The dissertation has been divided into the following principal divisions:

I. The Introduction, which presents a general survey of the origin and history of the development of Indo-Persian literature preceding the age of Hasan.

II. The life of the poet: Amir Hasan Dihlawi, the son of the great Persian poet, Abu-l-Qasim Sanjari, who flourished during the seventh and early eighth centuries of the Hijra. He was born in Ahoo 153 (A.D. 1053), during the reign of Cina'a-d-Din Behruz. He began to compose verses when he was a child of thirteen years of age, and continued for a total of fifty years. In the prime of his youth he attached himself to the court of Cina'a-d-Din Behruz and his son Baha' ad-Din, in whose service he spent five years at Balkh, together with his contemporary Amir Husayn. After the fall of the Shahs of Balkh, he submitted to the power of the BuIrjih kings, and at a very young age he became a disciple of Cina'a-d-Din Behruz. He died in A.H. 255 (A.D. 1170) at Shahr-i-Kub. His poems were composed during the first ten years of his life. June, 1931, capital of the Shahr-i-Kub. The population at that time was...

M. I. Borrah,
School of Oriental Studies.
THE LIFE AND WORKS OF AMÍR ḤASAN DIHLÁVÍ

ABSTRACT

The dissertation has been divided into the following three principal divisions:

I. The Introduction, which presents a general survey of the origin and history of the development of Indo-Persian literature preceding the age of Ḥasan.

II. The life of the poet: Amír Ḥasan Dihlávi, the son of a Persian emigrant to India, named ʿalá-uʿd-Dín Sanjári, was one of the greatest Indo-Persian poets who flourished during the late seventh and early eighth centuries of the Hijra. He was born at Delhi in A.H. 651 (A.D. 1255), during the reign of Násir-uʿd-Dín Mahmúd. He began to compose verse when he was a child of thirteen, and devoted himself to the art of poesy for a period of fifty years. In the prime of his youth he attached himself to the court of Ghíyás-uʿd-Dín Balbán and his son Prince Muḥammad, in whose service he spent five years at Multán, together with his contemporary Amír Khusráw. After the fall of the House of Balbán he lived under the patronage of the Khaljí Kings, and at the age of fifty-six he became a disciple of Nizám-uʿd-Dín Āwliyá. He died in A.H. 729 (A.D. 1328) at Dawlatábád when Sultan Muḥammad Tughláq transferred the capital from Delhi and forced its population to migrate there.
III. His works:

His extant poetical works are contained in a Diván, which comprises about ten thousand couplets, containing Qasidas, Ghazals, Qita's, Rubáyís, and a romantic Maqámí called Hikâyat-i-Ashiq-i-Nagúrí. His prose works that have survived to us are a short piece of Maršíya written on the occasion of the death of Prince Muḥammad, and the Fawíd-u'l-Fu'ád, a collection of discourses made by his spiritual guide at a number of successive meetings held during the years A.H. 707-722 (A.D./367-22).

None of his works has yet been published. This is the first systematic attempt that has ever been made to bring him to the notice of the modern world.
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<td>A.B.G.</td>
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**Abbreviations**

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<td>Add.</td>
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<td>Saqīya Saqīya of Amir Khaqan</td>
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**Introduction**

1

**Chapter: The Life of Amir Hasan Dihlavi**

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# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

**Add.** = Additional (Mark of the Manuscripts in the British Museum)

**A.H.G.** = Arabic History of Gujarát.

**B.N.** = Baqiya Naqiya of Amír Khusraw.

**Baráni** = *Taríkh-i-Firúz-Sháhi* of Ziyá u'd-Dín Baráni.

**Badaání** = Muntakhab u't-Tawáríkh of 'Abd u'l-Qádir-Al-Badaání.

**Bodl.** = Bodléian Library, Oxford.

**G.K.** = Sárat-ud-Kamál.

**B.P.L.** = Bankipore Public Library.

**G.M.S.** = Giff Memorial Series.

**Br.Ms.** = British Museum Manuscript.

**H.S.I.** = Hughes' Dictionary of Islam.

**C.P.B.** = Catalogue of Persian Manuscript of the Bankipore Public Library.

**Cat. Pers. MSS.** = Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts.

**C.H.I.** = Cambridge History of India.

**C.M.** = Chahár-MaQála.

**D.H.** = Díván-i-Hasan.


D.T.S. = Dawlat Sháh's TaẓKiráta'sh-Shu'árá.

Elliot = Elliot's History of India.


F.F. = Favá'id-u'l-Fu'ád.

G.K. = Ghurrát-u'l-Kamál.

G.M.S. = Gibb Memorial Series.


I.K. = Pjáx-i-Khusráví.

I.O.L. = India Office Library.

J.N.U. = Jámí's Nafaḥat-u'l-Uns.

III.

K.A. = Khulāṣat-ʿuʿl-Afkār.
K.B. = Khayr-ʿuʿl-Bayān.
K.M. = Khadīj-ʿuʿl-Sūḥābān.
K.K. = Kulliyāt-i-KhāQānī.
K.S. = Khaqān-ʿuʿl-Shuʿārā.
K.S. = Kalimāt-ʿuʿl-shuʿārā.
K.A. = Siyār-ʿuʿl-Ārifīn.
L.H.P. = Brown's Literary History of Persia.
S. R. = Shibli Noʿmānī's Shīr-ʿuʿl-Ālam.
M.A. = Mirʿāt-ʿuʿl-ʿAsrār.
L. K. = Sanāʾi-ʿuʿl-Ārifīn.
M. F. = Majmaʿ-ʿuʿl-Fuṣḥā.
M. A. = Siyār-ʿuʿl-Jalīliyya.
M. P. = Miftāḥ-ʿuʿl-Futūḥ.
F. A. = Taʿrīkh-ʿuʿl-Fakhr-ʿuʿl-Din Subrak-Shāh.
M. K. = Tāj-ʿuʿl-Maʿāṣir.
M. K. = May Khāna.
M. S. = Manuscripts.
F. A. = Taʿrīkh-ʿuʿl-Ṣalāṭīn-ʿuʿl-Dawla.
M. T. L. = Maṭlub-ʿuʿt-Ṭālibīn.
N. P. = Sir Ouseley's Notices of Persian Poets.
IV.

Introduction.

Or. = Oriental (Mark of the Manuscripts in the British Museum).


R.M. = Rahat-ul-Muhibbín. personally it is necessary to know something not only of the one but also of the pre-R.S. = Ris'a-sh-Shu'ara'.

S.A. = Siyar-ul-Arifín, the succeeding generation.

S.N. = Shibli No'mani's Shi'r-ul-Ajam.


T.A.S. = TabaQát-i-AkBar Sháhi. we refer to give a brief survey of

T.F.M. = Ta'rikh-i-Fakhr-u'd-Din Mubarak-Sháh.

T.N. = TabaQát-i-Ma'áshir.

T.S.D. = Tavárikh-i-Salátín-i-Delhi. are either in Persian or Arabic in consonant with the time of all of the

ruling prince and the patronage it received from the Court.

The Mogul Courts were not only the centres of political activity, but also of literary and scientific pursuits. So
Introduction.

As every man is influenced more or less by heredity and environments, so in order to make a proper estimate of the life and works of a great personality, it is necessary to know something not only of his own time but also of the preceding age, which leaves behind it a certain heritage to act and re-act upon the minds of the succeeding generation.

Therefore, in this dissertation on the life and works of Amir Hasan Diqlavi, one of the greatest Indo-persian poets of the early Mualim period, I propose to give a brief survey of the origin and development of the persian language and literature in India up to the time of our poet. In dealing with this subject I shall also have to make frequent references to the political condition of the Country, which was an important factor in its development.

Of these Courts the most magnificent was that of the Court of Mahmud of Ghazni which was celebrated all his contemporaries. In his attempt to make his court the centre of intellectual activity, the growth of Persian literature whether in Persia or elsewhere is concomitant with the rise and fall of the ruling power and the patronage it receives from the Court.

The Royal Courts were not only the centres of political activity, but also of literary and scientific pursuits; to
them poets and scholars used to flock together from different parts of the realm. Sometimes the different neighbouring Kings, animated by a sense of rivalry, try to excel one another in their munificence and in their patronage of the poets and learned men of their time. This fact has been fully demonstrated during the early Ghaznavi period when there were four centres of culture in Persia, apart from Ghaznín, namely the Burvashid minister, the Şahib-İsmail-bin-Abbád, who resided generally at Iṣpahán or Ray; the Samánide Court at Bukhára, the Court of Shams-ud-Din Mátíl Qalí-Qalí-Washmír in Tabaristán, and the Khvárazm-sháhs in Khiva. Each of these rulers tried to compete with his rival in adorning his court with the best intellects of the age. Of these Courts the most magnificent was that of Sultan Māhmúd of Ghaznín who had excelled all his contemporaries in his attempt to make his court the centre of intellectual activity. He was surrounded by four hundred poets, who received allowances from the State Treasury.
ordinary zeal which he displayed in the acquisition of
learned men to adorn his Court had led some critics to
call him 'a great kidnapper of literary men.' The author
of the Gahármaštala states that when Sultan Mahmúd heard
of the merits and scholarship of the great scientist and
philosopher Abú-Áshān al-Ázarúnî, the historian and chronolo-
gist, Abú-Sahl-Masíhî the philosopher, and Abú Naṣr Arráj/ the mathematician, who were staying at the Court of Mámún-
bin-Mámún, the Prince of Khiva, he desired to bring them
all to his Court; and with this end in view he sent one of
his officers, Husayn-bin-Áli-bin-Míkáíl, with a letter to
the Prince demanding their presence at his Court. Two of
these scholars, namely Abícenna and Abú-Sahl, who were un-
willing to come to Ghaznín made their escape with the con-
nivance of Mámún, and the other three, being lured by
accounts of Mahmúd's generosity, came to his Court.

Mahmúd had a genuine love of learning. In the year
A.H.409 (A.D.1018), when he returned to Ghaznín with much
wealth from an invasion of India, he had built a great
Cathedral Mosque with pillars of marble and alabaster at
Ghaznín, and a College with a large endowment was attached
to it. This action of the King gave a further impetus to

(1) L.H.P. Vol.4. p.95.
(2) G.M.S.Tent, pp.76-78, Tr.Bronen pp.85-86.
the advancement of learning, and all his nobles followed

his example by founding mosques and colleges with the

necessary endowments for their maintenance. His reign

has proved to be one of the outstanding periods of Persian

literature in which we find the full expression of the

Persian-renaissance. A careful study of this period bears
testimony to the fact that Court patronage in the medieval

East was of the greatest importance in the development of

learning.

THE CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH PERSIAN LANGUAGE AND

LITERATURE WAS INTRODUCED AND DEVELOPED IN INDIA.

The conditions under which the Persian language

and literature was introduced into India and developed

there are mainly political. It is with the growth of the

political power of the Persian speaking people and the

gradual establishment of their permanent rule over the

Country, that Persian language and literature gained a strong

foothing in the land and thus developed under the patronage

of the reigning monarchs. The history of the development

of Indo-Persian literature is invariably bound up with the

rise of the Muslim power in India.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF MUSLIM RULE IN INDIA.

Although a certain portion of India was conquered and governed indirectly by the Arabs as early as the beginning of the eighth century of the Christian era, and although Muslim dynasties were ruling at Manṣūra until A.D. 976 and at Multan till a later date, yet India in general was free from the sway of Islam until the beginning of the eleventh century when the Muslim invaders made their appearance from Afghanistan.

The foundation of a Muslim empire in India may be said to have been laid by the Ghaznavides, and Mahmūd of Ghaznī in the strict sense of the term. His successive campaigns ranging from A.D. 1000 – 1026, mark the beginning of a new era in Indian history and his formal annexation of the the Punjab in A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021) as an integral part of his dominion may be considered as the first step towards the consolidation of a Muslim empire in India. The circumstances under which he annexed the Punjab have been described thus:-(1)

"In the year A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021) he led an expedition to Kashmir and besieged lahkūt for a period of one month. As it was more strongly fortified than before, he was unable to take it. Therefore he abandoned this plan

(1) Firishta vol. 1 p.53
ra singing with the Jumna. The sultan captures the city of

(1) One of the chaukys was an of Ajmer. The Muslim historians do not give the name of this rajā. According to the prithivi-Raja List, and marched towards Lahore. The army was dispersed through the neighbouring country and succeeded in capturing an enormous booty. On this occasion the Raja—

Michael was very weak and powerless so he fled and took III. These reigns cover a period from 1277-1320 (Vide A. M. 1418, pp. 260-270, and Epigraphs India Vol. I, pp. 110, 131).

111. (1) is the grandson of Jaipal. But this king is also known by the name of Hādar-Bhim or Bhimpal—the Fearless, member of A.M. Vidit Camb. Hist. of India Vol. III, pp. 21-22, and prof. Habiţa Sultan Mahmud, p. 477, with Sultan Mahmud in which the latter suffered defeat (Vide Intre. to Gondowan, p. 304). Sultan Mahmud's expedition to Kannath was led in the year H. 416 (A.D. 1029-30) when he passed through Ajmer. According to Princely (Vol. I, p. 54), the king of Ajmer fled at the approach of Mahmud. Mahmud then plundered the city and marched to Kannath without making the foot. The account given by these two historians as to the result of this conflict at Ajmer is entirely different. It is probable that the king offered a strong resistance and forced Mahmud to be unprofitable, but the fort was taken after a long siege to Kannath. However probably, since tells us and fact that Devindrala in was a contemporary to Mahmud, falling at Ajmer, I think this to be the Rajā with whom Bhimpal is a correct name of Ajmer when he was defeated by Mahmud in 1031.
refuge with the Sultan. The Sultan captured the City of 

(1) One of the Chauhān Rajas of Ajmere. The Muslim historians do not give the name of this Rāja. According to the prithivi-Rāja Vijaya a historical poem, written about A.D.1178, by a Kashmiri pandit recording the gallant deeds of the Chauhan Kings of Ajmere, there were four kings of this dynasty i.e. (1)Vigraha-Rājā द, (2) Durlabharājā द, (3) Govindarājā द, (4)Vakpatirājā द, whose reign covers a period from A.D.973-1040 (vidē J.R.A.S. 1913, pp.265-270; and Epigraphica Indica Vol.2,p.116), probandha-kāsa a Jaina śruta, believed to be about five hundred years old, in its colophon a list of Kings of the Chauhāns of Ranthambhore or Ajmere. According to this list Govindarājā द who is also known as Gandurājā had an encounter with Sultan Mahmūd in which the latter suffered defeat (Vidē Intro. to Gaudavahō, p.CXXXVI). Sultan Mahmūd’s expedition to Somnath was led in the year ई. 415 (A.D.1024-25) when he passed through Ajmere. According to Firisāta (Vol.1 p.54) the King of Ajmere fled at the approach of Mahmūd. Mahmūd then plundered the city and marched to Somnath without subduing the fort. The account given by these two historians as to the result of this conflict at Ajmere is entirely different. It is probable that the Raja offered a strong resistance and Mahmūd finding this size to be unprofitable, left the fort unconquered and marched to Somnath. However probandha-kāsa tells us one fact that Govindarājā द was a contemporary to Mahmūd ruling at Ajmere. I think this is the Rāja with whom Bhimpūl took refuge at Ajmere when he was defeated by Mahmūd in 1021.
Lahore, and having assigned it to a reliable Amír and the rest of the Punjab to capable officers, he turned his attention from plunder to the establishment of regular government. A garrison of the victorious army was posted then and the "Khutba" was read in his name. The he returned to Ghaznín in early spring."

From this time begins the rise of the Muslim power in India. After the death of Mahmúd when his successors had lost their possessions in Persia and Central Asia and Afghanistan, they had to fall back upon the kingdom of the Punjab and thus founded Turco-Persian dynasties. This paved the way for others to come in later times and establish their supremacy over the length and breadth of the country.

THE INFLUENCE OF MUSLIM RULE ON INDIAN RELIGIONS AND CULTURE. It is a wonderful phenomenon in the history of the world that wherever the banner of Islam is carried a great transformation in the religious, social, and intellectual activities of the conquered races immediately follows. The history of the spread of Islam and the expansion of the Muslim empire amply testify to this fact. Persia itself had to undergo a great transformation after

1. The reading of the name of the sovereign in the "Khutba" or Friday sermon proclaims the un-assailable suzerainty of the monarch where it is read.
its conquest by the Arabs. The Arab conquest had not only overthrown the tottering House of Sassan but also brought about a complete change in the religion, society, language and culture of the country, which no foreign conquest ever could do. So Nöldeke remarks: "Hellenism never touched more than the surface of Persian life; but Iran was penetrated to the core by Arabian religion and Arab ways."

Although the successors of the great Arab conquerors could not entirely overthrow the religions of Iddia and supplant them by their own, they gradually brought a considerable number of the population under the banner of Islam. This religion had indirectly produced a great influence on the theological conceptions of the Hindus. The Hindus, coming in direct contact with Muslim thought, evolved a set of ideals which almost approached the monothestic principle of Islam, as opposed to their strict polytheism. The efforts of the later Hindu reformers are more or less a manifestation of this lasting impression which Islam has made on their social and religious fabrics. This influence is felt more in the North than in the South of India. The less rigid observance of the custom of un-touchability in Northern India than the south is greatly due to the constant

presence of a faith which actively insisted on the equality of man before the eyes of the Creator. Besides these reactions on the religious and social institutions of the Hindus, it has also impressed its mark on the Indian languages by contributing a large number of Persian words to the native vocabularies. In course of time, this influence became so paramount, that an entirely new language has grown up in the country known as "Urdu" or camp language. It is formed out of Persian and an indigenous language called Braja-Bhasa which in later times became the lingua-franca of India. This is one of the finest modern Indian languages spoken by a large number of people, both Hindus and Muslims alike. It has also produced an extensive literature.

THE FORCES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF PERSIAN LITERATURE IN INDIA.

There are several forces internal and external, which contributed to the development of Persian literature in India. The adoption of the Persian language by the Turco-Persian rulers of the country as the language of the court and belles lettres necessitated its study by the native population in order to gain a footing in the business of
of the State and to enjoy other facilities which were open to them; and a knowledge of Persian in those days, was considered as a sign of refinement and culture, just as English is in modern times. With the advent of Muslim rule a large number of Persian scholars emigrated to India, and the irruption of the Mongol horde from Central Asia and their destruction and ruthless incursions into Persia in the thirteenth century, compelled many a learned Persian to seek an asylum in India. These emigrants and refugees made India their permanent home and formed the nucleus of Indo-Persian culture and scholarship. They brought with them a heritage of a highly gifted race and planted it on the fertile soil of India. That is why India could produce eminent poets, historians, divines and mystics, who if not superior, are at least equal to any of the famous poets or historians of contemporary Persia.

**INDO-PERSIAN POETS OF THE GHAZNAVÍ PERIOD.**

We find under the Ghaznavides a host of Persian Poets and other men of letters. But as the main centre of their activities lies not in India but in Ghaznín, I am not going to deal with them except those few who are connected with India either by birth or adoption.
Of the poets of this time we may mention the name of one Abul-Faraj-Bin-Masud-Kunri a panegyrist of Sultan Ibrahim and Sultan Masud, who is described by some historians as an Indian poet born at Lahore in a village called Kunri. Badayi says "Usma Abul-Faraj-Kunri was a panegyrist of Sultan Ibrahim and also of Sultan Masud. Many qaasidas written in their honour are to be found in his Divan; Kunri is the name of a village of the dependency of Lahore and in these days it is in ruins.

Reigned from 492-509 A.H. = A.D.1099-1115 T.N., p.22 ahm. (1)

(2) Vol.1 p.37. According to the Majma' (vol.1 p.70) "He was a poet of great reputation and Anvari used to imitate his style. The name Kunri (191) is derived from a village Kunra of Bishapur. He lived for sometime at Lahore so he is called by some as Lahori. His Divan consists of 2,000 couplets." But the Lubab (p.241.vol.11) says that he was born at Lahore. This being the earliest authority is more reliable.
Majma'ul-Fuṣaḥa speak very highly of him and quote a large number of his best verses.

Another notable poet of this period is Masʻúd-i-Salman. He belongs to a family of Hamadan who emigrated to India and settled at Lahore. The poet was born and brought up at Lahore and he served at the Court of five Kings of Ghaznī, namely Ibrāhīm, Masʻūd III, Shīrūd, Arsfān and Bahram-shāh, whose reigns extended from A.H. 451 to 547 (A.D. 1059-1162). Most of his poems were written in honour of Saif-All-Dawla-Abul-Qasim-Mahmūd-Bin-Ibrāhīm, who was appointed Governor of India in A.H. 469 (A.D. 1076-77). In the year 480 A.H. (A.D. 1087-88) he was accused of being an associate of a party of conspirators against the throne of Ghaznī; and consequently he had to undergo a long term of imprisonment in the castle of

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(1) R.S. Add. 16,729, f. 207° c.
(2) Ḥaḍīsa appended to the note of Chaṭḥar-Maqāla G.M.S. p.145. The Lubāb cites one Ḥaḍīsa written in honour of Saif-All-Dawla where the poet ingenuously avoids the note of the letters ṣ, ḥ (Ba Min Vol. 11, p. 279).
Hay. With the hope of being released he sent a quatrain to the King from his prison, but it was of no avail. After an imprisonment of ten years he obtained his freedom through the intercession of a Courtier named Abúl Qasim, and he returned to India.

When Sultan Ibrāhīm died, Sultan Masūd III appointed his son Shīrzād as the viceroy of India and Abu-Nasr Hibat-Allah of pars as Commander-in-Chief and Adviser. The latter being an old friend of the poet, appointed him Governor of Jalandar, a dependency of Lahore. But after sometime the poet's patron fell into disfavour and all his subordinates had to suffer the consequences.

Sad Salman was again accused of high treason and sentenced to imprisonment. This time he had to remain in confinement for a period of eight or nine years in the Citadel of Maranj, after which he was released through the intercession of Siqat ul-Mulk Tahir-ibn-Ali-ibn-Mashkan.

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(1) Castle situated somewhere in Waziristan.
(2) C.M.G.M.S. p. 146.
(3) Ibid.
the Prime Minister of the King. After this incident he was so much broken in health that he gave up all his public activities and went into retirement to lead the life of a devotee.

Thle man le acknowledged by all the prominent biographers to be one of the most erudite geniuses India has ever produced. He was well versed not only in Persian but also in Arabic and Hindi. He has left to us three Divâns consisting of 17,000 Couplets in Arabic, Persian and Hindi. He is said to be the first person to compose three Divâns before the year 525 A.H. (A.D.1130-31).

This fact has also been corroborated by Amir Khusrâw in the following words: "Before this none of the Kings in the realm of poetry has ever left three Divâns but me (Khusrâw). Although my predecessor Ma'âd-i-Sâd-i-Sâlûn has left three Divâns, they were written in three different languages - Arabic, Persian and Hindi. None has so far compiled three separate Divâns in Persian alone except me, the unique figure in this respect."


(2) _Ibn-i-Ma'sûs_h, vol.I, p.515

(1) M.F. vol.I, p.515

(2) G.K. add.£1,104 f.175

At the time of Khusrâw's death in 525 A.H. (A.D.1130-31) we do not find any Indo-Persian Scholar of note with the assumption of the power by Qutb-ud-Dîn in 525 A.H. (A.D.1130-31).
HAMID UD-DIN MASUD.

A third notable poet of this period is Hamid-ud-Din Masud-ibn-Sad Shalikub. He was born of noble family of Lahore and his verses are said to have attained the style and elegance of Hamaqi and Unsuri. The accounts of his life and works given by the biographers are so meagre that we are not in a position to make a fair estimate of him. One of his citâas is quoted in the Lubab as a specimen of his poetry.

DEARTH OF INDO-PERSIAN LITERATURE FOR A PERIOD OF ABOUT ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

There is a blank page in the early history of Indo-Persian literature which covers a period of about one hundred years, from the decline of the House of Ghazna up to the consolidation of the power by Quib-ul-din-abakshu.

It was due more to the political unrest of the time, than appointed his brother Shihab-ul-din Chaur as the Governor of that province. A short time after this Shihab-ul-din led several expeditions and

(2) From the time of Masud-I-Sad-I-Salman who died in A.H. 515 (A.D. 1121-2) we do not find any Indo-Persian Scholar of note till the assumption of the power by Quib-ul-din in A.H. 560 (A.D. 1205).
to any other cause, when the rulers of the Country had
to pay greater attention to the safety of their dominions
than to the development of art and literature. It was
a period of disorder within, coupled with attacks from
without, when the power of the Ghaznavides was on its wane
and new dynasties were appearing.

