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Ph. D.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

"THE COURT OF AURANGZĪB AS A CENTRE OF LEARNING
AND LITERATURE"

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AurangzĪb's character has been the subject of long and acrimonious debate; his character is not the concern of this thesis except in so far as it influenced the culture of his time. As his period does reflect a good deal of his influence it is necessary to know something about him in order to see how he could direct currents of thought and action. It is essential to look at the condition of learned institutions before and during his reign. He was heir to a large empire, wielded autocratic power, and was endowed with great capability in certain directions; his contribution to culture could naturally be expected to be great, whether creative or directive, whilst in certain matters it might be obstructive.

Attention has next been given to institutions existing and encouraged; to education, public health, design and art, the standard of general knowledge, and habits and customs, and finally to his nobles as the circle from which he chose his proconsuls and his officials nearer home.

In a kingdom or empire where there is no foreign outlook no connections beyond the boundaries, interests are limited; poetry and mysticism occupy much attention; the prose belongs to a more practical, busy age. The poetry of Bīdil is
/mystic,

(ABSTRACT OF THESIS)

mystic, but by attaching some importance to self as a nucleus it prepares the way for the constructive system of Iqbāl at the beginning of 20th cent. But there were no famous writers of lyrical or romantic poetry in the period. Aurangzīb's discouragement of these lighter styles was effective, and usually only sporadic and clandestine attempts appear to have been made.

In prose there are a few historical works, but the Emperor's early ban on history-writing precluded efforts in this direction. Such works as exist tend to be overburdened with a florid style that makes them laboured and periphrastic.

Restriction on freedom of expression and thought could hardly fail to find some manner of response, and the sarcastic writings of two authors were probably provoked by it. Aurangzīb was a capable calligraphist; his artistic instinct, checked by religious dogma in certain directions, may have found satisfying scope in this practical art. Letter-writing may also have served a useful end in his self-expression; Bīdil's Letters and Shāh Muḥammad Qannaujī Inshā-i Jāmi' al-Qawānīn are among the epistolary writings of the reign. A drama named Gulzār-i Hāl has been traced as having been translated into Persian from Bhākhā in this reign.

Ramzan, Ayyub Muḥammad

"THE COURT OF AURANGZĪB
AS A CENTRE OF LEARNING AND LITERATURE"

Thesis submitted for the Ph.D. degree of
the London University.

on 30th June, 1949.

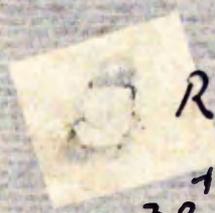
by

RAMZAN AYYUB MUHAMMADI

PREFACE

Historians have searched but not very successfully for sources of Indo-Timurid history besides those in Persian language in order to bring these rulers into a still clearer perspective. Aurangzib is perhaps the most perplexing character of them all; unfortunately by his ban on writing any accounts of his reign after his tenth year on the throne he made his features the less distinct. There is however material for research not only amongst the known historical works but particularly in the literary sources. The latter is an area hardly explored, for Indian's famous historian of literature, Shibli Nu'mānī, treated of Persian poets in his Shi'r al-'Ajam only to the reign of Shahjahan. This thesis, it is hoped, will help to fill in details of the work already started by distinguished labourers in this field.

For any success that may attend this effort I would ever be grateful in no little measure to my Supervisor, Mr. A.H. Harley, whose friendly guidance and counsel have been a stay and encouragement to me at all times, but most appreciated whenever the task seemed tedious and difficult.

 Ramzan Ayyub Muhammed
30th June 49.

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BOOK I
LEARNING

HOWARD STOWERS

C H A P T E R 1.

I
INTRODUCTION

TO LEARNING IN AURANGZĪB'S REIGN.

In a powerful autocratic state a saying of the ancient Arabs holds true, "the people follow the practical faith of their Kings"², and these words can very appropriately be applied to Aurangzīb and his age.³ A man of many parts his characterful influence fell often restrainingly on men and movements. His system of news-writers and informers kept him in close touch with the activities of officials near and far, and his learning and leanings with human interests.

A fresh orientation becomes necessary from the 11th year of his reign. The reasons for this change belong to the sphere of history, and only its effects are the first concern here. His nature, never a very open, frank one, became

/warped

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1. Familiar names of places have frequently been retained here in their popular spelling, e.g., Calcutta, Benares.
 2.

"الناس على دين ملوكهم"
 3. The titular designation 'Ālamgīr was given him by his father, Shahjahan, and was formally adopted by him at his accession. On this ceremonious occasion he had himself announced as Abū al-Muzaffar Muhyi al-Dīn Muḥammad Aurangzīb Bahādur 'Ālamgīr Pādshāh-i Ghāzī. "Ghāzī" had been adopted before him by Akbar and Shahjahan; denoting "raider" it was reserved for brave warriors who engaged in holy warfare. In these three instances it had reference to fighting against Hindus, see infra, pp.23, 24.

(Learning) (Introduction) (Bk.I. Ch.1.)

warped. The frontiers of liberality and humanitarian outlook grew contracted. The orthodoxy that had been a subterfuge in his relations with Dārā Shikūh now became an impelling bigotry, and antagonised the larger portion of his subjects, the Hindus, and while it pleased those like-minded with him amongst his co-religionists, it greatly reduced any prospect of the communal life continuing which had survived since Akbar's time.

This capacity for good or ill in a despot, and the special ability of Aurangzib in certain departments of life and art, and their actual influence on the activities of the subjects require some study of his character and disposition, and acquaintance with his literary and artistic attainments and interests, and the standards in his environment and their impressibility. There is an apt dictum of Carlyle that the history of a people is the history of its great men. Aurangzib was himself an eminent strategist and commander in the field; in Mīr Jumla Mu'azzam Khān he secured a leader after his own heart, but this is the only great name, or one of the few, outstanding. His own son Mu'azzam he entrusted with command on several occasions, though he apparently tried to cow him and subdue his enterprise later by casting him into prison for a time. In his administration he was exacting, but there seems to have been, especially later, a spirit of niggling interference, and he used a caustic pen in communications with his

/officials.

(Learning) (Introduction) (Bk.I. Ch.1.)

officials. His humiliating discourtesy towards Nuṣrat Jang, son of his Premier, for what is related to have been no more than his inadvertently touching the Emperor's cushion, shows him not only strict in matters of etiquette, but sarcastic and even insolent. His atmosphere was not encouraging to great men; he urged in his Ruq'at the appointment to office of honest men and deplored the increasing decline in their number, but the ablest may have held back fearing to risk displeasure or dismissal, as apparently did 'Aqil Khān. Not a robust lad in his youth and of restless activity throughout his long life, and a prey to jealousy and suspicion, Aurangzib did not allow sufficient responsibility to devolve, long enough at any rate, for merit and worth to prove itself.

In his Letters he has made frequent use of verses of his own composition, mostly in a moralising or worldly-wise strain, but never erotic. Bīdil, the best esteemed Indian-born Ṣūfī poet, flourished in his reign. Sarnad's Rubā'īs are also religious in tone and passion. Whether it was his prediction that Dārā Shikūh would succeed his father on the throne or the fatwā of the authorities on the Shar' for his refusal to cover his nakedness, that led to his death, it seems certain at any

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1. Ahkām 28, p.78.
 2. Ruq Ala, Ina, Nos. 36, 56.
 3. See infra. 140
 4. Ahkam, 4.

(Learning) (Introduction) (Bk.I. Ch.1.)

rate that it was not prejudice on the part of authority against poetry in general.¹ But the lyricism of the ghazal was denied the freedom necessary to its vitality.

Prose-work is best represented in the histories written during the period. The progress of the few there are was interrupted, and their language is in the laboured, ornate style of the age which so readily accommodated flattery. Aurangzib in his Letters has a style that is free and natural,² if somewhat terse because of its economy of words. Ni'mat Khān 'Alī employed sarcasm in his historical sketches, but without the bitterness of Dean Swift, and apparently suppressed them during the lifetime of the ruler.

The art of the period expressed itself through the safe medium of penmanship. Calligraphy has been a fetish ^{with} of scribes. After its eight modes were laid down there³ was no successful attempt at devising something new, but a rigid adherence to perfection of line. This reign had its masters, and Aurangzib was regarded as one of the most accomplished.⁴ Two Qur'āns in his hand were presented to the sacred city of Medina and one to Mecca.⁵

/An

-
1. infra, p. 133
 2. infra, p. 213
 3. infra, p. 55
 4. cf. Ala nam, pp.1092-4; Ma'a Ala, p.532.
 5. Ala nam, p.1093; Ma'a Ala, p.532.

(Learning) (Introduction) (Book I. Ch.1.)

An evolutionary political change was on the way.

Aurangzib's military autocracy was frustrated in his latter days especially, and he gave no liberal leadership in the arts of peace. Music he banned,¹ and for the major part of his reign the writing of history;² poetry had its restrictions and suffered under them;³ medicine kept to its traditional groove, and there was no advance in surgical skill.⁴ In the arts and sciences there was that attitude of preserving or defending which may indicate consolidation, but also stagnation, and no attack on new problems.

/Chapter 2.

1. infra, pp 71, 72
2. infra, pp. 167, 175
3. infra, pp. 94, 95, 102
4. infra, 46

CHAPTER 2.

A. Aurangzib's Minority

Aurangzib knew something of privation very early in his life. In 1622 his father, Shahjahan, yielded to persuasion to rebel against Jahāngir and his politically-minded spouse, Mumtāz Mahal. He was unsuccessful and fled with his family, but was pardoned on condition of sending two of his sons as hostages. In June, 1626, at the age of eight, Aurangzib was sent along with his eldest brother, Dārā Shikūh, to Lahore and remained with his grandfather till the latter died in 1628, A.D. On their father's accession in that year the two boys were released. Whether the incompatibility of temperament that appeared not long after showed itself then is not known.

Courage was a robust virtue in all of the Timurids. Each royal father in turn sent out his sons campaigning in their early years. Thus early they became accustomed to gain experience and to exercise authority. Their training was calculated to make them men of "blood and iron". Aurangzib had the traditional courage in full measure. While still in his 15th year he attacked an elephant which was bearing down on him and gored his horse; he jumped to the ground, and charged it with his spear. The poet Kalīm was a spectator and commemorated the incident in his mathnavī beginning:

یکی قصه دارم بمن دار گوشت
من از دل شنیدم دل از دیده ام
شمارند افسانه شناسان را

1
بیه سگانی گوشت در باب هوش
ز مردم من این نقل شنیده ام
چو آراید این قصه بنگار را

1. Aur Alam, p.131.

(Learning) (Aurangzib's Minority) (Bk.I, Ch.2.)

He started his regular studies at the age of ten, and read under the supervision of selected maulā⁴s. Of the more eminent of these was Mīr Muḥammad Hāshim Gīlānī, who had come to India after twelve years of study at Mecca and Medina, had learnt medicine under Ḥakīm 'Alī Gīlānī, and had kept a famous school at Ahmadabad. Under Mullā Shafī', known as Dānishmand Khān¹, he read the Ihya' al-'Ulūm and Kimiyā-i Sa'ādat of Ghazālī (d. 1111 A.D.), the great expounder of a moderate Sufism, of whom it has been said that "he made his mark by leading Islam back to its fundamental and historical facts, and by giving a place in its system to the emotional religious life²".

The artistic, and certainly decorative, side of his education was not overlooked. The Naskh style of handwriting he learnt from Hajjī Qāsim³, and Nasta'liq apparently from a calligrapher of great repute, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Kashmīrī. The names of two or three others are given; of these Mullā Jīwan was engaged after Aurangzib's accession.

His study was not long continued, for at the age of 16 years he was sent out to take part in a military campaign against the Bundela chiefs of Orchha, and acquire experience of men and the management of affairs. He possessed a mind receptive of general knowledge, a dominant will, and shrewdness of judgment. / / He

1. infra, p. 40

2. Nicholson, Lit. Hist. of Arabs, 383 (quotation from D. B. Macdonald).

3. See infra, 66

(Learning) (Aurangzib's Minority) (Bk.I. Ch.2.)

He went out no raw youth but with his eyes open to hardship, and his ears to cultural influences.

At the age of 18 his first marriage took place, of which, besides two daughters, a son A'zam was born, who filled a ^{foremost} ~~forward~~ place in his affection, and another Akbar. The former of these sons was killed in fighting for the succession to his father; the latter rebelled in 1681, fled to Persia and died there in exile (1705 A.D.).

Not long after his first a second marriage was arranged, this time with a Rajput Hindu, Nawwāb Bāī. She bore him a son Muḥammad Sultān, who was kept in prison from 1659, when he had reached the age of 20 till his death in 1676, and a son Mu'azzam, who was later to succeed as Shāh 'Ālam Bahādur Shāh (r. 1707-12). This union was arranged for him, and not prompted on Aurangzib's side by thought or hope of binding the Hindus to him, and neither the marital connection nor the fact of there being issue from the marriage influenced him towards facing the great dichotomy of peoples in his land with any plan of securing their co-operation.

That he was capable of a lasting deep affection is not clearly established from the facts as known of the case. He was swept off his feet by love of Hīrā Bai, a slave-girl formerly an inmate of the harem of Mīr Khalīl, and her very early death was a grievous shock to him. Possibly the closest approach to his affection was that of Udaypurī Mahal. She bore him a son

/Kāmbakhsh

1. So designated from her native place, after the manner Akbar had adopted.

(Learning) (Aurangzib's Minority) (Bk.I. Ch.2.)

Kāmbakhsh, who remained dear to him through years, and in an affectionate letter, written to him at the time of his death,¹ Aurangzib says of her, "Your mother Udaypūrī was with me in my illness, and intends to accompany me", i.e. to become sati. He has nothing more to say on this subject, but it does not seem to displease him, though he had previously set his face against this Hindu custom.

Though the period of Aurangzib's regular study did not last more than about six years he was earnest in whatever he applied himself to, and it is not to be wondered at that contemporary historians² state that he knew Arabic, Persian and Turki very well, and his Letters³ show him to have possessed much general culture, as well as an extensive knowledge of Islamic subjects. His acquaintance with languages extended to Hindi and Sanskrit.

/Aurangzib

1. Ruq Ala, Ina, 73.
2. Ma'a Ala, p.532; A Nam. 1094.
3. *infra*, 213

(Learnings) (Aurangzib's Children) (Bk.I, Ch.2.)

^ Aurangzib's Children

Fully appreciative of the benefits of learning he saw to it that his children were given a good opportunity of reading at the feet of competent masters. Niccolao Manucci, the Portuguese traveller who visited India in this reign, states: "When the little princes have reached the age of five, they are taught to read and write the paternal tongue which is the Tatar or ancient speech of the Turks. After this they are made over to learned men and courteous eunuchs, who bring them up with great strictness and teach them the liberal and military arts".¹ Manucci continues: "At this age (16 years) they are married ... The tutors are retained all their lives in the palace with a decent pension. After a prince is married the King gives him a separate palace, with a great income and a large establishment; but along with all that he always keeps near them good tutors and most careful spies, who inform him of all that passes every day".

The 5 sons had probably the same regime of instruction. The Qur'an and Traditions were prominent in their routine. Muhammed Sulṭān learnt the Qur'an by heart; its qir'at or proper method of reading was taught them all. Languages associated with it and the Muslims were made subjects of study, viz: Arabic and Persian; Turki was also included. Muhammad Mu'azzam, the

/second

1. Manucci, Vol.II, p.346.

(Learnings) (Aurangzib's Children) (Bk. I. Ch. 2.)

second son, who succeeded in 1707 under the title of Bahādur Shāh and was surnamed Shāh Alam, apparently was interested in these languages and religious studies, and was termed by the traditionists Qidwat al-Muhaddithin (model of traditionists). Aurangzib was not satisfied with men of ordinary abilities, and the three other princes read each with a maulwī¹ of learning, versed also in the practice of the law; the three scholars were Sayyid Ali Akbar,¹ Mulla Hamid Jaunpuri,² and Muhammad Ikram Lahauri,³ whom Aurangzib employed in the collection of Fatawā-i Alamgīri.⁴ Calligraphy, a subject of which the Emperor was himself a capable exponent, was also included, and one of the teachers engaged was Hidayat Allah,⁵ whose skill in the art acquired for him the honoured title of Zarrin-Qalam (i.e. he of the golden pen).

Of the five daughters the eldest, Zib Al-Nisā, who died in 1114/1703, most merits attention. The custom of parda made it impossible for women to appear in public, and no system of education was deemed necessary for them. In better class families provision was made for religious and elementary instruction, and some of them acquired a knowledge of Arabic but generally of Persian literature. Zib Al-Nisā took advantage

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1. Mir Alam, fol. 557b; Mir Jahan, fol. 394b.
 2. Mir Alam, fol. 557b; Mir Jahan, fol. 394b.
 3. Ibid.
 4. See infra, pp. 194, 195, 196.
 5. See infra, p. 60

(Learnings) (Aurangzib's Children) (Bk.I., Ch.2.)

of any opportunity offered; she learned Arabic and Persian, had the Qur'an by heart, practiced several kinds of handwriting, and made her own collection of books. She was a patron of learning and caused the whole of the Commentary Tafsir-i Kabir of Fakhr Al-Din Razi (d. 543-4/1149) to be translated into Persian by Mulla Safi Al-Din Ardabili¹.

It may be noted here as indicating the ethical and disciplinary value which Aurangzib attached to the Qur'an that not only was Zib Al-Nisa a Hafiz,² but Aurangzib himself, the princes Muhammad Sultan,³ Mu'azzam,⁴ Kam Bakhsh⁵ and princess Badr Al-Nisa,⁶ the third daughter, could also claim this distinction. Furthermore the two first mentioned sons were also qaris, i.e. proficient in the public intonation of the Qur'an.

She inherited her family's poetic tastes, and herself composed under the pen-name Makhfi.⁷ The Divan-i Makhfi⁸ has been attributed to her by Sprenger and Rieu, and Ivanow strongly /supports.⁹

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1. Ma'a Ala, p. 539. Mir Alam fol. 439a.
 2. Ma'a Ala, p.532; Ala Nam, p.1092.
 3. Ma'a Ala, p.534, Mir Alam, fol. 539a.
 4. Ma'a Ala, p. 534.
 5. Mun Lub, Vol.II, 547.
 6. Ma'a Ala, p. 538.
 7. Cat, per etc. MSS., p. 480.
 8. B.M. per MS., Or. 311.
 9. Ivasb No. 824.

(Learnings) (Aurangzib's Children) (Bk.I., Ch.2.)

supports its ascription to this poetess. Maulvī 'Abdul-Hamīd¹ bases his argument on a few lines occurring in it from the Divān of Makhfi of Rasht. It may very well have been that she plagiarised to escape any displeasure on the part of her father. It may be remarked here that this Divān whenever lithographed has been attributed to her. In any case it has no particular merit to distinguish it among the works of many other poets.

/Aurangzib

1. Bank. Cat.III No.422.

B. AURANGZIB, HIS MAJORITY AND ACCESSION

The figure of Aurangzib stands out pretty clearly cut from the accounts of his reign, his Letters, and his deeds as known from other sources. His character was true to his Timurid descent; there was no trace of any mollifying influence from the slight admixture of Hindu blood through His Rajput great-grandmother or from contact with the Hindus, by far the greater portion of his subjects. His line was established with the sword and maintained itself by it. Like most princes of the blood he had been sent at an early age into the battlefield. Lust of power stayed with him till the end, and in satisfaction of it he spent the last twenty years of his life campaigning in the Deccan. It incurred debt which emptied the treasury in the North, and its outcome showed much of the futility of its conduct. The Deccan Muslim States were progressive, and their activity in arts and industry were praiseworthy. They were a curb on the Mahrattas, and had his policy been to match them against the latter, his object would have been served economically at any rate.

It is necessary to consider at some length the character of this Sultan. This term itself denotes "power", and like all the members of his line he pursued after it to possess it, and to extend it. After him they mostly basked amid the shrinking walls of the Empire, their eyes no longer open to Central Asian or nearer conquest, their hands growing too feeble to stem the
/encroachments

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
 (Bk.I. Ch.2.)

encroachments of aliens, and their vision without foresight. From another point of view there was the sullen, threatening thrust of the new against an old that was becoming outworn.

But Aurangzib was a strong man and capable at the head of affairs; armies mustered under his standard; officers obeyed his will; officials knew that they were shadowed by informers, and that his espying eye searched over all the plain and as far as Balkh and Badakhshan. Honesty he inculcated on son and servant alike, chose men or removed them as he found them to be honest or otherwise, and this strictness extended into his own life.

His tastes appear simple; he has written that he did not deny himself the pleasures of the table, yet a basket of mangoes¹ from his son A zam evoked much pleasure, perhaps mainly because he looked on it as a mark of affection of which he received no abounding share in his lifetime, but possibly too because he² denied himself pleasures he could have procured easily. Self-restraint and economy were part of his make-up. He was strict in his relations with his sons, particularly so in the case of the two eldest, born of his Hindu wife Nawwāb Bāī, the elder of whom he confined in prison from his twentieth year till his
 /death

1. Ruq Ala, Ina, 9.

2. cf. Ibid 21.

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
 (Bk.I. Ch.2.)

death some seventeen years later (1676 A.D.), and the younger Mu'azzam, whom he confined in prison for five years from 1688 A.D. for coming to terms with King Abū Al-Hasan of Golkonda. Of this incarceration he said at its conclusion with the release of Mu azzam: "Although from sheer necessity I cast you into prison for several years as requital for your pernicious actions, there is a strong token of authority in this fact that the throne of Joseph depended on his imprisonment. God willing, your case will be of the same sort!"² Such treatment evidently cowed his spirit, for after he came to the throne at the age of 64 he is characterised as "a pious man but a weak ruler".³ When aged 46 (1689 A.D.) he was reprovved by his father for attending the court dressed in the unorthodox apparel of a saffron coloured turban and a palwāni⁴ (a silken garment).

Aurangzib had the cruel strain of the Timurids. Apparently he did not give way to outbursts of rage as did Akbar and Jahangir, but held himself in firmer check; his was a subtler nature as is evident from his Letters. These and other features of his character will be noticed in the course of the thesis.

Whereas the student of history finds three complete works concerned with the reign of Shahjahan he is less fortunate in materials devoted to his successor Aurangzib. The difference

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1. Supra, pp. 10, 11
 2. Ahkam, No. 11.
 3. Rawl. Conc. p. 222.
 4. Ruq Ala, Ina, No. 6.

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
(Bk.I., Ch.2.)

can be accounted for by the latter's nature and his principles; he objected in the eleventh year of his reign to events being written up in his lifetime. His attitude was somewhat similar to that observed towards poetry by Shāh Tahmāsp¹ of the Ṣafawī Dynasty, who ruled in Persia from 1524-76 A.D. The Shāh said of poetry that when "written in praise of Kings and princes it was sure to consist largely of lies and exaggerations, according to the well-known Arabic saying, 'The best poetry is that which contains most falsehoods'²".

There is one contemporary work, Ma'āthiri 'Ālamgīri, completed in 1710 A.D., which gives an account of the whole reign. Another work describes the incidents of the first five years, another those of the first ten, and a few are sectional, i.e., they deal with some province or section of the Empire.

A continuous story of Aurangzib's reign can be gathered with some detail from these congruent and rather uncritical sources, but for so long a period of rulership the total amount of information is small in quantity and partial in tone. The Sultan did not permit any historian to proceed beyond the first ten years of his reign.

These first ten years do not show him as other than a fairly normal being; he was generous with gifts to nobles and

/the

1. See Brown IV 172.
2. Ibid.

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
(Bk.I., Ch.2.)

the poor on festive occasions, and the number of these, such as his weighing ceremony, he did not curtail. He enjoyed the pleasures of the table, as he says himself.¹ He liked a good horse,² and was fond of sport at the shooting-boxes in the plains and in Kashmir, and he had a certain capacity for love, as shown, for instance, in the excess of his passion for Hira Bāi (surnamed Zainābādī) and his affection for his third son,³ A'zam, and especially for his youngest son Kāmbakhsh.

But there was a flaw in the web of his nature that hardly reveals itself in Ma'athir-i 'Ālamgīrī's account of the first ten years. The incident, narrated in Abkām-i 'Ālamgīrī⁴ according to which, while he and Dārā Shikūh were still quite young princes and Dārā was showing his father and brothers his apartments specially prepared for the hot weather, Aurangzib sat by the doorway and later left without permission, is capable of the interpretation that he sulked then and was jealous, though it should not be overlooked that he afterwards told his sister Jahān-ārā that he had feared that if the door⁵ were closed they might be entrapped.

/This

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1. Ruq Ala, Ina, No.10.
 2. Ibid, No.
 3. Ibid, 72;
 4. Abkam, No. 2.
 5. Abkam, No. 2.

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
 (Bk.I., Ch.2.)

This jealousy grew, and another unpleasant incident occurred in 1054/1643, during Aurangzib's first governorship¹ in the Deccan, when, at the instance of foolish advisers, or "as a protest against Dara Shikuh's jealous interference with² his work and Shahjahan's partiality to his eldest son", he withdrew from office and public life into retirement. His father was grievously displeased at his conduct and deprived him of his office and estates, and did not restore him until several months later when Jahanara intervened on his behalf. The father's joy at her recovery from her burns melted his resentment. Unlike other Timurid princes Dara was not early in his career despatched on any military campaign, but was retained at home with executive authority under his father. He did not have Akbar's thrust or competence in the field, but he had his desire for knowledge, and his student-mind found congenial association with Moslem saintly salvants, such as Mian Mir and Mulla Shah, and with the pandits of Benares and elsewhere. His father was much attached to him, and he helped in the administration of affairs, and found time to unbend for his sacred studies in the seclusion of Kashmir.

There is nothing on record to show that Dara showed marked unfriendliness to Aurangzib. He did refer to him as that namazi or prayerful one, in whom observance of religious rites
 /early

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1. Padshahnama II, p. 376.
 2. Anecdotes, p.2.

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
(Bk.I., Ch.2.)

early showed itself, but there is nothing definite to account for his being spoken of by Aurangzib as his "unkindly" (na-mihrban)¹ brother. Aurangzib protested against Dārā's order that the reinforcements sent to him to complete the campaign against Bijāpūr in 1657 should be returned, but Dārā's action was then defensible on the ground that the Sultān of Bijāpūr had thrown himself on Shāhjahān's mercy.² That Aurangzib entertained a grievance or grievances against him there can be no doubt, but he is the only witness when he writes that Shāhjahān said of Dārā: "Sometimes I am concerned that my eldest son, though fully equipped with majesty, dignity and authority, is an enemy of the good and a friend of the evil".³ He himself includes Dārā in the number of the "ambitious great" who have kindled the flame of warfare and left a realm in grief, and passed their days in bitterness and repentance.⁴ Bernier's statement⁵ that Dārā instigated the murder of Sa'd Allāh Khān is not borne out by the contemporary writers and is indeed in direct conflict with that of Khwāfī Khān who attributes his death to colic.⁶

/But

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1. Ruq Ala, ^{Ina,} Nos. 53, 54..
 2. Infra, p.
 3. Ruq Ala, Ina, 54, cf. Ahkam, No. 5.
 4. Ibid. 95.
 5. Bernier, 23; Bilimoria is apparently following him in his translation of the Letters of Aurangzib, see No. 14.
 6. Mun Lub I p.736, this minister according to Khwafi Khan *

(Learnings) (Aurangzīb, His Majority and Accession)
(Bk. I., Ch. 2.)

But in the meantime a new world had been opening for Dārā. He had been passing beyond the outward (Zāhir) and phenomenal aspect to the inner (Bātin) reality, to mystic ideology, and had begun to search for its affinity with Vedantism. His deepening interest in these researches and his translation of Hindu sacred literature could not but attract Aurangzīb's attention and stir his ambition. But the time for action was not yet!

Meantime fuel had been thrown on the smouldering fire of Aurangzīb's jealousy. In 1636 he had been appointed Viceroy in the Deccan, which position he continued to occupy till 1644 when he withdrew into retirement as a protest against Dārā's interference with his work, and was also piqued at the preference shown to the latter. Shāhjahān punished him by depriving him of his rank and possessions, and only some months later at the intercession of Jahānārā, sister of the two princes, restored to him his rank, and some two months afterwards gave him the viceroyalty of Gujrāt.

In 1652 he entered on his second period as Viceroy of the Deccan, where his unprovoked attack on Golkanda put its King to flight, and Aurangzīb then prepared to proceed against Bijāpūr. For this latter effort additional troops were necessary and were approved by his father, but Dārā intervened and caused him to recall them as the King of Bijāpūr had

/flung

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
(Bk.1., Ch.2.)

flung himself on the mercy of the Sultan. This check to Aurangzib's hopes of victory was more than he could bear or choose to explain away to himself. An opportunity of wiping off old scores soon offered. Shahjahan fell seriously ill. Dara with unreasonable solicitude, though obviously with the ulterior motive of retaining for himself all the advantages of his position, carried him off to Agra, and from there conducted the state affairs. But news of the Sultan's illness reached Aurangzib in the Deccan, and he planned action promptly, effectively and unscrupulously. Neither the fratricidal nor the parricidal instinct was long latent in oriental despotism. In Shahjahan the former had been conspicuously active; his brother Khusrau had been stirred by evil counsel to yield himself to the latter instinct, and in extenuation his father, Jahangir, declared that he himself had been urged to action against Akbar. Dara, whom Shahjahan had previously announced as his heir-apparent, carried off his father to Agra and made that city the centre of Government; Murad had already proclaimed himself Emperor in Gujrat, and Shuja likewise in Bengal. Aurangzib entered into negotiations with Murad, and encouraged him with armed support and promise of a large portion of the Empire. Their combined forces defeated Dara's first body of troops under Jaswant Singh, and then his main body at Samugarh, near Agra, in May, 1658. Dārā fled on the

/latter

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
(Bk.I., Ch.2.)

latter occasion accompanied by his wife. ¹ Bernier met him at one place on his flight and remained with him three days. Meantime Aurangzib marched on Agra, took possession of the fort and the person of his father. To Murad he sent a pressing invitation to a banquet, and there treacherously made him a prisoner; a little later in 1661 A.D. he had him put to death as a judicial punishment on the accusation of a man whose father, ² 'Ali Naqi, he had slain in Gujrat. Shujā' was pursued by the imperial general Mir Jumla into Assam and beyond and perished with his family in the swamps of Arakan. As Dara had been betrayed into Aurangzib's hands and put to death in 1659 A.D., all risk of rebellion was removed after ³ Murad's death in 1661. The reference of Dara's case and ⁴ Murad's to the 'Ulamā for judgment cloaked the proceedings against them with a kind of pious sanction. Jahangir's cruel punishments had recalled to men's minds Timurid vindictiveness, and might had now once more asserted itself, but the removal of Dara alienated still more the Hindus, whose allegiance only Akbar had endeavoured to win. He ascended the throne in ⁹ 1068/1658 as Abū al-Muzaffar Muhyi al-Dīn Muhammad Aurangzib Bahadur 'Alamgir Pādshāh-i ⁵ Ghāzī. The title "Alamgir" had been /conferred

1. p.89.

2. Mun Lub, II,156.

3. Mun Lub, II, p.86.

4. Ibid. 156.

5. Ma'a Ala, p.23; cf. Ala nam, p.1 and Mun Lub, p.1.

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
(Bk. I., Ch. 2.)

conferred on him by his father Shahjahan in 1657 when he came up from the Deccan and won his victory over Jaswant Singh's imperial forces. Akbar and Shahjahan had both adopted the appellative "Ghazi". The term had long been conventionally applied to one who fought in Jihad. Bairam Khan had advised Akbar to kill with his own hand the Hindu aggressor King of Afghanistan, the infidel Hemu, and assume the title. To judge from the following words of Muhammad Saqi Musta idd Khan, the historian of the reign, the war in the Deccan would suffice to justify Aurangzib's assumption of the appellative "Ghazi":

”سائمه رحلت مغفرت ایت پادشاه پادشاهان قبله و خواتین دوران قاصع خارجی کفر و ظلام حامی دین
محمد علیہ الصلوٰۃ والسلام... حضرت عالمگیر خلد کائنات بعد تقدیم مراتب غزوات و جهاد در انتراع و لایق و بیعت و کفر و کفری دین

To speak of the Deccan as being in the hands of warring "Kafirs" is not fair and could only proceed from political spleen. Aurangzib wrote of the Deccanis contemptuously and bitterly in an order: "...And to show consideration to this people is to take a scorpion into one's hand and to have a snake in one's armpit. The Kufan does not fulfil his word?"⁽²⁾ To speak of the Deccanis, many of whom had fought in his armies, in these terms is again not fair. / There was now a strong hand on State affairs. Cummmunications were kept open from Central Asia to the Deccan and Gujrat to Assam. Aurangzib chose carefully his officers, and his correspondents /and

/ New para

1. Ma'a Ala, 519.
2. Ahkām, No. 31.

(Learnings) (Aurangzib, His Majority and Accession)
(Bk.I., Ch.2.)

and informers kept him intimately acquainted with their actions. He managed firmly and discreetly, and had no small share of Timurid cunning to carry out his policy. His first ten years followed a not uneven course.

The eleventh witnessed the change. He remained master of himself, but a contracted self. He was now 50 years of age, and had reached a time of life when he might have looked forward to the fruits of successful diplomacy in national prosperity and popular affection. The change could hardly be better indicated than in the words of Henry Vansittart, translator of the first portion of Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī¹:

"It is well known that a rigid silence was imposed on the historians by Alamgir himself, who, as Mohammad Sakee observes, preferred the cultivation of inward piety to the ostentatious display of his actions. However, if it can be supposed that the injurious effects of his religious zeal were condemned by the just feelings of his own heart, we may attribute the concealment of his conduct to a sense of shame for the persecution of innocent Hindus, which rioted in the destruction of their ancient and magnificent temples, and interruption of their worship. The first ten years of his reign were at least free from this blemish, but in the eleventh year his disposition became more gloomy and austere. He abolished ceremonies, which gave splendour to royalty and music, which promoted cheerfulness in his Court".

C H A P T E R 3.

E D U C A T I O N A L F A C I L I T I E S

A. EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Both Hindus and Muslims had early developed institutions for instruction in sacred literature and religious ritual. Time had extended the number of subjects required for the fuller elucidation of the sacred texts. Rulers had from time to time established schools and provided for their maintenance, and there had also been many benefactions from pious persons. Any encouragement given by officials or others in the time of the Timurids went to Muslim institutions.

Nizām al-Mulk, the famous Prime Minister of the Seljuqian Malik Shāh bin Alp Arslān (r.c. 465/1073 - 486/1093) in Persia had been a patron of learning. The course of instruction in Islamic Studies which is known after him as the "nizāmiyya" spread in Persia, and was introduced in course of time into India, and continues still in Madrasas on the older lines, i.e. those in which modern studies are admitted only slightly if at all. The recognised subjects are those included in the manqūla or traditional sciences, such as Theology and Traditions, and those in the ma'qūla or exact sciences, such as geometry and medicine. The duration of scholastic training extended over a number of years until the student was considered worthy to be awarded a sanad of proficiency in a particular subject and of ability to expound it on the same lines as the Maulana his master. Many students spent a year or more specialising under a renowned /teacher

(Learning) (Educational Institution) (Bk.I., Ch.3.)

teacher at some centre. There were several centres of great repute; Jaunpur remained distinguished for several centuries for the eminence of its teachers. The name of 'Abd al-Haqq Dihlawī (d. 1052/1642) was honoured in his day and is still as that of a great traditionist, and the list of his writings in various departments is a long one.¹ It was a time when erudition brought, if at all, its reward in the appreciation of pupils, not in monetary considerations. Philosophy, Logic and Traditions had their renowned exponents at one centre or another, and heritors often made reference to the Faqīh, with his special knowledge of jurisprudence, to deal with matters of inheritance and settlement.

Mention of Madrasas existing at many places occurs in the historical records, To some were attached hostels or lodges for students. Some had royal or private endowments; many lasted for a time; some were ephemeral, for there was no efficiently organised system of maintenance or control. Such administration as existed was in the hands of the diwān of the region where the institution was situated, and his report was submitted to a minister in Delhi in charge of education,² who placed it before the Emperor.

A feature of some was the attached library. Thus there was a madrassa in Ahmadabad founded by 'Allāma Shaykh Wajīh /al-Dīn

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1. See the Treatise on him by S. Shams Allāh Qādri, Hist. Soc. of Hyderabad, No. 2.
 2. See Mir Ahm, pp.377-8.

(Learning) (Educational Institution) (Bk.I., Ch.3.)

al-Dīn Gujrātī (d. 998/1587) which possessed such a facility. This madrasa continued in existence till 1236/1825 without interruption. Often there was a mosque also attached. Tuition and accommodation were provided free or at a nominal rate for a boy from his fifth year. He first went to a mullā who taught in a room adjoining a mosque, and after receiving rudimentary instruction/^{he} was admitted to the madrasa.

At the close of their academic career alumni or sanad-holders might expect employment as religious teachers, or qāzīs by reason of their study of law-books in the course, or in subordinate government posts.

The Nizāmiyya curriculum, though gradated with great care to suit the capacity of adolescents, was not free from defects. For instance it required in the early stages a thorough grounding in Arabic grammar, and logic occupied much of the students' attention. The past was venerated to the exclusion of modern sciences. Imperialism based on armed power involved conservatism, and all too rarely did any "innovator" make bold to break away from tradition. The saintly al-Ghazālī (d. 504/1111) understood something of the significance of the play-element in child-nature, as appears from his short risāla on the "Reading of children and making them familiar, with praiseworthy qualities of character". Akbar's fresh
/mind,

1. Art. "The Child-world" - by A. H. Harley, JRASB, Vol. III, 1937, p.93.

(Learning) (Educational Institution) (Bk.I., Ch.3.)

mind, unfettered by the systems of the scholastics, observed many of the defects, and advised a course of reading which his great minister Abu al-Fazl set down as follows:

"books on morals, arithmetic, the notation peculiar to arithmetic, agriculture, mensuration, geometry, astronomy, physiognomy, household matters, the rules of Government, medicine, logic, the tabi'i (physical sciences), riyazi (viz. mathematics, astronomy, music, mechanics) and ilahi (theology) sciences, and history". His advice extended to Sanskrit studies also.

