هراسان باختن
 گه‌بوی او بر دلم منصرفها آورد کیچ
 عاقبت او بُرد با چندین پریشان باختن
 کعبین چشم غلطانی و بازیها دهی
 تو حریفِ شوخِ چشمی با تو نتوان باختن
 ای حسن باز آی از زلف و زنجاران بتان
 پیر گشتی خوب ناید گوئی و چوگان باختن

O God, draw a line of forgiveness on our past
sins,

I observed abstinence, but what was destined
came to pass, and the atmosphere became
close;

Thou didst sift the dust of Thy Will, and threw

it on the forehead of my life,
 Thou didst mingle my life with *self* (passion) and
 • bound my *self* with the chain of Destiny;
 If 'Thou layest a garden on my path, I shall give
 my life for 'Thy Will,
 How could I place a hundred gardens equal to a
 single Will of 'Thine?
 If a branch shoots from my action, it does not
 blossom except through Thy Bounty,
 Thy Bounty makes this blossoming inevitable,
 and Thy Mercy makes that shooting necessary;
 I became tired of the heavy load, and my lips are
 parched like those whose aprons are wet
 (sinful),
 Cause a downpour from the cloud of Thy Mercy
 over my past deeds; My body is wounded
 like that of Husain through the tyranny of a
 handful of rebels,
 Keep a kind eye on *Hasan* for the sake of 'Ali,
 the chosen;
 O God, out of Thy extreme goodness, keep my
 utterance away from duality,
 Thou art the best Protector: ¹ *قَالَ خَيْرَ حَافِظًا*

O Beloved, Thy face is the moon of our assembly,
 There is naught but Thy love in our heart;

¹ This is a quotation from the Holy Qur'ān, meaning,
 "Verily, God is the best Protector."

We have purchased Thy love for our lives,
 This is the net result of our lives;
 We are independent of Paradise and its dainties,
 Since Thy street has become our abode;
 Does not the moon feel shy before Thy face
 That it remains the whole night our rival?
 Poor *Hasan* uttered Thy name in secret,
 It is evident who is our assassin.

'The heart, the world and religion are all lost,
 O cup-bearer,
 If all went away, thou at least mayst come;
 Thy cup in the hands of a beggar like me,
 Is a casket from the Unseen full of alchemy;
 Until thou becomest pure-hearted like a glass
 pitcher,
 Thy garment is no better than a mattress;
 Whatever thou givest is returned to thee,
 This I have experienced from a grinding mill;
 This straying heart did not listen to the advice,
 Of what use is antimony to the eye of a blind
 man?
 Where again will this water from my eye stop
 its flow?
 Until grass is grown from the dust of my grave;
 O *Hasan*, what sort of piety hast thou brought?
 A piety which is hollow inside and has hypocrisy
 outside.

For a slave there is nothing better than submission,

* Thy secrets are beyond the scope of comprehension;

The path if it lies on the edge of a sword or on fire,

Of whomsoever Thou art a companion he has no fear;

My star is lit from the dust of Thy door,

This luck is not to be found in the whole of the starry world;

Wisdom called the light of Thy face Thy Manifestation,

The great star (sun) does not possess this grandeur;

In the light of the lamp lit with the tears of blood,
I should produce gold from my pale face, if there be no silver;

What could I do if the king of *love* gave orders,

There is nothing better than submission to the royal commands;

Hasan learns the secret of *love* from Thee,

Although the lesson of *love* is not taught.



Where is the need for me to have worldly goods
in my love for Thee?

When Thou art the cause of my pain, where is
the need for me to seek the remedy?

O Beloved, I sacrifice my life for 'Thy love,
The existence of a lover depends on his beloved:
of what use else is life to him?

The lovers of 'Thy face do not go out sight-
seeing,

The bird of Paradise does not require a garden;
One slight movement of 'Thy lip bestows eternal
life,

Where is the need for so much talk about the
"Stream of Life"?

Whoever reached Thee attained all his desire,
Of what use is the moisture of rain to a ripe
harvest?

Begone ye rival, why art thou sitting at His door?
Where is the need of a porter for the Gates of
the sky?

The avowed goal of *Hasan* is 'Thy comfort-
giving door,

At 'Thy door, he hopes, the need will be ful-
filled.

O friends, in my head a new desire has arisen
today,

The flower of my hope has a different smell of
fidelity;

I discovered a new lustre in the morning,

The early risers possess unusual purity and
truthfulness;

O light-hearted, thou art afraid of giving life,
 To die is an eternal life in the eye of the beloved;
 * From me and thee the speech of the possessors of
 Reality does not come,
 The birds of that garden have a different voice
 and note;
 I myself am a fire-place of torture, and my beloved
 ed
 Every moment holds a different opinion of me,
 the burnt;
 The musky locks of the beloved have perturbed
 my heart which is turned into blood,
 His scattered tresses are again a fresh evil;
 O *Hasan*, how long wilt thou be restless because
 * of the knot of the curls of the beloved!
 Since the pulling of this thread of attachment is
 from a different place.

The heart which has not the taste for burning
 Is not the confidant of the secrets that illumine
 the heart;
 Do not ask me of my power of patience,
 What I had yesterday is not with me today;
 The coquetry of the beautiful breaks through
 rows of lives,
 Wisdom in this campaign is not victorious;
 In the quiver of that bloody Turk,
 There is no arrow which does not pierce the liver;

O unripe heart, burn in his love,
 One who has no burn within is raw in love;
 What dost thou know of the alphabet of his love?
 The lesson of love is not the *Qur'ān* which is
 taught to children;
 O *Hasan*, do not talk of the morn of Union,
 Since for thy night there is no sign of day.

Better my heart should be with the scar of the
 love of my beloved, when he in person is
 not present with me,
 I have a happy heart which has nothing inside
 but the love of the beloved;
 By his door, although there is no access to it,
 I wish I may pass once,
 Would that this time he may himself say, "Go,
 thy way, there is no check";
 If my sun (beloved) strike his sharp sword on
 every side,
 Tell him that he should begin from my direction,
 there is not the slightest danger;
 This assembly is quite merry, but it will become
 all the merrier if the beloved comes in,
 For he who is the seeker of *Shīrīn* has nothing to
 do with the *Jū i Shīrīn* (stream of sweet water);
 I am thirsty for the look of my beloved—how
 long wilt thou go on talking of Paradise!
 I would not live in a Paradise where there is no

sight of the beloved;
 If thou desirest for Union, withdraw thy foot-
 steps from the lane of existence,
 Elixir is in a hidden casket, and is not to be found
 in the market;
 Whatever I possess within me from the secrets
 of *Hasan*
 How could I give out, for it is beyond the power
 of speech.