THE RISE OF THE HOUSE OF GHÚR.

The death of Mahmúd in A.H. 461 (A.D. 1073) was
followed by a series of civil wars and fratricidal feuds,
which had weakened the central authority, and the growing
power of the Seljuks in Eastern Persia became a formidable
menace to the integrity of the Empire. When the mighty
Empire built by Mahmúd was gradually crumbling in the hands
of his successors, there appeared a new dynasty of Eastern
Persian race known as the House of Ghúr. In the year A.H.
569 (A.D. 1173) Sultan Gháyáb-u'd-dín-Muhammad, son of Baha-
u'd-dín Sám drove out the Ghuzz Turks from Ghaznavi and
appointed his brother Shiháb-u'd-dín Ghúr as the Governor
of that province. A short time after this Shiháb-u'd-dín
led several expeditions against India and in the year A.H.

(1) Badahári, vol. 1 p. 46; and T.N. p. 115

(2) The first invasion led by him was in 571 A.H. = A.D.
1175 (vid T.N. p. 116)
assumed independence and he was acknowledged as a sovereign
583 (A.D. 1207) during the reign of Khusrav Malik-Bin-
Khusrawshah at Lahore, he gave the final blow to the
pioneer of the Chaznaides and wrested their Indian
possession from them.

After that "the plain of the
Empire once for all passed to the dynasty of Ghur without
the thorn of a partner or rival." But the house of Ghur
could not survive long. In A.H. 593 (A.D. 1203) Ghizās-
ud-Din Muhammad died and his younger brother, who for a
long time carried on his Indian Campaigns in the name of his
brother, ascended the throne with the title of Muzzūd-Din
Muhammad Bin Sam Ghurī. He reigned for three years and
then was assassinated on his way to Chaznīn from India.

POLITICAL STATE OF INDIA AFTER THE DEATH
OF MUZZ-UDDIN.

The death of Sultan Muzzuddin Muhammad Ghurī
opened a new chapter in the history of Muslim India.

(1) T.N., p. 26 Sultan and was threatening Lahore. Ilutulmish
(2) Bada'wī vol. 1, p. 48 in A.H. 614 (A.H. 1217). But

(3) T.N., p. 124
2. T.F.H.L., 140.
3. Ibid., p. 170.
4. Ibid.
assumed independence and he was acknowledged as a sovereign by Ikhtiyār u'd-Dīn, the governor of Bengal and Nāṣir u'd-Dīn Qabacha of Multān. He was a very able administrator and rose to eminence from the position of a slave. It was during his vice-royalty, in A.H. 586 (A.D. 1192), Delhi was wrested from the power of the Rājputs, after which it became the metropolis of the Sultans of India. Qutb u'd-Dīn did not live long after his accession to the throne. He died in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210) after a fall from horseback while playing polo.

DEATH OF QUTB U'D-DĪN AND RISE OF THE HOUSE OF ILTUTMISH. After the death of Aibak the nobles of the court raised his son Arām-Shāh to the throne, but he was so feeble that he proved a disastrous failure. Some of the nobles who were not in favour of his election, invited Shams-u'd-Dīn Iltutmish, a slave and son-in-law of Aibak, to take the throne. Iltutmish marched from Badaún to Delhi, defeated Arām-Shāh, and obtained the throne in A.H. 607 (A.D. 1211). During this period of disorder, Qabacha assumed independence at Multān and was threatening Lahore. Iltutmish drove him out of Lahore in A.H. 614 (A.D. 1217). But

1. T.F.W., p. 22. 2. T.H.P., 140.
3. Ibid, p. 170. 4. Ibid.
Qabacha did not cease his hostilities against Iltutmish.

So in A.H. 626 (A.D. 1227-29) the Sultan gave him the coup-de-grace and seized Multán and Such from him. Qabacha in his flight was drowned in the Indus. Within a few years Iltutmish brought the whole of the Kingdom of Aibak under his rule and then extended his dominion by adding to it Mâwila and Sind. He died in A.H. 633 (A.D. 1236) after a reign of twenty six years.

The death of Iltutmish was followed by a series of internal disorders, from A.H. 634-644 (A.D. 1236-46), when the Maliks known as the group of the Forty held the key to the government. Several princes and one princess were raised to the throne and deposed in quick succession by these powerful Maliks until the accession of Sultan Nasir u'd-Din in A.H. 644 (A.D. 1246) who proved to be the ablest and most tactful of all the successors of Iltutmish. He, with the aid of his most powerful lieutenant, Balban, brought peace and prosperity and formed a stable government at Delhi. He died in A.H. 644 (A.D. 1255) reigning for a period of twenty years and a few months. After him the house of Iltutmish came to an end, and Balban, one of the most powerful of the Forty, ascended the


2. The leading Turkish nobles who formed themselves into a group of Forty known as the "Chihil-gáni" who divided all the fiefs of the empire and all the highest offices amongst themselves. Originally they were Turkish slaves purchased by Iltutmish. (Vide Barani, p. 26).

and thus founded a new dynasty of his own. After this time we find a more stable and growing Muslim power in India.

TWO CENTRES OF INDO-PERSIAN CULTURE DURING THIS PERIOD. Having given a short general sketch of the political state of India at this time, we now pass to the consideration of a few of the most important writers and poets of the period who flourished under the patronage of different kings. During this period we find two centres of Indo-persian culture, one at the court of Delhi and the other at Multán, the capital of Sultan Nasiru'd-Din Qabacha, where many a persian scholar came as a refugee at the Mongol invasion.

MEN OF LETTER. Among the men of letters of this period were (1) historians and biographers, and (ii) poets. It is proposed to speak first of the historians and biographers.

MUHAMMAD ‘AWFI. Muhammad ‘Awfi, one of the earliest biographers of persian poets, came to the court of Qabacha and he lived there under the patronage of the Sultan and his minister ‘Aynu‘l-Mulk, until Qabacha suffered defeat at the hands of Sultan Shamsu‘d-Din Iltutmish. After the death of his patron he had passed himself over to the service of Iltutmish. One of his most important works is the Lubáb u‘l-Albá’ (the marrow of understanding) a biography of persian poets from the earliest times to his own day. It was completed at the court of Qabacha and dedicated to his minister ‘Aynu‘l-Mulk Husayn-al- Ashá’ri.

Another work of his, entitled “Jawámi‘u‘l-Hikáyát”-wa-Lavámi‘u‘l-
Riwa'yat, which consists of an immense collection of anecdotes, was written while he was in the services of Sultan Shamsu'd-Din and it was dedicated to Nizám u'l-Mulk Muḥammad ibn-1-Abi Sa'd-al-Junayd the minister of the king.

FAKHR U'D-DIN-MUBĀRAK-SHĀH. One of the historians of this period who deserves special mention is Fakhr u'd-Dīn Muḥammad-ibn-Mansūr al-Marvar-rudī-as-Siddīqī-Mubārak-Shāh, commonly known as Fakhr-Mudir. He was a contemporary of Sultan Ghiyās u'd-Dīn, Muizzu'd-Dīn, and Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak, in whose courts he was a recipient of high favours. He is the author of a book known as "Shajara" or Shajara-i-Ansāb, containing genealogies of the prophet, of famous people of the world from Adam to Seth, and of sixty eight others ending with the Muluk-i-Jibāl or Ghurids. Besides those genealogies, it contains an introduction and a Dībācha devoted mainly to a history of the beneficent rule of Muizzu'd-Dīn and Qutbu'd-Dīn Aibak. The account the author gives of these two sovereigns supplies us with accurate and first-hand information of some of the important events of their reigns which have been the subject of much discussion among the historians. This book has been used

1. The text of the Lubāb with an introduction by Prof. Brown has been published and an index to the Jawāmi u'l-Hikāyat with an introduction has recently been published by Dr. Nizám-u'd-Dīn-Ahmed. For details of the author's life may be referred to these volumes.

2. T.F.M., P.62. This history was not known to us till it was recently discovered by Sir Denison Ross and a portion of it has been published by him under the title of "Ibrīkh-i-Fakhru'd-Dīn Mubārak-Shāh. For detailed account of its importance as a trustworthy history see his article in the 'Ajab Nāmah, pp. 392-413.
Although we do not find much material about the life of the
by Firishta as one of his sources and Juzjam also makes mention
author, from biographical references, we understand from the
of it in several places. The author intended to present this
preface to the Ilju'l-Ma'agir that he was a native of Tabaristan
book in A.H. 602 (A.D. 1206) to Muizz u'd-Din, but before he
and owing to the heartened condition of his own country he had
could carry out his intention the Sultan was murdered and
consequently he dedicated it to Qu'th u'd-Din Aibak at Lahore.
Sultan via Jazarin during the reign of Sultan Qu'tth u'd-Din.
Qu'th u'd-Din was highly pleased and ordered a special copy to
be prepared for the royal library.

Another book entitled "Adab-u'l-Muluk va Kifayat-u'l-
Mamluk" was written by this author, dealing chiefly with the
art of war, with a number of introductory chapters on the
proper attributes of a king and his duty to select fit officers
of state. It was composed about A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210) and
was dedicated to Iltutmish, the reigning monarch. There are only
two copies of this work extant, one is in the India Office
Library and the other in the British Museum. The latter copy
is styled "Adab-u'l-Harb wa'sh-Shuja'a."

HASAN NIZAMI. Another important historian of this
time is Hasan Nizami, the author of the Taju'l-Ma'agir (crown
he came from Ahrar to India and attached himself to the court
of memorable deeds), which deals mainly with the history of
Sultan Qu'th u'd-Din and a portion of the history of his predecessor
Muhammad Ghuri and of his successor Iltutmish. This book
deals with one of the most interesting periods of Indian history,
the first permanent settlement of the Muslim power in India.

Although we do not find much material about the life of the author, from biographical references, we understand from the preface to the Tāj-u'l-Ma'āgīr that he was a native of Khūrásān and owing to the troubled condition of his own country he had to leave his home and seek an asylum elsewhere. He came to Delhi via Ghaznīī during the reign of Sultan Muizz u'd-Dīn-Muhammad-bīn-Sām. When he arrived at Delhi he paid his respects to the chief judge Sharaf-ul-Mulk, who received him kindly. After some time, he says, at the request of some of his friends, he undertook to write a history of his own time. The history was commenced in the year 602 A.H. (A.D. 1205) and it was dedicated to Sultan Qutb-u'd-Dīn Aibak.

MINHĀJ-SIRĀJ. Another notable historian of this period is Minhāj-i-Sirāj of Jūzjān, near Balkh, the author of the Ṭabaqāt-i-Nāsīrī. His full name is Abū-'Umar-Minhāj-u'd-Dīn, 'Uzmān ibn-Sirāj-u'd-Dīn-al-Jūzjānī. His father and grandfather were in the service of the House of Ghūr and occupied high positions of high distinction. In the year 624 A.H. (A.D.1227) he came from Ghūr to India and attached himself to the court of Sultan Naṣīr-u'd-Dīn Qabacha at Multān. The Sultan, finding him to be a man of profound scholarship, appointed him principal historian of the court. (Tāj-i-Dīn, pp. 1500, 2. 1581.)

1. T.M. Add. 7624 f. 20.

2. T.N.F. 144. He is called his a poet of Lahore, whose original name was Al Khurram. (Add. 15, f. 78, 80.)

3. T.N.F. 7, 191. T.M. Add. 2. 384. This battle was fought in the

of the Fírúzí College at Ueh. After the defeat and death of Qabacha he transferred his services to the court of Sultan 
(2)
Iltutmish, to whose son Sultan Náṣiru'd-Dín he dedicated his history Tabaqát-i-Násirí. This book is one of the most trust-
worthy histories of the early Muslim rule in India, and we find that most of the historians of the Mughal period use it as one of their main sources.

This writer, besides being a historian, was also a poet. We find several pieces of his Qašídas and Qiṣaṣas written in honour of his patrons. The author has incorporated in his Tabaqát one Qašída in honour of Sultan Mu'izzu'd-Dín -Bahram Sháh, son of Iltutmish, congratulating him on the occasion of his accession to the throne, and two others written in (5) honour of Sultan Náṣir-u'd-Dín Mahmúd.

One more Qašída is quoted by Fírúshta as written by Minháj on the occasion of a convivial party held by Náṣir u'd-
(6) Dín in celebration of his victory over the Mongal hordes.

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1. T.N., P. 144

2. T.N., P. 173.

3. The R.áj-us-Shu'árá calls him a poet of Lahore whose original home was at Khāraštán. (Add. 16,729, f. 207).


6. Firíshta Vol. I, p. 128. This battle was fought in the month of Shawwálab A.H. 648, when a large number of Mongal captives were brought from Multán to Delhi and the capital was decorated for this success. (Vide Tabaqát, p. 215.)
Over and above these fragmentary pieces he has written in verse a description of one of the campaigns of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn, made against the Hindus of Talaqandah, a fort situated near Kawanj, in the year 645 A.H. (A.D. 1247). The name of this book is Nāsimī Namāh. The king, in recognition of the merit of this work, granted him a fixed annual allowance and Ulugh Khán-i-Ā'zam (Balban) the principal hero of this expedition, gave him a village within the provinces of Hānī.

(1)
his period. We now come to the poets of this period, and will speak first of those who flourished at Multán and then of those at Delhi. The author of the Lubáb gives us an account of the contemporary poets attached to the court of Qabacha at Multán. He says: "This court is thronged with wise and learned men, it is a heaven studded with brilliant stars, the possessors of excellence and virtue; it is a garden permeated with the fragrance of the flowers of wisdom and blossoms of knowledge." But unfortunately he has left an account of only three of these poets who were friendly with him, he has omitted the memoirs of the rest. Of these three again the name of the first is not to be found in our present text. It is probably due to the fault of the scribe who left so many lacunas that it does not allow us to obtain an accurate knowledge of the poets. He has cited a Qasída written by the first poet as a specimen of his style. This Qasída was written in praise of the minister "Ayn u'l-Mulk in the form of Sawál-va-Javáb (questions and answers). It consists of thirty-three couplets.

MUHAMMAD-AL-KÁTIB-AL-BALKHÍ. The second poet of note is Muḥammad-al-Kátib-al-Balkhí. This man besides being a poet, was a wonderful Calligraphist. The Lubáb says that he would be raised on the first person to introduce the Arabic


References:
his Calligraphy has surpassed even the skill of Ibn-i-Bawwâb (1) and Ibn-i-Muqla. He was a poet of the court as well as a panegyrist of the Şâhîb Qîrân, the minister of the Sultan.

A Qâṣîdâ written in praise of the minister is quoted here but a few verses in the beginning and in the middle of the poem are imperfect. A Qâṣîdâ written in praise of the minister is quoted here but a few verses in the beginning and in the middle of the poem are imperfect. A Qâṣîdâ written in praise of the minister is quoted here but a few verses in the beginning and in the middle of the poem are imperfect. A Qâṣîdâ written in praise of the minister is quoted here but a few verses in the beginning and in the middle of the poem are imperfect. A Qâṣîdâ written in praise of the minister is quoted here but a few verses in the beginning and in the middle of the poem are imperfect. A Qâṣîdâ written in praise of the minister is quoted here but a few verses in the beginning and in the middle of the poem are imperfect.

The third poet mentioned in this memoir is Zâ'îd-dîn Sanjârî. He is also said to have been one of the best scholars of the age and a poet of renown. One of his Qâṣîdâs has been quoted by *Awfî as a specimen of his poems. But there are so many imperfections in this poem that no definite personal reference can be gleaned from it. It seems, however, from a few verses at the end of the Qâṣîdâ that it was written in honour of the same vizier Ayn u'l-Mulk, the patron of the author. It tells about Sanjârî’s coming to Baghdad after the return of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dîn Aru' Lakhawî in these words: "It is well known that a poet named Sanjârî came from Delâh to Ela Kollum, Sha'ja Shah u'd-Dîn Ushâri (3). (May God sanctify his sepulchre) and said: 'I have written a Qâṣîdâ in honour of Sultan Shams u'd-Dîn. Please recite a prayer that I may get the usual reward.' The prayer was:

1. Ibn-i-Muqla and Ibn-i-Bawwâb are two of the most celebrated Arab calligraphers. The former is said to have been the first person to introduce the Kûfic characters of writing in Arabia and the latter has improved upon it. Bawwâb is also the founder of a school of calligraphy at Baghdad. He died about A.H.423 (A.D.1032). (vide de Slane's Ibn-i-Khalikân Vol. II, p.282. Ency.Brit. p.368.) On the astronomical power of the Sha'ban. (vide Sakin, Vol. II, p.215. Extract of 1876.)

nade and he went to the court of the Sultan and recited the following **POETS OF DELHI**. Besides the poets and learned men mentioned by "Awfi" in his Lubâb, as his contemporaries, we find a number of poets flourishing in the court of Delhi under the patronage of different sovereigns of this period. The names of the following poets of this period are mentioned by Indo-persian historians as men of high intellectual calibre: Nâsîrî, Amir Ruḥânî, Shihâb Mahamara-i-Badâuñî, and 'Amîd Lumâkî; but the account left by the historians of their life and work is so very meagre that it does not permit us to make a fair estimate of their merit, and the total disappearance of their writings, has made our task still more difficult and men at the court of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dîn. During the invasion embarrassing. We shall, however, with the aid of the poor of Persia by the Korâns of Shi'ahs have migrated from materials that we have at our disposal, try to throw some light Bukhârâ to India and took refuge at the court of Delhi, upon them.

**AMIR RUHANI.** Amir Ruḥânî was one of the most learned of their writings, has made our task still more difficult and men at the court of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dîn. During the invasion embarrassing. We shall, however, with the aid of the poor of Persia by the Korâns of Shi'ahs have migrated from materials that we have at our disposal, try to throw some light Buxhârâ to India and took refuge at the court of Delhi, upon them.

**BADÀUÑî.** Badâuñî says that he had an interview brilliant .

**NASÍRÍ.** Badâuñî tells about Nâsîrî's coming to congratulating the King on his conquest of the Fort of Qabâcha, Delhi after the return of Sultan Shamsu'd-Dîn from Lakhnawî Mandu and the Siwalik hills. Some of these poems are given in these words:—*"It is well known that a poet named Nâsîrî came from Delhi to His Holiness Khvâja Qâṭb u'd-Dîn Úshâ (May God sanctify his secrets) and said 'I have written a Qâṣīdâ in honour of Sultan Shams u'd-Dîn. Please recite a prayer so that I may get the usual reward.' The prayer was

2. He was one of the most influential saints of the time. This Sultan as well as Qabâcha had great respect for him. Some of the victories of Qabâcha over the Mongol hordes is ascribed to the supernatural power of the Shaikh. (Vide Fudûd-ull Fudûd. f. 58a, B.M. or 1806.)
made and he went to the court of the Sultan and recited the

He is considered as one of the best poets of the period. He said;

following opening verses of the Qasida:

Idnaki, a poet at the court of Sultan Shamsu’d-Din Khwaja,
calls him his master and says that the Sultan had referred
to him:

"O thou, from dread of thee, a sedition has sought refuge,
Thy sword has exacted from the infidels wealth and elephants."

The Sultan was so pleased with these verses that he
immediately got them by heart and when the recitation of the
poem was finished he ordered his officers to reward the poet

Several of his interesting sayings are quoted by

with fifty three thousand silver ‘tankas’ for fifty three verses
Badáni and the Mulas u’d-Din (2) as examples of his poetry,
which he wrote in his honour.

Badáni says that he had written several brilliant Qasidas
during the invasion

Badáni says—of congratulating the King on his conquest of the fort of Rúhanbúr,
the group of persons who ascended the drum of poetry and
Mandú and the Siválik hills. Some of these poems are given
attracted the notice of the successor of the highest degree of
by him as specimens of his composition.


Badáni (Vol.I, p.70) calls him Shiháb Muhmara-Badáni, by
according to him this poet was a resident of Badáin and
he calls him a fellow citizen, and Khuwar calls him
1. Shiháb u’d-Din Madarání and says that he was a resident of
Madarán, a town of Hindustán.
He is considered as one of the best poets of the period. ‘Amíd Lúmákí, a poet of the court of Sultan Násir u'd-Dín Maḥmúd, calls him his master and Amír Khusraw is said to have referred to him in the following verses:

"Hulotan Tālhab-i-lūtāra would rise intoxicated,
He would hear the sweet lays of the birds of Delhi."

Several of his interesting Qaṣídás are quoted by Badáúní and the Majma' u'1-Fuṣahá as examples of his poetry. But none of these authorities tell us whether he has left any Diván although they speak very highly of his scholarship and poetic genius. The Majma' quotes two of his Qaṣídás in which he has entirely avoided the use of the letter Alif.

SHAMS U'D-DÍN DABÍR. The next poet of importance in this period is Shams u'd-Dín Dabír. Badáúní says: "of the group of persons who sounded the drum of poetry and attained the rank of the possessor of the highest degree of knowledge during Násir u'd-Dín's reign, one was Shams u'd-Dín Dabír, whose manifest excellences and perfections are beyond description." But none of his works except some Qaṣídás quoted by Badáúní has survived to us. He was also the secretary of Bughra Khán, who accompanied the prince in his campaign to Lakhnawtí. Nízám u'd-Dín Awáiyá highly speaks of his ability

and scholarship. He was a friend of Hasan and a disciple of Shaykh Fakhrud-Din Ganj.

**AMÍD LUMAKÍ**. Another poet of this period was Amír Fakhr u'd-Dín Amíd Lumakí. He was the Mustawfi-u'l-Mamalik of Hindustan during the reign of Nasir u'd-Dín Mahmúd. Besides his public duties he produced a number of excellent poems. But his works are not now in existence. Badaúní gives some of his poems and says "As his verses are becoming very rare, it is necessary to reproduce some of them."

He quotes three Qaṣidas written in praise of God and the prophet, and six others in praise of Sultan Nasir u'd-Din Mahmúd with the Radíf (1), (2), (3), (4), (5), (6)

It is said that he was born of a noble family of Delhi. The members of this family, it seems, were immigrants to India from Sistan as the appellation Sistání added to his father's name indicates. It is also not known why his father was called Sanjrí. It is probable either that Alí u'd-Din himself, was connected in some way to the district of Sanjrí, or that it was the place of his ancestral home from which he traces his pedigree.

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1. F.F. or 1806, f.69a.
2. He is sometimes known as "Amíd Dallamí". He is said to have been a native of Samnám and a panegyist of Sultan Muhammad Yamín before he migrated to India. (Vide M.F. Vol. I, p.353.)
CHAPTER I

THE LIFE OF HASAN

NAME AND PARENTAGE. One of the most important Indo-Persian poets of the late seventh or early eighth centuries of the Hijra, whose works are read and admired even beyond the boundaries of India, is Amír Hasan Dihlavi. His full name is Amír Najm u'd-Dín Hasan Dihlavi - the son of Khvája 'Alá'- u'd-Dín Sistání, often known as 'Alá'-i-Sanjárí. The poet has adopted Hasan as his "Takhallus" or poetical name. As he was born and brought up at Dihli (Delhi) he is known as Hasan Dihlavi. We know very little about his parentage except the fact mentioned by some biographers that he was born of a noble family of Delhi. The members of this family, it seems, were immigrants to India from Sistán as the appellation Sistání added to his father's name indicates. It is also not known why his father was called Sanjárí. It is probable either that 'Alá'-u'd-Dín himself, was connected in some way to the district of Sanjár or that it was the place of his ancestral home from which he traces his pedigree.

2. K.A. Add.18542, f.65a; D.T.S., p.247.
3. Sanjár is the name of a city near Mosul in the province of The Jazira otherwise known as Diyár Rabí'ah (Vide Nuzhat-Wil-Qulub of Hamd-Alláh-Mustawfi, G.M.S., p.105.)
THE TITLE OF AMIR

The title of Amir has been borne by two of the Indo-Persian poets, Hasan and his contemporary Khusrav. With regard to Khusrav we have historical evidence which says that the rank of Amir was conferred upon him by Sultan Jalal ud-Dín Firúz-Sháh Khaljí. But there is no such testimony either external or internal to show that Hasan was ever raised to such a position by any of the ruling princes or kings. Most of the historians and biographers say that he was a 'Nadím' or a courtier at the court of several kings and princes but none of them says if he was ever made an Amir. The biographers further do not all use the title of Amir before his name. Some use the word Khvāja, some Shaykh and Mir, and a small number Amir. But in the case of Khusrav, almost all the biographers regularly call him Amir. From this difference of treatment made by the biographers in the use of this appellation, and the absence of other evidence, we can reasonably say that the title of Amir was not officially conferred upon him. It was probably accorded to him by the people as a mark of respect generally shown towards the sons of the nobles and the sayyids.