The sons of the rich did not attend the madrasas, but were privately educated. Many of them did not prosecute their studies to the higher levels. From their ranks were usually recruited the higher officials of the State, governors, secretaries and paymasters, and the members of that unofficial body of the intelligenza known as the 'ulamā.

There was no such provision of educational instruction for girls as Akbar had made. Girls of the upper classes had their instruction, mostly religious, at home. In the beginning of the 20th century when the cause of women's general education was first seriously mooted, a basic argument for it was that graduates from abroad and from Indian Universities would look for more than the quality of domesticity

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1. A'n Akb, tr. Bl.I 279.

2. Ibid, 279.

3. Rawl, 372.

(Learning) (Educational Institution) Bk.I., Ch.3.)

in their brides, but until then the problem had not been much, if at all, discussed openly. The great social and educational reformer Sir Sayyid Ahmad (d. 1898) planned only for the male part of the population, the need of regularised advanced studies for women did not impress him.¹ The novelist Hafiz Nazir Ahmad towards the close of the nineteenth century approached it in a practical though somewhat tentative manner, and after him the flood-gates of debate were opened. The unreason in denying the need any longer was vigorously² attacked.

Aurangzib even in the first ten years of his reign did nothing to further the cause of Hindu learning, and in the later portion narrowed secular study in the madrases.³ His remarkable outburst recorded by Bernier, if accurate, would show that he was not satisfied with the madrassa-subjects as being entirely suitable for princes. On one occasion when Mulla Salih went to him for a favour he turned him away saying "But what was the knowledge I derived under your tuition? -- admirable geographer! deeply read historian! was it not incumbent upon my preceptor to make me acquainted with the distinguishing features of every nation of the earth; its
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1. The Reforms etc of S.S.A.K; p.44, f.n. 52 by J.M.S. Baljon.
 2. See History of the Development of the Novel & Short Story, by Akhtar Bānu Suhrawardy
 3. See Mir Ahm, p.272; see also T Fārahbakhsh, & Hoey, pp.104, 105.

(Learning) (Educational Institution) (Bk.I.. Ch.3.)

resources and strength, its mode of warfare, its manners, religion, form of Government and wherein its interests principally consist, and by a regular course of historical reading to render me familiar with the origin of states, their progress and decline ... A familiarity with the languages of surrounding nations may be indispensable in a King; but you would teach me to read and write Arabic; Forgetting how many important subjects ought to be embraced in the education of a prince, you acted as if it were chiefly necessary that he should possess great skill in grammar, and such knowledge as belongs to a Doctor of law; and thus did you waste the precious hours of my youth in the dry improfit-¹able, and never-ending task of learning words".

Aurangzib's searching eye was unlikely not to fall without suspicion on the Isma'ili Bohra community, engaged mostly in trade, in Ahmadabad. As a result of his heresy-hunt they were ordered to study a certain course of religious books, and their progress was reported to the Emperor's secretary, Qazi Abu al-Faraj, at Delhi who in turn submitted it to his² Majesty.

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1. Bernier, 155-6, who appears to be the sole authority for this outburst.
 2. Mir Ahm, pp.377-8.

(Learning) (Libraries) (Bk.I., Ch.3.)

B. Libraries:

There were no public libraries with books on varied topics available for all readers. This is no matter of wonder; such an institution is really only possible where printed books are at disposal. The first printed work in "Tamulic" characters appeared about 1577.¹ But Urdu printing was first taken in hand by the Christian Missionaries at Serampore, in Bengal. The process of lithographing was not invented in Europe till 1796, and though it became and has remained popular in India, it was not brought into use for a number of years after that date.

As has been stated some madrasas possessed a library, and in the office of the qāzīs there were legal works which could be consulted by a Muslin litigant at any rate.²

Some private collections were famous and valuable; some specialised on religious works in Arabic and Persian, and others on Persian poetry. Trace has been found of the following existing in Aurangzib's time:

1. Library of Qutb al-Mulk: It was from this that Prince Muhammed Sultān procured a manuscript of the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī, a work already become rare in half-a-century.³
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1. A'ī Akb, Bl. Tr. I, p.99 f.n. 4.
 2. See art. "The Libraries during the Muslin Rule in India" by S.A. Zafar Nadvī, I.c. Vol. XIX, No.4, Oct. 1945, p.34
 3. I.C. Oct., 1945: Art "Libraries during the Muslin Rule in India", by S.A. Zafar Nadvī, 339.

(Learning) (Libraries) (Bk.I., Ch.3.)

2. Library of Shāh 'Ālam: This had belonged to Sayyid Muhammad Shāh 'Ālam (d. 880/1469), a well-known saint in Gujrāt; by Aurangzib's time it had passed into the possession of Sayyid Ja'far Badr 'Ālam (d.1085/1674)¹.
3. Library of Shah Wajih al-Din (d. 998/1592). This collection was still in existence in 1236/1825.
4. Library of Makhdūm Ibrāhīm (d. 1121/1710).

Nor may the important collections in the imperial palaces be overlooked. They were extensive in some cases, and varied, and well housed. Many of the treasured volumes now in the Museums in Germany and Britain were procured by Sprenger from the palaces in Delhi and Oudh. Humāyūn is related to have died of the effects of a fall on the polished stairs of his library.

Law Studies:

No separate law-schools have been recorded in this reign. The curriculum of the madrasas included works on jurisprudence (fiqh). Ordinarily a person well-versed in this branch was appointed qāzī in some small court, and could rise to be Sadr al-Sudur (chief justice). Mullā Muhammad As'ad Sahālwi was one of those who received promotion to this rank in Aurangzib's time. As the law code of Abu Hanifa was the one in use, qāzīs must have belonged to the Sunni Sect.

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1. Taz ula, p.177.

(Learning) (Libraries) (Bk.I. Ch.3.)

It appears from Manucci¹ that moot courts were held in which the princes sitting as judges decided cases. This gave them a practical training for judicial work in the provinces which they were sent to administer as governors, and for a better understanding of cases under consideration before them in their imperial capacity later.

1. Vol.II.346.

CHAPTER 4'ULAMĀ'

The 'Ulamā', i.e. the learned, but with special reference to the Qur'ān, Traditions, and Jurisprudence (Fiqh), gradually attained an honoured, but unofficial, position in early Islam. Having this independent status they sometimes opposed the Khalīfa when consulted, or expressed themselves unfavourably to his known will, but usually did not thwart or combine to gain their way. They continued to occupy this respected but rather indefinite position under the Sultans in India. The religious functions of the State were fulfilled by the Sultan himself, and he deputed legal duties to judges. A judicial department of quzāt (judges), with Sadr al-Sudūr (chief judges), was early set up, and members of the 'Ulamā' were employed in those posts. Their influence as a body has always been vacillating, depending on the disposition of the Sultan. 'Alā' al-Dīn, for example, restricted their functions; Muhammad Tughlaq paid no special heed to them; whilst Firūz Shāh Tughlaq acted on their advice. Akbar did not have much regard for their counsel, but Shahjahan deferred to it on occasion. There is a saying that where discretionary power is assigned to a judge, there is the beginning of tyranny; Aurangzib kept a close watch on administration and it is unlikely that his supervision allowed undue exercise of freedom.

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Aurangzib referring the cases of Murād & Dārā Shikūh to /them

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1. Tar Fir by Ziy, p.580.
 2. Mun Lub, II, 156; see also Bernier, p.108 and Manucci I 382.
 3. Mun Lub, II, p.86; see also Bernier, p.100; Ala Nam, pp.34-6.

(Learning) (Ulamā') (Bk.I.. Ch.4.)

them was therefore no innovation. The point at issue is as to how far he was sincere in this action or had an ulterior motive, and whether or not they lent themselves to his purpose. The charge against Murad was that he had murdered a certain person's father, in which case the lex talionis might justly have applied. But Dara's trial was on different grounds. Charges many and varied are detailed in the Alamgir-nama¹; and in Muntakhab al-Lubab² of Khwafi Khan he is accused of vilifying Sufism. The scene is somewhat reminiscent of the period of the Abbasid Khalifa Ma'mun and his support of the rationalizing Mu tazilites; after Ma'mun orthodoxy raged and trampled. When betrayed and made over Dara was taken to Delhi and submitted to tashhir, i.e. paraded through the streets in faqir's rags. The people, who loved him, attempted to form a rising in his favour.³ Prejudice was inflamed against him on the ground of his researches into the sacred lore of the Hindus. Aurangzib shrewdly cast the responsibility for the death sentence on the 'Ulamā' who, however, could hardly do other than impose it in the circumstances, because none among them had much knowledge of or interest in Dara's line of research, and the unknown was feared by the ignorant. It might be said of Dārā as has been said of Posidonius, who influenced the younger Octavius, that he was "a stoic who
/borrowed

1. Bid. Ind. col., pp.34-6.

2. Mun Lub, II, 86.

3. Mun Lub, II, 86; Bernier, p.99.

(Learning) (Ulamā') (Bk.I., Ch.4.)

borrowed from many schools, and tried to marry the thought of Greece and the East with Roman Tradition, seeking what might be a universal creed for a universal empire¹".

Of Aurangzib it cannot but be said that he used the 'Ulamā' to serve a political purpose against the other claimants to the throne, Dārā and Murād. Dārā he had long disliked, and probably intended to remove from the path of his ambition; but his conduct towards Murād, whom he had once beguiled into joining forces with him,² only to behave treacherously afterwards with him when his object was gained, is not defensible.

Many of the Ulamā' were appointed in judicial posts as qāzīs; others were teachers; and some of them are credited with authorship. They represent therefore the intelligence of the community, but also preserved a standard of morals and manners.

A qāzī's court was competent to try only cases in which at least one of the parties was a Muslim. There were other courts which tried petty cases according to the local law or custom, as for instance those of kotwāls in the towns and headmen in the villages.

There was the right of appeal from the qāzī or a lay judge to the Sultan's Court. Aurangzib, like his father Shahjahan, had reserved one day a week for deciding such /referred

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1. Augustus, by John Buchan, p.21 (ed. H. & S.).
 2. Ala nam, p.55.

(Learning) ('Ulamā') (Bk. I. . Ch. 4.)

referred cases, and the parties had to appear in person.

An idea of how Aurangzib supported the dignity of the Qāzī and the Shar' may be gathered from the story of Qāzī Muhammad Sharf's putting to death, with the concurrence of the Ulamā', a Hindu landholder, the Ta'alūqa-dār Bindrāban. A faqīr, resenting his being turned away with displeasure by Bindrāban, ^{who} getting annoyed threw some of the ^{faqīr's} bricks down and abused him. The case went before the Qāzī, who condemned him to death and himself inflicted the death sentence. Prince Mu'azzam's son, Azīm al-Shān, reported the case to Aurangzīb complaining that the Qāzī was mad. The Emperor wrote across the report a note with a play on the word 'Azīm:

"هَذَا بَعْدَ أَنْ عَظِيمٌ، قَاضِي خِدَائِي طَرَفٌ" 2

Law and order, i.e. general administration, were in charge of the faujdār; his duties might now be called police-work. 3

The market was the sphere of the Muhtasib's jurisdiction. He stamped the weights of the dealers, and prevented the use of spirituous liquors. Aurangzīb in his zeal for a stricter supervision appointed to the post Mullā 'Iwaz Wajīh, chief of his learned men, for the purpose of preventing anything ruinous or unlawful. 4

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1. Riy Sal. 285-6; trans. 283.
 2. This is a part of a Qur'anic verse, IV: 156.
 3. JRAS, 1930, p.435.
 4. Ma' Alam, p.25.

C H A P T E R 5

COINS

From the study of coins, i.e. the science of Numismatics, there has been derived much useful information of various kinds. One of its greatest benefits has been for the historian in particular ~~for~~ ¹ the determination of dates. Normally a ruler devoted attention at his accession to the coinage. Sultan Mahmud had bilingual coins struck in his reign, and included the Kalima in Arabic and its translation in Sanskrit, and "made the first and last attempt in the annals of Muslim Numismatics to translate the whole of the Arabic ² legend into Sanskrit". Jahangir speaks of ordering in an "auspicious hour" coins of gold, silver and copper to be struck to each of which he gave a distinct name; on the mohurs he had a metrical inscription containing his own name stamped, and in the space between the hemistiches the Kalima. On the reverse was the date of coinage etc.

Aurangzib came in course of time to consider that the Kalima, in which occurs the divine name, was desecrated by its ^{which} use on coins/³passed from hand to hand and forbade the stamping of it on them. He approved of this bayt of Mir

'Abd/al-Baqī Sahbā'ī:

شاه اورنگ زیب عالمگیر

سکہ زد در جهان چو بر نیز ⁴

/and

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1. JRASB, 1938, 29 N, Art. by K.N. Dikshit.
 2. Tuzuk-i J, p.5.
 3. Ma Alam, 23; Mun Lub, II, 77.
 4. Ibid.

(Learning) (Coins) (Bk.I., Ch.5.)

and ordered that on one side of the Ashrafī (gold muhur) and the rupee it should be stamped, and on the other the place ^hwere struck, the year of accession, and his name and titles. Henceforth they bore no Qur'anic quotation.

CHAPTER 6.COMMUNICATIONSA. COMMUNICATIONS BY RIVER AND ROAD

The Timurid empire had not only spread over all Northern India and down to the Deccan, but had sought extension through the North-West passes to Afghanistan and Central Asia, i.e. over much more difficult ways than those it would have encountered Southwards. It was as if the names of the homelands of their ancestors had a charm for them. Some of these cities and lands were taken and retained till Aurangzib's time. They were a challenge to the military power; Balkh, Badakhshan and Qandahar, for example, had been a test for several of Shahjahan's sons.¹

In Akbar's time the Empire comprised twelve provinces or Subas and numbered fifteen after the conquest of Barar, Khandesh and Ahmadnagar.² In Shshjahan's reign there was an expansion to twenty-two, and in Aurangzib's reign it increased to its greatest size, and covered practically all the area from Kabul to Assam and Kashmir to the extreme South.

Transport involved as its means animals, roads and boats. The Timurids were as attached to their horses as the Arabs to their camels, and from Aurangzib's letters it can be seen how he prized a good horse.³ Roads do not appear to have been built with the care given to them by the Romans, but they had

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1. Ruq. Ala, No.1.
 2. Akb nam I, Bl. 92 cf.n.
 3. Ruq Ala, No.

(Learning) (Communications by River and Road)
(Bk. I., Ch. 6)

to be maintained for troops and traffic. When Dārā Shikuh was engaged in his deadly struggle for supremacy he guarded the roads and the fords (masālik and ma¹ābir) to ensure a safe passage for his troops.

The uncertainty and the condition of the roads did not encourage enterprise in undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca or other holy cities. "Hājji" occurs though not very frequently prefixed to a name, but in view of the risks of the road and the arduous nature of the long undertaking in going on pilgrimage they were brave souls who earned the right to attach the epithet. None of the Emperors, even while princes, felt the journey incumbent on them. It was generally an elderly scholar who went. There is no reference to the practice but possibly, as in more recent times, he was paid to go as a proxy for others unable to make the journey.

Aurangzīb failed, as did Shahjahan before him, in the attempt to recover Qandahar from the Persians, and though he made a brave resistance he was forced to retreat from Balkh and Badakhshan also. During the major portion of his reign he was engaged in fighting in the Deccan and no further attempt was made to penetrate into Central Asia. The conditions on the roads were allowed to deteriorate and the passages to places outside the plains became more perilous. There is little doubt that the difficulty of maintaining connection with the remote
/districts

1. Waq Ala Tr. 16,20 (Per. MS. 34 fol. in the possession of Mr. A.H. Harley.)

(Learning) (Communications by River and Road)
(Ek.I., Ch.6.)

districts had much to do with their loss and discontinuance of any attempt to recover them. With the loss of these limbs cohesion began to go out of the body politic.

On the rivers of Northern India there was internal traffic by way of transport of certain classes of products, and in time of war troops too were moved in this way. Shāh Shujā' for instance brought up his men in niwaras (barges) against Sulaymān Shikūh, and afterwards against Aurangzib. With their shallow draught they were able to proceed from Bengal into Bihar.¹ This traffic was local or provincial, and not organised into a mutually beneficial system between the Provinces.

B. COMMUNICATION OF NEWS

It was of first importance that the Emperor should have news from all his domains. A system of barid, like that of the Arabs, depending on men and horses, was the chief means available to carry despatches and letters.

Abū al-Fazl, a pattern of record-keepers and statisticians, approved of the keeping of records as "an excellent thing for a Government", and gives an account of the manner of the entries into the King's diary. A routine procedure was as necessary for the large interests beyond the palace precincts. In the Timurid period this was maintained by two special imperial /functionaries

1. Riy Sal. Tr. 221 fn.

(Learning) (Communication of News) (Bk.I.. Ch.6.)

functionaries at every provincial capital and centre, a Sawānih-navīs or "General Intelligence-giver" and a Wāqī'a-navīs¹ or court recorder. They were independent of the local officials, and the object in their appointment was that the Emperor might "be informed daily of all that transpired throughout his empire, and also that active servants might work without fear, and negligent and forgetful men may be held in check".²

The Khufya-navīsān were a spy-service who kept the Emperor informed, as and when they could, of official misconduct or the misdeeds of princes. In Aurangzib's time they were probably unusually active, for in his letters he frequently uses such an expression as "I came to know",³ and in Letter No. 20 he mentions spies as the source of his authority.

C. Means of the Spread of Culture

A means of the spread of culture among adults has been the majlis at the house of a well-to-do patron of the arts. In a social gathering or conversazione of this kind an artist would present his painting or a poet his poem, and the proceedings might take a controversial turn and a mubāhatha give an opportunity of airing opposing views. When Prince Murād was successful against and took Balkh in 1645 A.D. he held a majlis /to

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1. Ain No.10; Bl. Tr. I 258.
 2. Riy Sal Tr. 251 fn., cf. Bernier 231.
 3. Ruq, Nos. 4, 15, 35, etc. cf 13, 18.

(Learning) A Means of the Spread of Culture)
(Bk.I., Ch.6.)

to celebrate the event, and on that occasion a certain poet was alleged to have committed a Sirqa-i Zāhira or patent plagiarism.¹ But this lighter side of entertainment had no recognition at Aurangzib's court. Poets continued to practise their art but without patronage from him; for instance Tahsīn, Arshī, Muhibb and Qaysar wrote qasidas of panegyric on Amīrs like Bakhtāwar Khān and Ghazanfar Khān, but it was an era of warfare, dogma and moralising, and the tale of men's activities was jejune and dull.

1. Majma' al-Sanā'i', p.144 (Lucknow, 1261/1845).

C H A P T E R 7.

MEDICINE AND HOSPITALS

The learning of the Greeks in connection with the art of healing had been adopted by the Arabs and from them it had spread eastwards and westwards. Rāzī (d. 923 A.D.) and Avicenna (d. 1037 A.D.) extended their traditional lore, and the Qanūn or medical encyclopaedia of the latter is a work of which the hakīm in his practice of Yūnānī medicine avails himself still in original or in its adaptations.

Shiraz appears to have been reputed as a centre of medical skill, and some physicians who came to India have "Shīrāzī" as a nisbat. For instance Muhammad Rīzā Shīrāzī, whose Riyāz-i 'Alamgīrī, a treatise on the general principles of hygiene and medicine, is extant,¹ Hakīm Hādhiq Khān,² the son of Ni'mat Khān 'Alī,³ and Mu'tamad al-Mulk Sayyid Muhammad Hāshim trace their origin to Shiraz.

India had, until medical schools on western lines opened about a century ago, two systems of medicine, the Ayurvedic and the Yūnānī, the former practiced by "baidis", the latter by "hakīms", or "tabībs". The term tabīb is in general use in the Near East, and hakīm in India, where, however, tibb (medicine) and "matabb" (dispensary or consulting-room) are in common use.

/Both

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1. See Per. MS. in Ind. Off. Lib, 1832.
 2. S Aza, fol.58a, see also Munlub, II 539; see also Nazm u Nathr-i Ni mat Khan Ali, Per MS. in Ind. Off. Lib, 83, fol. 177b.
 3. Taz 'ulā, p.150.

(Learning) (Medicine and Hospitals) (Bk.I., Ch.7.)

Both systems have remained more or less in the empiric stage.

Arab practitioners performed minor operations, and in al-Zahrāwī's ¹Tasrif there are illustrated a variety of small instruments in use when he wrote in 10th cent. A.D. Prof. Browne in his "Arabian Medicine" is inclined to the view that ²dissection was not practiced by them. It is certain that major operations were not attempted by Indian physicians ³belonging to either school, Yūnānī or Ayurvedic. Muqarrab Khan in the time of Akbar, and later his son Shaykh Qāsim, acquired a wide reputation in surgery, but major operations were not undertaken in India before the spread of western science. From Avicenna onwards till 13th cent., when the influence of Albucasis's teaching to some extent tended to remove the "manual art of surgery" from the "uncultivated", the Arabic commentators of Galen and mediaeval writers held that under certain conditions the body was unclean, and Campbell states that the edict of Tours (1163), according to /which

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1. al-Tasrif li man Ajaz an al-Ta'lif. lith. Lucknow, 1326/1908; Abu al Qasim al-Zahrawi was known in Latin Europe as Abucasis and Bucasis, both of them corrupt forms of his Kunya, and his fame under this name was long preserved he was born of Spanish parents at Cordova, and became physician to 'Abd al-Rahmān III (912-61 A.D.); see Arabian Medicine, by Dr. Campbell, I, 85-90.
 2. Arb Med. pp.36-7.
 3. Hañ Nam II 346 (B.I.)

(Learning) (Medicine and Hospitals) (Bk.I., Ch.7.)

which "The Church abhors blood", led to surgery being¹ relegated to the barbers and mountebanks. This attitude resulted in obscurantism which did much to stifle progress in this branch of the healing art.

The historians of the Timurid period mention some illnesses that afflicted members of the royal household, and indicate in a general way their treatment. At the close of his reign Akbar suffered from dysentery or acute diarrhoea and Hakim Ali of Gilan succeeded in stopping it, but as soon as this happened costive fever and strangury ensued, which ended tragically.² Like Akbar Shahjahan, towards the close of his life, suffered from strangury (Habs al-baul), and the medicines of two physicians and their prescription of dieting³ did not avail. The customary treatment of a fever was by cupping, an experience to which Aurangzib was submitted on one occasion at least.⁴ Khwafi Khan states that Aurangzib⁵ towards the close of his reign suffered from chronic fever, but he does not mention any treatment, whatever the treat-⁶ ment, it did not reduce his fever and he ultimately died of it.

/The

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1. Arabian Medicine, Campbell, I 129.
 2. Ain Akb, Tr. Bl. I, 466, 467.
 3. Ala Nam II, p. 931: cf. Ma'a Ala p.53.
 4. Ma'a Ala p.41.
 5. Mun Lub, II, pp. 548-9.
 6. Ibid.

(Learning) (Medicine and Hospitals) (Bk.I., Ch.7.)

The profession was very conservative in its ways, and clung loyally to copies or translations of the earlier works in Arabic or Persian. Practitioners had often a subsidiary interest in poetry or philosophy, and speculations in the latter long influenced treatment and materia medica. There was extensive information but too little specialisation. The pharmacopoeia of medicaments was preserved with not much change from age to age. A large volume of simple and compound medicaments (qarābādīn), called zād al-Ma'ad, was composed by a well-known Shī'ah doctor, Muhammad Bāqir Majlisī, in 1698 A.D., an extract from his larger work, Bihār al-Anwār (1693 A.D.). Manuscript copies of the Qarābādīn are common still.

The medical fraternity of Shiraz had two of the better known representatives of the healing art at Delhi in Mu'tamad¹ al-Mulk Sayyid Muhammad Hāshim and Muhammad Rizā, the author of Riyāz-i Alamgīrī.² The witty historian Ni'mat Khān 'Alī (see infra^{*}), who traced his family to the Shiraz group, had a son Hakīm Hādhiq Khān³ who attained some eminence as he was given the title of Mu'tamad al-Mulk by Aurangzib on the occasion of his curing him of an illness which had caused the

/Emperor

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1. Taz Ula, p.150.
 2. See Per MS. 1832 in Ind. Off. Lib.
 3. In Tarikh-i Khwafi Khan, Mun Lub II 539, there appears Sadiq Khān which is obviously a misprint, cf. M Alamg, p.510 and also Nazm Nathr (a Per. MS. 83 in Ind. Off. Lib.) fol. 177b.

* 160, 188

(Learning) (Medicine and Hospitals) (Bk.I. Ch.7.)

Emperor to swoon. This occurred in 1116/1705 while the latter was engaged against a fortress of the Mahrattas. The treatment included China Root (Chīnī Chūb), a specific once much used, in Europe as well as India, as a tonic. The temperature yielded to the treatment in a few weeks, and the physician was given his weight in gold and honoured with the title Hakim al-Mulk.¹

Cures bordering on the miraculous are sometimes told of popular physicians. The story told by Prince Muḥammad A'zam, third son of Aurangzib, of his recovery from dropsy (istisqa) is likely now to be regarded as incredible in its present form.² The Hakim Ma sum Khan said that he perceived systems of this illness and prescribed medicine and dieting and other precautions against things that brought about this illness. But A'Zam neglected following the advice. Two years later he was attacked with it, and three physicians were called in:³ Muhammad Riza, the author of Riyaz-i Alamgiri, Muhammad Amin Shirazi and Muhammad Shafi: He now turned very abstemious, and instead of water took juice of Kasri (Endive, white Succory), 'inab al-Tha'lab (fox-grapes). While he lay dozing a radiant figure appeared and counselled sincere /repentance.

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1. Mun Lub, II 539; cf. Ma'a Ala, p. 510.
 2. Ma'a Ala. 362-63.
 3. Ibid.

(Learning) (Medicine and Hospitals) (Bk.I. Ch.7.)

repentance. He repented and from that moment his recovery started. Two days later a certain derwish wrote and said Hazrat Ali b. Abi Talib had visited him and said he had given the patient dust from his (Hazrat Ali's) tomb and prayed he might be healed, and that would take place.

The author of the Padshahnama¹ has given with much detail an account of the tragic accident that befell Jahanara in 1054/1644, when after attending to her father she returned to her room and the flame of a candle set her dress on fire. She was badly burnt, and of the four attendants near who hastened to save her two died within not many days of their injuries; two others survived their burns. For four months there was little hope of her restoration to health.

Shahjahan first had recourse to spiritual treatment; prayers were continuously offered, and largesse and alms² bounteously bestowed; dues were paid on behalf of debtors, and prisoners set free. Medical practitioners from near and far attended with medicines, but despite all efforts for nearly four months there was little hope. Shahjahan himself looked after her feeding and the application of dressings.

The doctor in the case was Muhammad Da'ud, who had been the hakim of Shah Abbas of Persia, but because of his displeasure at his treatment at the hands of Abbas' successor, his
/son

1. II 363, in Amal-i Salih (II 400) the account has obviously been borrowed from this.

2. cf. Ma'a Ala, pp.41, 43.

(Learning) (Medicine and Hospitals) (Bk.I., Ch.7.)

son Shāh Safawī, had come to India. On the twelfth day he began to be successful with the complications in the case, fevers persistent and intermittent, for which she was given cooling medicine such as camphor and astringents, and weakness in her heart, for which she was fed with beef-tea. Suddenly there came a relaxed condition and haemorrhage. He was advised not to proceed too drastically. Meantime Ḥakīm Mu'minā was fetched by some one and he claimed he could stop the discharge easily. He was permitted to try. His method was slow but effective, and finally he gave her cumin for diet. On account of her system not being clear boils appeared by her eyes and on her instep. Shāhjahan appointed Ḥakīm Muḥammad Da'ūd to the curing of this, and he treated her with endive-juice, orange jelly and saffron. The sickness now began to decrease, and when it was near to disappearing Ḥakīm Masīh al-Zamān came from Lahore, and at the royal command joined Muḥammad Dā'ūd in consultations and they added a prescription for rose-jelly.

Although after four days the complications began to disappear yet for five months longer the salves of the surgeons were of no avail in stopping the pain of the sores, until a

/slave

1. Ara Med. D. Campbell, I,55.

(Learning) (Medicine and Hospitals) (Bk.I., Ch.7.)

slave of the household, called Arif, made a salve or plaster which in two months cleared away part of the sores, and the rest showed signs of improving. Nine months after the start of her illness her recovery was publicly celebrated, but unfortunately, when on a tour, the motion caused a relapse, which was successfully treated by Hamu(n), a resident of Hisar.

Abd al-Hamid has written a layman's account of the treatment, and not a modern clinical one, but it is sufficient to show that the profession of medicine had made no advance in India, and that pain and anxiety promoted credulity and tended to give scope for quackery.

The institution of the hospital has been credited to the Muslims,¹ the oldest being founded in Cairo by Ahmad ibn Tulun about A.D. 873.² There certainly occurs early mention of the dar al-Shifa and the bimaristan. Harun al-Rashid was the first Khalifa to endow a public hospital, the one in Baghdad.³ There were, however, hospitals at a still earlier date in Europe, but "the Arabs developed the hospital on efficient lines".⁴ Sultans and Governors set up such /institutions

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1. Ara Med, Campbell, I, 55-6.
 2. Ara Med, Browne, 101, 102.
 3. Ic. 1942, p.7 (article of Md. A.R. Khan, F.R.A.S.)
 4. Arabian Medicine, by D. Campbell, I. 55; Ara Med, Browne, 102.

(Learning) (Medicine and Hospitals) (Bk.I.. Ch.7.)

institutions at various times and places, and encouraged some already existing. Aurangzib showed some interest in one at ¹ Surat and advised an appointment in it for Hakim Ashraf.

It may be mentioned here as an instance of recognition of the needs of the poor that hospices had been set up in Delhi in Jahāngīr's time: ² Aurangzib added to their number, ³ and opened some in places outside Delhi. This measure can be looked on not only as a charitable one, but also as a public health precaution against dysentery, cholera, and even plague, all of them a calamity inflicted by the sky, but associated with starvation, and disease, and corpses not disposed of.

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1. Ruq, Ala, 125.
 2. Ghalwarkhana, Tuzuk, p.34.
 3. Langar, Ma' Alam, p.34.

CHAPTER 8.

CALLIGRAPHY

A. INTRODUCTORY

Owing to the prohibition in a hadith¹ of the artistic reproduction of anyone or anything living the field of Muslim artists was limited; the Arabs took warning from the consequences its infraction would involve in seeing the works of their imagination brought to life and they observed the injunction contained in it. They utilised the characters of the alphabet for ornamentation to satisfy their aesthetic faculty, which was curbed by this prohibition. But the aesthetic sense of the Persians broke bounds and expressed itself in miniatures which still evoke the greatest admiration.

Calligraphy is the art of penmanship, including the illumination of manuscripts. It is an artistic development of the pictorial aspect of a script, and as such came into existence later than the script itself.

The differences in the form of a letter in the various alphabets lie in the proportion of straight and round strokes. Thus "the Kufi character consists of one sixth curvature and five-sixths straight lines; Ma'qali has no curved lines at all".²

The acknowledged styles of script are eight in number. Of these six are derived from Arab hands, and two from Persian.

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1. Bukhārī (ed. JUYNBOLL, I, 104, 106).
 2. See A'in Akb, Bl.I 99, for this and a detailed description of the styles.

(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Bk.I, Ch.8)

The former differ according to the basic principles of curvature and straight lines; some of these styles are written in jali or bold hand, and khafi or light hand. Their origin has been attributed to various persons; for instance Naskh has been ascribed to Ibn Muqlah¹ (d. 327/938-9), and to Yaqūt, a slave of the last Khalifa, Mustasim Billāh (d. 1258 A.D.). It is the usual script of MSS. of the Qurān.

From Persian sources two styles have been contributed; of these the one known as Nasta'liq is far-famed for its charming daintiness; it is like delicate tracery.

Two hands not included in the above are Ghubār and Tughrā; these are not independent scripts however, but are based on Naskh. They are generally used on coins and medals. Bahādur Shah II (deposed 1658) was fond of writing Tughrā². Shikasta (broken) is a term applied to a Persian cursive hand.

In his mathnawi Sihr al-Bayān, generally acknowledged to be the best of the romantic poems in Urdu, Mir Hasam (d. 1786 A.D.) includes Calligraphy among the accomplishments of the young prince Be-nazir; it was acquired early before his

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1. cf. Art on Ibn Muqlah, by A.H. Harley, Bull. SOS Vol. III Pt II, p.229.
 2. A specimen is preserved in I.O. Lib. No. 3581 (Fthe 2976)

(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Bk. I. Ch. 8)

twelfth year. As the lines are almost in Persian they ^{may} be
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 inscribed here:

۱۔ لیا علی محمد حبیب خانہ شکرپور
 لکھا نسخہ درجیان و خطِ عیار
 ۲۔ مدرس الخطوط اور فنِ رناع
 حنفی اور جلی مثل خطِ شجاع
 ۳۔ سیکستہ لکھا اور تعلیقِ جب
 رہے دیکھو حیران آنا یعنی سب
 ۴۔ لکھا خطِ گلزار سے جب فراغ
 ہوا صفحہ قطعہ نظر آرا باغ

In the reign of Aurangzib some 30 calligraphers have been traced. In his immediate predecessor's period there were about 17, while Jahāngīr's has still fewer to show. Out of the total of 30 calligraphers of this reign about 13 were adept in Nasta'liq, 7 in Naskh and 10 in Shikasta; Ghubār and Tughrā have not been traced during this period.

In the comparatively greater attention paid to this formal and rather objective expression of art there is apparent the influence of the Emperor. Shah Jahan's interest lay in architecture, music and poetry; the beautiful whether in the externally embodied, as in the Taj Mahal, or in his romantic love for Mumtāz Mahal, made a sensuous appeal that seemed hardly to quicken the pulse of any of his sons. Shujā' built numerous marble edifices in Bihar
 2
 and Bengal of some note, but his administration was characterised by more practical features as he prepared a new rent-roll of Bengal, which led to an increase in the revenue of the
 /province

1. Sah Bay (Allahbad, 1925), p.29.
2. Riy Sal, Tr., 213 f.n.

(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Bk.I., Ch.8.)

province, whose land-laws till then had remained, and in other provinces continued to remain, mainly a survival of Akbar's comprehensive ordinances. Aurangz̄ib was susceptible to the softer passion, but repressed it apparently on account of the warp in his nature; handwriting called for little emotion, and he devoted much time to mastery of the art. He acquired proficiency enough to feel justified in writing three copies in naskh¹ of the Qur'ān, two of which he sent to Madina, and one to Mecca.²

Persian being the language of the Timurid Court and of the associated culture it is easy to understand why its fairest hand, nasta'liq, should win wide favour in India and be extensively imitated.

With the growth of office-work, Shikasta, a quick, flowing hand, inevitably came into use. Kashmiri ink and a paper made in Siyālkot were much in favour in offices for records and clerical work generally.³

The art was not confined to Muslims. Many Hindus knew and wrote Persian, and some have made contributions to poetry, e.g. Brahman (d. 1068-73/1657-63), and to prose, for instance Sūjan Rāg⁴ (d. 1107/1695), in that language. Naturally handicraft connected with it received attention from them also,
/and

1. Ma'a Alaḥ, p.532.

2. Alaḥ nam, p.1093.

3. See Khu Taw, p.80 and Tropography, p.95, cf. Athar al-Khayr, p.51.

4. *infra*, 178, 211.

(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Bk.I., Ch.8.)

and three of some note may be mentioned; Chandrā Bhān Munshī,¹ Saj Bhān and Mul Rāj.¹

‘Abd al-Rashīd Daylamī² included among his pupils Dārā Shikūh and Zīb al-Nisā. Other penmen of note were Mir Sayyid ‘Alī Khān,³ under whom Aurangzīb practised nasta‘liq, and Hidāyat Allāh,⁴ who was honoured in Aurangzīb's reign as being Zarrīn-qalam, not an academic distinction but one of popular merit. There was no special institution for penmanship. It was a disciplinary subject in the madrasas, and calligraphers had apprentice pupils.

The services of the penman were directed to various ends. Mostly the scribes were employed in writing farmāns and katbas, or as Nāzīrs (superintendents) of libraries, or as teachers in noble families, and of the sons in humbler homes. Occasionally they earned a handsome⁵ recompense, but the days of astounding rewards had passed. Lithography during the last century has helped to preserve a good Indian Nasta‘liq, but such manual art
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1. cf. these the first two were pupils of Abd al-Rashid Daylamī (see infra p. 63), see Taz Khus, p.55; for Mul Rāj see Mem Arc, p.13, No.53, where a fairly raushan nasta‘liq by him is preserved.
 2. See infra. 63
 3. See infra. 62
 4. See infra. 60
 5. For instance, Mīr Mu‘min, who was once awarded Rs. 3000 by Shāh Shujā‘ for having written some lines after the style of Mīr ‘Alī Tabrizī, see Mir Alam, fol. 564(b), and Mir Jahan, fol. 399a.

(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Book.I.. Ch.8)

as in many other lands, has now neither the patronage nor the devotion to preserve it widely. In Aurangzib's period Shikasta, as being a more marketable commodity, ousted any other for ordinary purposes.