O friend, thou dost not ever happen to pass
 by me in my lifetime,
 Thou art not aware of the affairs of thy lovers
 who are lost in thy love;
 Thou didst say to me, "Go to the garden and
 look at the beauty of the tulip and the rose,"
 (but)
 The object I have with thee, I have not with any
 one else;
 O friend, I am the dog of thy street, do not strike
 me with the stone of cruelty,
 Since there is no other door for me except thy
 door;
 Of the wine that thy lip tasted, bestow on my
 poor lot,
 Do not lessen a draught, if thou canst not increase
 it;
 I could not avoid the wound inflicted by love,

What device could I have recourse to? for there
 is no shield against the arrow of Death;
 O wise Khwājah, take care of thy own heart,
 It is no merit to find fault with those who have
 lost their heart;
Hasan has once again given his thoughts to the
 love of the beautiful,
 Oh, dust be on that head which has not the ache
 for some one's love.

What eye is not filled with tears in separation
 from thee?
 What heart is not ruined in the struggle for thy
 love?
 Thou dost brighten my day and illumine my
 night,
 This essentially is thy work, and is not the busi-
 ness of the sun or the moon;
 O Qāzī, pitch thy tent at the tavern,
 Leave us alone, for our intoxication is not due to
 liquor;
 Tell the host who provides the wine cup,
 That no morsel is more tasteful than the roast
 meat;
 Thou sayst to me, "What burn and what ecstasy
 have I in music"?
 These are questions which have no answer;
 If, without being attached to the tresses of the

beloved,

We go to the *Ka'bah*, our prayers are not acceptable;

Every pearl that thou hast in the treasury of thy heart, O *Hasan*,

It is not advisable to string in the chain of thy pen.



I am mad after thy tresses,

Although Union is impossible, yet there is a wish;

Although the eye did not get comfort from thy beautiful face,

Yet the breast finds a consoler in its long-cherished pain;

Thou dost not permit me to go round thee and kiss thy feet,

Is there any beginning and end to my work?

I desired to kiss thy lip, but thou didst prick me away with thy coquetry,

Aye, dates are associated everywhere with thorns;

People ask me, "Wherefrom has thy heart got patience?"

O heart, point out the place, if there be one, where patience could be found;

O thou, who hast never seen a mad man,

Take the trouble of coming over to this side,

because here is one ignominious like me;
Do not darken the days of *Hasan* every moment
now,
Just think today that there is a tomorrow to come
(Day of Judgment).

What face is that? as if it were a new spring,
Nay, it is the paradise of the world;
I am with him in paradise today,
What have I to do with tomorrow which is to
come?
If both the worlds go to ruin,
What fear is there, when the pillar of love is
firm?
Wisdom is suspended and *love* is in power,
The police-officer is outside the fort, while the
thief is in;
For the whole of my life, from the tipsy lips of
the beloved,
I am drunk, while the jealous is suffering from
the after effects of intoxication;
If his curly lock, which is like a serpent, attacks
me,
Why should I complain? for it is "a friend of
the cave";
I shall kiss my account-sheet on Doomsday,
For my black record reminds me of the black
hair of my beloved;

If he would hit my head with his polo-stick,
telt him to do so,

Is not that ball meant for that rider?

O *Hasan*, hide yourself in a corner from his
dazzling eye,

For that drunken Turk is still a-hunting.

The world of Thy love is a different world,
Thy threshold has a different sky;
What knowledge does Wisdom possess of the
book of Thy love?

Those leaves have a different script;
The hell in the path of Thy lovers (is as if)
Every spark of it is a fresh garden;
The whole world is filled with my silence,
For the tongueless there is a different tongue;
Never was there a place for me in my inner heart,
(but)

The worldly people think otherwise;
The love of Thy eyebrow has shed my blood,
Aye, that arrow is from a different bow;
One has to get accustomed to Thy tyrannies,
Peace is to be sought in a different world;
There is plenty of happiness and misery in this
world,

The pain of Thy love gives a new comfort;
That sage gave his life for this one verse,
Truly that jewel was from a different mine;

"For those killed with the dagger of Submission,
 "Every moment there is a new life from the
 Unseen";

O *Hasan*, thy madness is giving trouble,
 Oh, thy commodity is from a different shop.

Where is a heart which is not broken into a
 hundred pieces at thy hands?
 Or has not gone into exile on account of the
 sword of separation?
 Ask the secret of thy love from the heart of the
 lovers,
 Do not give trouble to Wisdom, for it is not its
 business;
 I have become humiliated in thy love, and what
 is stranger still is that
 In this grief there is no consoler except my own
 grief;
 The sun throws its first gleam from above the
 mountain,
 Those below cannot witness this scene;
 Thou sayst to *Hasan*, "Keep patience without
 me",
 Patience without thee is not within the power
 of this helpless one.

A cypress of thy stature is not in the garden,

Musk like thy hair is not in *Kbutan*;
 Every petal of its garb that the rose tears off
 Does not give forth thy scent;
 To give some one else preference over thee
 Is the work of some one else, not mine;
 Always do I talk of thy lips,
 Sweeter than this speech is no other speech;
 Why dost thou grieve at my quarrels?
 A mad man is not in his own control;
 We sacrificed our lives at thy thought,
 We have no thought of life without thee;
 'Thou didst say to me, "Why art thou separated
 from me?"
 Aye, it has come from the sky, and is no fault
 of *Hasan*.

O cup-bearer, my night is a lengthy night,
 Give me wine, for the gate of the hope of for-
 giveness is open;
 We see thy face, and bow in reverence,
 In our religion this is the only form of prayer;
 What has *Mahmūd* to do with the *Shāhnāmā*?
 He is a lover of the story of *Ayāz*;
 For thy union no effort of mine could mature,
 This work is in the hands of the Accomplisher
 of tasks;
 Thou dost not look at me through pride,
 Thy face is the object of pride for me;

From thy curly locks and face, there is for my
assembly

A burning candle and a long night;

Till as long as thy mode of life is out and out
coquetry,

The motto of *Hasan* is all submission,

.

Since both thy eyes are intoxicated and mis-
creants,

All thy lovers are bewildered at thy hands;

Thy lips have tasted wine, and thy eyes have be-
come intoxicated,

Why are thy tresses perturbed?

If thou wilt make thy appearance in a certain
place,

People will make their lives 'go round thy head';

Show some concession to the people who have
lost their heart, because

If they are without thee for a moment, they are
without life;

Thou art here with us, but we are unmindful of
thy presence,

The people of Mecca know not the value of the
Ka'bah;

Those who know thee do not leave thy door,

The feet of the nightingales are chained to the
garden;

O *Hasan*, how sweet is the note of the night-

ingales!

As if they are singing thine own verses.

What is the custom of a lover? It is to lose his
life in the love of the beloved,

Also to lose at one stake *belief* and *dis-belief*
(in God);

This is an accepted theory in the game of love:
'For the beloved to snatch the heart; and for the
owners of the heart to lose life;'

How could I sacrifice this defamed unworthy
heart in his path!

He is pure, and an impure thing cannot be
surrendered there;

I said to the particle, "What is this dance that
thou hast adopted?"

He replied, "It is the love for the sun, and the
secret observance of it;"

Place the cash of thy life in the *love-chamber*
having six doors,

Such a game-piece ought not to be so desperately
moved;

The tresses of the beloved planned evil designs
for my heart,

At last it managed to win by playing so many
tricks;

Thou didst throw the dice of thy eye playfully,
Thou art a bold and fearless gamester: none

could play with thee;
 O *Hasan*, refrain from the tresses and the chin
 of the beautiful,
 Thou hast grown old: it does not behove thee
 to play with the ball and the bat.