2. Badáúní Vol. I, p.201. The Majma‘ calls him a Shaykh, probably in the sense of a pious man, not as a class as understood in India.
Hasan belonged to a family of sayyid, as we know from one of his odes where he addresses himself as sayyid Hasan. It is a custom in India to address the son of a sayyid as "Mír Şáhib" which is an abbreviation of Amír Şáhib. Therefore it is apparent that his designation of Amír was a mere dignity or a title of rank usually applied to the descendants of the prophet.

THE DATE OF HIS BIRTH. Although the biographers are quite silent about the date of the birth of our poet, we have internal evidence at our disposal from which we can conclusively deduce the year in which he was born.

In the preface to his Diván he says that he had completed its compilation when he was sixty three years of age. But the date of the compilation, which is to be found only in the two existing prefaces attached to the copies of his Diván at the India office and the Bankipore libraries, has been variously given. According to the India office copy it was completed on Sunday the twentieth of Zí'1-Qa'da A.H. 715 (A.D.1315), and the Bankipore copy gives the date as Sunday, Rabí‘ I., A.H. 714 (A.D.1314). Of these two dates the Bankipore date seems to be the more reliable. The poet

2. Ibid., f.1a. Bankp.pr. 92, 152.
3. Ibid., f.2b.
says that this collection was completed during the reign of 'Ala'u'd-Din Khalji who was of the same age as himself. (1) 'Ala'u'd-Din died on the eighth of Shawwal A.H. 715 (A.D. 1315). (2) The date assigned to the compilation of the Divān in the India office library copy would show that it was completed one month after the death of 'Ala'u'd-Din, whereas the poet says that it was already complete during the Sultan's lifetime. Consequently we can accept the Bankipore date as authentic, and thus place the date of the poet's birth in the year A.H. 651 (A.D. 1253), during the reign of Sultan Naṣir u'd-Dīn Mahmūd.

THE PLACE OF HIS DEATH. All the biographers except Taqī Kāshī agree that the poet died at Deogir or Dawlatābād. But Taqī Kāshī says that he died at Delhi, twenty years after the death of Amīr Khusraw and that he is buried at the foot of the tomb of his spiritual guide (3) Niẓām u'd-Dīn Awliyā. But no other writer corroborates his statement. If his tomb had been at Delhi, it would immediately have attracted popular reverence and have become a place of pilgrimage as is the case with the tombs of

2. B.N., Add. 21, 104, f.383.
Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá and Amír Khusraw. Badáúní on the other hand definitely says that he died at Dawlatábád "where his tomb is well known and is visited as a sacred shrine."

The statement of Badáúní has been corroborated by the Mirá't-u'l-Abrár, a biography of saints written in the eleventh century A.H., which says:

"He was buried at Deogír or Šawlatábád, near the sepulchre of Shaykh Burhán u'd-Dín Ghárib. His tomb is a place of pilgrimage to the people of that country, who call him Hasan Shír or Hasan the lion, because no one can stay near his tomb at night. If any one, through ignorance and foolishness, stays for a night at his grave, he sees the vision of a lion and falls into a swoon." We can therefore take the statement of Badáúní as correct and accept Dawlatábád as the place of his death and burial.

2. M.A., or 1756. f.144.
3. Shaykh Burhánád-Dín Ghárib was one of the devoted disciples of Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín. He was deputed by his spiritual guide to preach Islam at Burhán-pur and Dawlatábád. (S.A. or 224, f.91.)
THE DATE OF HIS DEATH. We have no conclusive evidence as to the exact date of his death. The dates given by the biographers vary from A.H. 707 to A.H. 769, (A.D. 1307-67). I shall therefore, first of all, give the dates which have been assigned by different writers and then try to ascertain as closely as possible, what the correct date is. The following dates have been given by the undermentioned authorities:

(1) Mirza Bidil gives the following chronogram:

Hasan Dihlavi in the meadow of the world,
Sowed the seed of goodness and fame;
The invisible speaker cried aloud, '0, enquirer!
The date of his death is (Bihisht) Paradise!

The numerical value of the letters B.H.Sh.T. of the word Bihisht = $2 + 5 + 300 + 400 = 707 = \text{A.D. 1307.}$


2. or 231, f.35.
3. or 470, f.155. This MS. reads as 807 but I think it is the copyist's error who wrote eight instead of seven.
A.H. 738 (1) Khulasat u'l-Afkar - A.H. 758 = A.D. 1337. He died some years (2) Taqi-Kashi year = A.H. 745 = A.D. 1344. The biogra (3) Tazkira-i-Husayni - A.H. 769 = A.D. 1367. (4) (5) Circumstances, Badáuí and Firishta say that he died at Dawlatábád in the year of the transfer of the capital by Muhammad Tughluq from Delhi to Dawlatábád. Most probable and place THE PROBABLE DATE. We cannot accept the year 707 as the date of his death. This was the year when he commenced the writing of his prose book known as Fawâ'id-u'l-Fuâd, in the completion of which he spent fifteen years from A.H. 707-722. This was the most fruitful and active period of his life, during which he also compiled his Divân. We are therefore quite certain that he lived until A.H. 722 (A.D. 1322.) We have also evidence that he survived his spiritual guide Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá and his contemporary Amír Khusraw, and he is said to have written a chronogram giving the date of Khusraw's death. Amír Khusraw died in the principality of Sagar in the Deccan. This faction

1. Add. 18,542, f. 65.
6. or 1806, f. 132.
8. My.K. or 3537, f. 141.
A.H. 725 (A.D. 1325.) It is therefore evident that Hasan died sometime after this year. The other dates given by the biographers are not corroborated either by direct or circumstantial evidence. Therefore, in the absence of any conclusive evidence, we can rely on the statement of Badauni and Firishta which seems to be the most probable and place the date of his death sometime after the transfer of the Indian capital from Delhi to Deogir or Dawlatábd.

**THE DATE OF THE TRANSFERANCE OF THE CAPITAL FROM DELHI TO DAWLATÁBD AND THE PROBABLE DATE OF HASAN’S MIGRATION AND DEATH.** The transference of the capital from Delhi to Dawlatábd by Sultan Muḥammad Tughlaq was actuated not by his peculiar whims or caprices as some historians believe, but by a sincere desire to make the centre of his dominion in a more central place, from which he could reign with (1) greater ease and vigilance. With this end in view he took this step after the rebellion of Gārshásp the governor (2) of the principality of Ságar in the Deccan. This rebellion

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entire population of Delhi toIndia. This second occurred in A.H. 727 (A.D. 1327), and this is the year decree was issued more to a punitive than as an administrative when the Sultan decreed the transference of the capital. measure. According to Badäuni, the Sultan took this

The royal decree had compelled the officers of the court and all those connected with the business of the state to move of Delhi who wrote anonymous letters reproaching him for immediately to the new Capital; but the people were left to their own will, although encouragement was given and made the entire population of Delhi suffer the evil persuasion was attempted and various facilities were consequences of this hasty decree. It was probably provided for their voluntary transfer. But two years

Sultan was returning from his war against Tarmashirin, the Mongol invader of India, he ordered the transference of the

1. Badäuni, Vol.I, p.226; Firishta has not given the date of this rebellion and the transference of the capital from Delhi to Deogir. He gives in detail the causes of the transfer of the capital and narrates the whole history abruptly after his account of the Sultan's expedition to Himachal which was led in A.H.738 (A.D.1337-38.) This has led Briggs in his

Mahommedan power in India to suppose A.H. 738 to be the date of the transfer of the capital from Delhi. But the text does not show any chronological relation of the one with the other. The Himáchal expedition was led eleven years after the transfer of the capital (vide. Badäuni, Vol.I, p.229.)


3. Identified with the Chaghatai 'Ala‘u‘d-Dín-Tarmashirín who reigned in Trans- Oxiana from 1322-1330 or 34;

(C.H.I. Vol.III p.143.)
entire population of Delhi to Dawlatābād. This second decree was issued more as a punitive than as an administrative measure. According to Ibn-Batūṭā, the Sultan took this vindictive step as a measure against some of the inhabitants of Delhi who wrote anonymous letters reproaching him for the removal of the court. The indiscreet act of a few made the entire population of Delhi suffer the awful consequences of this monstrous decree. It was probably during this year that Hasan migrated to Dawlatābād. He would not have left Delhi, his birthplace and the shrine of his spiritual guide Niẓām u'd-Dīn Awliyāʾ unless he had been forced to do so; his death followed in the same year, probably hastened by his inability to withstand the climate of the Deccan at such an advanced age.

1. Badaūnī Vol.I, p.228; Firishta also mentions of this second decree; (Vol.I, p.243). Barani gives no date of this important event.


The noble nature and elegant disposition which he displayed in his short conversation with Khurraw, led to the growth of their mutual admiration and friendship. It was on
HIS CHILDHOOD AND EARLY EDUCATION. Of the childhood and early education of our poet very little is known beyond the fact that he began to compose poetry from the age of thirteen, which we know from an incidental reference in his preface to the Díván. Nothing has ever been said as to whether he was put to school for his education and training. He makes, of course, occasional references in his Díván, to his indebtedness to the great Persian poets Sádí and Shaykh Abú-Sáíd in whose footsteps he followed. But there was no opportunity for him to meet either of them. It seems, therefore, he must have received a sound education at home, as was the custom among the noble families of those days; and with this to start with, he must have devoted himself to the study of the great minds, and thus developed the poetic genius which was innate in him.

FIRST MEETING WITH AMÍR KHUSRAW AND NIZÁM U'D-DÍN AWLIYÁ. We find Hasan in the prime of his youth working in a baker's shop, when Amír Khusraw his contemporary first met him. The amiable nature and elegant disposition which he displayed in a short conversation with Khusraw, led to the growth of their mutual admiration and friendship. It was on

2. Ibid ff.75a, 107a, 137b.
the same day that he was introduced to Shaykh Niżām u'd-Dīn Awliya', the greatest saint of his time. The occasion of this meeting is described in the following way:—

"One day Shaykh Niżām u'd-Dīn Awliya' was passing through the market place with some of his companions, among whom was Amīr Khusrāw then in the prime of his youth. Khvāja Hasan, the poet, who was extremely handsome and a perfect master of excellence, was sitting at the counter of a baker's shop. When Amīr Khusrāw saw him he found him to be a person of elegant, graceful and attractive nature. He became enamoured of him and he went to the shop and asked him 'How do you sell your bread?' Hasan replied 'I put the bread on one scale of the balance and ask the customer to put his money on the other, when the money over-weighs, I allow the customer to go.' Amīr Khusrāw said 'If the customer has no money what would you do?' He replied 'I accept his grief and supplication in place of gold.' Amīr Khusrāw became astonished at this reply of Hasan. Then he reported the matter to the Shaykh. Khvāja Hasan, also being enamoured of him, left his business on that very day. Although he had not become a disciple of the Shaykh at that time, he began to frequent his monastery and busied himself in the acquisition of knowledge. From this time, as the story goes, there developed a great friendship between Khusrāw and Hasan.

3. "The Keeper of the Royal Inkstand", a rank of high honour.
of knowledge." From this time, as the story goes, there
developed a great friendship between Khusraw and Hasan.

**HIS EARLIEST ASSOCIATION WITH ROYAL COURT.** The exact
date and occasion of his entry into the royal court is not
known. The only reference we come across is in *Favá'id āl-
Fu'ád*, where he says that he accompanied Sultan Ghíyāṣ u'd-
Dín Balban in his campaign against Tughrul the rebellious
governor of Bengal at Lakhnawtí. This rebellion was made
in A.H.678 (A.D.1279), so it appears that he came into
contact with the court sometime before this.

**RETURNS FROM LAKHNAWTI AND JOINS THE COURT OF PRINCE
MUHAMMAD.** He did not stay long at Lakhnawtí. He returned
to Delhi with the King, and in A.H.679 (A.D.1280) he was
invited by prince Muhammad Sultan, the eldest son of Balban
(3) to his court at Multán. This prince held Amír Hasan and his
contemporary Khusraw in very high esteem and confined upon
(4) (5) them the offices of the Davát-Dár and Maş-ḥaf-Dár,
respectively, and included them in the circle of his boon
companions. Both these poets were in his service for a period

1. Or.1806, f.69a. He says that in this campaign he passed
all his days with Shams-i-Dabír, the Secretary of Bughra
Khán, the governor of Bengal after Tughrául.
4. "The Keeper of the Royal Inkstand", a rank of high honour.
5. The Keeper of the Imperial Qur'án, a rank of high honour.
of about five years till his death in A.H.684 (A.D.1285) (1) in a battle fought against the Mongol horde under the command of Aitimik Khan.

PRINCE MUHAMMAD'S LOVE OF LEARNING. Prince Muhammad, known as Qa'ân Malik or Khân-i-Shahîd, was a great patron of letters. The profuse generosity which he showed towards the men of learning and the encouragement which he gave to the advancement of knowledge made him very popular among his subjects and attracted men of letters to his court. In his zeal for fame he twice sent for Sa'di of Shirâz to come to Multân. On both of these occasions he sent to the poet the expenses of the journey and promised to build a monastery for him and devote the revenue from several villages to its maintenance. But Sa'dî refused this offer, and excused his inability to comply with the request on account of his old age, and sent to the prince some Ghazals written in his own hand. It is said that the prince himself prepared a "Bayâz" or anthology containing twenty thousand selected

1. Baranî, p. 109, The Ḥabîbu's-Siyar is wrong in stating that they served the prince for a period of three years only. (Vide Add. 1225, f. 104).

2. Qa'ân Malik is the title given to him by Balban on the occasion of his appointment to the governorship of Multân. (Vide Baranî, p. 66). He is known as Khân-i-Shahîd or "the martyr prince" after his death in the battle fought against the Mongols.

3. Baranî, p. 66. Dawlat-Shâh is wrong in stating that Sa'dî came to India to see Khusraw (T.D.S., p.239).
talents of these two poets. He held them in higher
couplets from the works of the best Persian poets, which
outstrip any of his courtiers. He was so pleased
has been highly praised by Ḥasan and Ḥusnāw as an excellent
with their prose and verse that he made both of them his
specimen of judicious selection. After the death of the
intimate associates, and he used to show greater favour and
prince it was given by Balban to Amīr ʿAlī Jāmādār, who in
bestow more gifts and robes of honour on them than on any
(1)
turn bequeathed it to Amīr Ḥusnāw.

BARANĪ’S ACCOUNT OF THE COURT AND CHARACTER OF

PRINCE MUḤAMMAD. A very interesting account of the Court
and character of Prince Muḥammad, with special reference
to his benevolent treatment of Amīr Ḥasan and other men
of letters has been given by Ẓīr Baranī. He says:-

of whose "Nādīms", and I, the author of the Pirun-Shahi

have of his "Nadims", and I, the author of the Pir-un-Shahi


The court of Muḥammad Sultan was full of men
of talent and profound scholars. His "Nadīms" or boon
companions used to recite the Dīvāns of Ṣanāʾī and Ḥāqānī,
and the merits of the poems of these writers were discussed
before him by the wise men of his court. Amīr Ḥasan and
Amīr Ḥusnāw were in his service for a period of five years
at Multān and used to receive gifts and allowances from him
as courtiers. The wisdom which this prince possessed, had
led him on various occasions to recognise the merits and
artists of the age in gold, but no artiste have so lack and
talents of these two poets. He held them in higher
esteeu than any of his courtiers. He was so pleased
with their prose and verse that he made both of them his
intimate associates, and he used to show greater favour and
bestow more gifts and robes of honour on them than on any
of his ‘nadims’. And I, the author of the *Fírúz-Sháhí*
have often heard about Kháñ-i-Sháhid, from Amír Khúsraw
and Amír Hasan, that a prince so polite and courteous was
either in the development of Iran-Persian literature.
seldom to be found among the princes. If he was required
to sit on the government-seat for the whole of the day and
night, he would not deviate an inch from the formalities
of decorum. We never saw him in a cross-legged position.
We never heard him uttering any obscene or rude words either
at drinking parties or in other assemblies. He drank so
moderately that he would never get intoxicated or lose his
senses........... " The same historian remarks in another
place that he had very often heard Amír Hasan and Khúsraw
to deep affection and loyalty the poet bore towards his
saying "If we and other scholars had been fortunate enough,
then Kháñ-i-Sháhí would have lived and sat on the throne
of Balban. He would have drowned all the scholars and
artists of the age in gold; but we artists have no luck and

Death of Prince Muhammad and the Marşıiya of Hasan. These are the glowing tributes paid to the prince by the contemporary historian and the poets of his courts. His death was a severe blow not only to the old king Balban, who held him as dear as his life, but also to the development of Indo-persian literature. His succession to the throne of Delhi would have created a healthy intellectual atmosphere in the court and opened a new era of culture and learning. His death was mourned equally by the court and the people. Amir Khusraw wrote two elegies describing the events of his death which were taken up by the common people who, for about a month used to chant them as threnodies over their dead from house to house. On this occasion Hasan wrote in prose the following Marşıya (a lament), which gives not only a vivid description of the battle the prince fought, but also of the deep affection and loyalty the poet bore towards him.

THE MARIYA. It is an old story that although the tyrannous sky tides for a while, the knot of concord and makes the covenant of mutual friendship, it turns away; and although the discordant time, adopts the path of concord for a while and makes the covenant of fidelity yet it breaks away. The impudent sky, whose pupil of manliness is vitiated by the mote of meanness, although of Udas appeared with its sticking sword. The great like a drunk-man bestows a gift without any idea of generosity, but at the end takes it back like children, without any betrayal of dishonest conduct. The customs and usages of the oppressive time are of this nature.

Whether by experience or by rumour we see and hear, whoever it sees rising like the moon it desires to blacken his perfect face with the mark of injury. Whoever it sees rising like a cloud, it strives to shatter its substance into pieces on the horizon. In this garden of grief and this orchard of amazement, as no rose is without a thorn, so no heart is free from the thorn of anguish. Alas! for many a newly sprung verdure that has been turned pale by the calamity of the wind of autumn. Alas! for

1. The earliest authority where this Māriya is to be found is the Tarikh-i-Mubārak-Shāhī (or 1673, ff. 354-58.) of the later historians, Nizāmu'd-Dīn and Badaūnī also reproduce it. It seems their authority is the T.M.S. Akbarāwī (1552). The Tahsīl-i-akhbār says the battle was fought on the third of Zīl-i-Hijja, probably it is due
many a newly sprung plant that has been laid low on the ground by the hurricane of time.

One of the instances of this parable is the death of the late prince Qā'īn-Malik Shāzī. On Friday the last day of the month of Zī'īl-Hijja 683 A.H. (A.D.1285) when the moon like kindness in the heart of an infidel, was nowhere visible, the sun in the company of the army of Islam appeared with its striking sword. The great prince who was the sun of the heaven of the Kingdom, with the light of holy war shining on his forehead, and with a strong determination for the holy war firmly fixed in his enlightened mind placed his auspicious feet in the stirrups.

1. Baranī says this battle was fought in A.H.684 (vide p. 109). Khusraw in his elegy says 'the battle was fought on Friday, the last day of the month of Zī'īl Hijja, the end of the year 683 and beginning of 684.'

Khusraw and Hasan give us the exact date of this battle whereas Baranī puts simply the year. The correct date of this battle is Friday the 29th of Zī'īl-Hijja A.H.685 = 8th March A.D.1285. Prof. Habib is wrong in assigning the date of this battle to a hot April day in A.H.687 (vide his Amīr Khusraw pp. 15-20). The TabaQāt-i-Akbāh says the battle was fought on the third of Zī'īl-Hijja, probably it is due.
It was represented to his judgment, the solver of all difficulties that A'limur had arrived with his whole army at a distance of three farsangs. At daybreak he ordered his army to march from that place, and having faced the infidels at a distance of one farsang from them he selected the place of battle on the bank of the river Lahaur (Lahore) on the outskirts of Bagh-i-Sabz. As there was a large marsh adjoining the river he fortified the

1. (Continued). to the抄写者的错误 who transcribed the word as (Vide T.A., p.98).
1. The name of the Mongol General.
2. There are different readings as to the name of this place. According to Badâuní it is a big village adjoining the river (Vol.I, p.132.)
The Turíkh-i-Mubarak-Sháhi, reads as (or 1673, f.355). The ṬabãQát-i-Akbarí reads as (Add. 6543, f.44). If we accept Badauni's text we cannot explain the significance of the two sheets of water mentioned in the next line which formed the rear of the army. Rawking explains the term (Dub) as the rivers Râshí and Satlaj. But these two rivers are so far apart from each other that it was not possible to utilise them as a strategic defence in this particular area.
place very strongly and arranged that when the infidels
were evident, and the command and significance of the
verse given to and the plain domestic narrow scene
impressed in the page of record.
In short, it was that day when the horizons
of the army were reached the region of noon and that world
illuminating king was on his wings suddenly
swept from the aide of the infidels. The Wise Chief
when evil luck befalleth, the string of all affairs gets
loose and the thread of all arrangements becomes disorgan-
ised ............

It happened that on that day, the moon and the
sun who bear close resemblance to Kings, were suspended
in the sign of the Fish. Mars, whose red face is due
to the blood of the nobles of the state, has drawn the
arrow of meanness and the dart of insolence from the quiver
of that Zone, against the orion-girdled Khán who was like
Leo in the zone of the watery house of blood-shed and
destruction, and the proofs of mischiefs and disorders

2. (Continued). So if we take Dúáb in its literal sense,
the sense becomes more clear. I prefer the texts of the other
two histories and read the word as (Dhand) meaning a
'swamp'. The word "Dhandh" in the pubjabí language means
a lake, a depression in the ground that fills with water in
the rainy seasons, etc. Here I think the author has used
this word in the sense of a marsh and the TabaQát-i-Akbarí
p. 70.
were evident, and the command and significance of the verse "when Fate comes the plain becomes narrow" became impressed in the pages of record.

In short, it was midday, when the horseman of the sky had reached the region of noon and that world illuminating king was on his wane, suddenly a dust arose from the side of the infidels. The Khán-i-Gházá immediately rode on his horse and gave order that the entire army with its rank and file, according to the verse "kill the polytheists, all of them" formed in a line a hundred times stronger than the wall of Alexander. After arranging the right and left wings of the army, his august person stood in the centre just like the moon in the midst of the stars. The infidel Tátrárs (may confusion and dismay be on them) crossed the river Laháur and opposed the army of Islam. These people, wild and desert born have put the feathers of the owl on their inauspicious heads, while the warriors of Islam consisting of the Turkish and Khálifa

2. (Continued) explains the term by adding the persian word

\[
\text{Kúláb = pond or reservoir}
\]

after the word "Dhand".

1. Badáúní's text says \(\text{Badáúní's text says } \) meaning a band of people. The T.M.S. writes as \(\text{T.M.S. writes as } \) This reading seems to be correct and makes the sense more clear.

2. Alexander the Great is believed to have built a very strong wall against the incursions of the wild races of Northern Asia to which many of the persian writers refer. This wall is also known as the wall of Gog and Magog.
Maliks and the nobles of Hindustán and the entire army, in the prayer-place of battle (for the reason that the prophet has compared Jihád to that of prayer saying "We return from lesser war to the greater"), raised their hands by shouting "God is great". In the first attack a large number of the Mongol cavalry were put to the sword. The lances of the Maliks of the state pierced the limbs of the enemy in such a way that each one of them began to spurt blood, and the plumes of the arrows of the Turks, who were in attendance on the prince, became so interlaced in the persons of the Táters that no space was left. Every time, the lion-hearted lord, the wielder of the sword, made his attack from the centre of the army with a sword as pure as his faith, you would say that in that field of battle, the sword was trembling at the heroic conduct of the prince; and transforming itself into a tongue was saying to him "Today leave the suppression of this disaster and the destruction of those infidels to the servants of the state. Do not take this personal

1. The holy war.
2. According to the Sáfís there are two Jiháds (i) Al-Jihád ul-Akbór or the greater warfare, which is against one's lust (ii) Al-Jihád ul-Asghar or the lesser warfare, directed against infidels. (H.D.I.)
risk, because the sword is two-edged and the sword of
death is not a respecter of persons in its work. No
one knows what will happen to whom through the decree
of the powerful Fate. I close my eye against that
fateful eye."