B. NOTES ON OUTSTANDING EXPERTS

Some notes on outstanding experts in this art may be made here to help to make clear their relation to their age.

(1) Hidāyat Allāh¹ (d.1118/1707), Zarrīn-qalam, i.e. "he of the golden pen", practised hard under the supervision of Muḥammad Husayn Kashmīrī, a celebrated calligrapher of Shāh Jahan's reign, and later under Sayyid 'Alī Khān.² In time he was appointed superintendent of the royal library and at the instance of Aurangzib made several copies of the Dīwān of Hāfiz, and taught his craft to several of the princes.³ Specimens of his work are found in several collections.

The example of his penmanship reproduced here consists of fols. 6(b) and 7(a), 12(b) and 13(a) which have been taken at random from a copy of his "Risāla-i 'Imām Ghazālī dar⁴ akhlāq". Its quality enables one to understand why he was so distinguished.

/On

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1. Taz Khus, p.58; Mem Arc, p.13 No.54.
 2. See infra.
Cat.
 3. Bank/V, I, 103; BM, II, Per. MSS.23,610, fols. 1,6; Paris cat 2447.
 4. BM Add. 16834.

P. 2814. Add. 16834

1 2 3 4 5
BRITISH MUSEUM 2

در نفس ماطفه انسانی که قابل صور معقولات است جوهر
 روحانیت و قیمت پذیر نیست بر مانی دیگر آنکه
 صورت معقولات که از نفس حاصل میشود و از دست
 و این وضع مجرد نباشد و مجرد او از دست نیست
 یا باعتبار آنچه نیست که معقول از وجود کرده می آید
 یا باعتبار آن محل و تخمین ماطل است حکم
 باعتبار محل است که معقول در وجود می آید و آنچه
 در وجودش خویش مجرد میکند اندام ذات آنرا
 بحسبیت او را کند چنانکه اوست از خاصیتها
 حاصل می آید که چیز را چنانکه اوست او را کند
 و حسیت چیز را چنانکه باشد از لواحق مجرد کرده

بله

پس این بیان است شد که قابل صورت معقولات
 جسم نیست و عرضی جسم نیست پس آن جسم نیست
 که او را تعلیمی جسم است که آن بدن است چون
 تعلق خادم و مخدوم و آتی مجراست او را نفس
 پس عمل آن است است و چون بل ماطل کرده
 بحال خویش تا بدابد الابد بحکم آنکه جوهر است
 قائم بذات خویش مجرد از جسم فصل تخم در پذیرد
 نفوس انسانی که از مبادی حاصل میشود باید است
 که نفوس پس انسانی که از مبادی فیاض میشود بر چند
 قسم اند و اختلاف احوال ایشان قوت و
 ضعف و شرف و خست و حکمت و جهل و غیر



از هدایت الد زریں قلم

ادراک در غایت منافات حکم آنکه در میان نفس و
 مدرک او مجانی پیدا آید که از همه جا بها تو تیر بود اکنون
 گویم که حال مدرک و مدرک معلوم شد و نسبت میان
 ایشان حاصل آمد و تحقیق گشت که ادراک نفس بالذاتی
 خواهد بود یا الی گویم با نفس متعلق باشد ببدن یا مجرد
 از متعلق باشد از ادراک قاصر بود از ادراک شغول
 باشد یا غیر کجی نه از ذات او بود و آن نسبت و یکی
 خویش صرف او کند همچنانکه معشوق محبت عاشق
 صرف کند در احوال خویش پس هر گاه که نفس محری
 مشغول شود از چیزی دیگر باز ماند و پیوسته کاری
 او را از کار باز میدارد و از بهر آن محبت نفس

اشرف و معشوق اعلی صرف نشود و یکی خویش
 با بدن داده باشد که این بدن او را چون معشوق اعلی است
 و آن عالم در حق او چون معشوقی که مدرک بتجلی باشد
 بلکه بقوت و پیشتر نفوس او درین عالم حال چنین است
 که از لذت و حافی و حالت آبهانی بجز باشد
 الا آنکه مویذ شوند از بار بی تعالی تا سبب الهی
 و فیض علوی پس بسببنا علیم السلم و محققان حکما
 و اگر فروعی از این عالم برین نفوس ضعیف نهی
 که درین عالم اندر مرکز باحوال بدنی و اشغال اینجاست
 مشغول نشدند پس این رخ شهادت و لذتها فی نفس
 سخت محروم و لیل داشتند می گفرا آنچه ضرور است

P. 2814. Add. 16834

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از - هدایت اللد زرین قلم

(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Hidayat Allah) Bk.I., Ch.8.)

On the technical side, however, a few shortcomings are obvious. The question of curvature (dā'iras) is very important in Nasta'liq. According to this law all curvatures should form part of cycloids (bayziyya) of the same size, with the same angle of inclination, with their epicentres in a straight line so that the plinth (kursī) of each curvature remains constant. Hidāyat Allāh is not careful in his observance of this principle. This failing of his can be noticed when one compares the curvatures (dā'iras) of ج, د, ن, و etc., in the attached specimen.

According to another rule of calligraphy it is very important to keep up the nok palak¹ of a certain hand to make it look beautiful. It may be noticed in this specimen under consideration that he has not been entirely successful in this respect.

In accordance with another rule of calligraphy the size of every word should be in proportion to the thickness of the pen-point (qatt of the qalam). Hidāyat Allāh fails in this regard also.

Though his hand is generally raushan in this MS., sometimes the spacing is faulty and this affects the quality of his workmanship.

As for the above enumerated technical defects, however, it may be argued that they are probably more apparent in a

/book,

1. i.e. "fine points".

(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Mir Sayyid Ali Khan)(Bk.I., Ch.8.)

book, which requires a greater degree of care on the part of a calligrapher, than in a ¹Katba or Wasli. He is indeed much better in his Katbas than in book-specimens.²

(2) Mir Sayyid Ali Khan came to India from Tabriz during the reign of Shahjahan, along with his father Aqa Muqim al-Husayni. His father had been a student of Mir Imad. Sayyid Ali had specialised in nasta liq, with the result that his fame quickly spread throughout India, and he was appointed by Shahjahan to teach Aurangzib.⁴ It was then that he became designated Jawahir Raqm (of pearly handwriting) by the Emperor. He was afterwards appointed by Aurangzib to teach his sons nasta liq, and was raised to the rank of superintendent of the royal library. Throughout his life he was devoted to the Emperor and accompanied him to Kashmir and the Deccan. It is said that one day someone asked him on whose style he usually modelled his writing. He replied "Mir Imad's and Rashid Daylami's"; their styles he used alternatively all the year round. He fell a prey to melancholy at the close of his life,

/when

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1. The Arabic is Katba, but it is popularly pronounced as rendered in the text.
 2. Re this remark see his Katba in Mem Arc, No.54, which has not been reproduced here because of its present condition.
 3. See Mir Alam, fol.566a; Mir Jahan, fol. 399b; Taz Khus, p.56; Mem Arc, p.11 Bo. 40.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Taz Khus, p.57; Mem Arc, p.11.

(Learning)(Calligrapher) (Mir Sayyid Ali Khan)(Bk.I.. Ch.8.)

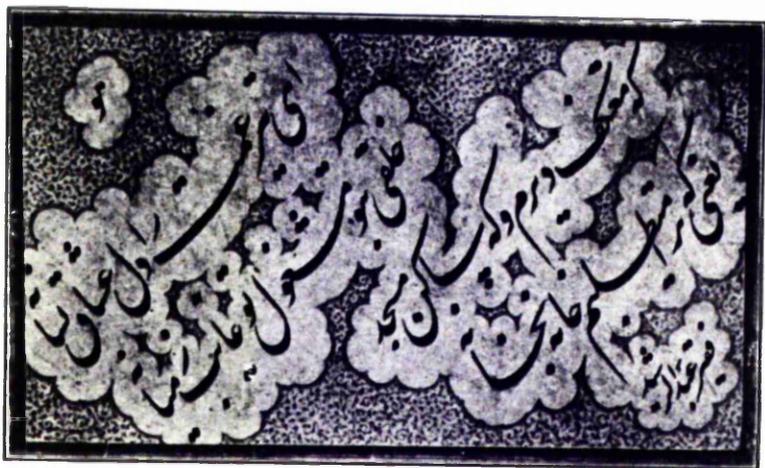
when living at Aurangabad in the Deccan. He moved from there to Delhi for reasons of health, but did not recover from his disease and died in 1094-5 / 1683-4. Besides being a calligrapher he was also an occasional poet; in compliment to his versatility the following lines of his are given here:

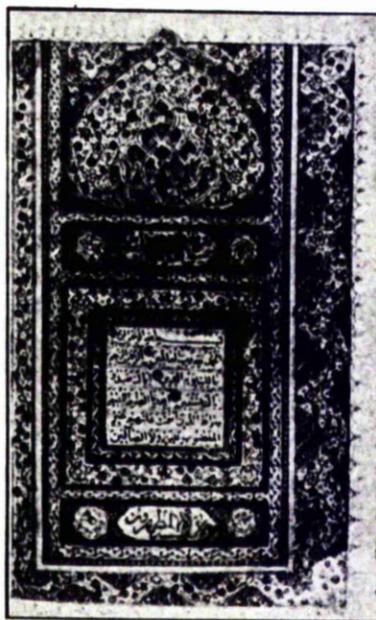
بیاپی آه حسرت از دلِ ناستا دبر خیزد
 یادِ فامتش از کینه نمودن کتاهم
 در آن محرابه صدیش زخم کار کا در نظر دارد
 زن بر شیشه آنگی که صد فریاد بر خیزد
 چو آن سرو که از خاک چمن آزاد بر خیزد
 صدای شیون از برگشتن صیاد بر خیزد

The Katba with tasteful floral decoration on the borders and interlinear, and in large raushan nasta liq has been taken from a MS. in the British Museum. His talent well entitled him to be designated Jawāhir Raqm Khān by Shahjahan. (3) Āqā 'Abd al-Rashīd Daylamī² was the student, and sister's son, of Mir Imad (murdered in 1024/1615). He was well acquainted with philosophy and other sciences. He came to India during the reign of Aurangzīb and gave lessons in calligraphy to Prince Dārā Shikūh, the eldest son of Shahjahan. Zīb al-Nisā, the talented daughter of Aurangzīb, was also one of his pupils. The best writers of his age were agreed that no one wrote nasta'liq so gracefully as he. He was afterwards /attached

1. BM. No. Pers. 9, 17, 043.

2. Mir Jahan, fol. 399b; Taz Khus, pp. 54-6; Mem, Arc, p.11 No. 39.





(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Aqa Abd al-Rashid) (Bk.I. Ch.8)
 attached to the Court of Aurangzib, and worked in the office of registration of deceased persons' estates. 'Abd al-Rashid died at an advanced age in 1081/1670-71. He had many pupils, Hindus as well as Muslims. The original of the attached ¹ wasli by him is preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology. It is in a raushan nasta'liq. There is no elaborate border ornamentation to draw the eye away from the scriptive detail.

(4) 'Abd al-Baqi,² better known as Haddad, came from Persia at the request of Aurangzib towards the close of Shahjahan's reign (d. 1628-1658 A.D.). He submitted several examples of his handiwork, inclusive of a Qur'an on 30 leaves, to the royal inspection, whereupon he was given the title of Yaqut Raqm. He was matchless in writing Khatt-i Khafi (as opposed to the bold hand, the Khatt-i Jali).

A Hama'il (a small copy of the Qur'an worn on the neck as an amulet) in the hand of Haddad, which is preserved in the Delhi Museum, is in the Khatt-i Khafi style in which he specialised. A page of this Hama'il containing the opening surah of the Qur'an is reproduced from the Archaeological ³ Survey of India. Naturally it had to be of miniature size to be easily carried, but it is easily legible.

/Among

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1. No. 29 Specimens of Calligraphy
 2. Mem Arc. p.6.
 3. Ibid, p.6.

سلسله در برین کسب
 بود اندر ندی کج بخورد و بدید از عابدی کج بود و ب
 مرکز ترک شهوت از به قول حق داد است شهوت
 حال در شهوت حرام افتاد است عابد که گذار
 کوشه نشیند چهاره در آیت بیست و یکم شکست
 که جوید نه آنکه عطار گوید و نام چون طب عطار است غاموس
 و کوه مرستی نادان این طبع غایت بلند آواز و میانه
 عالم اندر میانه جمال مشک گفت از صد تیان
 شاپوی در میان کورانت مصحفی در کشت زمین
 و پستی را که بسری فراخک آری نیاید که یک سر
 عقل در دست نفیس خان گرفت که مرد عابد و پست
 کت در زینت است

From Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India (No. 29, specimens of Calligraphy, in the Delhi Museum).

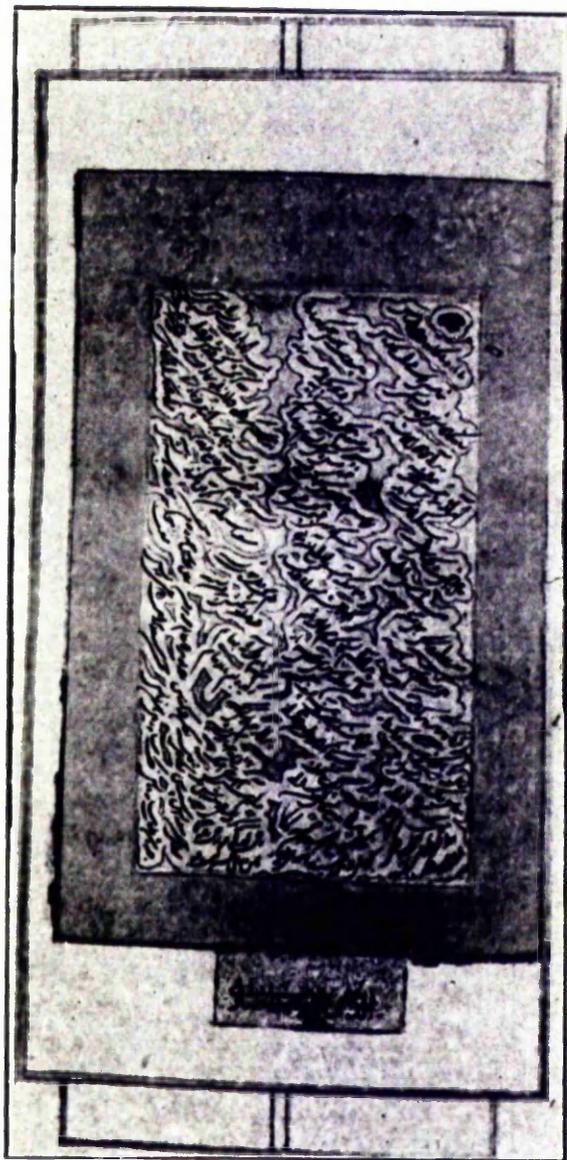
(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Other Noteworthy Pen-men)
(Bk. I., Ch. 8.)

Among other noteworthy penmen are Muhammad ¹ 'Arif, who was a teacher of naskh to the sons of Aurangzib, and on whom Bahādur Shāh I conferred the distinction of Yāqūt Raqm; Hājji Muhammad Ismā'il, whom Aurangzib distinguished with the designation Raushan Raqm; Navvab Ashraf Khān (d. 1097/1685-6); Muhammad Ja'far Kifāyat Khān, who is supposed to have introduced shikasta into India; Abd Allāh, who was the son of the preceding, and was distinguished by Aurangzib as "Darāyat Khān"; Mir Muhammad Bāqir (d. 1069/1118), a specimen of whose nasta'liq is attached, in which the characters are well formed, but the spacing is not regular; Āqā Muhammad Husayn who was calligrapher, prose-writer and poet in one; as became one who was long attached to the imperial Court of Aurangzib till, according to Sarkhwush, he grew dissatisfied and retired, his verses were of a sombre, cheerless tone, as can be gathered from the following ruba'is:

خوش بنا کامی مقصد مطلب
از صد شکرین نقطه یعنی پی برد
دل داشت و هر چه بود در درون دیدم
آئینه دوست هر بد و نیک ولی
بگذر ز طلب، دولت بر مرد طلب
یعنی مطلب ز هر چه باشد طلب
یک غمچه بهارگر در گلشن دیدم
در وجه حسن بوجه حسن دیدم

/Hajji

1. Mem Arc, p.6, No.9.
2. Mem Arc, p.13, No. 48; Mir Alam, fol. 566b.
3. Mir Alam, fol. 565b; Mir Jahan, fol. 399b; Mem Arc, p.17, No. 93.
4. Mem Arc, p.17, No. 91.
5. Mem Arc, p.17, No.91; Taz Khus, p.55.
6. Mir Alam, fol.556b; Taz Khus, p.59; Mem Arc, p.13. No.47.
7. Kal Shu, fol. 115a. 8. Kal Shu, fol. 115a. 9. Ibid.



(Learning) (Calligraphy) (Other Calligraphers)
(Bk.I., Ch.8.)

¹
Hājji Qāsīm, and his two sons; Hājji 'Abd Allāh, who was accom-
plished in several styles, and wrote in a beautiful hand an
account of his journey with Prince Muḥammad Mu'azzam from
Lahore to Delhi; ² Mir Mu'min ³ (d. 1091/1681), who found recreation
in verses, which at first seem to be of the erotic sort that
were unwelcome to the Emperor, but later fall into line:

<p>کلبه قفل دل با نسیم دلدار است که همچو آئینه و آب راست تقار است که این در کیم نذرگاه جلوه شاد است که شمع وادی طلب فقیه آه است</p>	<p>کتابد بخند و گداز نسیم گلزار است بیا بچشم تر من جمال خویش بین بچشم خویش نگر در دل لولاگاه است یا لاله در بزم می توان بدو رسید</p>
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⁴
Muhammad Sa'id Anṣārī was expert in Naskh, in which he had
already earned fame in 'Irāq. He came to India in the time of
Aurangzīb, to whose Court he became attached, and used to copy
the Qur'an and other books. Later he retired from the
imperial service and passed his time at his house occupied with
his favourite art. A specimen of his Shikasta is preserved in
Delhi Museum in the bayāz of the well-known patron of the arts
Bakhtāwar Khān and is produced here. ⁵

1. Mir Alam, fol.566b; Mir Jahan, fol.399b.
2. Mir Alam, fol.566.
3. Mir Alam, 564b; Mir Jahan, fol.399a.
4. Mir Alam, fol. 566b; Mem, Arc, p.17, No.92.
5. Mem Arc, No.92.

C H A P T E R 9
ARTS AND ARCHITECTURE

Paintings.

The prohibition contained in the hadith¹ of the Prophet with its mention of the fate that awaits the Muslim violator was strictly observed by the Arabs, but the aestheticism in the Persian temperament did not so readily remain under restraint. The combined influence of Chinese and Buddhist art resulted in the development of an artistic sense in Muslim Persia which led to the production of paintings and miniatures that are admired and prized to this day. The Nigāristān of China and the name of Mani, a kind of patron saint of painting, are fabled in Persian poetry; while Bihzād, who worked under the protection of Sultān Husayn of Khurasan at the close of 15th century, is upheld as a paragon and a pattern for all painters.

Under the Timurid Kings in Samarqand and Herat in 15th century Persian art attained its fullest development. The branch that came to India, i.e. the Indo-Timurid, brought with them an hereditary love of painting and poetry. Bābur was a literary artist. Humāyūn's disturbed career did not uproot his instinctive liking for painting; he had a number of court-painters, among whom was included Mīr Sayyid 'Alī, a pupil of Bihzād. But it was in Akbar that the first strong
/appeal

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1. Bukhari (ed. JUYNBOLL, I, 104, 105).
 2. A'i Akb, Bl. p. 107, A'in 34.

(Learning) (Arts and Architecture) (Bk.I.. Ch.9.)

appeal of painting manifested itself; and with his natural intensesness he set about encouraging its advancement. His minister Abū al-Fazl, faithful as Boswell to Johnson, has recorded his hero's tastes in this matter: "His Majesty, from his earliest youth, has shown a great predilection for this art, and gives it every encouragement His Majestyremarked: There are many that hate paintings; but such men I dislike. It appears to me as if a painter had¹ quite peculiar means of recognising God".

Jahāngīr like his father was very found² of painting, and, if we take the following to be his own words, he was a competent connoisseur. Thus he says in his Tuzuk:

"When any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master,³ I can discover which face is the work of each of them".

Shahjahan and Aurangzib unlike their ancestors did not have an interest in this branch of art. The former was too much occupied with monumental building and the more sensuous expression found in music. In the case of Aurangzib, however,
/it

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1. Ain Akb, tr Bl.I p. 107.
 2. Indian painting, Percy Brown, 46.
 3. Tr. Rog. and Bev. I, 20.

(Learning) (Arts and Architecture) (Bk.I. Ch.9.)

it was his orthodoxy that stood in the way. In conformity with the above mentioned hadīth he considered painting an idolatrous practice, and actually caused the mural paintings at Fathpūr Sikrī and Bijāpūr to be defaced. Bernier gives a very pathetic picture of the condition of the artists at the Court of Aurangzīb; "If the artists and manufacturers were encouraged, the useful and fine arts would flourish; but these unhappy men are contemned, treated with harshness, and inadequately remunerated for their labour"¹.

The profession was centred at princely courts, the schools of Delhi, the Deccan and Lucknow, and, with a distinctively Hindu connection, at Jaipur, Kāngra and Tanjore, all acquiring a considerable reputation. The painters were generally not salaried, but received remuneration on the sale of a picture, which however was not a fair return on the skill and labour appended, as is seen from the following passage of Bernier:

"... and after the task is finished, the unfeeling lord pays, not according to the value of the labour, but agreeably to his own standard of fair remuneration"².

A decline in creative work set ⁱⁿ in the reign of Shahjahan,

/but

1. Bernier, p.255.

2. Bernier, p.256.

(Learning) (Arts and Architecture) (Bk.I. Ch.9.)

but the term "creative" is hardly applicable for the sketches were based on historical episodes and the artist supplied from his imagination background and colouring. The decline grew in Aurangz̄ib's time until originality ceased and artists gave way to imitators.

The Rajput school, and its Kāngra offshoot which reached its Zenith towards the close of 18th century, in one respect linked painting with music in so far as they produced topical illustrations of many of the song modes, the rāgs and rāgnīs, of Hindu music. Possibly some of these artists had withdrawn to the shelter of the hills and valleys of Kāngra from the discouragement of Hindu art in this period and its general decadence. The Author of Indian Painting¹ states that there was a dispersion of artists from the court in the reign of Aurangz̄ib. "Then came the bigotry of the Emperor Aurangzib, which disintegrated the artistic community build up by his predecessors, and caused it to scatter in detached units over various parts of the country". The schools which then set up at various centres did not contribute much that was of a high order; their work was imitative.

/Music

1. Percy Brown, p.52.

(Learning) (Arts and Architecture) (Bk.I., Ch.9.)

Music:

Music and poetry are inevitably linked by their common time-sequence. The pre-Islamic Arab tribesmen at their fairs fostered both arts, and the Kitāb al-aghānī is a rich collection of verses and of stories of their singers down to about the time of the compiler Abū al-Faraj (d. 967 A.D.). The more austere in creed have always curbed the entertainment side, contenting themselves with the qawwāl's intonations. But for others the lovers' plaint of separation and longing have had an irresistibly tuneful charm.

The Timurids prized the skill of the mutrib and the mughanni. Abū al-Fazl tells of Akbar's accomplishments in this art in these words: "His Majesty has such a knowledge of the science of music as trained musicians do not possess; and he is likewise an excellent hand in performing, especially on the ¹ naggārah".

The names of musicians in the service of Akbar have been enumerated by Abū al-Fazl; they amount to about thirty-six, and include the celebrated Tānsen of Gwalior. Names of those in the service of the Khān Khānān and Jahāngir have also been preserved. Shajahan had three Hindu musicians at his court, all of whom he rewarded. Aurangzib though possessing an ear for music schooled himself against its encouragement and even

/banned

1. A'in Akb, tr. Bl.I 51; cf Akb nam, I 94 note.

(Learning) (Arts and Architecture) (Bk. I., Ch. 9.)

banned musicians and dancers and allowed only drums (naubat); for him it sufficed to consider it against Muhammedan Law, and it was also a vain entertainment that beguiled time which should have been given to more serious interests. Khwāfī Khan relates the following story about him under the year 1079/1669-70. There seems to be no formal order ^{of ban the} in histories, but this story if true, would sufficiently express his annoyance; it seems hardly credible however that the Emperor would appear and speak to passers-by from the jharoka:

"و حکم بنیادی منع کرد و قاضی نمودند - گویند روزی جمعی از کلاواتان و قوالان بازدحام و غوغای تمام فرام آمده جنازه با شان تمام ترتیب داده پیش و پس جینازه لوط کتان از پای جهر که در سن گذشتند - بعد عرضی که از کیفیت جنازه استفسار نمودند - کلاواتان التماس نمودند که اگر مرده می بریم که مدفون سازیم - فرمودند که چنان جان بپارند که بار خداوند از او بر نیاید (2)

It appears from Muhammad Habīb's work called Hazrat Amīr Khusrau that Rāg Darpan was a mode composed in the reign of Aurangzib.

Architecture :

Humayun built a mosque at Fathabad, near Delhi, which "uses a bulbous Persian-type dome, and is the first Indian mosque to have this characteristic style". But here too the tale really begins with that great initiator Akbar. He built /on

1. Mun Lub, II, 213.
2. Mun Lub, II, p. 213.
3. Haz Ami, p.5b; Per MS. I.O.L. 1937, Ethe 2017; cf. Iv. ASB, Curzon, 639.
4. The Muslim World, April, 1949, Art. by E.F. Smith, p.104.

(Learning) (Arts and Architecture) (BkI., Ch.9.)

on imperial lines, majestically and with dignity. Whether fort or memorial tomb the great strength of his own character saw to the fulfilment of a fixed purpose in all. Humāyūn's maqbara, the long-since silent city of Fathpūr Sīkrī, the mosque round the tomb of Salīm Chishtī, the great fort at Agra, his tomb at Secunderabad, all introduced new features into the architecture of India.

Jahāngīr's love of nature gave an impulse to the construction of the terraced gardens in the hills, but Akbar's zeal for building passed him by in favour of Shah¹-Jahan, whose monuments are evidence of a character cast in a somewhat different mould. The material used is usually different, white marble for red sandstone; there is marble inlay, and there are marble screens with tracery; and there is lightness and daintiness in place of the solidity of the other. In the Taj Mahal he erected a mausoleum on fundamentally Persian lines and world-famed for its beauty and its setting, as a tribute to a loving spouse. Sir Patrick Geddes² suggested that the whole outlay of the Taj Mahal, the market-place outside the great gateway opening on to the avenue leading to the maqbara, and the river Jamuna beyond and the wide open plain, symbolised life, death and immortality. This

/suggestion

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- tu/ (Stuart)
1. Gardens of the Mughals, by Mrs. Villiers-Stuart
 2. Muslim Review, Cal, I, 1926, p.80.

(Learning) (Arts and Architecture) (Bk.I., Ch.9.)

suggestion is generally regarded however as rather alien.

In Aurangzib any talent of this form was frozen. Design did not appeal to him. He built some mosques, including a Jāmi' Mosque at Benares, and in memory of his favourite wife a tomb which was a small replica of the Taj Mahal. But conquest, the suppression of rebellion, and resistance to the guerilla tactics of the doughty Śivaji occupied through long years his active attention; his mind otherwise was satisfied with meticulous adherence to ritual and routine.

Shujā' inherited a faculty for design, and certainly a desire for construction. During his period of administration in Bengal in Shahjahan's reign he not only introduced financial reforms and prepared a new rent-roll, but erected "numerous marble edifices". There was nothing of a scale or magnificence to compare with the great monuments of his father and Akbar, but 'Abd al-Salām speaks well of them from first-hand knowledge in his notes on Riyāz us-Salā¹ātīn.

1. Riy Sal. Tr.p.213.

C H A P T E R 10.

RECREATION - SPORT - ENTERTAINMENT-CUSTOMS

The idea of withdrawing into special quarters to escape the severity of summer-heat or the cold of winter is wide-spread; the Turks too seized such opportunities of re-creating their energies. The early Indo-Timurids lifted their eyes often to the hills; the decline in vigour of the later Sultans was probably expedited by their inability to refresh their lagging spirit in the bracing atmosphere of the higher levels. Bābur appreciated many things in the land of his conquest, but dreaded its languorous, enervating climate, and betook himself to the highlands from time to time. Humāyūn had adventure enough in the struggle for the crown, but Akbar and his three successors resorted to Kashmir for a change of air, to revisit its "hanging" gardens, or for shooting.

To Jahāngīr most of all it afforded the keenest natural delight. His Memoir, Tuzuk-i Jahāngīr¹, shows him a Nature-lover; flowers and their scents; shrubs and plants and their various medicinal virtues; trees and their variety, he was interested in all these things, and cascades and flowing water, and he knew by what stream the wine would be most met^e. He followed the chase too in Kashmir.

Shahjahan frequently visited that delectable place also,²

/and

1. See tr. by Rog. & Bev. II 114.

2. See Mughal Gardens, by Mrs. Villiers ~~St~~Start, p. (114)

(Learning) (Recreation - Sport - Entertainment)
(Bk. I., Ch. 10.)

and planted a garden, the Shalamar of verse and song. Unfortunately he did not write of his love of beautiful scenes, and his historians were bound to laboured factual narration and his poets to convention.

Aurangzib went to Kashmir several times, to recuperate after an illness, or on duty or for recreation. His duties took him on visits of inspection to places, and the sports¹ enjoyed en route gave him fresh zest.

A short but impressive sketch is given by one historian of his crossing the Pīr Panjāl Pass² on his way to Kashmir in 1073/1664. As his palanquin was being drawn up the ascent by elephants one of them slipped and startled the others, and in the stampede and general panic some went over the cliff and perished.² Aurangzib decided never again to make the journey to Kashmir.³ This threat was not fulfilled however, for he visited Kashmir again next year, i.e. in 1665 A.D.

The poet Hājji Muhammad Jān Qudsī (d. 1057/1656) had earlier written a mathnavī in which occur some lines⁴ descriptive of the pass, its height and danger, e.g.

-
1. Amal-i Salih, I 50; Iqbalname, 290.
 2. Ma' Ala p. 46; cf. account in Bernier 371; see also Manucci, II, 66; M Lub, II 155.
 3. Ma'a Ala p. 46.
 4. Badshahnama, I 2: 19.

(Learning) (Recreation - Sport - Entertainment)
(Bk. I., Ch. 10.)

<p>که مثلش دیده کم چرخ کهن سال که نتواند بیالایش بر آمد که ره این کوه را رفته بالا بمواضع بر این ره را بریدن درین ره راهبر و نقشیت بر بند که در هر گام دارد صد خطر پیش در این ره جوگره بر تار مانده چندان نترزشته بکسته گوهر</p>	<p>معاذ الله ز راه بر پیر نیچال صبا در درخشش زان هم خزان سرا پا چرخ نشسته چرخ دالا درین ره مرغ نتواند پیر مین بود مشکل گذشتن زین ره تنگ رهی افتاده چو طول رمل پیش گره می دست از جان برفق نده ز قطع زهره علی الهیده یکسر</p>
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Mention is made of visits of Aurangzib to shooting-grounds¹ (saydgāhⁿ) in hill and plain. In his Letters he has expressed his enjoyment of a day or two with the guns. In one Letter he impressed on A'zam the importance of keeping this sport in its place, however useful for food might be the game that fell to the gun.²

Some of the nobles also indulged in the chase, but references to them seem to be rare. Nūr Jahān was apparently a good marksman with the gun; in the Tuzuk-i Jahāngīrī she is said to have killed four tigers with as many shots, and to have been made the subject of the following verse uttered impromptu by a courtier:

P. T. O.

1. Ma'a Ala p. 38.

2. Ruq Ala, Ina, 28 cf. Ibid, 12.

(Learning) (Recreation - Sport - Entertainments)
(Bk.I., Ch.10.)

نورجهان که چه بصورت زن است در مقام مردان زن شیره افغان است 1

But women did not ordinarily include this in their accomplishments; it could well be believed of Nur Jahān^a however, that almost femme fatale for Jahāngīr.

The various methods employed in the chase have been given with much detail by Abu al-Fazl.²

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1. The second hemistich is specially enjoyable because capable of several interpretations; it should be remembered that Sher Afgan was Nūr Jahān's first husband, in whose death she had an interest!
Akb
 2. Ain. / Bl.I 282-296.

(Learning) (Sport) (Bk.I., Ch.10.)

GAMES

Qabaq, a game for practice with bow and arrow at a fixed target was taken by the Turks into Asia Minor and Egypt, and by the Timurids into India. It was used in military training in Egypt, and for Akbar it was a princely exercise. It went out of use after the introduction of guns. Aurangzib was a good shot with the gun, but nothing is said as to how he trained his eye.

Of games played through the years in India a great number can be mustered as follows:

Round games, like kabaddi, have engaged the young in most villages, and pavement-games such as pacchisi, and gilli-danda. But the games for juveniles were not in those earlier times linked up with any educational plan. Some books made use of the time-honoured Sawāl u jawāb in their method of instruction, but there was no overhead purpose to adopt familiar objects of sense into a scheme of understanding the world around them. Chess, perhaps Chinese in its origin, was chief of the intellectual order. Card games include ganjifa, perhaps of Persian origin; it has been displaced by more popular games; where it has survived it is now played with circular pasteboard cards, but in older times ivory packs were in frequent use, and some of the designs for the six suits comprising ninety-six cards in all must have engaged the skill of very competent artists to execute the human figures, their scimitars to

1. Akb nam I, 218; tr. Bev.I 44ln.

2. Art. in Muslim Review, Calcutta III, 1929, by A.H. Harley,

(Learning) (Elephant Combat) (Bk.I, Ch.10.)

and other detail. ... sense into a sense of understanding

the world about them.

Elephant Combats:

Akbar made special provision for this form of entertainment. Elephants were always kept in readiness for it. It was a gladiatorial scene that could not be associated with a very high state of culture. Aurangzib did not apparently encourage it, but it may be mentioned here as he figured in an incident connected with it very early in his career. A pair of these enormous animals were fighting outside the fort at Agra in 1633, and Shahjahan and his retinue were spectators. The victorious one put its rival to flight, and then turned on the young Prince. Steadying his frightened horse he struck the elephant on the forehead with his spear. A sweep of its trunk threw the horse to the ground, but Aurangzib leapt before it fell and prepared to face the elephant again. His fine courage was commemorated by his father.

The matching of these giants in a death-struggle went out of fashion after the death of Akbar, who so gloried in strength whether physical, mental or moral.

/An

1. A'in Akb, Bl.I, pp.124, 131.

2. Akhbar 3.

(Learning) (Elephant Combat) (Bk. I, Ch. 10.)

An elephant figured on two critical occasions in Aurangzīb's career. In the battle at Samugarh (1658), when the prospect of victory looked promising for Dārā, the latter transferred from an elephant to a horse. The advice to do so had been given with treacherous intent, for it was a signal to the enemy, and led to Dārā's defeat.¹

In the second incident Prince Shujā' is the chief figure; he was similarly betrayed into transferring to a horse at a moment when the decision in the battle-field looked in his favour. Since this story is not related by the contemporary Persian historians and only by Ghulam Husayn Salim (d. 1233/1817) of Persian writers, it is set forth here in the latter's words:

و از آنجا که حقا تعالی جوهر عقل سلاطین را فوق بقول جمہور خلافت آفریده است و در تداوم جنگ منسوب بدست
دارند آن والافطرت ابلا ج قیلت بمقتضای الحرب خدمت، خان مذکور را [الدور دینان] بتطبیح و زرا
فریب داده، فرمود که اگر محمد شجاع را از من فرود آورده بر اسب سوار گامی، بازی ما نام نمی ماند -
خان مذکور بطبع عام بخداوند نعمت ندیم تطبیح باخته، تشیبه دغا بازی بکار برده، بحضور محمد شجاع
عرض کرد که فتح و نصرت نصیب اولیای دولت [شد] و پیل بید فوج حریفان تسلط خورد
لیکن چو گولہ در این و شیر و تفنگ از هر طرف می آید، سیادا در سواری میل چشم
زخم رسد - صلاح دولت آنکه بر اسب سوار شوند - اقبال خداوندی
پادشاه عالمگیر از بیخ ساخته بطرفه العین در گوشه مکان دستگیر کرده می آرم (2)

/Shujā'

1. Manucci, I. 281.
2. Riy Sal, text 214-5; cf Manucci I 330; Bernier 77.

(Learning) (Elephant Combat) (Bk.I., Ch.10.)

Shujā' made the exchange of mount, and 'Ālamgīr at once caused the strains of victory to be sounded. Shujā's troops, not finding him on his elephant, fled and order could not be restored. Hence the proverbial saying:

شجاع جیت بازی اپنے ہاتھ ہارا

This story is probably true and not just a duplicate, because Aurangzib had tried it on Dārā only a little before, and he was a master of Cunning, and his intrigue was kept well secreted. His bribery in 1656 of the famous General ¹ Mir Jumla and on this occasion of ² General Allāh Wardī Khan are sufficient evidence in themselves.

1. Rawl; Conc 199.

2. Riy Sal. 214; cf. Manucci I, 330.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS

In the first ten years of his reign Aurangzib had looked patiently on popular joys and festivals, and indeed had participated in them, but later his heart had hardened against them as being frivolous or not in keeping with religious law; thus gambling, painting, history and music had all come under the ban.