Persian gained immense popularity among the peoples of all ranks under the kings of the Slave dynasty, notably under Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād and the Balbans. The impetus given to it by Prince Muḥammad Sultān's unprecedented patronage is already described in detail. He had planned to make Multān the *Shīrāz of India* by converting it into a big seat of oriental learning in the East. For this purpose he had appointed permanent *jāgīrs*, collected large funds and persuaded his father, Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban, too to make handsome endowments for its maintenance. He had twice invited Sa'dī from Shīrāz to come to Multān to be its first Rector. What is still more important is that the public taste for Persian was largely awakened and people from the highest to the lowest ranks were showing a keen interest in Persian speech. Instances of the cultivation of such a taste by the public are to be noticed in the reign of Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād, who himself was a great patron and lover of Persian poetry.

He desired that the historic event of his meeting and reconciliation with his father be recorded in Persian verse, for which he specially deputed the *poet-laureate*, Amīr Khusrau, who wrote his famous *Qir'ān us Sa'dain* (conjunction of the two lucky stars) with a zeal and skill worthy of the theme.

The public taste for Persian poetry was so widespread that the *qawwāls* (reciters of *qaul*: speech¹), amateur as well as professional singers, musicians and dance-girls were all deeply interested in Persian poetry and knew by heart *ghazals* of standard living poets like Sa'di, Khusrau, Khwājah Ḥasan and others, which they sang in every home and assembly to which they were invited. Once the Sultān, on the advice of his father, took a vow not to indulge in his usual court luxuries any more. This news perturbed the *Arbāb i Nashāt* and cast a gloom on the whole community at the prospect of their losing the royal patronage and consequently their influence and income too. They, therefore, set themselves to the task of remedying this evil which threatened their very existence as a class. They selected a large number of accomplished and handsome girls who were known for their fine taste for Persian poetry and music, of whom there was no dearth in the kingdom, and trained them fully in the address and manners worthy for royal companionship. Once

¹ Technically, 'reciters of Sūfī poetry'.

when the Sultān was due to return to his capital from his journey to Oudh, the *shikārī* / *Nagās* quickly availed themselves of this opportunity and, in accordance with a settled plan, disposed these girls in groups on both sides of the road at every halting-place until his destination, and made them sing to him each day, as the royal procession approached, songs of welcome in Persian to arrest his attention.¹ The Sultān, though he was very much affected thereby, was, however, unmoved and continued to resist the temptation resolutely until several halting stages were passed, but yielded at last when he could no longer restrain himself. It so happened that the plotters, seeing the failure of their device and the Sultān's apathy for the dance-girls, promptly changed their plan, and got one of them, who knew riding as well, dressed in a brilliant uniform and made her appear before the royal person, riding on a horse, like a Prince going out for *shikār*². The Sultān's Ministers and the body-

¹ Cf.

و ششچلایں کہ سلطان معزالدین از اودھہ جانبِ دہلی مراجعت
فرمود چہار پنج منزل قطع کرد ہر روز قومے از مہوشان سر و قد و از سر و
قدارن گادار... بر سر راہ می ایستادند و بوقت آنکہ کوکبہ سلطان می
رسید خود را نمودار می کردند و سرود می گفتند -

(Barnī, p. 157)

² Cf.—

تا روزے در اثنای سوارے کن آغازی بچہ مہارہ شکنی و شوخی بلائی

guards were all completely duped and did not interfere with the young rider, as they took him for a *bona-fide* Prince. So did the sentinels and the Police-officers who became so much charmed and dazzled by his beauty and smart appearance that they dared not question his identity and mission¹. In this fashion the young girl-rider pushed her way through, and when she came right in front of the Sultān she got down from her horse, laid herself low on the ground, and then rising slowly recited this most brilliant and opportune verse from Sa'di:

۲ گزدم بر چشم من خواستی نهان دیده بر ده می نهم تا می روی

افتی بی بدای قهای زر تناری پوشیده ترکش زر اندود به کمر بستہ و دم
شیره در ترکش آویخته و کلاه شاهانه تا نیمه گوش بر سر نهاده بر اسب
سبز خنگ دم بر افراشته با ساخت ملع و زرہ نزار میبشی بونگ شکار
اندازان . . . از میان فوج شاه بیرون آمد و اسب را بتاخت و به پیدچانید
و پیش کوکب سلطان بدو آید -

(Ibid. p. 158)

¹ Cf. —

و نزدیکان را و آنانکه در فوج شاه میرفتند گمان افتاد که مگر ملکزاده
دنبال شکاری دوانیده است . . . و چاوشان و نقیبان که پیش کوکب ساطانی
چقماقها و گرزها بردست گرفته می رفتند چنان از جمال آن مه پیکر مد
هوش گشتند که از در آمدن او مقابل چتر منع نتوانستند کرد -

(Ibid.)

² Ibid. p. 159.

If thou wilt put thy step on my eye,
Must I place my eye on thy path, so that thou
mayst pass.

Then she begged the Sultān for permission to recite the opening verse of the *ghazal*, which she said was more appropriate for her to recall in paying her humble duty to the "emperor of the world", but could not do so for fear of royal displeasure. The Sultān was so much struck by the beauty and talent of the young visitor that he stayed his horse and granted the permission sought for, saying "بشارت و مترس" (recite and fear not). She immediately sang:

اسر و سیمینا به تیرا می روی نیک بد عهدی که بے مای می روی

O silvery cypress, thou art going towards the
jungle,
How finely faithless art thou that thou art going
without us!

At this striking display of poetic taste, the Sultān was amazed and looked admiringly at the actor who then, taking courage and feeling the ground soft, divulged the secret and told the Sultān how hundreds of her sex had come all the way from the remote corners of the empire seeking his *darshan*. The Sultān, who was already completely won over, broke his vow and took wine, reciting the following verse

¹ Ibid.

which, in turn, reveals his own taste for Persian poetry: • •

شب ز می تو به کنیم از بیم ناز شاهدان¹
بامدادان روی ساقی باز درکار آورد

When she heard this verse from the Sultān, she forthwith responded:

غمزه عابد فریم زاهد صد ساله را موی پیشانی گرفته پیش خمار آورد²

The Sultān too recalled suitable verses until the party entered the royal tent, where a special banquet was arranged for the occasion. The Sultān then declared her to be the chief guest, and desired that she should preside over it by acting as *Sāqī* and bestow upon him cups full of wine, an honour which she willingly and gratefully accepted. She filled her first cup and offered it to the Sultān with the following verse:

ما گرچه که خربتر ز ماهیم هم بندۀ بندگان شاییم³

Although we are more fair than the moon,
We are slaves of the slaves of the king.

To this the Sultān rejoined:

قدح چوں دور من آید بنزدیکان مجلس د⁴
مرا بگذار تا حیران بمانم چشم در ساقی

¹ Ibid.

² Ibid. p. 160.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid.

She then continued saying, "نوش شاهجهان نوش" (drink, O emperor of the world, drink). The Sultān retorted:

اگر سائی تو خواسی بود مارا که می گوید که می خوردن حرام است

Shouldst thou become my cup-bearer,
Who says "to drink wine is forbidden"?