During that time he was performing the rites
of the holy war and the ceremonies of battle in the field
of endeavour, each of the weapons began to speak in the
following way. The lance said: "O, prince! withdraw
thy hand from me; the tongue of my point, on account of
constant fighting and slaying has become blunt; I have
not the strength to pierce the enemy. God forbid that
when I charge, an unfortunate movement may appear from
me." The arrow said: "O, thou! the knot of whose bow-
string opens the knot of the nodes, do not advance to
meet this danger; for I, myself throw dust on my head in
advancing to this dangerous spot. God forbid that the
narrow eyed Turk of the sky who is in the fifth House,
should shoot an arrow of error by way of tyranny and ruin,
from his bow of malice, from the place of ambush at the
door of the eight House." And the lasso said: "Today

1. 'Ayn u'l-Kamal. The evil effect
of some eyes which is supposed to kill people by their
piercing glance.
the string of planning should not be left out of the
hand of deliberation, for I am contorted within myself
at this hasty war and this rash conflict. Wait for a
while! because Islam and the Muslims are like a rope
fastened to the tent of your bounty. O, God! do not
allow so much space to the custom of noose-throwing with
these people.

In short, that prince, the defender of faith and
destroyer of infidelity, from noon till evening, with the
main body of his army, carried on the battle with great
vigour against that band of heathens. The uproar of the
victors and the clamour of the lovers of battle had
deafened the ears of the earth and the sky. The fiery
tongues which sprung up from the heads of the lances, and
the tongues of the swords did not in a single letter in
executing the order of the angel of Death, all uttered (1)
the verse "A day when man will flee from his brother". Just
The surface of the earth was full of blood like old men
who had lost their sons, and the face of the sky was of
covered with dust like the heads of sons who had lost their
fathers.

In the very midst of this conflict and calamity,
1. The term is uttered by the angel at the death of
suddenly, an arrow from the quiver of Fate had struck the
wing of that royal falcon of the field of holy war. And

1. Qur'án Sura LXXX, 34. َُ"مَبِيَآَرُكَةٍ يَتْبَعُونَ
the bird of his soul had flown from the cage of the body towards the garden of paradise, "verily we belong to God and unto Him do we return."

At that moment the prop of the religion of Islam broke like the broken heart of an orphan, and the rampart of the faith of Islam had fallen low like the tomb of the poor. The strength which the state had, passed away and the radiance which Islam possessed had disappeared. It was just at the time of sunset that the moon of the life of that prince, whose fortune was on the wane, sank in the west of extinction.

The sky, after the manner of mourners had put on a blue garment and began to shed black tears over its cheeks; Saturn in accordance with the rules of fidelity and the customs of mourning had blackened its garment, and began to weep over the condition of the people of Hindustán, at his death. Jupiter, in grief for that dust-soiled body and blood-stained mantle, began to tear his garment and throw his turban in the dust. The heart of Mars, on account of his death, became narrow like the eyes of the Turks, and the face of his life became stiff.

1. The formula uttered by a Muslim at the death of a person.
and black like the curls of a negro, and being sorely grieved at this event brought forth his heart's blood.

The Fish (sign pisces) began to tremble like a ram in the clutches of the butcher. The Sun, out of shame, as to why it did not strive for the prevention of this calamity and disaster, did appear but sank below the earth. When Venus saw the sufferings of the heavenly bodies at the clutches of Time, she played her tambourine more vehemently, changed the tone of the drum and began to sing in a different tune; and instead of playing her instrument she began to weep over the death of that magnanimous prince. Mercury, who in wars and conquests used to record like a scribe the deeds of victory, on that occasion of tyranny blackened his face with the ink of his ink-pot, and clothed himself with a garment of papers made of the pages of his record. The resplendent moon, in the shape of a crescent with a bowed stature, in that land of resurrection, was striking her head against the door and wall of the horizon and observed the rites of condolence.

May God the great and exalted raise the holy and pure soul of that warrior prince to a lofty position and high station; and bestow on him His eternal beauty, greatness and glory! May every kindness and favour which he
showed to this poor and forlorn one, be the cause of
increasing his dignity and the remover of his faults,

(1)

Amen! O Lord of the Worlds!"

1. The authenticity of this Marsiya has been questioned
by Ranking in a note appended to his translation of Badáúní
(Vol. I, p.188, note 5). He says "Zíyá-u'd-Dín Barání attributes
this lament to Amír Khusraw. Fífishta also states that
Amír Khusraw escaped when the prince was killed, and wrote
a lament. It seems probable therefore, that the lament
should be attributed to Mír Khusraw. The Ḥasan which occurs
in Text and both Ms.S. (A) (B) may have its origin in a
copyist's error." The conclusion drawn by this learned
scholar is based on a wrong and incomplete translation of
a passage of Barání by Sir Elliot, which says "Amír Khusraw
was made prisoner by the Mughals in the same action, and
obtained his freedom with great difficulty. He wrote an
elegy on the death of the prince.............." (Vide Elliot
makes any reference as to his writing a prose Marsiya.
On the other hand Barání definitely says that Khusraw wrote
two elegies in verse:- (p.116).

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ایسرده یا یا جمل، یا جمل، بنبی، و پیچیده، از رکرت، آیینان، بلان

بیانت یا و، دمو، نیم، یا یا میهد، وکلته، آست

p. 70.}
INTIMATE FRIENDSHIP WITH KHUSRAW AND ACCUSATION MADE BY THEIR ENEMIES AGAINST THEIR CONDUCT. Here in the court of Khan-i-Shahíd the love and friendship between Hasan and Khusraw had developed to such an extent that associate with Khushrau and several letters written by him to the prince, this time the prince was annoyed at Hasan's dissention and he was to be punished. But in the utter surprise of the prince and the courtiers. He immediately ran to Khan-i-Shahíd and demanded of him to be punished on the Prince's account, to which the Prince said: "In that battle Amír Khusraw was made a prisoner by the Mughals, and obtained his freedom by some device and he has written two poems in lament of Khan-i-Shahíd." Firishta says nothing about the Marsiya. He mentions:

Amír Khusraw was present in that battle. He became a captive of the Mughals and obtained his freedom in the way as it is described in his Dīvaldí Ráni and Khízr Khání." From these facts it appears that this Marsiya is a genuine work of Hasan and is rightly attributed to him by the historians of India.

1. They were accused of belonging to a heretical sect of Súfis known as "Mulúsátic" who practice some repugnent acts opposed to orthodox and popular opinions. (Vide Firishta Vol. II, p. 755).

their calumniators began to ascribe to them gross mis-
conduct. (1) This calumny was reported to the prince.

The prince had forbidden Hasan to associate with Khusraw, but he did not comply with his demand and continued to associate with Khusraw as before. The matter was again reported to the prince. This time, the prince was annoyed at Hasan's disobedience and ordered him to be flogged. But to the utter surprise of the prince and the courtiers he immediately ran to Khusraw's house. The prince then summoned Khusraw and Hasan and demanded an explanation of their alleged misconduct. Khusraw explained their connection to be based on the idea of divine love purged from all earthly impurities, and said "Duality has disappeared from us."

Then bringing out his hand he displayed to the prince the marks of the strokes impressed in his own hand, exactly in the place where Hasan received them and said "The proof of real friendship is in the hand." (2) The prince was silenced by this reply and.

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1. They were accused of belonging to a heretical sect of Šūfīs known as "Mālamātīs" who practice some reprehensible acts opposed to orthodox and popular opinions. (Vide Firishta Vol. II, p. 755).

Khusraw recited the following quatrain:

"Love came and ran through my veins like blood,
It had emptied my self and filled it with the Friend,
The limbs of my body, the Friend possessed,
All is He, nothing of me is left."

THE ELEMENT OF TRUTH IN THE STORY. We cannot believe in the miraculous transmission of the punishment of Hasan to Khusraw as it is described by their biographers. It is quite probable that Khusraw's love for Hasan was so deep and sincere that he could not bear the punishment Hasan suffered on his account, and consequently he might have inflicted on himself as a proof of real love and sympathy, the same amount of injury as was received by Hasan. But, however, there is a certain amount of truth in the story. Hasan has probably referred to this incident in the following poem:

"As the demonstration of excellence was perfected by thy beauteous donor,
The private affliction of ours became public enow,
The seed I sowed in thy hope is cast to the dust,
The cauldron I boiled in thy love, putrid became.
My reason, which placed the saddle on the bay-horse of Time"

1. M. Us. or 208, f.99.
Subdued at last by the whip for the love it bore to thee.

He who declares not lawful the creed of thy love
May his blood be lawful and unlawful his dear life.

O Ĥi, Khvāja! Be firm in the street of rectitude
None can achieve fame in the lane of love.

Maĥmūd Qhaznauī, the lord of thousand slaves
Bridled by love became the slave of a slave.

O Hasan! Die in love so that perfection thou mayest attain
Have you not heard? He who dies perfection attains.”

IS LOVE BETWEEN PERSONS OF THE SAME SEX POSSIBLE?

This type of love which we find between Hasan and Khusraw was not uncommon among the sufī poets. To a superficial observer it may be quite a grotesque and reprehensible action. But the idea of such love was quite different among them. It was platonic, something holy and pure, free from passionate desire. They adored beauty for its own sake on the principle that “Beauty is truth, truth

1. The reference is to Sultan Maĥmūd’s love for his favourite slave Ayāz.


beauty." Once Sa'dí, the great Persian poet, heard of the exquisite personal charms of the son of Khavája Humám u'd-Dín, a man of great distinction and poetical talent at Tabríz, he travelled to that city for the sole purpose of gratifying his eyes by the sight of his beauty. Sir Ouseley remarks: "Sa'dí was a great admirer of beautiful youths, like all other Súfis, we may hope, who profess the most ardent, but platonic affection for individuals of their own sex, famous for beauty and talent, declaring it to be less selfish than the love of man to woman, and that they pay the most perfect adoration to the Creator, by thus disinterestedly loving and admiring His handiwork." The words quoted here may equally well be applied to Khusraw and Hasan. Our poet expresses this idea in the following verses of one of his poems:

5. R.M. Or 1769, f.175. This book contains the utterances of the Awliya' made during the year 899-90 A.H. The name
"Is thy face a lamp or a moon? No I am wrong in calls thee man of very low merits, he pays a high tribute both,

Beyond description is thy face that I see;

I look at thee and thou at my verse
Thou admires my art and I the handiwork of God."

In a similar way Hafiz also describes the pure nature
of love he practised:-

That one, am I who am renowned for love-playing
Not that one am I who have stained my eyes with ill-

HASAN AND KHUSRAW'S COMPLIMENTS TO EACH OTHER.

The friendship between these two poets seems to have
been of a permanent nature and we find complimentary
references made by each to the other. In one of the
discourses of Nizamu'd-Din Awliya compiled by Amir Khusraw
under the title of Rahat-i-Muhiileetan he calls Hasan
"my brother". In the Diba-cha-i Ghurrat u'l-Kamal where

2. R.M. Or 1756, f. 175. This book contains the utterances
of the Awliya made during the year 689-90 A.H. The name
Khusraw condemns the jealousy of his contemporaries and
calls them men of very low merits, he pays a high tribute
to the writings of Hasan in the following words:—**

"If any one praises the meaningless verses of
Muzzi for the beauty and their style and diction, he ought
to study the style and diction of Sayyid Hasan, Zazami
and Zahir, so that he may be acquainted with them and be-

(1)

come a discerning judge." Hasan always refers to Khusraw
in the most affectionate terms. He calls him his brother.

He also, like Khusraw, complains of the jealousy of some
of his contemporaries, as the following verses show:-

2. (Continued) of the author does not appear on the title
page, but from the preface attached to it, it is evident
that the author is Khusraw, who says that this book was
compiled after the compilation of his former edition known
as Afzal-u'1-Fawaid and calls the author as Khusraw Lachin.

2. T.D.S., f. 227. K.A. Add. 18,
842 f. 688 and Yaqi Khan, I.O.L. No. 667 f. 840b.
None can become a master of poetry by pilfering (others) verses.

How can the devil become Solomon by stealing his ring?

The master knows how to scatter pearls and comprehend knowledge.

He who is a pilferer of clay, how can he become a scatterer of pearls?

The virtues of Hasan will not be concealed by the detraction of his enemies.

"Hasan has brought a rose from the (Gallistan) rose-garden; How can the Sun be concealed under the wing of the bat?

But on the other hand he pays a high compliment to Khusraw in the following verses:

"Khusraw accepts by way of Kindness whatever the humble Hasan says. My poetry is not like the poetry of Khusraw. With the grape-juice from the tavern of intoxication of This that I say is true."

2. Ibad, p. 137.
that he used to imitate the style of the latter. But in none of the works of these two poets do we find any reference which gives evidence for this statement. On the other hand Hasan asserts that he had followed the ideas of Sa‘dī and tried to plant them on Indian soil. In one of his Ghazals he says:-

"Hasan has brought a rose from the (Gulistán) rose-garden of Sa‘dī,

Because the mysteries are the gatherers of the rose of that (Gulistán) rose-garden."

In another place he says:-

"In the goblet of spirituality Hasan has filled a fresh elegance of love,

With the grape-juice from the tavern of intoxication of Shiráz."

1. D.H.I.O.L. f. 107a. There is a pun upon the word "Gulistán" the book of Sa‘dī and a rose garden which cannot be preserved in translation.

2. Ibid f. 137.
In a similar way Khusraw also says that he had followed Sādī in his Ghazals and Nizāmī in Magnävi. It seems from their statements that both of them followed the same school of thought in their lyrical poetry and it is for this reason that we find the similarity of ideas between these two poets, which led some biographers to conclude that one is the pupil of the other.

It seems from their statements that both of them followed the same school of thought in their lyrical poetry and it is for this reason that we find the similarity of ideas between these two poets, which led some biographers to conclude that one is the pupil of the other.

HIS CONTEMPORARIES AND JALAL'S DEPART. The scholars contemporary with our poet at the court of this monarch, were Tājū’d-Dīn Frā‘ī, Amir Khusraw, Mawṣūlī-Fārānī, Mū‘īn Divāna, Amir Arslān, I‘tīfāq u’d-Dīn, Fakhrī Sahī, Sādī Khatīb, Sa‘d-Mansūṭī and Jāhān-Nāsamī.

Each of them is said to be a poet of high order and an accomplished master in history. A Ghazal written in

1. Barānī places the date of his accession in A.H. 628 (p.174) But Khusraw gives the exact date and year to be Tuesday, the 3rd of Jamā‘ī 628. (Ms. E. Add. 21, 104, 2 674a.)

1. G.K., Add. 21, 104. f. 163 a.

Bada‘ūnī follows Khusraw while Naṣīr al-Dīn retains the date of Barānī.

HASAN AT THE COURT OF JALÁL U'D-DÍN-PÍRÚZ.

After the death of Khán-i-Shahíd we do not hear of Hasan's active association with the court until the accession of Sultan Jalál u'd-Dín Firúz Sháh Khaljí in A.H.689 (A.D.1290). This was probably because he was a man of retiring disposition and elected to lead the life of a passive spectator during the turmoil which followed the death of Balbán. When Jalál u'd-Dín established his power firmly he joined the circle of the scholars of the court and Jalál-(2) became one of the recipients of royal favours. He also held

HIS CONTEMPORARIES AT JALÁL'S COURT. The scholars contemporary with our poet at the court of this monarch, were Táju'd-Dín BráQí, Amír Khusraw, Muwayyíd-Jajaramí, Muyíd-Dívána, Amír Arslán, Ikhtiyár u'd-Díntrary Bágí, BáQí Khatáb, Sa'd-Mántaqí and Gághi-Hansaví.

Each of them is said to be a poet of high order and an accomplished master in history. A Ghazal written in

1. Barání places the date of his accession in A.H.688 (p.175) But Khusraw gives the exact date and year to be Tuesday, the

3rd of Jamád II 689. (Mr. F., Add. 21,104, f.874a.)

Badáníí follows Khusraw while Náizám u'd-Dín retains the date of Barání, Add. 21, 104, f.134b.

nineteen different metres is ascribed to the last named. But the works of these scholars, with the exception of Khusraw have not come down to us. Besides the persons mentioned above, Khusraw adds the names of Mawláná Shihád-u'd-Dín, Qází Siráj, Táj u'd-Dín Záhid and 'Alá'u'd-Dín-‘Alí Sháh who reflected credit upon the assemblies of the court with their poetical compositions and philosophical discussions.

JALÁL U'D-DÍN'S LOVE OF LEARNING. Sultan Jalál-u'd-Dín was not only a patron of learned men but also he possessed himself a certain amount of poetic genius. Amír Khusraw pays him a very high compliment for his judicious appreciation of men of talent and says that none of the monarchs of his age had his intelligence or literary taste. Badaúní has ascribed to him three quatrains, one of these was composed as an inscription for a pavilion he built at Gawálíor. It runs thus:

1. G.K., Add. 21, 104, f. 184b.
2. Ibid, f. 179b.
"I whose foot spurns the head of heaven
How can a heap of clay augment my dignity?
I laid right this broken stone in order that
perchance some broken heart may take comfort."

ASSASSINATION OF JALÁL U’D-DÍN. In the year (1) 695 A.H. (A.D.1296) was perpetrated one of the most heinous crimes that has ever been recorded in the annals of India. It was the murder of Sultan Jalál u’d-Dín by his nephew and son-in-law ‘Alá’u’d-Dín. After the return of ‘Alá’u’d-Dín from his Óeccan campaign with enormous wealth he persuaded the King through his brother Ulugh Khán to visit him unarmed in his camp at Kara on the bank of the Ganges. The counsellors of the king, suspecting some treacherous design on the part of ‘Alá’u’d-Dín, warned him not to risk taking such a step. But the King had such love for ‘Alá’u’d-Dín and such great confidence in him that he did not listen to their advice, but went to meet his nephew under the delusive impression of his fidelity (2) on the 17th of Ramádan, just as a father goes to see his son. When he landed at the camp ‘Alá’u’d-Dín came forward
with some of his nobles and all made their obeisance. The Sultan was highly pleased at his behaviour and began to give him paternal admonitions in the following words:-

"You are always dearer to me than my own sons. What fear led you to make me come here during the fast? None can come between you and me. These strangers who are now flocking round you for your gold will run away as soon as they see you with no gold. But my affection and love for you will not diminish even if the whole world turns against you." Having finished these words the King held ʿAlāʿūd-Dīn's hand, and wanted to go to his special boat. At this juncture an assassin named Maḥmūd-Sālim, at the signal of ʿAlāʿūd-Dīn attacked the Sultan, and wounded him severely. The King had just strength enough to run towards his boat, crying: "Oh, ungrateful ʿAlāʿūd-Dīn! what have you done?" and as he was attempting to save himself, another assassin named Ikhtiyār u'd-Dīn Hūd came and severed his head from his body. It is surprising to find that neither Amīr Hasan nor Khusraw makes any mention of this tragic event.

Probably, both of them being the poets of his court and

recipients of 'Aláu'd-Dín's gold deliberately connived at this incident and praised their patron for his valour and statesmanship. Baraní describes this as one of the most atrocious deeds that has ever been perpetrated since the creation of the world.

**ACCESSION OF 'ALÁ'U'D-DÍN.** After the murder of Jalál u'd-Din, 'Alá'u'd-Dín proclaimed himself King in his camp. Ahmad Chap, one of the generals of the late King, did not submit to the usurper, but returned to Delhi with his army. The widow of Firuz raised her younger son Qadr Khan to the throne under the title of Sultan Rukn u'd-Din Ibrahim at Delhi. But this young prince could not consolidate his power, whereas 'Alá'u'd-Dín by his profuse distribution of gold began to gain the support of the nobles and a few months after the murder of Firuz he entered Delhi at the head of his army and ascended the throne at the end of the year 695 A.H. (A.D. 1296) at the Red Palace of Balban.
'ALÁ'U'D-DÍN'S AMBITION. 'Alá' u'd-Dín was a very presumptuous and ambitious man. He was not satisfied with the kingly crown of Delhi but wanted to equal Alexander in his world conquest and the prophet Muḥammad (1) in his spiritual domain. He was, however, discouraged by his supporters in his ambition to be accepted as a prophet but he was undaunted in his desire to achieve the fame of Alexander. Although he could not execute his plan of world conquests beyond the limits of India, yet he assumed the title of Alexander II. In many of the Qaṣīdas of Amīr Hasan he is addressed as "Sikandar-i-Sánī" (Alexander II). This fact has also been corroborated by the evidence of some of the coins and inscriptions of his time. His gold coins struck in 709 A.H. (A.D.1309), (3) bear the following inscription.

Circular area:- Alexander II the right hand of the Caliphate, the support of the commander of the faithful.

2. D.H., I.O.L., ff. 23, 26, 36, 40a, 42a, 43a, 51b.
3. Thomas's "The Chronicle of the patron Kings of Delhi", pp. 168-174. Hasan also addresses him as Yāmin ul-Khilāfat or the Right hand of the Caliphate in the following verses:

(3) D.H., I.O.L., f.246

توبِي خلاقنتِ شوقِ رکبتِ اپز
سینِ تلاذَنتِ ازارِ نَد خِطاب
The legend occupying the full face of the coin:

Sultan 'Ala'ud-Din Abul-Muzaffar Muhammad Sháh

You have brought me out like a pure pearl;

You gave me the honour of kissing the hand of the King;

The coin was struck at Delhi in the year 709.

HASAN AT THE COURT OF 'ALÀ‘U'D-DIN. After the death of Sultan Jalálu'd-Dín, Hasan transferred himself to the service of Sultan 'Ala'ud-Din Khalji. He was first introduced to the court by Malik 'Izzu'd-Dín Ulugh-Khán and he refers to this incident in the following verses of a short poem addressed to him.

You have brought me out like a pure pearl;
You gave me the honour of kissing the hand of the King;
You have brought me wealth and honour from the King, (And) doubled it by gifts of your own.

You have filled my fortune with goodness,

How can I offer thanks to you for all these things?

Here at the court of this King we find Hasan

at his best; and this is the most fruitful period of his life, when he completes his Divān and attains great fame as an eminent poet. Zīā Barānī the contemporary historian of our poet says: "Amīr Hasan Sanjārī was a unique figure among the poets of the time of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn." (1)

PROMOTION OF LEARNING DURING 'ALĀ'U'D-DĪN'S REIGN.

The reign of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn from A.H. 695-715 (A.D. 1295-1315) is one of the most flourishing periods of Indo-persian literature. Delhi, under 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, possessed one of the most brilliant bands of servants, the like of which we fail to find even in the court of his successors, the great Mughals. The activities of these scholars were not confined to any particular system of learning but were diffused over various branches of mundane and spiritual sciences. Barānī (2) mentions the names of forty-six scholars of great repute who have devoted their time and energy to the development of traditional and rational sciences; and large numbers of students used to flock round him to receive instructions in these branches of learning. The same historian remarks in another place that each of these men could compete with any of the leavened scholars of Baghdad, Baghdad, Egypt, Khvāja, Damūs, Kāshān, Isfahan.

1. Barānī, p. 360. Itai and did a great deal for the moral.


people.
numbers of students used to flock round them to receive instructions in these branches of learning. The same historian remarks in another place that each of these men could compete with any of the learned scholars of Bukhára, SamarQand, Baghdád, Egypt, Khiva, Damascus, Tabáz, Ispahán, Ray and Iconium. Besides these scholars, so highly spoken of by the historian, there were other men of talent who turned their attention towards the development of the science of Qirá'at (reading of the Qur'án), the arts of preaching, poetry, history, and the sciences of medicine, astronomy, astrology and necromancy, so that we find during this period an all-round development of Indo-persian culture. 

QÁRÍS OR READERS, AND PREACHERS. Of the readers of the Qur'án, Mawlána Jamál u'd-Dín Sháti, Mawlána 'Alá'u'd-Dín, and Khwája Zakí, a nephew of Ḥasan of Basra, obtained very great reputation throughout the length and breadth of the country. The most noteworthy preachers of the time were Mawlána 'Imád u'd-Dín Husám Dahvísh, Mawlána Zhá u'd-Dín-Sumnámi, Mawlána Karím u'd-Dín and Badr u'd-Dín of Oudh. They used to deliver weekly lectures on religious and spiritual subjects to large congregations. The efforts of these scholars had produced a pure atmosphere of academic interest at the capital and did a great deal for the moral advancement of the people.
There were poets" says Barani, "in the reign of 'Ala' u'd-Din, such as never existed before or after." Besides Hasan and Khusraw, who headed the list, there were other men of high poetic talent, such as Sadr u'd-Din 'Ali, Fakhr u'd-Din Qawwas, Hamid u'd-Din-Rajah, Mawlana 'Arif, Ubaid Hakim, Shihab Ansari, and Sadr Basti, who adorned the court of Delhi. Each of these poets was in receipt of allowances from the state and each one of them is said to have left us a Divan.