But one custom he did not ban in the first period, that of sati. Even if a willing act of self-immolation it was a barbarous practice, and like several Sultans before him Aurangzib declared himself opposed to its continuance. In 1664 he issued an edict forbidding it, and on one occasion Muhammad Shafi', entitled Danishmand Khan, the foreign secretary of Aurangzib, succeeded in preventing a widow from becoming a victim to this custom.¹ But the practice was too widespread to be thus easily uprooted; the whole weight of tradition and sanctity was in its favour; and in view of the popular opposition action was not taken to suppress it. It continued until 1830, when it was made illegal and since then² the law has been observed.

Another cruel custom he denounced was the castration of children for sale as eunuchs. Action was taken to suppress³ the practice but it continued in a number of Provinces.

1. Bernier, p.307.

2. Annual lists and general index of Parliamentary Papers, p. 27, paper 550 (1830); Camb Hist. IV, 222, 231; see also The Oxford Hist. p.664.

3. Camb. Hist. IV. 231.

C H A P T E R 11.
ASTRONOMY - ASTROLOGY

It has often been stated that Astrology was the precursor of Astronomy. Facts as ascertained were turned to the interpretation of signs and wonders. Ulugh Beg (d.853/1449), grandson of Timur, had almost a monopoly of talent in this direction. Humāyūn had an interest in astronomy, but his career was for long too disturbed to allow of much research. The Tājak was translated into Persian in Akbar's time,¹ a well-known work on astronomy, and Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh (d.1626)² evidently encouraged the subject in the Deccan. But distinction amongst the Timurids must go to Ulugh Beg for his Zīj or astronomical tables,³ compiled probably in 841/1437-8.

In divining the rammāl (Geomancer), the Brahman and the nūjūmī all play their part. They are all summoned in many romantic mathnavīs when hopes were fading of an heir to the throne.⁴ The Timurids attached much importance to conspicuous tokens before beginning enterprises of moment, and all of these Emperors had their horoscope. Akbar's is described with full detail in the Akbarnāma⁵ of his ever-shadowing

/minister

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1. A'in Akb, Bl.I, p.105.
 2. Iv. ASB.1494.
 3. Ibid, 1485; Browne, III, 386.
 4. Mir Hasan's Sīhr al-Bayan.
 5. I pp.25, 42.

(Learning) (Astronomy - Astrology) (Bk.I. Ch.11)

minister Abu al-Fazl, and who compares it proudly with that of the ancestral Timur. It was cast by Chand, who did the same service for Jahāngīr. The prince, Murād and Dāniyāl followed the fashion. Shahjahan's is given in the Pādshahnāma.¹

The horoscope having been cast at his birth Aurangzīb had no will in regard to the matter, he evidently preserved the document and followed with interest its details, for in Ahkam, Sect. XI,² he says:

" احكام راجحه مارا كه فاضل خان عملاء الملك از روز ولادت نا بعد و مانا نوشته بحسب
خرير به نامش بمطابق واقع آمده "

This is just a bare reference made in Ahkām to his horoscope, of which nothing is known in detail. But as he was born on Sunday night, 3rd November, 1618, he comes under the watery sign Scorpio (♏), whose planet is Mars (♂), with which are associated bravery and secretiveness, and these were two distinctive qualities of Aurangzīb.

No important astrological discoveries have been traced in this reign.

The horoscope is cast for every male child in most homes, and it is interesting to note that Muslims themselves have cast it without considering it a breach of tawakkul or

/reliance

1. I, pp. 12, 13.

2. Ahkam, ed. J. Sar, p.20.

(Learning) (Astronomy - Astrology) (Bk.I., Ch.11.)

reliance in God's providence, but this has been mostly due to their ignorance regarding the various suras of the Qur'ān¹ denouncing the practice or their uncritical acceptance of the prevailing custom around them.

1. The Qur'ān, XXXVII: 8; LII: 38; LXVII: 5; LXXII: 8.

CHAPTER 12

Nobles as Patrons of Culture.

Aurangzīb's reign produced a small number of nobles who supported practically the cause of Learning and Literature, and some of whom were themselves scholarly. Thus Mīr Muhammad 'Askarī, entitled 'Aqil Khan, with the pen-name Rāzī, a noble of Aurangzīb's reign who officiated as Governor of Delhi, was a poet and historian.¹ Apart from the above others who interested themselves in the promotion of culture were 'Abd al-Rahmān Bakhtāwar Khān, Ghazanfar Khān, and Muḥammad Shafī', with the title "Dānishmand Khān", who acted as a foreign secretary to Aurangzīb and to whose court was attached the celebrated traveller Bernier. A short account of these may suitably be given here.

I. 'Abd al-Rahmān Bakhtāwar Khān: He was highly regarded by the Emperor in his life and also on his death, for Aurangzīb personally followed his bier for a few paces and conducted his funeral prayer.² He was appointed superintendent of the eunuchs in 1096/1685.

Bakhtāwar Khan's numerous Bayāz³ which are preserved in the Delhi Museum and contain specimens by some of the

/calligraphers

1. Infra, pp. 140, 170

2. Ma'a Ala, p. 253; Mem Arc, p. 11.

3. Mem Arc, p. 11.

(Learning) (Bakhtawar Khan) (Bk.I., Ch.12)

calligraphers of Aurangzib's reign, are witness to this nobleman's liking for fine penmanship and his patronage of professors of the art. Certain contemporary writers speak of him as a great patron of learning and literature. ¹ The gasidas composed by some poets of the reign in praise of him also bear testimony to this. Tahsīn writes thus in eulogy of Bakhtawar Khan:

مگر در گم پرغین خان فینق تبار
چہ درگی کہ بود مرجع معارف و کبار
کہ راسی اور از خورشید نعل است عیار
درین ہوا چہ کند کس کجا بنا ہ برد
چو باد صبح پناہی در گمش بردم
فروغ چہرہ اقبال خان بختاور

and Arshī writes:

کہ بطوبی نرسد آفتی در باد خزان
کاوش تیشہ بنازد چو زری نیت بکان
ہمت خان ملک مرثیہ بختاور خان
طالب حق نکتہ رنج از سبب جہان
ہر کہ دستش تہ از اول تم خوش نیت
بفقیری سرو سامان بگرم باز دید

and Muhibb:

کیمیای نظر عین گداسیر کند
کہ ز صدق نقش صبح مباحث کند
خان بخت ز خورشید نماید
ابراہمان و گداسیر بختاور خان

and Qaysar:

گو کند سر بیدر دولت بختاور خان
بخت است فراز زده اقبال جہان
چو جسم بجان بذات بختاور خان
ہر کہ خواہد مدد از بخت و نصیب از دوران
بخت است کلید گنج دولت جہان
نازد ہم کس بہ بخت و صفا نازد بخت

In view of these facts it appears that many poets were
/welcome

1. Ma'a Ala, p.253; Mir Jahan, fol.424b. S.V. Tahsīn.
2. Mir Jahan, fol.449a.
3. Mir Alam, fol.588a.
4. Mir Alam, fol.608a.
5. Ibid, fol.605a.

(Learning) (Bakhtawar Khan) (Bk.I.. Ch.12.)

welcome at Bakhtāwar Khān's court who wrote qasīdas, although these must have been composed and recited secretly lest the Emperor should feel outraged. It may be noted here in passing that, notwithstanding his qualities, Bakhtāwar Khān has plagiarised passages from the history Mir'at-i Alam of Muhammad Baqā, claiming them to be his own composition.

II. Ghazanfar Khān: In the following passage from Mir'at-i Jahān-numā Ghazanfar Khān is described as a generous-hearted noble and helper of poor and needy persons:

آنها (عقفر خان) با حسن وجود، با اخلاق حمیده و اطوار پسندیده موصوف بود
همواره ابواب سخا و فضل در عطا برای طبقات انامی نشود

Muhammad Baqā composed the following couplets at Ghazanfar Khān's death which pay tribute to the generosity of his nature:

3 خان والا شان عقفر خان که بود
دستی جو در او بیجا رو با کرم
از سخا با فیض آن در باب نوال
بر دستن پیدا بسی از نهفت
که در حاجت از درد لها گرفت
گلشن جو در سخا گل گل شفت

Ghazanfar died in 1070/1660 while officiating as governor of That (in Sind) and was buried in Delhi. Muhammad Baqā composed the following verse by way of chronogram:

4 سال تاریخ و صدور و زش بقا
سندیم از ماه ذیقعدہ بگفت

1. fols. 547a ; cf. Bank. Cat. VI.
2. Mir Jahan, fol. 449b.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid, 449b.

(Learning) (Muhammad Shafi) (Bk. I., Ch. 12.)

III. Muhammad Shafī' Shafī', entitled Dānishmand Khān:⁽¹⁾

Mullā Muhammad Shafī' held an enviable position among the learned men of Shahjahan's reign. When reports of his learning and knowledge came to the Emperor's ears, he invited him to his court along with another learned man, Mullā 'Abd al-Hakīm, Siyālkotī, and arranged a Mubāhatha (disputation) between them on the Qur'anic text:

"إياك نعبد وإياك نستعين" (2)

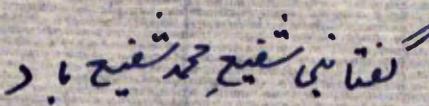
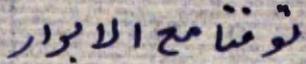
The Emperor Shahjahan enjoyed their intellectual discussion, and being much impressed by Mullā Shafī' employed him in the Imperial service. After some time the title of Dānishmand Khān was conferred upon him and he was raised to the mansab of "three thousand horse" and employed in the Secretarial Department. At the close of Shahjahan's reign, he retired from service and settled in Delhi. After Aurangzīb's accession to the throne, he was appointed head of the Secretarial Department. Aurangzīb revised some of the books of Ghazālī, for instance Ihyā' al-'Ulūm with his co-operation. He was later made the Governor of the Deccan. He died in 1081 A.H. 1670-71 A.D. and was buried in accordance with his expressed desire near the celebrated tomb of Khwājah Muhyi al-Dīn Chishtī in Ajmer.

/The

1. Mir Jahan, fol. 391a.
2. Qur'an, I:4.

(Learning) (Muhammad Shafi) (Bk.I.. Ch.12.)

The date of his death is commemorated in the following chronograms:

- (a)  1
 (b)  1

Bernier bears witness to his zeal for learning:²

"Besides my Navvab, or Agah, Danech-mend-Kan, expects my arrival with much impatience. He can no more dispense with his philosophical studies in the afternoon than avoid devoting the morning to his weighty duties as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and Grand Master of the Horse - Astronomy, geography and anatomy were his favourite pursuits, and he reads with avidity the works of Gassendy and Descartes."

Dānishmand Khān was kind and generous in extending help to men of letters. Bernier for example was attached to his court on a comfortable salary, and as has just been shown speaks highly of him.

It also appears from Bernier's Travels in Mughal India that this noble at least once succeeded in dissuading a widow from casting herself on the pyre of her husband,³ and thus actively sided against the custom of sati which the Timurid Kings from Akbar down to Aurangzib tried, though⁴ unsuccessfully, to ban.

1. See Qur'an III:192.

2. Bernier's Travels, pp.352-3.

3. Bernier, 307.

83 4. Supra, 83

BOOK II
LITERATURE

STANLEY LAMON

C H A P T E R 1.

INTRODUCTION TO POETRY

A knowledge of the literature of a period is gathered mainly from the original works produced by writers within that time, from contemporary tadhkiras or biographical anthologies, and from later tadhkiras. The closer the last-mentioned stand to the period the more trustworthy they may be expected to be, but in the tadhkira as a rule there is little criticism of the merits of an author or his works. The compilers have generally been satisfied with a very cursory judgment. The muwāzana or lengthy comparison of two or more authors belongs to a later date.

Extensive collections of MSS. have been made and guarded with care in such institutions as Museums, and the India Office Library, and have been made easily available for research. Many of these have been printed, some in critical editions, but very many have not been submitted to close study. The historical works have been investigated, and some of them translated into other languages, for the facts which they may contain relating to the dynasties and the contribution of these to civilisation. But during the earlier Timurid period, down till and including Aurangzib's reign, the relations of India with the world outside were comparatively few and not close; and there were only interrupted contacts with remote places like Qandahar and Balkh, whose culture was not on a high level at all. Until the 16th century, when European powers began seeking

/trading

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk. II. Ch. 1.)

trading facilities, turned minds in a more practical direction, poetry and mysticism occupied most of their attention.

The various Persian verse-forms were well practised, the qasida, but more often the less formidable qit'a; the mathnavi, frequently giving shape to a jang-nama, or a topical theme, e.g., a plague, or a view in Kashmir, and often devoted to a long romantic poem, a style represented more extensively in Persian than perhaps in any other literature; and the ghazal, the touch-stone of poetic worth. Mysticism, a symbol sometimes of unpracticality or frustration, or on the positive side, an effort to penetrate beyond the mysterious veil of impermanence and unreality and probe the secret of non-being, spread vaguely or comfortingly into literature and life. Sāqī-nāma and Rubā'ī served their didactic or hortatory purpose; but the ghazal by its subjectivity gave it best scope for ecstatic or symbolic expression. In the 17th Cent. the four main Ṣūfī orders possessed much vitality; Aurangzib himself belonged to the naqshbandī order. The Khānqāh stood as a symbol of union of all affiliated to the order. But there was no contribution to the study of the intellectual side; Dārā Shikūh with the aid of Muslim saint and Hindu pandit set out to explore the limits of the path which both pietist and scholar had trod, but unfortunately for theological studies at least Aurangzib cut off his inconvenient existence.

/Nor

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk.II. Ch.1.)

Nor has the 17th Cent. much to show in the field of poetry. There was a dearth of poetic talent in Persia, as well as in India. In the latter country Bidil has attained high eminence as a ṣūfī poet. Of poetasters there are many, the names of some sixty have been preserved, but the vein was seemingly worn out or the Emperor's dislike of the erotic repressed poetic fire.

Inevitably, for it is a general experience, poetry, the earlier form of literature, centres round the court. In the case of the early Sanskrit epics and dramas attention has been drawn to the fact that the characters are all court-personages with the exception of a few servants. So too in the case of Arabic poetry, the authors gathered about the Court at Damascus in Omayyad time; and later at Baghdad. It fell out likewise at the Persian capital. Princes also held their courts and conferred their favours, and some bestowed the honour of "Kavi Rāj" on their chosen favourite. But at the Delhi Court only the Sultan might confer the honour of laureateship (Malik al-Shu'arā). Sultan Maḥmūd introduced the practice at his court in Ghāznī by bestowing this honour on Unsurī (d. 1040 A.D.). The poets laureate mentioned down to Aurangzib's time are Amīr Khusrau (d. 716/1316), the chosen poet of 'Ala' al-Dīn; Ghazālī Mashhadī (d. 980/1573); Fayzī (d. 1004/1593); Tālib Āmulī (d. 1036/1626-7); and Abū Tālib Kalīm (d. 1061/1651). Of these only Fayzī was Indian born,

/from

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk. II, Ch. 1).

from which it can be concluded that the comer direct from Persia had an advantage in the matter of literary honours. This was quite natural. The longer Persian stock was removed from its homeland the further it became from the pure linguistic spring. The influx of a few poets or other Persian speakers each year could not stay the growth of an Indo-Persian style, or much influence its standard. The latter was less taksālī, i.e. it came from an inferior mint. A change of the stress, the new significance of a few words, are first marks of an outside influence.

Aurangzīb not only set himself against poetry in its lighter vein, but did not award anyone the honour of laureate-ship. The fact that he did not observe the custom, by no means ^{an} inviolate one however, of appointing a poet-laureate undoubtedly implies that he did so in deference to the Prophet's denunciation of the poets, and further, the practice of their profession presumed a **conviviality** for which he had no inclination. The practice was restored after him. Though his attitude was a check on any exuberant outpouring of verse yet it had its followers.

The 17th century was very arid as far as the output of Persian poetry is concerned. In Persia it awaited a renaissance. In India it survived with only a weak fertility; its strength and virility were to pass to a different species, that of Urdu. It had no blithe spirit; it was usually

/conscious

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk. II, Ch. 1.)

conscious of being an imitation however estimable. But if freedom of expression was frowned on there was still good scope for the mystical and philosophical. Repetition of the verses of Rūmī and of Jāmī has been a passion with Indian Sūfīs, but their writings, as W. Ivanow says, "reflect the currents of the period of gradual decadence of Sufism during the last four centuries, when the original ethico-philosophical theories steadily degenerated into a peculiar system of magic and cabbalistic beliefs"¹. Men waited patiently and longed, but their vision was from afar; their emotions were not finely touched; they prayed and wept and meditated, but the reality did not have inspiring power for them.

With Nationalism, or Sir Muhammad Iqbāl (d. 1938), or both, there came for some a change in orientation of the religio-Sūfī ideas. In place of the traditional bī-khudī or emptying of self there was expounded the opposite doctrine of realising the best powers of the self in relationships with the world, and at the same time love, universal love, should reconcile the soul to poverty and humility, and in the end lead to union² with the Supreme Being.

It will always be a subject of wonder that these Timurid poets had so little personal admiration of Nature, her varied beauties, her flowers ranging from the most modest to fine

/orchids,

1. Cat. IV. ASB, p. XXI

2. Asrār-i Khudī and Rumūz-i Bī-Khudī of Iqbāl passim

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk. II, Ch. 1.)

orchids, the seasonal changes, the passion of the storm, the songs and colours of the birds, the hill-streams, etc. In the previous reign, that of Shahjahan, the Persian-born Kalim had proved a popular writer of verses, and the King had distinguished him with the laureateship. He was versatile and his Dīvān contains qasidas, qit'as, ghazals and rubā'is. His repute has been well maintained, but a critic can hardly but admit that he missed an opportunity when he was content to turn his skill to elaborating figures of speech in presence of the beauties of Kashmir. Mulla Shāh chose subjects from the natural charms of that Province, but his mystic absorption closed his eyes to the appeal of the external. The establishment of hill-stations in Kashmir by the Timurids had given poets from the plains opportunity of seeing the grandeur of the hills and lakes, but their mind was not attuned to the language of the trees, flowers and streams, and ^{no} /Lakist-school was produced among them.

The poets followed closely the lead of their predecessors, using the same figures, or only such variations as the circle of acknowledged authorities would approve. Consequently their position was like that of Wordsworth's "Peter Bell", of whom he writes:

"A primrose by the river's brim
A yellow primrose was
to him, And it was nothing more."

They did not look at part or whole, but pictured a Beloved against a background of jasmine or tulip or spikenard.

/Mystic

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk. II, Ch. 1.)

Mystic poets like Sarmad (d. 1071/1660), Nāsir 'Alī (d. 1108/1697) and Bīdil (d. 1133/1722) imitated Maulānā Rūmī; in the romantic mathnavī 'Aqil Khān Rāzī (d. 1108/1697), Ghanīmat (d. 1110/1699) and Ni'mat Khān 'Alī (d. 1121-2/1709-10) joined the great throng who have followed in the steps of Nizāmī of Ganja (d. 1199-1203 A.D.); in the ghazal Bikhud (d. 1086/1675), Qāsim Dīwāna (d. 1136/1725), and Bīdil took as their models Sa'dī and Hafīz. In panegyric Istighnā (d. 1082/1671) and Tahsīn (d. 1088/1677) had many models to copy, and in satire Ni'mat Khān 'Alī and Ja'far Zātallī (d. 1125/1713) were individualistic enough to go their own way.

There was no Academy of Letters where distinguished writers might obtain official recognition. The poet grew up to his art. He usually chose an ustād or expert to whom he submitted specimens of his composition. In this reign Mīr Muhammad Zamān Rāsikh (d. 1107/1695-6) had a reputation for Ustādī; Wāzih and Ghanīmat were of the number of his pupils. As was stated above the change of attitude of Aurangzib towards this art about 1668 A.D. banned the open practice of its lighter forms.

There was no epic poetry produced in this reign.

/Conditions

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk.II. Ch.I.)

Conditions seem to have been entirely unsuitable for it. When showing that "heroic poetry depends on an heroic age" L. Abercrombie adds that "an age is heroic because of what it is, not because of what it does, and the heroic age sings primarily of itself, even when singing of its own humiliation"¹. The great national epic of Firdausi, the Shāh-nāma, had had imitators, but none of eminence; the genius of the Persian language found expression in the ghazal and the romantic mathnavi. Hindī has celebrated in many epics the glories of its heroes; the writer of the latest success, Sāketa, produced it as recently as 1931. Among models of an earlier date was padumāvati of Malik Muhammad Jāyasi, which was perhaps written originally in Persian character but is in the Avadhi dialect of Hindi; it has an epic theme, but is woven throughout with romance, and in the end declares itself an allegory. About the close of the sixteenth century Tulsī Dās gave to the world his epic masterpiece, Rām Charit-manas, based on the noble life of Rāmā; his contemporary Keśav Dās, in Rām Candrika, and Bihārī Lāl, in Sat Sai (1662), on the other hand made their heroic theme subordinate to rhetorical form. Epic material was not wanting. Hindi habitually and reverentially turned to Sanskrit classical

/works

1. The Epic, p.11.

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk.II. Ch.1.)

works and mythology for heroes. Akbar was now a sufficiently receding figure for a poet to select episodes to immortalise him in an epic. Sivaji on the other hand was a contemporary of Aurangzib, and so too close for a well-known poet of this era, Bhūsan Tripāthī,¹ to have achieved more than poems in praise and incitement which may yet be material for an epic, as the bandit warrior's heroism was famed throughout the Deccan.

The Jang-nāma is the closest approach made in Indo-Persian to the Epic. In the reign of Shahjahan the poets Kalīm and Qudsī started writing a versified history glorifying the deeds of that Emperor, but could not complete their work. In Aurangzib's period Ni'mat Khān Alī composed a Jangnāma-i A'zam Shāh Wa Bahādur Shāh;² though in prose, its rhythmical passages bring it close to the borderline of poetry.

The Jang-nāma of Zatallī (d. 1125/1713) describing the war of succession between Aurangzib's three surviving sons is short but must be allowed an important place in the history of Urdu language as well as its literature. It is in Persianised Urdu, but the flow of the style is easy and unconstrained, as can be seen in the following selection, whose first line ³ laments the /passing

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1. Keay, Hist. of Hin. Lit. p.4.
 2. IV ASB Curzon Coll. 162.
 3. Hindustani MS. 136B in I.O. Lib., fol.33b.

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk. II. Ch. 1.)

passing of Aurangzib, and whose qāfia sounds like a knell:

تخت چمن سب دھریا آخرقا آخرقا	۱ - کا ملکہ اورنگ زیب مرگیا نیکی جگت میں کر گیا
مجھ شوق ہے گھسان کو آخرقا آخرقا	۲ - اعظم کہے سب خان کو چیتے جو ہندوستان کو
ماروں گا اعظم شاہ کو آخرقا آخرقا	۳ - پہنچا نوشتہ شاہ کو دیکھو تمہاری راہ کو
نقد اور جنس حافر کیا آخرقا آخرقا	۴ - تباہ کھول کر تلخ دیا، تلخ دار منعم خان کیا
دی جگت میں ہمراہ ہیں آخرقا آخرقا	۵ - راتے بہادر شاہ ہیں چاروں بھائی ہمراہ ہیں

Aurangzib in his Letters quotes a line or two of verse freely, sometimes to illustrate a point or support an argument or to silence with sarcasm. Many of these lines are probably of his own composition. There is nothing to show that he wrote anything longer than a line or two. Their tone is always serious.

It has been stated, or assumed, that his attitude was opposed to poetry, but there does not appear to be any declaration of a ban. According to a contemporary historian² he approved of moralising verses. He could hardly have forbidden to others a pastime he himself enjoyed, even if only serious matters made his recreation. His attitude to versification may well have been something like his views on the chase; for him this sport served the double purpose of providing entertainment and furnishing fresh supplies of food. Poetry is an intellectual exercise and has a utility

/value

1. Here inaccuracy on the part of the poet is exposed. Aurangzib had five sons, of whom Sultan Muhammad, the eldest, predeceased Aurangzib in 1087/1676, and Muhammad Akbar, who had rebelled and gone to Persia, died there before his father in 1117/1706, so that only Mu'azzam, the second son, A'zam the third and Kam Bakhsh the fifth took part in the battle.
2. Ma' Alam, p. 532.

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk.II. Ch.1.)

value, to which its purpose of adornment must be subordinate.¹
The Prophet had denounced the vain musing of poets, and Aurangzib had no place for bemused persons.

Whilst Aurangzib did not ban poetry or poets, the incident related in connection with the verse:

عشق چه آسان نمود و یار چه دشوار بود بجز که دشوار بود یار چه آسان گرفت

indicates that even while a Prince he disapproved of amorous verses. When he was inconsolable after the death of Hira Bāi (surnamed Zainābādī) this verse of 'Āqil Khān was read to him by someone,² probably 'Āqil Khān himself.³ The Prince's grief melted at the sound of it and he asked for its repetition and learnt it off. On enquiring as to the author the reply was given by 'Āqil Khān or some other: "It is by one who does not wish to be known as a poet in presence of the giver of favours"⁴ (i.e. Aurangzib). Apparently 'Āqil Khān feared the royal displeasure were he to claim as his a verse so lovelorn.

Hindi and Urdu Poetry:

"The decline of Hindi poetry sets in during the reign of Aurangzib. The Court patronage was not entirely withdrawn,⁵ but the era of great poets was closed," writes Ishwari Prasad.

/Though

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1. The Qur'an XXVI, 225.
 2. Ma'a Uma, II, 823.
 3. Ibid, I, 792.
 4. Ibid, II, 823.
 5. A Sho, p. 172.

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk. II, Ch. 1.)

Though Aurangzib did not show favour to Hindi learning as Akbar had shown, or to his policy of encouraging the poets, as Jahāngīr and Shahjahan had, yet the title Kavi Rāy which Akbar and Shahjahan had conferred,¹ continued to be given to deserving poets though not at Delhi. Some of these, like the Tripāthī Brothers, were patronised at the Court of Śivaji or of the Rajas. The poet, and famous writer on poets, Bihārī Lāl Chaube, busied himself with his Hindi composition at Muttra, and the best collection of his poems is known by the name of Prince A'zam Shāh, third son of Aurangzib, who frankly encouraged Hindi literature.² The number of Hindi poets in Aurangzib's reign was considerable, and patronage was not entirely withdrawn.³ But a period of decadence had set in, especially by the end of his rule.

Bardic literature, war-poems with considerable historical matter, flourished at this time in the Rajputana States, but this did not exert much if any influence on poetic activity outside its own borders. The decline in the poetic art has not been traced to any act of repression; the literary activity of Akbar's time had apparently rather exhausted itself temporarily, to return with much vigour, but not great originality, in the reign of Muhammad Shāh.

/Two

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1. A'i Akb, Bl. I, 404, 613.
 2. Keay, Hist. of Hin. Lit. p.43.
 3. Ibid, 46.

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk. II, Ch. I.)

Two other poets of less austere calibre may be noted, Alam^{f. 1703} and his wife Shaykh Rangrezin with the poetic name "Shaykh". Angad Singh writes in Ājkal¹ of this pair:

”ہندی ادب میں بہت غور سے شاعر ہوئے ہیں جو عشقیہ شاعری میں عالم کے ثانی ہو سکتے ہیں۔ دل میں رومانی لہر اور جذبات میں ترکیب پیدا کرنے والی کوتا عالم اور شیخ کے ہی تلوں سے نکل سکتی تھی“

Trans. -

There has been a very small number of poets in Hindi literature who can match Ālam in love poetry. It is only from the pens of such as Ālam and Shaykh that poetry exciting romance and emotions in hearts can issue.

As for Urdu poetry, except in the Deccan it was not being used as a literary medium. The court at Delhi had always recognised Persian as the language of its records, and it was cultivated inside the circle of the family as well, so that ability to speak and write it was a mark of culture. But towards the close of the 17th Century Zatalli² boldly introduced Hindustani freely into Persian verses, and the popularity of Vali's Divān after 1700 A.D. sufficed to lay a strong foundation for Urdu.

It may be concluded from the preceding introductory statement that this reign did not possess poets who produced original work. In mystical and romantic poetry however there are specimens to show that there were writers of considerable merit. For example Sarmad (d. 1071/1660) and

/Bidil

1. Ājkal (Delhi), 15.10.1943, p.36.

2. Infra, p.

(Literature) (Introduction to Poetry) (Bk. II. Ch. I.)

Bīdil (d. 1133/1721-2) as will be shown below have enriched the mystical Persian poetry of India by their rubā'īs and mathnavīs respectively; so also has Nāsir 'Alī (d. 1107-8/1696-7) by his mathnavī Husn u Dil. 'Āqil Khān Rāzī (d. 1108/1696-7) versified the Indian love-stories of Manohar and Madhumālat and Padmāvat. These poets, being the most eminent in one direction or another in their time, will now be treated with some detail.

CHAPTER 2.

POETRY

A. MYSTICAL POETRY

The three poets considered under this head are Muhammad Sa'id Sarmad (put to death 1071/1660), Nāsir 'Alī Sarhindī 'Alī (d. 1118/1706-7), and Mirzā Abd al-Qādir Bīdil (d. 1133/1721-2). As Bīdil's work has greater literary and intellectual importance than that of the others he has been taken first. His poetry and that of Nāsir 'Alī ^{is} are mainly in mathnavī verse-form, and in this they followed, like so many others, the pattern of Rūmī. Sarmad's memory is preserved only in his rubā'īs.

1. MIRZĀ 'ABD AL-QĀDIR BĪDIL:

Bīdil, or to give him his proper name Mirzā 'Abd al-Qādir, was born in 1054/1644, at Azīmābād (Patna), according to most tadhkira-writers. Khān Arzū who knew him personally, states that he was a Tūrānī, and settled in Bengal; afterwards he went to live in Shāhjahānābād. Nassākh mentions Bukhārā as his birthplace, and adds that he came while very young to India, and also that he sometimes wrote Rekhta; he gives one line as a specimen:

اس دل کے آستان پر جیتنے آئی کارا پر دے سے پار بولا بیدل کہاں ہے ہم ہیں

Trans. - When love came and hearkened at the threshold of this (i.e. my) heart, the Beloved from the pardah (of my heart) said: "Where is Bīdil? Here am I!" Nassākh's ascription to him of

/Urdu

1. Maj al-naf, MS., S.V. Bīdil

2. Suk Shu, pp.75-6.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdīl) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

Urdu lines is not borne out by the tadhkiras, but it may not be an error, for by 1700 A.D. Vali's Urdu Dīvān had reached Delhi. Early in life, when still only 5 years of age and when he had for the first time finished the reading of the Qur'an, he lost his father, a kind parent and religious instructor. The loss was made up to him in no small measure by an uncle who helped him to continue his studies, and under his kind care he read through the Qāfiyya, the celebrated grammar of Arabic by 'Uthmān ibn 'Umar and a time-honoured foundation of study. He had just commenced to read Sharh-i Jāmī, i.e. Jami's commentary on the Qāfiyya, when this guardian too passed away; for want of financial support, he stopped his studies and started frequenting the company of saints and sages of his time, from whom he acquired a good deal of mystical knowledge. At this stage he came under the spell of Sa'dī's Gulistān, and often read it.

For sometime he was attached to Prince Muḥammad A'zam's Court, but withdrew from it as he refused to write qasīdas in honour of the Prince. This incident is typical of the independence of his nature, which endured throughout his life. When he gave up the service of Prince A'zam, he composed the following verse:

دنيا اگر دہندہ نجیم ز جای خویش من بے لہم امانت بیای خویش¹

Trans:-

Were I given the whole world I would not budge an inch

/from

1. Khu Afk. fol.40a; cf. Khi Ami, fol.22a.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bidil) (Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

from my place. I have applied the henna of contentment to my feet.

His independent spirit did not allow him to pay court to the Amīrs, though they visited him, and with some of them he kept up friendship; the few qasīdas which appear in his kulliyāt were written out of friendship to these nobles without any thought of reward. He died at the age of seventy-eight in 1133/1721. The following chronogram which yields 1133 A.H., by Mirzā Ghulām 'Alī Āzād, the author of Khazāna-i 'Amira (comp. 1176-7/1762-3), commemorates the date of his death:

3 گفت تاریخ وفاتش آزاد
4
"میرزا بیدل از عالم رفت"

Another date for his decease is given as 1137/1724-5.

Although no tadhkira-writer has mentioned the sect Bidil belonged to, it would appear from a manuscript of his Sāqi-nāma in the India Office Library that he was a Hanafī, as he

/has

1. Ru Bid, pp. 14, 16, 34, 35, 59, 71, 96, 103, 116.
2. Garcin de Tassy observes in his Litterature de Hindouie et Hindustani, I, 315: "et toutefois il n'y a pas un seul hemistich qui soit a la louage des gens du monde". It is submitted here that this is incorrect, as there are specimens of panegyric in the collection of his qasīdas. The author of Khulāsat al-Afkār (fol. 404) and also that of Mir'at al-Khayāl (fol. 1975) hold the same mistaken view.
3. Khā Ami, fol. 122a.
4. Iv. Cat. ASB 836.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk.II., Ch.2.)
has praised in it all four "orthodox caliphs", including
Hazrat 'Alī, without bias towards anyone.¹

He was a prolific writer in verse and prose. In the
latter medium are his ornate prose writings Nukāt-i Bīdil
and Chahār 'Unsur, both with ṣūfīc content and in a very
bombastic strain. Ārzū claims for him supremacy in this
style, and remarks of him in a general way:

اگر چه از علم ظاهر بهره دانی داشت در صحبت بزرگان و سپهر کتب صوفیه آنقدر مایه و ربل بود که در
سر زمین شعر تخم صوفی کاشت³

His verse-composition is contained in ghazal, mathnavī,
qasīda and rubā'ī.

There has been preserved also a volume of letters.⁴

It does not appear to be explicitly stated that he
visited Kashmir, and probably he did not, but in one rubā'ī
he mentions that province:

کشمیر که آشتیاب باغ دنیا است
دارد همه چیز غیر از نوع آدم⁵
در بر لقا خالک در جهان نشو و نماست
که زین پیش بهشت خوانند رواست

He has written some humorous poems; the remark in the
third hemistich indicates a broad humour, amounting to sarcasm

/at

1. See Per MS., (Ind. Off. Lib.), 410, fols. 22a, 23a, 24a, 25a.
2. MS., S.V. Bīdil.
3. Ibid; cf. Khā Amī, Fol. 121b.
4. *Infra*, 214
5. MS. Maj Naf, S.V. Bīdil.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bidil) (Bk.II., Ch.2.)

at least.

Bidil's rubā'is, as is to be expected, are tinged with Sufism. The rubā'ī verse-form is restricted to two bayts; a rubā'ī is not linked in form or meaning with any preceding or following, with the result that it is sententious or epigrammatic or moralising:

1 کس نیست درین جا که چو بیند خود را
از من "ما فل شود" تو: بیند خود را
ای بیخبران این سخن بگفتی
احوال داغ است تا دو بیند خود را

Trans.-

There is none here who, when seeing himself, neglects "I" and sees himself as "thou". Oh ill-informed! this is the assembly of oneness; there is a state of blemish so long as one sees oneself as two.

An echo of Rūmī may be perceptible in the following lines, but his influence is everywhere in Sufis with poetic aspirations:

<u>Bidil</u>	2	<u>Rūmī</u>	3
کو همراه چه بحر استک میخواره است		بر هر جائیکه سر نهم مسجود است	
کو ذره چه گره دون دل آواره است		بر شش جهت و بیرون از شش عبود است	
پا آنگه بیرون است ز گلزار خیال		باغ و گل و لیل و سماح و شاد است	
هر جا رنگت تاب رخساره است		این جمله بهانه است و هم مقصود است	

Trans.-

/Whether

1. Kul Bid (Bom), Rubā'īyyāt, p.5.
2. Kul Bid (Bom), 'Irfān, p.14, col.4th, L. 12th.
3. Rub Rum, S.V. tay.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk.II. Ch.2.)

<p>Whether it be but a drop or an ocean the tear partakes with Him; whether it be a particle of Heaven itself it is distraught for Him; or be it something outside the rose- garden of imagination, wherever there is colour it is the radiance of His cheek.</p>	<p>Wherever I place my head He is the object of prostration; it is He who is the object of worship in all six directions and beyond; garden, rose, nightingale, music and Beloved, all these are pretext and He is sole aim.</p>
---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

Bīdil's style reflected the prevailing tendency of writers at the Timurid court, viz. to employ an elaborate style, which often, in its quest for synonymous words rather than a phrasing developing the meaning, became exceedingly periphrastic.

His feeling was permeated with ṣūfism, and his thought in its endeavour to find expression for what he felt and knew was often abstruse and hidden among rhetorical figures. ṣūfism in the intellectual may be subtle; in those less so endowed fancy, sentiment, and "naked sound may welter together". Bīdil belonged to the order of the former. Shiblī Nu'mānī's statement that he has produced excessively figurative poetry is justified. A translation of his work
/into

1. Shi Aja, V.60.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk.II. Ch.2.)

into another language and the exposition of his thought are both difficult.

The impression of the difficulty in interpreting Bīdil is general. Nassākh says of Asad Allāh Khān Ghālib (d. 1285/1869) that his Persian verses are the equal of those of Zuhūrī and Bīdil. This is high praise, but somewhat invidious, for all have chosen intricate expression for their thought.

Regarding Ghālib, Altāf Husayn Hālī (d. 1910 A.D.) his biographer ¹ states that his subject, like many other intelligent youths, in the beginning read difficult and tortuous verses in preference to the simple and straight-forward; in his boyhood he read Bīdil chiefly, with the result that in his Urdu he followed the lines of Bīdil in his Persian. ² Hālī gives some specimens of such recondite lines and says of one, viz.