At this stage, she took the permission of the Sultān to present to him her comrades, many of whom, she said, were waiting outside then and there, eager to pay him their humble duty and homage. When they were led in, the Sultān and the whole court were amazed at their beauty, and the poets in attendance recited off-hand *ghazals* in their praises.²

Such was the general literary atmosphere created in Hindūstān in this age. The fine poetic taste of a common girl, as shown above, and her quick selection and recitation of verses from classical poets, and possibly from her own extempore compositions too, to suit proper moments, needs no comment and

¹ Ibid. p. 161.

² Cf.—

فرمان شد تا آن طائفه را پیش آوردند چون در جمال ایشان نظر
انداختند یکی از یکے خوبتر و زیباتر و نغز شیرین تر بودند.... و سلطان را
از شوخی آن ده دیدگان عجب آمده.... و سلطان چنان فریفته ایشان می
شد که بیست گان سی گان هزار تنه آن طائفه را می بخشید.... و در
صفت آن خرم تاز و تر غزلای جدید می گفتند -

(Ibid. pp. 161-163)

speaks for itself.

Ziyya'uddin Barnī is India's first great historian¹

¹ Among Barnī's colleagues at the court, there were several writers whose contributions to the historical literature of the times were of special value. Some outstanding personalities were the following:—

- (i) Malik Qiwāmuddīn Dabīr “‘Umdat ul Mulk”;
- (ii) Amīr Arsalān Kulāhī, and
- (iii) Kabīruddīn, son of Tājuddīn ‘Irāqī.

Cf. Barnī's remarks about their respective merits:—

و ملک قوام الدین علائقہ کہ ہم عمدۃ الملک و ہم مشرف ہوں و درکار فضل و بلاغت و دبیری و انشاء آیتے ہوئے است و درکار دانی و کار کشائی معرُوف و مشہور گشتہ و در دبیری و سر دبیری مہارتے داشت اگر بہاء الدین بغدادی و رشید و طوطا و معین امم کہ دبیران و منشیان آثار گذشتہ ہوئے اند مراسلات ملک قوام را بدیدندی انگشت حیرت بدندان گرفتندی و تا چہ ساحرہا کہ در فتحنامہ لکھنوتی کردہ است —

و از مؤرخان عصر علائی یکے امیر از سلان کلاسی ہوئے است کہ چنداں تواریخ سلاطین ماضیہ اورا محفوظ ہوں کہ ہر چہ از تواریخ سلاطین سلطان علاء الدین ازو پرسیدی یادداشت تقریر کردی و بدیدن کتب تواریخ محتاج نبودی و در علم تاریخ مہارتے تمام داشت و درین علم اوستاد شہر ہوں —

دویم از مؤرخان اوستاد در عصر علائی کبیر الدین پسر تاج الدین عراقی ہوں کہ در فنون فضل و بلاغت و شعر دبیری و انشاء سر آمد عہد علائی و عصر خویش ہوئے است . . . و در تالیف نثر عربی و فارسی ین بیضا می نمود و در فتحنامہا مجادات پر داختہ است و دای نثر نویسی دادہ و گوی سبقت از سران سلف و خلف ہوئے است —

(Ibid. pp. 169 and 361)

who wrote his famous history entitled the *Tārīkh i Ziyā'uddin Barnī*, *Tārīkhshihī*¹ in the "reign of India's first great Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq, historian.

All his predecessors like 'Ubbī (author of the *Tārīkh i Yamīn*), al-Bīrūnī (author of the *Kitāb ul Hind*), Baihaqī (author of the *Tārīkh i Mas'ūdī*) *Sadr*uddin Muḥammad (author of the *Tāj' ul Ma'āshir*) and Minhāj Sirāj Jauzjānī (author of the *Tabaqāt i Nāsiri*) were foreigners who had come down to India from Persia and the Central Asian States.

The date of his birth is not preserved in any Date and place of historical record, but it may his birth. safely be fixed between 684 and 685 A. H.², when Sultān Ghiyāṣuddin Balbān was ruling India. He was called *Barnī* because his birth

¹ It is to be noted that there are *three* separate works of the same name by different authors: Barnī, Shams Sirāj 'Afīf and A'azzuddin Khālīd Khān, who lived at about the same time. Shams Sirāj wrote his work after Barnī's death, at the invitation of the Sultān; while the work of the last-named could not be traced, though references to it occur in some histories like the *Rauzat us Safā* by Mīr Khwand, and the *Khulāsat ut Tawārīkh* by Sujān Rāi of Batāla, who lived and wrote his work in the reign of Aurangzēb.

² *Note:* Barnī relates that he was 74 years of age at the time of writing his history (758 A. H.), thus establishing the fact that he was born in 684 A. H. Cf:—

منکه ضیاء برنی مؤلف تاریخ فیروز شاهیم و عمرم بهشتان چهار سال که
دو نیم قرن بود در نوشته است

(Ibid. p. 573)

took place at *Barn*, a town in the district of modern *Balandsahr* in the U. P. This town was of strategic importance, and had a strong fort outside it, which was known as قلعه برن. Its governors were appointed from among the aristocracy and men of tried ability and trust. Barni's father, too, who was among the influential nobles, held its governorship for several years. Even Al-tamash, when he was a Prince, held the office of the Supreme Commander of this fort.

The young boy did not remain at home for long, but went to live with his father at Delhi, which afforded him better opportunities for education. He finished the Holy Qur'ān and learnt to write in the Persian characters in the reign of Sultān Jalāluddīn Khiljī,¹ and completed the rest of his education in Sultān 'Alā'uddīn's time. His tutors were all, without an exception, men of profound learning, who had come down to India from their respective homes in Bukhārā, Samarqand, Khurāsān and Trans-Caspian towns for fear of Mongol raids and devastations. He has recorded the names of 46

¹ Cf.—

و من که مؤلف تاریخ فیروز شاہی ام دو عہدِ جلالی قرآن تمام کرده
بودم و از مفردات گزشتہ و خط آموختہ

(Ibid. p. 205)

learned men of his time, with some of whom he actually read books and held discussions, while others he only met or occasionally associated with, during his long stay at Delhi¹. He was from the very beginning disposed towards religious and Sūfistic literature, and took great pains in reading books on the commentary of the Holy Qur'ān, Ḥadīṣ and Muslim Jurisprudence. Amīr Khurd states that Barnī, while quite young, had become a disciple of Shaikh Niẓām-uddīn *Auliya*, and went to live with him at Ghijrāspūr.²

¹ Cf.—

و در تمامی عصر عائی در دارالاماک دہلی عالمی بودند کہ آنچنان
استادان کہ سر بکے عالمی وقت و در ہنارا و در سمرقند و بغداد و مصر و
خوارزم و دمشق و تبریز و صفقان و ری و روم و در ربع مسکون نہاشند
..... چنانکہ قاضی فنیرالدین نا قلہ النج و این چہل و شش استاد
مذکور کہ من القاب اسمی ایشان نوشتہ ام آنا ند کہ من در پیش بعضی
تلمذ کودہ ام و بندہ مست بعضی رسیدہ و بہستوے را در مسئلہ افادت دیدہ ام
..... و دائم سبق می گفتند —