2. Ibid., p. 361.
HISTORIANS. Of the historians at the Court of 'Alá'u'd-Dín there were two men noted for their proficiency in this branch of learning. One is Amír Arslan-Kuláhí and the other Kabír-u'd-Dín, son of Táju'd-Dín 'Iráqi. Amír Arslan had a so wonderful memory that when 'Alá'u'd-Dín asked him any questions on the history of the past kings he could enlighten him on these points without any reference to the texts. Kabír u'd-Dín was held in great esteem by the Sultan, and was appointed the chief-justice of the Imperial Army. He wrote a history of the reign of 'Alá'u'd-Dín describing in detail all the conquests and achievements of his sovereign. Barání has used it as one of his sources for the Ta'íkh-i-Fírúz-Sháhí. But he complains that this history is rather a eulogium than a mere statement of fact. All the defects of 'Alá'u'd-Dín's administration have been deliberately suppressed and his achievements and character have been extolled beyond limit. We cannot blame this historian for his one-sided view, as he had to present every part of this history to the emperor for his approval, so that he had to guard against writing anything which would incur the displeasure of the monarch.

3. Ibid.
MEDICINE, ASTRONOMY AND ASTROLOGY. The science of medicine was studied equally with other branches of learning. A large number of skilful physicians grew up at the capital and people of different castes and creeds—the Brahmins, Jāts and the Muslims, took keen interest in the development of this science. Among the physicians of Delhi Mawláná Badr u'd-Dín-Damashqí occupied the highest position. He not only attended to his patients but often used to give instruction to other physicians of the city. His proficiency in his profession was so high that he could diagnose any disease by examining the pulse of the patient and could say whether a particular ailment was curable or not. There was also another group of scholars who devoted their time and energies to the development of the sciences of Astronomy and Astrology. The services of this group were equally appreciated by the king as well as by the nobility. The chief of the astronomers of the Court was Mawláná Sharaf u'd-Ḍín who was granted a substantial allowance and the income from several villages, by the Sultan. (1)

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2. Baraní p.363-64.
The nature of Persian language written and spoken during this period. The Persian spoken and written in India during this period was much purer than that found during the later Mughal days. The early emigrants retained the purity of their tongue, which their successors failed to do. The following interesting account of the Indo-Persian language has been given by Amír Khusraw:

"The singers of the land of Hindustán, particularly the emigrants who have settled at Delhi, surpass all the scholars of the world in their attainments. Therefore no Arab, Khārāśání, Turk, Indian nor any other who comes to the Muslim cities of India and spends his whole life in places like Delhi, Multán and Lakhnaūtí, and not in places like Gujarat, Málwa and Deogír, the land of Hindu idolatry, suffers deterioration in his own language. Assuredly he speaks according to the standard of his own country. For example, if he is an Arab, he is the master of his own language only, and he cannot lay a proper claim to the language of others; his broken

1. Q. K., Add. 21, 104, f. 155.
speech is a proof of his foreign origin. If a Hindu citizen or a villager continually lives and mixes with the inhabitants of Delhi, yet there is imperfection in his Persian. A Khurásání, 'Iráqi, Shírází or a Turk, however intelligent he may be, commits blunders in the Indian language, even if he burns many a midnight candle and claims eloquence in an assembly, yet at the end he stumbles and breaks down. But the Munshis (secretaries) born and brought up in Indian cities and particularly at Delhi, with but little practice, can speak and understand the spoken language (of others) and also obtain a command over prose and verse; they can adopt the style of every country they visit. And it general. Prof. Holdice has suggested that Tajik (better has been fully proved from experience, that many of our Taqhib and Tazí are the same word, the former being merely people who have never been to Arabia, have acquired an other form. Chik seems belonging to and in this eloquence in the Arabic language such as has not been case: belonging to the tribe of Núr. In modern Persian achieved by the scholars of Arabia themselves who take Chik become zi. Nicholson says: The Kanghis gave the same lessons from the flow of their language. The Arabs, of Tajik, or Tazik to the Mahasandans, and in the historical in spite of being eloquent in their own tongue, have not works of this period. Will he found that they employed this ability to learn our Persian correctly.

Footnote 1 continued from previous page,

I have seen many a Tajik - not Turk - who learn designate the Mahasandans inhabitants of towns and cultivated

1. The word Tajik or Tazik is used by different writers in "different" sense. The early Armenian writers applied it to the Arabs, modern Armenians have imposed it on in the sense of Persian speaking Turkastání. F.T.O.
Turkish with industry and erudition in India; and they speak in such a way that the eloquent men of this tribe who come from their original home are astonished at it. In the case of the Persian language, which has been derived from the Persians, there is no other correct style than the style of Trans-Oxiana, which is the same as that of Hindustán. Because the Kharásáníís pronounce the word ظ (cha) as ظ (chi) and some of them read ك (kujá) as ك (kajú) but in writing they use ظ (cha) not ظ (chi) and ك (kujá) not ك (kajú).

Footnote 1 continued from previous page. the Turks and the Turkish empire and even on Muslims in general. Prof. Nóldëke has suggested that Tájik (better Táchik) and Tázi are the same word, the former being merely the older form. Chik means "belonging to" and in this case "belonging to the tribe of Tái." In modern Persian Chik becomes Zi. D’ohsson says "The Mongols gave the name of Tájik, or Tásik to the Muhammadans, and in the historical works of this period it will be found that they employed this word in opposition to that of 'Turk'. The first served to designate the Muhammadan inhabitants of towns and cultivated lands, whether they were of Turki, Persian or Arab origin mattered not." (Vide Ross & Elias’s Introduction to Ta’ríkh-i- Rashídí pp. 85, 87, 90-91.) I think Khusraw has used this term in the sense of Persian speaking Turkestaní.
The correct pronunciation is that denoted by the spelling. There are many words like these which are pronounced in one way but wrong if written so. But the Persian speech prevalent in India, from the bank of the Indus to the coast of the Indian ocean is everywhere the same. It is evident from this account that the standard style of Persian adopted in India was that of the Trans-Oxiana.

ALLEGED INDIFFERENCE OF 'ALÁ' U'D DÍN TOWARDS MEN OF LETTERS. After describing the state of science and literature during 'Alá' u'd-Dín's reign, Barání complains that the Sultan did not show proper consideration for the merit of the scholars of his time. If these scholars had remained at the Court of Mahmúd or Sanjar each of them in the principle of moderation that always governed his actions,

in the following words p. (1)

1. It is after Sikandar Lodí's accession to the throne in A.D. 1489 the Hindus seriously studied Persian to qualify for state's service; since then we find an increasing difference in the style of India and Persia proper.

(Firishta Vol.I, p. 344): —


محمود نبود پرداغستان —
would have been rewarded with the income of a principality. But in spite of this alleged indifference of the king, we find his reign to be one of the most flourishing periods of Indo-Persian scholarship. Barani calls it one of the wonderful phenomena of his time, which he fails to explain, and he has rather exaggerated the king's indifference. It is of course true that the king did not squander money on men of letters as some of the oriental potentates do, but we cannot say that he was entirely without generosity to them. His bounty was regulated by a consideration of the economy of the state and consequently he paid the poets of his court what he considered to be most reasonable.

Khusraw, in describing the character of the king, refers to the principle of moderation that always governed his actions, in the following words: (1) left to us by Amir Khusraw, a study "The characteristics of his august nature are in accord with the canons of wisdom; his anger is like a pleasant fire that cooks, but which does not burn the world; his mercy is like that of a fresh breeze that raises no dust; his disposition is like water that pleases, but does not drown; and his generosity is like a mine that produces wealth but destroys it not."

86.

THE CAUSES THAT CONTRIBUTED TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART AND LITERATURE DURING ‘ALÁ’U’D-DÍN’S REIGN.

The development of art and literature during ‘Alá’u’d-Dín’s reign, may be ascribed chiefly to two causes: first, to a strong and stable central government and a general peace and prosperity in the country, which led to the growth of a leisured class that could devote its time to the promotion of learning; and secondly, to the gradual increase in the number of emigrants from Persia, to whom reference has been made in the introduction; these people by this time had made India their permanent home and, living under a more settled and peaceful government, could transmit their heritage to Indo-persian culture. A very interesting account of the general peace and prosperity of the country has been left to us by Amír Khusraw, a study of which gives us a true picture of the age. I am quoting below a few of its passages:

"peace and tranquillity";—How excellent! the carpet of peace and tranquility is spread over the whole domain, for from the forts of Delhi to the court-yards of the wandering blood does not rain, the not-tempered wind

1. For details of the administrative regulations and the strength of the Government, see Baraní, pp. 304-325; and C.H.I., Vol. III, ch. V. on the royal granaries.

Kharaśan, a carpet of ruby-coloured satin has been laid with the blood of the red-faced Chinese, so that every rebellion and disturbance have fallen low.

In one direction the mountain-like army of Chingiz-Khan has been driven beyond the omus by the hurricane of his Majesty; and in the other direction not only have the powerful Rais of India, who with their thousands of elephants used to trample the ranks of the Turks, been forced to surrender their elephants and their wealth, but some of them who still held their heads up were crushed in such a way that their heads were thrown like oilcans under the elephant’s feet.

Welfare of the people in general:— "In affairs relating to the spread of justice and welfare of the people, his bright intellect has formulated such laws as could never be seen in the mirror of Alexander’s imagination or in the cup of Jamshíd. For the purpose of cheapening corn, which is the leaven of one’s sustenance, he made such regulations by his balanced judgment, that if for years the wandering cloud does not rain, the hot-tempered wind does not blow, the red-faced earth does not grow any verdure, and the scorching sun fails to ripen the crops, he can feed the entire people from the royal granaries........
And other necessaries of the people, even if they be red-sulphur or white ruby, have been rendered by him easily available and cheaper than yellow amber and red-grape-stone. And money which is the elixir of desire and the treasure house of cherished objects, has been made so cheap by his elephant-loads of gifts and charities, that the dearness of the price of a thing is never felt by any person, so that complete peace and prosperity prevail in his dominion.

"The administration of his justice is always bringing good fortune upon his subjects. Owing to the general peace and prosperity during his auspicious reign, the weapons of war are lying idle in every direction..... The dagger of the believer, which was cleaner than the heart of a Sunni, has become rusted like the iron heart of a pagan...... The roads are more secure than the veil of chastity worn by virtuous ladies. The districts are free from anxieties like contented children in the lap of a kind mother....... The dawn of the King's fortune has nothing to do but to bestow favour over the world, and the canopy of his evening has no other work but the distribution of peaceful sleep among the children of Adam......."
In a similar way Hasan also refers to the general peace and prosperity of the country in some of his poems addressed to 'Ala' u'd-Din. In one place he says:

"One day the Shaykh went to visit the shrine of Khvaja Mas'ud, and a contemporary of his named Aitji (1) says:

"His grandeur augments the retinue, his generosity satisfies the servants, his reign has banished oppression, the world abounds with his justice."

In another place he says:

"O, thou! in thy reign the wolf is the guardian of the flock. Under thy protection the moon is the mender of linen."

**INTIMATE ASSOCIATION OF HASAN WITH NIZÁM U'D-DÍN AWLIYÁ.** During the reign of 'Alá' u'd-Dín, we find Hasan in closer association with Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá.

2. Ibid, f. 448.
Although he came in contact with the Shaykh at a time much earlier than this, his acquaintance with him was casual rather than intimate. The incident which brought about a change in Ḥasan's life and caused him to be one of the most favoured disciples of the Shaykh has been described by Mawláná Shiháb u'd-Dín Ímám, a contemporary divine, in the following way:

One day the Shaykh went to visit the shrine of Khvája Qúbat u'd-Dín Bákhtiyá-r-Kákí at old Delhi. I myself and Mawláná Búhrán u'd-Dín Gharíb were in the company of his Holiness. After visiting the shrine, we happened to pass by the tank known as Ḥawz-i-Shamsí, in order to visit the tombs of some other saints. At this place, Khvája Ḥasan the poet, the son of 'Alá'-i-Sanjári, who had been known to the Shaykh for some time past, was engaged in drinking wine in the company of his friends. When he saw the Shaykh, he came forward and recited the following verses:


2. Some authorities differ as to his age at this time. E.g.

The Masy. says: "At the age of 53 he became a Muríd of
of this initiation has been given by him in the Fawā'id-

Many a year have we passed in thy company
If companionship has any influence, where is it?
Thy virtues removed not vices from our minds,
Our vices are better than thy virtues.

When the Shaykh heard this, he replied:
'Companionship has its influence if God wills, it will be effective one day.' This remark of the Shaykh produced such an impression on his mind that he immediately fell at the feet of the Shaykh and made a confession of all his sins and became a staunch disciple of the Shaykh along with all his companions." A reference to his penitence at an advanced age has been made by the poet in one of his Qiṭās where he says:

2. Some authorities differ as to his age at this time. e.g. 1

1. The Eneyjdl says: "At the age of 63 he became a Muríd of
of this initiation has been given by him in the Favâíd-uí-Fuád, where he says: "On Sunday the third of Sha'íbán A.H.707 (A.D.1308) this humble sinner, Ḥasan Ḥâlí-I-Sâmjârî, the builder of this edifice and the compiler of these mysteries, obtained the felicity of kissing the feet of that King of heavenly dignity and of divine wisdom on this very day, by the splendour of the glance of that incomparable chief of the saints of illuminated soul, he (Ḥasan) obtained purification from the contamination of the four elements; and his head was adorned with the four cornered cap of the Saviour of Saints." On this occasion the poet composed a Ghazal in which he says:

2. (Continued) Mizām. The Arabic History of Gujarát (p. 858) and the Safinat Úl-ʿArifīn (Or.213 f. 22b.) say that he became a Muhríd at the age of 73. But the statement of Ḥasan quoted above shows that all these authorities are wrong in their inference. Was in the year of the accession of Naṣīr al-Dîn al-Omâr (A.H.716 (A.D.1316). Ḥasan 2. A special type of cap worn by the Sufís of the Chistiya order in India to which the Shaykh belongs, after spending eight months in the camp. According to this account the expedition must have been led sometime in Junâd I A.H.716 (July, 1316). This being the testimony of a person who accompanied the campaign seems to be more reliable than that of others.
Hasan placed his head today at the feet of the Shaykh, Happy is that fortunate slave who reached this King.

Since this time we find Hasan a constant visitor at the monastery of the Shaykh except for a period of eight months in the year 716-17 A.H. (A.D.1316-17), when he was absent from Delhi and went to Deogir with the imperial army. During the period of his intimate association as sensed by the Shaykh, and often poems composed by him were sung by the Qawwals or mystic singers at the assembly
2. F.F., Or. 1806, f. 91. This is an expedition led by of Sama' (ecstatic dance), at the monastery, in which Hasan Qutb u'd-Din Mubarak-Shah against Haripal Dev of Deogir who and his friends used to join. The Shahrul Arifin gives rebelled against the imperial authority. The date of the an interesting description of the assembly of Sama' and the expedition is variously given. Baraní (p.389) says it was part played by our poet in these words:
in A.H. 718 (A.D.1318). Amîr Khusraw says (Nuh Sephr Add. 21, 104, f. 675a...) it was in the year of the accession to an ecstatic song Khwaja Khusraw would begin by reciting of Qutb u'd-Din to the throne in A.H. 716 (A.D.1316). Hasan a Ghazal. Amîr Hasan would sit on the right of Khwaja says that he returned from this expedition on Thursday the Khusraw and Mutashabhir on the left. The above mentioned 12th of Muharram A.H. 717 (28th March 1317), after spending eight months in the camp. According to this account the expedition must have been led sometime in Jamad I A.H. 716 (July, 1316). This being the testimony of a person who accompanied the campaign seems to be more reliable than that of others.
with the Shaykh, he compiled his prose book known as the
Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád, consisting of the utterances of the
Awliya made in different evening assemblies, which will be
discussed in a later chapter. The compilation of this
book was considered a mark of special distinction, conferred
upon Hasan by his spiritual guide, which aroused the
jealousy of his friends. Even Amín Khusraw often used to
say: "Would that the honour and distinction of compiling
this book had fallen on me and that all my works were
attributed to Khvája Hasan." The poet was very highly
esteemed by the Shaykh, and often poems composed by him
were sung by the Qawwáls or mystic singers at the assembly
of Samá' (ecstatic dance), at the monastery, in which Hasan
and his friends used to join. The Siyarul 'Arifin gives
an interesting description of the assembly of Samá' and the
part played by our poet in these words:

"Whenever the King of the saints wished to listen
to an ecstatic song Khvája Khusraw would begin by reciting
a Ghazal. Amín Hasan would sit on the right of Khvája
Khusraw and Mubashshir on the left. The above mentioned

1. S.A., Or. 215, f. 154a.
2. M.G., Or. 4610, f. 101.
3. S.A., Or. 215, f. 139b - 40a.
Mubash-shir was a slave purchased by the Shaykh, who had in his elegant voice something of the melody of David. Khvája Khusraw and Khvája Hasan were unique in the science of music and unequalled for their sweetness of voice. There were two hundred Qawwáls in the service of his Holiness, who could bring down the birds of the air by their song, and there was also a large number of men of perfection and Súfís of high station. When Khvája Khusraw would recite a Ghazal, Khvája Hasan and Mubashshir would immediately sing in unison the couplet of which his Holiness would show his approval, and then his Holiness would come into a state of ecstasy and listen to the Samá'.

INFLUENCE OF THE SHAYKH ON HASAN'S CHARACTER.

Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín was a man of very strong character, never to be tempted by material gain, in spite of the hard times he had so often to face. There were occasions when he had to go without food and suffer penury and distress yet he would not condescend to beg any favour from the kings or the nobles of the court, but relied entirely upon God. He would of course accept what was offered to him without being asked for and spend it on the poor. His whole life was dedicated to the service of humanity and all his actions were governed by a spirit of universal love.
for mankind in general. These traits of the Shaykh greatly influenced Hasan’s life. He tried to follow in the footsteps of his spiritual guide; and whenever he was faced with any problem of daily life which he was unable to solve or had some doubts as to the righteousness of a certain course of action he proposed to take, he would ask the direction of the Shaykh and do it accordingly. Once when the poet was offered a gift by a friend of his, he did not know what to do, and so came to the Shaykh and asked the following question:- "This slave has never asked nor did expect anything from any person at any time of his life, but if a person shows kindness and offers a gift what should be done?" The Shaykh replied, "It should be accepted." Then he acted accordingly. Zinâ Baranî in describing the character of our poet says: "For the observance of the rules of contentment, for the purity of his faith, and for the happiness he experiences without any material comfort, and for the outward separation and the inward solitude from the attachment of the world, I seldom saw a man like him. He was such an amiable, pleasant,\[1\] F.F., Or. 1806, f. 67.
ingenious, polite and cultured man that nowhere else could
I get that amount of pleasure and comfort which I used to
enjoy in his company. " These characteristics attributed
to him by the historian are more or less a replica of the
common traits of his spiritual guide, impressed upon him
during the course of his long association with him.
The unfavourable attitude of Qutb u'd-Din
was however disclosed to the Sultan by one of the other
monarchs of his time was cordial except with Sultan Qutb-
with all his family and confederates. The Sultan was
Mubarak-Shah and Ghysu u'd-Din Tughlaq. It seems
that both these sovereigns suspected him of having part
sent an officer to Gawalior to put to death his disciple,
in political intrigues against them. No direct charge
could be brought against him, but the frequent visits of
the nobles and some of the princes to his monastery led
these kings to look upon him with some concern, especially
as Khizr Khan was one of the most devoted disciples of the
as there are instances of holy men taking part in conspira-
the King thought that he was implicated in thecies during the reign of their predecessors, particularly
plot against him in order to place his disciple (3) at Multan and Delhi, where Bahá u'd-Din-ZaKan and Sidi-
where he says that Bahá u'd-Dín Zakaria and the Qázi of Multán
charge of the crime.
were involved in the conspiracy. The plot was discovered by
Mawlā were connected with a dastardly plot against Sultan Naṣīr u'd-Dīn Qabacha and Jalāl u'd-Dīn Khaljī respectively.

The unfavourable attitude of Qāṭb u'd-Dīn Khaljī towards the Shaykh arose out of the conspiracy organised by his cousin Malik Asād u'd-Dīn Yagḥīsh Khān who wanted to deprive the King of his throne. The plot was however disclosed to the Sultan by one of the conspirators and he seized Asād u'd-Dīn and put him to death with all his family and confederates. The Sultan was not satisfied with the death of the conspirators but he sent an officer to Gāwalīr to put to death Khīẓr Khān, Shādī Khān, and Shīhāb u'd-Dīn, the sons of ʿAlā'u'd-Dīn Khaljī, who had already been blinded by his previous orders.

Thus he put an end to all his rivals to the throne.

As Khīẓr Khān was one of the most devoted disciples of the Shaykh, the King thought that he was implicated in the plot against him in order to place his disciple on the throne; and from that time he began to bear grudge against him. He tried to lower the Shaykh in the estimation of the Sultan; the Qāzī was hanged but Bahā'u'd-Dīn managed to get himself extricated from the charge of the crime.


the people, ordered his officers not to visit his monastery, and, as a sign of open hostility, he invited Shaykh u'l-Islam Rukn u'd-Dín of Multán to Delhi, and set up another saint named Shaykh Záda-Jám as a rival of Niẓám-u'd-Dín at Delhi. He went so far as to declare a reward of one thousand gold Tankas to any man who would bring him the head of Awliyá. (1)

At this time Hasan was sent by the Awliyá to Shaykh Záda-Jám Rúmí, the spiritual director of Qutb-u'd-Dín, with a message asking him to request the Sultan to cease his persecutions. But Hasan could not deliver the message to him as Shaykh Rúmí was confined to bed with an attack of colic. He died of this illness a few days after Hasan’s arrival, and his death put an end to any hope which Niẓám u'd-Dín had of his intercession. The King was obdurate in his determination to humiliate the Awliyá and he ordered him to attend the court in person and pay obeisance at the beginning of every month. The Shaykh refused to comply with this order, and the King intended to use this refusal as a pretext for wreaking vengeance upon him. But before the day fixed for his attendance at the court, the murder of the Sultan by the

1. Ibid., p. 396.

2. S.A., Or. 215., f.142.
Burwar rebels saved the Shaykh from the personal humiliation. After the murder of Qutb ud-Din when Khusrav Khan usurped the throne, he distributed gold to different saints in order to get their moral support; some of them accepted his offers and some refused. A sum of five hundred thousand Tankas was given to Nizam ud-Din, which he accepted and distributed among the poor. When Sultan Ghiyas ud-Din ascended the throne, (F.F., Or. 1208, f.23.) Tughril becomes the Khalifa.