کرت گزنگر تعمیر خرابیهای دل گردون ³ نه نکلے خشتِ شکر استخوان بیرون ز قبا لها

that in deference to the criticism of the many who thought his Urdu too difficult or too Persianised, or both, he rejected the line from his Urdu Divān, but put it in his Persian one in this form:

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1. Yad Gha, p.99.
 2. cf. Gha nam, pp.28, 29, also Bay Gha, pp.388-9.
 3. His whole ghazal in this is excessively Persianised, see Gha nam, p.177.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bidil) (Bk.II. Ch.2.)

کنندگر نظر تعمیر خرابیهای دل گردون نیاید خشت مثل استخوان بیرون ز قالیها

His attitude to Sūfism, and the general nature of his linguistic expression, are well exemplified in the following lines in which he poses to himself the metaphysical problem of his own existence:

بیدم بیدل مرا جز هیچ بودن س زکو¹ از عدم می جو شدم انجام چه او آغاز کو
قطره گر مانم طراوت از کجا سامان نم¹ در بلویم ذره ام چو ذره را پرواز کو

Trans:-

I am dejected, oh Bidil! There is no other way for me but to be nothing; I come zealous from (the realm of) non-existence, - what was my beginning and what will be my end? If I remain a drop, wherefrom can I obtain freshness? And if I say I am a mote, what power of flight is there for the likes of a mote?

The quick alternatives put before himself by a ṣūfī in his communing with himself regarding his position are well illustrated in these lines from a ghazal; after them he turns in the next lines to a despondent mood:

۱- چنین گشته حیرت کیستم من
۲- نه شادم نه محزون نه خالم نه گردون
۳- نه خاک آستانم نه چرخ آشیانم
۴- اگر خانیم چیست این شور هستی
۵- بناز ای تخیل بیال ای تو هم
که چو آتش از سوختن زلیتم من
نه نفطم بمضمون چه معنیتم من
پری می فشانم کجا ایستم من
وگر باقیم از چه نمانیتم من
که هستی گان دارم و نیستم من

/Trans.

1. Kul Bid (LUC), p.79.

2. Kul Bid (LUC), p.282, Col.1, L.14th.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdīl) (Bk.II. Ch.2.)

Trans.-

(1) Who has bewildered me thus, that I live like fire by burning!

(2) Neither am I happy nor am I gloomy; I am neither earth nor sky. Nor am I a word in a context; what meaning have I?

(3) Neither is my threshold the earth, nor my nest the sky. I spread my wings (to fly) - but where am I?

(4) If I must perish, why this clamour about existence? And if immortal, why do I perish?

(5) Oh imagination, show thyself proud! Oh fancy, open thy wings, for I imagine I exist, while I do not!

MATHNAVĪ:

The mathnavī like the rubā'ī is of Persian origin. Rūdagi is stated to have been the first to compose one, and lay down the general outline. The earliest romantic specimen extant, Vis U Rāmīn, is based on a Pahlavi tale, which has been traced to Parthia. The first mystical mathnavī Hadiqat al-Haqīqat was written by Sanā'ī (d. C.1131-50 A.D.); Attār (d. after 1221 A.D.) and Rumī (d. 1273 A.D.) are next in the list of its famous composers, and the latter's great work has been the model and envy of all succeeding ages of Sūfī poets. Bīdīl wrote four poems in this verse form:

/(1)

1. Haf Asm, p.7.

2. B. S.O.A.S., art by J. Minorski, XI, 4, p.741, XII, 1, p.20.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdīl) (Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

- (1) 'Irfān (2) Tūr-i Ma'rifat (3) Muḥit-i A'zam or Sāqī-nāma
 (4) Tilasm-i Hayrat. All open in the traditional style with Hamd and Na't, and are mystical, and contain gnostic ideas.

In his mathnavi 'Irfān he sets forth the doctrine of divine universality or Ḥamāh Ūst, and includes in it mention of the divine love, but does not proceed to elucidate the function of the latter:

وین که هستیش گفته اند هم اوست
 بحر در گرد ساحل است اینجا
 قدم اوست هر که می پوید

۱ - آنچه می خوانیش عدم اوست
 ۲ - ماخل الد باطل است اینجا
 ۳ - آنچه گوئیم عشق می گوید

Trans.-

- (1) That which you call "adam" (non-existence) it is "He";
 and what is termed existence is also "He".
 (2) Everything here save God is vain; the ocean (of existence)
 encompasses the shore here (in this world).
 (3) Whatever we say, it is love that speaks; whoever runs is
 as feet for Him.

'Irfān is the longest, and comprises 11,000 lines in Ramal metre, the same as is employed in Sanā'ī's Ḥadiqa. Its compilation is commemorated in the chronogram:

1124/1712. It is considered by the author of Gul-i Ra'na to be his best.

/'Irfān

1. Kul Bid (Bom), p.14, Col.4, L.12th.
2. cf. Qur'an: III: 2 - There is no God save Him, the living the self-subsistent.
3. cf. Qur'an II: 255 - "Everything is perishable but He".

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bidil) (Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

'Irfan does not deal with a single theme as do most mathnavīs but, like the Makhzan al-Asrār of Nizāmī of Ganja, is "a mystical poem with illustrative anecdotes, after the fashion of the Hadiqa of Sanā'ī or the later Mathnavī of Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, rather than a romance".¹ Bidil besides writing on various abstract themes such as 'Ilm-i Tahqīq, 'Irfān, Ma'rifat, Quadrat-i Ilāhī and Haqiqat-i Jamāl U Jalāl, has included in it numerous Hikāyāt whereby he gives expression to his mystical thoughts. The relation between the part and the whole, nominalism and realism, man and his Maker, is pleasingly expressed in these lines:

تن زجان به چنان بنازرند	۱ - نغمه جان ز تن بسازند
باله از ذات اسم و ذات ز اسم	۲ - جو شدة از علم جسم و علم ز جسم
فهم کن فهم در در کسر کو تا	۳ - حی و قیوم نیست جز اللہ
سیر کن کن بہار را در یاب	۴ - نغمہ اینجاست تا در یاب

Trans; -

(1) The melody of the soul reaches the instrument through the body. Likewise the body attains gracefulness through the soul.

(2) The body is stirred through knowledge, and knowledge through the body; the name grows from the essence, and essence from the name.

(3) No one is alive and self-subsisting except Allah.³

/Understand

1. Browne II 403.

2. Kul Bid (Bom), 'Irfān, p. 112, Col. 1, L. 6th.

3. cf. Qur'an, III: 2 (See Supra, 115-fn. 2).

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdīl) (Bk.II. Ch.2.)

Understand well and cut short your worry.

(4) The tune is here, find out the strings (of the guitar);
behold the flower and discover the Spring.

There is no vacuity in the pilgrim's longing or striving;
in the field of his consciousness there must be "another",
definite in outline and articulate, over against whom he can
realise himself, though in what manner is not indicated:

۱- حکم غیرتی بخود بندی	تا باد را که خویش می بندی
۲- غیرت در نظر مقابل نیست	بیچ کس را شعور حاصل نیست
۳- بی حضور صدا و میلِ صورت	چشمها کور و گوشها بیهوش
۴- دست خود را لمس نکند	راه اگر نیست با چه پیاید
۵- هر یکی را مقابلی در کار	تا بمحقق خویش باید بار

Trans; -

- (1) Take to yourself the virtue of "otherness", so that you may attain to perception of self.
- (2) As long as the "other" does not confront the sight, none can achieve (true) knowledge.
- (3) Without the presence of sound or association with (other) figures, the eyes are blind and the ears are deaf.
- (4) The hand does not touch itself; if there is no way how can one traverse it?
- (5) Everyone needs a vis-à-vis, so that he may successfully attain realisation of himself.

/Tūr-i Ma'rifat.

1. Kul Bid, (Bom), 'Irfān, p.38.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bidil) (Bk.II Ch.2.)

Tur-i Ma'rifat, a mathnavi containing 3,000 lines in Ramal metre and dealing with a variety of themes, contains this passage which seems more poetically inspired than most in these poems and to have less Sufistic involution:

۱- بوخت یافتم مشتِ عبا ری	که دارم عرض تعمیر بهاری
۲- ز رنگِ رفته خود یاد کردم	که دین فصلِ خزان بنیاد کردم
۳- بحمد الله که در بر گم دوی نیست	من من صورت عکسِ توئی نیست
۴- چمن نقشِ پیر پرواز من بود	خزان شور شکستِ ساز من بود
۵- بهاری از کنار خویش دیدم	خزان هم در عبا خویش دیدم

Trans.-

(1) In my distraughtness I found a handful of dust with which
I intend to repair the Spring edifice.

(2) I was reminded of my past happiness when I laid the
foundation of this autumn season.

(3) All praise be to Allah that there is no duality in my
make up: I am "I" (and) there is no image of the reflection
of "Thou".

(4) The parterre was the impression of my wing while in
flight; the autumn was the noise of the breaking of my lute
(sāz).

(5) I plucked a spring blossom from my own bosom; I saw
autumn in my own dust.

/In

1. Kul Bid, (Bom), p.19, Col.4, L.16th.

2. The Persian extension of the original Arabic meaning of this word has been adopted here.

3. Rekhta appears to be a possible emendation for Rafta; this would preserve the sense as translated but make more complete the play on the words Rang and Bunyād.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

In this mathnavī he expresses another main tenet of Sufism, viz, Mā Hich Nayem.

۱- بیا بیدل که عشقت و فعالیت است	محبت نیز در وحدت و بال است
۲- دوستی می خواهد این دعوی حذر کن	عدم باش و مطالب مخمّر کن
۳- ز بهستی هر چه اندیشی فزولیت	سر انجام فزولی ناقبولیت

Trans.-

- (1) Come, oh Bīdil, for your (worldly) love is (nothing) but a shame and confusion to you, and affection but a mischief in the way of the divine unity.
- (2) Beware, this claim leads to duality! Become non-existent and cut short desire.
- (3) Whatever you conjecture of existence is futile; its end is futility and unacceptability.

The Muhit-i A'zam is also known as Sāqī-nāma. Mathnavī poems bearing the latter name have been written by Hāfiz, Sana'ī Mashhadī (d. 1000/1588-9), Shikebī (d. 1023/1611-2) and Mullā Muhammad Ṣūfī Māzandarānī, and a few others; Zuhūrī (d. 1025/1616) and Bīdil complete the list till the death of the latter.

As its name implies this type of poem includes such subjects as: "Praise of Wine", "Praise of Spring", "Praise of the Maykhāna". It is a long poem with bādah and sāqī as important subjects in the theme.

In the mathnavī Muhit-i A'zam he expresses the view that

/the

1. Kul Bid, (Bon), Tur-i Ma rifat, p.18, Col.5, L.16th.
2. Mullā Tughrā, d.c. 1078/1667 also write a Sāqī-nāma, in imitation of Zuhūrī.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk.II. Ch.2.)

the world is a talisman which, it is thought, protects a man, but actually it conceals the secret of the self, a self which must realise its power to guide itself towards the full manifestation of His being. There emerges in these lines a view of the self as a nucleus, progressing and with a certain illuminative potency:

<p>تبی از خودی نیز پروازت ظلم خیالیت نقش جهان کنی چند در پر تو خویش سیر خویش است سر منزل آماده ات</p>	<p>۱- ظلم جهان پرده رازت ۲- چه دامانده ای در غم دین و آن ۳- چو خورشید میسوده و هم غیر م که خط شغای بود جاده ات</p>
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Trans.-

- (1) The talisman of the world conceals the secret of the self; And to flee from (self) is to be void of selfness.
- (2) Why are **you** involved in grief for this or that (worldly thing)? Our picture of the world is an imaginary talisman.
- (3) Like the sun (by the eclipse), you are seared by thought of other than yourself; do sometimes proceed by your own ray.
- (4) So that the beams of the rays (of your own light) may serve as a path to you; Your destination is ready prepared in yourself.

The Self's path leads through distraughtness and "out-of-selfness", but it possesses a self-sufficiency too, as stated in Muhit-i A'zam:

1. infra, pp. 125, 126, 128

2. Kul Bid, (Bom), Muhit-i A'zam, p.29, Col.5, L. 16th.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk.II. Ch.2.)

۱ - که ای کبریا نقش دیوانگی
 ۲ - چو آینه چند داری پیش
 ۳ - تو می قبله خود چو محرم شوی

هم پرده ساز بیگانه می
 مشو غافل از صورت حال خویش
 تو محراب خویشی اگر خم شوی

Trans.-

(1) O you who, you are entirely an image of madness, you are wholly a melody of the instrument of alienation.

(2) When you hold the hand-mirror before you, do not fail to notice your state.

(3) When you become initiated (into divine mystery) you become your own qiblah²; if you bow down you are your own mihrab³.

The poem is religious in purpose, but in its descriptions of wine for example it has an imagery that puts "a zone" about the world and all it holds for mortals. Bīdil includes towards the end mention of such earthly pleasures as are derived from pān, supārī, and chūna. The tone is usually light and the language simple, but Bīdil has occasionally difficult verses expressing abstruse ideas. The following gives a general idea of his style:

۱ - بزرگی ز خلق جهان منزوی
 ۲ - که ای در حق معنوی ذوقنون
 ۳ - چه صورت است در پرده این تار را
 ۴ - نه آنجا کسی داشت از ما خبر

مگر شد بخوابش میان مولوی
 چنان دیدی احوال خلق بطون
 چه رنگت گلهای گلزار را
 نه اینجا کسی برده رنگ اثر

/Bīdil

1. Kul Bid, (Bom), p.29.
2. The direction of the Ka'bah, to which Muslims turn their face while praying.
3. The principle place in a mosque, where the priest prays to the people with his face turned towards the Ka'bah.
4. Kul Bid, (Bom), Muḥit-i A'zam, p.42.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

Bīdil deals with another great tenet of mystical doctrine: "Man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa Rabbahu", "He who knows himself, knows his Lord". "Know thyself" has been urged by sages in many places as the key to full understanding; and Bīdil stresses its importance here:

بندوفِ دلِ نفسی طوفِ خویش کن بیدل¹ تو کعبه در بغلی جای چه می جویی

Trans.-

With desire for your heart's delight make circumambulation of yourself, oh Bīdil! You are a Ke'bah in yourself (lit. own embrace) - why do you seek here and there?

In Tilasm-i Hayrat he wrote:

نه بندی تا بفهم خویش احوال² طپیدن است برقِ نبضِ آرام

Trans.-

So long as you do not wear the pilgrimage' dress with understanding of self, restlessness will agitate the pulse of restfulness.

Tilasm-i Hayrat is composed in Ramal measure; it contains 3,000 verses. Like the 'Irfān it does not deal with a single theme only. One thing distinguishing it from the rest is the emphasis the author has placed on "man 'arafa nafsahu faqad 'arafa Rabbahu". He speaks of it in this mathnavi as follows:

1. Kul Bid, Ghazaliyyāt, p. 357, Col. 5, L. 23rd.

2. Kul Bid, p. 52.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bidil) (Bk.II. Ch.2.)

زهی بی تخی و امید حاصل	۱- تو حقی جوئی و از خویش غافل
بجو خود را که از خود سخت دوری	۲- بعین قرب مردم از حضوری
همین نورست رهبر تا بخورشید	۳- مباش از جستجوی خویش نوسید
جمال حق چه امکان است دیدن	۴- بکنه خویش تا نتوان رسیدن

Trans.-

(1) You seek Truth, yet you are negligent of self. Bravo! you hope to reap without seed.

(2) In spite of being in the vicinity you are bereft of (the divine) Presence; seek yourself for you are far distant from yourself.

(3) Do not despair in search for the self - this very light guides to the sun.

(4) As long as you cannot fathom the self, how is it possible for you to see the Beauty of Truth?

In this fourth and last mathnavi the poet returns to the phenomenalism and vanity of this world:

طیبدنای احواج است دریا	۱- ظلم و حشت اشیاست دنیا
و که سنگ است بال او شر است	۲- اگر خاکت پروازش عبادت
حصول این معانیست جز نام	۳- درین منزل چه آسودن چه آرام

Trans.-

(1) The world is a charm with disorders engraven on it; the ocean is the restlessness of the waves.

/(2)

1. Kul Bid, (Bom), Tilasm-i Hayrat, p.57.

2. Ibid, p.4, Col.4, L.23rd.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

(2) If it is earth, its flight is (in the form of) dust; if it is stone, its wings are sparks.

(3) How can there be in this abode (world) peace and tranquility! The gain of all this mystery is just in name.

The mystic has always been liable to the reproach that in following his path he has devitalised himself and by his non-cooperation in human interests has been an ineffective member of society except in so far as pious example has an influence. This passivity was first seriously assailed in India by Altāf Husayn Hālī (d. 1914), biographer, literary critic and poet. His works as biographer and critic are classical; his famous Musaddas holds a place in the rank of poetical masterpieces. In this poem he attacked the inertia and other causes of the decline of the Muslims. Orthodox and sincere he urged his coreligionists to busy themselves and restore prosperity and prestige to their land. The challenge was convincingly and persuasively uttered. It came almost like a clarion call of Nationalism, though he was concerned with religion, not politics, and the Muslims had not yet turned towards the latter direction.

His influence reached Iqbāl (Sir Muhammad Iqbal) among many others, who himself composed a musaddas of somewhat similar content in his early work. Iqbāl's studies took

/him

1. Bāng-i Darā, 177, 220.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk. II, Ch. 2.)

him through courses of philosophy and metaphysics, Eastern and Western, and while still in middle life he worked out a system in which were coordinated fact, theory and faith. The bī-khudī of the Ṣufī saints had a place in the scheme of spiritual things, but it had usurped the masnad to the exclusion of Khudī.

Bīdil makes a fuller analysis of the state of the pilgrim, the devotee on his way, than the great Ṣufī poet Abu Sa'īd b. Abi al-Khayr who, though giving him a functioning capacity, restricts his self-expression. "The true Saint", said Abū Sa'īd, "goes in and out amongst the people and eats and sleeps with them and buys and sells in the market and marries and takes part in social intercourse, and never forgets God for a single moment."¹ For Bīdil, while God is constituted of all, there is a self, however ineffective, capable of producing music:

۱- گونگانه تمیز و گرسوریم
۲- اثر و تاثیر ما همه ادست
۳
۴
کتقلم اعتباری اتریم
نغمه و تار و ساز ما همه ادست

It is a self with a path to illumine for itself; with an aim to attain true knowledge and realise itself; with capacity for further spiritual self-realisation after initiation into the /divine

1. Studies, p.55.
2. Kul Bid, (Bom), 'Irfan, p.14, Col.4, L.12th.
3. Supra, 120
4. Supra, 120

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bidil) (Bk.II, Ch.2.)

¹ divine mystery; with need to make active search for the self;
time and spatial relations provide the opportunity of finding
reality:

² ورنه محرم حقیقت راز
نظری کن بشکل این باز
کرده طوفان بهم زمان و مکان
که درین شکل بی عبارگان ³

Frustration contains lessons to learn:

⁴ "از مرآت تحقیق پوشیده نیست که آدمی در جمیع اوقات و احوال حیرت زده کارگاه المتبار است - اگر خزانگان
از مرآت تحقیق پوشیده نیست که آدمی در جمیع اوقات و احوال حیرت زده کارگاه المتبار است - اگر خزانگان
کتابد ملبس اند و در شکست زگیهاست - اگر چشمی پوشد داغ فرصت نماشا در حزر عید است
جز دانه اشک چه باید کاشت و بر دوش دل نمیر از ناله چه می توان برداشت - بهر صفت
مجبوریم و در هر صورت معذور -"

Trans.

Trans.-
all times and in every condition is bewildered in the work-
shop (the world) in which he trusts. If he were to open
his eyelashes, he would take lessons from the pleasures that
fail us. If he were to close (his) eyes, what ought his
disappointment with the loss of the opportunity of sightseeing
to sow in the field of regret except the seed of tears, and
what else could be shouldered by the heart, endure save to
bewail. In every way we are compelled and in every manner
we are powerless.

/It

1. Supra, 120
2. Ibid.
3. Hul Bid, (Bom), Iran, p.112, Col.1, L. 6th.
4. Kul Bid, (Luc), p.76, L. 10th.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

It is with the realisation of the self that man's state is considered to be superior to that of lower creation:

1
 "شعور این نشاء [معرفت] را نتایج بسیار است و حضور درین مقام را حواصل بی شمار التقی شریعت
 و سلوک طریقت که ماده انتظام و منشاء کمال ظهور و بطن است، بواسطت انبیاء و وسیله اولیاء و زشهور
 این حقیقت و حصول بهمین معرفت است یعنی و اگر نه معاد و معاش انسان هم وضع سایر حیوانات بود
 و احوال آدمی جز مطابق ظهور و انعام نمی نمود - بادی تحقیق زمره آسمانیان را از صراط مستقیم
 "من محوف لفسه" منصرف نگرند اما در به ننگ منسلالت در من کان انعمی خلفه صفوا انعمی فی الاخوة"
 مرساناد

Trans.-

There are many results from the understanding of this growth (mystical knowledge) and there are innumerable special features in the attainment of this (mystical) stage. The orderly observance of the Shari'at and the entering on the (mystic) path, which are the origin of order and the source of external and internal perfection, are, through the medium of the prophets and the agency of the saints, witness to this truth and the acquisition of this knowledge. Otherwise the subsistence and death of man would be like that of other animals and the condition of man would seem to be like that of birds and cattle. May the guide of truth not turn the company of heavenly people (saints) aside from the straight /path

1. Kul Bid, (Luc), p.86.
2. There can be little doubt as to the meaning of this sentence, but its grammatical structure is, to say the least, clumsy.
3. The Qur'an, XVII: 72.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bīdil) (Bk. II.. Ch.2.)

path of "one who knows himself", and may he not bring them to the shame of error of such of whom (it was said) "whoever¹ is blind in this, he shall (also) be blind in the hereafter".

Along with passages reflecting the despondency of the struggle there is the urge to the active aim of self-realisation, a self which is one with the Universal, which is sole existing and self-subsisting but comprising all. There is here a glimmer of that light which Ghālīb and his friend and biographer Hālī heralded, and in greatest fullness Iqbāl. Bīdil can be claimed to be a forerunner of Iqbāl. The rebound from inexorable fate or from social inaptitude to supine selflessness was now exposed as resulting in general decline and decay. "It is the lot of man to share in the deeper aspiration of the Universe around him and to shape his own destiny as well as that of the Universe"². It has been well said, "The philosophy of Khudī has as its corollary the conception of bī-khudī (negation of the self). It means the losing of one's self in the Community to serve a common end. Individuals develop their Khudī to such an extent that they submit to the millat, but remain animated with an intense love of action and freedom. Such individuals are a source of³ strength to the millat, and the millat exalts their position".

/Bīdil

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1. The Qur'ān, XVII: 72.
 2. Iqbāl, Lectures etc., 16.
 3. Iqbāl's political Theory, p.243: Essay by M 'Azīz Ahmad in Iqbāl as a Thinker.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Bidil) (Bk. II., Ch.2.)

Bidil was not content to express an idea in terse terms that sometimes baffled interpretation at sight; to many a sentiment ~~have gone~~¹ pithy form, as may be seen from these few selected at random:

- ۱- نلک تکلیفِ جاہت گر کند عالی حماقت زن کہ غیر از گاو نتواند کشیدن بار دنیا را
- ۲- نباشد ہرزہ گو را بہرہ از پاسِ نفسِ بیدل کہ حفظِ بوی خود شکل بود گلمای خندان را
- ۳- چارہ سازان در صلاحِ کار خود بیچارہ اند یہ نسا ز دھوم زخمِ خانہ زنبور را
- ۴- جنونِ ناشوئمان را خوشی می دہد شہرت بعیر از بوسدائی نیست زنجیرِ رگِ گل را
- ۵- خاکِ ان تا بکی دارند پاسِ آبرو سایہ را از عا جزئی ہر کس تہ پای می کند
- ۶- درین گلشن نوائی بود دمِ کندلیبِ من ز بس نازکِ دلیم از بوی گلِ چوبِ قفسِ دارم

1. Kul Bid, (luc) pp. 218, 223, 229, 230, 257, 278.

2. SARMAD

Not a great deal is known about Sarmad with certainty. He is usually referred to by Tadhkira-writers as "Sa'ida-i Sarmad". Mubad Shāh is the first to state that his name after conversion to Islam was Muḥammad Sa'id, but does not mention his name prior to that event.¹ Mubad is also an authority for the statement that he was the son of a Jewish priest. Khān Arzū² is one of the few tadhkira-navisān to mention this, and he only does so quoting from Mubad's Dabistān. Sher Khān Lūdī³ states that Sarmad's forefathers had migrated from Europe to Armenia, and so he was sometimes referred to as "Armani". On his way to India he resided at Kāshan; hence Rizā Qulī Khān⁴ speaks of him as "Kāshānī". The last but one writer adds that he was a very rich merchant, but when he went to Ṭhaṭṭa, in Sindh, he became enamoured of Abhī Chand, a Brahman boy, and threw away his wealth, and like a Hindu ascetic withdrew from worldly pleasures.

Nothing is vouchsafed as to his reasons for his change of faith. He had apparently an early training in the Jewish /Scriptures.

-
1. Dab Madh, fol. 259a. "This work must have been written shortly after 1063/1653" Iv. ASB 1134.
 2. Maj Naf, S.V. "Sarmad".
 3. Mir Kha, fol. 84a.
 4. Maj FUS, II, S.V. "Sarmad".

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Sarmad) Bk. II, Ch. 2.)

Scriptures. Possibly a student's wanderlust led him on a migrant's path. One of his rubā'īs indicates a certain unsettlement of mind at one time or another:

از مذہب کوسوی اسلام آندی
بر شقا درید لیچمن ورام آندی
سرمد بجهان بسی نگو نام آندی
آخر چه سبب شد که زالد و رسل

He studied philosophy under such learned teachers as Mullā Sadrā and ² Abu al-Qāsim Qandarsakī. On his route from Kāshān he reached Thatta, where as stated above he became enamoured of Abhī Chand, who later studied under him the Torah, Psalms and other portions of Scripture. He now turned to an ascetic mode of life.

Mūbad Shāh relates that Sarmad once went to Shaykh Muḥammad Khātūn, who was attached to Sulṭān 'Abd Allāh Quṭb Shāh, and eulogised him. But Muḥammad Khātūn took no notice of him, whereupon he predicted the early decease of Muḥammad Khātūn, and this occurred within a year as foretold.³ Khān Ārzū adds as the reason for Muḥammad Khātūn's conduct his miserly nature.⁴ This may well have been the case for Mullā Tughrā, a poet of Shāhjahān's reign, satirised him for the ungenerous reception he had at his hand.⁵

/Alī

1. No 321 in MS. AHH. (Mr. A.M. Harley).
2. Dab Madh, 259a.
3. Ibid, 260a.
4. Maj Naf, fol. 228b.
5. Ins Tug, fol. 49a.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Sarmad) (Bk.II.. Ch.2.)

'Alī Qulī Khān Dāghistānī relates that Sarmad was beheaded in 1071/1661, and buried by the side of the Masjid-i Jāmi' in old Delhi. There are two tombs at this site, one of an unknown saint, and the other that of Sarmad, which is usually overgrown with verdure and is therefore spoken of as being the "Hari bhari qabr".

There is disagreement among the biographical sketch writers as to the reason of his death. The well-known Urdu anthologist, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād (d. 1910 A.D.), tells among his large collection of stories one joke which seems near enough to likelihood to be a fact. As it illustrates, if true, several traits in his character it can be suitably given here:

"Writers already know that Ālamgīr was displeased with Sarmad, and therefore always had him in mind. And so Qāzī Qawiy, at that time Qāzī of the city (Delhi), went on one occasion and arrested Sarmad while drinking bhang (a hemp preparation). At first there was a good deal of interchange of jesting; eventually the Qāzī said: 'No, no, the religious law is this; why do you argue against God's law?' Sarmad made reply: 'What am I to do, Sir? The devil is strong (Qawiy)!' ¹

/Some

1. Ab-i Hay, p.350.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Sarmad) (Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

Some of the tadhkira-writers declare Sarmad's execution to have been due to his uttering the Kalima-i Tayyiba only as far as "There is no God", a reservation which according to the code of the Sharī'at, is Kufr; others regard his disbelief in the Mi'rāj-i Jismānī (i.e. the bodily ascent of the Prophet) to have been the cause of offence:

خود بین ترا از سپهر ایمن آوردند
سرمه گوید ننگ باخند در آمدند

1
آن نکرست حقیقتش با آوردند
ملا گوید که بر شد احمد ننگ

His persistence in appearing naked in public, thus defying the law, is also quoted as a ground for his being put to death.²

Although the biographers thus differ in their reasons, yet all of them assign his death to a religious cause. It must be remembered that the 'Ulamā' who decided the fate of Sarmad were partisans of Aurangzīb and opponents of Dārā, to whom this poet was attached, and that the latter is said to have predicted against Aurangzīb in favour of his brother. Therefore it is not unlikely that the 'Ulamā' by their given fatwā gave a colouring of religion to what was a political motive. The reason why Dārā Shikūh was inclined towards the poet/^{is} stated by Vālih Dāghistānī to have been Dārā's habit of /entertaining

1. Mir Kh^u, fol. 85a; Kal Shu, fol. 50b.
2. Waq Ala, 67a; Bernier, 317.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Sarmad) (Bk.II., Ch.2.)
entertaining faqirs and sādhūs.¹

Vālih Dāghistānī is also authority for the statement that Sarmad's severed head uttered the unrecited portion of the Kalima. His followers in thousands visit his shrine every year for Urs, so that for them his sainthood is established.² Bernier,³ and Tāhir Nasīrābādī believe him to have been insane. Plato thought that for the successful cultivation of the muses a poet must be mad. The rubā'ī is almost necessarily staid, and Sarmad's du-baytis- another name for verses in this form, do not produce an impression that their author had lost self-possession at the time of writing them. Khan Arzū says that the allegation of insanity had no foundation.⁴ The following rubā'ī chosen at random does not bespeak any abnormality; wine,^{to} which he was almost certainly addicted is a common symbol with him:

از خرقه کشی خار صدفتنه در دست زاهد تو بخور باده که بسیار نکوست⁵
کیفیت این است هر که باید اوست بی شبه حلال است بگوئی تو حرام

He acknowledges a certain amount of indebtedness to Umar Khayyām in the quatrain:

1. Riy ShU, S.V. Sarmad, or Lub Lub (an abridged copy), fol.86b.
2. p.317.
3. Maj Naf, S.V. Sarmad.
4. Ibid.
5. Rub Sar, p.11.

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Sarmad) (Bk. II.. Ch. 2.)

بانگ و خیال کس نیا شد کام¹
 اما بر باغی ام مریدِ خیام
 در طور غزل طریق حافظ دارم
 نه جری کش باد ز او بسیارم

The nature of his indebtedness will be apparent from a comparison of the quatrains here set side by side:

Sarmad

ماسیم درین دیار میو کسته بکام²
 ساتی کنار دست و می ناب بکام
 ز ابد چو خم باد نهنگوی تو حرام
 این باد نه حلاست نگیرم بحرام

'Umar Khayyām

ماسیم که سر مست شراییم مدام³
 در مجلس ماییت بجز ناده و جام
 بگذر از نصیحت مای ز ابد خام
 ما ناده پرستیم و لب یار بکام

He is quoted above as having stated that he followed⁴
Hāfiz in composing the ghazal. Unfortunately only one⁵
 specimen of a ghazal has been preserved. There is undoubtedly⁵
 a passionate strain in his writing; it pulsates but not with
 a vehemence to indicate an unbalanced state:

سوفت بی و جهم تماشا را بین⁶
 زنده کش جان نباشد دیده (؟)
 کشت بی جرم میکارا بین
 گر ندیدستی بیا ما را بین
 داغ یعقوب وز لیلیا را بین
 پلزمان آن روی زیبا را بین
 سر مد سرست و رسوا را بین
 شاه و درویش و قلندر دیده

His rubā'is are characterised by ascetism and
 /emotionalism,

1. Ibid, p.56.
2. Ibid, p.51.
3. Rub Uma, fol.40a.
4. Supra, 1st. Line.
5. Mir Kha, fol.85a.
6. Mir Kha, fol.85a.
7. 321 in all as enumerated in a ms. in possession of Mr. A.H. Harley

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Sarmad) (Bk.II., Ch.2.)

emotionalism, and moralising. If he had riches once he evidently reached a frame of mind which found contentment in its opposite:

1

مرگ است درین بادیه دنبال ترا اینست مال کار از مال ترا
 اول محنت و آخرش حسرت است این مال کند هر دم پایمال ترا

1. Rub Sar, p.6.

3. NĀSIR 'ALĪ SARHINDĪ

Nāsir 'Alī though a poet of some note in his day does not rank among pre-eminent verse-makers. He has been selected here for special mention because he reflects in considerable measure the spirit of his age.

He was born in Lahore, but as he resided for a long time at Sarhind he has "Sarhindī" as nisbat. 'Alī he adopted as his takhallus. He flourished under the patronage of two distinguished Amīrs of Aurangzib's reign, Sayf Khān Badakhshī and Dhū al-Fiqār Nusrat Jang. It is stated in nearly all the catalogues that he was a devout Ṣūfī, but the author of Mir'at-i Jahān-numā states that while at first he lived after the manner of Ṣufīs for some time, later on he became a rind (a carefree person) and indulged excessively in drinking. He died in 1107-8/1696-7. Sarkhwush composed the following line commemorating this date (1107):

سرخوش ز خرد سال و ما تشن پرسید گفت "آه علی بجاام معنی رفت"

As Ārzū, who was long acquainted with his son, states that he became a qalandar later in life and turned a darvish, it is probable that his earlier days were not so sober as those that followed.

His collected work comprises a variety of verse-forms—rubā'ī, mathnavī, ghazal and qasīda. The rubā'ī he practised, but without any special merit. His language /is

1. Maj Naf, S.V. 'Alī

* Mir Jahan, fol. 489a

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Nasir Ali) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

is easy but rhetorical figures are too frequent to leave the sense at all times perspicuous. His rubā'is have a mystical tone:

1 مغز است وجود عشق باقی هم پوست
هر ذره درین دشت بود منظر دوست
در هر چه نظر کنی بهمان آئینه است
این زلف هزار حلقه بر عارض اوست
2 عارف می داند حقیقت اشیا را
آئینه ضرور است رخ زیبا را
هر موج کز محیط بر خیزد
انگشت اشارتی بود انا را

Like hundreds of others Nāṣir 'Alī Sarhindī set before him Rūmī as his model, as he states in these lines:

3 بطرز مولوی آهنگ بردار
حدیث دیگران کن پرده نثار
اثر بردار از آواز بگذر
بدل ناخن زن و از ساز بگذر

His language in the mathnavi is simple, but figures of speech are rampant and variegated:

4 ۱- حصاری از برای تن ضرور است
دل است آن دل که از آسب دور است
۲- دل است آن دل که بی پروای تو است
دل است آن دل که حی لا یتوحش است
۳- دل است آن دل که آفتزدن نداند
شهادتش که کنی حردن نداند (5)
۴- دل است آن دل که بر آتش گذر کرد
دل است کز و که هم دوزخ حذر کرد

To love, which elsewhere he calls the "Kernel" he attaches great importance in the scheme of things:

1. Div Nas, p.105.

2. Ibid, p.

3. Mat, fol.124a, cf. another line, by him:

See Div Nas, p.84.

4. Mat, fol. 145b.

5. cf. the often quoted line of Hāfiz:

6. Supra, 4th Line. عاقبت امر عالی گشتم درید پرورد
گفت خوش بنشین بیا به بر منم جانکنم
هرگز نمیرد آنکه دلش زنده شد عشق
نیت است بر جریده عالم دوام ما

(Literature) (Mystical Poetry) (Nasir Ali) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

۱- ز شور عشقم آنگی بیاموز
مرا هم که دش رنگی بیاموز
۲- که در پرواز یکنگی در آیم
جد از بال، بال و پر کشایم
۳- روم جایی که پا مال قدم نیت
وجود آنجائی ننجد عدم نیت
۴- من و غوغای من از سینہ رفته
دوئی عکسیت از آئینه رفته

and also in these lines:

۱- محبت رنگها دارد غلط نیت
روشهای کند میر یک نمط نیت
۲- عجایب می طراز دگاه بیگانه
کتان می سازد از کتان ماه
۳- بیلجی آب دانش می کند جمع
از اعجاز محبت سوزد این شمع
۴- ز نخل سبز آتش می نماید
خودش آتی انا الدی سراید

Khān Arzū considers that his short mathnavi containing the following lines is the equal of Mahmūd Ḥ Ayāz, the most famous of Zulālī's poems, which was started in 1001/1592 and completed in 1024/1615:

بیتی می گفت روزی با برهمن
خدا ای من توئی ای بنده من
مرا بر صورت خود آفریدی
برون از نقش خود آفریدی

Later, after he became a desciple of Badī' al-Dīn Qalandar Darvish, and so after his "Conversion", he started writing another mathnavi, of confused content in as much as it contained a number of ^{metres,} with ruba'is and ghazal lines.

It begins:

جمله یک بیت است دیوان آله
هم بدنیام بعقبی کن نگاه

1. Mat, fol. 137b.
2. Ibid, 137a.
3. Maj Naf, S.V. Alī

B. ROMANTIC POETRY(Romantic Mathnavī)

Persian romantic literature has found very abundant expression in the mathnavī verse-form. The earliest of such tales in the language is Wīs u Rāmīn¹, which was followed soon after by Wamiq u 'Adhra, the latter now no longer extant. Poems in this genre were, and are popular. The group of five poems forming the Khamsa of Nizāmī of Ganja (d.c. 596-99/1199-1203) achieved a renown that has endured undiminished, and poets of all degrees have imitated them. Two pairs of heroic lovers "Yūsuf and Zulaykhā" and "Khusrau and Shīrīn" have had their story told again and again, and others several times, for the narrators have not been very inventive; ingenuity has rather spent itself on the adaptation of the conventional phrase and figure of speech.