(Ibid. pp. 352-4)

² Cf.—

او از ابتدائی بواسطہ شفقت پدر بزرگوار بسعدت ارادت
سلطان الشاذلی مشرف گشت و در غیاث پور ساکن شد —

(Siyar ul Auliya, p. 312)

Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq held Barnī in the highest esteem, and showed him unusual favour and kindness. His position and prestige at the court of Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq. He remained in the Sultān's service for over 17 years, and received great attention and wealth from the latter¹. The Sultān also consulted Barnī on important affairs of the State and occasionally acted upon his advice and counsel.² Such a position was held by no one

¹ Cf. —

منکه مؤلف تاریخ فیروز شاہیم ستمده سال و ستم ماه ملازم دربار سلطان
محمّد بودم و از انعامات و اقرّ و صدقات متواتر او زربا یافت. —
(Barnī, p. 504)

² Cf. —

(i)

و در آن چهار پنجم روز ماه رمضان که سلطان منحصّر در قصر سلطان بود
وقفه کرده بود در آخر شب داعی ضعیف ضامبرنی را طلب شد و بنده
را سلطان فرمود که فلان می بینی که چه فتنه می زاید. و بعد آن
سلطان بنده را فرمود که تواریخ بسیار خواند؟ چنانکه دیدی که پادشاهان در
چند جرم سیاست کرده اند بنده گفت که من بنده در تاریخ کسروی خوانده
ام انج —

(ii)

و سلطان مرا گفت که درین هفت سیاست از مصطفی صلی الله علیه
و سلم در چند سیاست حدیث آمده است و برای پادشاهان چند تعاقب دارد
من عرضه داشت کردم که در سه سیاست چنانکه ازین سیاستهای هفتگانه

else at the court. Even the Ministers dared not open their mouths in the royal presence lest they should give offence to the Sultān. But Barnī, though he was fully alive to this danger, never shrank from his duty as a Counsellor to speak the truth with courage and conviction, which for ever enhanced his rank and prestige.

His relations with Amīr Khusrau and Khwājah

حدیثِ مصطفیٰ علیہ السلام وارد شدہ است چنانکہ ارتداد و قتلِ مسلم و
زناى متحصن و چهار سیاست دیگر برای سلاطین و در صواب دیدگیِ ملک
متعلق است و ہم در ذنبِ فائدہ مذکور جشید مذکور گفته است کہ
بادشاہان الخ -

(iii)

از شهر ہندوست سلطان پیوستہ..... و سلطان مرا بسیار نوازش فرمود
و روزی من در رکابِ دولتِ سلطان می رفتم و سلطان با من حکایت کنان
میرفت کہ حکایتِ بغاۃ درمیانِ انتاد و سلطان مرا گفت کہ می بینی کہ
امپرانِ صدہ حرامشوار چگونه تختہا می انگیزند الخ -

(iv)

روزے منکہ مؤلفِ تاریخِ فیروز شاہی ام در پیشِ تخت طلب شدہ و
سلطان این ضعیف را می گفت کہ ملک ما مریض گشت و بہ ہر تدایوی
مرض نمی رود..... و مرا فرمود کہ بادشاہانِ مقدم در این امراضِ ملکی
چہ فرمودہ اند ہندہ عرضہ داشت کرد کہ در کتبِ تواریخِ علاجہ کہ بادشاہانِ
متقدم امراضِ ملکی را کردہ اند با نواعِ نوشتہ اند الخ -

(Ibid. pp. 509, 511, 516 and 521)

Hasan were very friendly at the court and outside it,

His relations with and remained firm till the last. In fact, he was the cause of their friendship, and was loved and respected by both by reason of a common ideal and gift for poetry. Their attachment was so great that none of the *trio* would suffer separation from one another or could be happy in the absence of the others.¹ His taste for poetry could be judged from his verses that have survived to us, consisting chiefly of *qasā'id*, *qit'āt*, *rubā'iyāt* and *marāṣīf*. Some specimens are as follows:

۲ ایات بر حسب مشاند روزگار خود میگوید

نه کافرم نه مسلمان نه دل بدست نه دینم

خدای بر دل من دارد آگهی که چنانم

نه را سخم به امیدی نه واثقم به نجاتی

هزار جای خلل یافت است راه یقینم

کجا روم چکنم حال خویشتم بکه گویم

نه رای رفتن دارم نه روی آنکه نشینم

¹ Cf.

و سالها مرا با امیر خسرو و امیر حسن مذکور تو دد و یگانگی بود

است و نه ایشان بے محبت من بتوانستندی بود نه من توانستمی -

(Ibid., p. 360)

² Ibid., p. 201.

مثالی سپیدش مهر است شرفی و غریب جهانم
 بسانِ ساجدهٔ قائمست آسمان و زمینم
 مهر خدای کشاید دوی ز رحمتِ خویش
 که سست عاجز و بیچاره و غمین و حزینم

در وصفِ سلطان فیروز شاه

ای یک تنه مد لشکر جرارهٔ خورسند کرایش این دائرهٔ دهر عطائی
 محتاج به لشکر نه ای آنکه بدولت دارندۀ لشکر گه این شفت بنائی
 رستم ظفری بلکه فر آمرز شکوهی جمشید فری بلکه کبوترت دهائی
 مانند علی سرخ غنچهٔ نوئی ارچه نه از شاه بدخشانی نه از آل عبائی
 بر تختِ شهنشاهی و بر مسندِ جمشید ادریس بنا باش که فردوسِ لثائی

The following were composed in praise of the sons of Sultān Firūz Shāh Tughlaq:

تیمی بسال سکندر که از جهان گهر دگر بسانِ خضر عمر جاودان یابد
 دگر عراق و خراسان مطلعِ خود سازد دگر بدرگهٔ خود چرخِ قهرمان یابد

This he wrote praising the building of the Imperial College known as مدرسهٔ فیروز شاهي

نباشد ایچنین زیبا بنائے دگر باشد چنین زیبا نباشد

He composed several *gas̄'id* in honour of his patrons, of which specimens are preserved in his

¹ Ibid p. 540.

² Ibid p. 576.

³ Ibid p. 564.

Tārīkh and other historical works.

Once a hunting expedition was arranged in honour of Sulṭān Hīrūz Shāh, to which Barnī too was invited. He very aptly recited from memory in the royal presence the following verses of Khāqānī:—

۱ پیشِ تیرش آهوان را از پنی ردو کنوں
شیر گردد خوں ز نیم و خوں شود شیر از رجا
پیشِ پهلان در شاخش از برآئے سجده را
شیر چون شاخ گوزنای پشت را سازد دو تا
معی شنیدم کز نهیب ترس این شیر زمیں
شیر گردوں را اغشا یا غیاث آمد ندا

A similar example of his taste for elegiac composition is to be found in the following portion preserved in his *Tārīkh*. In this, he has very successfully cited once again the master poets like Sanā'ī and Khāqānī. His elegy is a graceful combination of his own pathetic prose with the emotional verses taken from other standard poets. They show his taste for classical poets whom he read and remembered by heart.