1. S.A. Or, 215, f.154a. The question may be raised why the saint being a man of strong moral character and always professing to be free from worldly temptation, accepted the ill-gotten money from Khusrav Khan. The principle on which he acts on such occasions may be gathered from his views on "Income and expenditure" expressed in one of the discourses before an assembly of the doctors of divinity, where he says "A man should not beg or think in his mind that so-and-so would give him a certain thing. But if a thing is offered to him without being asked and hoped for, then it is lawful to him. A certain great man has said 'I never ask for a thing nor do I entertain any hope from anyone but whoever offers me a thing I accept it even if the donor be a Satam.'" (F.F., Or. 1806, f.23.)
Dín Tughlaq had overpowered Khusraw Khán and ascended the throne he wished to recover all the money distributed by the usurper. All the Shaykhs but Nizám u'd-Dín, who retained the money in safe custody to return it to its lawful owner, complied with the demand of the Sultan. But Nizám u'd-Dín, having spent the whole amount on the poor could not do so. He replied: "It was a public property which had gone to the deserving ones. I have not spent a single farthing of it on my account." This incident had brought about a strained relationship between the King and the Shaykh. The King, at the instigation of some of his enemies, brought a charge of heresy against him for performing Sama' (ecstatic dance) accompanied by music, which is against the canons of orthodoxy. He was brought before an assembly of the doctors of divinity, where he was asked to explain his conduct. After some discussions, the Sultan was convinced of the legality of Sama' and he was allowed to go free. But the King did not forgive

1. S.A., Or, 215, f.154b.
2. S.Au., Or. 1746, ff. 132-33. Hasan also refers to the accusations made by the Shaykh's enemies for performing Sama in A.H. 720, the year when Ghiyás u'd-Dín Tughlaq ascends the throne. (F.F. Or 1806, f.125a.)
him for his inability to return the bribe of Khusraw Khan to the public treasury, and this strained feeling grew more tense when prince Muhammad Jawna became a great admirer and disciple of the Shaykh. It is narrated by Ibn Ba'tūša how on one occasion the Shaykh in a state of ecstasy said to the prince "We give you the Kingdom." These reports of the prince's association with the King must have been carried to the Sultan and inflamed his wrath. While the emperor was returning from his Bengal expedition, he issued an order asking the Shaykh to quit Delhi before his entry into the capital. The Shaykh is said to have replied to this message "(Hanúz Delhi Dür ast)" "Delhi is still far off." It so happened that the King was killed by the collapse of a new pavilion built for his reception at Afghánpur near TughlaQábad, and he could not return to the capital. The death of

3. Barání, p. 452. Some of the historians suspect that the fall of the pavilion was designed by Muhammad TughlaQ. Badáuni and Nizám u'd-Dín accuse Barání for the suppression of this fact which he did not mention for fear of Firúz-Sháh's displeasure. But Ibn Ba'tūša (Vol. II, pp. 39-40) states on
the King is popularly ascribed to the displeasure of the saint and his reply on this occasion is still used as a proverb in India. The Awliyā also died a short time after hearing nothing further of Sufi’s activities. The biographers have nothing to say on this period of his life except that at the time of the transfer of the capital from Delhi he was forced by Sultan Muhammad to migrate to Balkh, where he died. It is quite probable that during this period of his old age he was leading a life of devotion in complete seclusion from the troubles of the world. And as he led the life of a bachelor he left no issues to continue his mantle.

(Continued). 

The authority of an eye witness Shaykh Rnkn u’d-Din that the pavilion was constructed with materials of timber by Ahmad Ayaz the Inspector of buildings in such a way that it would collapse at any moment if elephants were allowed to trot on one of its sides. The whole reception was arranged by the prince and as soon as the elephants were brought for display, the entire building fell on the King and thus compassed his death. This account of Ibn-Batūlā confirms the suspicions of Badāūnī and Nizām. Besides this we find that Ayāz was elevated from the position of an Inspector of buildings to that of the minister as soon as prince Muḥammad became king.

1. Prof. Habīb in his life of Amīr Khusraw is inclined to disbelieve the story of the strained relationship between the Shaykh and the Sultan Ghiyāṣ u’d-Dīn. He calls it a later-day fabrication. But from the facts and narrative of Ibn-Batūlā stated above it appears that there were sufficient reasons for the existence of strained relationship between them.

The Glossary of the Tribes and castes of the
before the death of Ghiyās u'd-Dīn, on Wednesday, the 17th of Rabī' II, A.H. 725 (A.D. 1325).

After the death of Niẓām u'd-Dīn Awliya, we do not hear anything further of Ḥasan's activities. His biographers have nothing to say on this period of his life except that at the time of the transference of the capital from Delhi he was forced by Sultan Muhammad Tughlaq to migrate to Dawlatābād, where he died. It is quite probable that during this period of his old age he was leading a life of devotion in complete seclusion from the troubles of the world. And as he led the life of a bachelor he left no issue to continue his lineage.

1. (Continued) Punjab (Vol. I, pp. 492-93) wrongly attributes this unhappy incident to Emperor Jalāl u'd-Dīn Khaljī. It was not Niẓām u'd-Dīn but Sīdī Mawla with whom Jalāl u'd-Dīn had some unpleasant relation. (Vide Barani, pp. 208-212).

1. S.A., Or, 215, f. 158.
2. S.A., Or, 213, f. 22b.
CHAPTER II

The only heritage he has left to the world consists of his melodious lyrics, of which the poet himself says:-

According to Khi Sarani, Husein was the author of three prose works and a number of biographies and other prose works. He has also been affirmed by several of the biographers and historians. "Every person leaves behind him a store of silver and gold, Husein leaves behind him the description of the lonely ones." His works are his Divan and the prose book known as the "Fusul‘id ‘al-Fadl". He is also said to have written another prose work entitled "Biyan al-Awliya‘" (lives of saints), and Ra’i Kashihi ascribes to him a commentary on some of the "Qasidas of Maqari". The only Divan known to us was compiled by his son when he was sixty-three years of age, and contains only that portion of his work that was written during the thirty years preceding 714 A.H. (A.D. 1314), the date of its completion. The works produced during a period of another twenty years of his life, except for a small piece of prose, Margiya, written on the death of

CHAPTER II

Khán-i-Shahíd, the HIS WORKS of Hā'īban, have not come down to us. His extant works also fail to throw light on the nature of HIS EXTANT WORKS. According to Zia Baraní, Amín Hasán was the author of several Díváns and a number of Maṣnávís and other prose works. This statement has also been affirmed by several of the biographers and historians of the later period. But none of them give definitely the exact number of his works. The extant works are his Díván and the prose book known as the Fava'íd u'l-Fu'ád. He is also said to have written another prose work entitled Siyar u'l-Awliyá (lives of saints), and Taqí Káshí ascribes to him a commentary on some of the Qaṣídás of Kháqání. The only Díván known to us was compiled by him when he was sixty three years of age, and contains only that portion of his work that was written during the thirty years, preceding 714 A.H. (A.D. 1314), the date of its completion. The works produced during the period of another twenty years of his life, except for a small piece of prose, Margiyya, written on the death of

Khán-i-Shahíd, the eldest son of Balban, have not come down to us. His extant works also fail to throw light on the nature of his earlier compositions. The Díván in its present form also might have been lost to us, since the poet himself says that he had no intention of collecting these poems until he was persuaded to undertake it by the insistence of his friends and associates.

There are eighteen known manuscripts of the Díván of Hasan, preserved in the various libraries of Europe and the East. Four are in the Bodleian library, Oxford; five in the library of the India Office; two in the British Museum; and one in each of the libraries of Manchester, St. Petersburg, Munich, Berlin, Gotha, Bankipót and Dúdh. No attempt to publish the manuscripts has ever been made either in the East or in the West, except that Nathaniel Bland has published ten select Ghazals of Hasan in his "Century of Persian Ghazals" in A.D. 1861. I give below a chronological table of the manuscripts in order to facilitate reference to various libraries and to give guidance in the compilation of a standard text on a scientific basis in the future.

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<th>No.</th>
<th>Catalogue mark of the MSS.</th>
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<td>1.</td>
<td>Elliot 121, Bodl. Lib., Oxford</td>
<td>(839 = 1435)</td>
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<td>2.</td>
<td>Ouseley 122, Bodl. Lib., Oxford</td>
<td>(862 = 1458)</td>
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<td>3.</td>
<td>Ryland Library pers. MSS.855, Manchester</td>
<td>(913 = 1507)</td>
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<td>4.</td>
<td>Or. 10918, Br. Museum</td>
<td>(919 = 1513)</td>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>Add. 24952, Br. Museum</td>
<td>(922 = 1526)</td>
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<td>6.</td>
<td>J. Aumor, Cat. pers. MSS.66, Munich</td>
<td>(941 = 1534)</td>
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<td>7.</td>
<td>I.O.L., No. 1223</td>
<td>(943 = 1536)</td>
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<td>8.</td>
<td>Bankipore Public Library, No. 132</td>
<td>(1025 = 1616)</td>
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<td>9.</td>
<td>Thurston 15, Bodl. Lib., Oxford</td>
<td>(1033 = 1623)</td>
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<td>10.</td>
<td>Berlin Cat. pers. MSS. No.836</td>
<td>(1056 = 1646)</td>
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<td>16.</td>
<td>St. Petersburg Public Library, No.CD.</td>
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<td>17.</td>
<td>Gotha pers. MSS. No. 43-44</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Sprenger, Oudh cat. No. 247</td>
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Of all the MSS, referred to in the above table, the Bodleian Library possesses two of the earliest copies yet discovered. But of these two, the earliest one is (1) defective and incomplete. The other copy, which is about twenty-three years younger than the preceding one, contains the largest collection of verses that has ever been met with in any copy of the Divan. Besides the Qasidas, Ghazals, Qitâs, Rubâis and a few short Ma'navis found in almost all the existing copies, it has a romantic Ma'navi called Hikayat-i-'Ashîq-i-Nâghâ'î, a pleasing love-poem which will be discussed later. Among the other MSS, the British Museum, India Office and the Bankipore copies contain the largest collection of poems, corresponding almost to the Bodleian copy with a slight variation in the order of arrangement.

**Contents of the Divan.** A comparison of the available copies of the Divan shows that it consists of a little over ten thousand couplets containing Qasidas, 

1. Elliot 121, Bdl. Library.

The description given in the catalogue under these numbers may be in preparation or catalogue of the Library. This copy was transcribed in A.H. 1010 = A.D. 1601 for Shaykh Farid Bukhari, a general of the times. It is now at the disposal of the library.
Ghazals, Qītās Rubā'īn, Maṣnavīs and Ḥikayats. Let us now consider the different forms of his poetry. Here, In most versions the Dīvān opens with a Qasida in praise of God with the following initial verse: Qasida the poet gives three reasons for calling it a Khamṣīn; it was composed in the fiftieth year, it contains the names of fifty holy men through whose intercession he supplicates for favour from God. After "O, Lord of the universe, and the wise Judge of the world, Everything is a creation and Thou are the eternal source," mentioned above corresponding with the copies mentioned. But the copy of the Bankipore Dīvān opens with a Qasīda called Khamṣīn, which is not to be found in other copies. It begins with the couplet:—

"1. C.P.B., Vol. I, p. 197. I have not been able to procure a copy of this Dīvān in England, so I had to rely on the description given in the catalogue of the Library. This copy was transcribed in the catalogue as A.H. 1010 = A.D. 1601 for Shaykh Farid Bukhāri, a general I read it as A.H. 1010 which I think is a better reading.

P.T.O."
"O, Thou, in the line of Thy handiwork revolves the crystalline sphere, and one each to princes Khaizar Khan and Saladin. This globe possesses on its brow nothing but a brand of submission to Thee."

In this Qasida the poet gives three reasons for calling it a Khamsin; it consists of fifty verses; it was composed in the fiftieth year of his age; and thirdly it contains the names of fifty holy men through whose intercession he supplicates for favour from God. After this Qasida begins the usual Qasida with the initial verse mentioned above corresponding with the copies mentioned in Rieu p. 618, Sprénger Oudh Cat. p. 418; Ethe Bodl. Cat. No. 780-81; I.O.L. No. 1223, and other catalogues.

There are about one hundred Qasidas, one fourth of which are devoted to the praise of God and the prophet, and to moral and religious topics; the rest of the poems with the exception of a very few, are written in honour of Sultan 'Ala' u'd-Din Khalji, the reigning sovereign of the time, and the principal patron of the poet. Four
Qasídas are addressed to Ulugh Khán, the brother of the Sultan, and one each to prince Khizr Khán and Sultan Rukn u'd-Dín Ibráhím Sháh respectively.

These poems deal mainly with the pomp and power of 'Álá' u'd-Dín and the achievements of his reign; in them the monarch is given equal rank with Alexander the great in his campaigns, and is extolled as a champion of orthodoxy in his efforts to suppress heresy. But one of the greatest defects of these poems, if I am allowed to say so, is that they are devoid of any chronological data. The poet speaks of contemporary events, but never assigns any date to them. The only dates that we come across are the dates of the composition of two of his poems, one in praise of God and the other in praise of the prophet, which are assigned to A.H. 703 (A.D. 1303), and A.H. 707 (A.D. 1307) respectively. These dates may the poetry of Rukn restore memory of events.

1. Rukn u'd-Dín Qadr Khán was the youngest son of Sultan Jalál u'd-Dín Khaljí who occupied the throne of Delhi for a short period of five months after the murder of Jalál u'd-Dín in 695 A.H. = 1295 A.D. (Baraní, p. 238).


3. Ibid, f. 4b.
his Qaṣiṣḍas do not throw any light on the historical events of his time, but simply points to a period of his life when he was engaged in composing these Qaṣiṣḍas. To a student of history his Qaṣiṣḍas are entirely disappointing.

The style of his Qaṣiṣḍas is rather simple and unadorned. The words used are always clear and intelligible to the reader; although he sometimes aspired to attain the fame of Khāqānī as he hints in the following verses in one of the Qaṣiṣḍas addressed to Ulugh Khān,

(1) روز قارن خان و خان غیر خاتان آمد
گفتی باد هوشی غیر خاتان پا‌با

"The Khāqān is jealous of the fortune of the King and the Khān.

May the poetry of Ḥasan excite jealousy of Khāqānī,"

he has carefully avoided the use of obscure and ambiguous words for which Khāqānī is notorious. He wrote one


2. D.H., 8Bd. (Odense 12), f. 87.
one Qasida in reply to one of Khâqânî's poems known
as
(Qasida in which the use of the word Id has been made
in every couplet). The head line of this poem runs:

"On the occasion of 'Id, dedicated to the great King,
in answer to the King of poets Afzal u'd-Dîn-al-Khâqânî
(may his excellence increase)".

The poem opens with the verses:-

"0, Sâqî, give wine because the 'Id has opened the seal
of the tavern,
The festival has made the souls happy with the joy-
What complaint shall I make against increasing cup."

Whatever befalls me is from Divine decree and will.

1. K.K., pp. 325-29.
WHEREIN Ḥasan DIFFERS FROM OTHER PANEGYRISTS.

Ḥasan differs from most of the other Persian panegyrists in that he never employs mean and despicable methods to extort money, or has recourse to satire when panegyric fails. He was always satisfied with his lot and would give thanks to his patron for whatever reward he had received. Submission to the will of God was the main principle of his life as he declares in one of his Qaṣidas:

"When the door of my sustenance is in heaven, Why should I go to the door of ʿUmar and Zayd, What complaint shall I make against the revolution of the sky, Whatever befalls me is from Divine decree and will."

The general trend of his poems shows that the art of Qaṣīda writing did not appeal to his genius. It is probably due to this reason, more than to anything else, that the number of his Qaṣīdas, in spite of his long service at the court of several Kings, is so small in comparison with the number of his lyrical Ghazal poems. His dislike for this type of poem is also to some extent due to the influence of his spiritual guide who used to detest panegyrics and considered the use of high-sounding laudatory terms as an abuse of poetic genius.

1. P.F., or. 1806, g. 126a.
GHAZALS. There are nearly eight hundred Ghazals written by Hasan, each consisting of not less than five and not more than twelve couplets. The reputation of the poet rests mainly on these poems and he is considered as one of the earliest masters of this form of poetry.

DEVELOPMENT OF GHAZAL BEFORE HASAN. The Ghazal or the love poems of Persia, may be said to be an offshoot of the Qasida or panegyrics, which form the beginning of Persian poetry. The main differences between these two forms of verse are in the subject matter and in the length of the poem. The subject of a Ghazal is generally erotic and mystical, and seldom exceeds a dozen couplets, whereas a Qasida may be a panegyric, or a satire, or it may be didactic, philosophical or religious, often extending to more than a hundred couplets. A Qasida generally begins with the description of a beautiful object of the poet's beloved, which is technically called 'Tashbīb' or 'Exordium, and then the poet introduces his Māmdūh (the object of praise) and enters into the Madiha or panegyric proper. The Tashbīb is the basic principle of a Ghazal. This element of the beautiful has been transferred to Ghazal and it became the chief feature of this form of poetry.
of poetry. In a Qaṣīda the poet praises the liberality, the pomp, the power, and the justice of his patron, whereas in a Ghazal he describes the beauty, the coquetry, the oppression, and the tyranny of his beloved. In the early stage of its development there was no appreciable improvement; it lacked that enthusiasm and emotion which we find in the works of the later poets. For a long time in Persia the composition of Qaṣīdas was considered to be the best accomplishment of a poet, and it was the only means of gaining favour and honour at the royal courts. Consequently the poets had to devote all their attentions and energies to the composition of this form of poetry, and the writing of Ghazal was neglected.

It is with the growth of Şūfīsm that a distinct improvement was made in the composition of Ghazal. The element of love, being one of the fundamental principles of this system of mystic philosophy, had found its best vehicle of expression in the medium of lyric poetry. (1)

The Dīvān-i-Shams-i-Tabāz of Mawlánā Jalál u'd-Dín-Rúmí is one of the best examples of mystic lyrics that has ever been written in Persian. Hakím Saná'ī,

1. An excellent selection of this Dīvān has been published with a translation by Prof. Nicholson of Cambridge.
Awhadí-Marághí, Faríd u'd-Dín 'Aṭţár, and 'Iraqí, had also made their contribution towards the development of mystic poetry. But the Ghazals written by them were smaller than their other forms of poetry, and the love that they extolled was divine rather than human.

The Mongol invasion of Persia with the destruction of the Caliphate, which is considered as the great turning point in the history of Islamic civilization, brought about a great change in the sphere of Persian literature and culture. From this time we find a different trend of thought in Persian poetry. The enthusiasm which the poets displayed in the composition of Qasídás celebrating the power and conquests of Persian monarchs has received a great setback and we do not find eminent Qasídá writers in the post-Mongol period worthy of being compared to those of pre-Mongol days. The poetry produced during this period generally contained a certain mournful and melancholy strain, as if something of vital importance had been missing from the soul of the nation, which it always yearns to regain. The expression of this mental agony revealed itself in lyrical poetry, and produced some of the greatest masters of poetic art, of whom Persia was a contemporary of Sádí, as the latter lived up to A.H. 691 = 1292, when Hassan was of forty years old.
Sometimes we come across parallel passages conveying an idea common to both but expressed in different forms. The Ghazal has received the greatest attention from the Persian singers and a remarkable development has since been made.

Sadi is the fore-runner of this movement. After him come Hasan, Khusraw, Salman, Khvaju and Hafiz, in whom the Persian Ghazal has reached its highest perfection. Each of these poets had been greatly influenced by Sadi and they recognised him as a great master of lyrical poetry, and Hafiz has said:

"Before all persons Sadi is the master of Ghazal but, the poetry of Hafiz has the style and manner of Khvaju."

**INFLUENCE OF SADI ON HASAN.** The Ghazals of Hasan were greatly influenced by the works of Sadi in their style and thought. It is due to this similarity of ideas and diction in these two poets, that Hasan was called by his contemporaries the Sa'di of Hindustan.

2. Baraní, p. 360. ; In one sense Hasan may be said to be a contemporary of Sa'di, as the latter lived up to A.H. 691= 1291, when Hasan was of forty years old.
Sometimes we come across parallel passages conveying an idea common to both but expressed in different forms. I quote here a few of these verses:

**Sadi:**

(1) "My friends prevent me from yielding my heart to thee.

Thou shouldst be questioned first. "Why are thou so angry?"

"Thou didst speak me ill and I am content: God pardon thee, thou didst speak well!"

"Thou didst call me a dog, and I acquiesced: God reward thee thou didst confer on me a favour!"

**Hasan:**

(2) "If for a night she calls me a dog of her lane

By God that might would be my brisk market".

The poet has not made any direct acknowledgement of his indebtedness to this couplet is also used by Hafiz as a Taqmin in one of his poems (Vide D.H.B.; ode No. 8). Most texts give instead of  the 1 of this couplet.

1. *Tayyibát*, Bib. Ind., p. 469. The first verse of this couplet is also used by Hafiz as a Taqmin in one of his poems (Vide D.H.B.; ode No. 8).
I want a heart torn to pieces by separation.

Influence of Jalâl u'd-Dîn Rûmî. In these mystical odes of Hasan we find some influence of the works of Jalâl u'd-Dîn Rûmî. The poet has not made any direct acknowledgement of his indebtedness to this.

1. Tayyibât, Bib. Ind. p. 464. Most texts give معنی عید instead of عید in verse I of this couplet.
great Persian, but from a careful search we find some
of the ideas of Rumi to have been expressed by Hasan
in a different form. I give here the following parallel
passages:-

Rumi:-

(1) "Set thyself killed like one killed in love
If thou desirest eternal peace

"I want a heart torn to pieces by separation
So that I may unfold (to it) the pain of love-desire."

Hasan:-

(2) "The heart that is not burning like a lamp by separation
How can it understand the burning (pangs) of severance."

"The Caliph said to Layla: 'Art thou she
By whom Majmun was envied and longed for?"

'The Caliph' she replied 'Since thou art not Majmun'.

Rumi:-

(3) "I want a heart torn to pieces by separation
And to unfold (to it) the pain of love-desire."

Hasan:-

"The heart that is not burning like a lamp by separation
How can it understand the burning (pangs) of severance."

1. Masnavi, G.M.S., Bk. I, p. 3.
"If thou are Love's lover and seekest love
Take a keen poniard and cut the throat of bashfulness."

Hasan laughed at this and said

"What shall I tell thee, since

INFLUENCE OF HASAN

"Get thyself killed like Hasan, with the sword of Love,

"The Caliph said to Layla: 'Art thou she

By whom Majnūn was distracted and Wastray?

Thou are not superior to other fair ones.'

'Be silent' she replied 'Since thou art not Majnūn'

Hasan

"A boaster said to Laylā in reproach
against him by his critics is rather too severe. A
comparison of his Divan with that of Hasan does not
reveal any serious evidence to substantiate it. The
style and language of Kamal shows clearly the influence
of Hasan.

INFLUENCE OF HASAN ON HIS SUCCESSORS. Amongst
the successors of Hasan in the field of Persian poetry,
we find two who are imitators of his style. One is
(1) Kamal of Khujand and the other Zamiri of Isphahān.

The former is accused by some critics as a plagiarist
of Hasan. Jamī says: "Kamal imitates Hasan Dihlavī,
or six Khurāsānīs viz., Bazva-Niyaz, Bashar u-l-Akbar,
but his poems contain more of mystical ideas than those of
Yamla-naqshī, Laylā-Majnun, Bahār-va-Khos̄ānī and Iskandar.
Hasan. On account of this imitation, he was called a
plagiarist of Hasan." The charge of plagiarism made

1. His full name is Kamal u'd-Dīn b Mas'ūd. He was a
great saint and a mystic poet of the latter part of the Hijrī, the
8th century of the Hijrī. The Jala'irī Sultan Husayn bin-
Uways (776-784 = 1374-82) showed him much favour and
built for him a monastery. He is said to have died in
A.H. 803 = A.D. 1400-1. (Vide J.N.U., pp. 712-13, Bahā-
Kamal-Khān, Ṭabāh-Khusrav and Amīr Hasan. (Vide M. S.
or. 4610, p. 260).
against him by his critics is rather too severe. A comparison of his Díván with that of Hasan does not reveal any serious evidence to substantiate it. The style and language of Kamál shows clearly the influence of Hasan, but the two poets differ a great deal in their thoughts and ideas. Kamál is more of a mystic than Hasan. Zamírí, whose full name is Kamál u'd-Dín—

1. Add. 19,496.

2. This poet was a prolific writer. He is the author of six Masnawís viz, Názwa-Niyáz, Hasan' u'l-Akhbár, VámíQ-va-Agrá, Laylá-Majnún, Bahár-va-Khazán and Iskandar. Námah, and of seven Díváns of Ghazals viz, 'IshQ-i-Bizavál, Kanz u'l-AQwál, Surat-i-Hal-i-Sáfína-i-Iqbal, SaiQal-i-Malál, 'Ugr-i-MaQál, Quáds-i-Khiyál; four other Díváns in imitation of Sádi's Táyyibát, Badáí, Khvátim, and Ghazliyat, viz Badaít-u's-Shír, Saná'i-Tahirát, Niháyat-u's-Síhr; and another Díván called Ayún u'l-Zulál; and of thirteen similar Díváns in imitation of those of Bábá Fighámí, Jámí, Lisání, Sháhí of Sabzvár, Baná'i-of-Harát, Bábá-Shahídí of Qum, Amír Humáyun, Mírza Sharaf Jahán of Qazvín, Kamál Khújandí, Amír Khusraw and Amír Hasan. (vide M.G. or. 4610, f. 259).
Husayn, flourished in the court of Shah Tahmāsp (reigned A.H. 930 - 984 = 1524-76) the Safavī King. He has composed a Divān consisting of Ghazals in imitation of Hasan under the title of Hasan Māl (حسن مال). The author of the Makhzan u'l-Ghara'ib and the Atish-Kadār, speak very highly of his abilities as a poet of original and imitative composition. He is also said to have been highly proficient in the art of necromancy.