'AQIL KHAN RĀZĪ (d. 1108/1696-7)

'Aqil Khān is the best known of the writers of romantic poetry in this period. His name as it appears from the tadhkiras was Mir 'Askarī, but he is better known to fame as 'Aqil Khān, a title conferred on him by Aurangzib. He belonged to a Sayyid family of Khwaf in Khurāsān but was born at Aurangābād in the Deccan. He adopted as his nom de plume Rāzī, after the name of his pir, Burhān al-Dīn Rāz-i Ilāhī / (d. 1083/1672-3)

1. Bull. SOAS, art by V. Minorski

; Br, II.

(Literature) (Romantic Poetry) (ʿAqil Khan Rāzī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

(d. 1083/1672-3).

He had been a paymaster with Prince Aurangzib in the Deccan, and when the latter came to the throne he bestowed on him the title "ʿAqil Khan". He withdrew from office twice, the first time at any rate on the ground of his health. Aurangzib valued his services highly and appointed him governor of Delhi in 1091/1680; he remained in this post a considerable time. He combined in himself the piety of the faqīr with liberality of thought and firmness of character. This last quality was manifested in his behaviour towards Mahabat Khan*, who had been in the service of Abu al-Hasan, King of Golkonda. He died in 1108/1696-7; the following qitʿa was composed by Bidil on this occasion:

رابطہ اتلم ہندوستان نماند
۱۱۰۸
سہدی جمیاد عاقل خان نماند
political

مجمع استاد بی شیرازہ شد¹
بادی الوار لطف از دیدہ رفت

Though holding important posts he did not allow himself to be engrossed in the political affairs; at any rate he found time for literary work, and composed a dīvān, and three mathnavīs two of them romantic (see infra 142-3), and the third mystical, called Muraqqaʿ², and in prose, Waqiʿat-i ʿAlamgiri, a short history of the war of the succession in 1658.

The two romantic mathnavīs are (1) Mihr u Mah³ and (2) Shamʿu Parwāna.

/(1)

1. Kul Bid. (Bom), Qitʿāt-i Tawārikh, p. 57, col. 1st. L, 1st.
2. See per. MS. (I.O. Lib), 486.
3. See per. MS. (I.O. Lib), 3082 and also 2198.
4. See per. MS. (I.O. Lib), 3082 and also 2515.

(Literature) (Romantic Poetry) (Āqil Khān Rāzī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

(1) Mihr u Māh contains the love-story of the Indian Prince Manohar and Princess Madhumalat. It was composed in 1065/1654-5, some three years before the accession of Aurangzib. It opens in the time-honoured fashion with hamd, na't and manqabat, in a manner peculiar to the mathnavis and more definite than the opening lines of praise to gods and great men in Sanskrit and Hindi epics. The tale has features in common with many of Indian origin. Raja Kanākar had an only son called Manohar, whom he loved deeply and never allowed to stray out of the palace. One night as the handsome youth lay fast asleep, some fairies flew over the palace and saw him. Charmed with his beauty they raised his couch and flew with him to the palace of Madhumālat, for a magical element of this sort figures in these stories. L. Abercrombie has said of Homer's supernatural machinery that "it may be reckoned as a device¹ to heighten the general style and action of his poem". Though a conventional form long before this time the introduction of the supernatural agency does broaden the scope of action. They deposited it beside her and at dawn restored it and the Prince to his palace. A period of separation and sorrow follows this night of union, but /ultimately

1. The Epic, p. 28.

(Literature) (Romantic Poetry) (ʿĀqil Khān Rāzī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

ultimately the marriage of the lovers is arranged by Madhumālat's friend Bīmā.

It may be mentioned here that another mathnavī of this name Mihr u Mah, and dealing with the same lovers from Hindu romantic tales, but written by ʿAṭā Allāh ʿAṭāʿī, was composed sometime subsequently to the preceding. This fact and the one that the author himself called it Manohar u Mālātī appear from a bayt in it:

زرآزی نیز مهر و ماه شهسور¹ منوهر مالتی و راست مذکور

Another mathnavī, called Manohar Mālātī, on the same theme was composed (c. 1071/1661) by Ḥusām al-Dīn Ḥusāmī.⁽²⁾

(2) Shamʿu Parwāna - The Indian love-story of Rat, or Ratan, or Ratan Sen, and Padmāvat (or Padam), composed in 1069/1658-9. This pair of lovers figure in a mathnavī called Padmāvat, by Shukr Allāh Bazmī, of Gujrat, who compiled it in 1028/1619 and dedicated it to Jahāngīr.³ Both are based on the famous epic Padmāvātī written in the Avadhi dialect of Hindi, but probably first in Persian character, by Malik Muhammad Jāyasī who flourished about 1540, in the reign of Sher Shāh, Jāyasī at its close declared it to be an allegory,

/a

1. MS. of Mr. A.H. Harley, fol. 46
2. MS. of Mr. A.H. Harley.
3. Iv ASB 770.

(Literature) (Romantic Poetry) (Aqil Khān Rāzī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

a Ṣufī poem dealing with the relations between the soul and God. The story goes back in origin to the time of Prithī Rāj and his stand against the Muslim Ghori invaders pressing on to Delhi towards the end of 12th century.

The story here follows the general outline of Jayasis long mathnavī Padmāvati. A certain Raja had a daughter Padmāvati or Padam, who was very beautiful. She had as a constant companion a parrot endowed with the faculty of speech and surpassing wisdom. It flew from its cage one day and was snared by a Lunter, from whose hand it passed into the possession of Ratan. It spoke to him of Padam's matchless beauty, and he became enamoured of her at the very description, and left his Kingdom to go to Chitaur to see her. He eventually wins her and brings her to his home. But in the meantime the fame of her beauty reaches the ear of Sultan 'Alā'al-Dīn Khiljī, and he invades Chitaur. But before completing its capture he has to leave to go and suppress a rebellious rising in the Panjab. In the interval before his return the Raja of Daulatabad hears the renown of her charm. 'Alā'al-Dīn returns and seeks by cunning approaches through a maidservant to entice her. The Raja's evil suit leads to conflict with Ratan in which the former is
/killed

(Literature) (Romantic Poetry) (Āqil Khān Rāzī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

_____ becomes sati
killed and the latter mortally wounded. Padam¹ in accordance
with a Hindu custom which Aurangzib and before him Akbar,
Jahāngīr and Shahjahan all had tried to suppress.¹

Attention should here be drawn to the fact that these
mathnavīs of Rāzī were composed in 1655 and 1658 respectively;
apparently there was an abrupt termination of his poetical
activity, openly at least. The reason, at least for not
writing romantic mathnavīs, was probably Aurangzib's dislike
for this kind of poetry.

1. Supra, pp. 94, 95.

C. LYRICAL POETRY(Ghazal)

This type of poetry is by its derivation of an amorous, erotic nature. Whether it is a developed form of the tashbib of the gasida as Shihabī Nu'mānī has suggested, has not been established, but love is its theme. The Sufis utilised it to express divine love. In origin it belongs to pre-Mughal times in Persia; its dominance during most periods since then is unquestioned. Its great rivals were ^hthe gasida and the mathnavī. These were more ambitious in length and purpose, and not many poets were capable of sustaining the effort of the former successfully. The mathnavī, much less restricted by the fetter of end-rhyme, has gone for its themes in many directions and to many activities. It has selected for description man's wars, his love, and his hates; inanimate objects in this world, and beasts and birds. The gasida has been fettered by end-rhyme; its subjects have been various, but quite early in its history its purposive portion tended to turn to praise of a patron for what he could bestow. But the sphere of the ghazal is different from either of these; it is the sphere of the spirit of man; it is one personal to him and in it his passion complains or rages, and singles out or blends or /confuses

(Literature) (Ghazal) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

confuses his emotions. In such case his song is subjective.

But the principles of its verse-formation have militated against its attaining to the rapturous moment of the lyric. The verses in a ghazal are not supposed to be interrelated; they seldom seem to be integral parts of one theme. This, joined to the fact that the number of its lines do not often exceed a dozen, makes it easy to understand why every poet has attempted the task of composition in this metier. But the poetasters are legion.

In India Md. Husayn Nishapuri Naziri, who migrated there and died in Ahmadabad in 1021/1612-3, well maintained the traditions associated with Sa'di and Hafiz of expressing imagination, love-thoughts and emotionalism in the ghazal. After him there came a change due apparently to the introduction of philosophical ideas with their complications in difficult language. This change entered into the Persian poetry of India largely through Urfi (d. 999/1590-1); it made his ghazals inferior to those of Naziri. Sa'ib (d. 1088/1677-8) refers to this difference between them in these words:

صائب چه خیالست شوی همچو نظیری
عربی نظیری نرسانید سخن را

Sa'ib's ghazals are nearer in style to those of Naziri, and it must have been humility of spirit that led him to

/consider

(Literature) (Ghazal) (Bk.II., Ch.2.)

consider himself below Urfi.

Apart from the imperial frown on the light or frivolous the character of the reign of Aurangzib was not of a kind to encourage the ghazal. It was one of unrest, with constant warring over a wide field, and the millions of non-martial spirits were uncertain and weary. Bidil imbued his ghazals with Sufism and philosophical ideas, and often times his deep thoughts have induced in him a pessimistic mood, as in these verses:

1
 آنقدر برپایس پیچیدم که امیدم نماند پای تا سر یک گره شد رشته ام از تابها

Trans.-

(1) I am so involved in despair that no hope is left me; from head to foot my tissues are become knotted through ardent heat.

2
 مقام وصل نایاب است راه سعی ناپیدا چه می گردیم یارب اگر بودی نازکیدنها

Trans.-

(2) A place of union is unattainable and a path to run on not found; what will become of us, oh Lord, if there be not attainment?

3
 فریب زلفت هستی مجو که همچو شرار نفقتهی است اگر هستی در نمودنها

Trans.-

(3) Seek not the delusion of the opportunity of existence, /because

1. Div Bid (Bom, 1875 A.D.), p.34.

2. Ibid, p.50.

3. Ibid, 48.

(Literature) (Ghazal) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

because like the spark it is hidden, although it is exposed.

چہ دست و پا تو اندر کسی در بند جسمانی ندارد این قفس بیش از نفس دوری طپیدنا¹

(4) How can any one stretch his hands and legs in his physical bondage? This breath has but breathing space to quiver.

It has been previously stated that Nāsir 'Alī's ghazal is excessively figurative. It is said that poetry is never without symbolism; symbolic expressions are particularly noticeable in the following:

(3) سپند می کشد آبی شکن پیرای مجرا تا شاد در درخشند برگ ریز ماه و اخترها

In this line he means by siband his heart, and by perā-i mijmar his body, by māh his eyes and by the stars his heart. Unless these things are imagined and translated accordingly, the line will not give any sense. Thus the translation of this couplet should be:

My wild rue (my heart) heaves a sigh, breaking the censer (my body). Tonight the moon's shedding of leaves and the stars (my eyes and heart) present a good spectacle (i.e. are a sight worth seeing).

/(1)

1. Div Bid, p.48.
2. Supra, 137-8
3. Div Nas, p.3.
4. The metaphor of the stars for his heart is farfetched.

(Literature) (Ghazal) (Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

(1) تازدی آتش در آب از عکس آن خسارها شمع روشن کرد در اندام ماهی خارها

Trans;-

(1) As soon as he set fire to water by means of the reflection of that face, the flame lighted the candles of the scales on their bodies (i.e. the gleaming cheeks made the scales of the floating fish glisten).

(2) نمی دانم در آن عالم که می گیرد عقالش را سیمائی فرمان رست از پی قاتلِ ما را

(2) I do not know who is going to catch hold of the rein of his (horse) in that world (hereafter), because the Messiah's miracle (of giving life to the dead) is walking along side my murderer (i.e. he will bring to life all the dead, thus disproving the charge of murder brought against him).

Despite this defect in his ghazal Nasir Ali did not consider himself as out of tune with his age; indeed, like most of the poets he spoke proudly of his merits:

3 علی در بحر حافظ دست و پای می زند هر شب کجا دانند حال ما کبکباران ساحلها

'Ali swims laboriously in the bahr (metre, lit. ocean) of Hāfiz every night. How can the lightly burdened on the shore understand (our difficult) conditions!

4 این شوخی غزل گفتن علی از کس نمی آید با پیرانی می فرستم تا می گوید جوابش را

/Trans. -

1. Div Nas, p.8.
2. Div Nas, p.11.
3. Div Nas, p. ~~11~~ 3.
4. Div Nas, p.7.

(Literature) (Ghazal) (Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

Trans.-

Oh 'Alī, nobody can compose a ghazal with such suavity;
I am sending it to Persia so that she may answer it!

۱ علی شوم! ایران می برد شهرت از آن ترسم که صائب خون نگیرد آب در دفترش و پید
'Alī, my reputation carries my verse to Persia, and I fear
lest Sa'ib may shed tears of blood (because of my poetry
which is better than his), and the water may rise in my divan.

۲ این غزل ناصر علی اعجازمند و گمان ماست صائب اینجا می نهد بر خاک تا محشر جبین

Nāsir 'Alī, this ghazal (of mine) is a miracle of our
Hindustan; Sa'ib lays here his forehead on the dust till
the Day of Judgment.

1. Ibid, 7.

2. Ibid, p. 93

D. PANEGYRICAL POETRY(qasida)

When the Arabs first began to take their place in history as a nation, and not a congeries of tribes, their poetry had already attained a fully developed verse-form, that of the qasida. This set the standard in their competitions at the fairs in peace-time. This form had the great disadvantage of being fettered by the constant end-rhyme. Sometimes only a qit'a or torso is found, which may be either all that has been preserved or all that was written, the poet's ability or patience having failed him to complete it and indeed, the productions of some few poets, notably Ibn Yamīn (d. A.D. 1344-5), consists entirely of such qit'as. Shibli Nu'mānī conjectures that the lines addressed to the inamorata or the black camp-traces of her tribe may have come in time to form the ghazal. When the Persians began to write they found a more flexible form than the qasida desirable, and before the Mongol invasion had already devised the mathnavī and the ghazal.

The qasida henceforth had less vogue, and though some poets have composed it with great credit, it lost much of its popularity to the above two Persian forms. The names of the great who have been imitated, or have defied imitation, are Anwarī (d. after 1150 A.D.), Khāqānī

/(d. A.D. 1199),

(Literature) (Panegyrical Poetry) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

(d. A.D. 1199), Zahīr Fāryābī (d. 1210 A.D.), and in later times the Persian-born ʿUrfī (d. 999/1591) and Kalīm (d. 1062/1652) who migrated to India. There were no outstanding qasīda-writers in Aurangzīb's reign, for a reason that will be mentioned below.

In its prime the qasīda was more or less true to its name, i.e. it was purposive; the poet wished to carry greetings or a message of some sort, mostly to a patron. In course of time this turned to praise of the patron, and to become ever more flattering, so much so that one usually regards the qasīda as being madhiyya, though that need not be its function. One can well understand why Shāh Tahmāsp Ṣafawī rejected it as paying a tribute that could go to no one mortal. "Though in earlier life that King (Shāh Tahmāsp) enjoyed and cultivated the society of poets, in his later years his increasing deference to the views of the theologians led him to regard them with disfavour as latitudinarians (wasīʿ-ūl-mashrab), so that when Muhtasham (d. 996/1588), hoping for a suitable reward, sent him two eloquent panegyrics, one in his praise and the other in praise of the Princess Parī Khān Khānum, he received nothing, the Shāh remarking that poetry written in praise of Kings and Princes was sure to consist largely of lies and

/exaggerations,

(Literature) (Panegyrical Poetry) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

exaggerations, according to the well-known Arabic saying,
 "The best poetry is that which contains most falsehoods."¹

The Timurids showed themselves accessible to flattery. They had achieved greatness by force of arms and were held in awe. They were given high-sounding titles in their life-time² and after their death.³

Aurangzib's period was entirely unfavourable because the Emperor was averse from flattery.⁴ The reason for his objection was his belief that no one mortal is worthy of such praise.⁵

Although Aurangzib prohibited flattery yet there were a few poets in his reign whose Divāns or Kulliyāt, or isolated qaṣīdas incorporated in some tadhkirah or history, are evidence of their having composed eulogies. Some of these qaṣīdas were written on Aurangzib himself, e.g. by Nasir Alī⁶ (d. 1108/1696-7, Ni'mat Khān Alī⁷ (d. 1108/1696-7) /and

1. Browne IV 172-3.
2. Thus in his lifetime Humāyūn was called Nūr-i Ilāhī, Akbar Khalifat al-zamān, Shahjahan, A'lā Hazrat and Aurangzib Pādshah-i Haqq āgāh.
3. After death Bābur was called Firdaus-makānī, Humāyūn Jannat-ashiyani, Akbar Arsh-ashiyānī, Jahāngir Jannat-makānī, Shahjahan Firdaus-ashiyānī and Aurangzib Khuld-makānī.
4. Thus when Muhammad Kāzīm after writing his history of the first ten years of the reign, his Alamgir-nāma, submitted it, the Emperor was annoyed to find the exaggerated praise lavished on him. See Ma'a Ala, preface, p.1; Alam mugaddama, p.5. Mun Lub, II, 211.
5. Ibid; this is precisely the same reason as in the case of Shāh Tahmāsp Safawī of Persia. See Browne IV 172-3.
6. Infra, 157
7. Infra, 158

(Literature) (Panegyrical Poetry) (Bk. II.. Ch. 2.)

and ¹Bīdil (d. 1133/1621-2). These qasīdas were probably written before the above prohibition or else secretly.

Other poets, for instance, 'Ināyat Allāh ²Bīdil, 'Arshī, ³Luṭf Allāh Muhibb and Abd al-Latīf ⁴Qaysar, ⁵wrote qasīdas on certain nobles of their time, such as Bakhtāwar Khān, Ghazanfar Khān, Shukr Allāh Khān, and Shākīr Khān. From the few lines by them incorporated by Muḥammad Baqā in his histories Mir'at-i 'Alam and Mir'at-i Jahān-numā, it is clear that with the exception of Tahsīn, a few of whose qasīdas have been so honoured by Muḥammad Baqā, there is not much worth noting. The spirit of the time was against its composition.

Muḥammad Baqā has included two qasīdas by Tahsīn, one of thirty-two lines and the other of twenty lines, and six lines of another qasīda in his histories. ⁶

From these it is possible to form the opinion that he had capacity sufficient to compose successful qasīdas. By employing graceful similes he praises the mamduh in a way that is most likely to be pleasing. The following /are

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1. Kul Bid, p.49.
 2. Mir Jahan, fol.499a, not to be confused with 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil (Supra, 106).
 3. Mir Alam, fol. 608b.
 4. Ibid.
 5. Ibid, fol. 605a.
 6. Mir Alam, fol. 588a, Mir Jahan, fol. 454a.

(Literature) (Panegyrical Poetry) (Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

are a few lines from one of these poems:

مگر در گم پی فینن خان فینن نثار	در بن هوا چه کند کس کجا پناه برد
چو در گم که بود در معراج معاد و کبار	چو باد صبح پناهی بدرگش بردم
که رای اور از خورشید عقل را ست عیار	فردغ چهره ارتضال خان بخشنا دور
زمانه ز آرزو چو گل از نسیم بهار	جهان شگفته آرزو چو زمی دل محجور
دلان غنچه شود چو میخ در تقار	نسیم خلقت اگر در چمن گداز کند
ز بوی مشک شود ناف آهوی تانار	اگر خلق تو گویم سحر، اگر در باش

Tahsīn had a poet's typical high esteem of his worth.

Urfi suffers by comparison here:

که جان آرم و در حیم شعر از تقار	سختی شناس من آن شایسته ام بکس سخن
چو شمع رنگ بر گم گشته طلع الوار	تم ز نور معانی ز بس که لبر نیر است
بغیر مدح و ثنا نیست تحفه ام در بار	مناج خانه اهل سخن سخن باشد
نه عرفی ام که بیالم بیست در بار	لها لعی که حد او در دراز است دم

None however is likely to dispute the opinion that

Urfi has not been surpassed by this poet or any other in India.

When Nasir Ali went to the Deccan he composed in praise of Nusrat Jang a qasida beginning:

1. Mir Alam, fol. 588a.

(Literature) (Panegyrical Poetry) (Nāsir 'Alī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

ایمان حیدری تن بود آشکار نام تو در بر دکن کار ذوالفقار

For this he received a reward of a thousand rupees and an elephant, both of which he gave away to others more needy, for property had no worth for him.¹

Another qasīda he composed in honour of Aurangzīb. As he mentions that the title "Ālamgīr" had been conferred on him and that he was occupying the throne its date must be about 1658 A.D. and certainly before he set his face against this form of poetry. It will illustrate the typical extravagance of the panegyric:

<p>خطابش شاه عالمگیر دادند محمی الدین محمد زینب اورنگ بعالم بیچ ننگ از دبحر نام کنند پیلویش از بحر ساحل بگوهرش نمان چو رشته دریا (ق)</p>	<p>خطابش در خط تهنیت دادند² شهنشاه جهان با پویش و فرزند جهان بخشی که چو احسان کند عالم ز تو هر پایشی آن شاه عادل ز بس پر کرده جودش کوه و محرا</p>
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Whilst Ni'mat Khān 'Alī's memory is hardly likely to be preserved for his poetry there must be noted about him that he wrote qasīdas eulogising Aurangzīb and others. If

/published

1. Maj Naf, S.V. 'Alī
2. Mat, fol. 153b.
3. This simile is probably original.

(Literature) (Panegyrical Poetry) (Nasir 'Ali)
(Bk. II. Ch. 2.)

published in the lifetime of this Emperor their date of composition would probably be before 1669, in which year he set his face against this form of composition. The following lines are from a qasida laudatory of the Emperor:

1

<p>مژگان بهم زدن چونماز جماعتت این سایه را بذر کمال شایسته است یعنی که خاک پای تو کسیر دولتت چرخ فلک ملاحظت کند مجامعتت هر نفس که سر فر از رکاب عبادتت پایند بر کف و سینه آن بجمعتت این خاتم جزالت که در دستت</p>	<p>شاه نظر بر وی تو کردی عبادتت اخلاق حق محمود وجود مقدست هستند پایمال تو شاهان روزگار سیر اندم جمله خلق را روان نعمتت کامل شود در غرض شرفی چو ماه نو کو همی که کان زربور افزون بعد تو املم دین مسخر ازین قامت در قامت</p>
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The use of phrases like 'Ibādat, Namāz-i Jamā'at, Akhlaq-i Haqq, Wujūd-i Muqaddas and Khātim-i Khudā would indicate that 'Ali's thought was guided by religious ideas, a fact which is supported by his belonging to the Akhbarī sect, a conservative sect of shī'ites, and his having written a tafsīr on the Qur'an, called Ni'mat-i Uzna.²

1. Naz Nat, fol. 155b.
2. A part of this is contained in per. MS. I.O. No. 3145; cf. Ic, April 1940, an article by Dr. Nizam al-Din of Uthmaniyya University; cf. Cat Curzon Coll. ASB, No. 337; cf. Kashf al-Zunun, I'jaz Husayn, No. 3280, ed. Hidayat Husayn, Calcutta 1330/1912.

E. SATIRICAL POETRY

(Hajw)

Satire is regarded as almost the earliest form of expression that has found its way into literature. In the tribal conflicts of the Arabs it roused to battle and to victory, and withered the enemy. In the days of the Umayyads at Damascus it provided the great poets Farazdaq (d. 728 A.D.) and Jarir (d. 728 A.D.) with a means of mutual vituperation. Satire, or hajw, as it is called, in those times made use of the qasida verse-form. According to Prof. Browne: "Thus a qasida may be a panegyric (madiha), or a satire (hajw), or a death-elegy (marthiya), or philosophical (hikamiyya), or it may contain a description of Spring (rabi'iyya), or Winter (shita'iyya), or Autumn (khizaniyya), or it may consist of a discussion between two personified opposites (e.g. night and day ---), when it is called a munadhara, "joust" or "strife-poem", or it may be in the form of a dialogue (su'al u jawab, "question and answer"), and so on¹.

In Persian one of the earliest satires preserved to us is that of Firdausi (1000 A.D.) on Sultān Mahmūd of Ghaznī, which he wrote in his disappointment at the amount of reward paid to him. Its concluding line is often quoted:

ز ناپاک زاده مدارید امید / که زنگی ز شمشیر نگرید

/Trans.-

1. Browne, II p.44.

(Literature) (Hajw) (Ni'mat Khān 'Alī) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

Trans.-

Hope not aught from an ill-born one, because a negro does not become white by washing.

After Firdausī, Khāqānī (d. 1199 A.D.), Sūzanī (d. 11569/1173), and Zākānī (d. 772/1371) acquired distinction in this department.

In Hindustan, although satirical poems were written from time to time, yet none with greater claim to fame than those by Ni'mat Khān 'Alī (d. 1121-2/1709-10) and Ja'far Zatallī (d. 1125/1714).

Ni'mat Khān 'Alī was probably born in India, but belonged to a family of Shiraz physicians and a son carried on the medical profession of his fathers with some success as he was given the titles "Hādhiq Khān" and "Mu'tamad al-Mulk" by Aurangzib. ¹ Alī wrote some poetry but his bent lay towards satire, especially in prose, and the shafts of his irony were so penetrative that the nobles feared them. Satire so accorded with his mind and nature that his panegyric was in indifferent tone. He survived into the period of Bahādur Shah (r. 1707-12), and was commissioned by him to write a Shāh-nāma of the reign. Evidently there was bad blood between the Prime Minister, Mun'im Beg Khān Khānān, with whom he was on friendly terms, and Dhu al-Fiqr Khān Nusrat Jang /and

1. Supra, 49

(Literature) (Hajw) (Ni'mat Khān 'Alī) (Bk. II.. Ch. 2.)

and he took sides in favour of the former against the latter.¹ Apparently straight historical writing was not his metier.

It is related in Ahkām-i Alamgīri that even the Emperor Aurangzib was afraid of Ni'mat Khān 'Alī's tongue. Thus while replying to a petition² by Kāmgār Khān, who had been scurrilously satirised by Ni'mat Khān in a qit'a on his marriage,² to punish the latter, the Emperor made the following remark:

"This simple-minded hereditary servant wishes to make me his partner in this disgraceful affair, so that (Ni'mat Khān) may say and write about me whatever he likes and make me notorious in the world".³

The marriage of Kāmgār Khān, his second at any rate, was celebrated in 1688. As the siege of Haydrābād had taken place in 1097/1686 and Ni'mat Khān had written it up with some satire of Aurangzib, the Emperor would naturally be unwilling to furnish unnecessarily the poet a further opportunity of wounding his amour propre. Whether Ni'mat Khān's Waqā'i i Haydrābād had been made public by that time is not certain however.

His satirical lines in verse amount to a little more than one hundred, a smaller quantity comparatively than the /satirical

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1. Maj. Naf. S.V. 'Alī.
 2. Ma'as. Umara III, 160.
 3. Ahkām, No. 59.

(Literature) (Hajw) (^{Zatalli} ~~Ni'mat Khan Ali~~) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)
 satirical passages in the Waqā'i and less sharp in tone.

Very little is known in detail about the life of Mir Ja'far Zatalli. The tadhkira-writers omit mention of him for some reason unknown. He was born in 1069/1658-9 and lived till 1125/1714. He was early left an orphan, but was reared and educated by a generous uncle. He took military service under Kam Bakhsh in the Deccan. In the reign of Farrukhsiyar (1713-18 A.D.) he was put to death at the instance of this potentate. He satirised many persons, including Aurangzib's sons, but he does not appear to have composed anything at which Farrukhsiyar could have taken umbrage.

He wrote prose and poetry, in Persian and Urdu. He lived at the turn of the century and Urdu was about to experience a change of fortune at the Court of Delhi. Till then it had been merely a handmaid in the palace-precincts; Persian was the *châtelaine*. But in 1700 the Urdu dīvān of Valī Aurangābādī reached the imperial city and by its popularity quickly convinced the mass and the literati that Urdu could function at high table and low. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād³ and Sulaymān Nadvī⁴ have traced the Persian words and their classes that have found entry at various times into the Hindustani language spoken along part of the length of /the

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1. Note by J.F. Blumhardt, I.O. Hindustani MSS. Cat, 133B.
 2. Ethé, I.O.L. Pers. MS. 3054, G. Bailey, Hist. Urdu Lit.,
 3. Ab-i Hay, Zabān-i Urdu Ki Tarikh. 43.
 4. Nuqush, passim.

(Literature) (Hajw) (^{Zatalli} ~~Ni mat Khan 'Ali~~) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

the Ganges valley. Zatallī's verse is mostly in Persian; in his Urdu he has employed a great many Persian words. His poem, Suluk¹ shows the same characteristics, being full of Persian words, yet not showing Persian influence in thought.

In one MS. copy of his work there is a poem of some 89 lines of eulogy of the Emperor; it is there called "Zafar-nāma-i Bādshāh 'Ālamgīr Ghāzī"². Its vocabulary is a mixed Persian and Urdu. It contains many witty remarks about the Emperor's enemies, as for example when he writes:

چہ جمینگر چہ چھلی بہ پیش نند
چہ گیدر چہ لوہو پیش پند³
چہ مینگر کہ بافیل ملر ز ند
چہ جمینگر کہ بر کوہ جھلر ز ند

The use of the hard retroflex characters of Hindustani adds to the zest of his attack on Aurangzīb's enemy.

Aurangzīb himself he spared from his satire, but not his sons. Kām Bukhsh has suffered from his satirical, even indecent remarks.⁴ Whether such a poem was made public then is not known; probably the Prince would have taken measures against the author if it had been. In a poem of 29 lines on the Amīr Shākir Khān,⁵ with whom as it appears /from

1. Hindustani MS. in I.O.L. 134B, fol.23a.
2. Hindustani MS. in I.O.L. 136B, fol.17a.
3. Ibid, fol.19a.
4. Hindustani MS. in I.O.L. 134B, fol.14a.
5. Hindustani MS. in I.O.L. 135B, fol.88a.

~~Zafali~~
(Literature) (Hajw) (~~Ni mat Khan Ali~~) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)
from Ruq'at of Bidil the latter was very friendly, he has included satire, but nothing indecent or abusive.

His satirical poem entitled "Takya Kalām-i 'Awāmmal-Nās" (The Burden-song of the Commonalty) is a tilt at lovers ('ushshāq) of his time who readily fall in love at first sight. The two languages Persian and Hindustani are not yet successfully blended in it; the constituents of the mixture are too easily observed, as will be apparent from the following lines:

<p>۱- ای روی نوجوں ماہ شب تارا جو ہے سو ۲- از عجز خونریز تو افتاد بہر سو ۳- از عا شقی بیچارہ مکن نخرہ و گھونگٹ ۴- ایند مں اندر رہ عشق تو یعنی دانی ۵- ای جانِ جہان ما شقی آشفقہ خود را</p>	<p>نکھ ہے و کس دلبر دلا در جو ہے سو بر طشت زمین کشتہ و بسپار جو ہے سو ناکہ بود این گری باز در جو ہے سو سر بر کعبہ خود ددا شتہ تیار جو ہے سو دیوانہ و بیگانہ میبذار جو ہے سو</p>
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(1) Oh you whose face resembles the Moon of the dark night, everyone keeps a heart-snatching charmer like you!

(2) Slain by your blood-shedding glance fall many everywhere on earth's surface.

(3) Make not use of veil or coquettishness with the helpless lover. How long will this brisk marketing last?

/(4)

1. Passim.

2. MS. (I.O.) B. 133, fols. 246, 25a, 25b; cf. *Ibid*, 134B, fols., 27b, 28a.

(Literature) (Hajw) (Zatallī) (Bk.II.. Ch.2.)

(4) So I am here in the path of love, - do not you know? -
with my head in my hand ready (to offer you).

(5) Oh Beloved of the whole world, do not regard your
passionate lover as madman or stranger!

Zatallī's poem of 40 lines, with the title Dar Ikhtilāf-i Zamāna, is another noteworthy contribution to the linguistic history of the period. It is a satire on his time, and apparently depicts the restlessness and confusion at the close of the reign:

1

کتم طریق نما این بعین مجر و قصور	رسید وقت بی پایان مانند شرم حضور
دهنه جلا با بشماره کی به نظر معور	شریف زاده پریشان و در بدر محتاج
حواجز زاده مصدر جمع باب امور	امام زاده مکرر بخاطر دلریش
مباح، کنگر زده و ضایع لیم و زغور	عقبه حسنه بغیرت برهنه پا در ضرب
بشاه پیمبر می رسد بحر و ر	بدست چهار هست جام مینش و حراد
غز و زجه و جهان بگردن مغرور	علی نقی و محمد شریف کسر گردن

1. Hindustani MS. in I.O.L. B 135, fol. 41b, 42a; cf. Ibid, 136B, fol. 28a, 28b; cf. Inid, B. 133, (a defective copy), fol. 34b, 35a.

CHAPTER 3PROSEA. HISTORY
(Introductory)

The Arabic historian Ṭabarī (d. 923 A.D.) observed an annalistic system in writing his great history Ta'rikh al-Rusul wa al-Mulūk. He has incorporated much besides historical fact, and it has been rightly said that "according to modern ideas, Ṭabarī's compilation is not so much a history as a priceless collection of original documents placed side by side without any attempt to construct a critical and continuous narrative"¹. Mas'ūdī (d. 956 A.D.) compiled a universal history beginning with the Creation, and made it a store-house of encyclopaedic knowledge. Muslim historians have generally adhered to a chronological system, uncritical and with restricted outlook.

Persian histories of India are divided between those dealing with one reign and general histories. The method in the former case, and in the latter when the introductory generalities are finished, is annalistic and often supplies too formal biographical detail of the Sultan, and the movements of his armies. No historian had the knowledge or experience of other lands to follow in the lines of Mas'ūdī.

/Whereas

1. R.A. Nicholson, A. Lit. His. of the Ara, 350.

(Literature) (Prose) (History) (Introductory)
(Bk.II., Ch.3.)

Whereas the student of history finds three complete histories devoted to the reign of Shahjahan he is less fortunate in materials devoted to his successor, Aurangzīb. The difference can be accounted for by the latter's nature and his principles; he objected in the eleventh year of his reign to events being written up in his lifetime.

X His attitude was similar to that of Shāh Ṭahmāsp of the Ṣafavī dynasty who ruled in Persia from 1524 - 1576 A.D; the Shāh said of poetry that when "written in praise of Kings and Princes (it) was sure to consist largely of lies and exaggerations, according to the well-known Arabic saying, 'The best poetry is that which contains most falsehoods'¹".

During the reign of Aurangzib these were composed, but not necessarily published at the time:

- I. Fathiyya-i 'Ibriyya, a history of Mir Jumla's campaign in Kūch Bihār and Assam in 1662-63 A.D. by Shihāb al-Dīn Ṭālish; it was completed in 1663 A.D.
- II. Zafar-nāma-i 'Ālamgīrī, also called Wāqi'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī² which is usually attributed to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī (d. 1696), and contains an account of Aurangzīb's first 5 regnal years (1659-63 A.D.).

/III.

1. Br IV 172-3.

2. See Ethé, I.O.L. Cat. Pers. MSS., No. 345; he rejects its attribution to Mir Khān; cf. Iv. ASB 159.

(Literature) (Prose) (History) (Introductory)
(Bk.II., Ch.3.)

III. 'Ālamgīr-Nāma, a history of the first 10 years of the reign (1659-68 A.D.) by Muḥammad Kāzim, son of the historian of Shahjahan's administration during the first 10-11 years (1628-39) Muḥammad Amīn Qazvīnī.

IV. Ma'āthir-i 'Ālamgīrī, an account of the entire reign of Aurangzib (1659-1707 A.D.) by Muḥammad Sāqī, surnamed Musta'idd Khān. He compiled it in 1122/1710. The work is in two parts, the first of which deals with the first ten years of the reign, and the second with the remaining forty.

The Early Indo-Timurids are dealt with in the following works:

V. Tadhkira Salatīn Chaghtā'ī, by Muḥammad Hādī, surnamed Kāmwar Khān.

VI. Khulāṣat al-Tawārīkh, a history compiled in 1107/1695 by Sūjān Rāy, deals with the earliest times in India down to and including Aurangzīb's reign.

VII. Lubb al-Tawārīkh is a condensed version of Tārīkh-i Ferishta with a supplement from its close in 1607 to 1690, by Rāe Bindrāban. It was compiled in 1694-5.

VIII. Muntakhab al-Lubāb, a history of the Indo-Timurids from Bābur to Muḥammad Shāh (1719-48), was composed by ⁱⁿ 1143-4/1731, Khwāfī Khān/who died C. 1143/1731.

(Literature) (Prose) (History) (Introductory)
(Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

IX. Mir'āt-i 'Ālam and its large edition Mir'āt-i Jahān-numā (compiled 7094/1683), usually ascribed to 'Abd al-Rahmān Bakhtāwar Khān, are now regarded as the work of Muḥammad Baqā (see infra 185, 186). X. Jangnāma-i Ni'mat Khān 'Alī.

Some details of these historical writings may now be given here regarding their style of composition, their credibility and worthiness, and the life and record of their authors.

I. Of the above, Fathiyya-i 'Ibriyya is concerned with scenes of a warfare far removed from Aurangzib's personal contact and occurring early in his reign, in 1662-3 A.D. It was compiled in 1663 A.D., 5 years before the issue of Aurangzib's prohibition in 1668 A.D. against writing the events of his reign, and therefore it could have been, and probably was, written openly.