۲ سرِ الپ ارسلان دیدی ز رفعت رفته بر گردوں
بُرد اما بتغاک اندر تنِ الپ ارسلان بینی
امیراے که بر قصرش هزاراں پاسهای بودے
کنوں بر قبه گورش کلا غاں پاسهای بینی
پردہ داری میکند بر طاقِ کسریٰ عنکبوت بوم نوبت می زند بر قاعِ افراسیاب

¹ Ibid. p. 600.

² Ibid. p. 525.

ای داد از دست خروج ییوفا و فریاد از روزگار پُر جفا که شاهان جهان
 پناه و جهانیاوران انجم سیاه را بر خاک مذلت میان چهارگز گور ردا می
 دارد سلطان شوق و غروب را بر زیر زحمت خواری می پسندد -

مایه زهر است شرب عالم را	میوه مرگست تخم آدم را
ای حریف عدم قدم در نه	کم زن این عالم کم از کم را
دبج متعشر دمید مارا خواب	بانگ زن خفتگان عالم را
رستخیز است خیز باز شکاف	سقف ایوان طاق طارم را
شه محمد بختت در دل خاک	نیلگون کن لباس ماتم را
پس بدست خروش بر تن دهر	خاک زن این قبا می معلم را

He was essentially a historian and had a refined taste for history. He held the profession of a ~~his~~ historian in high esteem, and thought that the taste for reading and writing history was the sole prerogative of great personages and highly respectable and select gentry as distinct from the common people¹. He knew the good qualities of his *Tārīkh*, and was proud of the integrity and uprightness with which he

¹ Cf.—

اشتغال علم تاریخ به بزرگان دین و دولت که کمالات سر بودند و به
 بزرگها در میان مردم سر شده باشند مختص است و اراذل و اسافل . . .
 و بازاریان را در علم تاریخ نه نسبت بود و نه پیشه و نه حرفت ایشان باشد
 و طوائف مذکور را دانستن علم تاریخ هیچ منفعتی نهند و در هیچ محله
 بهیچ کار نیاید -

had described the events. He took great care in writing the history of Sultān Ghiyāṣuddīn Balban and his successor, Mu'izzuddīn Kaiquḡbād. He tells us with his characteristic frankness that he was, during these years, in his mother's lap, and recorded the events of their reign not by his own imagination but by faithfully reproducing what he actually heard from his father, grandfather and teachers.¹ His own version about the merit of his book is worthy of notice:—

و من در نوشتنِ تاریخِ مذکور زحمت بسیار دیده ام و از مصنفان²

¹ Cf. —

این ضعیف (ضیاءپرنی) در جلوس سلطان معزالدین کیتاب ~~نویس~~ سلطان باین خرد سال بوده است و آنچه اخبار و آثار جهانداري او درین تاریخ نبشته ام از مرید الملک پدرِ خود و از استادانِ خود که علامه روزگار بودند سماع دارم —

(Ibid. p. 127)

Also Cf.—

آنچه این ضعیف از اخبار و آثار سلطان غیاث الدین باین در تاریخ آورده است از پدر و جدِ خود استماع دارم —

(Ibid. p. 25)

² Ibid. p. 23.

Also cf.—

من در دیباچه کتاب صدق را از شرائطِ تاریخ نویسی نوشته ام. . . . و اگرچه من دوستام باشم و یا نباشم مرا در تاریخ راست و درست می باید نوشت و نوشته خود را بر آهین و دلائل ثابت می باید کرد —

(Ibid. pp. 548-49)

انصافها توقع می کنم که این تالیف بسے معانی را جامع است... و از آنچه هر چه نوشته ام درست نوشته ام این تاریخ واجب الاعتبار است -

In another place he declares in confidence that a wonderful chronicle like this has not been produced during the past one thousand years:—

¹ درین تالیف سحرها کرده دانم و دانایان علم تاریخ که سیمرغ و کیمیا شده اند سم داند که هزار سال باز مثل تاریخ فیروز شاهی که جامع اخبار و احکام جهاندار است هیچ مورخی را دست نداده است -

The style of his book is generally simple though, here and there, the diction is highly ornate and is interspersed with verses. The portion dealing with Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād's personal and private history is specially noteworthy. To this he gave a separate name *Qibṭat-tārīkh*, and considered it to be the best

¹ Ibid. p. 123.

² Cf.---

در الا همین چند ورقه که در اخبار و آثار معزی نوشته ام و اوراق اخبار عیش و عشرت اورا و شعوران اورا *Qibṭat-tārīkh* نام کرده معانی غزلیا دیوانی در وصف جمال خوبویان درج گردانیده که اگر در نظر سخن دانایان پیشینه آمدی و در نظر مختصر عیان سلف بگذشتی از تحسین و انصاف ایشان غبار اندوه از سینۀ من برفتی... و اگر می خواهم که اوراق مذکور را که از هر کلمه از کلمات این اوراق عیشی می چکد از هر لفظی از الفاظ این تسوید عشرتی می زاید الخ -

(Ibid. p. 165)

specimen of his rich and orotund style.

His last days were days of adversity and unhappiness. Though he had always tried hard to please the Sultān Firūz Shāh, and even dedicated to him his best work, the Tārīkh, his opponents at the court succeeded at last in poisoning the Shāh's mind against him. After some time, however, the Sultān sanctioned for the author a small sum as his personal allowance, which was utterly inadequate to meet his bare needs. Just before his death, which occurred in 758 A. H., he had given away in charity even the clothes which he was wearing, and was buried in the mausoleum of the famous saint, Shaikh Nizāmuddīn "Auliya" whose death had taken place in his lifetime.

His works, as mentioned by his contemporary biographer, Amīr Khurd, were the following *seven*, of which the last-named is the most important:—

1. مآثر سادات 4. عنایت نامه 3. صاوة کبیر 2. ثنائی مصطفیٰ
- تاریخ فیروز شاہی 7. and تاریخ آل برمک 6. حسرت نامه 5.

Besides being a poet, he was an accomplished scholar of Arabic and Persian. His learning and character.

In his youth he developed a taste for history, which later shone bright, eclipsing all his other activities and interests. He was proficient in Islāmic history, Jurisprudence, Logic, Traditions

of the Holy Prophet and the commentary of the Qur'an: subjects which he also taught, for some time at the famous *Madrāsah* of Sultān Īrūz Shāh. He was often invited by Sultān Muḥammad Tughlaq to be present at the religious discussions which were held off and on at the royal court, and took active part in them.

By temperament he was very polite and courteous, and was loved and respected by all those whom he once met or associated with. His great virtue, in the opinion of his biographers, was that he seldom failed to attract the attention of the assembly, because of his versatile knowledge and clear speech.