INFLUENCE OF ḤASAN ON HĀFIZ. In the poetry of Hāfiz also we find some influence of Ḥasan; but Hāfiz has made no direct acknowledgement of any indebtedness to Ḥasan. On the other hand he says that his poetry bears resemblance to the style and diction of Khvājū of Kirmān. The only reference that he makes of Indo-persian poets is to be found in the following verses sent to Sultan Ghās ud-Din of Bengal:

"All the parrots of India become sugar-breakers
Through this persian candy which is going to Bengal."

The word Ṭuti-i-Hind or the parrot of India may be applied only to two of the Indo-persian poets —
Hasan and his contemporary Khusraw. Jámi has referred to them in the same way in the following verses:

"Those two parrots with tender growth, who filled Hindustán with sugar, became at last a mark for the arrow of the sky, and were silenced and imprisoned in the cage of earth."

Hasan also styles himself a parrot of eloquence in one of his odes in the following verses:

"I, who possess the title of 'the parrot of the garden' my face became the calamity of the city and torment of eloquence. Have become a pecker of sugar at the table of the King."

2. Ibid., f. 42b.
3. Ibid., f. 42b.
In another place he says:-

"Alas! these body guards only divert of work, the torrent of the city,

Take patience from my son, the men of Tarkistan,
take the tray of plunder."

"Now may the atmosphere of India be auspicious to thee,
As thou hast taught the parrots to peck sugar."

The reference of Hafiz to the parrots of India indubitably shows that he was familiar with the works of these great Indo-persian poets and particularly with the Ghazals of Hasan, which exerted a certain influence on his poetry. I quote below some of the parallel passages which are to be found in their Divans:-

I. (1) Hasan:-

Thy face became the calamity of the city and torment of the army

Our story became known to the citizen and the soldier."

(2) Hafiz:-

Nachanan longed for a cleaning of her face, her face became


(2) 96 id, f. 796.

(3) D. H. B., No 8.
"Alas! these saucy dainty ones, sweet of work, the torment of the city,
Take patience from the heart just as the men of Turkistán take the tray of plunder."

II. Hasan:

"Mine is lawful in our
Without they face, a rose bodied approve, it is unlawful."

"Come Sáqí, What is this hesitation?
Because the rose smiled and wept."

Héfiz:

"The moon hath not set
To thee there is no decline.
What is there more pleasant than the enjoyment of the
garden and the spring,
Where is the Sáqí? say what's the cause of waiting?"

III. Hasan:

If thou becomest our Sāqi,
Who says that drinking is unlawful?"

Hāfiz:—

"Wine is lawful in our creed but
Without thy face, or rose bodied cypress, it is unlawful."

Hāfiz:

"The moon hath not a face like thee.
To thee there is no decline; The splendour which thou hast
Neither the sun nor the moon doth possess."

IV. Hasan:—


"The moon hath not the brightness of thy face,

Nor that the breeze of paradise bloweth from the

In thy presence the rose hath not (even) the

splendour of the grass,

I and the joygiving wine and the houri natural\(\text{ed}^{(1)}\) together;
The corner of thy eyebrow is the dwelling of my soul,

The King hath not a happier corner than this."

V. Nasan:-

"What is that face? thou wouldst say that it is the new

spring,

I am wrong, it is the paradise of the world.

Today in cash I am in paradise with her.

What use have I for the credit of the Amenon."

Hafiz:-

"Now that the breeze of paradise bloweth from the rose garden, I and the joygiving wine and the Houri nature (are together)."

The sward uttereth the tale of the month of spring.

No gnostic is he who purchased a loan and let go the cash."
GHAZALS OF HASAN QUOTED IN DIFFERENT ANTHOLOGIES.

Besides the poetical extracts quoted by the biographers, we find that his Ghazals have been profusely quoted in a number of anthologies. A list of those, available in the libraries of Great Britain, is given below:

(1) An anthology of mixed contents (A.H. 813) prepared for Jalál u'd-Dín Iskandar B'Umar-Shaykh, a grandson of Tímúr who ruled over Fars as a vassal of his uncle Sháh Rúkh. Add. 27,261.

(2) Anthology (10th century A.H.) belonging to a Turkish noble named Khálid B-q. Add. 7824.

(3) Anonymous anthology (10th century A.H.) or.1228.


Besides these there are four other undated anthologies in the Berlin Library of Persian MSS.
(No.58, 83, 681, 685) which cite a number of his poems.

The poems cited in these anthologies correspond to the Ghazals contained in the Bodleian, the British Museum and the India office copies of his Diván. These anthologies except that of Mírza Bídil, do not add to our knowledge of his poems. Mírza Bídil ascribes one Mukhammas or Fíς some poems to Ḥasan. But it seems that this poem has been wrongly attributed to him. According to the rules of Persian prosody very often the basis of this type of poem is a Ghazal of some other poet, to each couplet of which three more "miqrás" or half verses are added to make a Mukhammas. Now this poem of doubtful authenticity is based on a Ghazal of Ḥáfiz which opens with the verse:

1. Bayáz, Add. 16,803 ff.375-76.
3. Some texts read as 'عنده"
STYLE OF HIS GHAZALS. The special features of Hasan's style consist in its simplicity and a natural flow of language, combined with sweet and harmonious rhythm. The metres employed, are invariably short and attractive to the ear. The words he uses are generally concise and plain, and belong to the everyday, ordinary vocabulary of the people. The entire absence of obscure metaphors and far-fetched images has made his poems very popular among his contemporaries.

Both contemporary and later-day critics are unanimous in praise of the beauty of his style and diction. I quote here the opinion of two of the critics of two different periods. One is Ží̩̃ Barañ̪i, who says "He was an accomplished master in the simplicity of style and flow of diction, and as he has composed many a mystic ode in a flowing style, he is called the Sa'di of Hindustán." The other is Jâmi, a great mystic poet and a biographer of the fifteenth-century A.D., who speaks of Hasan's style in the following words: (2) "His Ghazals have some

distinctive features; he was very particular in the choice of metres and rhymes, which are the peculiar beauty of his poetry. This careful selection gives his poems a special colouring, so much indeed that they appear to be very simple, while actually they require much art and labour to compose. Therefore people have called his poetry easy but difficult to compose."

THE COMMON FIGURES OF SPEECH. The figures of speech used by Ḥasan are generally simple and intelligible to his readers without much difficulty. He mostly uses the figure known as Tazādd or Antithesis. Other figures of speech occur, but their number is comparatively small. I give below a specimen list of the common rhetorical figures that are met with:

(1) (Tazādd) and This is a figure in which the writer uses two or more contrary terms.

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<td>درر</td>
<td>pain</td>
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<td>Low</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sun</td>
<td>نور</td>
<td>Fire</td>
<td>نور</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faqih</td>
<td>نور</td>
<td>Sinner</td>
<td>نور</td>
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<td>Demon</td>
<td>نور</td>
<td>Infidelity</td>
<td>نور</td>
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<tr>
<td>Angel</td>
<td>نور</td>
<td>Darkness, Veil</td>
<td>نور</td>
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<tr>
<td>Light</td>
<td>نور</td>
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</table>
Pain Pleasure
Spring Autumn
pre-destination free-will
Desire Disappointment

(Murāʿat-i-Naẓīr) where the writer uses correlative terms:

Jewels mine
Chattels shop
Verdure spring
polostick Ball
star sun
Khizr water of life
one who prays prayer carpet
two intoxication crop sickness
wound scar
destination way
heat sun

(Tajnīs-i-NāQīṣ). The writer uses two words different in meaning but similar in orthography:

e.g. pain

dr̲r̲ - dregs of wine
door
pearl
(iv) (Tajnis-i-Muẓayyayal) The writer uses two words different in meaning, similar in form, except for the addition of one letter at the end:

- fountain
- seal
- antidote
- waist

There are a number of cases which may be interpreted in a literal or allegorical sense. There are others which may be better understood and appreciated in a literal sense. The number of these cases is considerable. However, desires me to take the inner meaning of his verses and interpret his love as Ḳaṭṭāqī or Ḳaṭṭāqī.

He says:

"Think not the way of our love's sport to be easy
The pangs of the lover are divine, not profane."

"O, Nasr! We belong to the people of truth
Although outwardly we are of the despised."

1. D.H. i. 9, 5, f. 104.
2. Yīlād, f. 141.
ARE THE GHAZALS TO BE INTERPRETED IN ṢŪFĪSTIC SENSE?

It may be asked whether the odes of Hasan are to be taken in a literal or Ṣūfīstic sense. This question does not admit of a general answer. There are a number of odes which may be interpreted in a figurative or allegorical sense, and there are others which may be better understood and appreciated in a literal sense. The number of the latter class is considerably larger than the former. The poet, however, desires us to take the inner meaning of his verses and interpret his love as `Ishq-i-Haqqi or love divine.

He says:

2. Ibid., f.141.
These are poems, which reveal the poet's leaning towards the ṣūfi doctrine of Fanā-Fillāh or the passing of the unreal into the real self in order that it may be re-united with the one infinite Being; these poems, of course, answer directly to the above claim made by the poet. But the erotic ideas which permeate most of his odes, outweigh the element of ṣūfism displayed in others, and a comprehensive survey shows him as an erotic rather than a Šūfī poet. It is however, not to be supposed that the erotic poems of Hasan give expression to the cult of a reckless libertine for the gratification of sensual pleasure. They contain high and noble sentiments expressed with appropriate dignity of manner. The poet holds an ideal of beauty before his mental vision and tries to draw a picture of that ideal with the aid of his lively fancy and powerful imagination. The beauty of nature appeals to him most. He holds it up to great admiration and thereby admires the Creator, who is himself the supreme of Beauty.

THE POPULARITY OF HIS GHAZALS. The Ghazals of Hasan gained great popularity, not only among his contemporaries, but also among the poets of the succeeding generations.

His achievement of considerable celebrity during his lifetime
has been referred to by the poet himself in the following verses:

"I find the city mad with Hasan's verse
For they find not such elegance in other Diváns."

Besides the testimony of his contemporary scholars (to which I have already referred), we have other evidence from the writings of Persian poets and biographers which points clearly to the popularity of his poems even beyond the land of his birth. The popularity of his works may be best judged from a consideration of the opinions of the Persian critics and of the reception they obtained in Persia, a land where Indo-Persian poetry is seldom appreciated, unless it is of a very high order. "The Diván of Khvája Hasan is very highly admired in these days; and the men of learning and discernment attach an unlimited esteem to his poetry. As his poems are very well known to

1. D.H., Add.24,952, f.38b. migrated to India during the

(Vide Enn-a-Sháyá, Add.16,729, f.318b; and Beals p.140)
the high and the low, I am not going to quote here more than one of his Ghazals." TaQí Káshí, another biographer of the tenth century of the Hijra, says: "His Díván is highly honoured and respected, and the men of understanding and good taste place great confidence in his poems. His verses enjoy a great reputation among the people." We find such evidence of the popularity of his poems in Perásía even until the reign of Sháh Táhmasp (A.D. 930-34) the Safávi King; and during the reign of this monarch, Zámírí the court poet of the time wrote a Díván in imitation of Hasan.

Among the Indó-Persian scholars of the later period his Ghazals enjoyed a very great amount of popularity, and they were placed on the same level as those of other great masters of the Persian lyric, Sádí, Khusraw and Háfiz. He was regarded as a past master of persian songs and many a poet would have considered himself fortunate if he could have secured the blessing of his approbation. An instance of such a desire is found in one of the poems of Shaykh-

Náshír u’d-Dín-Ghárid of Delhi:


2. Ghárid was the poetical name of Shaykh Náshír u’d-Díní. He was a native of Khurásán, migrated to India during the reign of Humâyún. He is the author of a Díván in Perásía.

(Vide Rájáz-u’s-Shuárá, Add.16,729, f.318b; and Beale p.140)
The minstrel would play the tune of joy with my lay, 
The mystic-singer would dance in ecstasy with my verse; 
If the Caravan of my poetry were to travel to Persia 
The souls of Sa'dí and Háfiẓ would greet it. 
If it reached Hindustán, Khusráw and Hasan would say 
O, Gharíb of the World, Hail to thee! Come, come."

Another distinctive characteristic of his Ghalzal is the presence of a single idea running through the whole poem. As a general rule every couplet in a Ghalzal expresses a complete idea, independent of what has gone before or what comes after; but Hasan has often deviated from this convention and we find some of his poems with a single idea running throughout.

1. Anonymous anthology, Addl.: 7796, f. 47.
CHARACTER OF HIS GHAZALS.  Ḥasan’s Ghazals have a certain distinctive feature of their own. His poems are generally pervaded by an emotional frenzy and a burning enthusiasm which are not to be found to the same extent in the writings of his predecessor Sa‘di and his contemporary Khusraw. In the poems of Sa‘di and Khusraw, no doubt, there is an element of high emotion, but when we consider their work as a whole, this element appears very small among the tame and gentle expressions which preponderate in the majority of their poems. Ḥasan as a lyric poet, excels them both by his greater enthusiasm and his deeper inspiration manifested in vigorous and impressive language. Another distinctive characteristic of his Ghazal is the presence of a single idea running through the whole poem. As a general rule every couplet in a Ghazal expresses a complete idea, independent of what has gone before or what comes after; but Ḥasan has often deviated from this convention and we find some of his poems with a single idea running throughout.

1. Khusraw has also written a number of such poems, which have been cited by Shibli. (Vide S.N. Vol. II, pp. 162-67).
Now I give below the translation of a few of his poems as specimens of his Ghazals which may reveal the nature of his thought and ideas:

**Marvellous is thy form, and eyes and cheeks and nose.**

Marvellous are thy ruby lips, and eyes and cheeks

The marvellous above the moon is thy face.

Ajas! thou dost astonish me with thy wonder, haste,

Thou hast made a different heap of rows greater than

The great heap of dust, with the cunning of a grand
tauza last year, that blood-thirsty job, especially

Thou hast made a different heap of rows greater than

This year I find it next to do to what were last year,

It is a great sorrow to me, and to me of a sect dis-

position like thine

More marvellous it is, to see the of violence issuing

And from every one of thy ruby throat scattering ruby lips.

To kill one like Hasan, without any fault of his

Is amazing of Heaven and much meaning of the beloved.

once & once

---

Marvellous is thy form, and more marvellous thy gait,
Marvellous are thy ruby lips, and more marvellous thy speech.
Alas, thou dost astonish me with thy tyranny, what shall I say?
Thou hast made a different lasso more dangerous than a snake.
Last year, that blood-thirsty lip was marvellously oppressive,
This year I find it more marvellous than the last.
It is a great marvel to see the wrath of a sweet disposition like thine
More marvellous it is, to see the bitterness issuing out of the sugar scattering ruby lips.
To kill one like Ḥasan, without any fault of his
Is amazing of Heaven and more amazing of the beloved.

The orchard has no cypress equal to thy form,
When my moon removed her locks from her face,
The distracted lover renewed his wail.
Every petal which blooms on the rose
The minstrel played the tune of her love,
Fails to give the scent I find in thee.
The screen of safety became raised from her face.
To select any in preference to thee.
A fire was concealed within my heart
Is the work of others not of me.
Thou hast seen how suddenly it burned at last.
I speak through thy lips anon.
Although reason placed its foot on the world,
No sweeter words can be found than these.
The love of the beautiful has ascended one step more.
Why art thou vexed at my innocent pranks?
Every one dived in the sea of love,
A frantic man is beyond self-control.
Some sank and some got the pearl.
I place my life at the altar of thy image.
The right path was revealed to the idolator,
Without thee, my life is of no avail.
He left the idol and clung to the door of the sculptor.
Thou didst ask "Why art thou away from me?"
In Hasan also I find this trait, because he
'Tis not due to Hasan but to Heaven's decree.
Gave away his heart and clung to the skirt of his sweet-heart.
The orchard has no cypress equal to thy form,
The city of Khutan has no musk equal to thy down.
Every petal which blooms on the rose,
Fails to give the scent I find in thee.
To select any in preference to thee
Is the work of others not of me.
I speak through thy lips anon,
No sweeter words can be found than these.
Why art thou vexed at my innocent pranks?
A frantic man is beyond self-control.
I place my life at the altar of thy image
Without thee, my life is of no avail.
Thou didst ask "Why art thou away from me?"
'Tis not due to Hasan but to Heaven's decree.

Take and give a kiss, give and take a kiss.
O thou art the Houri of our heavenly assembly,
The Houri at fault now in her jealousy of thee.
O, beloved! away from thy embrace I am, from thy embrace
I am away, 0, beloved,
Neither the Houri nor the angel possess that charm.
Without thee distracted I am, distracted am I without
The Houri in an absolute light like the angel
Thee.
Thou art between thee the happy man.
I am afflicted for thy sake, for thee am I afflicted,
In my body thou occupiest the place of the soul.
Thou wouldst not remedy it I know, I know thou wouldst
In thy eyes thou art like the light.
not do.
I keep my eyes on thy beneficence.
Helpless and poor I am, poor and helpless am I,
Although I know I am far from thee.
With thee am I happy, happy am I with thee.
Whatever betrays me in thy absence.
I have a word to tell thee, to tell thee I have a word,
God willing. I shall tell thee in thy presence.
Thou wouldst not allow I know, I know thou wouldst not
Hasan longs for union with thee, it is impossible, allow.
How can an art attain to the Kingdom of Solomon?
One beloved I possess out of many, out of many I possess
one.
Take and give a kiss, give and take a kiss.
Every moment Hasan speaks to thee, to thee Hasan speaks,
O, beloved! at thy grief I am dying, dying am I at thy
grief.

O thou art the Houri of our heavenly assembly,
The Houri is at fault anon in her jealousy of thee.
O fairy fa'ed one, thou art an idol enchanter of man,
Neither the Houri nor the angel possess that charm.
The Houri is an absolute light like the angel,
Thou art between them the happy mean.
In my body thou occupiest the place of the soul,
In my two eyes thou art like the light.
I keep my eyes on thy beneficence,
Although I know I am far from thee.
Whatever befalls me in thy absence,
God willing, I shall tell thee in thy presence.
Hasan longs for union with thee, it is impossible,
How can an art attain to the Kingdom of Solomon?
Thou dost conquer the world with the signet of thy lip,

VI.

The new-year's day in its own season with a hundred

The pearl in its shell hath not the lustre which

The moon in the sky hath not the splendour which thou hast.

For the liquid wine doth not possess the sweetness which thou hast.

With thy beautiful mole and dimple thou art more luminous than the moon,

The moon lacketh all the beauties that thou hast.

In one silvery well of thine, are a hundred springs of the water of life,

The stream of life doth not possess the water which thou hast.

Thy eyes capture the world by a glance, and the narcissus doth not get the fortune which thou hast, even in dream.

Thou dost conquer the world with the signet of thy lip, for the Sultan doth not possess the rare essence which thou hast.

The new-year's day in its own season with a hundred petals of rose,
Doth not possess a single section of the chapter which thou hast.
Give a kiss to Hasan so that he may be drunk with this absence of favour,
For the limpid wine doth not possess the sweetness which thou hast.
No orchard has a beauty equal to thine,
A rose like thee no gardener can draw.
The moon that has cast its beam for a while
Loses its lustre at the appearance of thy face.
Thou hast drawn a line of beauty and I have fallen in love.
The truth of love and speech cannot be concealed.
Come, thou! if my heart goes let it go.
My affliction is of the heart, not of the soul.
How well the mad one spoke last night:—
"He who is devoid of love is devoid of faith."

O, Hasan! what art thou writing again?
Hold thy pen, thou hast no command.
which could not be retained in translation. In the first line it means 'season', and in the second 'chapter of a book.'
Where is that eye which is not full of tears at the absence of thy face?

Where is that heart that is not distracted by the pangs of thy love?

No orchard has a beauty equal to thine, helpless wretch.

A rose like thee no garden bears.

The moon that has cast its beam for a while loses its luster at the appearance of thy face.

Thou hast drawn a line of beauty and I have fallen in love,

The truth of love and musk cannot be concealed.

Come, thou! if my heart goes let it go,

My affliction is of the heart, not of the soul.

How well the mad one spoke last night:-

"He who is devoid of love is devoid of faith."

O, Hasan! what art thou writing again?

Hold thy pen, thou hast no command.

Come SáQi, what is this delay now,
Because the rose smiled and wept.
Give me the cup full in such a way
That I may not know whether there are ten or twenty.

The wise have called the drunken man a helpless wretch
They said well, there's none more destitute than he.

Love appeared and reason requited
Know the heart of the sober be more helpless than he,

It knoweth not what that helplessness is.

Hasan, if thou desirest leadership in this path
Thou shouldst live under the foot of the intoxicated.

2. Cup bearer.
'Tis a pain which no medicine can relieve,
None but an afflicted heart can hold.

How shall I seek thy union through prayer,
When no prayer can comprehend thy name.

Drunkard-like I place my head at thy foot,
No hypocrisy can find its place in our prayers.

Love appeared and reason departed,
No two kings can reign in one domain.

Beyond comprehension and inspiration is thy abode,
Which wretched Hasan can not reach.

In meeting with her face so fair faced like the mirror
In describing her tresses, as a hundred tongued like
the comb.

Thy body is under the clothes of abstinence and the mind
towards the cup


O, Hasan, become not a lover, if thou dost, be brave, 
Rend assunder the net of existence, and be like a 
grain to the bird of calamity. 
Strengthen thy grasp of ambition and the collar of 
outward separation, 
Be either the lion of the Kaba, or the dog of an idol 
temple. 
In the path of the beloved place not thy heart on the 
unknown or the known. 
What is this known and unknown? be a stranger even to 
thy self. 
In meeting with her face be thou faced like the mirror 
In describing her tresses, be a hundred tongued like 
the comb. 
Thy body is under the clothes of abstinence and the mind 
towards the cup 
Thou art not a man of this covenant, run after that 
measuring glass.

What dost thou ask of the gain of the world, raise the
standard of love.

Leave the village to the villagers, be a watchman of
the ruins.

Like the moth sacrifice thy sweet life in grief for
the beloved.

If thou desirest to attain fame be famous like this.
Her treasures became a chain to the mad lovers.

O, wise men of the world! if you are wise be sad.
It is the work of the brave to be lovers of lovely
faces.

O, Hasán, become not a lover! if thou dost, be brave.
What do'rt thou ask of the gain of the world, raise the standard of love,

Leave the village to the villagers, be a watchman of the ruins.

Like the moth sacrifice thy sweet life in grief for the beloved,

If thou desirest to attain fame be famous like this.

Her tresses became a chain to the mad lovers,

Or, wise men of the world! if you are wise be mad.

It is the work of the brave to be lovers of lovely faces

Or, Hasan, become not a lover! if thou dost, be brave.
HIS MINOR POEMS

QIT'A OR FRAGMENTS. The Qit'a or Fragmentary poems of Hasan consists of twenty pieces. One of these is addressed to ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn Khaljī, and two other poems to Ulugh Khán. Of the rest, some describe the beauties and pleasure of spring, and some are devoted to moral topics and satire of the selfish devotees. In one of his poems he speaks of the self conceited abstinent and devout persons in this way:

When an impotent renounces the wine and the enjoyment of the pleasures of the mouth, and blesses the day of his renunciation.

RUBAY’I. The Rubay’i of Hasan are much fewer than the Qit’a. The earliest available manuscript contains 137 poems of this type and the later copies vary but none exceed 150.

Of these poems, twenty five are addressed to Sultan ‘Alā’u’d-Dīn, five to prince Khizr Khán, and the rest are devoted to prayer and love.


1. Bodl. Ms. (n.s.) 462/42.
"He who through miserliness and rudeness does not


cultivate

A love for wine, like the water of paradise from a

Hourí-like Sáqí,

It does not look well for him to boast and say

'I am an absolute penitent and a proud abstainer.'

If a person with a pleasant disposition and an open

hand,

Denies himself these things it is most praise-worthy;

Otherwise everybody knows that no credit is due

When an impotent renounces adultery and a paralytic

the playing of the tambúrīne."

RUBÁÍ. The Rubáíís or quatrains written

by Hasan are much fewer than his Ghazals. The earl-

iest available manuscript of his Díván contains

137 poems of this type and the contents of the later

copies vary but none exceeds this number.

Of these poems, twenty five are addressed to

Sultan 'Alá'u'd-Dín, five to prince KhízarKhán, and the

rest are devoted to prayer and love. The general


trend of his love-quatrain, with few exceptions is erotic rather than mystical. I give below a translation of some of his poems as specimens of his different types of quatrain:

In the house of my eyes that feel of Houri born
She came a guest for a night and pleased my heart;
O, Thou, whose grace is the cleaner of the slate of ignorance,
Whose mercy is the acceptor of repentance,
Comfort my distracted state by Thy grace, O, Comforter of the distracted state.