It tells the story of the campaign in Kuch Bihar and Assam of Aurangzib's famous ^{general} Mir Jumla, of whom Sir J.N. Sarkar has written: "After a long intrigue he (Aurangzib) seduced from the King of Golkonda his wazir Mir Jumla, one of the ablest Persians who have ever served in India". *
Tālish accompanied Mir Jumla in the position of a clerk, and so his information was obtained at first hand.

/This

* Anecdote, p.5.

(Literature) (Prose) (Fathiyya-i 'Ibriyya)
(Bk. II., Ch. 3)

This history is divided into two parts, the first dealing with the conquest of Kūch Bihār and the general condition of the country, and the second with the invasion of Assam by Mir Jumla, the occupation of the country after the victory, and the peace which later was concluded with the Raja of Assam in 1073/1662. It may be noted that the second part contains a general description of the people of that province and in this respect is comparatively better than most of the histories written then, because they rarely spoke of the conditions of the inhabitants.

It is written in the ornate style which prevailed widely at that time.

II. Wāqi'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī is a history of the war of succession which took place between Aurangzib and his brothers after Shahjahan fell ill.¹ This is the only historical work of Rāzī, and is important from this point of view that it gives a reliable and unbiassed account of Aurangzib's family quarrel.

It includes information on the following points:

- (1) Aurangzib's birth; (2) Shahjahan's partition of his
/Kingdom

1. The work has been translated by K.B. Hajji Zafar Hasan, and printed at Delhi, 1946.

(Literature) (Prose) (Wāqī'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

Kingdom between his sons to prevent them from finding a cause of fighting with one another; (3) Aurangzib's attack on the Deccan Muslim Kingdoms; (4) Shahjahan's sickness; (5) Dara's designs on the imperial power; (6) The important correspondence that passed between Shahjahan and Aurangzib; (7) Dara's second defeat, this time near Ajmer, and his arrest; (8) The advance of Prince Muḥammad Sulṭān, the eldest son of 'Ālamgīr, on Bengal. (9) Shahjahan's death and his funeral ceremony.

It is written in the ornate scriptive style of the period, but tells on the whole its story in a straightforward manner without excessive elaboration, and only in occasional passages is there the embroidery of pompous verbiage.

The following extract from it is offered as a specimen of one such occasional passage:

بر روی زرین و مخمر صوب بگزین آریاب بعلی رسا و الحباب خرد والا مخفی و مستور نامند که چو
آفتاب بعیانیت زلفش آینه و توجیه ظاهر و باطن بادشاه ننگه رس حضرت صاحبقران ثانی بر ساحت خال
مهر سپهر عظمت و جلال محمد در مشکوه باقی عیانیت یافت آن جناب را منصب والای ولایت محمد
بخشید و از میان تو جهات عالم آری کلام گوشت و عزت و اعتبارش با درج مهر و ماه و تیره طارم ابریم
رسید آن جناب بنا بر غرور و استکبار که مذکور شد در بین افعال بینی نوع است، خود را ارشاداً مستحقاً
والی ولایت و سعادت آباد بند و ستان فکر و حضرت صاحبقران تصور بل تصدیق کرده

/Trans.-

1. W Alamg, M Abd, p.10, L. 12th.

(Literature) (Prose) (Wāqī'āt-i Ālamgīrī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

Trans. -

Let it not remain hidden and obscured from the excellent judgment and truth discerning mind of the people with intelligence and understanding that when the Sun of high and holy grace and attention to the outward and the inward, the subtlety - discerning King, His Majesty the Second Ṣāhib Qirān (i.e. Shahjahan), shone with utmost brilliance on the sphere of that orb of heavenly rank and splendour, Muḥammad Dārā Shikuh, and bestowed on His Highness (Dārā) the rank of heir-apparent, and through the auspicious direction of his royal, world-adorning consideration his (Dārā's) headwear, representing great honour and trust, reached the apogee of the Sun and Moon, and the dome of the arch of the stars of capacity, His Highness through pride and arrogance, which are the most reprehensible of the actions of mankind, imagined, or rather actually believed, himself to be of heritage and right ruler of the extensive domain and Empire of His Majesty Shahjahan.

Another point to be noted about this work is that, unlike most Persian works, it does not begin with the customary preface in which the author opens with Hamd, Na't, Manqabat and Madh, and then writes something about himself;

/but

(Literature) (Prose) (Wāqī'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

but opens with a eulogy of Aurangzib. This departure from custom perhaps made it easier for Rāzī to set down his independent views on Aurangzib and other matters relating to him. Thus he tells us in plain words about Aurangzib's manoeuvring and stratagems which he designed after hearing the news of his father's illness:

1
اما آن حضرت که بنا بر تلقین عقل در بین جبل المتین ثانی و تحمل المضام فرموده مذم
از دره و خار و گلین بیرون سپرد و با دراک کیفیت حال روزگار و در یافت اصل کار
و تحقیق حال حضرت شاهنشاهی و مال این مقدمات عبرت انگیز عبرت افزا میبایستی توجه جهان
آرا بر نگماشت و پاسب بر انداختم و احتیاط و حفظ مراسم تیغ و دودور بینی که طریقه اینقه
الوالالباب و همین آداب آرا با عقل دقیقه سنج ننگه پاسبان، واجب شمرد

Trans.-

But His Majesty (Aurangzib) under the instruction of far-sighted intelligence seized and held fast by the strong rope of patience and endurance and did not step out of the orbit of dignity and majesty, and turned his world-adorning attention, as was essential, towards understanding the state of affairs of ^{the} times, and going to the root of matters, and finding out the condition of His Majesty the Emperor (Shahjahan) and (estimating) the consequences of these /admonitory

1. W Alamg p.19.

(Literature) (Prose) (Wāqī'at-i 'Ālamgīrī)
(Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

admonitory and astounding happenings, and thought it essential to consider the degrees of resoluteness, precaution and preservation of habits of vigilance and far-sightedness, which are the excellent way of the people of intelligence and the nicest manners of people of understanding, deeply discerning and subtle.

A valuable feature of this work is that it has preserved¹ the correspondence, including some verses, of Shahjahan which passed between the Emperor and Aurangzib and an account of the intercession of Princess Jahānārā between them. They bring the reader almost into the small domestic circle; they present a fascinating, if yet in the knowledge of subsequent events foreboding, conversational piece. Aurangzib lets one think of him as a sullen son and a suspicious brother.

III. The 'Ālamgir-nāma by Mirzā Muḥammad Kāzīm, the son of Muḥammad Amīn, the author of a work which is also called, like 'Abd al-Hamīd's work, Pādshāh-nāma. Kāzīm compiled it in 1668 A.D. at the instance of Aurangzib. It is a history of the first ten years of the Emperor's reign, and was dedicated to him in his 11th regnal year. But Aurangzib forbade its continuation, and the writing of any history² of his period. The reason for this is that he preferred the building of the inner edifice to exposing outward signs,
/as

1. W Alamg, fols. 34a-39a.

2. Ma'a Ala, 1; Ala nam, 5; Mun Lub, II 211.

(Literature) (Prose) (Ālamgīr-nāma) (Bk.II., Ch.3.)

as has been recorded of him in these words:

1
 مستخدم خان گوید که چو پادشاهِ حقیقاً نگاه رانما پس بنای باطن بر اظهار آنا در ظاهر مقدم بود
 را فتم عالمگیر نامه که نامه سال احوال رسیده بود از شوید ممنوع شد -

M. Kāzim was appointed Munshi by Aurangzib in the first year of his reign. In 21st year of this reign he was appointed steward of the Purchasing-department. He died in 1092/1681.

As the Ālamgīr-nāma was written to please the imperial ear, whereas Ma'āthir-i Ālamgīri was written secretly, the latter is the more likely to contain unbiased information of the period; similarly in comparison with the Muntakhab al-Lubāb, which, although written 14 or 15 years after the death of the Emperor, is likely to be a more trustworthy source.

Ālamgīr-nāma is written in the ornate style of its time. The following extract will exemplify this point:

خط تعلیق آن حضرت می باشد که اطرا از مدح طرازی و عراق نکته پر دوری در آن رتبه است
 که قطعهای که در عین ایام ذوق و سرگرمی مشق رنم پذیر حاشیه اشرف نشسته بقطعههای خوب
 استادان که عمر که انما به حرف تحصیل آن سرمایه ساخته بکلیلی بر دیگر پذیرد اخته اند در نظر
 خط نشانان مبرور و مشتبه می شود

/Trans.-

1. Ma'a Ala, p.1; cf Ala Nam, preface, p.5.

(Literature) (Prose) (Ālamgīr-nāma) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

Trans.-

Without suspicion of lavishing praise or exaggeration in expression, the hand of Nasta'liq of His Majesty has attained such a status that the qit'as which he penned during the days of his zealous and enthusiastic practice resemble, in the eyes of connoisseurs of penmanship, the beautiful qit'as of those experts who devoted their precious lives to acquiring that profound skill and did not engage themselves in accomplishing any other thing.

IV The Ma'āthir-i Ālamgīrī, is by Muhammad Sāqī, with the by-name Musta'idd Khān (d. 1136/1724), who was munshi to 'Ināyat Allāh Khān, the Wazir of Bahādur Shāh. He resided at Aurangzīb's court for forty years and was an eye-witness of many of the incidents he records. He wrote the Ma'āthir at the instance of his patron and finished it in 1710 A.D., three years after Aurangzīb's death. He was one of the historians who kept a secret record of Aurangzīb's reign in the face of this ruler's prohibition.¹ Through this means Sāqī was able to write an account of the campaign in the Deccan.

Ma'āthir-i Ālamgīrī deals with the whole period of this reign. About one-eighth of its pages are devoted to the
/first

1. See M Lub II p.211; another historian whom he mentions in this connection on the same page is Rāe Bindra¹pan (See infra, 178).

(Literature) (Prose) (Ma'āthir-i Ālangīrī) (Bk. II. Ch. 3.)

first ten years of the reign, and reproduce the contents of Ālangīr-nāma in an abridged form. The rest of the book is original. Its title yields by the system of Abjad 1121, which is a chronogram for the date of its completion.

Although Ma'āthir-i Ālangīrī deals with the entire reign it does so in too brief compass to give a full picture of so long a period. But as it was not written from fear or favour it forms a pretty reliable contemporary source. It gives a succinct account in a competent manner.

Its style is easy, and not burdened with periphrastic ornamentation:

۱
 چهارم ذی القعدة سيف الله مشرف قوشخانه بعوض رسانيد که مير تگاري در خواب ديد که شخصی
 شمشير برهنه در دست دارد با او مقابل می کند چو بيدار شد خود را زخمی و شمشير خود را برهنه پافت

Trans.-

On 14th Dhu al-Qa'ḍa Sayf Allāh, the Inspector of the falconry, reported: The Chief hunter saw in his dream a man holding a naked sword in his hand and fighting with him. When he awoke he found himself wounded and his sword unsheathed.

۲
 "و در نزاع عدل و داد با کشته پيشانی و نرم خونگي هر روز در وقت استاده شده داد طلبان را
 که می مانعت بيارگاه عدلت جوق جوق راه می پاشند . . . داد عدل می بخشيدند"

/Trans.-

1. Ma'a Ala, p.125, L. 12th.

2. Ibid, p. 527, L. 12th.

(Literature) (Prose) (Khulāsat al-Tawārīkh) (Bk. II, Ch. 3.)

Trans.-

And in litigation, during the course of justice twice and thrice every day he used to stand and administer justice with open countenance and kind disposition to the litigants, who without any obstruction got access to the court of justice in groups.

Of the remainder Nos. V and VII are the most worthy of mention.

V. Khulāsat al-Tawārīkh is a history from earliest times to the time of Aurangzīb. It was compiled by Sūjān Rāy in 1695 A.D., i.e. twenty-seven years after the prohibition of Aurangzīb, and so would appear to have been written secretly. The first part of this history is very useful because of its valuable information about various provinces and their important cities and towns. The account of Aurangzīb at the close is a very summary one.

VIII. The Muntakhab al-Lubāb was completed by Khwāfī Khān just before or in the year of his death (1143/1731). He acknowledges his indebtedness to No. VII above, Lubb al-Tawārīkh, by Rāe Bindrāban, who he says wrote it secretly. It gives an account of the Indo-Timurids down to Muḥammad Shāh (r. 1719-48). Its author was Muḥammad Hāshim, with

/the

1. Mun Lub. Vol. II, 211.

(Literature) (Prose) (Muntakhab al-Lubāb) (Bk. II. Ch. 3.)
 the titles Khawāfī Khān conferred on him by Muḥammad Shāh,
 and Nizam al-Mulk (derived from his patron's name, Āsaf Jāh
 Nizām al-Mulk, in whose service he was about 1732-33 at
 Hyderabad). His place of birth is not known, but H.
 Beveridge suggests in the Encyclopedia of Islam that he¹
 was probably born in India in 1664. He started his career
 as a merchant, or as an official's clerk. It was in this
 capacity that he visited Bombay and had an interview with
 an English official about 1693-94. Khawāfī Khān grew up in
 Aurangzīb's service, and was employed in political and
 military affairs. He served under three Emperors,
 Aurangzīb, Bahādur Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh before his death
 C. 1144/1731. He is the author of Muntakhab al-Lubāb, a
 history commencing with the invasion of Bābur in A.D. 1519,
 and concluding with the fourteenth year of the reign of
 Muḥammad Shāh. He also wrote a history of the minor
 Muhammedan dynasties of India, to which he refers in the
 first volume of his Muntakhab al-Lubāb:²

"چنانچه سابق در ذمہ سلطنت لودپہا و خانہ جلاوڑ اجماع تحریر در آمدہ"
³

But this apparently is no longer extant.

Khawāfī Khan's Muntakhab al-Lubāb gives a more detailed
 /account

-
1. See Vol. II. p. 868, col. 2, L. 46th.
 2. ^{p. 49; See Ms. I. O. L. 842 Ethé 407}
Waqi'at-i-Alangiri, Salat-i-Isharat-i-Alangir-Padshah etc.
 3. Encyc. of Islam, see vol. II. p. 868; See per Ms. I. O. L. 84, for
 a small portion of it.

(Literature) (Prose) (Muntakhab al-Lubāb) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

account than the others of Aurangzīb's reign. Most of them are only accounts of the wars in which he took part, and as such they can hardly be called histories. Thus it can safely be said that Khwāfī Khān's history is superior to all others dealing with this reign, and Khwāfī Khān can therefore be considered the pre-eminent historian of this age.

The following are the main features of this work:

- 1) It gives a graphic and trustworthy description of the events.
- 2) It is written in 'Ārī or non-florid or plain prose.
- 3) It has interesting digressions which give information of geographical value.
- 4) It covers the whole of the reign of Aurangzīb, on which, in consequence of his well-known prohibition, it is not possible to find a detailed and continuous monograph.

Under the first head may be noted the following points:

- 1) He gives a very honest description of the wars fought between Aurangzīb and his brothers, clearly indicating by how narrow a margin the former was victorious.
- 2) Secondly, the fact that he does not agree with the author of 'Ālamgīr-nāma on certain points and that he unhesitatingly criticises him for keeping back the facts, indicates that he endeavoured to find out the truth. He
/tried

1. Mun Lub, P. II. p. 25, L. 9th and P. 55, L. 12th.

(Literature)(Prose)(Muntakhab al-Lubāb)(Bk.II., Ch.3.)

tried hard to obtain accurate information from reliable sources such as his father and brothers.¹

Likewise he gives a very reliable description of the Assam war and clearly indicates the losses sustained by the Imperial army on this expedition.²

It is in this connection that H. Beveridge states in the Encyclopaedia of Islam (S.V. Khwāfī Khān):

"It is a standard work and is much admired, especially by orientals, for its style and its accuracy and impartiality".

Under the second heading may be noted the further merit that, unlike the Akbar-nāma, it is written in 'arī or simple prose as opposed to musajja' or rhymed prose.

The following specimens from these histories will serve to illustrate this point:

¹
Abū al-Faḍl (Akbar-nāma).

ظهور نیشیبه آمال از چشمه ارادت و طلوع نیر اقبال از حطیح سعادت یعنی ولادت اقدس
حضرت شاهنشاهی (جلال الدین اکبر) از حد زریعی و ستر مقدس حضرت محمد قباب، نقدها و حجاب،
تجدد انساب، ولیه عصر، ابریکه دهر، صاحبه روزگار، کامله آموزگار، مدوه طاهرات،
سوه طاهرات، صنایع صافی نیت، و صیغه وافی طویق، ملکه قدسی طکات، مالکة سما و کبرکات.

²
Khwāfī Khān.

1. Ala Nam, pt.I, p.17. L. 13th.

2. Mun Lub. pt. I. p.127.

از چین اخبار سلطنت گیتی سنان چنان نیم روایت و زنده که جلال الدین محمد اکبر بادشاه غازی
که در ایام برزخیت جنت آشتیانی در عصاره امر کوب توابع طغی از بطن مکه نوان حمیده ابونیم
موضو وجود آمده

Khwāfī Khān does occasionally use rhyme, but that does not make his style ponderous or monotonous; and certainly he does not indulge in it to such an extent as to make his prose artificial.

In his account of the Assamese War he digresses from the main point and supplies information about the peoples and geography of the country. Thus he writes:

و تمام سکنه آنجا و رعای سرزمین اکثر برهنه می باشند - مردم عمده آن چادر می از جنس ابریشمی
که بهما نجا بهم می رسد می پوشند - و کفش و دستار در آن دیار نمی دانند - سکن شمالی آن دشت
خط واقع شده - فیل بسیار در آن جنگل پیدا می شود در جنس مود و مشک و طلا و گیتی
وز جمله حصول آنجا است

Trans. -

And all the inhabitants of that place and subjects of that region usually go naked, and the nobles of the (land) put on a sheet made of a kind of silk which is found there; and in that country (people) do not know (the use) of shoes and turbans. To the north of it is situated the desert of Cathay. Elephants are found in large numbers in that forest,
/and

1. MunLub, Pt. II. p.130. L. 17th.

(Literature)(Prose)(Muntakhab al-Lubāb) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

and commodities like aloes wood, musk, gold-dust, are among the products of that place.

In this respect H. Beveridge considers it the equal of Badāyūnī's Muntakhab al-Tawārīkh, for he writes in the Encyclopaedia of Islam:¹

"It is by far the most human and interesting of native histories of India, with the doubtful exception of Badāyūnī ... the charm of Khwāfī Khān's history consists in his digression and his frequent use of his own observations."

Though Khwāfī Khān is the best historian of Aurangzīb's reign, he sometimes accords preferential treatment to him, and does not fully describe his treacherous acts of murder, nor does he place the responsibility for these on him. Thus he describes the murder of Muḥammad Murād in a very vague manner:²

و بعد از آن که در شهر عتابت شد - در ماه ربیع الثانی سنه هزار و هفتاد و دو بهیروی
فرمودند تا قاضی بر قاضی و ارباب مقتول نزد محمد مراد بخش رفته بعد اظهار اثبات خون
موافق حکم شرع بقصاص رسانند -

Trans. -

And after that, as it (the guilt) was proved in Islamic Law, in the month of Rabī' II 1072 A.H. he (Aurangzīb) ordered /that

¹. II 868

². Mun Lub, pt. II. p. 156.

(Literature) (Prose) (Muntakhab al-Lubāb) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

that the Qāzī in company with the heir of the murdered man should go to Muḥammad Murād Bakhsh, and after announcing that murder had been proved should punish him in accordance with the order of the Shar'.

Besides this he is also prejudiced against non-Muslims; one can see that he is very unfair to them when he describes the Assam war or Śivaji's activities in the Deccan. The following extract from his history will illustrate this:

“ آنچه از مردم ثقه دکن و قوم عربی آن ملک در باب اصل و نسب سیواجی بداصل مردود مسجوع شده
 رفته اصل اجداد او بسلسله زرنای چتوری رسد - چو میان قوم راجپوت و هم بود مقرر است که فرزند
 در بطن غیر ذرت خود حاصل نمودن و از کنیز توالد و قاضی پیدا کردن مذنوم دشوم دانند... گویند
 از اجداد سیواجی مردود که از اولقب به بموسله است در اطراف ملک رانا مکنی داشت - با یکی از زنان
 غیر قوم بداصل نعلق سرشار بهم رسانده بی عقد بستوری که میان آن قوم می باشد مدخوله خود ساخت از او
 پسری متولد گردید از ملاحظه طعن خویش و بیار آن مولود را در گوشه دکنار حیالی امرضعه که برای
 او مقرر نموده بود نگاه داشت و از مردم پنهان او را پرورش می داد ” (د)

Trans. -

(This) is what has been heard about the origin and lineage of the base born miscreant Sivaji from reliable people of the Deccan and Marathas of that region. The line of origin of his forefathers goes back to the genealogy of
 /the

(Literature) (Prose) (Muntakhab al-Lubāb) (Bk. II. Ch. 3.)

The Rana of Chitor. As in the community of Rajputs and all Hindus it is settled that to beget a child by a person of a caste different from one's own or to beget children by a slave girl is obnoxious and unlucky It is said that one of the forefathers of Sivaji the ignoble from whom the latter got the by-name Bhusla, resided in the vicinity of the territory of the Rana; having formed a drunken connection with one of the ignoble women of another caste, without marrying, he according to the custom in that community made her his concubine; from her a son was born. In view of the taunts of his family and kin he looked after the child in the seclusion of the mountains through appointing a wet nurse and reared it unknown to the people.

IX. The Mir'at-i Ālam was composed by Muhammad Baqa.¹ But Bakhtawar Khan to whom it is usually attributed has plagiarised passages from it, claiming them to be his own composition.² Like the Murūj al-Dhahab and Tanbīh wa al-Ishrāf of 'Alī Ibn Husayn al-Mas'ūdī (d. 956 A.D.), it is a general history from the creation of the world to 1078/1667, but deals with the Timurid dynasty in India at great length.

/The

1. Mir Ala, fol. 587a.

2. Bank Cat, p. 56; I.O. cat. Per. MSS, Ethe 124.

(Literature) (Prose) (Mir'āt-i Jahān-numā) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

The author has devoted much space to Shahjahan. The seventh chapter ¹ (Ārā'ish) of the work is devoted to the first ten years of Aurangzib's reign. Being contemporaneous with his reign the work makes a useful authoritative source of reference, especially with regard to the poets, calligraphers and learned men of these two reigns. ²

Its style is in keeping with the customary florid usage of the time, as will have been observed in the various extracts given in the course of this thesis.

³
 / XX. The Mir'āt-i Jahān-numā was written by Muhammad Baqa. It is an enlarged edition of the Mir'āt-i Ālam just noticed above, and thus contains much useful information that is not to be found in the latter, especially concerning the poets, learned men and calligraphers of Aurangzib's reign. ⁴

Its style is in keeping with the florid idiom of the period:

-
1. This chapter is missing from the copy in the Curzon Collection of RAS Bengal (see Ivan's No. 6) and from an otherwise complete private copy to which I had access, but the copy which is in Ind. Off. Library, per MS. No. 986 is complete and contains this chapter. In view of the fact that it deals with the literary activities of Aurangzib's reign, some resentment may have led to its abstraction.
 2. It is from this and Mir'āt-i Jahān-numā that information on most of the poets, learned men and calligraphers has been collected in this thesis.
 3. See Ind. Off. Per. MSS. Ethé 126; Bank. Cat. p. 56; Iv. Curz. Coll. 6, 7.

(Literature) (Prose) (Jangnāma-i 'Alī) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

X Jang-nāma-i Ni'mat Khān 'Alī.

A number of Jang-nāmas figure in the list of Persian works produced, in the Deccan in particular, and many of them tell the story of Hazrat 'Alī b. Abī Tālib. The states of Golkonda and Bījāpūr were Shī'a in faith and practice, a fact which was unwelcome to Aurangzīb, and had some responsibility for his wars against them. These communities were both progressive. Trade, arts and crafts, and literature flourished till the states were Conquered by Aurangzīb in 1686-87.

The deservingly famous Urdu marthias by the Lucknow poets Anīs (d. 1874) and Dabīr (1875), are of the same order as the Jang-nāma, as they narrate the story of Hazrat Husayn at Karbala. Elaboration of detail, e.g. in a description of a sword ('Alī's), of a natural scene at dawn or eve, etc., prevents the two works from being included in the list of epics.*

The Jang-nāma of Ni'mat Khān 'Alī¹ describes in prose the events of 1118-19/1706-8, when A'zam Shāh contested with his elder brother Mu'azzam Shāh the succession to the throne. The tale is told in ornate language, but is free from the satire that characterised this author's Waqā'i. It must have been written between 1708 and 1711-12, the latter being the date of his death.

1) Trans. into Urdu by Rājā Rajeswar Rao Asghar (lith. Nawal Kishar, 1309/1901).

*supra 100

B. SATIRICAL PROSE

In this department the person of Ni mat Khan Ali (d. 1121-22 / 1709/10) stands out unique. Although not a great poet, he was a famous satirical prose writer.

Mir Ghulam Ali Azad Bilgrami says of him in Khazāna-i 'Amira:¹

"نعمت خان شیرازی جامع فنون کمال است و محبوبه مدح المثل، خاتم بیخوش شمیم خوشتر است"

Among the tadhkira-writers Qamar al-Din, the author of Lubb-i Lubab,² writes of him:

"شیراز از نظم و لطیف تر است - بسیار ظریف و خوش طبع بود - محامره حیدرآباد
بر خوشی طبعش گواه است"

The following prose works are ascribed to him:

- 1) Rūz-nāma-i Waqā'i-i Ayyām-i Muḥāsara-i Qil'a Dar al-Jihād Haydarābād, usually called Waqā'i-i Haydarābād, or Waqā'i-i Ni'mat Khān 'Alī, or Waqā'i-i Golkonda, a satirical account of Aurangzib's siege of Haydarābād, A.H. 1097/1686, in Persian prose interspersed with Persian poetry and Qur'ānic quotations. This work was evidently written between Aurangzib's death (1707) and the author's (1709-10).
- 2) Jang-nāma, an account of Aurangzib's war against the Maharana of Udaipur, and of the hostilities in 1118-19 / 1706-8 after his death between Bahādur Shāh and M. A'zam Shāh.
- 3) Ruq'āt-i Ni'mat Khān.

/4)

1. K Ami, fol. 353b, L. 13th.

2. L Lub, see under 'Alī, cf. K Afk, fol. 174a.

(Literature) (Satirical Prose) (Ālī) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

- 4) Husn u 'Ishq.
5) Ni'mat-i 'uzmā.

The following may be noted as characteristics of his writing:

i) The use of Qur'ānic texts with a sense of humour and satire.

ii) Similes employed satirically and humourously.

iii) Occasional criticisms of Aurangzīb (in the Waqā'i'):

IV. The use of Hindustani words; numerical equivalents of letters; grammatical and astronomical terminology.

خود بنفس نفیس همچو حضرت کلیم کہ بر طور سینا بر آید با خود جناب مسیح کہ بر فلک اروج
ز ما پیدا لارفته مانند شد بد القوی کہ از فوق سما بر سطح عمر ابوط نماید، این آید "و"

He (The Emperor Aurangzīb) himself, like Moses who appears on Mount Sinai, or like Messiah himself who ascends to the skies, went up and like the Mighty in Strength (Gabriel) who descends from above the Heavens, came down on the dusty plain.

The following passage is taken generally to be a skit on Aurangzīb:

1. Waqā'i', 8 and 21.

* The following is a skit on Aurangzīb

(Literature) (Satirical Prose) (Ali) (BK. II.. Ch. 3.)

« من فی تمام شب از وسواس بیدارم، تا تخفیف عروق و یسوت سودا شود سبب آرام - نه کار و بار
 عالم را از تکلی و جزوی می مشورت مستشار و بدون مصلحت با مدیر کار بر خلاف نص "و مشاور هم
 فی الامور" بنما که گفتیم که از احوال کلمات لغزانی اخلاط بدتم را محرق سازد و نه از کم حوری و
 ریاضت خود را تمییز "حسب الدنیا والآخره" کرده ام تا معنای بدنی رطوبات اصلیه تم را تحلیل
 کرد و بدنی شیوخم اندازد - هرگز از امر "مادا محضت متوکل علی اللہ غافل نشده ام که بنای کارها
 بر تشویش گذارم تا موجب توزیع حواس گردد و در نهایت اختلاط ذهن ریزد - و هیچگاه بمصدق
 "توکل الدنیا لدنیا" ننگتم تا نقش حرص و آرزو را اندر روح در جوف قلبم نشیند و بخار ضبط دماغ
 از آنش شهورت کلیه ام خیزد »

How often I am awake all night because of suspense, till the drying of perspiration and aridity of bile become a cause of distress to me. I do not transact the affairs of the world in whole or in part without counsel with one who is to be consulted and without advice from one who directs, (which would be) against the (Qur'anic) injunction:- "Consult them¹ in matters". I am alone responsible that excess of selfish emotions sets flame to the humors of my body; and not by abstinence or hardship have I made myself like him who² "loses this world and the next", so that physical affliction dissolves the natural moisture of my body, and casts me into the trouble of old age. Never have I been forgetful of the command: "When you have resolved, rely on God", so that I /should

1. Qur'an III: 58.

2. Qur'an, XXII : 11.

(Literature) (Satirical Prose) (Ālī) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

should lay the basis of duties in chaos, till it becomes a cause of the scattering of the senses and brings confusion of mind; and never have I become an example of "leaving the world for the world", so that an impression of covetousness and greed would settle like the spirit within my heart, and a fever of madness arise from my dog-like lust.

It is apparently a skit on Aurangzib, satire if not censure. The following extract from the Waqā'i¹ exemplifies the use of Hindustani idioms:

”بسته سینه بی واکرده عقیده حسابی خواهد - شرطی است این که تا گذشته ادا شود دیگری دبر -
 حرف بیاض بیجک کرده مشوی قرضنامه می شنو اند - یعنی شاه بیشتر آنکه بعد از آن داد کند
 نمی کنم - نوکران عزلی می سرایند - مستر از آن چنین که به جو گوشتش این کاهاران ترجیح بندی کرده اند
 سر بندش این که کما دیو“

The underlined words in the passage are all Hindustani, and are here explained:

- 1) Banyah means a moneylender or tradesman;
- 2) Bahi an account book;
- 3) Bijak an account, invoice;
- 4) Bhuko marte hai means "we are dying of starvation";
- 5) Kaharaṇ Palanquin-bearers;
- 6) Ātā Dev: "a Devil is coming". Thus the whole passage may be rendered into English as follows:

/"The

1. Waqā'i, p. 38, L. 11th.

(Literature) (Satirical Prose) (Āli) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

"The bania opens his account book and recites the reckoning in an ode which stipulates that "till the due is paid I'll give no more". The money-changer opens the pages of his ledger and declaims the mathnavī of the debt; the meaning of its burden-verse is that "After this I will not have any dealings". The servants sing a ghazal with the mustazād (increment-line, not essential to the meaning); Bhuko, marte hai (we are dying of hunger"). The palanquin-bearers have started a stanza with the refrain: "Ātā Dev" (The Devil is coming).

In the following line he makes use of numerical values of letters.

سحر گاہیکہ تا صد گاہ بمحمد اقی و القموفد زمانہ منازل حتی عباد کالعوجون القدیم، شتا حر اصل
ایام را بعدد بسمه رسانید

Here Bismillah (its numerical value is 19) is used to denote the 19th date of the month.

The following extract is quoted to illustrate his use of grammatical terms:

و بر حجاب کہ بقوط سنلہا مثل نون ثقیلہ معقل شدہ بود از امادہ مخدوف بنا کید تمام صحیح و
سالم شد بلکہ مضاعف (4)

Here Suqūt, Nūn-i Thaqīla, Mu'tall, Mahdhūf, Ta'kid,
/ Sahih,

1. Waqā'i', p. 56. L. 1st.
2. Qur'an, XXXVI : 39.
3. Waqā'i', p. 62, L. 10th.
4. Waqā'i', p. 78, L. 13th.

(Literature) (Satirical Prose) ('Alī) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

Sahih, Salim and Muzā'if are all grammatical terms used in Arabic.

1

As mentioned above Ni'mat Khān 'Alī has used quotations from the Qur'ān humourously and satirically as e.g. in the following:

۱. لغایت خان که در امور مملکت رسیدنش از حسن صباح بیشتر است، در مقام طعنه گفت: ^(۲)
 که "اوستم تن عرفه ام نحن الزارعون" و عبد الرحیم خان که تسلطش در حساب کم از عبد اللہ
 زاید است ساکنان شهر را جمع نموده او را و نوادگی دینی و موافقان را قتل یقینی تلقین
 نموده "الیوم اکملت لکم دینکم" درین صورت بحضرت اینک طعنه از زبان شیخ می شود
 مگر این مژده که بعضی سبزان را لشکر در خاطر ابرار علاج که هر کس بپرسد در مملکت المملک الیوم
 ابدگفت "للله الواحد القهار" ^(۳) ^(۴) ^(۵) ^(۶)

2

The citation of such verses so frequently proves to be rather boresome to the reader, but it cannot be said that they are used irreverently.

1. Supra, 189.

2. Waqā'if, pp. 83, 84.

3. The Qur'ān, LVII: 64

4. Ibid, V: 3

5. and 6. Ibid, XL: 16.

C. ISLAMIC JURISPRUDENCE

Legal schools were founded in Madina as far back as 8th century of the Christian era. The celebrated Abū Hanīfa belonged to one of these institutions and founded a school of his own on liberal lines.

Since then Islamic law has been developing in this and three other schools, those of Mālik, Shāfi'ī and Aḥmad ibn Hanbal. However its development, unlike English law, has not been dependent on case law, because the Qāzīs never took into consideration previously decided cases, nor was any record of decisions preserved. Islamic jurisprudence has developed, like Scottish law, from principles, in this case those of Islam, laid down for once and all, although these could be and were interpreted in different ways by different judges.

By the time Aurangzib came to the throne Islamic law had developed into the interpretation of the code of Sharī'at. Thus a comprehensive digest called the Hedāya, expounding the Sharī'at from the Hanafi point of view, had been compiled in 12th century, by Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn 'Alī. Aurangzib likewise caused a digest of Islamic law to be made, specially intended for the Musalmans of India; it is called after him Fatawā-i 'Alamgiri, and is sometimes referred to as
/ Fatawā-i

(Literature) (Prose) (Islamic Jurisprudence)(Bk.II., Ch.2.)

Fatāwā-i Hindiyya. This digest, like the Hedaya, expounds the Islamic law from the Hanafi point of view, because the Emperor belonged to that school.

In one respect at least Fatāwā-i Ālamgīrī is better than the Hedāya; it deals with the Muhammedan law of inheritance whereas the Hedāya does not. However it is the latter work which is usually referred to as the leading legal authority, except in India where the Fatāwā is considered of higher authority. The Privy Council holds the same opinion. The Fatāwā occupies among Indian Musalmans the same position as the Sharā'i' al-Islām in the Shi'a world.

There is another compilation of Fatāwā, called Fatāwā-i Qāzī Khān, made by Fakhr al-Dīn, known as Qāzī Khān (d. 1180/1766-7), which is also frequently referred to by Indian Qāzīs. These Fatāwā witness a progressive advance among the judiciary and in social conditions.

Fatāwā-i Ālamgīrī is voluminous. It was compiled with the aid of some of the most competent jurists of the age. It is a digest which includes extracts from various sources, indicated at the end of each passage. Thus it is not a critical work like the Kitāb al Kharāj, a treatise on the theory of taxation and hadīth by Abū Yūsuf, nor does it include any new matter. The compilers were merely collectors

/and

(Literature) (Prose) (Islamic Jurisprudence) (Bk. II., Ch. 2.)

and codifiers and did not add any original contribution or comment. Nothing original could be included in it as the Emperor personally supervised the work,¹ and orthodox as he was he did not allow any criticism of the views of Abū Hanīfa.

It may be mentioned here that the Emperor Bābur also had a book compiled on Hanafī law, but it cannot be compared with the Fatawā, because the latter deals with the subject exhaustively, whereas the former is a short work. Well-versed as Aurangzib was in Islamic learning, it was but natural that he should have thought of the setting up of so useful a compendium of law.

Some commentaries on Fiqh were written by certain of the 'Ulamā' in this reign, but they have not treated the subject critically. The reason for failing to do so is their slavish mentality in interpreting the Shari'at code; the further removed scholars were from the four celebrated Imams the less critical or original they became. For example the following commentaries written in this reign lack in originality:

Musallam al-thubūt, by Muhibb Allāh Bihārī, and Nūr al Anwār, by Mullā Jīwan Mīrathī (d. 1119/1708).

/As

1. H Men (Hindustani), p.45.

(Literature)(Prose) (Islamic Jurisprudence)(Bk.II., Ch.2.)

As for the facilities for learning Islamic law it appears from Tārīkh-i Farahbakhsh and Mir'āt-i Ahmadi (comp. in 1770 A.D.) that there was no separate institution or arrangement for it, but the curriculum of the madrasas of the time included text-books suitable for a course. Thus texts like Sharh-i waqāya¹ and Tafsīr-i Kashshāf² were taught.

In connection with the wazīfas given to students it may be remarked that they were not, as Tārīkh-i Farahbakhsh states, given only according to ability, but also according to the financial condition of the student.³ The stipends thus awarded ranged from 1 anna to 8 annas per diem, the maximum⁴ being allotted to the students learning fiqh, a discrimination indicating the importance attached to the study of Muhammedan Jurisprudence in these madrasas. It further appears from Tārīkh-i Farahbakhsh that the law students continued to get 8 annas per diem until they acquired proficiency in fiqh.