The steady influence of Hindī on the Persian composition in the Pre-Mughal era is clearly noticeable. Not only the poets and prose-writers born in India but also the Persian immigrants, who came and settled here, succumbed to this influence. This opens a new chapter and a fresh field of inquiry. In these pages, however, it will suffice to say that since the very inception of the taste for Persian composition in India almost every writer has shown his predilection for Hindī, just as in Persia the writings of Persian authors have been affected by Turkish, French and Russian idiom. Some instances have already been cited of the early 'Arab settlers in Sindh conversing and corresponding

Influence of Hindī on Persian composition in the Pre-mughal era.

in Hindī.¹ Later, in the Ghaznavid period, the renowned poets like 'Unsurī,² Farrukhī,³ Mīnūchehrī,⁴ Mūkhṭārī,⁵ Hakīm Sanā'ī,⁶ Mas'ūd Sa'd Salmān⁷ and others have freely used Hindī words and expressions in their Persian compositions. The last-named left a separate *dīwān* in Hindī, which has been noticed by 'Aufī and Amīr Khusrau. Khusrau too, though there is no proof of his having a similar Hindī work to his credit, has used Hindī words in his *maṣnavīs*. Barnī also has done the same in his *Tārīkh*.⁸ 'Tājuddīn "Sangrīzah", a poet of Khurāsān, who in his boyhood had come away to India in the reign of Sultān Shamsuddīn Altamash, says in a *qaṣīdah*:—

¹ Supra. pp. 37, 46.

² " p. 189.

³ " p. 183.

⁴ " " "

⁵ " p. 185.

⁶ " p. 261.

⁷ " p. 213.

⁸ Cf.—

و از سخن مستخرگان و بهندانی بهندان و بوالعجبی بازیگران اله
(Barnī, p. 163)

از پیش ملک چچیهو پیوژ تبول بر گرفته بودند اله —

(" p. 182)

و در وقت سلطان جلال الدین تهمان در شهر گرفتار شدند اله

(" p. 189)

و تیهو برهمنان در پیشانی لغمت خود کشم —

(" p. 200)

خبر از مانی ندیم مرا سیر کن بر طل
بگذر ازین حدیث که یک سیر و یک من است

A still more important verse of a pure Hindī poem, composed by a court poet of Sultān Mu'izz-uddīn Kaiqubād, is as follows:—

من کی اوجزی نگری که تب کریں آبادان
ناصر دین سے جب ملیں موجدین کبادان

It is said to be a long congratulatory poem written on the occasion of the historic meeting of the heroes of Amīr Khusrau in the *Qir'ān us Sa'dain*: Sultān Nāsiruddīn Bughrā Khān ruler of Bengal and his son, Sultān Mu'izzuddīn Kaiqubād King of Delhi, which took place at the capital in 688 A. H.

Conclusion

A brief outline of the advent and growth of Persian language and literature in India during the Pre-Mughal era has been given in these pages. It serves as a necessary prelude to the study of Persian life and literature under the Mughals (of which some account has already been published in 3 Parts, from Bābur to Akbar, at Allāhābād). This is the first time when a systematic account has been attempted in India of the literary activities of its people in the field of Persian literature, as compared with Persia, covering a period of over

one thousand lunar years: from the advent of the 'Arabs in Sindh down to the end of the rule of Akbar the Great. It clarifies India's position and its claim for equal partnership with Persia in the service of Persian literature and in the preservation of the integrity of Persian idiom. In short, India produced poets and prose-writers, at every stage of its history, whose writings have been admired and valued in Persia. The latest instance is the late Dr. Sir Muhammad Iqbal of Lāhore, whose poetry is inspired and has a new message for the people, the like of which has not been seen in the Islāmic world.

THE END

* بدوش صبا می رود بوئے یارے چه مرکب سبزو چه نازک سوارے

On the shoulder of the breeze goes forth the
breath of a *friend*,
What a light-footed steed! What a delicate rider!

*Letters from the late Hon'ble Justice Dr. Sir Shāh Muḥammad
Sulḡimān, Kt., M.A., D.Sc., LL.D.*

ABOUT THE PREVIOUS VOLUMES

Entitled

**'A HISTORY OF PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND
LITERATURE AT THE MUGHAL COURT'**

(BĀBUR - AKBAR)

(1)

Allāhābād

Dated 14th April, 1930

My Dear Mr. 'Abdul Ghānī,

It is very kind of you to send me the two volumes
of your *History of Persian Language and Literature at
the Mughal Court*. I am reading them with very great
pleasure indeed. They embody the results of considerable
research on your part. This will be a unique history
which, I am sure, will be highly appreciated by the scholars
of Persian.

Sd. S. M. SULAIMĀN

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N.B.—The method of the spelling of names adopted in the few pages under this head will be found to differ slightly from the one adopted in the text. This has been done to achieve the greatest measure of accuracy which, though very desirable, was found practically difficult to maintain throughout the book in the course of printing, unless another six months' delay in the publication of same could be tolerated. Those who seek scientific thoroughness are referred to this method of spelling.

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*A review that appeared in the Statesman, Calcutta,
dated Sunday, November 2, 1941.*

INDIA'S PERSIAN LITERATURE

Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan. By. M. ABDUL GHANI .
(Allahabad Law Journal Press).

The author, who is head of the Department of Arabic and Persian in the University of Nagpur, has made his special interest the achievements of Persian language and literature in India. He has published a history of these at the Mughal Court, and in his new large volume continues his purpose of showing that in the world of Persian culture so far as language is concerned India was not an outer land borrowing from Persia as the centre, but a main contributor on even terms, a producer of the same culture. This is not the common view. European Orientalists have not paid serious attention to India from this angle, and few Indian Orientalists have bothered about it. Persian is the language of Persia. Its use everywhere else must have been secondary and derivative. That is the easy interpretation generally followed.

Mr. Ghani will have none of this. Parts of India were in culture, if not politically, parts of Persia, and Lahore could be, and was, as original and important a factor in Persian literature as any Persian city. Mr. Ghani makes some survey of early history, so far as is necessary to his purpose, as also of philology. Persians from their first contact with India found Hindi to their taste, and did not disdain acquaintance with Sanskrit and the Prakrits. An event that opened a new chapter

in the cultural history of India was the appearance of the Ghaznavids on the Indian scene, and a large part of the volume is devoted to the consequences of this on literature. Mahmud was in the author's estimate the greatest patron of arts and sciences in the Muslim world. His correspondence department was influential in creating a taste for the Persian tongue in Upper India; so was his encouragement of authors. Mr. Ghani deals in masterly fashion with Persian writers in India and follows his argument closely and forcefully from Mahmud through succeeding dynasties, ending it with Ziauddin Barni, "India's first great historian," but closing his scholarly work with a reference to Iqbal, "whose poetry is inspired and has a new message for the people, the like of which has not been seen in the Islamic world." "Equal partnership with Persia in the service of Persian literature and in the preservation of the integrity of Persian idiom" is what Mr. Ghani claims for India, a claim he supports with learning and courage. In turn he has established a claim on the attention of Persian scholars in India, and of all who find interest in the study of India's comprehensive and diversified culture.

(SOME LETTERS)

OBERLIN COLLEGE,
OBERLIN, OHIO, U. S. A.

1st May, 1942.