They tell me to keep patience in my grief for my
beloved

In thy promise, O, friend, is there no fulfilment,
In thy heart there is nothing but tyranny.
Why dost thou shed tears on thy rosy cheek?
The rain of spring is never endures.

Limpid wine began to trick from his eyes till dawn,

Thy lips are better than a thousand turquoises
I desire them begging a thousand times,
Thou hast said 'it's the month of fasting, speak not

---

2. Ibid, f. 251a.
3. Ibid, f. 255b.
Give me a kiss that brings the reward of thirty fasts."

IV. (1)

Beware! Q, Hasan! walk not diligently on this path.
Beware! thy existence is between a train of non-
In the house of my eyes that idol of Houri born
Became a guest for a night and pleased my heart;
She departed with the dawn leaving me bewailing,
Deserted is the house without that guest."

MASHARI. The Mashar poems of Hasan are
devoted to three distinct types of subjects—eulogistic,
lyric and conversational. The single
pieces, written
which he wanted to employ in composition of other themes.
But no limit of patience does my grief possess.

V. (2)

Those tears of mine alight on the top of clouds
This breath of mine affects the dawn;
They tell me to keep patience in my grief for my
beloved
Limpid wine began to trickle from his eyes till dawn,
With the screen of his eyes, for thy sojourn
He has sewn a garment of sleep with the needle of his

VI. (3)

When the lover heard of thy quick departure
Limpid wine began to trickle from his eyes till dawn,
With the screen of his eyes, for thy sojourn

1. Ibid, f. 259b. 2. Ibid, f. 254a.
Beware! walk not negligently on this path.
Beware! thy existence is between a twain of non-
tentities.

As thou wert nothing in the primal stage
A hundred times to nothingness thou shalt return.

**MASNAVÍ.** The Mañnaví poems of Ḥasan are
devoted to three distinct types of subjects - eulogistic,
moral and romantic. All these poems, except the single
romantic one, are short and disconnected pieces, written
on different occasions, probably in his leisure hours
which he wanted to employ in composition on lighter themes.

These small poems do not reveal that amount of burning
pathos and frenzy of feeling which we see in his Ghazals
and the romantic Mañnaví. They are purely descriptive
and didactic.

The eulogistic Mañnaví poems are devoted to the
following topics:-

1. A general description of the power and might of
   Sultan 'Alá' u'd-Dín.
2. In commemoration of the suppression of a mutiny in
   A.H. 700.
(3) Advent of the spring.

(4) In praise of the Imperial sword.

(5) On the birth of a prince.

(6) On the occasion of proclaiming Khizr Khán as an heir-apparent.

(7) The marriage of the prince.

(8) In praise of Ulugh Khán.

(9) In praise of Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliyá.

(10) Three other poems in praise of his learned companions.

Of the Mağnaví poems on moral topics, the extant manuscript contains only seven. These poems are written after the model of Sa'dí's Bustan in which the poet tells certain stories or relates some sayings of a great man and then moralises on them according to his own light and judgement. Although the number of these poems is very small, they provide interesting reading and throw some light on the ascetic temperament of the poet. I quote below in English extracts of two of these poems to give an idea of the sort of stories Hasan tells:

I.

"How well an ascetic has today spoken who told dog of Thy lane overpowers the lion. Remove my imperti-

nance by Thy grace and accept me as a dog at Thy door.
The dog that rolls about on the dust of humiliation possesses fine admirable qualities. First, he has no fixed abode or residence, the corner of adversity is his mansion, and he finds his bed-chamber wherever he is overtaken by night. Secondly, neither from private nor public charities does he get sufficient food; as none cares for his life so he passes most of his time in hunger. Thirdly, his custom is to pass the greater part of the night in wakefulness, as if he were the lover of the tresses of darkness. Fourthly, in times of trouble and calamity he is never away from his master. Fifthly, at the time of his death he leaves no hoarding behind him; his possessions whether of this world or of the next are the same. After narrating this story the poet says to himself: "O, Hasan! it is perilous to remain asleep, the dog of yourself is worse than the self of a dog. If you have any nobility in you, learn manliness from a dog. Follow in the path (of asceticism) with humility like a dog and say to the All-sufficient Lord: 'O, sustainer of the hungry and the satiated, the dog of Thy lane overpowers the lion. Remove my impertinence by Thy grace and accept me as a dog at Thy door.
Although I am not fit to receive the collar of Thy prey, withhold not from me the favour of being branded by Thee.

There was a Muslim in the city of Ray who drank wine in the company of a Magian in the month of Ramazan (the month of fasting). The proctor of the city came and wanted to kill both of them. Then the Magian said: 'This is injustice; drinking and fasting make no difference to me. I pay my Jizya (capitation tax), why are you so hard on me. Punish the man who professes your religion.' Then it was decided to punish the Muslim and set the Magian free. When the Muslim say that they would kill him and discharge the Magian he ingeniously remarked: 'O, people of the assembly, it seems that Islam is the cause of my doom, if you want to kill me for being a Muslim, then I declare myself a Magian and the son of a Magian, whose ancestry can be traced to seventy generations. Although it seems disrespectful to say so, yet it is less

disrespectful than the views you hold of Islam.' At this remark the proctor pardoned his audacity and thus his neck was saved from the sword." After narrating this story the poet says: 'That man is the best who at the time of fear and hope can save his blanket from the water of calamity. Turn the pillar of thy heart towards God; it is the only proper course, however defective it might look from outside.'

THE ROMANTIC MAŞNAVİ. The romantic Maşnavi of Hasan, known as the 'Ishq-Námah, or the Hikáyat-i-'Ashiq-i-Nágúr (Book of love or the story of the lover of Nágúr), is a short love-poem consisting of six hundred and six couplets. The whole book, as the poet himself says was composed during a single night on Monday the first of Zu'l-Hijjah, A.H. 700 (A.D. 1301). The metre used here is the apocopated hexametre Hajaz (v---/ v---/ v--).

2. Nágúr is the name of an old city of Eastern RájAputana, which now forms a part of Jodhpur State. (Vide Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol. XVIII).
The poem is modelled on the romance of Laylá and Majnún of Nizámí of Ganja, which is one of the most popular love-stories in the East, and particularly in India. Khusrav, the contemporary of our poet, had also written on the same theme of romance, and he had composed five Mañnavis of this type, collectively known as Panj-Ganj (Five Treasures), dealing with the same legends as Nizámí. But our poet did not follow his predecessors blindly. There is no doubt that he is indebted to Nizámí for the main idea of his poem, but he has selected a theme of his own. The old Persian legends, which had been worn threadbare by other writers, did not afford sufficient scope for his imagination. He wanted to discover a new field for his poetic interpretation, and he found it in the Hindu tales. So he selected one of the love stories of his homeland and struck out a new departure. The episode, he says, is not an invention of his imagination but a story well known in the country.
"This story was not weaved out of my own fancy, it is a story well known in that country."

This was rather a bold step on his part to depict the ideal nature of love from the life-story of a young Hindu couple, which was not likely to be well received by the orthodox opinion of the time. The poet anticipated this danger before he began the book, so he replies to this possible charge of heresy in the concluding verses of his poem in the following way:

"The verse of love is a theme of the soul. It soars beyond faith and infidelity."

The poem opens in praise of God and the prophet and there follows a short eulogy addressed to Hasan's patron, Sultan 'Ala' u'd-Din Khalji. Then begins the actual story, which runs thus:

"During the reign of a certain king there lived a governor in the city of Nagúr. He had built a magnificent palace in the city, surrounded by beautiful gardens, springs and wells. This place was often
visited by young damsels of exceptional beauty who used to draw water from the wells.

One day a youth happened to pass by it and he became enraptured by the beauty of a damsel who was drawing water. He fell so violently in love with her that he lost control of his senses. His condition gradually became wretched and the whole story became known to the people. Then some of the learned Brahminy came to him and urged upon him to abandon this desire. They proved from their knowledge of astronomy that this union was impossible. But the youth did not pay heed to their counsel and his love for the damsel became more intense than before.

At last when this affair became talked of as a social scandal, one of the relatives of the girl went to the proctor of the city and complained against the youth, accusing him of bringing disgrace and infamy upon their family, and demanded justice. The proctor then arrested the youth and sent him to prison. Thus he passed his days in lamentation and confinement for a period of one year.
The youth then obtained his release from prison on the occasion of the accession of Sultan Ghiyas u'd-Din-Balban to the throne of Delhi, when he issued a **Farman** (decree) proclaiming a general amnesty to all the prisoners in his kingdom. The youth, as soon as he received his freedom, ran towards the well where he first saw his beloved. There he met her again and told her in a touching manner of his pitiable sufferings on her account. The damsel gave him a few words of consolation, and asked him to be patient for some time more. The youth thus patiently passed a period of fourteen years in great misery, always expecting to have his desire fulfilled.

At last the girl took pity on his condition; she came and met him and promised to be united with him within a short time. The youth was overjoyed and waited eagerly. But a few days after, the damsel became seriously ill and died. Her body was then taken to be cremated by the Brahmins.

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1. D.H., Bodl. f. 270.
When the youth heard the news of the death of his beloved he went mad and ran to the funeral place. He uttered the words "If union with you is denied to me in this world, I shall attain it in the next". Then to the amazement of all, he jumped on to the funeral pyre and was burnt along with his beloved, and thus their ashes were mixed together."

As examples of the manner of this poem, I give below a translation of a few passages, where the poet describes the youth's falling in love with the damsel and his soliloquy after this event:-

1. Ghazna-i-Bali - Ghazna-i-Dahi, base of a spring

There lived a youth of the caste of the scribe
A youth of vigilant heart, praised by the wise.
Steward-like, Saturn stands in front of him,
Held by the Indians in great esteem.
One day he strolled towards that spot
Where his heart an enchanting mistress found.

1. (Continued)

This fact of Balban's general amnesty to all the prisoners of the state has been curiously overlooked by the historians of this period.
Like one circling round the spring of Hút 

He fell a victim to the well of Hárút and Márút. 

A damsel standing brisk and gay he saw 

Water from the well and blood from him did draw. 

An idol of Hindu stock, cruel as a Turk, 

Sweet with her lips but cruel with her gaze. 

The rope she cast into the bottom of the well, 

Served for a ring of love round his neck. 

The pail she drew out of the well 

From the stream of his eyes brought pails full of blood.

1. Chashma-i-Hút = Chashma-i-Máhí, name of a spring coming near which any living thing drops dead. (Burhán-i-qatf'.) 

2. Names of two angels, who having severely censured mankind before the throne of God, was sent down to earth in human shapes to judge of the temptations to which man is subject. They could not withstand them; they were seduced by women, and committed every kind of iniquity; for which they were suspended by the feet in a well in Babylon, where they are to remain in great torment till the day of Judgment. The well of Hárút and Márút is here compared to the chin-dimple of the damsel.
The youth heaved a sigh from his distressed heart
Hard as a fire sprung from a strong bed.
The cruel beauty saw the heart-sick one
Bewildered, with his feet stuck in the mire.
The stranger a captive she found to be
A prey to the noose of the strings of her locks.
She summoned her courage and looked around
A certain fear passed in her innocent mind.
The risk of scandal flashed in her thought,
She left the place and soon did depart.
Remained at the well that wounded-heart forlorn
Trembling like a fish at the departure of that moon.
In grief for that moon for three days and nights
Stars on earth he cast from his eyes.
He would talk his secret to the stars at night
And tell them the tale of his sorrowful plight. (1)

What of earth, what of sky, what of sea?
What shall I do with thee?


II.

Soliloquy of the youth. (1).

Thou hast killed me but did not tell me thy creed
What creed is there that sanctions the slaying of the helpless one?

You saw me lying senseless on the ground
Waves of blood surging the breast around.
I was swimming in blood, thou a friend
Passed by me quite unconcerned.
What sweetheart art thou O, moon
That sheds the blood of people in the well?
Why dost thou shed the blood of the poor by thy charm
Whether you want to draw blood or water from the well?
Why dost thou shed the blood, like this in the well
When thou hast another bloodthirsty dimple?

Dig a well and call it a tomb
Ask not whether its water be bitter or sweet,
Throw me down in to it with thy hand
Abject dust am I; unto the dust I return.
Make that resting place a pilgrim's house
Convert that brakish water to the fountain of life.

What shall I say? What relation have I with thee?

The pearl is dishonoured in mixing with the dust.

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The prose works of some that have survived to us are the Fawâ'id u'l-Fu'âd, a short work, written on the death of Abû-Abd-Rahmân, the eldest son of Sultan Balban. Another work entitled Din-ar-Al-Awliya, or Lives of Saints, is said to have been written by him, but this book seems to have been lost.

Fawâ'id u'l-Fu'âd. The Fawâ'id u'l-Fu'âd is a collection of discourses of his spiritual guide Shaykh Niğâm u'd-Dîn Awliya, made in a series of sermons from the year A.H. 707-722 (A.D. 1309-1322). The custom of the Shaykh was to hold occasional assemblies of his disciples at which he used to discourse on various topics connected with religion, spirituality, and other matters relating to the life of devotion. Most of these discourses are illustrated by anecdotes, stories drawn from his personal experience and social scenes. These discourses were carefully noted down by pupils and finally published under the above title, with the approval of the Shaykh.

At the completion of each chapter, the author used to say:

1. The Encyclopedia of Islam is wrong in stating that these discourses were made from A.H. 717 to 722.
The prose works of Hasan that have survived to us are the Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád, and a short Marásiya written on the death of Khán-i-Shahíd, the eldest son of Sultan Balban. Another work entitled Siyár al-Awliya, or Lives of Saints, is said to have been written by him, but this book seems to have been lost.

**Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád.** The Favá'id u'l-Fu'ád is a collection of discourses of his spiritual guide Shaykh Nizám u'd-Dín Awliya, made in a number of meetings from the year A.H. 707-722 (A.D. 1308-1322). The custom of the Shaykh was to hold occasional assemblies of his disciples at which he used to discourse on various topics connected with religion, mysticism, and other matters relating to the life of devotees. Most of these discourses are illustrated by anecdotes, largely drawn from his personal experience and reminiscence. These discourses were carefully noted down by Hasan and finally published under the above title, with the approval of the Shaykh. At the completion of each chapter the author used to show

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that on each occasion he received high approval for
his faithful and systematic reproduction of all the
sayings of the Shaykh.
A.D. 1336 A.H. 1337. It is an

In the opening chapter of the book the author
gives the following account of the method of his collect-
ion and the reason why he called it Fava'id u'l-Fu'ad:-

"These heavenly gems and inestimable ornaments
have been collected from the treasure-house of instruction
in the secret chamber of infallibility of the Master of
rectitude, entitled 'The mercy of the universe, the King
of the poor and the helpless, Huda-al-Din (May the mercy
of God be upon him). Whatever has reached my ears either in the actual form of or in its general significance from that lamp of divine
assemblage, I have written down according to my simple
understanding; and as the minds of afflicted persons
would derive benefit from this compendium, so I have
named it Fava'id u'l-Fu'ad (The benefits of the soul).

THE MAIN DIVISIONS OF THE BOOK. The book is
divided into two separate parts. The first part consists

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have been collected from the treasure-house of instruction
and the secret chamber of infallibility of the Master of
rectitude, entitled 'The mercy of the universe, the King
of the poor and the helpless, Nizám u'l-Haqq-al Shar-al-
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THE MAIN DIVISIONS OF THE BOOK. The book is
divided into two separate parts. The first part consists
of four chapters containing the discourses made during a period of twelve lunar years from the third of Sha‘bán A.H. 707 to the twenty third of Rajab A.H. 719 = A.D. 1307-1319. It was completed, as stated at the end of this part, on Tuesday the second of Shawwal A.H. 719 = A.D. 1319. Each of these four chapters is devoted to a fixed period of time, the first chapter contains the discourses made during A.H. 707-709, (A.D. 1307-1309) and consists of thirty four discourses; the second from A.H. 709-712 (A.D. 1309-1312) and consists of thirty seven discourses; the third from A.H. 712-714, (A.D. 1312-1314) and consists of seventeen discourses; the fourth from A.H. 714-719 (A.D. 1314-1319) consisting sixty seven discourses. The second part contains thirty two discourses delivered during a period of three years from the twenty first of Sha‘bán A.H. 719 (A.D. 1319) to the nineteenth of Sha‘bán A.H. 722 (A.D. 1322). This part was completed on the twentieth day of the month of Jamád II.

1. Ibid, f. 110. Rieu suggests this date to be the 5th of Jamád II, which is evidently wrong.

2. Ibid, f. 111.

the later year, as the author says in the following verses:—

(1) When twenty and two was added to seven hundred

On the twentieth day of the month of Sha‘bán,

Was compiled at the command of the Khvája

This giver of happy tidings of the conquest of the world.

The fame of our Shaykh is like Muhammād

And Ḥasan in his eulogy like Ḥasan.  

1. F.F. Or. 1806, f. 132.

2. Ḥassán-ibn-Ṣabit was one of the Arabian poets who espoused the cause of the prophet. The family to which he belonged had the greatest skill in poetry, for it produced six persons, in succession, all of them poets. (Vide Ibn-i-Khallikán’s Biographical dictionary ed. by De Slane, Vol. III, p. 347, and Vol. IV, p. 259).
In the concluding paragraph of the second part, the author said that he would present us with another volume of the discourses that would be made after the year 722 A.H. The Shaykh lived up to A.H. 726, and Hasan survived him a few years more but we are not in possession of information as to whether anything was written by him during the last days of his life. All the defects of oriental verbosity, a common characteristic of the writers of the age, which we notice as in the writings of the West. I have already given an English translation of this Nasréya, in a previous chapter, from which the reader will be able to judge by himself as to its merits and defects. But in spite of these defects, it has a great value from the historical point of view. Here we find a true and vivid account of an eye-witness, of the circumstances of the death of the Khán-i-Shahíd and the battle fought by him against the Jenghuz hordes.

The Fawá'id u'l-Fu'túh is written in a very easy style, it is simple, direct and effective. It is

1. Amir Khusraw's 'Ijázi-Khusrávi and the Kházíy u'l-Fu'túh are the worst specimens of artificial and insipid prose. It requires a great amount of labour and skill to discover the facts underlying beneath the surface of his writing.
The two extant prose works, the Marsiya and the Favā'īd u'l-Fu'ād are written in two entirely different styles. One differs so much from the other that it is rather difficult to say that they are the writings of the same person. The Marsiya is written in a very florid and ornate style, full of far-fetched metaphors and similes; it contains all the defects of oriental verbosity, a common characteristic of the writers of the age, which we seldom see in the writings of the West. I have already given an English translation of this Marsiya, in a previous chapter, from which the reader will be able to judge by himself as to its merits and defects. But in spite of these defects, it has a great value from the historical point of view. Here we find a true and vivid account of an eye-witness, of the circumstances of the death of the Khán-i-Shahíd and the battle fought by him against the Mongol hordes.

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1. Amir Khusraw's 'Ījáz-i-Khusraví and the Khazáín u'l-Futúh are the worst specimens of artificial and insipid prose. It requires a great amount of labour and pain to discover the facts underlying beneath the surface of his writing.
a very interesting heading, full of familiar and commonplace idiomatic expressions, which are seldom met with in the work of Indo-persian writers. The simplicity of the style of this book is mainly due to the nature of the subject-matter itself. Hasan had nothing to add to it from his own imagination. His duty was to collect the utterances of the Shaykh and publish them as faithfully as possible. And as these discourses were made in the ordinary language of the day he had no other alternative but to follow them as closely as possible. That is why we find such a great difference between the style of the Favá'id and the Marsiya, which is a specimen of his original composition.

The Favá'id was considered as a standard code of morality by all the disciples of the Shaykh. ｢ٔما Baraní states that the demand for this book was so great that numerous copies of it were sold immediately after its compilation. Here are set down the views of the saint on the various aspects of an ascetic's life in relation to its ultimate goal. It also gives us a true insight into his character and his relation with the different grades of society, which incidentally throws

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some light on the social condition of his age, and the influence exerted by the mystics over the people as a whole.

I give below the substance of a few of his discourses to show the nature of his views on life as well as the kind of anecdotes he tells his disciples.

I.

RENNICATION OF THE WORLD.

The renunciation of the world does not consist in remaining in a state of nudity by putting on a piece of loin-cloth. It consists in this:—A man should clothe himself and eat but whatever income he derives, should be spent and no hoarding be made; he should have no inclination for it and his mind should be free from attachment to material gain.

ANECDOCTE ILLUMINATING HOW A WORLDLY LOOK CAN BE TURNED INTO A DIVINE.

II.

DISCOURSE ON WORLDLY GOODS.

What things are worldly and what things are not?

There is one thing which is worldly both in

1. F.F. Or 1806, f. 71
2. Ibid, f. 70a.
form and meaning, there is another which is not worldly for us to be united with you. But there is one more either in meaning or form. There is one thing which does not appear to be worldly in form but in reality it is so; there is another which is worldly in form but not in meaning.

devotion and prayer till you are talked of by everybody. Whatever is in excess of one's requirements is a worldly thing both in its form and meaning; that which I shall take the permission of my Father to go to which is not worldly either in meaning and form is one's sincere devotion. That which is not worldly in form but worldly in essence is the devotion performed for one's personal gain. That which is worldly in form but not in sense, is the discharge of one's obligation to one's wife, the obligation of conjugal love. Although this action seems to be secular, its essence is not so.

III. ANECDOTES ILLUSTRATING HOW A WORLDLY LOVE CAN BE TURNED INTO A DIVINE LOVE:

(A) Once a certain Darwísh saw a princess. The princess showed her feeling for him, and both of them fell in love. The princess sent a messenger to the Darwísh saying, "You are a Darwísh so it is very difficult

1. F.F. Or. 1806, f. 71.
for me to be united with you; but there is one way, and if you follow it, probably I shall be able to meet you. That way is that you should pretend to be a great devotee, betake yourself to a mosque and be busy in devotion and prayer till you are talked of by everybody. When you become famous for your piety and saintliness then I shall take the permission of my father to go to you for your blessing, and thus I shall meet you."

According to her instructions the Darwīsh betook himself to a mosque and deeply engaged in devotion and prayer. When he began to feel the ardour of devotion, his mind became absolutely devoted to God, and his fame became widespread. The princess then obtained her father's permission and came to see him. But she did not find any inclination in him towards her; then she said to him "Have not I taught you this trick? What has happened to you now that you do not look at me?" When she began to urge these things upon him, he replied "Who are you? I do not know you." Thus he turned his mind from her and directed it towards God.

(A) A man named ʻAbdullāh Mubārak, during his young days was in love with a woman. One night he came near the wall of her house and the woman came to meet him
through the window; thus they passed the whole night from evening till dawn talking with one another, till they heard the call for morning prayer. ‘Abdullāh thought it to be the night prayer-call, but when he looked round he saw it was morning. At this moment he heard an invisible voice telling him "O, ‘Abdullāh! you have kept yourself awake from the beginning of evening till dawn for the love of a woman; did you ever keep any night awake like this for the sake of God?"

When ‘Abdullāh heard this, he repented his action and devoted himself entirely to the service of God.

IV.

DISCOURSE ON CHARITY.

It is a very meritorious act to give food to the people. Khvāja ‘Alī the son of Khvāja Buzurg Rūkn-u’d-Dīn Chistī (mercy of God be on them both) was taken captive at the time of the Tātār invasion. He was supplied food to the creatures of God by a certain person and ordered his release and presented his case for the release and the expiation of his family. One of the disciples of that family was present at the camp. When he saw Khvāja-‘Alī to be a captive he was very much perturbed and began

1. F.F. Or. 1806, f. 11a.
to ponder within himself how he might discover some means for his release and how he might represent the matter to Chingiz Khan. If he said that the Khvâja belonged to a highly respectable family it would produce no effect on Chingiz Khan, nor would the mention of his prayer and devotion be of any avail; so after thinking for some time he decided upon a plan and went to Chingiz Khan and said: "The father of this man was a great person who used to give food to the people so that he could be released." Then Chingiz Khan asked him: "Did he give food to his own people or to the strangers?" The man replied: "Every man gives food to his own people as well as to strangers but his father gave food to the strangers alone." Chingiz Khan became very much pleased at these words and said: "What a good man he must have been who supplied food to the creatures of God." Then he ordered his release and presented him with a robe of honour and apologized to him for his detention.

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