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1. See T Farah, tr., Hoey's trans. 104.
 2. Ibid 104, 105.
 3. M Alam, p. 539; see also A Nam, p.1085.
 4. T Farah, tr. Hoey's pp. 104, 105.

D. ALLEGORY

Romantic stories in poetry and in prose, but in the latter case interspersed with numerous verses, have been popular in Indo-Persian literature. A few of these stories were based on the tales in the Mahabhārat, e.g. the tale of "Nala and Damayanti", which Winternitz in his History of Indian Literature has praised as amongst the noblest of all narratives of domestic affection and fidelity, and others were folk-tales, such as the "Manohar and Madhumalat". Urdu in time followed suit, and Fasāna-i 'Ajāib of Rajab 'Alī Surūr, which appeared in 1826 is a long romantic story in prose and verse, in heavily Persianised style.

About 1546 Malik Md. Jayasi produced the Mathnavī Padmāvati, which towards its close he declared to be an allegory. The Mantiqat Tayr^{*} probably influenced the allegorical interpretation given to it. Allegorical prose or poetry does not appear to have had many followers, but in the case of Husn u Dil, produced in Aurangzīb's reign, there is one interesting specimen of this type.¹

This prose-tale with many poetical passages included was composed by Khwāja Muhammad Bidil in 1095/1684, and was dedicated to Aurangzīb. The composer's name is not otherwise
/known

1. Cat of I.O.L. (Per. MSS.) 2106; per MS. 1628.

* by Farīd al-Din 'Attār (comp. 1187 A.D.)
...

(Literature) (Prose) (Allegory) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

known and it has been suggested that he was probably identical with Abd Al-Qadir Bidil. But the style both in prose and verse is so unlike that of the latter that the suggestion need not be entertained, and the author may be taken to be as he apparently wrote himself Khwāja Muhammad Bidil.

The work is dedicated to Aurangzib, and it may be conjectured that if this ruler accepted it he could only have approved it on the ground of its being an allegory, and so being intended for moral or religious edification. The substance of the story is:

There was a King named 'Aql Shāh in the region of "Badan" (body); his only son, "Sultān Dil-band," he reared in seclusion at his palace. On reaching maturity the young Prince desired to drink of "the water of life", which was situated in "the region of Love". A certain person promised to explore the way to it, and after a long and trying journey he eventually succeeded. But before Sultān Dil-band could reach it, there occurred a battle between the King of Wisdom and the King of Love in which the former was defeated. Ultimately he consented to the marriage of his son with "Ḥusn Bānū" (the Lady of Beauty"), daughter of 'Ishq Shāh, and thus the young Prince obtained the water of life.

The magical element is supplied by the wonderful ring which, when put in the mouth of anyone, makes him invisible.

/The

(Literature) (Prose) (Allegory) (Bk.II., Ch.3.)

The personae have symbolical names in keeping with the allegory, such as "Aql Shāh" (the King of Wisdom), "Ishq Shāh" (the King of Love), "Sultan Dilband" (the heart-captivating King), and Husn Bānū (the Lady of Beauty).

It is written in ornate prose, profusely interspersed with Persian verses, but the language is easy to understand; abstruse terms are avoided, in which respect it is unlike the compositions of 'Abd al-Qādir Bīdil. The following is offered as an example:¹

حسن بانو در یافت که نظر باز خان از معانیه الزوار جلالی مستحیبه است و بمشاهده دیدار آن متغیر صحیح
در حال بکرتبه الطاف جمالی آمده قدری کلاب از عرق بخندار پیرتاب بر رویش زد تا نظر باز خان
از عالم بیخبری سر بر آورد و گفت صرع خدای از نظر بدتر انگهدارد - مستوی

تعالی اللذی همی حسن و زهی اوج که دارد بحر خوننی عوج در عوج

ندارد داه و خور زین نور ناجی پیرا در دهان از حسرت آبی

همه جوانان فدای حسن روییت سر عشاقی عالم خال کویت

1. A Per MS in I.O.L. 1628, fol. 10a.

E. D R A M A

Islamic culture was unfavourable to drama. The nearest Arab approach to dramatic art until recent times, is seen in the Maqāmāt of Badi' al-Zamān (d. 1007 A.D.) and of Al-Hariri (d. 1122 A.D.), but these "séances" were not suited for stage-representation.

The masterpieces^{of} Sanskrit drama were produced between the fourth and the eighth centuries, in which period flourished the great dramatists Kālidāsa and Bhayabhuti. Drama was then developed from religious plays and by priests for the instruction of the people. It had ten varieties, which mark its line of development from the stage of dialogue to ten-act dramas. The Hindu drama, an almost natural successor, is of very recent origin however. About 1700 plays begin to appear, but these "works were either without entrances and exits of the characters¹ or lacking in other essentials of dramatic poetry."

Notwithstanding the aesthetic sense of the Persians they did not attempt production in this art. Impersonation did not make any appeal to them. "The drama is almost entirely absent in early Persian poetry. The original Aryan Persians exhibited no taste for drama in their literature, but in course of development the Teazies (ta'zia, "lamentation") and Temacha (tamāsha, comedies),.... performed by wandering minstrels or by
/joculators

1. Hist. of Hindi Lit., by F. E. Keay, p.93, ~~Vol. II, No. 2,~~
~~Art. by G.N. Das Gupta. (p. 14.)~~

(Literature) (Prose) (Drama) (Bk.II. Ch.3)

joculators may be noted as having some similarity with drama".¹

Oriental dramatic art had therefore only ancient models, and no important advance was initiated before the nineteenth century, when from Mazandran there came three Persian versions of plays by a Turkish author. One of them the Vazir of Lankuran proved very popular in India, and has been rendered into Urdu.

Among the last of the Sanskrit dramas to excite interest was Prabodh Chandrodaya (Rise of the Moon of Knowledge) by Krishn Misra. This had been rendered into Bhakha dialect by Swāmi Nand Dās, and a Persian version of the latter was made by Banwālī Dās,² a Kayast by caste who wrote under ^{the} fakhallus Valī. Valī, who was a munshi of Prince Dara Shikuh, completed this work in 1073/1662, and called it Gulzār-i Hāl.³ The drama had been written originally by Krishn Misra for a young disciple who had little interest in mysticism, and Valī states that he rendered it into Persian, at the instance⁴ of some friends, who, it may be presumed, were interested in mystic lore.⁵ It is unlikely that it was put on the stage. Valī's connection with Dara, and the theme and nature of the play probably ensured its never coming to the Emperor's notice.

The play opens at the court of a certain Raja, for whom

/it

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1. Muslim Review, Cal., 1927. Vol.II, No.2, Art. by S.N. Dās
 2. Gupta, p.14. IV ASB Sec.II, Supp. 1094.
 3. Per MS. in I.O.L. 1591, Ethe No. 1995.
 4. Ibid, fol. 3b.
 5. Ibid, fol.2b.

(Literature) (Prose) (Drama) (Bk.II. Ch.3.)

it is apparently staged. His thoughts had once been directed towards mysticism, but worldly power had brought it about that his mind ^{became} occupied with other concerns.

In the First Act figure three separate domestic pairs; each pair, in conformity with the Sanskrit pattern, keeps up a running dialogue; the topic of each couple in turn is of a mystical nature. The third pair are Raja Beg and his wife; in the course of the conversation between them she enquires how the soul can be awakened. He temporarily evades replying presumably because of his inability to do so satisfactorily.

The Second Act opens with a scene at the court of Rāja Mahā Mohā, who is symbolic of materialism. He discusses with his Minister how to repel the ~~att~~ack of his enemy Raja Beg, a symbol of spirituality.

In Acts Four and Five the battle takes place, and Raja Beg is victorious, materialism thus being vanquished. In the Sixth Act the moralist is concerned to show that man, after acquiring self-knowledge, acquires knowledge of his Lord, a Sufic trend which has influenced the original title of the work, Prabodh Chandrodaya.

The whole play is mystical in tone and in the conclusion the Raja resumes his interest in that subject. It has the ornate style of the age, and verses are intermixed with the prose passages, of which the following is a typical example:-

(Literature) (Prose) (Drama) (Bk. II. Ch. 3.)

دا
 "و این وزرای و کلاهی سماخوه با وجود آنکه چنین گناه عظیم کرده اند خود را
 از جمله راست گویان و نیک اندیشان می گویند و ما بان را که در پی تدبیر خلاصی او
 که در دام جمل و پندارنا دانی افتاده است بدرون و بدمناد حراری دیند مسنوی

هر یکی نا صبح برای دیگران نا صبح خود پایتم کم ای جوان
 معیب جوئی اهل دل کنند پیش اهل دل چون فل احمدقند
 اهل دل از احمقان رنجیده نیست کور معذور را اورا دیده نیست "

1. Per MS., I.O.L. 1591, fols, 13a, 13b.

F. SUFISM

Sufism was introduced into Persian prose by Imam Ghazālī (d. 1111 A.D.); his Kīmīyā-i Sa'ādat, famous in its day, is still a popular classic with the thoughtful and devotional.

In Aurangzib's reign at least two Persian prose works on the theme of mysticism were written, Dimashq-i Khayāl¹ and Lawāmi.² The former of these is of particular interest as being by a Hindu, Balkrishn Brahman, who though of the highest caste paid homage to Muslim saints; it was composed in 1085/1674-5. In explaining the title the author states that he chose it because his compendium is co-extensive with the Syrian city of the name, and its perusal is as congenial as the climate there; and further it is a chronogram for the year of completion of the book (viz. 1085 A.H.), as one learns from the lines:³

سرمه در صفحان فرخنده مال
رقم یافت این نامه و جدو حال
چون تاریخ این نام که دم سوال
خرد گفت اینک دمشق خیال

The author uses examples to explain as simply as possible abstruse ideas. For instance, he expounds the doctrine of universality by pointing out characteristics⁴ of the four elements in turn:

آتش لیت بید در اجسام مختلف که شغل و چراغ و گوی دور و داخل است

Towards the close he relates a number of incidents

/about

1. Per MS. in I.O.L., 3482, Ethé 1897.
2. Ibid, 1464, Ethé 1900.
3. Ibid, fols. 2b.
4. Ibid, fols. 2b, 3a, 3b.

about famous Sūfis, and draws moral lessons from them. For example, after telling the story of Ibrāhīm Adham¹ he writes:

« مطلب دین حکایت آنست که غم درین دو مهت بلند و سید حصول طالبان در جسد آنست
 مهت بلند دار که نزد خدا و خلق باشد بقدر مهت تو اعتبار تو »

Although written in an ornate style its short sentences are easily comprehensible:

« همان تلم است که نقش سعادت بر جیبه آدم نگاشته و همان تلم است که در غایت تفاوت بر پیشانی
 ابلیس گذاشته همان تلم است که حقیقت کمال نیکان و نیکوکاران در دفتر یوم الحساب
 می نگارد - همان تلم است که رقم عفو و صفح بر جریده افعال مجربان و گناهکاران می گذارد -
 و همان تلم است که طومار جنون و سودا بنام مجنون مرفوع العالم نوشته - همان تلم است که دو
 صراع ابروی مشکین بر دپاچه حسن لیلی نقش بسته » (2)

The Lawāmi⁽³⁾ was composed by Amir 'Alī ibn Akbar in 1107/1696, in Kashmir. Persian passages are freely intermixed with some in Arabic. The ideas have often been expressed in a style of Persian which is rather crude and unpolished, and its serviceableness was probably never general.

1. Per MS. in I.O.L. 3482, fol. 12a.
2. Per MS. I.O.L. 3482, fols. 4a, 4b.
3. Ibid, 1464, Ethé, 1900.

INSHA - PARDAZIG. (Epistology)

Epistology may roughly be grouped into three classes - firstly, those ^{letters} which are intended to be models of style or fine-writing; secondly private letters which have passed between friends or relatives, and thirdly official communications.

The letters of Tughrā belong to the first group. Like those of Zuhūrī before him they are ornate, and show an artistry clever, dignified and erudite. They are like museum-pieces, to be admitted for certain qualities and as representing an age and style; but they are appreciated mainly or only by dilettanti. There is no such talented letter-writer of this reign.

A lead, at least in India, in elegant prose-writing was given by Amīr Khrisrau (d. 725/1325); his I'jāz-i Khusravī, or Rasā'il al-I'jāz, consists of five risālas containing forms for private and official letters. His methodical and original mind turned to the guiding of correspondents, and he composed these risālas as epistolographic specimens. The work opens with the conventional ḥamd and na't, and then proceeds to praise of Khusrau's revered and saintly "guide, philosopher and friend" Nizām ad-Dīn Auliya, then of the king 'Alā' ad-Dīn, after which there is a Dībācha extending over several folios; next follow the Risālas.

Letters written as models of style appeared at intervals during the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries.

(Literature) (Prose) (Epistolography) (Bk. II, Ch. 3.)

The famous Mahmūd Gawan (886/1481) in two volumes, Manazir al-Inshā, and Riyāz al-Inshā, dealt with the technique of composition. The most famous in this list of these draughtsmen of model letters is Abū' al Fazl, Akbar's great Premier. The art seems to have received considerable attention in the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzib. The poets Munir, Brahman, Muqim, and Tughra of the former's period have all left works of this class.

In the first group, viz. letters written as models of style or fine writing, can be placed Khass al-Inshā of Mullā Jami'ī; Jāmi' al-Qawānīn of Khalifa Shāh Muhammad Qannaujī; Khulāsat al-Makātīb of Sūjān Rāy Munshi of Patyala (author of Khulāsat al-Tawārīkh); Kārnama-i Waqī'a of Cāthmal Munshi Hindu; and Inshā-i Fayz Bakhsh of Shir'Alī, all of them composed in this reign. Of these at least two are by Hindus, and give further evidence of the mastery over Persian which some of them acquired. It is sufficient to speak here of Jāmi' al-Qawānīn and Khulāsat al-Makātīb at any length in order to indicate the nature and purpose of such letters.

1. Per MS. in I.O.L. 1967; Ethe No. 2097.

(a) Jāmi' al-Qawānīn¹

Jāmi' al-Qawānīn was composed, according to the chronogram
 ١٠٨٥ هـ / ١٦٧٤ م in 1085/1674. It is sometimes called
Ins مجموعه فضائل. Very little is known about the author
 except that he was educated in Qannauj and composed these
 letters at the request of friends.

It is a small manuscript of 54 fols., and contains
 letters of four kinds:

- (1) Specimens of letters written by way of thanks to donors,
 in all 31.
- (2) Specimens of letters written to friends, in all 49.
- (3) Specimens of letters of congratulation or condolence,
 in all 8.
- (4) Finally, specimens showing the alqābs (titles) to be
 used in addressing an emperor or a prince, etc.

These letters are naturally devoid of the personal
 feelings associated with private letters. But their
 utility lay in their being patterns of conventional fashion
 in correspondence. In a period when florid style was
 looked on with admiration they were considered in their own
 circle fit to serve a practical end. They are however
 interspersed with Persian verses to a degree which might
 appear to make them more ostentatious than serviceable;

/occasionally

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1. Supra, p. 20Y
 2. Per. MS. in I.O.L. 1967 (Inshā -i Khalīfa), fol. 1b.
 3. Ibid, fols. 2b, 3a.

(Literature) (Prose) Jāmi' al-Qawānīn) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

occasionally the verses are longer than the letter itself. As an example of the highly ornate style of this work the following may be taken; though ornate the language is readily understandable being free from abstruse terms:

” در جواب سرفراز نامه ، انجمن ششم ، قبله آریاب و فضایل ، کعبه احماسه دلایل
 مصدر مرحت ایم ، مظهر فین اتم ، در بای اسرار ، حقیقت خورشید الوار
 معرفت بحضور ظاهر و باطن منیر مولوی شیخ عبد العفور زینت بخش بلگرام
 لا زوال بالکرام ” دل

(b) Khulāsat al-Makātīb¹

This compendium of letters was compiled by Sūjān Rāy Munshi of Patyala, author of the well-known general history Khulāsat al-Tawārīkh.² He was a Kshatri by caste. He gives as a reason for its composition the provision of models for³ people in general, and for his sons in particular. As compared with the preceding collection, Inshā -i Khalīfa, it is a large collection and illustrates the subject more fully. Like the preceding also it is interspersed with verses, although not so profusely. As is to be expected of a specimen-collection its tone is somewhat formal, especially in the case of friendly correspondence. In keeping with the customary fashion it is written in florid prose as may be seen from the following:

” لعل الحمد والمنة که ماه رمضان المبارک بفرخی و فرخندگی منقضى گشت صیامان بایمان
 ببرکت صیام و روزه دران از ریاضت لایلی و رابام، کامیاب مرام شدند و موعده دران
 طاعت و بندگی در این نذران عبادت کیش از زبان جلال فرخ مال مرده
 حصول آمال در یافتند“ (4)

/Expression

1. It is interesting to note that this example was sent by the Panjab Committee of Lahore to the Imperial Exhibition at Paris for works of art and industry. I.O.L. (Per. MSS.) Ethe, No. 2109.
2. Supra, 168, 178
3. Per. MS. in I.O.L. 3233, fols. 1b, 3b, 4a.
4. A Per. MS. in I.O.L. 3233, fol. 78b.

(c) Ruq'at-i 'Alamgiri

In the 2nd and 3rd groups, viz private letters and official communications can be placed Ruq'at-i 'Alamgiri. Aurangzib did not attempt to follow a particular style. His letters are not usually stirred by emotion. They are plain and practical; severe and sarcastic where his cold reason desires them to be.

There are various collections of his Ruq'at; hence the different names. The oldest collection is by Inayat Allah, one of Aurangzib's secretaries; it is called Ruq'at-i 'Alamgiri, and sometimes Kalimat-i Tayyibat¹; the second is by 'Abd al-Karim Amir Khan, a son of another secretary of the Emperor; it is known as Raqa'im-i Kiram²;

/the

1. See B.M. Add. 26, 238.

2. B.M. Add. 26, 239.

(Literature) (Prose) (Ruq'at-i 'Ālamgīrī)
(Bk. II.. Ch.3.)

the third is Dastūr al-Amal-i Āgāhī¹, collected by Raja Aya Mal thirty-eight years after the death of Aurangzib; finally there is Ādāb-i 'Ālamgīrī², written by Munshi al-Mamālik Shaykh Abū al-Fath on behalf of Aurangzīb; it was collected by Sādiq Muttalibī, and contains some letters written by Aurangzīb to Shahjahan. This last collection is important because of certain statements it contains, which, though they may modify to a slight degree one's opinion of something connected with Aurangzīb, can hardly alter the fact that they conflict with certain matters generally agreed upon.

Aurangzīb states that:

- (1) Shahjahan secretly wrote a letter to Shāh Shujā' which was seized by Aurangzīb, and the latter says in his letter that Shahjahan did not like Aurangzīb and that is why he asked Shujā' to come to his help.
- (2) Shahjahan allowed too much latitude to Dārā, who ultimately seized the throne.
- (3) He (Aurangzīb) had wanted to defend Islam in India and that is why he fought against his heretic brother, Dara.

/(4)

1. B.M. Add. 18, 881.

2. B.M. Or. 177; three letters which appear in this MS. are given by Khwāfi Khān in his history, Mun Lub II, p. 101.

(Ruq'at-i 'Alamgiri)
 (Literature) (Prose) (~~Inshah-namahi~~) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

(4) Originally he had an intention to reinstate Shahjahan on the throne after punishing Dārā, but when he came to know that Shahjahan himself was the cause of what happened he changed his mind and installed himself as King.

(5) He had wanted to meet Shahjahan after defeating Dārā and Shujā', but when he came to know that his father still disliked him he changed his plan.

(6) Shahjahan afterwards forgave him (Aurangzib).

He appears in the communications contained in these as a polite and respectful son.

In the Letters he unbends most to A'zam,¹ and even went once at any rate so far as to speak of him as his successor.² In the seven³ addressed to Mu'azzam, who eventually was crowned after him, it is obvious the latter was regarded less affectionately. But he did not deflect from his high standard of probity in departmental affairs to make undesirable concessions to his sons.⁴

Timur and his descendants generally paid great attention to two things - the Army and the Treasury. There was no remissness in this respect in Aurangzib.⁵ Thus in a Letter /written

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1. Ruq. Ala, Ina, 9, 10, 16, 21, 26, 29, 42, 57, 58.
 2. Ibid 20.
 3. Ibid, 1-7, esp. 2 and 6.
 4. Ibid, 71.
 5. Ruq Ala, Inayat Allah, 4.

(Ruq'āt-i 'Ālamgīrī)
 (Literature) (Prose) (Inshapardezi) (Bk. II. Ch. 3.)

written to Mu azzam he reproaches him for disregarding his soldiers by not paying them adequately. Similarly in another Letter, addressed to A¹zam, he wants him to capture and dig^{up} the hidden treasures in Karnatac to defray the charges incurred in the Deccan conquest. Although Aurangzīb was strict and straight, yet at heart he looked to the interests of his able officers and rewarded them.

In one of the Letters there is trace of the superstition in his reverence. He visited the tomb of Saint Gesū Darāz" (d. circa 1422 A.D.) in 1686 A.D.³

It may be noted in this connection that in 1672, when superstitious terror of the sata-nāmīs had demoralised the spirit of Aurangzīb's troops, he wrote out prayers and magical figures with his own hand and ordered these papers to be sewn on the banners of his army in order to counteract the enemy's spells.⁴

In his Letters Aurangzīb mentions many persons and things, briefly as is to be expected in a busy man's communications, and lightly, so much so that his style is the kind that has been called "loquitive"; in it murāsala /approaches

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1. Ibid 123.
 2. Ruq Ala, Inayat Allah, 44 cf. Inid, 7, 72, 73.
 3. Aur Letts, Billi, p. 70.
 4. Cam. His IV 244; cf. I.C. Jan. 1941, p.89, (an article by Ishwar Chandra Bhattnager, "Mystic Monasticism during the Mughal Period").

(Ruq'at-i 'Ālamgīrī)
(Literature) (Prose) (Inonapardasi) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

approaches to Mekālama. One can gather an idea of his preferences and prejudices, for example his preference of Sunnis to Shi as, and Muslims to Hindus.¹

Shibli Nu'mānī has quoted in connection with the simple style followed by Aurangzib in his letters the words of the renowned Urdu-writer and literary critic Muḥammad Husayn Āzād (d. 1910 A.D.) who was deeply impressed by Aurangzib's simple style and spoke of it in the following terms:²

”اُس کے چھوٹے چھوٹے فقرے ملک رانی کے بیچوں میں الجھے ہوئے ہیں
مگر عبارت صاف ہے اور لفظ لفظ میں محاورے کا نیک دیا ہوا ہے۔ تمام انتظامی
ہدایتیں اور انتہا اخلاقی نصیحتیں ہیں کہ تاثیر میں ڈوبی ہوئی ہیں۔ اُس کی تحریر کو
مکتان سے تشبیہ دوں تو مضائقہ نہیں۔ اتنا فرق ہوگا کہ مکتان کے خیالی مضامین
ہیں اور اس کے حالی عبارت اُس کی جتنی پر لکھنے میں سہل ہے اتنی ہے لکھنے میں دشوار ہے۔“

1. Ruq Ala, Ina, No. 65, cf. 2, 18, 108

2. Quoted by Shibli Nu'mānī in Aur Alam (In Hindustani), p. 135.

(Ruq'at-i 'Alangiri)
(Literature) (Prose) (~~Inshar-dasi~~) (Bk.II.. Ch.3.)

Trans:

"His brief sentences are interwoven with matters of administration. But the style is lucid, and in every word there is the tone of the colloquial idiom. All are administrative counsels and many moral precepts, and they carry great weight. Where I to compare his style with that of the Gulistān, no objection could be raised. Thus much difference there would be however that the ideas in the Gulistān are imaginary whereas in the other they are of the actual present. His style is as easy to read as it is difficult to write".

Ruq'at-i Bidil *

Although Bidil, like most Sufis, retired from worldly activities, he did not break his connection with certain persons, including Amirs and Navvābs, who paid visits to his abode; some of these noblemen sent presents to him.

According to the Lucknow lithographed edition of the Ruq'at (1261 A.H.), he wrote in all 245 letters, of which 148 are addressed to Navvāb Shukr Allāh Khān, 32 to Navvāb Shākir Khān, 14 to Karam Allāh Khān, 10 to 'Āqil Khān, 4 each to Husayn Qulī Khān, Nizām al-Mulk and Maulānā 'Izzat; the rest are addressed to various persons with whom he communicated only rarely.

As is to be expected literary matters were often a subject of discussion between him and some of his communicants. Thus he sent his Tilasm-i Hayrat, and later his Dīvān, to Shukr Allāh Khān to revise and make a selection from. Shukr Allāh likewise sent his Dīvān to Bidil for a similar kind of selection. Bidil on another occasion promised to send his Tur-i Ma'rifat to Mirzā Muhammad Amīn 'Irfān, and at another time the Khātima of the above mathnavī to 'Āqil Khān Rāzī.

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1. Ruq Bid, pp. 12, 21, 34, 39, 71, 77, 90, 92.
2. Ibid, pp. 3, 37, 77.
3. Ruq Bid, p.34.
4. Ibid, p.63.

(Ruq'āt-i Bīdil)
 (Literature) (Prose) (~~Shah-nāma~~) (Bk. II.. Ch. 3.)

One feature of his letters is that they are rather permeated with a tone of defeatism. He frequently speaks about the nothingness of this world he had renounced.¹

He wrote a number of chronograms; the following on the victory of Mu'azzam over A'zam he sent to Āqil Khān Rāzī:

(۲)

مابین مربع اسرار داده اندیشان $\frac{1119}{1119}$	جلوس معدلت الوار بادشاه زمین $\frac{1119}{1119}$
همان خلیفه در زمان معظم دو جهان	شیونِ رافتِ بزدانِ جلالِ قدرشان

"The style is the man" is an old and oft quoted saying. Bīdil in his communications with his friends could not drop the grave and weighty style of his other writings. Some passages in them are abstruse and hard to understand; solemnity reigned and ruled through all his later days:

بیدل غافل نخواهد بود که این حیرت سرشت ازلی بحکم بدیم آنگذر زند اعتبار در خود مشاهده می کند که
 بقدری در من قنقنه باید برداخت و باین همه از فراموشان خاطر باینست که بخیال خود هم طرح یادی
 توان انداخت

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1. ~~Supra~~ 113, 114, 115, 123, 126
 2. Ruq Bid, pp. 107, 108
 3. Ibid, see in k Bid (Lue), p. 92, L. 17; cf. supra, 126, 127.

H. ORNATE PROSE

An Ornate style of composition is not peculiar to any one literature or country. It is a phase that may well be a necessary stage in the way to the formation of canons of taste. The Euphuism of Elizabethan England is an example of this style, which was "characterised by antithesis, alliteration, a profusion of similes often drawn from fabulous natural history, and a pervading effort after elegance"¹. Arabic had had its Maqāmāt-literature of Badī' al-Zamān (d. 1007 A.D.) and al-Ḥarīrī (d. 1122 A.D.), whose influence is felt still in the prose of its journals. Hindi has works exemplifying these artifices and aims, and the ihām or ibhām (ambiguity) of early Urdu poetry in the beginning of 18th Cent. is regarded as a borrowed method of ornamentation, which was dropped however before its close.

Persian literature has specimens of this class in abundance. The Arab Conquest of Persia in 638 A.D. led to the replacement of Zoroastrianism by Islam as the religion of that land, and with the religion went the ritual. As one result many Persians acquired a thorough knowledge of Arabic, and as another many words of Arabic entered into use among the people. Religious and ritualistic terms became naturalised, but other classes of words as well, e.g.

/scientific,

1. Webster's New International Dict., S.V. Euphuism.

(Literature) (Ornate Prose) (Bk. II., Ch. 3.)

scientific, military, sporting, and culinary terms. As the Persians had terms of their own for many of these things there was a great store of duplicates of the various parts of speech. Often two nouns kindred in meaning but of different stock were joined with the coordinate conjunction, and this has been carried over into Urdu, in which language the rule is observed of never so linking with an Arabic or a Persian noun one of Hindi origin.

The rhymed and the rhythmic prose of the Qur'an had its imitators, e.g. in khutbas preserved in Al-Bayan wa al-Tabyin of al-Jāhiz (d. 869 A.D.) and in passages in Risālat al-Ghufrān by Abū al-Ālā al-Ma'arri (d. 105 A.D.). The style was made still more impressive by the Maqāmat in Arabic of Badī' al-Zamān and of al-Harīrī, and in Persian by al-Hamīdī (d. 1164 A.D.). These works have been read in madrasas everywhere for the charm of their expression as well as their disciplinary value.

The Tārīkh-i Wassāf, by 'Abd Allāh Wassāf, completed about 1318 A.D., a history of the Persian Mughals, is a representative of an over-weighted florid style. The 'Ajā'ib al-Maqqūr, by Ibn 'Arabshāh (d. 1450 A.D.) is a biography of Timur (d. 1400 A.D.); in rhythmical form it contains a long
/panegyric

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1. cf. Ab-i Hay, 0.
 2. Browne, II, 20.
 3. Iv. ASB 1st Supp; 757; cf. Br. II, 17: about 1328 A.D.

(Literature) (Ornate Prose) (Bk.II., Ch.3.)

panegyric of Timur. The florid style accompanied the Indo-Timurids and found a congenial soil in India. Whilst not all have become entangled in its toils many have. Of the writers of history in the reign of Shahjahan 'Abd al-Hamid Lahauri was caught up in this interlinked chain of noun and adjective, and Muhammad Salih Kanbu nearly as inextricably. In his Waqā'i'-i Haydrābād Ni'mat Khān 'Alī has blended satire and humour with history, and kept his prose nearer to the borderland of poetry than most others.

Tughra, who came from Persia to India and died there in 1068/1667, left a volume of Ruq'at which also contains much verse. In prose his style resembles to some extent that of the more famous Zuhūri, who likewise came to India; the latter died in the Deccan Circa 1025/1616. Tughra is much less involved in that sensuous verbiage in which Zuhūri at times loses himself.

Shahjahan and Aurangzib¹ both held aloof from this florid style of expression. The latter's letters to his sons and officials are simple and precise, and even to A'zam, a son whom he loved much, they are briefly affectionate but hardly² endearing.

/The

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1. Supra, 174 and Ruq Alamg passim.
 2. Supra, 215

I. Miscellaneous (Arts and Sciences)

The MSS. preserved and catalogued do not give one reason to think that the sciences and arts received spacial attention; their number is small.

Under the head of Arithmetic is placed a work of some note, Badā'ī' al-Funūn, by Midnimal¹(?). It was composed in 1074/1664, and dedicated to Aurangzib. It is based on the Lilāwati of Bhaskara Acarya, a famous Sanskrit treatise on Arithmetic and Geometry. A translation of the Sanskrit original had been made by Fayzi² in Akbar's time at the latter's request in 995/1587.

The Badā'ī' contains nine chapters, of which three deal with problems of increasing difficulty in arithmetic, and the fourth with accountancy (ʿilm-i Siyāq). The subject of the last chapter is Astronomy. A drawback in this work is that the author has not made use of figures to illustrate but has explained in words. In the passage quoted here he gives the Hindi equivalents of fractional numbers, etc:

1497

1. Iv. ASB; /cf. Per MS. I.O.L. 2420, Ethe 2259.
2. Iv. ASB 1694; cf. Per MS. I.O.L., 1411, fol. 2a, Ethe 1998.

(Literature) (Prose) (Miscellaneous) (Bk. II. Ch. 3.)

”دانش توپ و غیره، بدان که یک و چهارم - و همه یی را سویه گویند و یک نیم را دلو دانه
و دو نیم را دانه، سه نیم را هونسته و چهار نیم را دپو پنجه - و پنج و نیم
که را پونجه - اگر حساب در سویه یا پوننه باشد آنرا با پنج و سه که تا آمد
ضرب نموده چهارم همه نکرده”

Under lexicography, mention must be made of Ashhar al-Lughat^{*}, by Ghulām Aḥmad Bhikhan Hānswī, which was completed in 1082/1671. It was dedicated to Aurangzib. It was based on earlier works. The compiler was of Indian origin. It is noteworthy that, as Altāf Ḥusayn Hālī has stated, the Persian dictionaries in use in India in 19th century had been compiled by Indians, e.g.

- (1) Mu'ayyid al-Fuzala (1519)
- (2) Farhang-i Jahāngirī (1608-9)
- (3) Majma' al-Lughat (1643)
- (4) Farhang-i Rashīdī (c. 1650)
- (5) Burhān-i Qāti' (1652)

In 1074/1664 there was composed a treatise on Indian Music by Hasan b. Khwājah Tāhir, a qāzī of Antur. This /treatise

1. Per. MS. in I.O.L. 2420, fols. 171a, 171b.
2. Yad Gha, p. 41 (ed. Aligarh).
3. Iv. ASB, 1629; see also supra, 72.

* Ivanow ASB, 1433

(Literature) (Prose) (Miscellaneous) (Bk. II, Ch. 3.)

treatise if it came ^{then} to Aurangzib's notice may not have had unfavourable attention, but had a qāzī composed such work a little later it is unlikely the Emperor would have retained him in Office.

J. CONCLUSION

In estimating the character of Aurangzib and the nature of his influence on his time one must look at him from various aspects. In his father's household he showed jealousy to Dārā Shikūh, and when ambition could no longer be restrained he behaved treacherously with Prince Murād, and caused both these brothers to be put to death, obviously screening himself behind fatwās of the 'Ulamā'. His inherent cruelty was exemplified in his order of torture of Sambhā, son of Śivaji, that he should have his tongue cut and his eyes gouged out, and then ^{be} put to death. His erudite apologist Shiblī Nu'mānī had to leave this incident with the remark that only once did he commit so savage a deed.¹

In his relations with his own family he was apparently strict even to severity, and probably never indulgent. His eldest son he imprisoned for twenty years and until his death; the second he imprisoned for some six years; the third rebelled and fled to die in Persia; the fourth and fifth died in the war of succession at his death.

In his external relations he was the cold man of business; his hard military discipline made him regiment human beings. Men, whether sons or officials, were pawns to be moved at his will, a reasoning will, but with efficiency before it as its aim.

/In

1. Aur Ala, p.42.

(Conclusion)

the
In/observances of religion he grew more and more punctilious. But in the practice of faith he was straitened by his narrowness of outlook. His tolerance of Hindu and Shi'a was limited.

He did not contribute in any way to the welding of the two cultures represented by his subjects. The two had grown up each in its own set of circumstances and among peoples in different ethnic groups. One was staunch for the divine unity, the other for a plurality in the godhead, with one chief deity, according to the locality, prevailing. Law and order enforced by a military command allows of a mode of communal life, but authority in some rulers is partisan and imperils harmonious relations. Rajputs, Pathans, Mahrattas and others could with tact be enrolled in the imperial forces; their terms were more or less mercenary. But to secure a willing cooperation of the subjects was the test of a statemanship beyond even that of the Timurid Colossus Akbar, with all his will and strength bent to a fusion of blood and interests. His Dīn-i Ilāhī was premature by centuries in conception, for the more truly eclectic systems of the Samājs later have only very slowly made a way towards liberality, and that directly only among the Hindus; and in practice it was doomed to failure by

/its

(Conclusion)

its inclination towards the Persian idea of the divine afflatus in its sovereign lord.

Aurangzīb developed in himself no spirit of fraternisation on the social plane. He was strict with himself, strict in the upholding of the etiquette to be observed, thorough in the routine discharge of business, and men were automatons. He did not see the wood for the trees. A task to baffle probably any statesman because of the magnitude of the land-area, the multiplicity of creeds, the variety of degrees from mutually antagonistic warring elements to an incredibly passive peasantry, lay before him which called for all the biggest and the best in man. To Aurangzīb great talent had been given, but he looked out narrowly on his world and saw honesty and other virtues decline, and the stature of men with them. He led only or mainly in the battlefield, but after a time Pathans, Rajputs and Mahrattas turned away there from his support, and helped to disrupt the great Empire. Professor Toynbee when writing of the Turkish empire used somewhere words to this effect, that when an autocratic state concentrates on military authority, and neglects to build up a social and humanistic structure, there comes a time when its only support in militarism is not sufficient to preserve it.

/This

(Conclusion)

This epigrammatic utterance applies very accurately to the reign of Aurangzib and its results.

A survey of the literary productions of the reign is sufficient to show that writers were not wanting, and indeed were considerable, for many names have been preserved. Their work is of fairly varied content, romantic, descriptive (of Kashmir, etc.), historical and mystic. Persia likewise has little of literary merit to show for this period. A blank or fallow pause occurs in all literatures, and recurs. India had experienced other such periods before, and of long duration. On this occasion the unrestful unproductiveness continued till well into the 18th century. But in the case of India there was also an Imperial ban in certain directions, and it affected others besides. Whereas in Akbar's time there had been a universality, openness and benevolence of purpose, so that for example there was a Muslim Malik al-Shu'arā and a Hindu Kab Rāi, and another was made Jotik Rai or Astronomer Royal, and men could aspire, there was now a central authority controlling and curbing, not arbitrarily, but by the code of one faith, whose legal praxis he codified for its better fulfilment.

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1. A'i Akb, Bl. I, 404ⁿ; cf. Akb nam, Bev. I 86.

(Conclusion)

In his youth he obviously had a lust for power, and developed the capacity to seize it, - whether for its own sake or for the opportunity it would provide for advancement of private or public interest is not the concern here. To have and to hold were his first aim. He did not have the constructive ability, the generalising faculty or the sociological instinct of Akbar. Islam and its learning he cherished, but did not derive from them humanistic principles sufficient to organise for the general well-being. He preserved and defended the existing state of things, but did not attack with systematic policy the ignorance and evils and prejudices prevailing.

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