Dear Abdul Ghani,

It was a great joy to receive your *Magnum Opus* which you so kindly sent me. It took me back twenty years when we had the long sketch of your preparatory work together—a time in which my association with you in all our trials and tribulations and disappointments was ever a bright spot in my memory. I always had faith in your powers and I feel you have not let that faith unsatisfied. Please accept my heartiest congratulations on achieving your goal.

So far I have only had time to glance through the mass of learning which goes to make up the work,—it is a veritable anthology—but I am writing lest delays prove too dangerous to despatch. I am very glad indeed to get your supplementary sources of the Shahnamah in early Indian history and in what might be called the Urdu period.

I think your book is going to supply much of the evidence for which I have been looking in past years in the matter of the real status of Hindustan in the Muslim world. I have never been satisfied—as you know—with the cavalier treatment meted out to India both by Persian scholars and by Muslim theologians. Dr. Ruben Levy, who catalogued the theological library of Bahadur Shah II, now in the India Office Library, told me that there was a mass of material there totally neglected not only by scholars but also by Muslim theologians themselves. It is a huge task, and if you can produce a pupil to tackle the job—inadequately done by Titus of Hartford, who, however, deserves the praise of having drawn attention to this need—neither you nor I will have lived entirely in vain. My whole thesis of Akbar's outlook, which has been considerably strengthened by my work in past years, rests on the Mughal ability to meet and use that point of view.

I am delighted to see you in such excellent company in your studies and associations. I often feel pangs of hunger to return to India, and the nostalgia at times is acute. The work you are doing is essential to understanding her life. It is one of the major developments of modern history of which I am proud to be one of the least of its helpers, and in you we had a partnership which was symbolic.

I hope you are fit. I well remember old "Jubb," and I had a most pleasant time in the C. P. I'll love to be back among my old friends.

Well, I must close now. Again please accept my sincerest

congratulations on your work: the sincerest gratitude of your old teacher for justifying his faith in you, despite your critics, and, my best wishes for the future.

Why don't you join the American Oriental Society? I should account it an honour to nominate you.

Ever yours,
F. W. BUCKLER

17, YORK ROAD,
NEW DELHI
23rd December, 1941.

Dear Shams ul 'Ulama Ghani,

I appreciate the sentiments that led you to present your latest book on the History of Persian Literature.

The work is worthy of a research scholar of your reputation and experience.

With my best wishes for success in your future undertakings. I hope you are well and happy.

Yours sincerely,
E. RAGHAVENDRA RAO
(Member of the Viceroy's Executive
Council for Defence)

ANAND BHAWAN,
Allahabad, May 5, 1942.

Dear Mr. Ghani,

I am grateful to you for sending me through the Allahabad Law Journal Press your book entitled "Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan." The book deals with an attractive subject. I hope to learn much from it.

Yours sincerely,
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

CHIEF MINISTER
RAMPUR STATE

No. 3361/S

RAMPUR (STATE), U. P.
February 11, 1942.

Dear Sir,

Many thanks for your letter dated January 29, 1942 and for a copy of your book on Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan. The book is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of the subject and represents a very great deal of research. His Highness has asked me to thank you for sending him a copy of the book and to convey to you his appreciation of the splendid work and fine research which lie behind it.

Yours truly,
S. B. H. ZAIDI
(Chief Minister)

PATNA UNIVERSITY,
Patna, the 8th May, 1942.

Dear Sir,

I am desired by Dr. S. Sinha, Barrister-at-Law, Vice-Chancellor, Patna University, to convey to you his sense of appreciation of your great kindness in having sent him a copy of your book on 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan,' which he read with pleasure and profit. He is very grateful to you, indeed, for your prompt and kind compliance with his request. He will write to you personally, in due course in connection with the book. Meanwhile, this is just to acknowledge its receipt.

Yours faithfully
Stenographer to Vice-Chancellor

PUNJAB CIVIL SECTT.
Lahore, 6-6-1942

Dear Sir,

I am desired to thank you for sending a presentation copy of your book 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan' to the Hon'ble

Sir Sikander Hayat Khan. He is reading it with interest and congratulates you on its production.

Yours truly

ABDUL HAKIM, P.C.S.

(*Personal Assistant to the Premier
Punjab*)

DR. MR. HAFIZ SYED,

M.A., PH.D., D.LITT.

UNIVERSITY OF ALLAHABAD.

13-A, CHATHAM LINES,

ALLAHABAD

Dated 4-10-'40.

Dear Professor Abdul Ghani,

I write this to offer you my respectful congratulations on your brilliant essay on Khwaja Mo'inuddin Chishti. I have read it twice with pleasure and profit and like it ever so much. This is the best of its kind ever published in English. As far as my information goes I do not remember to have read anything on Khwaja's life and work in English. Your translation of 'some of his verses into English' are accurate and faithful. I wish you could find time to write a book on this subject.

As a student of Islamic mysticism I value your contribution very much. With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

M. HAFIZ SYED

book is a pioneer work on the subject. It is extremely well got-up, worthy of the research which it incorporates.

What has given me the greatest satisfaction is that you have fervently advocated the cause of Indian Persian. My own conviction is that in some domains of Persian literature the Indians have far excelled the Persians, e.g., lexicography, grammar and prosody. In prose and poetry they are certainly their equals.

Please accept my sincerest congratulations on the successful finish of your labours. With best wishes.

Yours sincerely,

MOHAMMAD IQBAL

(Head of the Department of Persian)

SIR SYED HALL,

MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Aligarh, October 14, 1941

My Dear Shams ul 'Ulana Sahib,

Let me first of all congratulate you on the completion of your great and magnificent work. It is well-written, well-planned and well-printed.

I thank you very sincerely for the reference made to me in your work: I hardly deserved it: but now that you have immortalized me, please accept my sincerest thanks.

With best wishes.

Ever yours sincerely,

HADI HASAN

*(Provost and Head of the Department
of Persian)*

SHAH KALIMURRAHMAN, M.A.
SENIOR LECTURER IN ARABIC AND PERSIAN
Calcutta University

51, BAITAKHKHANA ROAD,
Calcutta, 30-11-1941

My dear Shams ul 'Ulama Sahib,

I have just received your book 'Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan.'

I heartily congratulate you on this work. Great want was felt for such a book. I am extremely glad that you have removed this want and thereby rendered an invaluable service to the study of Persian Literature in India.

I am recommending this book to our University Library and also to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

Yours sincerely,
S. K. RAHMAN

PRESIDENCY COLLEGE,
Calcutta, 3-3-1942.

My dear Shams ul 'Ulama Sahib,

I have just got a copy of your excellent work on Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan, and hasten to congratulate you on its publication. Students of Persian literature owe a deep debt of gratitude to you for presenting to them a systematic survey of a very interesting though complicated subject.

With my best wishes.

Yours sincerely,
M. MAHFUZ UL HIAQ
(*Professor of Persian*)

SENATE HOUSE
Allahabad, March 24, 1943

My dear Shams ul 'Ulama,

May I say with what pleasure and profit I have read your monumental work on Pre-Mughal Persian in Hindustan? It will prove to be a most valuable contribution to a neglected part of the History of Persian Literature, a part perversely under-rated by Browne.

Thanking you very much,

I am

Yours sincerely,
AMARANATHA JHA
(*Vice-Chancellor*)